

*THIRTEENTH INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC HISTORY CONGRESS
BUENOS AIRES 2002*

SESSION X:
DIASPORA ENTREPRENEURIAL NETWORKS, C. 1000 – 2000

**The Maltese Entrepreneurial
Networks from the seventeenth century onwards
A review of the work done so far**

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Migration has been a feature of human existence since the very dawn of history. It has taken various forms and its intensity has varied over time. This century promises to be one of considerable population movements as a consequence of demographic changes presently underway.

As populations in the 'developed' world plummet it is calculated that countries like Germany, for example, will have to import a million migrants of working age per year by the year 2020, as their own populations become older (*The Economist* 1 November 2001 Survey: *The Next Society*).

But the clamour for workers from the business sector is often drowned by the opposition to migrants from other sections of society.

When these migrant communities are from a markedly different cultural background, with a different religion, a different ethnicity and so on, the tensions can be even greater. Events like the 11 September 2001 and its aftermath have shown how these transnational communities are often perceived as threats to established lifestyles and state security, and potential sources of international terrorism.

These transnational communities are often referred to as ethnic diasporas. The term 'diaspora', of Greek origin and meaning 'dispersion' or 'scattering', has come to refer to a very broad range of situations including: migrants in general; political, religious and other refugees and expellees; ethnic and racial minorities and aliens; and so on. The fact is that the semantic domain of the term 'diaspora' has been 'stretched' so much that it has come to include virtually all expatriate groups. Safran has suggested, not without some justification, that it is perhaps a matter of asking 'What ethnic community that has migrated, or that consists of descendents of those who have done so, is **not** a diaspora?' (Safran 1999 : 265). Inclusion clearly has to have limits if the term 'diaspora' is not to completely lose its usefulness. But it is not simply a matter of whether this or that ethnic group is a diaspora at a particular point in time. Problems of inclusion and exclusion arise even **within** ethnicities. Even if we limit ourselves to the classical cases it is clear that a Jew, a Greek or an Armenian do not belong to a diaspora just by virtue of being of Jewish, Greek or Armenian origin. Garfinkle has pointed out that half the Jews in present-day America marry a non-Jew, while more than half receive no formal Jewish education at all (Garfinkle 1997 : 275). At this rate, most American Jews will have become Jewish Americans, as a temporary way-station to total assimilation, within a couple of decades.

Given the problems associated with distinguishing between and within ethnicities it is patently clear that much will depend on the criteria which we adopt to determine the existence or otherwise of a diaspora. Dispersal; myths and memories of a homeland, a willingness to support it and a desire to return to it; a sense of alienation in a foreign land and the survival of a collective identity are the principle ingredients which are commonly held to make up the diasporic phenomenon (Sheffer 1986, Safran 1991 and Clifford 1994).

In recent years a considerable debate has been going on, seeking to instil a measure of order in all this and establish a theoretical framework within which to lodge the different types of diaspora. One of the most recent contributions is Judith T. Shuval's 'Diaspora Migration: Definitional Ambiguities and a Theoretical Paradigm' (Shuval 2000). Highlighting that a sense of diaspora is 'a feeling that is characterised by shifting periods of latency and activism which occur in response to processes in the three relevant referents: the group itself; the host society and the homeland' (Shuval 2000 : 46), Shuval proceeds to set out a theoretical paradigm of diasporas based on the characteristics of these 'relevant referents' within which to lodge different types of diasporas. Shuval also attempts to look at the nature of the links between diaspora theory and the theoretical discourses relating to ethnic theory, transnationalism and globalisation, and the nation state.

Diaspora entrepreneurial networks, the central theme of this paper, have to do with diasporas and as a consequence have the above-mentioned links but as the phenomenon also has to do with entrepreneurial networks it clearly also has much to do with the history and theory of business as well.

In this paper I propose to look at the phenomenon of the Maltese entrepreneurial networks which flourished from the late seventeenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century and compare it to the 'classical' diasporas.

Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks

Trading and entrepreneurial networks have been around for a long time. Setting aside the very early exchanges and developments in India, China, and elsewhere, it is probable that in the West the phenomenon originated in the mercantile colonies established by Phoenicians and Greeks (Cameron 1997: 25–26, 32–37). The trading-post empires they created were the predecessors of the considerably more extensive ones subsequently created by Occidentals.

Throughout the ages, merchants have ranged far and wide in pursuit of profit but they have tended to concentrate in large numbers in a succession of cities which have dominated the exchange of goods and services on an international scale. In Europe, the fairs held at Provins, Troyes, Lagny and Bar-sur-Aube, collectively known as the Champagne fairs, emerged in the twelfth century as the most important meeting places for merchants from north and south (*Ibid* 62-68). The focal point would subsequently move, in succession, to Bruges, Antwerp and Amsterdam (*Ibid* 96-97).

The Italians had been key players in the world of international trade from early on but with the advent of the ‘commercial revolution’ family-based companies with headquarters in Florence, Siena, Venice, Milan and other Italian cities had led the way as precursors of modern-day multinationals. By the age of discovery in the fifteenth century, colonies of Italian merchants utilising sophisticated book-keeping and credit techniques had long been established in every important commercial centre in Europe and beyond (Lopez 1976: 63-70 and Hunt and Murray 1999: 54-60). But others were hard on their heels and after incorporating Italian innovations, the Dutch, English and to a lesser extent the French eventually outstripped the Italians in a process which eventually led to the Mediterranean being completely eclipsed by the Atlantic.

But just as the Inland Sea’s star was waning we note the increasing prominence in the West of peoples, originating in the eastern reaches of that self-same Mediterranean, destined to play a notable role in the European heartland’s ‘Big Bang’ in the Early Modern period. It would be a clearly subsidiary role but it was to be a contribution completely out of proportion to their numbers.

The most prominent of these eastern peoples were the Jews. Expelled from practically all European nations at some stage or other they had been tossed around for centuries, always at the mercy of regal fiat and volatile public sentiment. In contrast to

the Muslim 'other' who was clearly identified with the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean, the Jews in the West were aliens living in a wholly Christian world.

This liminal status, to some extent, was also a characteristic of Greeks and Armenians. Christians and yet subject, like Oriental Jews, to Muslim masters, they were in a position to access the West in a manner that would have been impossible for Muslims, given the religious prejudices prevailing at the time.

All three benefitted from the gradual exclusion of Italian merchants from the Black Sea after the fall of Constantinople (Inalcik 1997: 129 – 133) and some time later constituted what Braudel has referred to as a 'relentless invasion by eastern merchants' into late-sixteenth century Europe. (Braudel 1982 : 156). According to Braudel, Armenians had got to Malta even earlier, in the mid-sixteenth century. Earlier still, in 1530, a substantial Greek community was established in Malta practically overnight when the Order of St. John was given the island of Malta by the Emperor Charles V.⁽¹⁾

The Jews, Armenians and Greeks are the archetypal or classical diasporas but there have been others. A hitherto little-known network was the Maltese one. Albeit endowed with certain special characteristics, it nevertheless shared with the Jews, Greeks and Armenians what could be considered one of the principal distinguishing features of the classical diasporas, liminality, the occupation of a position at, or on both sides of, a boundary or threshold. The Maltese in fact lived on the mental and spatial frontier between the two mighty empires which dominated the Eastern and Western halves of the Mediterranean Sea, the Ottoman and the Hapsburg.

Though linguistically semitic and thus sharing the quality of 'Easternness' with historical diaspora peoples, the Maltese were, like the Greeks and Armenians, christianised very early on. With the 'reconquest' of Sicily by Christendom, they settled down to become fervent Catholics. This condition would eventually prove the key that would permit them easy access into a Catholic southern Europe which was somewhat more suspicious of non-Catholic Greeks, Armenians and others.

Diasporas and Enterprise

The use of the term 'diaspora', in conjunction with trade or entrepreneurship has made considerable headway in historical, anthropological and other fields of study, since its origins in the early nineteen seventies (Curtin 1984 : 2).

Reservations nevertheless persist concerning the appropriateness of such usage. Cohen has referred to 'networks of traders' as 'auxiliary diasporas' but Safran and Shuval, basing themselves on the principle of *ubi lucrum, ibi patria*, my home is where I can make a living, have questioned to what extent traders have any commitment other than eschatological, towards the notion of return to the homeland. (Cohen 1997; Safran 1999: 261; Shuval 2000: 47) But despite this and other reservations participants at the recent Corfu Pre-Conference for session X of the Thirteenth International Economic History Congress scheduled for Buenos Aires in 2002, nevertheless, adopted the term 'diaspora entrepreneurial network' to represent the somewhat more exclusive phenomenon of the entrepreneurial networks associated with the so-called 'historical' diasporas: the Jewish, the Armenian and the Greek. Indians, Chinese and Arabs have been added to the first three even though they would seem to lack, as a collectivity, at least one of the basic attributes which some believe characterises a diaspora narrowly conceived, namely, collective forced dispersion (Chaliand and Rageau 1997: XIII - XIX). If, on the other hand, we subscribe to a wider concept of diaspora, namely, that it refers to all those belonging to a certain ethnic background who have left their land of origin and have settled, even temporarily, on lands and in countries far away, but continue to keep close cultural ties with their land of origin, than Indians, Chinese, Arabs and many other ethnicities would qualify for the club.

What Indians, Chinese and Arabs do, on the other hand, have in common with Jews, Armenians and Greeks is not having originated in the Protestant or Catholic Western European heartland which came to dominate the world stage in the early modern period. This has meant that they have had to rely on their own internal resources to articulate their networks and carve out niches for themselves, because they lacked, at least in the early stages, the diplomatic back-up or power-projection capability which has characterised European nations.

In a world where much economic activity, especially long distance trade, was governed by monopolies, treaties and other forms of control, those lacking powerful political sponsors were clearly at a disadvantage.⁽²⁾ It is, I believe, this lack of effective 'official' backing which constitutes one of the most important distinguishing features of

the classical entrepreneurial networks and sets them apart from the Italian, Dutch, English, German, Scottish and other Western European entrepreneurial networks.

Reliance on kith and kin and shared religious persuasion in the choice of one's business partners and the conduct of one's business is sufficiently well-documented in a wide spectrum of situations and is clearly not exclusive to the 'historical' diasporas. After all even Britain itself continued to rely on family capitalism until fairly recently if Chandler is to be believed (Chandler 1990). Family looms large even in present day, large, US companies as recent conflicts within Hewlett-Packard and Ford have shown (*The Economist*, 2001). It is estimated that families wield influence at between 35% and 45% of America's 500 largest companies (*Ibid*). Much really depends on timing. The face-to-face nature and familial capitalism which are held to characterise the 'historical' diasporas were also very prominent in Italian and other Western European circles in the past and though this phenomenon may have abated it has certainly not disappeared. But where are we to locate the Maltese in all this?

The Maltese Case

Malta, a tiny, crowded island south of Sicily should, by right, not have attracted any more attention in history than many islands the same size, were it not for its strategic location and superb harbour. Until the early sixteenth century it was just one more Sicilian domainical town, and a small one at that. Probably aided by its insularity it had been left to, more or less, fend for itself. The local elite, of Sicilian or Aragonese origin, had repeatedly and successfully managed to 'buy off' feudal lords to whom the island had been pawned by the king, always desperately strapped for cash. It was off the main trade routes but was, nevertheless, in possession of a modest merchant fleet which brought in the supplies of grain to make up for the already considerable shortfall in own production (Bresc 1991). These food imports it paid for partly from its exports of cotton and cumin and partly from the earnings of a long-established corsairing sector.

The arrival of the Hospitaller Order of St. John in 1530 opened up completely new horizons. Initially resentful of the imposition of yet one more feudal lord, who proceeded to establish himself by the harbour, away from Mdina, the island's seat of power in the centre of the island, the traditional elite eventually saw themselves shunted to the side and displaced by a new commercial and service elite whose welfare depended on attending to the wealthy scions of Europe's noble families and the activity they generated in and around the new city of Valletta. The income from the Order's far-

flung European estates in fact permitted population growth, particularly around the harbour area, far beyond what would have corresponded to the arid island's 315 square kilometres and after one of the best-publicised sieges in Early Modern Europe (in 1565) the island became firmly established as the southernmost outpost of the Hapsburg empire (Mallia Milanese 1993).

In the seventeenth century it was the base for considerable corsairing activity and this and its policing role produced a lively economic climate which translated into fast population growth, albeit not devoid of setbacks resulting from plagues, famines, and such like. The second half of the seventeenth century saw, first, France's *rapprochement* with the Sublime Porte in the 1670s and eventually, in 1699, with the Treaty of Karlowitz, an end to the general hostilities between Christians and Muslims. To a military order whose *raison d'être* had been the confrontation with Islam and a civilian population which had grown completely out of proportion to what the island's own tiny rural hinterland could sustain the future looked bleak. The consequence was a desperate attempt to adjust to new realities.

Men and resources previously devoted to corsairing would seem to have been increasingly applied to exploring the possibilities of peaceful trade beyond the traditional victualling trade with Sicily and Southern Italy. The *Consolato di Mare*, set up in 1697, provided swift settlement of litigation involving merchants and seafarers. Its establishment must be taken as both the result of increasing trade and as a factor aiding its growth.

The late seventeenth century and the eighteenth century also saw the development of a widespread network of consuls which went well beyond the island's immediate surroundings to encompass Northern Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese ports. The Hospitallers had their own long-established network of agents but with the exception of Barcelona, where the representative of the Order played a notable role in defence of Maltese merchants in the early decades of the eighteenth century, these were typically located on the estates which the Order possessed, far away from coastal cities. As the correspondence relating to consular appointments demonstrates, the consular network was established to attend to the needs of merchants and seafarers (Vassallo 1996).

Maltese merchants were, in general, very welcome in Catholic Europe. Subjects of the Grand Master whose highly-regarded Order was made up of *langues* containing the cadets of Europe's noble families, they were guaranteed preferential access to

practically all of Southern Europe (Vassallo 1997 : 98 and 126 n.86). This contrasted somewhat with the experience of Greeks, Armenians and others who were, on the one hand, non-Catholics and, on the other, subjects of the Ottomans. In 1791 there were only two Greeks out of a total of 3,216 foreigners established in Spain's foremost commercial centre, Cadiz (Collado Villalta 1981). Around a decade earlier, in 1782 Minorca, a community of around two hundred Greek families which had prospered during the British occupation of the island, were obliged to leave (Dominguez Ortiz 1955 : 251 – 252). They were considered schismatics not very amenable to 'assimilation'. As Ottoman subjects the Greeks and the Armenians were also considered politically unreliable elements whose economic activities only benefitted the Turk's exchequer. Edicts of expulsion were decreed for Greeks and Armenians in 1663 and 1753, although these very acts are a clear indication that some at least, always managed to filter back in, despite official obstacles (*Ibid* 252).

The situation in nearby France seems to have been somewhat analogous to the one prevailing in Spain, despite France's favourable disposition to the Ottomans. Fernand Braudel makes reference to the opposition of the Marseilles consuls to the presence of Armenians selling silk in the city in 1623 (Braudel 1982 : 156) but Charles Carrière makes no mention of Greeks or Armenians in his monumental work on Marseilles (Carrière 1973). Out of a total of 489 foreign merchants established in Marseilles during the eighteenth century, only 29 are noted down as from the Levant and most of these, like the 14 from Barbary, would seem to have been Jews (*Ibid* 266 – 278).

In overall terms therefore it would seem that the Maltese may have had a bit of an edge over other Eastern minorities by virtue of the island being governed by the politically neutral, at least vis-à-vis intra-European political struggles, and most Catholic Order of St. John.

The Maltese in Spain

Early-modern Spain, point of entry for much silver and gold from the Americas, was an important focus for trade networks from all over Europe. Dominguez Ortiz has claimed that the seventeenth was the century when the number of foreigners and their economic weight were at their highest point in Spain (Dominguez Ortiz 1955 : 237). But he had in mind all foreigners, including agricultural labourers, artisans and such like, and not only those involved in mercantile activities.

The total number of foreigners may have gone down in the following century but there is no doubt that much of eighteenth-century Spain's trade, both foreign and domestic, was still dominated by foreigners, according to most researchers. There were a total of 27,502 heads of households in a detailed census of foreigners taken in 1791 (Lafuente 1889 Tomo 15 :184-185). Made up mostly of Frenchman (48.47%) they also included Italians (26.85%), Portuguese (12.79%), Germans (5.82%) and Maltese (4.46%), amongst many others. But these aggregate figures include all professions. In a study of detailed returns for 12,180, of the above-mentioned 27,502 householders, Salas Ausens and Jarque Martinez show commerce as being the occupation of only 2,104 or 17.27% of them (Salas Ausen & Jarque Martinez 1990 : 993).

By way of contrast, the relatively small Maltese presence was almost exclusively devoted to trade. Excluding Cadiz, where a quarter of the 217 Maltese heads of households there had other occupations, the percentage of Maltese engaged in trade in other localities was almost 100% [96% in Malaga, 100% in El Puerto de Santa Maria and 100% in Játiva (Vassallo 1997, 256-257)]. As a consequence, the Maltese represented a much higher proportion of those involved in commerce than the meagre 4.46% of **all** foreigners would seem to indicate.

The Maltese in fact conform to Curtin's criterium, based on his world-wide study of cross-cultural trade, that members of a trade diaspora were 'specialists in a single kind of economic enterprise' (Curtin 1984 : 5). In contrast to the host society, which was a whole society, with many occupations, class stratification and so on, the Maltese, more than any of the other foreign communities in Spain, was a merchant colony with a very specific niche, the sale of cotton and cloth (Vassallo 1997). Extensive research has already been carried out concerning the Maltese mercantile presence in eighteenth-century Spain and a brief sketch will suffice here.

Probably as a consequence of initial contacts established while serving in the Order's navy or on board of corsair vessels, Maltese sailors/traders are known to have been established in Majorca and Barcelona in the mid seventeenth century, trading in a wide range of goods and benefitting from special privileges granted to the Maltese out of consideration for the Order (Pons and Bibiloni 1991 : 31). It is worthwhile noting, in passing, that this privileged access was not limited to Spain but extended to Portugal, France and other places too (Mallia Milanese 1974 : 31).

During the course of the latter half of the seventeenth century these occasional sightings became more and more frequent and in 1699 there were at least 13 brigantine

expeditions to Spain and Portugal (National Archive of Malta, *Consolato di Mare, Manifesti* Bundle 1 for 1698-1701). The phenomenon of the brigantine expedition has been described in detail elsewhere (Vassallo 1997: 69-130) and for our present purpose it will be sufficient to set out the description of the brigantine and its trade in eighteenth-century Malta to be encountered in the *Nuovo Dizionario della Marina*, an eighteenth-century manuscript to be found in the National Library of Malta.

Brigantino, Brigantin. It is a small and light vessel which serves both for corsairing and for trade and which is cut fairly deep in its bottom to permit it to go better under sails and with oars. One could say it is a small galleon with the same sailing characteristics, the sponon and the masting. These are the vessels which, albeit small, carry on Malta's big business, earning for the country considerable sums. They start their trade in Sicily where they take on large quantities of silk in Messina. They then sail up the coast of Italy to France, and always hugging the coast, trade in all the small places until they get to Spain which is where they ordinarily do the best business. In the past they used to be considered foolhardy if they ventured beyond the Straits of Gibraltar but nowadays they have arrived as far as Lisbon. They have managed to fill that vast city with fine Maltese cotton products which used to be a rarity in those lands but are now commonplace. These vessels normally have twenty oars and around twenty-two men. Some of them have two small cannon in the bow but their strength is in their musketry and swivel-guns of which they have as many as six and as a consequence they can defend themselves very well from Turkish galleons which in the main do not dare to attack them (National Library of Malta, Lib. Ms.223).

It is a succinct description difficult to improve upon as a portrayal of the vessel which first as a corsair ship and subsequently as a merchantman constituted the centre piece of Malta's maritime economy. A highly adaptable craft manned by a highly adaptable captain and crew who were at the same time merchants, mariners and musketeers.

The Iberian Peninsula, and more specifically Spain, emerges as the most important area of operations for Maltese brigantines and so they remained, even in the latter decades of the eighteenth century, when the trade became both more important and more settled. We shall, once again, recur to the testimony of two contemporaries to sum up the phenomenon. The first is by an anonymous German gentleman who travelled through Spain in the years 1764 and 1765, around the time when the brigantines reached their era of maximum splendor. He wrote that:

The Maltese do a lot of trade in Cadiz and you will not find any important city all over Spain where you cannot find them. They have more privileges and rights than Spanish shopkeepers who only sell small amounts They take their merchandise from Genoa, Marseilles and other ports of the Mediterranean. They take everything and arrive with entire loads of all kinds of goods of which only a few are from Malta; they secretly use neutral ships in the ocean; in the Mediterranean they also take their own ships. These people live very badly, eat little, sell for low prices and take large sums of cash back home from Spain (cited in Von Den Driesch 1972: 241).

Shortly after this was written, the Maltese mercantile network in Spain was subjected to a spate of adverse legislation which caused Maltese merchants to become, seemingly, established in Spain. The reality was somewhat different, as borne out in a memorandum read by Jose Guevara Vasconcelos, in 1778, to Madrid's Real Sociedad Económica. He said:

Every two years the members of these companies return to their countries and are substituted by others whom they eventually replace, taking turns. Those who belong to these companies bring the clothes they will need with them and take out all the coin they can and it is feared much of it is smuggled. They establish themselves in the principal villages where it is not difficult for them to get a low tax assessment by securing the favour of those in authority. They give their wares on hire purchase to the women without the knowledge of their husbands and recover the debt at exorbitant rates. They exclude from their companies those who marry in Spain. Their internal regulations are unknown but not even those excluded have ever appealed to local magistrates.... (Guevara Vasconcelos 1787: 42-43).

Even allowing for the fact that the commentator is opposed to Maltese and other foreign trading companies it is clear that he is describing a very pervasive phenomenon and I have, in fact, described how the Maltese retail and pedlar network opened up considerable areas of eighteenth-century Spain to the market (Vassallo 1997: 131-183).

Maltese merchants in Spain were characterised by: a high level of literacy compared to other foreigners; reliance on kith and kin at all stages of the conduct of their business; regular travel to and from their island to settle accounts and attend to other business matters, as well as spend time with their family; a tendency to set up in business and live in close proximity to each other in veritable enclaves in the communities where they were established; a high regard for honour and trust in the conduct of business with each other and the tendency to settle any differences which arose during the course of dealings with their fellow nationals abroad, in their own home country (Vassallo 1997).

On a somewhat wider plane but serving to reinforce their sense of community one must note that they often undertook not to marry while on foreign business trips and we, in fact, note a considerably lower tendency to be married to non-Maltese amongst the Maltese merchants established in Spain, compared to other foreigners. When the community was large enough they established their own religious confraternities, with both spiritual and material welfare concerns, and separate burial arrangements, as well as securing the services of their own priests who could assist them in their own language. Finally we note that at all stages Maltese merchants were expected to give, and gave, considerable support to each other in return for a high degree of social control (*Ibid*)

It must be emphasised that many of the characteristics I have mentioned are not peculiar to the Maltese and have been noted for classical trading diasporas as well. Indeed, they have been shown to apply even beyond these to many other cases. (Fontaine 1996)

Each diaspora, whether relating to entrepreneurial networks or otherwise, has its peculiarities but the Maltese network established in Spain during the eighteenth century clearly fulfills the basic criteria of dispersal, a collective identity which centred on an alien tongue and a very real need to return to the homeland deriving in the main from the credit dependant nature of their business and families left behind.

The wider picture

Although the Maltese mercantile network in the eighteenth century centred on Spain and Portugal there is, nevertheless, ample confirmation that it extended to other parts as well. A 1776 Chamber of Commerce report described Malta's trade in the following manner:

For clarity's sake we can divide commerce into two branches; the first is that of the Maltese in Sicily, the second in Spain. Malta supplies the Sicilians and the Calabrians with sugar, coffee, cocoa, cinnamon, herbs, drugs, iron nails, glass, paper, planks, lead shot, powder and other goods and the Maltese purchase from Sicily the soda ash, sulphur, alum, pulses, barley, wheat and carob beans which they resell in Spain, Italy and Marseilles. The second branch to Spain consists of those who buy silk from Catania, Messina and Naples and all sort of

cloth from Leghorn and Genoa for resale in Alicante, Malaga, Seville, Valencia, Ferrol, Cadiz and the Canary Islands (National Library of Malta, Ms 1020 item 20).

Barcelona is mentioned further on in the report in connection with the trade in cotton yarn.

In France, the Maltese were entitled to the same civil and commercial rights enjoyed by the indigenous population and had a long-established presence in Marseilles, but its nature and extent is still to be determined (Godechot 1951: 71).

The same applies to the Italian Peninsula. We know that Maltese merchants bought and sold goods and obtained credit in ports like Genoa, Leghorn and Naples but information is still fragmentary. South of Naples, Maltese traders had long been active in securing the provisions for the densely populated island but, as we saw above, they were also important articulators of a trade which supplied the Sicilians and Southern Italians with a wide range of goods. There is no reference, in the above citation, to a trade in woollen cloth but we have encountered evidence of Maltese merchants taking considerable quantities of this product from Catalonia and selling it in Sicily and Southern Italy (Vassallo 1997: 210-216). An eighteenth-century report by Saverio Scrofani cited by Calogero Messina gives details of goods originating in Spain, particularly woollen cloth, supplied to Sicily (Scrofani 1792: 81). The relevant table is entitled 'Mercanzie di spagna che s'immettono in Sicilia principalmente per la via di Genova e pel mezzo dei Maltesi, Napolitani, Genovesi ec.' It is noteworthy that of the various 'nations' responsible for the trade the Maltese are mentioned first. We have still to find out the nature of the Maltese trading network responsible for this business.

But Malta's mercantile network was not limited to Catholic countries. Malta was an important quarantine and rallying point for French mercantile shipping to the Levant; but despite official belligerency, it also had a notable entrepôt role of its own. The movement of goods and people to and from the North African Regencies and the Levant was constant during the seventeenth century (Cutajar 1988). Cotton from ports in the Levant (Gaza, Haifa, Saida, Tripoli-in-Syria, Alexandretta, Cyprus) and Anatolia (Satalia, Smyrna, Constantinople) was a very important item and contacts in the seventeenth century probably laid the foundations for Malta's near monopoly status as supplier of cotton to the emerging *Indiane* manufactories in France and Spain during the eighteenth century. Despite repeated official prohibition of imports of cotton from the East it is very probable that some if not most of the prized 'Maltese' cotton may have originated elsewhere (Vassallo 1997: 190-195). Malta's geographical proximity was

clearly critical in determining the island's role as an intermediary between North and South and East and West but equally important must have been cultural factors which could both divide and bring people together.

Christian corsairing based in Malta portraying itself as engaged in a just and holy war against Islam was a continual irritant to Muslim shipping and eventually drove the transport of Muslim goods and passengers into the arms of French shippers. Muslim corsairing, on the other hand, preyed on Maltese vessels. But this perpetual state of war was more in the nature of skirmishing and was not a total war. There was ample opportunity to carry on with the other, more mundane, aspects of life. Business is business and even corsairing is, when all is said and done, a kind of business. Maltese merchants could be found in Tunis purchasing prize ships and cargoes during the seventeenth century (Bono 1990 : 141-142). But this was probably outweighed by other types of business. Using safe-conducts and neutral shipping Maltese merchants were continually tapping the Maghreb and the Levant for merchandise for consumption on the island or for re-export. In the middle of the eighteenth century Maltese-flagged vessels arriving at the island from Muslim territories were far outweighed by vessels with goods consigned to the island but flying other flags, sometimes under the supervision of Maltese supercargoes and crewed and captained by Maltese (Vassallo 1998: 24-25). Boubaker has, in fact, highlighted the 'privileged' position of the Maltese in Tunis compared to 'other Europeans' during the seventeenth century (Boubaker 1987: 175). This privileged position must have had a lot to do with another important cultural component; language.

Despite sharp religious antagonism the Maltese and Muslims in fact shared a common linguistic heritage. Originally a dialect of Tunisian Arabic, Maltese was first cut off from its roots and then subjected to Romance and other influences. It has, over time, developed into the unique and hybrid language which it is today. Its literature is young and it has only been regulated into its present form in the last hundred years or so. It only achieved official status in 1934. One of the earliest written renditions of it was actually in Hebrew but for many hundreds of years it was relegated to being the 'secret' linguistic code of the indigenous population, which nevertheless kept its records, conducted its religious rituals and communicated with the outside world in Latin, various forms of Italian and most recently English. It is this linguistic and spatial proximity to the Muslim world that was probably the most important factor behind Malta's mediatory role in the early modern and contemporary periods but all we have to

go on at the moment are occasional glimpses. We are far removed from being able to describe the nature of the Maltese presence in Muslim lands.

Summing up we can say that although we can assert with a considerable degree of certainty that Spain was the focal point of much of eighteenth-century Malta's trading network it is clear that there are many pieces in the jigsaw concerning their presence in Sicily, mainland Italian states, France, the Maghreb and the Levant, and while we can, in principle, anticipate being able to fill in some of the blanks for Europe, the scant archival material available in Muslim countries does not bode well for the possibility of doing the same for the latter.

The *debâcle* at the end of the Ancient Regime resulted in a near-complete reworking of the system we have described, although for a few years the momentum acquired during the eighteenth century, spilled over into the nineteenth century.

The end of an era

The establishment of British dominion over the Maltese archipelago, after a brief French *interregnum*, closed off Continental markets to Maltese-supplied cotton, but for a brief period Maltese merchants used trade contacts they had established in the previous century to distribute other goods, particularly agricultural produce (Martinez Shaw 1991: 227-241). It must, nevertheless, be stressed that the Maltese presence in the opening decades of the nineteenth century was but a shadow of what it had been in the closing decade of the previous century, although it showed greater resilience on Spain's South-Eastern seaboard than was the case in the South West. Cadiz's Maltese mercantile colony, for example, went down from 217 in 1791 to 41 in 1801 and Malaga's went down from 35 in 1771 to 11 in 1817 (Vassallo 1997: 291-292). Further East, on the other hand, Almeria's went down from 32 in 1791 to 20 in 1808, Murcia's from 41 in 1791 to 32 in 1807 and Jaliva's from 32 in 1791 to 22 in 1807 (Ibid.). In the city of Valencia, the core group of Maltese cloth retail guild merchants around which was constructed the numerous Maltese mercantile community there, only went down from 39 in 1793 to 35 in 1805 (Vassallo 1997: 40).

Some of the Maltese merchants established on Spain's Eastern littoral in fact proved very adroit at adapting themselves to the new circumstances. They were the few who stayed on in contrast to the majority who would seem to have gone home. The Cachia, Seiquer, Scicluna, Cardona and Camilleri in the City of Murcia; the Butigieg in Cartagena; the Borja and Cachia in Lorca; the Cutajar in Alicante and the Attard,

Mifsud, Piscopo, Busuttil, Formosa and Caruana in Valencia all played an important role in the economic development of their respective cities in the nineteenth century (Vassallo : forthcoming). Starting out as humble pedlars and shopkeepers in the eighteenth century they branched out into a whole range of activities during the course of the nineteenth century. They are a clear vindication of Eva Morowska's claim that first generation migrants often accumulate economic and human capital which once released by the relaxation of the attitudes of the host society is used by following generations to move into the mainstream society in a spectacular display of accomplishment (Morowska 1990: 203-205). The Caruana of Valencia are a prime example of this phenomenon.

From rags to riches. The Caruana of Valencia

The founder of the dynasty, Antonio Caruana Brignone, was born in 1753 in Senglea, the mercantile part of the Grand Harbour of Malta. On the mother's side the family had been in the Spanish trade for at least three generations and Antonio and his brother Pedro Pablo were apprenticed in 1768 in the *Gremio de Mercaderes de Vara*, or Cloth Retailers Guild, to their uncle on their mother's side, Joseph Brignone.

Pedro Pablo, the elder brother, continued in the Cloth Retailers Guild, appearing as a fully-fledged member in 1793, and indeed achieved considerable success in this line until 1805, when he decided to retire to Malta. His brother Antonio, on the other hand, moved on from cloth retailing very early on and went into manufacturing. His silk factory was awarded prizes and Royal Patronage for its technological innovations and the quality of its goods as well as for employment creation. In 1806 he still retained contact with his native land, Malta, to where he exported some of his products. He died in 1819. His sons Peregri, Antonio and Josep continued building on their father's success. In 1855 – 1867, they were amongst the principal beneficiaries of disentanglement, acquiring sixteen agricultural properties and five urban ones for a total of 1,341,650 *reales*, a huge amount for the time (Pons Pons 1987 : 324-349).

The eldest of the three brothers, Peregri, who had been involved in his father's manufacturing concern, became a particularly active figure in the economy of nineteenth-century Valencia. Apart from property speculation he was also the driving force behind the project to establish Valencia's first issuing bank and was heavily involved in railway and potable water development (Rodenas 1978 : 240 and 1982 : 16-22).

But the Caruanas and all those descended from the first generation which had taken the first step in a new land and stayed on eventually lost their Maltese connection. As Philip D. Curtin points out ‘one immediately striking generalisation is that trade diasporas tend to work themselves out of business’ (Curtin 1984:63). But as the descendents of the eighteenth-century Maltese trade network were being absorbed into the indigenous populations other possibilities were opening up elsewhere.

The Continental Blockade set up by the Berlin decree of 1806 was a disaster for British trade but it provided a ‘window of opportunity’ for Malta and for a number of years it became an important centre of contraband. As many as one in five of those living on the island in 1807, were foreigners wheeling and dealing in a brisk trade in the sale and purchase of licences and goods most of which probably never touched the island. Malta was also considered a good place for Greek ships to offload cargoes of corn from the Black Sea which were then taken up by Maltese and other merchants and taken to the Western end of the Mediterranean. ⁽³⁾

The arrival of the British may have contributed to the closure of European markets for Maltese cotton and may have rendered Maltese merchants unwelcome by virtue of their newly-acquired British status but it also ensured the protection of the British flag for Maltese shipping and British papers and British Consular protection for Maltese merchants.

By and by it must also be noted that during the nineteenth century this same British status would act as a mantle that would create not inconsiderable problems at the moment of seeking to identify the Maltese and distinguishing them from others enjoying British ‘nationality’. This is, fortunately, somewhat offset by the increased availability of statistics and other sources in this epoch.

The Nineteenth Century

Braudel has noted that emigration is the commonest way in which Mediterranean islands have entered the life of the outside world (Braudel 1981: 158). This is certainly true for Malta but in its case one can also talk about how immigration was probably the commonest way for the outside world to enter the life of Malta. The movement of people to and from the island is recorded from very early on but is definitely a constant feature of early modern Malta, as Carmel Cassar has demonstrated (Cassar 2000: 94-120). Apart from members of the Order, Malta also saw a continual inflow of commoners. Sicilians and other Italians were the most prominent but others

came from all over Europe as servants to the Knights, artisans, soldiers, corsairs etc. Also worth mentioning were the Greeks, to whom we made reference earlier on, and the French, who were particularly important in mercantile circles. (Mercieca 2000 *passim*).

The reverse flow, namely emigration from the island was just as important a phenomenon and became more so with the passage of time. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the island may have had in excess of 15% of its adult male population trading in Spain, Portugal, France and other parts of the Mediterranean, or serving in foreign navies, and this does not include those working as sailors on the short-range, Malta – Sicily route (Vassallo 1987: 284 n 5).

In the harbour towns the situation appears to have been even more dramatic. A *Ruolo degli Uomini della Città Senglea e Conspicua*, which seems to belong to the middle of the eighteenth century, gave a total number of able-bodied men for Senglea, the home town of most merchants and mariners, of 1,109, of whom 471 were away trading or serving in foreign navies, compared to 191 serving in the Order's armed forces (National Library of Malta AOM 1067). In other words, 42.2% of Senglea's adult males were away from the island. The corresponding figure for nearby and more populous Conspicua was 30%. It is clear that in the eighteenth century, the highly urbanised island already had a migratory mechanism which provided Maltese labour and capital with openings lacking in the mother country.

The closure of the traditional markets for Maltese cotton yarn at the beginning of the nineteenth century had consequences which reached well beyond the mercantile sectors of the population. The cultivation of cotton, its spinning, the manufacture of some of the yarn into sail cloth, caps and other products and all the mercantile activities associated with its marketing had at one time occupied up to three quarters of the population, according to one estimate (Price 1989 : 65). The loss of traditional markets resulted in a massive manpower surplus which during the nineteenth century was released in the migration of tens of thousands of people to nearby territories.

The presence of Maltese communities in the Muslim Mediterranean in the Contemporary period is a well-documented phenomenon but the more settled existence of the latter part of the nineteenth century and the earlier part of the twentieth needs to be distinguished from the much less documented earlier part of the nineteenth century, before the process of European colonisation had started. Fallot, writing in 1896, declared that 'during the second and third quarters of this century (nineteenth) Malta

had practically monopolised the commerce of a large part of Barbary' (Fallot 1896 : 10).

More recently Price has pointed out the opportunities that emerged in Mehemet Ali's pashalik in the early decades of the nineteenth century when a Maltese tradesman could make a good living in Cairo, Alexandria or Constantinople and even set money aside, but he also noted the openings for small merchants from Malta in the smaller North African ports (Price. 1989 : 50-52). Price then went on to point out that from these modest beginnings emerged men of not inconsiderable fortunes in the space of 15 or 20 years who qualified for the term 'merchant', not just in North African towns but also in Constantinople, Rhodes and Alexandria (Price 1989: 61). Price's work centres mainly on aggregates of migratory flows and he limits himself to describing how

the small Sicilian or Maltese trader found it easy to fill his *speronara* (sailing ship of 50 to 150 tons) with European textiles, metal-ware, tobacco and wine and distribute these goods along the African coast in exchange for oil, dates, hides, cattle and cereals: the large European merchant would then take over in Valetta or one of the Sicilian entrepot ports (Price 1989 : 50-52).

Relatively little is known about what, by all accounts, was a very large Maltese presence in, for example, the Regency of Tunis. Ganiage, in his study of the parish records of the main Catholic Church of Tunis, St. Croix, in the middle of the nineteenth century, has given a minimum figure of 9,150 Europeans in Tunis alone and this may need to be doubled to account for those with no fixed address or celibate men who typically did not appear in Church records (Ganiage 1960 : 19). Sixty per cent of these 9,150 were Maltese.

In a recent paper Andrea L. Smith suggests that, 'Knowledge of the Maltese has been hampered in part by the fact that they remained largely an exotic curiosity to most Europeans writing about Tunisia'. (Smith 2000:187). Most authors were apparently struck by the closeness of the Maltese in language, dress and habitat to the indigenous population. They were even said to be as 'intolerant' as Arabs regarding their faith.

Smith goes on to provide valuable new material based on both British Consular correspondence and National Archives of Tunis material.

If we know relatively little about the general Maltese population we know even less about their trade networks and especially about the highly mobile petty traders or *paccottiglieri* who may have functioned in a manner not unlike the Maltese retailer/pedlar network developed a century earlier in Spain. The Maltese, in fact, often reached areas where no other 'Europeans' ventured (Smith 2000 *passim*).

In 1854, the Bey of Tunis issued an Ordinance which, amongst other things, stipulated that the Maltese arriving in the Regency were to do so at one of the major ports where a British Consulate existed, namely Tunis, Sousse and Sfax (*The Malta Government Gazette* No. 1804, Tuesday 18 April 1854 : 67 – 68). At the behest of no less than 100 commercial houses, the recently-established Malta Chamber of Commerce reacted immediately and in a 4 May 1854 letter to the Chief Secretary to Government, highlighted that Malta had for a long time been the channel via which British manufactured goods reached Barbary by the hand of Maltese petty traders who would no longer be able to attend to their business at different points of the North African littoral (Chamber of Commerce Copy Letter Book 1848 – 1854 letter dated 4 May 1854). Some idea of the scale of Malta's entrepôt trade was given by Miege in 1841 (Miege 1841 Vol. II : 46). He calculated that Malta's transit trade in the late 1820s and early 1830s was already worth around three times the value of Malta's domestic trade. Some sixteen years later Michele Dedomenico confirmed that, 'It is not the product or local consumption or industry to which we have already referred, which constitute the principal basis of the commerce of this island, but the transit (trade) which is truly of interest.' (Dedomenico 1857 : 51).

Regrettably, no reliable figures of the value of the trade in the earlier part of the century have been encountered but we do have some shipping figures. Counts taken from Customs records of vessels arriving in the Grand Harbour of Malta at five to ten year intervals show arrivals from Barbary (Regencies of Tunis, Algiers and Tripoli) increasing from 70 in 1801 to 449 in 1848, a near-seven fold increase, while total arrivals only increased by 70% (Vassallo 2001 : 172). Commercial exchanges with Barbary ports were clearly very brisk. A breakdown of arrivals from Barbary in 1848 shows Tunisian ports to have been by far the most important with 246 out of the total of 449, with Malta Register English vessels accounting for half the tonnage followed by Greeks with nearly 20% (Vassallo 2001:177 – 179).

An 1857 description of the nature of Maltese/Tunisian trade indicates that in the mid 1850s Malta imported grain, olive oil, hides, wool, ivory, cattle, plumes, animal bones, Turkish berets, spices, rags, wax, sponges, dried squid, dated, rope, straw mats, etc. (Dedomenico 1857: 53). It exported or re-exported groceries, worked and leaf tobacco, English and Maltese manufactured goods, raw and manufactured metal, planks and other wood, glassware, paper, wines and spirits and occasionally grain as well.

A more detailed description of the nature of the cargo carried by Maltese *scunne* and *speronare* arriving in Sfax in the middle of the century indicates that, like Maltese brigantines going to Spain and Portugal in the previous century, Maltese merchants arriving in Tunisia apparently carried considerable quantities of cloth, an item which accounted for nearly half in value of the Regency of Tunis's imports (Finotti 1856:378-386). There was English cloth transhipped in Malta but also Maltese calico commonly known in Tunisia as *Malti* or *Kham*. There were two types; *Kham Soukri*, a finer cloth preferred by Europeans in Tunisia and *Kham Halouffi*, a longer-lasting and stronger material which fetched a better price than the former and was preferred by the Arab population. Stocks of *Malti* were also kept in Tunisia for onward shipment to the interior. Other cotton products included muslin, sail cloth, packing cloth and so on. Late in the century, when Malta's trade with Tunisia would seem to have declined considerably, the six million francs worth of exports from the former to the latter still included three million francs worth of cotton cloth (Fallot 1896 : 24).

Other goods exported or re-exported from Malta to Tunisia, according to Finotti, included rope; anchors and chains; nails, wrought iron and other iron products; furniture; spices and other tropical products like sugar, coffee, rice and dried fruit; Maltese stone; wine and spirits; potatoes, beans and other agricultural products; alum, rubber, soap and other chemical products; fish and fish extracts; and so on (Finotti 1856: 378-386).

Finotti also points out the existence of a not inconsiderable contraband trade in gunpowder and tobacco. Both were carried by caravan, via Giered, into the interior where the former was exchanged for wax, a prohibited export. Smith has noted that Maltese involvement in contraband was considerable, especially in the smaller ports like Mahdia, Sfax, Sousse and Djerba (Smith 2000:196-197). Consular correspondence indicates the presence of Maltese boats and vessels lying for years in most Tunisian ports being used as 'floating Depots for contraband' with the Maltese using the British, Jerusalemite, Tunisian and Turkish flags according to circumstances. While the British dealt severely with those Maltese accused of dealing in arms, gunpowder and military uniforms, they were less concerned with the traffic in substances controlled by state monopolies like tobacco.

From the above there seems to be no doubt that the Maltese were extremely important intermediaries in North Africa, in both licit and illicit goods. They clearly utilised their ability to communicate with the local population to forge fruitful

partnerships but we know very little about the nature of a trade network which seems to have endured for most of the nineteenth century but which declined considerably with the partition of Northern Africa between France and Italy.

During the latter part of the late nineteenth century Malta's role as an entrepôt in fact waned considerably. Dependent mostly on defence expenditure and the victualling and coaling of vessels on their way to and from Suez the Maltese mercantile class became more introspective and remained more or less so until the advent of independence, a process which started in 1964 and ended, with the departure of the last foreign troops, in 1979.

In the post-colonial era Malta has sought to break out of foreign relations and trade ties conditioned by its colonial past and move towards a wider network of diplomatic and commercial relations. The social democratic Malta Labour Party led by Dom Mintoff and elected to power in 1971, immediately set about trying to complete the process of independence by working towards the closure of the foreign military bases on which much of the tiny island's economy centred. In order to achieve this it embarked on a series of diplomatic initiatives which in the space of less than six months brought no less than 21 foreign delegations to the island state. Of particular interest for our purposes is the close relationship established with the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahariya. The political and economic co-operation that took place between Libya and Malta during the Mintoff regime is well known. Not so well documented, on the other hand, in the spin off for entrepreneurs who particularly during the long years of the UN – imposed embargo seem to have benefitted from preferential access to the Libyan market. Approaches to institutions which would, in principle, have some data on the subject have met with little success. The Maltese-Arab Chamber of Commerce's main function, according to the declaration of one of its officials, is the issue of Certificates of Origin, with particular regard to certifying that the goods are not of Israeli origin. It is difficult to forecast, at this stage, how fruitful our quest for information concerning the Maltese entrepreneurial network in Libya is going to be.

Conclusion

In this paper I have sought to examine the evolution of a trade diaspora - the Maltese - which shares many of the characteristics of the 'classical' diasporas. Eastern by virtue of their language and living at the margin between the eastern and western

Mediterranean, the Maltese were, nevertheless, singularly Western by virtue of their Catholicism. In an age when religion was probably the most important mark of identity, the Maltese were able to access southern Europe in the Early Modern period with considerably more ease than Jews, Armenians and Greeks.

But the Maltese were different from the classical diasporas in that they also had the benefit of powerful sponsors in the shape of the Hospitallers, who governed their island and were respected and held in high esteem by the Catholic monarchs of Europe. In an age when much trade was considerably conditioned if not determined by peace and commercial treaties, the Maltese were practically given *carte blanche* to trade to their hearts' content in the Italian states, France, Spain and Portugal. In the nineteenth century they built upon long-established contacts in the Maghreb to carve out an intermediary role for themselves. In both the Early Modern and Contemporary periods we are still lacking information about the nature of the network in France, Italy and the Maghreb.

As regards the conduct of their affairs we have found that the Maltese were not distinguished by any particular way of doing business. Relative late-comers to the field of international trade they were content to adopt well-proven strategies and methods centring on kith and kin.

Diaspora entrepreneurial networks, at least as represented by the 'classical' cases, were clearly an attempt by 'outsiders' to participate in the process whereby Christian Europe overwhelmed the planet between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries. In taking stock of the current state of the art and laying the foundations for new directions, as we were encouraged to do by the late Professor Frank Broeze, I feel that we must seek to incorporate into the picture those who up till now have had little or no exposure. This must be done at both the macro and micro levels.

At the macro level we must seek to incorporate the diaspora entrepreneurial networks of other peoples or ethnicities who have not achieved the prominence and durability of Jews, Armenians and Greeks.

At the micro level we must be wary of allowing successful individuals and/or families to hog the limelight. It is perhaps inevitable that these should set the pace but we must not overlook that diaspora entrepreneurial networks are composed mostly of a legion of micro-operators. In the case of trade these were pedlars, stall operators in markets and small shopkeepers. For every multi-millionaire who set up benefices, foundations and so on to be remembered by, and left copious documentation which can

be consulted, there were thousands, nay tens of thousands, who just got by or even went under, eventually ending up buried in some unmarked grave in a corner of some foreign field and for whom we just encounter, if we are lucky, some brief reference in a notarial or other document. To these stories not crowned by success we also have a responsibility.

Footnotes

1. It consisted of around 500 people who had accompanied the Order on its peregrinations after the fall of Rhodes in 1522 (Fiorini 1993 : 299). Many were skilled and wealthy gold and silver smiths, surgeons, pharmacists, physicians, notaries, architects, engineers, military men as well as merchants (Fiorini 2000 : 259).
2. Spain, for example, had commercial treaties with all major European nations but reconciled itself very late with traditional southern and eastern Mediterranean foes. It only signed peace and trade agreements, with Morocco, the Ottoman Porte, and the Regencies of Tripoli, Algiers and Tunis in 1767, 1782, 1784, 1786 and 1791 respectively (del Cantillo 1843).
3. Though the Rhodiote community established in the early sixteenth century was eventually assimilated into the general population, Greeks continued to be regular visitors to Maltese shores. There is ample evidence of the increasing presence of Greek shipping at Malta throughout the Early Modern period but this phenomenon would become particularly important during the final decades of the eighteenth century (Debono 2000 : 80 – 82, 174 – 184). The advent of the British period saw a resurgence of permanent Greek **and** Jewish communities on the island. In 1829 the Greeks of Malta received two hundred ducats from the Czar in order to build a place of worship. (National Archive of Malta GOV.02 Despatches from Secretaries of State. Murray to Ponsonby No. 76, 12 November 1829).
Jews already had a ‘committee’ in 1815 and sought assistance with a site for a new synagogue in 1851. (Davis (no year of publication) : 158 and National Archive of Malta. GOV.02 Despatches from Secretaries of State. Grey to Reid No. 15, 5 December 1851). A police report

recommended against the granting of any aid as it was felt that the members of the 130 strong community enjoyed 'very easy circumstances' despite the assistance they rendered to 'a great number of poor Jews' who passed through Malta. (National Archives of Malta CSG.01 Vol. 2 No. 178 Police, 22 December 1851).

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