By the end of the eighteenth century most of the available land in Malta had been given over to the cultivation of cotton, then the main cash crop for the island. Cotton was cultivated at the expense of other products: vines, wheat, barley and cumin, the latter being also exported in small quantities. Land covering one or two tumoli sown with cotton could provide a means of livelihood to a family. It was advantageous at the time to buy foodstuffs from Sicily instead of growing them at home.

Areas fit for the cultivation of cotton were spread throughout Malta and Gozo; Rabat, Mosta, Siġġiewi, Żebbuġ, Żabbar and Żurrieq being the most important areas. Generally, land cultivated with cotton belonged to the Government, to the Church, to the Municipal Authorities or to the large land owners, very little of it belonging to small holders. Land was leased to tenants generally for four or eight years, occasionally for longer periods. The tenants were subjected by their landlords to several onerous conditions.

The raw cotton required various industrial processes before it could be woven into yarn. It was first dried and then husked in a special machine between two rolling cylinders. Beating was the next step, mostly done by men by means of strings. Carding and spinning was a major occupation in Malta in the eighteenth century. This is revealed by the many letters sent to the Municipal Authorities.
asling for a system of public weighing to be installed in the various villages so that spinners would not be cheated by greedy merchants.

Most of the cotton yarn produced in the Maltese islands was exported, mainly to Barcellona and Marseilles. Merchants provided the capital necessary for the financing of this trade. A sea-exchange was drawn up; merchants obtaining the money from various money-lenders and promising to pay back the creditors, with some interest, at the end of the venture. The money-lenders were of various social origins: people of the professions, housewives, priests and farmers; those who saved 100 scudi frequently lent it to the cotton merchants. Rates of interest were rather high even for those days and never less than 12 per cent, proving the success of the cotton trade in the eighteenth century. Insurance played its part too. Loans and loads of cotton were insured against all sorts of risks, except plague. The insurance premium was generally fixed at four per cent.

Bankruptcies in the export of cotton occurred at times, but these were few when one considers that so much money was at stake. It seems that bankruptcies were the result of mismanagement rather than fraud. Fraudulent merchants did not go unnoticed; laws against them were harsh.

The cotton trade received much public attention in the late seventies. In 1776, the Chamber of Commerce submitted to the Grand Master a report stating that Malta should not import Levantine cotton because its importation affected employment in Malta and the balance of payments.

I THE EXPORT OF COTTON

The exportation from Malta of cotton yarn and to a much lesser extent of locally produced cotton textiles in the eighteenth century helped considerably to reduce the balance of payments deficit caused by the Island’s heavy reliance on the importation of foodstuffs.1 Not surprisingly therefore, the Government gave the matter a considerable amount of attention.
In 1737 Grand Master Despuig created a subsidiary to the Università of Valletta named the 'Camera di Negozi'. Its duty was to regulate the cotton industry and foster cotton exports to Barcelona, Cadiz, Lisbon and Marseilles. Lisbon had stopped the importation of Malta cotton at the insistence of England in 1743. In 1776, the officials of another institution, perhaps a successor to the 'Camera di Negozi' and known as Camera di Commercio, asserted that Spain, realizing the good quality of Maltese cotton, stopped other Levant cotton from reaching its coast even though manufactured in Malta. It must be remembered that Malta exported cotton yarn only as it was forbidden to export cotton in its raw state. Even Ball, in 1800 emphasized this obligation. In 1800 seeds of red cotton could not be shipped. Confiscation and a penalty of 50 onze were imposed on defaulters.

From the scanty surviving records of the customs duties, it is possible to trace a steadily ascending curve. In 1776, a total of 6,112 quintals was exported, an average of 500 quintals per month. Between January and April 1777, exports amounted to 2,822 quintals, an average of 700 quintals per month. From July 29, 1797 to December 1797, the figure was 3,939 quintals 26 rotoli, an average of 800 quintals. From January to 4 July 1798, Malta succeeded in exporting 4,873 quintals 56 rotoli, an average of 800 quintals. Cavaliero gives the figures in tons.

Much had been done to develop further cotton exports to Barcelona. For since 1750 this city had awakened to the influx of industry and within 10 years just one producer had 350 looms providing work for 10,000 people in the cotton industry. The Maltese merchants who supplied most of the raw material availed themselves of the opportunity to raise their prices. Catalanians were angry at the action of the Maltese and tried to search for other sources of raw material. Still there is no evidence that the supply of cotton from Malta had decreased in quantity; some 2,500 bales were consumed in Barcelona and 800 bales in Marseilles. Another Spanish historian observed
that from the 1740s "Maltese cotton came regularly and in quantity to Catalonian shores."16

Capital invested in the cotton trade was earning between 11 and 17 per cent on each venture.17 It seems that the inhabitants of the cities around the harbours were more inclined than the country people both to advance and borrow money.18 The cotton industry in Barcellona itself expanded at a quickening rate; 25 producers had 741 active looms that consumed 741,000 pounds of spun cotton each year.19 By 1771 output varied between 80,000 and 90,000 pieces of calico and employment exceeded 50,000 persons by 1775. Spinning cotton in their homes occupied a substantial number of these workers. In turn this must have had a direct effect on Maltese farmers and investors.

Against Adulterated Export

In these commercial transactions some merchants resorted to unfair practices. It so happened that a few of them adulterated local cotton with inferior Levant cotton as the demand for Malta cotton was not diminishing.20 This necessitated proclamations on both sides against this nasty habit; locally, because it debased the name of the cotton and, abroad, because the cotton would not suit the burgeoning calico industry. A proclamation of 1777 had forbidden as well that Gozo cotton be mixed with either local or foreign cotton and for the same purpose.21 In December 1761 Charles III of Spain freed all Maltese cotton from import duties, provided it arrived properly "wrapped and sealed."22 He tried to excuse American cotton from all import duties in 1766 in an attempt to stimulate cotton cultivation in America, but this bore little fruit in the 18th century;23 indicating how Malta cotton yarn was being prized for its quality.

When in 1775 it was argued whether Malta should import Levant cotton for spinning and subsequent export to Spain, the Chamber of Commerce declared that this was illegal in Spain.24 Levant cotton was prohibited entry into Spain; moreover importation could serve as a bait to mix both sorts and thus lower the prestige of local cotton. But
JOHN DEBONO

In 1760 Spain just allowed 2,500 quintali of Levant cotton duty free. If Malta tried to re-export Levant cotton she would be acting *ultra vires*; besides, the Levant cotton reaching Malta would be more expensive than the Maltese cotton due to the duties imposed.

In Marseilles, the Chamber of Commerce lodged the same protest against the adulteration of Malta and Levant cotton. This habit had occurred also earlier in the thirties. Malta cotton was relieved of the 20 per cent tax which foreign goods paid to the French Treasury, and Maltese merchants found it expedient to mix local and Levant cotton to declare more weight. By 1753 cotton exports from Malta to Marseilles had increased considerably, exceeding 1,500 bales weighing about 4,000 quintali, hence the importance of the proclamations which reminded the cotton merchants of the harm done when adulteration occurred. Francesco Inquanez and Giuseppe Amaira took up a sea-exchange of 2,000 scudi to buy 6 bales of cotton yarn from Andrea Decelis. The cotton weighed 1,272\(\frac{1}{2}\) rotoli and cost 87 scudi 4 tari per quintale. From Salvatore Cassar they bought 2,046 rotoli at 97 scudi 8 tari per quintale, and spent 422 scudi 10 tari 17 grani on other cotton from Pietro Vella, weighing 433\(\frac{3}{4}\) rotoli at 97\(\frac{1}{2}\) scudi per quintale. One notes the different prices due to the difference of quality. On arrival at Marseilles, the customs house checked upon the imported cotton and found fraud. Confiscation ensued. Even the vessel was sold to cover expenses. The proclamation of 1747 laid down that every merchant had to present his bales for inspection and marking by the Superintendent of the packing shed — *Magazino dell’Imballaggio*. Merchants had to tie the bale once lengthwise and once crosswise for easy inspection. The cotton thread was to be of the same length throughout. Merchants who defaulted lost all their cotton.

To export cotton overseas, merchants hired ships flying a neutral flag — *band’era franca*. Thus they hoped to minimize risks of degradation or destruction by marauding pirates. The expression ‘*con una band’era franca*’ was stipulated by contract when merchants borrowed money to build up capital for the purchase of cotton. Two cotton
merchants borrowed 3,000 scudi to buy cotton, and sell it in Barcellona. They had promised to leave Malta on a ship flying a neutral flag and stay in Barcellona for one year.

Maltese Cotton Merchants Overseas

After unloading their cotton, Maltese merchants did not leave Spain or Marseilles empty handed. Such products as: coffee, sugar, cocoa, flavours, medicines, iron, nails, glass, paper, lead, tables and others were bought for eventual sale in other ports: Genoa, Livorno, Naples, Messina, Catania, Alicanti, Valenza, Malaga or in Malta itself. For example the following goods were imported from Genoa:

16 pairs of stockings made of silk for men
24 pairs of stockings for women
3 dozen sets of scuffle of different colours
12 pieces of cotton
192 pieces of stockings

Malta, Spain and France had strong friendly ties and in the same way as Maltese cotton merchants visited these countries for business activities so foreign merchants from them visited Malta for similar reasons. Foreign merchants did business here without getting Maltese citizenship and sold to their own best advantage. Also in times of cotton prosperity, Barcellona employed numerous aliens in her factories. A census of 1791 uncovered over 20,000 living permanently and over 5,000 living temporarily. The ‘aliens’ included Maltese citizens. Giuseppe Attard, an agent for Saverio and Palmo Frendo lived in Barcellona. Attard had sold cotton to Antonio Pongen, a manufacturer of calicoes.

Spain favoured Maltese cotton merchants. It was enacted that foreigners setting up business at Barcellona had to settle there with their family. However Maltese cotton merchants were excluded through the insistence of
the local government that voiced their misgivings to the
Consul, Giuseppe Mifsud in Madrid. When Maltese mer-
chants arrived there they rented one or two rooms both
for storage of cotton and for their own personal residence.
Angelo Attard and Baldassare Carwana lived in the village
of Aquila.42 On the other Raffaele Zerafa had spent 7 months
in Malaga while his partner, Benedetto Catarina was in
Barcellona.43 They had formed a partnership to do cotton
business in Spain. Before division of profits Zerafa would
not allow Catarina to account for subsistence allowance,
hen litigation ensued. Catarina claimed 8 piastre gorde
per month and a passetta per day, the former for lodging and
the latter for board.44 In view of the fact that rent had al-
ready been established by the ‘court of Malaga’, the local
court could only oblige.45 Another Maltese merchant, Gio-
vanni di Nicola claimed that some Maltese cotton merchants
were imprisoned by the order of the Reale Tribunale della
Loggia del Mare in Barcellona.46 These cases show how
Barcellona provided an important trading centre for the
Maltese cotton merchant.

Maltese cotton merchants and agents settled in Mar-
seilles too, as they had done in Barcellona. Giovanni Galea,
Lorenzo Abela, Francesco Ingueanez, Domenico Dalili are
mentioned by name in lawsuits regarding their business
and sojourn in that city where they could also acquire
immovables.47 One must not assume that sojourn there was
always happy. Lorenzo Abela and Giovanni Abela con-
tracted a sea-exchange to buy cotton yarn for sale in
Marseilles.48 Giovanni was a bad tempered man and ill-
treated his brother. Salvatore Abela claimed that Giovanni
threw something hard at his brother, and he persuaded
them to wind up their business.49

France was more advanced technologically in the cot-
tton industry than Spain.50 She imported English technol-
ogy and entrepreneurs to improve the industry. Malta avail-
ed herself of the situation and Gaspare Zarb who owned a
factory for Indiante in Floriana sent Maltese workmen to
France to acquire skills in the various processes of the cot-
tton industry.51
THE COTTON TRADE OF MALTA

Should Malta Import Cotton?

When in 1776 it was suggested that Malta should import cotton from the Levant, the Chamber of Commerce disagreed. The bulk of the Maltese population was employed in the cotton trade; much farm land was devoted to its cultivation and much money earned. When questions were put to merchants about the matter, they asserted that besides the quantities consumed in Barcelona and Marseilles, there remained some 300 bales of cotton unsold; hence it was fallacious to import foreign cotton. Furthermore if 600 quintali of podded cotton were imported, Turkey, the common enemy, would benefit to the tune of 36,000 scudi. Malta should rather supply more cotton and more varied materials at the Sicilian Fair so that her name would be duly publicized. The Chamber argued that it would help Malta's financial position better if farmers could grow another 600 quintali of cotton and sell them at 83 scudi each to the foreigner. They argued well for in 1770 Charles III of Spain provided a temporary and partial extension of the yearly quota of 2,500 quintali free of tax. In 1771 he again taxed imports of bulk cotton by 20 per cent but in 1772 the calico merchants of Barcelona persuaded him to withdraw the duty completely on Maltese cotton for one year, apply it only to one-third of the imports in the second year, to two-thirds of the imports in the third year and to all imports in the fourth year. After that partial exemption, the tariff remained in effect for the remainder of the century, except during brief periods. Were Levant cotton to be imported in Malta, only some twelve merchants would benefit. The Government rather wanted that more citizens would be gainfully employed.

Importation of foreign cotton could create a glut in the market with subsequent business failures. However, it was only very sparingly that foreign cotton was allowed to be imported to Malta. Business failures occurred through war upheavals and mismanagement of business rather than importation of foreign cotton. In 1782, Ignazio German, a cotton merchant, had gone to Barcelona for business. On return he was able to pay his creditors only 40 per cent
of the sum borrowed. This failure occurred due to some mismanagement of the business. Also in 1794-95, Vincenzo Farrugia and Lorenzo Spiteri went to Barcellona to do business in cotton yarn; their business failed due to war in the Mediterranean. Business failures of this sort occurred both in Barcellona and in Marseilles. In 1752, Michele Camilleri and Aloisio Frigeri, partners, had borrowed money to create a sea-exchange of over a thousand scudi and buy cotton yarn to sell in Marseilles. It was the Seven Years’ War, these partners failed in their transactions, they could pay back only 80 per cent of their invested sums.

The importation of Levant cotton depended on the several proclamations issued in particular years. In 1755 Giacomo Xuereb imported 2,875 scudi worth of husked and podded cotton — *cotton in grana e cotton in cocca* — from Mr. Nasser, a Greek merchant who lived in Acre. However, in 1757 it was forbidden to import cotton from Acre. Though in 1769 another order repealed the importation of foreign cotton from the Levant, just a few months later Leonardo Gognidi imported cotton from Smyrna. One cannot be sure why at times proclamations prohibited the importation of foreign cotton while on the other hand some merchants imported it; it might be that the authorities were reluctant to allow it because of adulteration with local cotton fibre that could ruin the export market. It may be noted here that the importation of Sicilian cotton into Malta was permitted provided that it was marked as Sicilian when spun and earmarked for sale.

Tolls and Port Dues

Although for many years between 1750 and 1800, Maltese cotton was exempted from royal taxation, yet cotton merchants had to pay several tolls and port dues. The *Diritto Manoel* ordered that Maltese exports belonging to either local or foreign merchants should pay 3½ per cent duty. Imported goods paid 3½ per cent duty if they belonged to local merchants and 6½ per cent if they belonged to foreign merchants. The *Diritto De Rohan* stipulated that local merchants should pay a duty of 3½ per
THE COTTON TRADE OF MALTA

cent on both exports and imports. Foreign merchants paid 3\(\frac{1}{4}\) per cent on exports and 6\(\frac{1}{2}\) per cent on imports. Thus a merchant on 774 scudi 4 tari worth of goods imported paid 25 scudi 9 tari 15 grani at 3\(\frac{1}{4}\) per cent. Goods, mainly manufactured textiles, stockings and headcaps came from Genoa. Another merchant on exports worth 9,193 scudi 7 tari 4 grani of cotton yarn to Barcellona paid 306 scudi 5 tari 8 grani in customs duty in 1783. In 1795 basini of cotton were exempted from duties. Yet cotton yarn still paid customs duty according to weight and value. Imported cotton that needed quarantining paid 1 scudo per cent on the total value at the Lazzaretto.

In Barcellona government taxes consisted of fixed sums levied on ships entering or leaving harbour for anchorage, wharf facilities, harbour pilots, quarantine, security besides other prevailing levies. Each tax was moderate but when added together they were considerable. The following are the expenses collected in 1788 on 37 bales of cotton yarn costing about 10,354 scudi and exported to Spain:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Sc</th>
<th>tari</th>
<th>gr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Customs Duty</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dritti Di Doganella e del Piombo</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Porters and Storage</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Sacking of bales and weighing</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fees to the Notary</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance Contract</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Custom’s Clerk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another instance occurring in 1769 can be quoted whereby 34 bales of different cotton yarn were re-exported from Malta after originally being bought from the Levant:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Sc</th>
<th>tari</th>
<th>gr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Customs Duty</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doganella</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visita</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the ship to leave harbour</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the Custom’s Officer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Mark and Sealing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

103
JOHN DEBONO

To the Public Weigher 6 16
Legal Fees 2 10
Dues to the Spanish Consulate 1 0
Port Tolls 3 9 10
For Loading 8 10
Watchman fees 1 0 0
Sack cloth and tying 150 6 0
Licence for the Ship 2 5

The ports of Marseilles, Genoa, Livorno and Messina were open to the flags of all nations — *la franchigia del porto*.

So it was suggested that Malta should imitate them; adding to her prestige, increasing revenue from tolls and the variety of goods on the market.

*Tradesmen*

Cotton trade was not monopolised in the hands of a few merchants. So many names are mentioned though a few of them appear more often than others. The gentlemen who had signed the report entitled ‘Should Malta import Levant cotton’?

Giuseppe Asciack, Lorenzo Galea, Giovanni Francesco Dorel, Francesco Alessi, Giuseppe Cornelio, Gioacchino Savron, Giorgio Faurnier, Conte Baldassare Sant, Nicolo Formosa, Agostino Formosa Doganiere, Giuseppe Fenech, Giocchino Areana, Console Giuseppe Abela, Simeone Prepaud, Lazzaro Alberi, Marc Antonio Muscat and Agostino Marchese

were themselves cotton merchants, businessmen and financiers, directly or indirectly concerned with the prosperity of the cotton trade.

It was only in the importation of foreign cotton that a few businessmen were engaged;

Gioacchino Isouard Xuereb, Emmanuele Pizzuto, Angelo Rutter, Pasquale Principiato, Luigi Arniaud, Antonio Poussielgues, Ludovico Mirabella Leonardo Cognidi, Francesco Bertis, Emmanuele La Hoste, Desiderio Laferla, Stefano Eynaud and Filippo Pulis besides others.
THE COTTON TRADE OF MALTA

The 'Camera di Commercio' itself stated that only twelve people benefitted from the importation of foreign cotton.78

Size of Exports

The precise amount of the export trade in cotton yarn is hard to assess. Different authors suggest different amounts. According to De Boisgelin, exports of cotton yarn between the years 1788 and 1789 were worth 2,750,000 livres — and that the gross product of Malta was valued at three million;79 which is equivalent to 1,250,000 scudi.80 On the other hand, De La Platiere quotes an annual customs revenue of between 150,000 and 200,000 livres, the export duty being 3½ per cent.81 If De Boisgelin's estimate is correct, this amount of revenue should be reduced by half, to 100,000 livres. The figures show that on a revenue of some 200,000 livres equivalent to 83,333 scudi an export value in cotton of 2,400,000 scudi was expected. Though this export value is roughly double the sum of that quoted by De Boisgelin, it is close to the figure of three million scudi found in another source.82 Badger maintains that in 1801, the value of raw cotton produced in the Maltese Islands amounted to about half a million sterling83 — equivalent to six million scudi. Even though this amount refers to the total production it would seem to be somewhat inflated. The figure of three million scudi is more acceptable and reasonable.

II THE ORGANIZATION OF THE TRADE

Cotton yarn enjoyed a reputation both in Malta and overseas where most of it used to be exported.84 By injecting the Chamber of Commerce with new authority the government was taking a step in the right direction.85 No sooner had this body examined the organization of the business than it lamented that Maltese cotton merchants were generally illiterate.86 They fared well in their business but more cultured merchants of other countries fared even better. It suggested the opening of five schools for the training of existing merchants and their children in the
basic subjects: reading, writing and arithmetic. Such schools could be erected in Senglea, Cospicua, Vittoriosa, Żejtun and Żurrieq, the places where most of the cotton merchants lived. It also suggested that a Cathedra di Commercio be set up at the University so that knowledge of book-keeping, bills of credits and the function of business could be studied.

The Necessity for Education

In the 1770s cotton business was prospering but dealers had a lot of prejudice; if they could be educated, such prejudices could be removed. Diffusion of knowledge is always helpful, more so then, when the use of a clerk was paramount due to the prevailing illiteracy. The clerk used to write letters, draw up bills, send orders and quotations. At times even the court reprimanded the merchant for the way he presented his books. He had recorded his transaction in a most careless way, on a scrap-book made of paper four inches squared. Priests sometimes acted as procurator because of their higher education. Don Salvatore Attard was procurator of his family dealing both in cotton growing and cotton spinning. He used to write bills and presented himself at court when necessity arose. So the setting up of schools was an urgency, whereby the cotton industry could be better organized.

The Middleman

In the cotton organization, the importance of the middleman asserted itself. The middleman saw to it that the cotton yarn and other cotton products reached their destination. The role of the middleman was not necessary in the local consumption of cotton but only in its export. The farmers cultivating cotton wanted both to satisfy their family needs and to have extra quantities for sale. Middleman used to visit farmers, both Maltese and Gozitan to inquire about harvest prospects and try to affect an immediate purchase. Felice Barsia, a middleman, bought 56 rotoli of raw cotton from Pietruzzo Vella, a Gozitan farmer, in order to sell it to spinners. When he came to pay for the cotton, he refused stating it was wet, unfit for spin-
The court did not accede to his claims stating that once the cotton was seen beforehand complaints were useless now. Herein lay the importance of the middleman. If he wanted to succeed, he had to be attentive and cautious on what to buy. Before a transaction could be declared final, the middleman had to pay ten per cent of the deal to the farmer.

It seems that middleman would do anything to procure an immediate purchase, much before the cotton was ripe for harvest. The government took precaution against this habit. In 1764 it was declared illegal to purchase or to sell cotton before it was actually harvested. Both in 1774 and in 1786 this decree was re-issued with more amplification: to combat usury; to avoid lawsuits between farmer and middleman accusing the former of foul play; to give ample time to the farmer to sell to the best advantage; to avoid speculation harmful to both vendor and buyer. Hence, the proclamation ordered that sale of cotton was to take place after the harvest was done and such sale was to be regulated by the current prices of the market. Moreover, it was stipulated that there were to be no promises of rewards during bargaining — a farmer and a merchant or middleman were to be left at liberty to do the best bargains. It must not be assumed that the provisions of the proclamation were always obeyed. Notary Saverio Bonanno of Żebbuġ sold to Battista Magro also of Żebbuġ the future cotton which was due to be collected on the 11th November from the area known as "Ta Ramel" for 40 scudi. In the contract, Magro states that he had seen the cotton growing in the field. Evidently abuses were taking place in spite of the heavy fines.

Various Roles

A middleman at times played the role of an agent or of a merchant. Francesco Casimeri was a middleman from Livorno. He imported manufactured articles into Malta and exported cotton yarn. In November 1762 he succeeded in collecting 117 bales from various cotton merchants in Malta to take them overseas. He was to get five per cent com-
mission after the sale was affected. The case proves that there was no ban on foreigners becoming middleman. The opposite held true as well. Giorolamo Cassar lived in Barcelona. He was a middleman for Vincenzo Farrugia and Lorenzo Spiteri trying to affect sales for his employers. He used to send manufactured articles: printed cotton material, blankets, woollen cloth and caps. In the year 1794, he failed to comply with the order sent to him, perhaps due to the war. Farrugia and Spiteri protested at court that they would refuse goods sent over by him as they had obtained them elsewhere. This shows the importance attached to the middleman in the trade.

The middlemen could not keep the goods themselves nor could they keep the money. Their function was to bring both parties to an agreement. Middlemen could receive their fees only after a transaction was successful. Lorenzo Borg sold to Giuseppe Scicluna a middleman, 2 quintali 66 rotoli on behalf of Antonio Gusman, Borg, unaware of regulatory law claimed the money from the middleman who in turn asked Gusman to pay back for the cotton. Gusman was unable to meet the account there and then and matters were brought to court. Meanwhile the cotton was left impounded at the Customs House where it had taken for weighing purposes. It took a month for the release of the cotton and for the decision of the issue. In the end it was Gusman who had to pay both for the cotton and for the middleman's fees.

Middlemen helped merchant-capitalists to sell their products: fustians, sail-cloth, material for clothes, handkerchiefs, stockings besides local yarn. The middleman used to help the merchants to borrow the necessary money for sea-exchanges, buy the goods from the artisan-producers and take it overseas. Guglielmo Castaldo was a middleman to Francesco Gazzara, he helped him load five vessels with cotton goods and cotton yarn for export to Barcelona where Gazzara went on business trips. He sent 48 bales between January 1764 and June of the same year. From here Gazzara sent various amounts of money to his middleman in payments both for the cotton and the commis-
The value of cotton yarn exported amounted to well over 72,000 scudi and these yielded a profit of nearly 4,000 scudi.\(^{103}\) Evidently the middlemen were essential in the organization of the cotton trade.

For the better organization of the cotton business even the law recognized the role of the middleman. It bound him to keep a book, numbered throughout its pages and sealed by the Commercial Court or Consolato Del Mare.\(^{106}\) It had to contain all transactions undertaken with details concerning time, price, buyer, seller, weight, measurement and pacts. He had to describe the way money was paid and other clauses undertaken by the parties. In case of default, the middleman could be fined 10 oncie.

The Customs House

All cotton bales intended for export were to be examined and weighed at the customs house for the customs duty to be calculated.\(^{107}\) Cotton exporters were not allowed to deal in cotton yarn of different fibre qualities.\(^{108}\) The Superintendent of the packing office was vested with the power to mark the cotton bales in order to see that they contained cotton of a similar quality to that shown on the vouchers.\(^{109}\) Besides, no fibre should be wet or humid. After that, the bales had to be sealed and those without this seal could not be exported. The leaden seal had to contain the number assigned to the bale, its weight, its quality and the owner's name. This information was necessary to prevent abuse and to protect the trade between Malta, Barcelona and Marseilles. Merchants could also have a proper personal mark stamped or painted on their bales.\(^{110}\)

The signature of the storekeeper at the Packing Shed was at times asked for at the Commercial Court to verify what litigants were asserting. Giuseppe Abela had ordered a bale of cotton from Francesco Alferan, an agent.\(^{111}\) Alferan, presenting the Customs Invoice, said that Abela had already received his cotton, two quintali twenty-nine rotoli.\(^{112}\) The court agreed with him — Abela had already received his due.
Duty paying merchandise, such as cotton, could only be weighed at the packing office or Customs House. Only quantities under five quintali could be weighed elsewhere. This law jeopardised the livelihood of some district public weighers. As merchants and agents always had more than five quintali for export so they resorted to the packing office for the necessary vouchers. Gio Battista Deceallis, having got the appointment of public weigher, wrote to obtain permission to weigh other objects besides cotton as directed by the appointment. He had a wife and six children to maintain but by weighing just cotton only, he could not make a decent living. He added that large quantities of cotton were weighed at the Customs House to his detriment.

Cotton awaiting despatch overseas could be stored in the packing shed, which must therefore have been appreciably large. Cotton bought by Filippo Curmi was impounded at these stores for his failure to pay creditors of a previous venture. He owed several thousands of scudi to the partnership of Francesco Curmi and Francesco Ellul. At the packing office several persons had different jobs: the watchman at the Customs yarn store, the Public Weigher at the Customs and Clerks. In 1799 Captain Ball reinstated these posts: three public weighers, two watchmen and two clerks. Ledgers were kept for details regarding sales, purchases and names of people connected with these transactions. When token payments were made for future purchase and sales, these were to be entered too.

When a merchant sued a fellow partner for deceit, he was to be ready with a licence from the Chief Customs Officer to show the amount of cotton weighed for export. Francesco Garsin was owed the sum of 250 scudi 11 tari 4 grani by Gerolamo Bonnici who had bought four bales. Garsin maintained that Bonnici had bought two bales at 101 scudi per quintale and another two bales at 91 scudi per quintale. The first bales consisted of cotton yarn while the others of cotton yarn partly of Levantine fibre. G. Grognet, Chief Customs Officer, sent in his receipt. On 1 June 1753 both Garsin and Bonnici came to an agreement with the latter paying the sum involved.
Chartering

For the export of cotton, ships were chartered from private shipowners if the cotton merchant himself did not own a vessel. Sometimes several merchants teamed up together to charter the same vessel when the latter was too large for the quantity supplied by a single dealer. In 1763, the vessel of captain Tomaso Haidebre was chartered by Guglielmo Gilestri for eight bales, Gio Maria Carwana for twenty-five bales, Francesco Cini for thirty bales, Felice Briffa for eight bales and Francesco Attard for thirty-five bales paying a freight of 1 scudo 11 tari per quintale. On the other hand Gioacchino Ross from Senglea was both a ship-owner and a cotton merchant.

In chartering there did not prevail a fixed system of hiring. At times a fixed sum was paid for the whole load; at others the vessel was chartered at so much per quintale; still at others the ship was hired for a certain stipulated period of time. Giuseppe Depares, owner of a pink, was hired by Gaetano Bugeja to do a voyage to Civita Vecchia carrying 11 bales of cotton yarn and one box of cotton stocking for 40 scudi. A Tuscan pink was chartered to load five quintali thirty-seven rotoli of cotton yarn and 301 quintali 57 rotoli of ashes, the former at two scudi eight tari per quintale and the latter at nine tari per quintale. Note the discrepancy between rates charged, due perhaps to bulkiness and importance of the material. Anastasio Leopulo chartered a ketch for six months with the opportunity to opt for another two months at 289 piastre veneziane per month.

Though a middleman was usually employed to effect sales and purchases of cotton, at times he helped arrange the chartering of a vessel too. Thus in 1763, Michele Borg acted as the middleman in the hiring of a Maltese vessel to be loaded with cotton.

Freight

The freight rates reflected in general the movements of prices and services, and also varied according to nu-
merous technical, economic and political contingencies, notably risks from the sea and from men.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>Freight charged</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1756</td>
<td>Marseilles</td>
<td>1 scudo 4 tari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1758</td>
<td>Marseilles</td>
<td>2 scudi 8 tari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1758</td>
<td>Barcellona</td>
<td>4 scudi 6 tari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1759</td>
<td>Barcellona</td>
<td>3 scudi 6 tari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1760</td>
<td>Barcellona</td>
<td>3 scudi 3 tari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1762</td>
<td>Marseilles</td>
<td>1 scudo 10 tari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1762</td>
<td>Barcellona</td>
<td>2 scudi 2 tari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1763</td>
<td>Marseilles</td>
<td>1 scudo 6 tari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1782</td>
<td>Marseilles</td>
<td>1 scudo 10 tari</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In freight contracts the usual five per cent surcharge was paid — *la solita cappa di cinque per cento* — besides the freight charge itself. Three merchants chartered a vessel for the transport of cotton to Barcellona.\(^{134}\) Freight for bales was two scudi eight tari per quintale and the usual five per cent surcharge was exacted as well.

When cotton merchants chartered a vessel they often stipulated that they themselves would travel freely to and from the trading centre. Thus when a group of four merchants chartered a ship these partners in the venture received a free passage for themselves and their personal belongings.\(^{135}\)

The chartering of vessels and payment of freight were carefully regulated by law. If a merchant was cheated into chartering a vessel which was legally impeded from sailing, he could refuse to pay the freight charge when he realized
Moreover, merchandise laden on a vessel was always hypothecated in favour of the captain so that if the merchant failed to pay the freight charges, the captain could always be paid from the sale of the same goods. When captain Antonio Barbarossa was refused payment for freight of cotton sent overseas by two merchants, a sum amounting to 175 scudi 1 tari, the judge immediately ordered the merchants to pay the money.  

The full freight was not paid when a vessel was wrecked at sea but was charged as per mile of transit from harbour to the place of the wreck. Yet again if a hired vessel was paid per period and the ship was wrecked, the captain could only ask for freight payment for the time between loading and wreck.

If a captain failed to honour his side of the agreement he could be summoned to court. Giovanni di Nicola sent a court protest against captain Giorgio Piccioni who with his Venetian ketch failed to transport eight bales of cotton yarn out of a total of 28 bales. The merchant added that he be allowed for extra expenses involved in storage ashore for eventual loading on another ship.

**Risks**

Captains lost no time in sailing with their cotton cargoes as soon as agreement about freight charge was finalised. The sea ventures were risky through inclemencies of the weather, storms, ill luck and piracy; so much was at risk, the sea-exchange, the interest involved, the load of cotton and its after profit. Two partners who had borrowed 1,500 scudi for their business were able to transport three bales and one sack of cotton yarn from Malta to Marseilles. Due to inclement weather their chartered vessel foundered. The usual testimony regarding the loss was given both at Marseilles and in Malta on 10 January 1750 and 19 February respectively. The testimony helped the merchants not to be molested by the creditors for their money.

In those days, though not on a large scale, acts of piracy still occurred in the Mediterranean Sea, disturbing commerce between one nation and another. Antonio Vella
JOHN DEBONO

hired a vessel from Joseph Mallia to set sail to Barcelona laden with cotton.\textsuperscript{142} The vessel was insured against risks of sea, fire, wind, storms, Turks and enemies, indeed all mishaps except fraud and confiscation. When the ship left harbour, it was attacked by the Turks, a Barbary galeote, in the vicinity of Tripoli. The cargo of cotton was looted and the sailors were carried into slavery. The French Consul did his best to obtain their freedom later. When the crew and the captain returned to Malta they claimed their dues as per contract signed on 12 July 1798.

In those days when vessels relied on sails rather than anything else, storms carried a major risk and were a cause of quarrel. The merchant, Leopulo Anastasio, used to hire a vessel for fixed periods.\textsuperscript{143} On one occasion he refused to pay the freight stating that the ketch had suffered damages in a storm and was rendered unseaworthy. At court, he claimed, that hiring this vessel would endanger both his life and his cotton; he asked for experts to examine it. Preto, the captain, would not admit the charge, stating that the ketch had been on the sea for seven years only. He maintained that he had other vessels similar to it, hired to other merchants, without anybody ever complaining as Leopulo had done. He rather thought that Leopulo wanted to forfeit the freight contract.\textsuperscript{144} The court called several witnesses including the carpenter that had repaired it and two sailors; the former opined of its seaworthiness, the latter rebutting it. The court declared that the captain should hold responsibility for any damage caused to the cotton in its transport while Leopulo had to pay the freight charges. The court also took into consideration the terms of the agreement between the cotton merchant and the captain and it enforced them exactly.

A vessel could be hired to carry cotton and other merchandise only with the consent of all its owners or at least with the consent of the greater portion of them.\textsuperscript{145} Thence after the signing of the agreement nobody and nothing could stop the vessel from departing on its voyage, except war and plague. Even rumours of war must have been well founded otherwise the owners were liable to incur cost of
damages to goods on board. In 1758 when a state of war existed in the Mediterranean, a cotton merchant, Pasquale Cini, chartered a ship to transport cotton yarn to Marseille. During the voyage the vessel was forced to Livorno by a British man-of-war. In 1754 similar litigation arose between two other cotton merchants and another captain.

Fear of depreadation made some partners who had bought 431 quintali 14 rotoli of cotton yarn and laden it on the Ragusan pink present a court protest to force the captain unload the cotton. Agreed freight was three scudi per quintale and five per cent surcharge duty. They were ready to defray half the freight charge because they thought that the Ragusan flag was subject to depreadation. On the captain’s behalf, Antonio Poussielgues, Consul for Ragusa in Malta, explained that for the last two months no Ragusan ship was known to have been depreadated. He claimed that even Barcellona law did not admit the charterers’ views, and so they were to pay the full freight and the full surcharge duty. The court declared that a full freight and one-half of the surcharge should be paid. The consul succeeded through his arguments in convincing the court that there was no depreadation implied by using the Ragusan flag. Hence once a vessel had been hired a captain must be paid his dues.

In 1792 because of rumours of war a charterer took a long time to bring his cotton to the quay for loading. Captain Francesco Buera complained at court for having to wait throughout September, idling in the harbour. The court made the merchant, Paolo Bartolo, pay the agreed freight even though he was not yet ready with his cotton bales. The contract had to be adhered to.

*Invoice of Lading*

When the freight charge was agreed upon between cotton merchants and captain, the latter could set sail with cotton. However before departure he had to leave at the Consolato Del Mare the bill of lading. This was filled in either by the captain himself or his clerk and it was recognised as a legal document. It contained a description of
the cotton or other goods, the quantity involved, the name of exporterer and importer and the places where the ship had to call in its itinerary for loading and unloading. Even the charge of freight, certificates of packing and other various licences obtained were inserted. Contraventions were punished. These documents were necessary to show that these were not smuggled goods.

Once the itinerary was inserted in the bill, it could not be changed according to the whims of the captain. It was argued that damage could be caused to the cotton or perhaps it would not fetch a good price leading to claims for damages. Changes in itinerary could be agreed upon by captain and merchants and specifications of these changes were to be left at the Consolato Del Mare. Rough weather however could compel the captain to change course without any loss of freight. Captain Durbech and two cotton merchants, Luigi Azzopardi and March Antonia Attard, had signed a contract whereby the ship was hired to carry cotton from the East to Malta. Freight charge agreed upon was 550 scudi per month and five per cent surcharge. The merchants protested that the captain had changed course and so they were not bound to pay the freight charge. The captain claimed at court that rough weather had made him do so, and his testimony was corroborated by that of other members of the crew. He won his case, and besides the agreed sum, the cotton merchants had to pay as well for the extra days at sea.

When captains met storms during their voyages with loads of cotton, they had to sign a testimonial to that effect. The testimonial contained details of the voyage, for the information and satisfaction of those who had lent their money for the purchase of cotton. Filippo Ruggiero, a cotton merchant had bought cotton for export. He hired a pink piloted by captain Lorenzo Stafrace. The vessel was foundered in a storm but still Stafrace and members of the crew including Ruggiero rendered a sworn testimonial which would not hold them responsible for the loss of cotton. On the 1st of March the pink left Malta, and on the following day it arrived at the port of Augusta. Due to rough
weather they had to stay there up to the 22nd. They then set sail but had to return to the port of Della Bruca because of contrary winds. When the rough winds abated on the 28 they sailed to Piaia di Mascari where they loaded some wine. They left the port of Mascari on 31 and at 6 p.m. light winds continued to blow up to 1 April when they became fresh again. The winds remained high and the resulting high seas compelled them to remain in the Gulf of Taranto. Here the pink foundered, having been unable to withstand the storm. The sailors invoking the help of Santa Maria, escaped by swimming but nothing could be salvaged from the pink. The winds changed direction from North-West to South-East scattering to the shore some of the merchandise. In the end the captain could only sell the pink for scrap wood at whatever price he could get. Such testimonies gave exact dates, times, directions of wind, stoppages and other details.

Again, after the bill of lading was signed, captains could not be prevented from leaving harbour, even when sought for debt. Creditors had to take action up to 48 hours before the signing of the bill of lading. Don Vincenzo Tanti summoned Vincenzo Ventura for the sum of 150 scudi lent to him by his late father for the purchase of cotton yarn and presented with an impediment of departure dated 14 September 1779 by the court, well within the stipulated time. Ventura was the owner of a vessel plying regularly between Malta and Marseilles with cotton yarn.

**Responsibilities of Captains**

The quantity of cotton to be taken on board was indicated in the bill of lading and vessels could not be overladen. Nor could captains expose cottons to other merchandise that could damage it. Captain di Mauro was accused of exposing some cotton yarn to the bad weather on his vessel and it got damaged. Another captain, Giovanni Neretich refused to carry linseed oil, wine and other liquids unless these were well packed because he was afraid that they could spoil the cotton already laden on his ketch. He also declared in court that he was holding the owner of these liquids responsible for any damages done to the cot-
ton on its journey to Marseilles. By way of contrast, captain Giuseppe Segond was not careful enough.\textsuperscript{163} He was carrying cotton to Marseilles when his vessel sprung a leak. Some of the cotton got damaged and realising the unhappy situation he bought 17 quintali of tow to repair the vessel. Still the court declared against him and he had to pay 68 scudi to the cotton merchant.\textsuperscript{164}

Maltese cotton enjoyed a wide reputation overseas, and locally everything was being done for its safeguard by careful organization of the role of the middleman, the public weigher, the packer, the customs officer and the ship captains.\textsuperscript{165}

\textbf{SOURCE REFERENCES}

1. NLM, Libr.


3. NLM, Libr. Ms. 1020.

4. “...e per sostenendo fu proibita per tutte le Spagne qualunque manifattura di cottone ecceto i filati di Malta necessari ad alimentarle. L'ordine Regio permissive i filati di Malta esclude in chiari termini il cottone di Levante manufatturato da noi”: Ibid.

5. Suit cases expressly mention cotton yarn — \textit{cottone filato}.


7. NLM, Libr. Ms. 628b.

8. Ibid.

9. NLM, Libr. Ms. 628c.

10. NLM, Libr. Ms. 628c and 628d.

11. “In 1776 the cotton thread shipped from Malta weighed roughly 4,166 tons; by 1779 it was 825 tons; in the first six months of 1792 it was 684 tons and in the last eight months before the arrival of Bonaparte the total tonnage was 658, and that when the French market had ceased”: R. Cavaliero, \textit{The Last of the Crusaders}, London 1960, p. 85.


13. Ibid.
THE COTTON TRADE OF MALTA

15. NLM, Libr. Ms. 1020.
17. NLM, Libr. Ms. 729, folios not numerated.
18. As per contracts of the period.
20. NLM, Libr. Ms. 1020.
22. La Force, p. 135.
23. Ibid.
24. NLM, Libr. Ms. 1020.
25. La Force, p. 135.
27. NLM, Libr. Ms. 429, Bandi 1722 — 1736, f. 256 dated 29th December 1733 and f. 284 dated 2nd April 1735.
28. Letter from the Chamber of Commerce at Marseilles to Rouille dated 25th May 1753.
29. Ibid.
30. NLM, AOM 770, ff. 85v — 95 and 111 — 113.
31. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 49 (1775), Pro Francesco Inguanez a Josephum Amaira., ff. 5 — 8v.
32. Ibid., ff. 33 — 34.
33. The office of the Magazino dell'Imballagio was the place where bales of cotton were examined, weighed and sealed for eventual export: NLM, Libr. Ms. 429, Bandi 1744 — 1756, f. 51.
34. Notaries used such words when drawing up contracts of hiring of vessels.
35. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 93 (1788), Pro Don Antonio Xiberras a Sanctum Vella., ff. 5 — 6.
37. Aloisio Principiato, Giuseppe Audibert, Agostino Magrin, Giuseppe Fenech, Giovanni Spiteri, Aloisio Abela, Francesco Mizzi, Felice Frendo, Giuseppe Depares are mentioned in lawsuits as merchant settlers in Barcellona.
39. La Force, p. 86.
40. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 98 (1792), Pro Saverio Frendo a Giuseppe Attard., ff. 1 — 7v.
41. NLM, Libr. Ms. 1020.
42. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 71 (1767), Pro Angelo Attard a Baldassare Carwana., ff. 64 — 66v.
JOHN DEBONO

43. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 110 (1798), Pro Benedetto Catarina a Raphaele Zerafa, ff. 1 — 7.
44. 1 Passetta was equal to 5 tari 3 grani or 5 reali.
45. Ibid., ff. 87 — 88.
46. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 94 (1798), Pro Joanne Farrugia a Joan-nem di Nicco'l'a, ff. 3 — 5v.
47. NLM, Libr. Ms. 1020.
49. Ibid., ff. 18 — 21.
51. NLM, AOM, 1190, f. 352 and 531; Libr. Ms. 1020.
52. NLM, Libr. Ms. 1020.
53. Ibid.
54. La Force, pp. 135 — 136.
55. Ibid.
56. NLM, Libr. Ms. 1020.
57. See below.
59. "Le fabbriche in Barcellona non potevano troppo lavorare atte-se le attuali circostanze di guerra": PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 104 (1795), Pro Vincentio Farrugia et Spiteri a Gerolamo Cassar., f. 8.
60. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 44 (1752), Pro Benedetto Attard a Michalem Camilleri., f. 3.
61. "Intrapresero per Marseglia e fin per Malta ebbero da soffrire grosse perdite su gli effetti e loro mercanzia, più che questi principiarono con la guerra in tempo che li prezzi di detti cot-toni furono molto cari": Ibid., f. 7.
63. "Ordine, che da oggi in avanti, miuna persona di qualunquie condizione se sia ardisca introdurre in questi posti del suo Dominio e sue territorio il cottone di San Giovanni D'Acri": NLM, Libr. Ms. 429, Bandi 1756 — 1765, f. 7.
64. "Ha prohibito e probisce, sotto pena di confiscazione, lo sbarco esse dei cottoni di Levante in Lano, in grana, ed in cocca...": Ibid., f. 7 dated 20 April 1769. Other proclamations prohibiting this importation are found in NLM, Libr. Ms. 429, Bandi 1794 1798, f. 73 dated 13 December 1796 and f. 81 dated 6 April 1797.
65. NLM, AOM, 6530, dated 15 April 1770.
THE COTTON TRADE OF MALTA

67. "Per le robe soggetto a Dogana, quali s’estraggono da quest’Isola per fuori regno, tanto da cittadini, quanto da forestieri, si pagherà alla cassa tari una per oncia": Codici Manoel Vilhena, p. 87, Articles 15 and 16.
68. "Per le robe soggetto a dogana, le quali s’estraggono da questa Isola per fuori regno, tanto da cittadini, quanto da forestieri si paghi alla cassa tari una per oncia": Codici De Rohan, p. 287, Articles 23 and 24.
69. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 91 (1785-86), Pro Antonio Agius a Joannes Zahra, f. 8.
70. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 96 (1790), Pro Salvo Damato a Joseph Briffa, ff. 17 — 18v.
71. "Che non debbano essere soggetti a diritti di Dogana i basini, e simili prodotti di cottoni nazionali...": NLM, Libr. Ms. 429, Bandi 1794 — 1798, f. 34.
72. In the words of the Code De Rohan; on the Malta Lazaretto depended, not only the safety of the public health of the island, but of ‘all Italy and of various other Christian States’. For fees paid at the Lazzaretto see NLM, AOM. 1007, Conti dell’Esattore dei Dritti Del Lazzaretto 1767 — 1797.
75. NLM, Libr. Ms. 1020.
76. Ibid.
77. NLM, AOM, 1007, Conti Dell’Esattore Dei Dritti Del Lazzaretto 1767 — 1797.
78 NLM, Libr. Ms. 1020.
80. 1 French Livre is equivalent to 5 Maltese tari. NLM, Miscellaneous 129, Tariffa di Diversa Monete Forestiere, Malta 1758, p. 54. NLM, Libr. Ms. 764, Tariffa delle Monete, Pesi e Misure, Malta 1774, p. 65.
81. Cavaliero, pp. 86 — 87.
82. "Il piu gran Commercio di questo Paese, non e ha dubbio e quello delcottone Maltese, che si manda in Barcellona. Se ne trasporta ogni anno per la somma di tre milioni di scudi...": NLM, Libr. Ms. 729, folios not numerated. This report is both undated and unsigned; probably it belongs to the 1780s.
83. J.P. Badger, Description of Malta and Gozo, Malta 1838, p. 53.
JOHN DEBONO

This figure is also quoted by C.A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese*, Melbourne 1954, p. 3.

84. "L’anno consumo di Barcellona, non eccede le balle 2,500. Ed in Marseglia comprese quelle, che transitano per Barcellona si spediscono circa balle 800": NLM, Libr. Ms. 1020.

85. Ibid. See also NLM, AOM, 578, ff. 347 — 347v.

86. NLM, Libr. Ms. 1020.

87. "Impedirà tutti arresti pregiudiziali al commercio interno dei detti cottoni e filati...": NLM, AOM, 579, ff. 372 — 373.

88. Maruzo Dalli was the clerk. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 96 (1790), Pro Salvo Damato a Joseph Briffa., f. 78v.

89. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 86 (1781), Pro Salvatore Attard a Francesco Cortis., f. 1.


91. "Il cottone è bagnato": Ibid.

92. Ibid., f. 15.

93. "La onde qual’ora il compratore in grazia del venditore somministra qualche somma d’anticipato a conto del prezzo potrà di tale somma avanzata... il lucro sino li 10 per cento scudi". NLM, Libr. Ms. 429, Bandi 1784 — 1794, ff. 96 — 98.

94. Ibid., f. 96.

95. NAV, Not. A. Brignone. Ms. 32/614, f. 733.

96. NAV, Not. A. Carnisi, MS, 16/681. ff. 46 — 47.


98. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 102 (1794), Pro Vincentio Farrugia a Gerolamo Cassar., f. 1.

99. Ibid., ff. 2 — 7v.

100. *De Rohan Dritto Municipale di Malta*, Malta 1784, Libro VII Capo X, Articles 4.9 and 11.

101. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 76 (1770), Pro Laurentio Borg a Josephus Xicluna., ff. 1 — 5.

102. Ibid., ff. 23 — 24v.

103. These articles for export are mentioned in NLM, Libr. Ms. 1020.


105. Ibid., ff. 59 — 62.


108. See below.

110. "Signor Francesco Policano di Città Vittoriosa ha sulle quattro balle cotone fiato segnato con i Numeri 1, 2, 3, 4 e con la marca *": NAV, Not. F.S. Zammit, Ms. 17/1134, f. 91.

111. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 41 (1751), Pro Giuseppe Abela a Francesco Alferan., ff. 1 — 5.

112. Ibid., ff. 9 — 15v.


114. "di degni accordare la facolt' all' oratore di poter pesare qual-sisìa cosa": NLM, AOM, 1193, f. 244, dated 16 December 1779.

115. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 91 (1785-86), Pro Francesco Ellul a Francesco Curmi., ff. 1 — 5v.


118. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 46 (1753), Pro Gerolamo Bonnici a Francisccum Garsin, ff. 1 — 14v.

119. Ibid., f. 21 — 23v.

120. NAV, Not. G. Carnisi, Ms. 18/681, ff. 187 — 188.

121. NAV, Not. G. Carnisi, Ms. 18/681, f. 26, dated 12 December 1758.

122. Ibid., f. 85.

123. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 61 (1762), Pro Pasquale Cini a Michalem Delia et Societa., ff. 1 — 2v.


125. NAV, Not. G. Carnisi, Ms. 18/681, ff. 130 — 131.


127. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 61 (1762), Pro Pasquale Cini a Michaelem Delia et Societa., ff. 1 — 2v.

128. NAV, Not. A. Marchese, R. 19/342, f. 11.

129. NAV, Not. G. Carnisi, Ms. 16/681, ff. 117 — 118.

130. Ibid., ff. 68 — 69.

131. NAV, Not. J. Savron, Ms. 2/1052. f. 451

132. NAV, Not. G. Carnisi, Ms. 18/681, ff. 136 — 137.

133. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 87 (1782), Pro. Lorenzo Frendo e Bartolomeo Marnarino a Salvatorum Bartolo., ff. 7 — 8v.

134. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 96 (1789), Pro Salvatore Bartolo a Saverio Portelli., ff. 3v — 4.

135. The four merchants were Tomaso Abela, Giuseppe Abela, Giovanni Abela and Lorenzo Carwana. NAV, Not. G. Carnisi, Ms. 16/681, contract dated 12 December 1758.

136. De Rohan Dritto Municipale di Malta, Libro VI Capo VIX Articles 5, 6, 7, 8, p. 116.

123
137. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 93 (1788), Pro Antonio Barbarossa a Angelo Fenech et alios., ff. 1 — 5v.
138. “Se il molo sarà fatto a scasco, è sempre obligato a pagare il molo a rata per miglio contandosi dal luogo da dove segui la miglio contandosi dal luogo da dove segu la partenza, sino al luogo del naufragio”: De Rohan Dritto Municipale di Malta, Libro VI Capo VII Article 11, p. 117.
139. “Se il bastimento era stato noleggiato a salario, è sempre ob­ligato a pagare il nolo per tutto quel tempo che il bastimento avrà servito”: Ibid., Article 12, p. 117.
141. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 37 (1750), Pro Francesco Filippone e Felice Cachia a Diversi., ff. 1 — 10v.
142. PAV, Miscellaneous Packet No. 5, case starts on 1 March 1799.
143. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 40 (1751), Pro Anastasio Leopulo a Raffaeo Preto., ff. 1 — 23v.
144. John Dodsworth, the British Consul in Malta; Giovanni Guerini and Giulio Gatt two experts testified that the ketch was un­seaworthy. Ibid., ff. 35 — 38.
146. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 61 (1762), Pro Pasquale Cini a Michalem Delia et Societa., ff. 1 — 5v.
147. Again Maria Camilleri and Pietro Mallia chartered a mar­tingale, piloted by captain Francesco Lombardo who was to transport five bales of cotton yarn and some cotton stockings. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 50 1755), Pro Capitano Francesco Lombardo a Giovanni Maria Camilleri, ff. 1 — 7v.
149. “E soggetto alla degradazione de Turchi quando che prima era franca”: Ibid. f. 2.
150. Ibid., ff. 7 — 12v.
152. De Rohan Dritto Municipale di Malta, Libro VI, Capo VIII Article 3, p. 120.
153. Ibid., Libro Sesto, Capo II Article 21, p. 93.
155. Ibid., ff. 7 — 15v.

124
THE COTTON TRADE OF MALTA

157. PAV, CDM, Testimonial Contestati, Vol. II (1771 — 1780), folios not numerated. The testimonial was given on 6 April 1792.


159. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 85 (1780), Pro Don Vincenzo Tanti a Gaetano Formosa., ff. 1 — 7v.


162. PAV, CDM, AO, Vol. 86 (1781), Pro Giovanni Neretich a Mercanti., ff. 1 — 5.


164. Ibid., ff. 20 — 24.

165. NLM, Libr. Ms. 1020.