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THE INDIVIDUAL AND CHANGING RURAL SOCIETY IN MALTA

A Study of Some Aspects of the Social and Economic Geography of the Maltese Islands.

By

B.W. Beeley

1960

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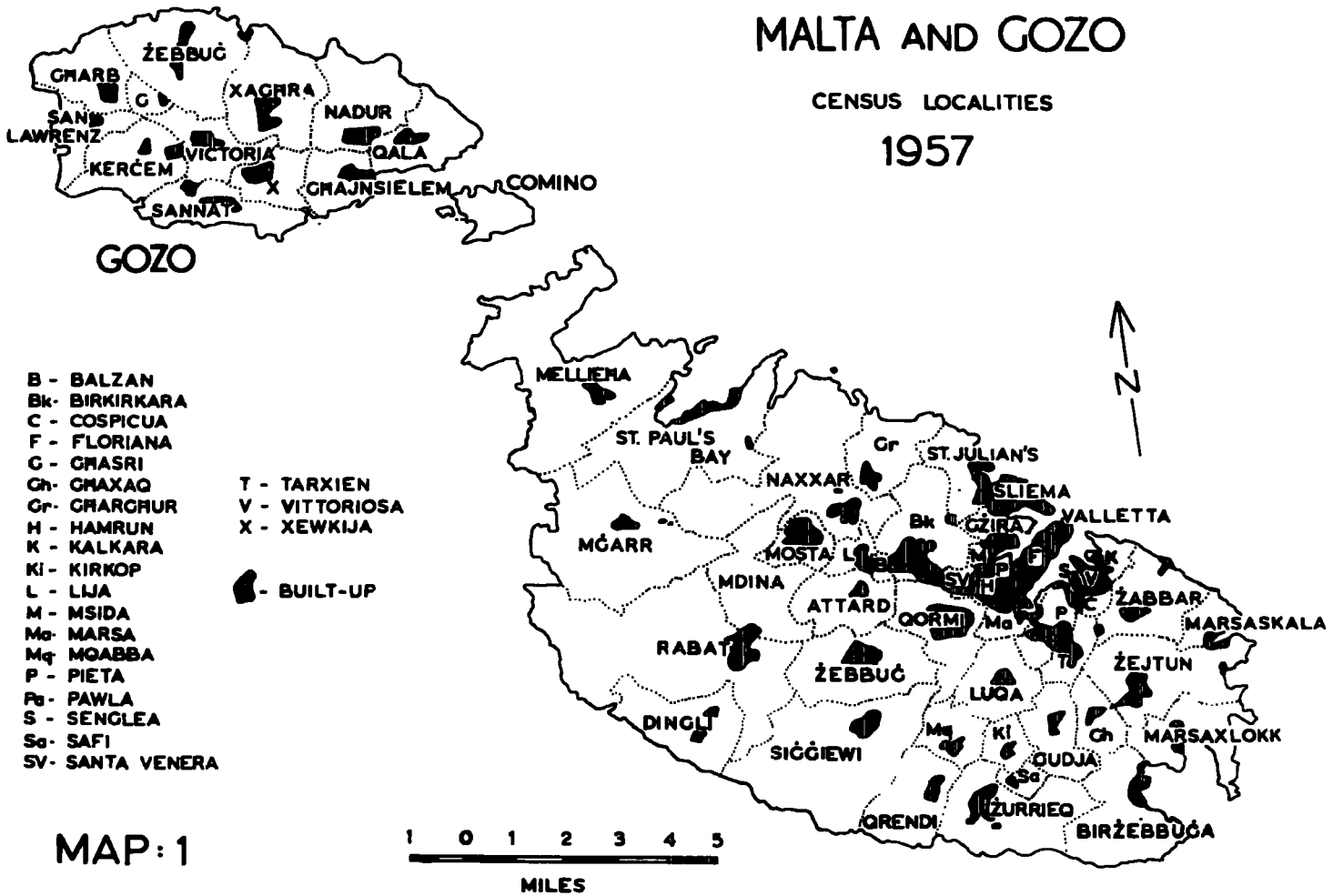
Submitted as a Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts.

Department of Geography
Durham Colleges in the University of Durham.


MALTA AND GOZO
CENSUS LOCALITIES
1957
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G
XAGHRA
NADUR
SAN LAWRENZ
VICTORIA
QALA
KERĊEM
X
GHAJNSIELEM
COMINO
SANNAT
GOZO
B - BALZAN
Bk- BIRKIRKARA
C - COSPICUA
F - FLORIANA
G - GHASRI
Gh- GHAXAQ
Gr- GHARGHUR
H - HAMRUN
K - KALKARA
Ki - KIRKOP
L - LIJA
M - MSIDA
Ma- MARSA
Mq- MQABBA
P - PIETA
Pa- PAWLA
S - SENGLEA
Sa- SAFI
SV- SANTA VENERA
T - TARXIEN
V - VITTORIOSA
X - XEWKIJA
- BUILT-UP
MELLIEMA
ST. PAUL'S BAY
Gr
ST. JULIAN'S
NAXXAR
SLIEMA
VALLETTA
Bk
GŻIRA
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MOSTA
MDINA
ATTARD
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MILES

MAP: 1

LILL-BDIEWA TA' MALTA U GHAWDEX.

To the Farmers of Malta and Gozo

FOREWORD

During the period 1955 to 1958, various aspects of the geography of the Maltese Islands were studied by individuals and group members of the Department of Geography in the Durham Colleges. The several studies were carried out independently although there was naturally much mutual consultation. The particular approach adopted by the writer of this thesis may be described as a study in social geography. Necessarily, some of the basic material (statistics, reports, etc.) was used by some or all of those concerned but the direction of the whole project involving work carried out for the Malta Government, the Colonial Office, etc., resulted in the segregation of the various investigations. In the compilation of this thesis studies in other specific fields, produced contemporaneously, are therefore frequently referred to. The fieldwork in the Maltese Islands between January, 1957, and April, 1958, was made possible by the financial sponsoring of research in this subject by the Colonial Economic Research Committee, to whom a report is being submitted. The candidate in fact held a Colonial Development and Welfare Research Fellowship from 1956 to 1958.

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The writer wishes to record his gratitude for the help and encouragement received within both official and private circles in Malta and Gozo. During the period of work in the Islands, in 1957-58, the Maltese Government provided extensive help both to him and to a colleague, Mr. P.K. Mitchell of this Department. This took the form of:

(a) the use of official transport for research purposes on two or three days each week throughout the period in the Islands,

(b) the provision of an interpreter for a large part of the time during which transport was also available,

(c) permission to use facilities of certain Government Departments and other premises - on the customary Civil Service oath,

(d) a grant to cover certain travel expenses.

The Governor of Malta, His Excellency Sir Robert Laycock, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., and the Lieutenant-Governor, His Honour Mr. Trafford Smith, C.M.G., both showed gracious interest in the work in Malta.

General acknowledgment of other assistance given to the writer in Malta must, for reasons of space, be confined here to a few of a very long list of individuals. A very special mention must, however, be made in one case, for the writer wishes to place on record his debt to Mr. and Mrs. P.K. Mitchell for the help and friendship extended to him throughout the stay in Malta.

Profound thanks are also due to the farmers whose patience and generosity made field-work among them possible and profitable. Many of the several hundred individuals and families contacted have become personal friends of the writer but, as help and information was at all times accepted in confidence, individual identities have had to be obscured within the text of this thesis.

A great deal of help was also given by members of the clergy of Malta and Gozo. Some of the many to whom thanks are due are included within the list which follows.

The writer also wishes to thank other members of the Department in Durham, notably Mr. H. Bowen-Jones, his Supervisor in the work on this thesis, and Mr. J.C. Dewdney, for their advice and tolerance.

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INTRODUCTION

The material in this thesis is set out in four parts (v. Contents). Part 1 considers the development of society in Malta prior to 1800. Special emphasis is put on the period of the rule of the Order of St. John between 1530 and 1798 (Chapter 3) for this is seen to have been the formative period in so far as the emergence of the present urban-rural dichotomy is concerned. Before 1530 there existed only a single essentially rural society based on an inland capital, Notabile, but, when the British assumed control in 1800, Valletta and the urban area had already emerged with an economy and society distinct from that of a secluded rural Malta and Gozo.

In Part 2 the development of this urban-rural cleavage is followed through the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries and particular attention is paid to the forces which, towards the end of the nineteenth century, were coming to exert what may be called an 'urbanizing' influence upon rural Malta and Gozo along with a tendency to 'emancipate' the people there from the social seclusion imposed in the past.

Parts 3 and 4, on the other hand, are based almost entirely on field work in which an attempt has been made to consider the present social and economic landscape in terms of the developments outlined in the first two Parts. Part 3 begins with a survey of rural and

village society today (Chapter 10) and examines the relation between changes in farming and the general social change. The technical, economic, and social aspects of Maltese agriculture relevant to such a discussion are considered in Chapters 11, 12, and 13 respectively.

The main points of the argument to emerge from this discussion are recapitulated in Chapter 14, after which Part 4 goes on to present fourteen detailed studies of individual farmers and a general statement of the position of the fishermen.

The overall forces of change and flux considered in this thesis may thus be stated: an emerging greater social and economic freedom of choice now available is associated with the dissolving of the old communal matrices and is enabling the individual to break traditional ties. This, therefore, is the theme which runs through the thesis here presented. The detailed form of the work has been dictated by the character of the constituent elements of the theme.

A general Bibliography of the Maltese Islands, containing over six hundred items and including all those referred to in the text of the thesis by number as B/14, B/347, etc. is presented as a separate volume.

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N.B. (1) A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE MALTESE ISLANDS accompanies this thesis as a separate volume. Items in this Bibliography are refered to in the text by number as B/123, B/23, etc.

(2) Typographical Note: In Maltese orthography the aspirate or hard 'h' is distinguished from the inaspirate or mute 'h' by the addition of a second bar in the capital letter and a bar through the up-stroke of the small letter. For ease of typing the writer of this thesis has taken the liberty of representing the bar through the lower small letter - i.e. 'ħ'. Similarly the letter 'ain is represented as 'għ'.

Part 1 MALTA BEFORE 1800

Human society may be considered to be a continuous process rather than a state of being. The present social scene must therefore be considered against a background of an understanding of the past.

In modern Malta and Gozo it is possible to distinguish two very different sections of society: Urban and Rural. This dichotomy is however of recent origin having emerged under the rule of the Order of St. John in Malta (1530 - 1798) after which it went on to grow to current proportions during the period of British administration (after 1800) and the growth of the Royal Naval Dockyard. On the one hand an urban society has developed, cosmopolitan and dependent on non-Maltese sources for its livelihood; meanwhile, on the other hand, rural Malta, the object of the present study has, until recently, remained cut-off, socially and economically, from the world outside. Today it is rapidly catching up with urban Malta but retains enough of the traditional constituent elements to warrant a consideration of the past and even the distant past before one makes a study of the present situation.

Part 1 outlines the development of Maltese society in general before 1800, by which time the rural-urban cleavage had become wide enough to justify separate discussion of the two parts. Part 2

goes on to consider the major factors in the changes in rural Maltese society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, after which Part 3 continues with a more detailed examination of Maltese rural society today. It considers the individual -especially the farmer- within the village community, while Part 4 presents detailed case studies of fourteen such individuals.

CHAPTER 1

Malta before 1530

There are no traces of Paleolithic or Mesolithic man in the Maltese Islands. The first settlers are believed to have arrived from Sicily towards the end of the third millenium B.C. with a culture which had originated long before - possibly in some part of Western Asia. These Neolithic people followed a settled agriculture and were able to build an apparently thriving civilization which lasted until it was destroyed by a wave of invaders armed with bronze weapons it is thought about 1500 B.C., these latter people to be succeeded in turn after 150 years by a third group arriving from southern Sicily[1].

Evidence upon which knowledge of these early Maltese and their society is built up includes comparison and correlation of dating sequences between Malta and neighbouring parts of the Mediterranean, especially Sicily. Apart from the evidence of the great temples themselves much information as to dating is given by potsherd and other remnants found buried within the temples and in some places even incorporated into the building structure (B/546).

On this basis it is possible to distinguish five phases before 1500 B.C. and to assign the great temples of Malta and Gozo, still part of the landscape though in ruins, to these

stages in the development of religion and society. Earliest are the remains at Għar Dalam, near Birżebbuġa, where relics of human occupation including pottery identical with that of early neolithic Sicily are stratified above earlier animal remains. This first colonization is thought to have been about 2300 B.C. It was followed a century or two later by temple building as seen at Mġarr (Malta) which soon developed into a distinctive third phase of building and pottery. Soon after the beginning of the second millenium B.C. there was a fourth phase of temple architecture exemplified by the more complex Corradino temple, which gave way to a long and important period up to 1500 B.C. during which the size of buildings and the stones used increased, softer globigerina replaced more resistent coralline limestone for interiors, the characteristic temple plan came to show two oval chambers instead of the traditional "clover leaf" lay-out, and the total magnificance and extent of the temples and ritual reached a peak not seen before in the islands. The great temples of Ġgantija in Gozo and Ħaġar Qim near Qrendi date from this culminating period, and suggest a developed religion and complex ritual with oracles, statues of the mother-goddess, together with suggestions of divination and sacrifice. But about 1500 B.C. this outstanding development of organized religion came to an abrupt halt with the arrival of the settlers from Sicily who used the abandoned shrines of the temple of Tarxien as a cremation cemetery - suggesting an eastern Mediterranean

influence. However further evidence of this Tarxien cemetery culture is slight and not all of it free from question (B/465). Similarly the next intrusion (about 1350 B.C.) has left extensive remains only at Borġ in-Nadur, near Birżebbuġa, where another old temple was seized and strongly fortified with a great defensive wall and with a settlement partly overlapping the ruins of the temple. Some pottery on this site suggests that Mycenean trade to the west was active at this time. The heavy fortifications suggest a threat either from abroad, or even from within Malta itself if the islands were large enough for some of the Tarxien cremators to have remained unsubdued.

It is now considered probable that the contraversial cart-ruts in the rock surface in many places in Malta and Gozo made their first appearance about this time. The ruts are U-shaped occurring in pairs with about 4' 6" between the grooves in most cases, each groove being some 4" wide at the base though considerably wider at the surface. In some places they occur in groups and even show points and cross-overs. It is agreed that these tracks indicate considerable traffic during the later centuries of neolithic Malta. It is possible also that there was transport of goods between the sea coast and inland settlements for at several places round the coast today the tracks end abruptly at a cliff top or disappear into the sea. Whatever the activity it is thought that the vehicle concerned was a slide-cart consisting of two long poles pulled by an

animal and supporting a load tied across the poles: the older theory holds that the grooves were the tracks of cart-wheels[2].

Although it is possible to build up a picture of the intense religious life of these early Maltese the nature of their agriculture, settlement systems, language and physical characteristics is not known. Neither is it possible to estimate their numbers beyond observing that the building of the great temples suggests a minimum of some thousands. Where and how these people lived is not clear though it is thought that they tended to site their settlements away from their temples of worship which occupied commanding positions - consider Ġgantija above the slope leading up to modern Xaghra village and Ħaġar Qim on a high point overlooking the sea away to the south-west. Presumably the builders of these temples were capable of building substantial houses: possibly they lived in caves.

Much has been speculated though little is known about the Phoenicians in Malta. As evidence, archaeology can offer only a few inscriptions found in various parts of the islands, a characteristically Punic form of burial which seems to persist down to the Roman occupation, and the questionable language element. There is, however, no indication so far as to either the form or extent of any Phoenician settlement in the Islands, or whether they were content to trade with the inhabitants. Certainly Malta lay within the path of the Phoenician traders who took their ships and their commerce through the Mediterranean and beyond to the Tin Islands and the coast

of West Africa but some authorities insist that Malta must have had only a limited importance as a transit post and not at all comparable with Sicily, especially in the early stages of coastal navigation (B/38-232. 1958). There is the further point that Malta lies far nearer to Carthage than to the Phoenician homeland in the Levant and one wonders whether the influence of Carthage, after the foundation of the city in 822 B.C. was not greater in Malta than that of the Phoenicians themselves who may, according to some authorities, have begun to visit the Maltese islands about 1000 B.C.

The Phoenicians were once given credit for the great megalithic monuments of Malta and Gozo and, until recently, it was fashionable to give them credit for the Maltese language also (v. Chapter 7). Lord Strickland put the 'pro-Phoenician' case in an extreme fashion (B/606) in which he observed -

> "The object of this treatise is to prove that the Maltese are not the descendants of any Semitic or African race. This is best accomplished by ascertaining and spreading the truth. The inhabitants of the country districts of Malta and Gozo are descendants of a Phoenician colony ... the race is of Caucasian origin.
>
> .....
>
> The approximate date of the great earth-quake, which made Malta an Island and let in the salt water across the isthmus" (i.e. alleged land-bridge between Sicily and North Africa) "is indicated by a remarkable break in the series of types of pottery, implements and tools discovered in Malta; nothing of metal has been found between the Neolithic and the Phoenician period, except at Tarxien and Bahria. It may therefore be taken as probable that the great cataclysm that destroyed hippopotamuses and

elephants also destroyed the original inhabitants of Malta, and that when the Phoenicians came to Malta, they found it an uninhabited island with magnificent temples of which stone domes had fallen in.

.....

The positive authority of Diodorus Siculus, repeating that Malta was a flourishing colony of the Phoenicians, coincides with the Christian era.

.....

Religion was, in Arab times an inseparable barrier between the Mohammedan Arabs and the descendants of the Phoenicians who had become Christians in the first century, and this bar prevented mixed marriages and the contamination of the race by Semitic invaders."

This persuasive thesis of Strickland, now refuted (B/298, etc.), was put forward without the benefit of the archaeological data which have since been found. Further, and more important, it was written in the twenties of this century when emigration to the British Dominions had come into vogue. Nineteenth-century Maltese emigration had tended to go to nearby North Africa but when Strickland set out "to prove that the Maltese are not the descendants of any Semitic or African race" it was in order to show the Australians and others that the settlers from Malta were white Europeans of indisputable lineage with no taint of Islam or of 'colour'. Quite apart from this, however, Strickland's thesis was very well adapted to the climate of thought among the Maltese in Malta about themselves - so arrogantly Christian and European after being a forward bastion of Christendom against persistent Moslem threats for six centuries after the occupation

of Malta by the Normans (1091). But if Lord Strickland can be forgiven for writing very 'popular' history he can be allowed neither his use of the word 'race' nor his dubious statements about the religious life of the Maltese during the Arab domination[3]. Moreover, while it is eminently possible that St. Paul managed to establish the Christian Church in Malta during his three months' stay in the Islands in the winter of A.D.60, the account in the Acts of the Apostles does not say so (B/281, v. Chapter 8).

Another question which reveals the difficulties associated with the study of early Malta concerns the extent of Greek influence. By the seventh century B.C. they seem to have become strong rivals of the Phoenicians throughout the Mediterranean world of that time and the discovery in Malta of inscriptions in both Phoenician and Greek suggests that the influence of both powers was felt in the Island[4]. Little more can be said.

The mid fifth-century B.C. saw Carthage assume exclusive political control in what had been the western sphere of Phoenician influence - including Malta, whether Greek or Phoenician at that time. After two centuries more, Carthaginian supremacy was itself challenged by the growing power of Rome and Malta fell, as one of the prizes of the Punic Wars (264 - 146 B.C.), only to be re-captured by the Carthaginians in 218 B.C. before capitulating finally to the Roman Consul Titus Sepronius two years later. The subsequent extension of Roman authority throughout the Mediterranean world, along with

the decline of Carthaginian sea-power and the annihilation of Carthage itself in 146 B.C. brought to Malta and Gozo Roman peace, Roman government and Roman Law and institutions. The islands were made part of the Praetorship of Sicily but, under Emperor Hadrian, Malta was given 'Municipium' status and this was some time later given to Gozo as well. Under the Romans Malta became European in outlook, and the political line thereby established with Sicily - from where the earliest known inhabitants of Malta had come - was the beginning of a long association with that part of the European mainland (B/288).

On the basis of what is known about the Roman Empire in general one may reconstruct a picture of life in Malta under the rule of Rome (B/288,289). Roman and other writers of the period have moreover, left snatches of information and contemporary account[5].

St. Paul was shipwrecked in Malta in A.D.60 and stayed some three months before leaving for Sicily (B/281). Despite the absence of proof it is popularly believed in Malta that St. Paul converted the people of the Islands to Christianity during his short stay. One Maltese authority sums up this type of thinking when he writes -

> "It is curious that for the three months' stay of St. Paul in Malta St. Luke has not a word to say of preaching and conversions whereas in his other journeys this is clearly indicated. .... But the written testimony of St. Luke is in a different class from that of Diodorus or Cicero. His historical record is divinely inspired and presents us with the accomplishing of God's plan of

> salvation on which the forethought and preparation are recorded in the earlier inspired books. .... What we have in St. Luke's few lines on Malta are all the necessary signs that accompany the preaching of the gospel; and therefore the gospel <u>was</u> preached" (B/289, p.200).

Further-more, the place-name 'Wied tal-Pwales', which may be translated as 'Valley of the Paulists', is held to show that St. Paul did leave a Christian community behind him in Malta - after the custom of naming newly converted Christians after their baptizer (B/54 - 4.8.1957). If one accepts that St. Paul probably began the conversion of the inhabitants of Malta to Christianity there still appears to be a case for maintaining that as late as the second century A.D. "some members of the ruling classes were holding out against the Gospel message" (B/289, p.201).

If written sources can provide some part of the picture of Roman Malta and consideration of what is known of other parts of the Roman Empire a little more, next to nothing is to be learnt from the remains of the Roman occupation as visible in the Malta of today. These are limited to a few inscriptions, coins and the foundations of buildings such as the well-known villa at Rabat in Malta. Modern Maltese law is certainly based on Roman law but it is more likely that this connexion came with the link with Sicily, established after the exodus of the Arabs from the Maltese islands, than that Roman law remained the legal system in Malta under the Arabs.

In 395 came the division of the Roman Empire between East and West and the beginning of the end for Roman civilization in Malta - although the islands remained nominally linked with Rome until the arrival of the Arabs in 870 A.D.

It would appear probable that during this period the Maltese Islands were visited by the Vandals who had swept eastwards through North Africa and occupied Carthage, Sardinia and Sicily by 439. The following century saw the attempt by the Eastern Roman Emperor Justinian (527 - 565) to reconquer the West. His general, Belisarius, defeated the Vandals in North Africa in 533 and occupied Malta for the East two years later.

The next three centuries are historical blanks. Justinian's policy towards Malta is not known and there are no vestiges of any intensive Byzantine influence in the Islands during these years.

827 was a significant year for Malta for the Arabs had by then carried their westward sweep as far as Sicily. They required a further half-century to subdue that Island entirely. Most authorities put the date of arrival in Malta at 870[6]. The government of the Islands is thought to have been linked with that of Sicily, where Arab rule reached a peak of civilization and prosperity in the last decade of the tenth century. Some of this may have been shared by Malta and the Maltese. There are grounds, in fact, for believing that the Maltese lived well enough under their Moslem overlords and at least on some occasions their interests seem to have been parallel.

In 1408 a heavy Byzantine attack was beaten off by a combined force of Arabs and Maltese; neither do the Maltese seem to have stood aloof from the lucrative slave trade which was bringing big profits to their rulers. Many Maltese indeed are thought to have embraced Islam[3], and evidence of persecution of Christians during the three centuries of Arab rule is lacking. All that can be said is that the line of Bishops was interrupted until the arrival of the Normans in 1091 (B/237, p.172).

Today the material evidence of the Arab era is limited to parts of the fortifications of Sant Anġlu and Mdina - the Medina and capital of the Arabs in Malta. Kininmonth describes the legacy of the Arabs as 'subtle, pervasive and elusive' (B/493, p.152); many Maltese would like to believe that it is not there at all. The study and use of the Maltese language itself has long been restricted because it was considered improper for Christian Europeans to own a language distressingly like that to be heard in the mosques and markets of an alien world only two hundred miles away. Only recently has it become respectable to talk of Arab and other semitic elements in Maltese culture and even now the townsman disowns such things entirely and sends the enquirer to the villages and to Gozo. His view is, nevertheless, rational in that it is founded on the facts of a history in which he is not 'Maltese' at all but representative of post Arab admixtures which have combined to push the non-European elements

of culture and language into the quiet village back-waters. If one accepts that Arabic, as spoken by the rulers of Malta between 870 and 1091, was adopted by the natives during that time two further factors are suggested, a very intensive rule by the Arabs and a small local population - or both. Presumably it would have been easier for a small population to adopt a new language especially if the language used locally before the arrival of the Arabs had a basis in semitic Phoenician and therefore much in common with Arabic itself (v. Chapter 7). The estimate made of a total of only 1021 families inhabiting the Islands, as late as 1240[3], would support the suggestion of a small population in the preceeding centuries while the apparent strength of Islam in the Islands indicated by the same source[3] would seem to point to a thorough 'Arabization'.

Certainly an awareness of the legacy of the Arabs is essential to an understanding of the present social scene in Malta and this is particularly true of rural Malta and Gozo.

After reaching the highest point in the development of Arab civilization in Sicily in the last decade of the tenth century the effective hold of the Moslems weakened rapidly in face both of disorders within and Byzantine interference from without. In the mid-eleventh century the position had deteriorated sufficiently for the Normans to capture Messina in 1060, Palermo in 1071, and Syracuse in 1085. After consolidating his hold on Sicily, Count Roger the Norman wrested Malta from the Arabs in 1090-91. The

Norman forces are thought to have been numerically small so that their conquest would not have brought the establishment of a strong garrison but, as was the Norman practice elsewhere, a system of government based on existing institutions where these were acceptable would be built up. In fact no small degree of autonomy was granted to the Islands and Roger also recognized and supported the three key elements of Church, State and Nobility. He built a cathedral at Mdina and the line of Bishops in Malta was re-established (B/493). But even though there were few Normans in the Maltese Islands after the initial stages of the occupation the Norman hold was effective enough to put down a Byzantine attack twenty-two years later. However, after the 1122 revolt, the Norman king Roger II strengthened his hold on Malta as part of his grand design to extend his power to North Africa, in which plan he eventually succeeded with the seizure of Tripoli (Libya) in 1147 (B/493,p.154). During these exploits Malta would have had an important position as a stepping-stone on the supply line between Sicily and North Africa, just as one can believe it had an entrepôt function during the Crusading Wars which had begun shortly after the appearance of the Normans in Malta.

The politics of Malta took a new turn in 1194 with the inheritance of the Islands along with Sicily by the Swabian King Henry VI. In 1266 Sicily and Malta passed to Charles of Anjou though this rule was short-lived in the larger Island, ending with

the massacre of Frenchmen at Palermo known as the 'Sicilian Vespers' in 1282. It ended also in Malta the following year when the Aragonese King Peter accepted the Crown of Sicily and its dependencies. The Maltese Islands continued as a fief of the King of Aragon until they passed under the rule of Castile in 1412.

During the period of this direct link with Sicily there does appear to have been some form of organized authority in the Maltese Islands and a certain autonomy of status. There is mention of Malta as a 'commune' in 1208 and, in 1274, the 'Consiglio Popolare del' Università' was recorded as protesting to King Charles of Anjou about the alleged violation of certain ancient rights, of which the Università was guardian in the Island. Gozo had a separate Università. To be distinguished from the academic University, founded in 1591 (v. Chapter 3), the Università was responsible for municipal government in each Island. It was concerned with the importation of wheat, the most important single item, and other commodities such as oil, and cattle, and with their marketing. It was therefore the authority for prices, weights, measures etc. So effectively did it regulate the price of bread, for example, that this staple commodity showed no change in retail price between periods of boom and depression. It was centred on the capital, Mdina (Notabile), and included the 'Captain of the City', certain elected 'Jurats', and other individuals who attended meetings of the 'Consiglio Popolare' (B/83 - 1957, pp. 112-136).

Kininmonth describes the Università as striving to protect Malta from the worst aspects of the exploitation of the Islands to which "international interest .... was directed solely ..." (B/493,p.156). Although it suffered certain curtailments of its power under the Order of St. John the Università in Malta did not finally cease to function until 1818 (B/514).

During the thirteenth century the Moslem position in the Islands was finally erased with the expulsion of those Moslems who refused to turn Christian in the decade 1240-50. The total numbers involved were probably small, however, and more than a few Moslems among the pre-expulsion population of some 9,000 may have chosen to adopt Christianity and remain in their homes. The presence of semitic family names, such as 'Abdilla', 'Mintoff', etc., would support this view - particularly as such semitic names are very much more prominent in the rural districts than in the heavily Italianate towns.

The Christian Church in Malta received a further influx of strength with the establishment in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of some of the religious orders now found there. The Franciscans were first in 1310, followed by Carmelites (1378), Augustinians (1385), Dominicans (1466), and Minor Observants in 1492 (B/496).

In Castilian times (1412-1530) Malta continued to suffer attack and plunder by Arabs who were attacked, in turn, by the

Maltese. One particularly fierce Sicilian and Maltese assault was launched against the Moslems in 1432 (B/493, p.156). But the Arabs were not long to hold their position as premier Moslem menace for the Ottoman Turks, during the early part of the fifteenth century, were gaining ground in the Balkans after establishing themselves in Anatolia. In 1453 the remnant of the Roman Empire in the East fell with the capture of Constantinople. Thereafter the Turks turned their attention to the sea, built themselves into a strong sea-power and joined the Arabs in attacks on Christendom in general and Malta in particular. In 1522 the Turks overcame the resistance of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in their island stronghold of Rhodes and forced them to seek new headquarters.

Previously, in 1479, the Kingdom of Aragon and Sicily had been united with that of Castile by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella. Naples was added in 1504 and then some twelve years later, Charles V succeeded both to this Kingdom and to the Hapsburg territories. The heart of the growing empire had thereby shifted from Sicily, now a comparatively outlying province, to the Iberian peninsula. Therefore just at the time when the Knights of St. John were looking for a new base (1522-30) Charles was fully prepared to give them the Maltese Islands which were then on the fringe of his vast domains and very close and vulnerable to the permanent Turkish menace, although in so doing he retained for himself and his successor the suzerainty over the Islands (B/96 - 1957, p.15).

CHAPTER 2

The Order of St. John, and Malta in 1530

Already traditionally the mute pawn of great powers, Malta was not consulted when, in 1523, Charles V offered the Islands to the Knights of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Charles ruled Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, the Hapsburg Lands of Austria, most of Italy, and the recent Spanish conquests in the New World and along the coast of North Africa. His was the greatest power in Europe but not the only one. The French King, Francis I, was a bitter rival and was anxious to secure the services of the growing power of the Turkish Empire in his struggle with Charles.

The Order of St. John had its beginnings during the First Crusade (1096-1099) as one of the new bands of soldier-monks of the time. The Knights Templar began their devoted work of protecting pilgrims going to Jerusalem in 1118 and, ten years later, were recognized by the Pope as a Religious Order. The Order dedicated to St. John the Baptist arose from a hospice which had been established for Christians in Jerusalem even before the First Crusade. This was extended and converted into a headquarters for the "Hospitallers" and other hostels were set up in Provence and the Italian states for the use of pilgrims making their way to the Holy Land. In 1113, a Papal charter recognized the Order, confirmed it in its various possessions and made it responsible directly to the Holy See[7]. But the members of the Order were Knights

as well as Hospitallers; they, like the Templars, took vows of chastity, poverty and obedience and were trained to pursue the near-perpetual struggle with Islam as well as tend the sick.

The Second Crusade, begun in 1147, was short and disastrous for Christendom; and the position was not improved when the Moslem leader, Saladin, became Sultan of Egypt (1171) and then extended his power to Syria and Mesopotamia. He defeated the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187 and, two years later, set siege to Acre. The Christian answer was the Third Crusade of 1189 - 1191. Peace was made in 1192 but left the Crusader States restricted to four enclaves round Antioch, Tripoli, Acre and Jaffa apart from Cyprus itself. In these restricted footholds the military Orders carried on the struggle alongside the other Christian forces but, when the last vestige of Christian rule in the Holy Land disappeared in 1291 with the fall of Acre the Knights of St. John retired to Cyprus. In 1309, they left that Island and established their headquarters in Rhodes. The Templars, apparently unable or unwilling to adapt themselves to their changed circumstances, were suppressed by Pope Clement V in 1312 and a large part of their rich estates in Europe passed to the Knights Hospitallers.

From their new base in Rhodes the Knights of St. John continued their dual mission and became a powerful scourge of Islam in general and Moslem shipping in particular.

However a new and greater force was soon to appear within Islam when, in 1356, Turks set foot in the Gallipoli Peninsula and went on

to occupy most of the Balkans within a century. The last faint embers of the Eastern Roman Empire were smothered in 1453 when Constantinople fell to the advancing Turks who were thereafter able to move on down into the eastern Mediterranean. By 1480 Sultan Mohammed 'The Conqueror' was able to launch an attack on the Knights in Rhodes. The Turkish forces were beaten off and had to wait more than forty years before they could strike a blow hard enough to dislodge the Knights. A bitter struggle in 1522 ended in defeat for the Order - Turkish power had developed to such an extent in the area that the position in Rhodes was no longer tenable - but it was, apparently, a defeat with honour for the Knights were allowed to remove themselves, their treasures, their archives and to leave Rhodes without hindrance along with some of the Islanders who chose to accompany them.

In Rhodes (1308 - 1523) the government and organization of the Order was established in the form which it retained through the period in Malta[9]. The Knights came to be grouped on the basis of nationality in eight 'Langues' - Auvergne, Provence, France, Aragon, Castile, Italy, Germany and England - and this arrangement gave the Knights of the three French-speaking Langues a very strong position[10]. A clear division of responsibility was laid down in Rhodes and each Langue, under its 'Pilier' was entrusted with some part of the defence and organization of the Order.

The classes of the Knights themselves dated from the Holy Wars in the Levant, except for the 'Knights of Grace' who could not meet the full

requirements of descent and status but whom the Order wished to accept by reason either of their connexions, financial or otherwise, or because of some special service rendered by them. Otherwise the standards laid down in the early days in Palestine were adhered to precisely so long as the Knights retained their militant function. The leading class of Knights was that of the "Knights of Justice". Competition for entry was fierce in noble families throughout western Europe and no aspirant was admitted as a Novice before his lineage and character had been exhaustively investigated. Exceptions to the rules were not unknown but generally it was held that only those of quite indisputable background could be admitted; any mention of such stains as illegitimacy or heresy was usually held to invalidate a claim. This class of Knights of Justice were responsible for the election of the Grand Master who thereafter ruled alone apart from such advice as he chose to take from the assembly of the Chapter General, which comprised the leading officials and dignitaries of the Order who were required by Statute to meet every five years (B/588, p.69 note). The Grand Master was, moreover, considered responsible at least nominally to the Pope. The second rank of Knights were the Chaplains. Like the Knights of Justice they were required to be of noble birth and were particularly prominent in directly religious affairs, including the running of the many chapels of the Order, but they were also soldiers. Thirdly came the 'Servants-at Arms' who, like the Knights of Justice, performed military and

nursing functions together but needed only to be of "respectable" rather than noble birth and upbringing. An idea of the size of the Order which met and fought the power of Islam for so long is given by an account of 1631[12] which gives the strengths of the Langues as

Provence	272	Knights.	47	Chaplains.	40	Servants at Arms.
Auvergne	143	"	20	Chaplains.	18	"
France	361	"	20	Chaplains.	74	"
Castile	239	"	25	Chaplains.	17	"
Italy	584	"	-	Chaplains.	-	"
Aragon	110	"	30	Chaplains.	3	"
Germany (inc. Bohemia)	46	"	6	Chaplains.	3	"

The totals for this year show, therefore, a mere 1,755 Knights, together with 148 Chaplains and 155 Servants-at-Arms. Doubtless the fighting strength was greater with the recruitment of local troops while the mobility and magnificent organization of the Order compensated to some extent for lack in numbers. The Order remained international as far as recruitment to the higher ranks was concerned and Grand Masters were chosen from any of the various countries represented. Entry to the higher ranks seems to have been allowed only grudgingly to the actual subjects of the Order, a feature which was to antagonise the already nobility-conscious Maltese after 1530. Maltese were in fact only admitted to the Chaplaincy.

The finances of the Order depended on loot, trade, and the Commanderies which were acquired in increasing numbers throughout western Europe. These Commanderies, or estates, comprised farms, houses, castles, land, etc., which had been given to the Order. Each estate

was under the control of a Knight or Chaplain responsible for the payment of part of the income from the Commandery to the exchequer of the Order (B/588, p.69 and note). At the beginning of the sixteenth century there were some 656 Commanderies in Europe and the steady income from this source continued until the end of the eighteenth century when the confiscation of many of the estates and the lack of income from the loot of Moslem shipping was to bring the Order to a state of bankruptcy.

Significantly therefore the basis of the economy of the rule which the Knights were to bring to Malta was to depend on non-Maltese sources just as, under the British in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the presence of another navy was to attract trade and wealth.

Such then was the Order of Knights which was forced to leave Rhodes in 1522. When Charles V suggested Malta and Gozo as an alternative base Grand Master de l'Isle Adam and his Knights were not impressed. A further obstacle was the condition initially put forward by Charles V which required the Knights to help him against his enemies - notably the French King, Francis. Since the Order was pledged to attack no Christian country this condition had to be deleted. They did however accept two minor clauses in the agreement. The first was that a falcon should be given each year as a token to the Vice-Roy of Sicily who was also to appoint the Bishop of Malta, thereby retaining at least a nominal link with Sicily throughout the rule of the Order.

The second condition required the Knights to garrison Tripoli as well as Malta. The position proved untenable however in this North African outpost and the Order eventually withdrew in 1560.

When Charles V made his offer of the Maltese Islands to the Order he was thinking primarily of the value of the Knights as sentinels on an especially vulnerable border of his Empire - the central Mediterranean. They too had this in mind when they sent the Commission in 1524, to report on the Maltese Islands in general and on their defensive and harbour potentialities in particular.[13]

The small size of the territory, the fact that it was an island, the natural harbours and the nodal position in the central Mediterranean (withdrawn from the advancing Turkish power but still in the front line of Christian Europe) went on the credit side of the balance but the Commissioners were far from enthusiastic about the resources available in the Islands. In contrast with the Rhodes they knew they seem to have found Malta bleak, impoverished and uninviting in the extreme.

Although the Report itself is no longer extant Boisgelin's account of it made in 1805 (B/326, pp.15-18) is worthy of detailed consideration for the picture it gives of the Islands and their people in the early sixteenth century. The Commissioners reported that

> "the Island of Malta was merely a rock of soft sandstone..... that the surface of the rock was barely covered with more than three or four feet of earth, which was likewise stony, and very unfit to grow corn and other grain; that it produced abundance of figs, melons, and different fruits; that the principal trade of the Island consisted of honey, cotton, and cumin, which the inhabitants exchanged for grain; that, except for a few springs in the middle of the Island, there was no running water, nor even wells, the want of which the inhabitants supplied by cisterns; that wood was so scarce as to be sold by the pound, which forced them

to use either cow-dung dried in the sun, or wild thistles, for preparing food.

...the capital of the country, named Città Notabile, was situated upon a rising ground in the centre of the Island; that the greatest part of the houses were uninhabited; ...that there were no ports, bays or coves on the western coast of the Island; that the shore in that part was full of great rocks and shoals; but that on the opposite coast there were many points or capes, with indentures in the form of bays or coves in which ships might anchor; that there were two spacious and very good ports in the Island, capable of receiving the largest fleet; but with no other defence than a small castle named St. Angelo, which was partly in ruins, its whole artillery consisting of one small cannon, two falcons and a few iron mortars; that the Island contained about 12,000 inhabitants of both sexes, the greatest part of whom were poor and miserable owing to the barrenness of the soil and the frequent descent of the corsairs who, with the smallest sentiment of compassion, carried off all the unfortunate Maltese who happened to fall into their hands - in a word, that a residence in Malta appeared extremely disagreeable indeed, almost unsupportable, particularly in the summer.

As to the Island of Gozo, there was no port of any kind on the Island; approach was extremely difficult; the soil, however, appeared to be very fertile; it contained about 5,000 inhabitants... dispersed in the various villages; that the people of the Island, in order to secure themselves from corsairs, had erected a castle upon a mountain, which appeared badly fortified, and with very little importance; but, weak as it was, the Commissioners judged it would not be prudent to accept the Island of Malta separately from that of Gozo, since the vicinity of the latter would in that case be dangerous, as it might, at some future period, serve as a retreat for their enemies."

Several points important in a consideration of the development of society in the Maltese Islands emerge from Boisgelin's quotation and comment. Foremost is the fact that the Commissioners found an essentially rural type of society occupying the whole of the Islands. The Sciberras Peninsula (modern Valletta and Floriana, v. Plate V) was empty and the fortress of the Borgo (modern Vittoriosa) was 'partly in ruins'. The villages of Malta looked inward to Città Notabile

(Rabat-Mdina) 'in the centre of the Island' rather than towards the harbours and the sea. The distribution of population between the two main Islands was also significant at this time for Gozo accounted for nearly one-third of the total against its present one-tenth. Moreover Gozo had the reputation of being more fertile of the two islands. To-day the Maltese farmer will observe that "the best sulla is Gozitan because the soil is better there"[14]. To-day also the soil which that farmer cultivates is still in large part 'barely covered with more than three or four feet of earth'.

Trade has, however, changed markedly. The honey, cotton and cumin of the sixteenth century are now largely memories and potatoes, barley, wheat, and a wide variety of vegetables have become the major crops.

Buildings, apart from the fort of St. Angelo and the citadels of Mdina and Rabat (Gozo), comprised the houses of the gentry at Città Notabile, the Churches and the cottages of the peasants 'dispersed in different villages'. Up to 1530, as afterwards, building in Malta was influenced by the threat of attacks from the sea (v. Chapter 3).

The Maltese society which the Commissioners found had acquired many of the characteristics of Sicily to which it was linked by government although this contact probably affected directly only a small section of the population of the Islands. Certainly, however, the big cleavage between the classes had been established by this time. The aristocracy in Malta dates back to 1350 when the title of 'Baron of Diar il-Bniet' - which still survives - was conferred upon a Maltese by King Louis I of

Aragon (B/490, p. 59). The Knights were to find therefore a ruling class of gentry on the Siculo-Spanish pattern looking to Sicily for their culture and for much of their more material sustenance. Distinct and different was the vast majority of the population, a lowly peasantry speaking a language far more heavily Semitic than modern rural Maltese.

The Parish centres at the time of the Commissioners' visit reflect the settlement distribution. In 1436, ten new parishes had been added to the existing two (Notabile, founded it is believed in A.D. 60, and Birgu or the Borgo dating from 1090). The new ten were

Naxxar	Żurrieq
Birkirkara	Siġġiewi
Bir Miftuh (Gudja)	Żebbuġ
Qormi	Tartari (Busket area)
Bisqwallin (Żejtun)	Mellieħa (abandoned late fifteenth century)

Amongst these the larger town-villages were prominent rural centres. Siġġiewi, Qormi, Żebbuġ, Żejtun, and Birkirkara were all in the central and south-eastern parts of Malta; north of the Victoria Lines and west and south of Notabile there were no settlements of any size. Outside the large villages the countryside contained numbers of smaller hamlets, some of them associated with the country homes of noble families. Many of these smaller settlements have waned and died out and nothing remains of them, in many cases, but the name 'Hal', a collection of wells and a concentrated road- or field-pattern. In one instance at least the old name of a decayed settlement, Hal Far in southernmost Malta, has been revived for modern use (v. B/383, 561; and v. Chapter 3).

The 1528 Commissioners, therefore, found Malta and Gozo with a total population (17,000) less than that of modern Valletta and concentrated in the then capital of Città Notabile, in the Borgo, and in the larger villages. Connexions, other than war, with North Africa and the Arabs had been broken and the Islands had acquired a pronounced Sicilian flavour. By culture and by government the Islands were linked to Sicily and to Europe, a union still further strengthened by the growing position in Malta of the Church of Rome.

CHAPTER 3

Malta under the Order of St. John (1530-1798).

On October 26th, 1530, the fleet of the Order arrived off the Borgo (B/588, p.34 et seq). The Knights chose to establish their capital here rather than move inland to Notabile because they had become a sea power organized to fight infidel sea power. With their followers from Rhodes, who may have numbered several thousands, and their Moslem slaves the cosmopolitan band of some hundreds of Knights Hospitallers set about building their residential Auberges in the little harbour of Malta.

The 268 years which the Knights were thereafter to spend in the Maltese Islands merit the attention of the social geographer because most institutions, groupings, etc., which today combine to form the social environment of the Maltese were moulded in essentially their present outline under the Order of St.John. This chapter will, therefore, give particular consideration to significant phenomena of the period, notably such movements as the development of the position of the Church in society, the isolation of the rural community, and the changing spatial importance of regions and settlements.

The ruling class of the Islands in 1530, the Siculo-Spanish aristocracy, were sufficiently perturbed by the incursion of the Knights to send envoys forthwith to plead their case with the Viceroy

of Sicily. To them the coming of the Order heralded the end of the limited autonomy represented by the local legislative assembly in Malta which had controlled taxation and justice for centuries. Neither could the Church in Malta have been overjoyed at the prospect of a new power in the Islands under the special protection of the Pope. For their part, the Knights could not allow any rival government to interfere with their control of their base, and neither did they wish to encourage the Spanish element in their ranks by allowing entry into the higher ranks of the Order to the sons of the Maltese nobility. Such was the disgust of the local gentry at this however that they were allowed into the Chaplaincy in 1533 although the higher ranks continued to be forbidden them. The common people did not even expect to have their wishes consulted and were not too displeased at the arrival of their new overlords. At least they brought work and activity with them.

The Knights were a small group, celibate and mixed in origin. They had only limited contact with the indigenous noble classes at least during the earlier part of their rule in the Islands and their interests were focussed on their Langues (v. Chapter 2). Their activity was with the fleet in the harbour of the Borgo and in the fortification of their new base which was clearly not to be left long undisturbed by the Turks.

In fact the Knights had scarcely landed when attacks began. 1551 saw a savage assault on Gozo when a population of some 6,000

was reduced by as much as two-thirds (B/561). The Turkish seizure of Tripoli from the Knights in 1560 gave them mastery of the sea for a decade and laid the way open for a full-scale attack on the incipient hornets' nest that was Malta of the Knights. Five years after the fall of Tripoli, Turkish troops landed in great numbers and quickly seized control on the eastern part of Malta, between Marsaxlokk and the Borgo. The Fort of St. Elmo, on the point of the Sciberras Peninsula, was overwhelmed and the garrison annihilated, thus giving the fleets of Turkey free entry to the Sliema harbours. The Knights were now besieged in the tiny central fortress of the Order, the Sant Anġlu bastion in the Borgo. When the fortunes of the few hundred Knights reached their lowest ebb rumours of expected reinforcements for the Knights from Sicily together with heavy losses through combat and disease induced the Turks to make an organized retreat.

During the siege of the Borgo (Vittoriosa) Grand Master La Vallette had seen that control of the harbours depended on control of the Sciberras Peninsula. He therefore determined to build a new and heavily fortified capital on the Peninsula and work went ahead immediately after the Turkish departure. The original plan to level the surface of the ridge had to be modified in view of the scale of the operation and the likelihood of a further major attack at any moment[15].

The regular grid street pattern remains to this day as do the

great walls and gates of Valletta, as the new city came to be called. In the decade of frantic building following the siege most of the new Auberges, the Grand Master's Palace, the great Cathedral of St.John, and the Sacra Infermeria (the Hospital of the Order) took shape on the Peninsula[16] (v. B/484).

The building of Valletta (Plate V) gave the Order a magnificent capital in which to receive the emissaries of the states of Europe who came to the Court of the Grand Master. The connexions which the Order had in all the major countries of Western Europe brought a cosmopolitan mixture of peoples and diversity of purposes to Valletta. The French, Spanish, Portugese and Italian Grand Masters emphasized first one and then another national group. With their three Langues of France, Auvergne and Provence the French-speaking Knights were numerous but Sicily was very near and the link with this Island remained important throughout the stay of the Order in Malta. The minor aristocracy and the Siculo-Italianate upper class were reinforced by the Knights of the Langue of Italy so that Italian came to be not only the Order's offical language but also the language of Maltese culture and education - a position which it has held right up until the 1930s and which it has by no means lost even today. Linguistically, the Italian connexion is clear in Malta for once the link with North Africa and the Arabs had finally been broken the supply of necessary new vocabulary was more readily available in Italian rather than in any other single language. The picture is therefore one of this

process of 'Italianization' of the language going ahead rapidly in the cultured and cosmopolitan circles of the towns where the presence of the Knights was most directly felt but far less effectively in the countryside which continued in its isolation under Knights, French and then British until the great awakening of the twentieth century. The rural Maltese language has, nowadays, a considerable element of Italian and Sicilian but this is notably less than is to be heard among the people of the towns and in the harbour areas. The rural classes have been illiterate until the present generation, but Maltese, in its modern Italo-Semitic form, has been an official language since 1934. The astonishing fact remains that even large elements of the present-day urban populations, and especially those considering themselves as of 'upper class' lineage, will boast of their inability either to read or to write the Maltese language. But these Maltese are only illiterate as far as their mother tongue is concerned for it is not uncommon to find them fluent - and literate - in two or even three other languages. It is reasonable to trace this position back to the society and culture of Malta as it developed under the Knights. The vast majority of the Knights themselves were not Maltese anyway, while the aristocracy and educated classes clung to their non-Maltese origins and culture and language. The Church further emphasized the Italian cultural and linguistic connexion (v. Chapter 7).

GOVERNMENT under the ORDER

At no time during the rule of the Order in Malta and Gozo does there appear to have been anything more than limited contact between the local gentry and the senior Knights. This may have sprung in part from the reluctance of the Knights to allow entry into their ranks to the Maltese aristocracy although the local 'ancien regime' was permitted to carry on most of its administrative work until the eighteenth century finally brought a strict centralization of power into the hands of the Grand Masters. A recent analogy has been the dyarchy system of government where the local Legislative Assembly is concerned with internal affairs, leaving 'reserved matters' of an external nature to the British government[17].

The seventeenth century brought plague (1676); earthquake (1693); the West Indian colonising adventure during the decade after 1653; but most of all, it saw the climax of the naval development of the Order. From 'L'Horrenda e Sanguinosa Battaglia seguita in Mare, il 10 Maggio, 1610' to the 'Nuova e vera Relazione della Vitoria ottenuta dalle Galere di Malta contro tre Vascelli turchesi d'alto bordo, sotto gli auspici del glorioso S.Giovanni Battista, all 15 Maggio, 1683'[18] records show how the galleys of the Order plundered and sacked the fleets, ports and treasure ships of Turkey. But the Knights did not have all the struggle their own way. The rejoicing after the capture of a great Turkish vessel near Rhodes, in 1644, was matched by the gloom felt throughout western Europe when the Capitana, one

of the Order's most prized possessions, was sunk in 1700 (B588, p.219).

Since the Crusading Wards in the Holy Land the Order had changed from a land-power into one of the foremost naval machines in Europe[19]. The vows of chastity, poverty and obedience were still taken by the young Knights but the Order had lost much of its initial religious basis even before its arrival in Malta, in 1530. The Hospital interests, however, carried on through the 268 years in Malta and on until the present day when hospitals and ambulance services are still maintained in Europe and in the Holy Land (B/588, p. & note). Military orders, such as the Templars, had faded into retirement long before the seventeenth century because they had proved unable to adapt themselves to the changing needs of Christendom. However, as long as the Turks continued to be a major menace in the eastern Mediterranean, the Knights of St.John could be considered "the eye of Europe, the keystone of Christianity, the right arm of the Church, the nerve of our confidence, the terror of Asia and Africa; heroes who make the sea their battlefield ..."[20].

The Order's glorious seventeenth century was followed by the stagnation of the eighteenth, and the decline of the Knights of St. John as a naval force and their extinction as a territorial power. Turkish power, first seriously checked as long previously as 1571 at the defeat at Lepanto[15], ebbed all the more rapidly as the century advanced and with it went the raison d'être of the Order in Malta[21]. Critics of the Order point to redundancy and to a growing preoccupation

with worldly matters - with 'wig-powder and curls' (B/588, Chapter XI). But it is easy to criticise in search of the sensational and to forget that the ships of the Order were helping Spain to protect her African outposts and her own coast as late as 1784 (B/588, p. 252) and that even in Revolutionary France, in the last decade of the eighteenth century, a case could still be made for the value of the Order as a safeguard to the trade of the Christian powers[22].

As fast as the naval function and vigour of the Order declined "The consolidation of the sovereign power of the Order of St.John through the arts of peace and the centralization of civil government steadily advanced until it attained its peak in the long reign of Pinto" (B/588, p. 259). Contemporaneously the Knights were losing their chivalrous zeal and discipline was slackening enough for the Moslem slaves of the Order to be able to stage a revolt in 1749 (B/655). Pinto's term of office (1741-73) saw concern concentrated on diplomacy and expensive appearances in European courts than on warfare and the fight against Islam. Meanwhile the Maltese themselves stood to gain nothing from this ostentation, which was making ever greater demands on the exchequer of the Order at a time when income was declining. The proceeds from loot had dwindled rapidly during the eighteenth century while the loss of the French estates after 1792 was to prove a serious blow.

Within Malta, the Consiglio Popolare, which had been recognized by Grand Master de L'Isle Adam in 1530, was finally abolished in 1775. Earlier in the century, Grand Master Perellos (1697-1720) had destroyed

the last vestiges of the power of the Jurats who had been responsible for civil justice (v. Chapter 1). The fact that this Grand Master was the first to appear on the coinage of the Order is a further example of the changing standards of the times.

Altogether the Grand Masters of the eighteenth century were becoming petty sovereigns rather than leaders of a militant Order of Knights Hopitallers. Seemingly intent to embellish the Grand Magistry even further with the trappings of monarchy Pinto (1741-73) and De Rohan (1775-97) bestowed titles of nobility at an unprecedented rate. Of the twenty-six Maltese title holders today no less than twelve owe their position to one or other of these two Grand Masters while of the remainder only two members of the present nobility hold titles created before 1700 (B/490). The old-established gentry, however, were not impressed by these numerous additions to their ranks and "scorned Pinto's new counts and marquises as parvenus" (B/588, p272). This would suggest that even after more than two and a half centuries of rule under the Order there was still a social gulf between the Knights and the local gentry. The members of the Order remained foreign: they were always 'Il-Kavalieri'.

Thus the form of autocracy in the grand manner appeared in Malta while it was being challenged on the mainland of Europe. Then and later, a time-lag between the birth and maturing of institutions and adaption in Malta is characteristic of the Islands. Then and now the specialised functional value of the Islands to outsiders must be held responsible

for slowing down the entry of least some ideas.

Evidently the history of Malta and Gozo between 1530 and 1798 is essentially the history of the Order of St.John. While not part of the Order the Maltese people prospered when it was strong and rich and suffered when misfortune befell their rulers. Particularly was this true in the case of finance but an outline of the development of building, medicine, education, and law in the Islands under the Order throws more detailed light on the fortunes of the Maltese themselves in these centuries.

FINANCE

In 1530, the population of Malta and Gozo was probably as little as some 12,000 individuals most of whom had a standard of living low enough for the Islands to approach nearer to self-sufficiency than has ever been the case since the arrival of the Knights off the Borgo.

The rule of the Order witnessed a six-fold increase in the population (B/561). These greater numbers could scarcely have been supported without the wealth coming into the stronghold of the Knights of St.John. The state of the Order's exchequer set the pace for all manner of developments in the Islands. The progress of building serves as the most striking example (v. below).

Although money had played a less prominent part in pre-1530 Malta where the bulk of the population had been peasant subsistence farmers attempts had been made to organize the finance of the Islands under

the Università (v. Chapter 1). This municipal body was responsible for importing, marketing, prices, and weights and measures and went on to retain some vestige of its former self throughout the stay of the Order and did not finally cease to function until 1818 (B/514).

During its stay in Malta the income derived by the Order from the Islands was negligible. One source of internal revenue, which annoyed the local populace, were the taxes on imports and exports. These had been controlled by the Università before 1530 but the Grand Masters insisted on taking them into their own exchequer and on paying the Università a fixed amount in lieu. By far the most important source of income to the Knights was however the Commanderies, the estates and properties scattered through most countries of western Europe. The Responsions, the stipulated portion of the annual profit from each estate, were sent by the Knight or Chaplain responsible in each case to the Order. This dependence on the profits from the European Commanderies was of long standing for even of the sojourn in Rhodes it could be said that "without the landed property in Europe the Convent (the Order) could not have existed as it did"[23]. Except towards the end of their rule in Malta the proceeds from loot and pillage and the sale and ransom of slaves provided the Knights with a further income.

Clearly the treasury under the Order depended largely on externally derived sources of income. This was continued under British rule when the Royal Naval Dockyard and the various other

establishments of army, navy, and air force in the Islands grew to become by far the largest single source of both direct and indirect income in the Maltese economy.

An impression of the dependence of the budget of the Order on foreign sources of income can be gained from a statement of annual accounts averaged over the thirteen years of the Grand Magistracy of Antoine de Paul (1623-36)[24]:

INCOME

Commanderies, estates, etc.	212,686	scudi
Properties of deceased Knights	33,262	"
Fees and other charges	24,968	"
Prizes captured by the galleys	12,000	"
Ransom and sale of slaves	7,000	"

EXPENDITURE

Maintenance of the galleys	135,000	"
Expenditure on the Auberges	32,000	"
Maintenance of the Hospital	25,000	"
" " " Magistral Palace	10,141	"
" " " Slaves' Prison	8,950	"
" " St.John's Cathedral ...	4,242	"
Alms	3,431	"

It is clear from the above list of principal expenses that, apart from the items relating to the Hospital and to Alms, the Maltese themselves stood to gain little direct benefit from all this income and expenditure. Even the protection from attack afforded by the presence of the Order -note the heavy expenditure on the galleys- can be seen as a doubtful blessing in so far as it is possible, though not probable, that the Islands would have been

less troubled by Turkish raiding parties had not the "terror of Asia and Africa" been in residence.

BUILDING

"Throughout the late medieval period and, indeed, up to 1530, when the Knights of St.John landed in Malta, the architecture of the Island was closely tied to her larger neighbour Sicily" (B/484, p.125). After 1530 the building of Malta was the building of the Order. The fortification of the fortress of Sant Anġlu and the establishment of the Order in the Borgo was the first task after the occupation. But after the Great Siege of 1565 work on the new planned city of Valletta must have consumed most of the energies of the Order, pressed as they were with the threat of renewed Turkish attack[16]. In a few years the immense bastions and magnificent buildings of the new capital rose on the Sciberras Peninsula (v. Chapter 2, and Plate V).

With the building of Valletta the Città Notabile became the Città Vecchia and the city founded by La Vallette became the cultural centre as well as the seat of government. The wealthier families came to own town-houses in Valletta, a position which was maintained until the period between the 1914-18 and 1939-45 wars when the 'residential', though not the political or the commercial, capital moved to Sliema. The houses of the Maltese peasant farmers, fishermen and other lowly country folk appear to have changed but little during the rule of the Knights in Malta and Gozo. Today the simple

cottage-house retains many traditional features, especially in the older villages, while the larger houses, the 'Case' of the Italianate upper classes, expanded in size and scope along with the general development of building and architecture under the Order. The old village house, or the lonely cottage among the fields, shows the characteristic central-courtyard plan. Windows look inward to this open courtyard and only in modern building or in upper storeys are any seen on outside walls. This arrangement is partly for security and partly for reasons of propriety. The main door of the house was, and is, a large double door (a small 'garage-door' by modern standards) opening from the street into the inner courtyard, sometimes through a store-room. The central courtyard retains its focal position in the life and work of the household and access to any upper storeys would be by an external staircase in this courtyard.

Some houses lack the large main door and have only a small door on to the street. In some of the oldest property this is indeed tiny and suggests a defensive element, in addition to which is the fact that in the oldest parts of the long-established villages the streets are neither broad nor straight for any distance - an obstacle to a would-be intruder as much as a reflection of the absence of town-planning. Żejtun, an old settlement in the south-east of Malta and one fully in the path of the marauding Turks who landed at Marsaxlokk and moved northwards, has many of these old twisting streets and alleys.

As has however already been emphasised, "Maltese architecture and

the finances of the Order are closely tied" (B/484, p.5). The tremendous building schemes initiated by the Knights suffered from shortage of funds on more than one occasion. When funds to pay the workmen engaged on the construction of the Valletta fortifications were particularly low in 1638 the Grand Master even resorted to issuing special coinage to meet the bills. A financial improvement towards the end of the seventeenth century enabled further work to be done on the fortifications of Valletta and the Three Cities (Vittoriosa, Senglea, and Cospicua) but, as in the preceding century this activity may have been spurred on by the threat of a Turkish invasion which seemed very likely after the defeat of Venice at Candia and the peace treaty of 1670. However the Turks failed to put their greatly improved position to good advantage on this occasion. This same building boom continued into the middle of the eighteenth century but, in the second half of the century, the state of the Order's exchequer went from bad to worse and non-essential building was among the first of the many activities that had to be curtailed to allow adequate funds to remain for the upkeep of the top-heavy diplomatic and palace expense accounts.

Presumably the Knights concentrated their resources on that part of the total building programme most directly connected with the offensive and defensive needs of the Order. But the Maltese population was increasing rapidly as was therefore the demand for churches and private houses.

Church building in Malta before 1530 was limited almost entirely to either a troglodytic form, as under the Arabs (870-1091) and Normans, or, later, to the small, rectangular-plan church with a pitched roof such as survive in quiet isolated corners to this day. The exception was the Cathedral Church of Mdina, built by Sicilian masons at the end of the eleventh century, though even this was small in comparison with the work done under the Normans in Sicily itself (B/484, pp 41-42). As the population grew under the Knights the native Maltese seem to have managed to go ahead with the building of big parish churches in their expanding villages even without the active assistance of the Order. As much today as under the Order it is clear that the life of a Maltese parish church is usually severely limited by the needs of the rapidly growing population, while among the older and less ambitious church buildings the steady weathering of the local stone used makes their active life still shorter. That the building of new churches has in fact kept pace with the rising population underlines the exceptional zeal and fervour which the Maltese feel for their Church and their churches.

MEDICINE

The Knights of St. John were Hospitallers : what then was the progress of medicine and health in Malta and Gozo under the Order?

In 1530, the Knights found a very limited medical service depending on a few Maltese and foreign doctors who had been trained in Italy if indeed they had been trained anywhere. However it is

known that the Hospital of Santo Spirito, "whose origin is lost in the mist of antiquity and conjecture" (B/375, p.29), was already in operation (B/422). Soon after their arrival the Hospitallers set up an infirmary in the Borgo (B/367). This was moved to Valletta after the foundation of that new city and came to be known as the Sacra Infermeria (Holy Hospital).

True to their title the Knights seem to have been pioneers in hospital nursing and their Infermeria and its organization had a high reputation beyond Malta (B/485). Nevertheless by the time of the Duzina visit to Malta in 1575 (B/422) the Sacra Infermeria had not begun operation in Valletta and the remainder of the health services in the Islands were too limited to be effective. Duzina found that the St. Julian's Hospital in Gozo was a hospital in name only for it had in fact been converted into a prison (B/375, p.29)! Neither was he satisfied with what he saw of Santo Spirito hospital and he drew up a set of rules upon which its working was thereafter to be based (B/375, p.31).

Not until a century after Mgr. Duzina's visit was it possible to prohibit unqualified medical practice by law. A school of Anatomy, Chururgy and Medicine, founded in 1674, was primarily intended to supply medically qualified specialists to the navy of the Order (B/414, p. 25). Another century later (1768) Grand Master Pinto took over a long-established Jesuit College in Valletta and, in the following year, received a Brief from Pope Clement XIV allowing him

to set up a full teaching University in the Jesuit premises. The old Medical School was incorporated as a faculty of the new University (B/631).

Mention is made of a medical service existing under the Knights for the benefit of the Maltese populace, but only five practitioners are said to have dispensed treatment - which was free to the poor (B/414, p.25). Since these five were distributed between Valletta, where there were two, and the Three Cities with one each, there appears to have been no direct medical service for Gozo or for by far the greater part of Malta.

EDUCATION

In the early years of the rule of the Order in Malta the three bodies dispensing any education were

(i) the Università (v. Chapter 1) which maintained a small school at Mdina (B/369),

(ii) the Cathedral which organized a few private schools (B/412, p.116),

(iii) the religious orders which had been settling in Malta since the fourteenth century (v. Chapter 1).

Apart from the Government's school at Mdina, the limited educational facilities available in the Islands were provided by ecclesiasts. Particularly in the earlier years of their rule the Knights were concerned with attack and defense before all else and it was left to the Society of Jesus to make the first big moves forward in Maltese education[25]. But the Knights were at least concerned that

the new Jesuit College, plans for which were announced by Pope Clement VIII, should be in Valletta although the Bishop of Malta insisted that it should take shape in Notabile (B/588, p.278). The Jesuits entered the new College in 1597 and the building was finally finished five years later[25]. With twelve teaching fathers at the outset this College reduced the exodus of those seeking secondary and university education on the continent - notably in Italy. The courses offered in grammar and the humanities were later extended to include philosophy, theology, mathematics, Arabic and French[25]. In 1727 the College became a degree-conferring academy. However as the eighteenth century advanced ill-feeling among the Knights and suspicion of the Jesuits rose and culminated with the expulsion of the Society from Malta and the confiscation of their estates there by Grand Master Pinto de Fonseca in 1768 (B/518). This aroused Papal protests but brought valuable properties to the exchequer of the Order at a time when financial constrictions were becoming serious. But, in the following year (1769), the Grand Master opened his 'University', actually the Collegium Melitensium of the Jesuits under a new name and with a constitution but little changed apart from the addition of faculties of Laws and Medicine (B/661).

Except for the Jesuits' College and at least one Seminary, founded in 1703 (B/661), secondary and advanced education was poorly developed. Primary teaching was sadly lacking and technical instruction conspicuous by its absence[25]. Only the more privileged classes among the Maltese

had the benefit of any considerable formal education, largely in Sicily and Italy, while for the mass of the population school education remained an unknown quantity.

LAW

The Roman occupation of Malta and Gozo, in 216 B.C., had brought Roman law to the Islands. The Arabs presumably brought their own legal system and institutions in 870 but when the Islands were conquered by the Normans in 1091 the link with Roman Law was firmly re-established and has remained, with modifications, to this day.

The legal system of the Order of St. John was, naturally enough, modelled on Roman lines and the Code of the Grand Master de Rohan (1784) was said to be "a compilation of Roman Law" (B/182). Since 1800, English Law has come into increasing prominence but the Roman principles to this day remain the basis of both the civil and common codes (B/469).

Clearly the law under which the Maltese have been governed has varied with the changes of Government in the Islands, from the indirect feudal vassalage under Aragonese and Angevin kings to the rule of the Grand Masters which became increasingly 'direct' and 'sovereign' during the last decades of the Order in Malta. But, apart from the Arab occupation (870-1091), the link with Europe and with Roman Law has been maintained throughout, while the special position of the Church in Malta has brought the Canon Law of Rome.

THE CHURCH

The modern Maltese village lives and moves around and within its Church. But in 1575, when Duzina made his report on the organization of the Faith of the Maltese (B/422), "the church had not yet come to be the centre round which Maltese communal life turned" (B/375, p.27). Malta had been divided into twelve parishes as long previously as 1436 but parish churches for the following century and a half were still very small[26] and there was usually a group of several small churches or chapels serving a settlement (B/375, p.27). After 1575, however, the "age of churches" dawned and "from the end of the sixteenth century a large number of parish churches were built in Malta as a result of the increased prosperity which had come to the Island with the advent of the Knights of St. John" (B/484, p.81). Since the early seventeenth century the Maltese parish church has become the focus of the religious, social and economic life of the village : it is the basic fact of Maltese society.

Duzina's report brought to light many of the injustices and inadequacies of the Maltese Church and clergy of the time. The power of the Bishop appears to have been as strong in 1575 as later but there was a great deal of friction between him and the Clergy. The great majority of the known Bishops of Malta before 1575 had been Italian or Sicilian - though at least one Maltese is recorded as having been elected in 1393 and again in 1420 (B/94 - 1886, p.167).

By and large the educational standards of the clergy were low in 1575 (B/422), some were near-illiterate. Duzina also exposed abnormal forms of service (B/422, p.605) and attempted to quash 'superstition' where he found it (B/375, p.37).

On the evidence of the Duzina report it would appear that the Church of Malta in 1575 was active even if its organization were not perfect. The system of hierarchy among the secular clergy was apparent and would develop as the large churches were built, each in the charge of a parish-priest or arch-priest assisted by other priests.

Throughout the rule of Knights the Church took the main initiative in Education - more especially certain orders such as the Society of Jesus (see above). Maltese education whether in town or country has never lost this religious bias and today, in common with internationally accepted Roman Catholic practice, catechism and doctrinal instruction figures prominently within the curriculum of Government as well as private schools, quite apart from its position 'out-of-school-hours' in the various lay organizations which have grown up during this present century with the avowed intent of propagating the teachings of Rome (v. Chapter 8). But neither lay organizations nor Government schools existed in the Maltese village under the Order. The present position of parish and other priests in the village is different to that which the priest of a few centruies ago maintained. He was, probably, one of the few inhabitants with any learning and

formal education at all and was consequently the authority and reference for all subjects and activities which required literacy and a breadth of experience beyond the confines of the village.

RURAL SOCIETY

In 1530 when "the peasantry formed the back-bone of Maltese social life and economy" (B/375, p.25) it was not possible to distinguish a rural and an urban section of society in Malta. The whole country was rural. The ruling class comprised the gentry and nobility centred on Notabile, and the country was administered by the Universitè. Large parts of the Islands were considered too exposed to attacks from the sea to be settled and cultivated at all.

Several settlements of village status at the time of Duzina's visit in 1575 (B/422) have since declined or disappeared altogether while others not known to him have grown to large size. Village expansion and merging has probably accounted for the end of independent status of some old nuclei referred to as 'Ħal'[27] by Duzina. Ħal Millieri, Ħal Manin, and Ħal Lew have all been incorporated into Żurrieq, Qrendi, and Bubaqra respectively (B/375, p.27), while the modern village of Żebbuġ (Malta) comprises three parts indicated on the present 2" to the mile map as Ħal Muxi, Ħal Dwini, and Ħal Mula[28]. Other old village centres have faded away and are now no more than minor locality names still to be found on the 6" map[28]. Ciantar, writing in the late eighteenth century

(B/383), mentions many of these relics of the past. Some, such as Ħal Far near modern Birżebbuġa, were quite dead already when he wrote his histories but others, now names only, were still small settlements in 1772. Ħal Millieri was a hamlet of fifteen houses and sixty-six inhabitants linked administratively with Żurrieq. The modern 6" map of the area shows a concentrated road network near the little Church of St. John, a cemetery, and a group of thirty wells - but no houses. Not far away lies the one time Ħal Xluk (the Rahal Sciluk mentioned by Ciantar) which was still independent of Siġġiewi in 1772 but is today marked only by the tiny chapel of Santa Marija ta' Ħaxxluk and a cluster of wells. Yet another case of decline and fall is that of Ħal Tartarni (or Tartari). A parish of this name was one of the twelve established in 1436; it figures as a village in its own right in Duzina's report but Ciantar ranks it far behind Dingli which had grown up nearby. Today the 6" map shows "Ħal Tartarni" a few hundred yards east of modern Dingli, but insists on giving it inverted commas. Certainly no site nucleus survives in any form.

The only evidence of such old villages and hamlets north of the Victoria Lines[29] are the names 'Ħal Dragu' (Drago)[30] and 'Ta' Ħammut'[30] but the 6" map reveals no nuclei. Ciantar lists some deserted hamlets in the Mosta-Lija-Birkirkara area (B/383) but the most northerly 'Ħal' surviving as a place name on the 6" map of this region is Ħal Man, near Lija. The title 'Ħal' is not found anywhere in Gozo today.

In the large villages and in the towns which grew up during the rule of the Order 'urbanization' was already producing a more varied society than was to be found in the lonely village or hamlet with its simple division between peasant, priest and gentry. These last seem to have been responsible for at least three villages which now bear the names of prominent families - Dingli, Attard, and Lija (B/383). In 1772, the largest of all the villages was Żebbuġ (Malta) and one reads that the people there were talented and included in their number many craftsmen and teachers (B/383). However the 'Captain' of Birkirara was at that time more important than his opposite numbers in either Żebbuġ or in Qormi which was then as now famous for its baking industry[31]. Towards the end of the rule of the Knights cotton production, spinning, weaving, and marketing further differentiated some of the larger villages. Żebbuġ was well-known as a village of prosperous merchants although a man of nearby Rabat was (and still is) said to be "worth two Jews" so astute was his business acumen[14].

Thus, although only a limited amount of information on the structure of the Maltese village in 1530 is available (apart from Duzina's shrewd report) enough is known of Malta of the Knights for it to be said that by 1798 the hierarchy of villages, as regards particular characteristics as well as size, had been established substantially in its present form and that, within the village, the basic pattern of priest and peasant was diversified only in

the larger settlements - the market villages.

THE END OF THE ORDER IN MALTA

Two kinds of factors brought about the extinction of the power of the Order of St. John in Malta, internal and external. The latter were by far the more significant and included

(i) the loss of the income from the European Estates,
(ii) the loss of income from loot and capture at sea,
(iii) the exigencies of Mediterranean power-politics during the Napoleonic era, and
(iv) increasing difficulty confronting trade in the area.

The secondary, internal factors which added their weight to bring about the final blow were

(i) the growth of the power of the French element in the Order,
(ii) the increasingly 'sovereign' notions of the Grand Masters, and
(iii) the growing feelings of discontent which these were inspiring among the Maltese.

The external sources of revenue which had maintained the Order so well for so long crumbled away in the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1792, the rich profits from the Commanderies in France ceased when the properties of all monastic Orders were confiscated by a Revolutionary Assembly for which anything savouring of the aristocratic such as a Sovereign Order of Knights was intolerable (B/588, p.294). Polish, German and other Estates were also lost about this time. The once-profitable fight against Islam was, moreover, bringing no more wealth into the Exchequer of the Order, while Turkey was herself now an ally of France! Instead of

being the guardians of Christendom the Knights were now something of an embarassment to the major powers in Europe and "it was plain that the ambiguities of being a Military and a Religious, and at the same time a Sovereign, Order were confusing to the Eighteenth Century imagination, and all this commotion only served to publish more widely the equivocal and unstable position of the Order and the strategic value of the little rock in the rivalries of nations" (B/588, p.280).

While its external pillars of support were collapsing about it the Order found new difficulties within its adopted Island. Many of the French Knights came to sympathise with the new regime in their home country, some "were beginning to talk about the Rights of Man and to wonder how to reconcile these with the perpetuation of an aristocratic society such as theirs" (B/507, p.93). Some of the Knights showed such strong Royalist sympathies however, that a Revolutionary decree of 1791 deprived all French Knights in the Order of their nationality (B/493, pp.190/191).

As a Sovereign Military Order the Knights identified themselves with Malta but never with the Maltese. The bitterness of the populace grew as the eighteenth century Grand Masters stove to centralize power in their own hands more than ever before and to destroy the last remnants of the institutions which Grand Master de l'Isle Adam had undertaken to respect in 1530. Even the proposed creation of a Maltese Langue of the Order as a desperate last-minute

palliative left the Maltese unmoved (B/507, p.97). Clearly relations between the Order and the Maltese were as distant at the end of the eighteenth century as they had been two centuries earlier when it could be said that "the Malta and the Knights thus formed two separate communities with little or no cohesive bonds between them. It is remarkable that even during the siege (1565) the Knights maintained their aristocratic outlook - they and their soldiers were 'i nostri' while the Maltese civilians were 'la bassa plebe' or 'il popolo minuto'. Religion formed the only ground on which the people and their rulers could meet on an equal footing" (B/367, p.133).

The general discontent among the Maltese of the latter part of the eighteenth century even manifested itself in revolt. In 1775 a Maltese priest, Dun Mannarino, chose a festa day to stage the long-planned coup which was to take him, as a first step, into the redoubtable Fort of St. Elmo. Many of his immediate followers were also priests. The attempt failed and Dun Mannarino was flung into prison; possibly he was spared the death penalty because the Knights could appreciate the strength of the bitterness against them. It seems that popular support did not materialize as expected, whether through fear or whether because two and a half centuries of paternalism had left the Maltese unable to organize themselves (B/588, pp. 287-290).

THE LEGACY OF THE KNIGHTS IN MALTA

Just as the Order which came into Malta like a lion in 1530 differed greatly from that which crept out like a lamb in 1798 so was the Malta found by Napoleon far removed from the picture painted by the Commissioners of 1524. The material changes of the 268 years have been considered. They included the building of Valletta and the harbours, a six-fold increase in the population, improvements, limited though they were, in medicine and education, the wealth which had flowed into the Islands as a result of the Order's presence there, the development of a class divided society, and, over-riding it all, the administrative and naval power of the 'terror of Asia and Africa', shielding the Islands from the world outside but imposing a non-Maltese government aloof and paternal at best. The rule of celibacy within the Order and the absence of a Maltese Langue probably contributed to the weakness of the ties binding the Order and the inhabitants of the Islands which it ruled.

During the rule of the Order there was shift in population distribution along with a six-fold numerical increase. The scattered rural society administered from Notabile up to 1530 witnessed the growth of Valletta from nothing to a position among the show-piece capitals of Europe. As the urban area consolidated the countryside, by contrast, was eclipsed, and remained a quiet back-water in which village society remained uneducated, forgotten,

and basically unchanged. The great awakening of the twentieth century was to carry forward the process, begun in the nineteenth century, of taking the town back into the villages and farms where the Maltese countryman had lived on, hardworking,devout and isolated.

CHAPTER 4

Malta and the French, 1798-1800

The occupation of Malta and Gozo by the France of Napoleon Bonaparte was brief, spectacular and decisive. It endured only from June 11th, 1798, when the terms of surrender were established, to September of 1800 when Nelson's British victory at the Battle of the Nile made the French position in Valletta untenable (B/507, p. 96). It brought about the spectacular collapse of the defenses of the one-time 'terror of Asia and Africa' and the institution of a Government energetically noisy about Liberté, Egalité and Fraternité, and it was decisive in that it meant the end of the Order of St. John as a naval and territorial power and an end to the kind of paternalism which had been thrust upon the Maltese 268 years before.

Of the events leading up to the fall of the Order in Malta (v. Chapter 3), the most immediately significant at the time of the French landing was the internal disunity and lack of leadership and purpose. Moreover the French element among the Knights, whether pro-Republican or neutral, precluded any concerted resistance by the Order. Whether or not the French Knights in the Order became traitors by their sympathies with their fellow-countrymen in the armies of Napoleon is a matter for speculative history. Certainly, after only a week's stay in Valletta, Napoleon

was able to take many of the French Knights with him to his Egyptian campaigns (B/588, p. 306). Most of the remaining Knights, apart from a few Maltese Chaplains and some not fit to travel, left Malta for other destinations. Grand Master Hompesch fled to Trieste.

It is not clear from the evidence available how far the Maltese would have supported the Knights if any stand had been made against the French. Perhaps a distinction may be made between the educated classes of the Maltese, among whom French ideas had gained some ground before the occupation, and the clergy who had long been offended by the priestly pretensions of the Knights, on the one hand, and "the peasants without the walls who form the strength of the population of the Island"[32]. These villagers were "an unmixed race of people, very few among them understanding any language but their own, which is a dialect of the Arabic ... they saw little of the Knights, whom they felt it no degradation to treat with all the respect which the latter desired"[32].

Whatever had been the feelings of the inhabitants, Bonaparte decided that they, like the French people, had been kept in a state of ignorance for too long. It was assumed that Liberté, Egalité and Fraternité would be eagerly received by the Maltese once rescued from the rule of the Order. In his one week of organizing activity in Valletta he divided the Islands into administrative areas and laid plans for government, education, police, health service, finance

and defense. He abolished slavery, prohibited feudal titles and saw to the establishment of a free press in Malta (B/589). But his reforming zeal carried him too far when he chose to end the alleged ecclesiastical tyranny in the Islands. To the hypersensitive Maltese Catholic the French were irreligious enemies of priests. They had evicted an Order which, with all its shortcomings, was nominally 'religious', and had gone on to establish a synagogue and, worse still, had ordered some Maltese churches to be closed and others to be robbed of their treasures. Within only three months of the arrival of the French forces the indignation of the people was roused to breaking point with the enforced closure of a Carmelite church (on 2.9.1798; v.B/589). The Maltese can tolerate interference with the material possessions his Church just as little as he can consider any encroachment on the practice of his Faith[34]. Revolt broke out and the French garrison in Mdina was massacred (B/493, p.193). However despite the unusual degree of unity which these insults to their Church evoked among the Maltese they would have been powerless to dislodge the small French forces without the timely arrival of Nelson and the British fleet. Together British forces and Maltese rebel-patriots confined the French in the great stronghold of Valletta, where they stayed secure and in tolerable comfort for some two years.

Incidentally, Napoleon's abortive attempt to demarcate

twelve Municipalities reflected the changes in the pattern of population and settlement distribution which had taken place under the long rule of the Order. The Notabile of 1530 became the Cité Vieille of 1798, while the Cité de Malte of the French stands in Valletta and Floriana where Grand Master de l'Isle Adam had found nothing but an empty peninsula in 1530. The large villages of old Malta (Siġġiewi, Żebbuġ, Birkirkara, Żejtun, Qormi, Żurrieq, and Naxxar) were still prominent in 1798, but other settlements had emerged and some declined. Gozo had lost much in relative importance and merited only two of the twelve French Municipal districts[33]. Were Napoleon called upon to redraw his map in 1959 he would have to apportion many more than two of his Municipalities to the 'Cité de Malte' which now extends right round the harbour areas to include large towns which he never saw. On a population basis at least the villages would deserve less prominence than in 1798.

Significantly the Municipalities which Napoleon envisaged were to have been entirely independent of the Church organization, each having a President, four Council Members, a Secretary and a Justice of the Peace. It is noteworthy, moreover, that there have been attempts in recent years to return to such a secular approach to the delimitation and grouping of administrative zones but these have had no more success than did Napoleon's scheme. It has become even more apparent since 1800 that no civil unit can replace the

Parish under its Parish Priest as the basis of local authority. The Church remains the total rather than a part of community organization in Malta.

To the social geographer concerned with the development of the elements of modern Maltese society the period of French rule is important on three counts. Firstly it highlights the singular position of the Church in Maltese life and especially the unquestioning loyalty of the Maltese to their Faith. Secondly it marks the end of the paternalism, benevolent or otherwise, of the Order of St. John and coincides with the beginnings of institutions of government and society in their present form. Finally, it revealed that, by 1800, the Maltese Islands had assumed the strategic position in the conflicts and rivalries of European nation-states which was to prove a major factor in the progress of Malta and the Maltese during the nineteenth century.

NOTES on Part 1

1. This Chapter draws extensively from the recent researches in the archaeology of Malta of Professor J.D. Evans (B/J.D.Evans); while the late Professor Sir Themistocles Zammit was responsible for a great deal of pioneering study and writing (B/655,657).

2. In a British Association lecture (Glasgow, 1958, Section H) J.G. Jenkins described sled-like structures, dragged by animals and having a 'cart-like' superstructure as being found in many parts of Europe up to modern times. See also B/J.D.Evans; B/458; B/464; and B/657 for further details of this controversial question.

3. A census of 1240 lists 771 Moslem and only 250 Christian families, though the precise definition of what constituted a Moslem family is not clear.

4. Such inscriptions are discussed in B/493, p. 144, and elsewhere but, in fact, no mention is made of Hellenic power in Malta by contemporary writers such as Thucydides (v. Thucydides Book VI, Section I to V). A case for their having been Greek influence in Malta as late as the Roman occupation is given in B/58 -23.2.1958.

5. See B/281; B/419; Cicero (Verr.II.74); Ovid (Fasti III. — 567-570); and Livy.

6. Badger puts it at 879 (B/307, p.6 et seq).

7. A parchment now preserved in the Palace, Valletta.

8. With the conquest of Rhodes (1308) came formal recognition of the Order as a sovereign, military and territorial power. After the retreat of the Christian forces from the Holy Land the Knights became sailors instead of soldiers but continued their work as hospitallers and escorts of pilgrims making their way through the Mediterranean.

9. The administrative system of the Order remains substantially the same today at the Headquarters in Rome although the sovereign and military aspects have ceased.

10. The Reformation brought the decline of the German and the extinction of the English Langue but these were eventually revived as

a single 'Langue of England and Bavaria' in 1784.

11. Some of the responsibilities were distributed as under (B/493, p.165) :

Grand Marshall - The Pilier of Auvergne,
Grand Admiral - The Pilier of Italy,
Grand Commander - The Pilier of Provence, responsible for finance, ordinance and artillery.
Grand Hospitaller - The Pilier of France,
Grand Chancellor (who sealed the Acts of the Order) - The Pilier of Castile,
Grand Bali (responsible for fortifications) - The Pilier of Germany,
Responsible for clothing and other supplies - The Pilier of Aragon,
Responsible for Coastal Defence - The Turcopilier of the English Langue.

12. Vatican, Barb.Lat.5036 (V.B/588, p.68).

13. The Commissioners reported to the Grand Master in 1528. So far, however, it has not been possible to trace their Report among the Archives of the Order (B/16). Fortunately summaries are available in later works, notably : B/326, pp. 15-18; and B/334, pp. 30-31. Other comments on the investigations of Commissioners appear in B/638, Vol.2, p.18; B/375, p.22; B/484, p.11.

14. Heard in field-work.

15. A resounding defeat suffered by the Turks at Lepanto, in 1571, gave the Knights a breathing-space sufficient for organization and completion of the major part of the work.

16. The Palace of the Grand Masters, begun in 1572, took nine years to build. Meanwhile building on the new Auberges had begun - Auberge d'Aragon in 1571; Auberges de Castile, d'Italie and d'Auvergne in 1574, and the Auberge de Provence a year later (v.B/484, the authority for this material).

17. Since April, 1958, when the Labour Government under Mintoff resigned, the Islands have been without a locally elected Assembly (December, 1959).

18. Titles of news items, known as 'Relazione', published at the time in Naples and Marseilles (v.B/588, p.218).

19. So successful did the Order become as a naval machine during the fight with Turkey that even as late as the eighteenth century Russia was keen to accept help from the Order in the development of her own navy (v.B/588, p.283-284).

20. Henri de LISDAM : 'L'Esclavage du Brave Chevalier de Ventimille', Lyons, 1608.

21. Kininmonth attributes the decline of the naval position of the Order, in part at least, to the inability of the Knights to equip their fleet with sailing warships in place of the traditional oared vessels (B/493, p.184).

22. 'Observations de la Chambre de Commerce de Marseilles ... relativement au Decret ... concernant les biens de l'Ordre de Malte' (1790).

23. J.E.NISBET : 'Treasury Records of the Knights of St. John in Rhodes', in B/83 - 1957, v.p.97.

24. MS Report to Pope Urban VIII on the Order in Malta. Vatican, Barbarini Collection - 5036 (v.B/588, p.152).

25. J.P. VELLA : 'The Contribution of the Jesuit Fathers to Education in the Maltese Islands', Malta, Royal University, 1953, thesis.

26. E.g. the old Church of Santa Marija ta' Bir Miftuh, near Gudja.

27. I.e. 'Village'.

28. v. Bibliography, Introductory Section.

29. The Victoria Lines : Stretching from Fomm ir-Rih Bay on the west coast to Baħar iċ-Ċagħak near Għargħur, this major fault, down-throwing to the north, was the traditional defensive feature protecting the populated south and was heavily fortified by the British during the nineteenth century.

30. v. 6" map, Sheet IV.

31. Qormi was the main supplier of bread to the Order (B/383, Lib I. Note VIII passim) while, in 1957, 48 of the 201 bakeries in Malta (without Gozo) were located in the village, according to information supplied by the Dept. of Trade and Industry, Malta, to the writer in July, 1957.

32. From a series of articles, 'Pasley's Views on Malta', by D. SULTANA, in B/58, v. Part V, 30.11.1958.

33. The districts envisaged by Napoleon's French rulers of Malta and Gozo were (B/589) :

(1) Cité Vieille (Mdina, Rabat, and Dingli),
(2) Żebbuġ,
(3) Qormi and Luqa,
(4) Naxxar, Mosta and Għargħur,
(5) Birkirkara, Lija, Balzan, and Attard,
(6) Siġġiewi, Qrendi, and Mqabba,
(7) Żejtun, Żabbar, Għaxaq, and Tarxien,
(8) Żurrieq, Safi, Kirkop, and Gudja,
(9) Cité du Goze,
(10) Canton de Caccia au Goze,
*(11) Municipalité de l'Ouest (Valletta and Floriana),
*(12) Municipalité de l'Est (Senglea, Cospicua, and Vittoriosa).

* These comprised the Cité de Malte.

34. There is evidence of a change in the French attitude towards the Maltese Church but this appears to have been too little and too late (B/589).

PLATE I.

The Basilica Ta' Pinu, Gozo.

Photo: R.W.Hill.

PLATE II.

Maltese Farmer and Wife.

PART 2

The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Emergence and Emancipation

In Part 1 was outlined the development of society in the Maltese Islands up to 1800. This may be seen as the formative period in which the major features of the society emerged in their present form. Most notable among these was the social cleavage between urban and rural Malta which became more definite as the rule of the Order of St. John advanced. During the nineteenth century this process continued as the concentration of population and development in and around the harbour areas and the British Royal Naval Dockyard produced an urban population increasingly dependent on the British naval and economic connexion. The countryside of the Islands tended to be affected by these changes more indirectly and less noticeably. However, as the nineteenth century advanced there were signs that developments which had characterized the consolidation of urban Malta were beginning to find their way into the villages also.

These were, broadly speaking, of two types, socio-cultural and material. The former group included the range of social changes which were to bring what may be called 'emancipation' to the villager, while the material developments centred on the extension of a variety of amenities from the towns to the country areas which had previously lacked them. Part 2 examines some of these against

the background of the general history of the Islands during the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries, and Part 3 goes on to consider Maltese rural society as it has emerged at the present day with particular reference to the individual in that society and to the way in which he is currently reacting to the total of factors which together are bringing him a new way of life and work.

Part 2 begins with a general introduction to the period (Chapter 5). Chapters 6, 7 and 8 consider in more detail three of the more important elements in the social history of the period - Education, the Language Question, and the Church. Some of the more material developments and the spread of 'amenities' are then discussed in Chapter 9 in so far as they have made an impact on village life in Malta and Gozo.

It has been found that a certain amount of repetition has been necessary, as between Chapters 7 and 8 for example, in order to make each Chapter complete within its own field and at the same time part of the total picture.

CHAPTER 5

The Emergence of Modern Malta

The eighteenth century ended in Malta with political and economic collapse. The direct rule of the Order, which had tightened its grip even more securely in the latter part of the century, came to be replaced by a more liberal type of paternalism under the British administration after 1800. The Order had enjoyed an enormous revenue from its European Estates but most of this had been lost to Malta even before the Knights were expelled in 1798 (v. Chapter 3). A further pillar to the economy of the Order had been the export of cotton. Indeed "other articles of commerce were but trifling..." (B/326, Vol. 1, p. 108). However this too was lost when, in 1800, Spain, the principal market, prohibited the import of yarn (B/182, pp. 3-8).

Almost immediately however the Maltese felt the effects of the British military and naval expenditure in the Islands along with loans from the British Government. The Napoleonic Wars were raging for fifteen years after the arrival of British forces, during which time the 'Continental System' drove British commercial enterprise from Italy to Malta so that, after 1806, there came to the Islands "a great upsurge of commerce"[35]. Malta was here benefitting from the war conditions prevailing around her - as she was to do again later in the century. This economic boom during the first decade of British rule made easier the acceptance by the

people of the new regime. Unfortunately however this prosperity was to be short-lived and came to an abrupt halt when the first of the nineteenth-century cholera epidemics ravaged the Islands in 1813. Five per cent of the population died and quarantine restrictions lost to Malta the focal position in the war-time trade which she had enjoyed particularly since 1807. Only twelve months previously, moreover, the Royal Commissioners had been able to report that "many farmers turned from cotton growing to the production of foodstuffs and grain, the prices of which soared in prosperous Valletta. Many artisans, weavers and spinners found employment in the port services" (B/182).

The conditions of war or the threat of war, disease, and sharp fluctuations in trade and the level of prosperity which Malta experienced during the first years of the nineteenth century were characteristic features of the Islands' life throughout the period. They produced a succession of economic and social Highs and Lows. Price discusses this trend with detailed reference to but one of the aspects involved, emigration (B/556). These fluctuations vividly illuminated the dependence of the Maltese on a variety of external forces and were, to this extent, a continuation and magnification of the position which had developed under the Order when the Islands had come to rely on external revenue from the European Estates of the Knights and on the profits from war in the Mediterranean (v. Chapter 3).

At no time could the fortunes of the rural section of Maltese society stand unaffected by the general trends within the total economic position of the Islands but, as the century advanced, they came more directly to vary with the general pattern. One crucial element of this was the development of the Dockyard and the commercial port especially in the second half of the century. This enabled the countryman, at least in periods of prosperity, to leave his fields for work in the harbour areas, where he could expect to find more remunerative employment. This became increasingly clear as the decline in cotton growing and processing, on which a large part of the rural community had depended, continued through the century (v. Chapter 10). In fact it became increasingly evident that "Malta... is too small to permit over-sharp distinctions between town and country, land and sea. No farm is more than five miles from the coast, no village more than a dozen miles from Valletta, and its satellite towns" (B/556, p. 8).

These beginnings of an economic connexion between town and country were to be followed, towards the end of the nineteenth century and in the twentieth, by the influx into rural Malta of urban ideas and standards and a variety of urban social features. An attempt will be made in Part 3 to consider the position of the modern Maltese countryman against the background of these changes; Part 2 will be limited, meanwhile, to an outline of the

major background elements in this emergence.

In the early nineteenth century, before the Dockyard had acquired its later dominant position, it was still possible to speak of the Maltese countryman as a 'peasant' in the sense of a largely self-sufficient, small-scale farmer. Despite the political upheavals between 1798 and 1800 and their subsequent ramifications and the outbreaks of epidemics, as in 1813, it is possible to see the first twenty-three years of the century as a period of comparative prosperity in agriculture (B/556). The following twenty years brought a considerable worsening in the position, at a time when the Dockyard had not replaced the cotton industry as a major employer of labour. Even "large increases in service expenditure were not always accompanied by beneficial results" (B/556, p. 5), for this Imperial support tended to be most substantial during crises such as the Greek War of Independence and the Mehemet Ali crisis in Egypt which themselves seriously disrupted Malta's commercial trade and thereby the prosperity of the Islands.

A major outbreak of cholera in 1837 and a severe drought three years later brought this long period of depression to its lowest point. Immediately afterwards, however, substantial increases both in the volume of entrepot trade and in Imperial expenditure in the Islands heralded improvements in the economic position which were to continue for some decades, culminating in

a wave of prosperity in the decade after 1854 when "the Crimean campaign launched Malta into a boom" (B/556, p. 107). During hostilities British Government expenditure in the Islands increased so greatly that the situation of most sections of society was considerably improved. Wages in agriculture, for example, jumped by some 50%[36]. After the War money continued to pour into Malta along with British naval expansion, and still more capital was expended on the Dockyard where the mid-nineteenth century witnessed great building activity (v. Appendix 12). Indeed Price, in his penetrating study of Maltese economic progress in the century, observes that "from 1855 onwards imperial expenditure unquestionably became the major force in Malta's economic life" (B/556, p. 109 et alia).

1865 brought a prosperous decade to an end with another outbreak of cholera and a three-year drought along with a further deterioration in the cotton industry (B/556, p. 126). Wages in agriculture fell back fast enough to bring severe hardship to the rural areas, and at least one protest march of angry farm-workers went to Valletta demanding work or relief (B/207). The urban working classes suffered less than the agricultural section of the community on this occasion, especially after 1869 when the opening of the Suez Canal brought more commercial trade to Malta. After 1873, however, a series of poor harvests and another rise in European price levels brought renewed hardship to all classes

in Malta. Many Maltese were said at the time to be living on carob beans (B/226).

Between 1878 and 1882 some prosperity returned with the end of the War between Russia and Turkey and increased building expansion in and near Valletta itself. A slight set-back in 1882 when trouble broke out in Egypt temporarily halted the improvements which, by 1885, had brought a full return to prosperity with rising wages and abundant employment in the Islands (B/556, p. 128).

Throughout the middle decades of the nineteenth century this rapidly alternating sequence of prosperity and depression had aroused concern both in Malta and in London. Commissions visited the Islands to report on disease and poverty and attempts were made to improve the basic amenities of sanitation, previously in a generally appalling condition and an important contributory factor in much of the distress felt by all sections of society, but especially serious in the rural areas. Some of these reports and the living standards of the period which they illuminate are discussed in Chapter 12, where the consequences of the continued decline of the cotton industry are also considered.

While the people of Malta had been suffering the changes of fortune outlined their numbers had been increasing relentlessly (v. Appendix 7). The over-all expansion of the naval and military establishment was, however, able to absorb most of the growing labour supply and the problem of over-population was not to assume

the proportions reached in the twentieth century when the labour market was to prove unable to keep pace with the accelerating population increase.

The mid-nineteenth century is also important to the present thesis for the new social factors which emerged in it. One of these, general primary education, was to begin the process which was to lead to the appearance of a large and growing literate middle class in the twentieth century and the consequent disruption of the traditional class pattern of Maltese society (v. Chapter 6 and Part 3). Another factor underlying almost every facet of social and political life in Malta for some seventy-five years after 1865 was the language question (v. Chapter 7). Politics, education, emigration and Church affairs, all came to hinge on the battle of the languages of Malta. The Church itself, fully occupied in keeping pace with the events of the nineteenth century, notably the increase and spread of the population in the Islands, was to face a rapidly changing society in the twentieth. The traditional social scene was to be affected by the economic, educational, and political changes which had made their debut in the nineteenth century that a re-orientation of approach within the Church was to prove necessary. Part of this was to be the wide range of activity known as the 'Lay Apostolate' (v. Chapter 8). The Church throughout the nineteenth century provided a stabilizing influence in an era of economic and social instability, a position

which doubtless helped the Maltese to avoid the major social upheavals of other European countries. There was in fact no social unrest more serious than the protest marches of the 1870s during even the most difficult years of hardship and distress.

The half-century after 1885 stands out in Maltese social history as the period of the 'language question'. During the period the fluctuations in prosperity, which had characterized the rest of the nineteenth century, continued but, in over-all terms, the economic position was secure enough to allow most attention to be diverted to major social movements such as education and to political thinking. The language conflict at this time was in fact the manifestation of the changed pattern of society under nineteenth-century British rule. As will be seen in Chapter 6 English language and culture had caught up with and passed Italian by the early years of the twentieth century. The professional and cultured classes clung to the Italian language (the mother-tongue of many of them) as the focus of their class identity against the rising tide of awareness within the new middle and working classes coming into prominence with the spread of general education and the concentration of activity in and around the naval and commercial dockyards and harbours with the emphasis on the English language and connexion which they entailed.

Politically a clear distinction emerged between the pro-Italian classes and those who envisaged an 'Anglo-Maltese' future for the Islands. On account of their traditional ascendancy in the professions, the law, the Church, and in many forms of business, the Italianists were a far stronger element in this conflict than their numbers within the total population would merit.

When the Islands received their first Constitution in 1921, the Italianist 'Unione Politica' was returned to power[37]. It however lacked a majority over the three other parties combined. Three years later another general election was held and the Unione Politica and the Constitutional Party each received ten seats out of the thirty-two in the Legislative Assembly[37]. This result prompted a union between the National Democratic Party, with five seats in 1924, and the Unione, but the combined 'Nationalist' (i.e. pro-Italianist) Party was itself defeated in 1927 by a Labour-Constitutionalist coalition.

In 1931 came a Royal Commission (B/187) to enquire into the whole complex of affairs but with particular reference to the language question, Italian influence and sympathies in the Islands. Much of the social change of which the conflict was an expression emerged during the investigations of the Commissioners. They heard, for example, that "as regards the domination of the classes, the Labour Party has always declared that, in the past, the Italian

language has been a means for assisting the privileged classes against the lower classes" (B/187, p. 75).

The 1932 election and Nationalist victory[37] followed two years of government by Order in Council (B/498, p. 7) but Dr. Mizzi and his Ministers soon made it clear that their policy was one of 'Italianization' even to the extent of going counter to the regulations then in force concerning the teaching of languages[38]. The British Government warned the Mizzi ministry that its policies and practices were breaking, in the letter as well as in the spirit, the agreements upon which the restoration of the Constitution in 1932 had been based (v. B/498). As the Nationalists showed themselves unwilling to retract any of their pro-Italianist measures the Constitution was withdrawn and the Islands were left without an elected Legislative Assembly for fifteen years[39]. Despite its removal from the political battle-field by these actions the language question continued to dominate Maltese social and political thought until the outbreak of the 1939-45 War when Fascist Italian bombs on Valletta finally removed pro-Italian sympathies from all but a few pockets of resistance in the Islands.

Since 1932 the class dichotomy in Maltese society has demonstrated a linguistic flavour to a very much smaller extent. In more recent years a new kind of cleavage has emerged between those favouring a complete 'Anglicization' of culture and those

for whom the native Maltese language is a social fact worthy of emphasis and development. The position of English has become strong enough for the dispute to be between those for whom Maltese is 'useless' and those favouring a bilingual English - Maltese regime.

While argument and conflict over linguistic issues was raging in period after 1885 the Maltese Islands were witnessing profound social and economic changes. The Report of the 1911-12 Royal Commissioners is an important documentary land-mark in the early part of the twentieth century. At that time the Commissioners could observe that "Malta owes its importance chiefly to its two magnificent harbours and its position in the Mediterranean" (B/186, Report, p. 4). The Imperial expenditure, and commercial wealth and opportunity which these assets brought to the Islands were enabling a rapidly increasing population to be maintained at living standards already higher than those found in most nearby Mediterranean countries. Despite the tremendous emphasis on the dockyard and harbours at a time when the Royal Navy had reached a peak in its development at the end of a long period of a global 'Pax Britannica' the Commissioners were able to observe that, in 1912, "agriculture is, and must remain, by far the largest and most important industry" (p. 6). "The agricultural population," they reported, "though almost without education, is the most hardy, energetic, and industrious in the Island.....their condition is on

the whole fairly prosperous" (p. 6). The 1914-18 War, which broke out shortly after the visit of the Commissioners, marked profound changes in this apparently satisfactory position. It saw the beginnings of the process of 'urbanization' which was to produce a changed rural society in the Islands. Education, noted for its absence by the Commissioners, spread rapidly after the War and the village school had become an established feature of all but the very smallest rural settlements when the Compulsory Attendance Act came into force in 1924 (v. Chapter 6). This was the basis of the whole range of changes which were to bring a new emancipation to the Maltese rural classes. The details of this change as they affect the individual in modern Maltese village society are discussed in Part 3, in which an examination is also made of the 'prosperity' of which the Commissioners had spoken. It will be seen that the rural classes were "fairly prosperous" only in a relative sense in 1912 for within a generation they had come to demand a much higher standard of life and had in fact begun to reject the individually-orientated, peasant subsistence farming-unit of the past in favour of the commercially-based cash-cropping farm of the present.

The First World War (1914-1918) was therefore something of a landmark in the process of social change but the average countryman had far less experience of it than he had of the Second War which broke out in 1939. The following six years of hostilities,

and especially the earlier years of the siege of Malta, brought a tremendous social upheaval in the Islands. Conscription, evacuation, and food-rationing were some of the things which produced a degree of meeting and mixing of people and ideas not previously seen. To a very large extent the War can be considered as marking the end of the order of society in Malta and Gozo in which the town and country had been mutually exclusive. It was, albeit indirectly, an 'urbanizing' influence on rural society in both the material and social senses. Most of the villages, except those near strategic targets (e.g. Luqa), suffered little bomb damage as against the devastation of Valletta and the Three Cities (B/340), but they became more than ever before aware of events around them. Maltese from the towns moved into the villages. Children from the Three Cities attended schools in Gozo and rural Malta. One still hears a good deal of comment on the contrasts of dialect to be heard in the war-time coffee bars from countrymen who had previously had only limited contact with townspeople. Older village people recall the effect on patterns of behaviour of the presence of British and United States servicemen, some of whom even ventured to 'date' the girls of the villages - a novel feature, as was the use of cosmetics by these same young ladies. Some conscripted farmers wore heavy boots for the first time, while army-style clothing continues to be used in increasing quantities by villagers.

The comparative prosperity enjoyed by many sections of the farming community as a result of the food shortage enabled some farmers to build up considerable financial reserves (v. Chapter 12). Incidentally also this demand for locally-grown food underlined the crucial position of Malta's sole basic industry, an aspect which is easily overlooked in peace-time when cheap foreign supplies give rise to the comment that agriculture in the Islands is "not worth the trouble".

When peace returned in 1945 a new era had begun for the Maltese countryman. The Compulsory Education Act of 1946 brought promise of an end to widespread illiteracy and early school-leaving (v. Chapter 6). The Islands received a new Constitution in the following year, with a locally-elected legislature controlling all affairs apart from 'reserved' matters such as defence, finance and foreign relations. Some indication of the subsequent activity of the Government Departments is given in Parts 5 and 7 of the Bibliography. Apart from the obvious emphasis on building and reconstruction work (B/125, 126, 149, 150, 152, 162) there was considerable activity in other Departments, notably Emigration (B/118, 119, 120, 121), Education (B/110, 111, 154), Medical and Health (B/137), Social Welfare (B/121, 130, 131, 132), and Agriculture (B/100, 138, 139).

The emigration drive was an important element in the social history of post-war Malta. Prior to 1914 emigration had been

principally to the Mediterranean littoral (B/556) but during the twentieth century attention was turned to English-speaking countries, notably Australia. Many thousands of Maltese left the Islands, although many also returned. This movement is having two major repercussions. Firstly the emigrants are predominantly young men and youths whose absence has produced a breach in the age-pyramid. This is particularly noticeable in rural villages, such as Nadur, where the customary pattern of social life is being severely disrupted by the loss of the most energetic members of the community. On the other hand, however, the Maltese and Gozitans now settled in Australia and other countries generally maintain close touch with their families and in many cases send home considerable sums of money. This link is, therefore, further tending to widen the horizon of the countryman as ties of family and correspondence are built up.

Within Malta, education has for some time been designed to meet the needs of the prospective migrant and many Maltese have been able to gain some technical skill and the necessary knowledge of English.

Primary education has made rapid strides particularly in recent years and many new school buildings have been built, although the shortage of teaching staff remains serious (v. Chapter 6).

Even more impressive are the improvements made since 1945 in the medical and health standards of the Maltese Islands. Trachoma,

once a widespread scourge in rural areas, has practically disappeared. Undulant fever is now much less common than formerly while, most spectacular of all has been the decline in the rate of infant mortality. This latter provides a useful index to the extent of the over-all improvement. The following table illustrates the change and, incidentally, suggests that the position in Gozo - the more 'rural' of the Islands - is still well below the average for the whole country (data from B/177):

INFANT MORTALITY RATE (Under One Year), per 1000 total births.

YEAR	MALTA	GOZO	ALL ISLANDS
1937...	242	253	243
1938...	223	245	225
1939...	224	263	227
1940...	277	272	276
*1941...	304	301	303
*1942...	248	323	345
1943...	204	265	210
1944...	113	152	116
1945...	140	184	144
1946...	134	99	131
1947...	119	134	120
1948...	111	135	113
1949...	83	94	84
1950...	89	81	86
1951...	99	112	99
1952...	70	98	72
1953...	64	80	65
1954...	67	65	67
1955...	44	47	45
1956...	41	61	43
1957...	39	62	41

* the siege of Malta.

The tremendous improvement over the past twenty years demonstrated by these figures reflects a wide variety of changes and, moreover,

emphasizes the need for emigration, as mentioned above, as a means of reducing population pressure in a fiercely Roman Catholic country. The changes which have contributed to the general improvement so effectively in such a short space of time include not only extensions in medical services and improvements in sanitation, nutrition, etc., but also a growing public awareness of the need for elementary hygiene and basic medical care. A midwifery service has been developed along with general improvements in hospitals - although much still remains to be done (v. Chapter 9).

Other social services have expanded during the 1950s along with a considerable amount of legislation and investigation in labour problems, the needs of the aged and the infirm, and so on (v. Chapter 9).

Also important in recent years have been the relief agencies distributing free food and other supplies among the poorer classes of the Islands. Notable among these have been C.A.R.E. and N.C.W.C. (v. Chapter 11).

The post-War era has also seen increased concern for agriculture and dairying. Numerous specialists have visited the Islands in recent years and have submitted reports on various aspects of the problem. The wide ramifications of this programme are considered in Chapter 11.

The 'material' aspects of the present urbanization of rural Malta and Gozo include a wide range of amenities which have been

extended to the villages, particularly since 1945. These range from the extension of public electricity supplies, sewerage systems, transport, etc., to rediffusion and, most recently of all, television. Some of these are considered in more detail in Chapter 9.

While these economic and social changes have been taking place the Church in Malta has striven to adapt itself to its changed circumstances. The most significant manifestations of this in the present social scene are the numerous organizations known collectively as the 'Lay Apostolate'. This movement is essentially an urban development since change has moved most rapidly in the towns but now that rural Malta is, as it were, 'catching up' the Lay Apostolate is consolidating its position there too (v. Chapter 8).

Having outlined some of the major features of the social history of British Malta this study must now turn to a more detailed examination of some four aspects which, it is considered, have been of crucial importance during the period. These are education (Chapter 6), language (Chapter 7), the Church and the Lay Apostolate (Chapter 8), together with a brief discussion of the impact of some of the 'amenities' (Chapter 9). Part 3 will then go on to examine the type of rural society which has emerged today in Malta and Gozo and will consider, particularly the position of the individual in that society.

CHAPTER 6

Education in the Maltese Islands

Education, in its widest sense, has been the most important single factor in the emergence of a substantial, literate, middle class in the Maltese Islands. The process began in the latter part of the nineteenth century but assumed marked proportions only in the twentieth and, particularly, since since the end of the 1939-45 War. The movement began in the towns and spread to rural districts only slowly until the period between the World Wars when the Compulsory Attendance Act (1924) established Government primary schools as an essential feature of the social scene in rural Malta, a move which was completed by the Compulsory Education Act of 1946.

Such education as there was in the Maltese Islands before 1530 appears to have been almost entirely under ecclesiastical direction (B/369). The arrival of certain religious Orders in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries probably consolidated this position. The Università which originated under the Aragonese rulers of Malta and Gozo (1283-1410) and grew rapidly in importance during the Castilian domination of the fifteenth century had at least some concern for education along with its primary political and economic functions (v. Chapter 2).

Certainly the Università was running one school when Mgr. Duzina made his 1575 visit (B/422) though even this had been closed for eight years in the previous decade as the result of a charge of

diseminating Lutheran doctrine (B/375, pp.31-33). At the end of that century (1592) the Society of Jesus founded a College in Valletta[40] (v. Chapter 3, Education). But the privileged few who were able to carry their education to such a level - or beyond to the Universities of Italy - must be set against the bulk of the population among whom any formal education was a rare exception to the generally prevailing ignorance, illiteracy and social isolation.

The nineteenth century brought Government-controlled education. The first elementary school was opened in Valletta in 1819 and, in 1836, a Royal Commission 'nationalized' the schools (there were eleven Government elementary schools in 1839), although it was not until 1842 that the primary school system was finally removed from the authority of the University (B/184). Under an energetic Director, Canon Paolo Pullicino, there were far-reaching reforms in the educational system of the Islands after 1850. Not only were the curricula and teaching methods improved but the network of primary schools was extended to some of the villages and the administrative side of public education was thoroughly reformed (B/661, p. 217). In Gozo, Canon Pullicino founded a Lyceum and a Secondary School for girls.

The Commissioners of 1836 noted that only a small fraction of the population was literate (B/184), but even by 1851 education had made little progress and the illiteracy rate was still very high (B/167 - 1851). The labouring classes, more especially those in

the rural areas away from contact with Italian and British influence, continued to rely for information very largely on the traditional sources - the clergy and, to a less extent, the gentry (B/556, p.20-21). But here the position was complicated throughout most of the nineteenth century by the diversity of views and outlook within these groups. The Italian refugee intellectuals after 1848 said one thing, and wrote it in their press, the Maltese aristocracy and gentry said another, while the Church itself, which had been almost the only island of learning in a sea of ignorance, was none too happy about a Government-sponsored system of primary education with its, alleged, promise of 'Protestant' infiltration (B/556, p.20).

The Commissioners insisted that the educational system be adjusted with a view to reducing the excessive numbers of priests, lawyers, doctors and civil servants and giving increased prominence to industry and commerce both within education and in social outlook in general (B/184). This characteristic of Maltese society in 1836 was, however, little changed during the second half of the century nor did it in fact show signs of much modification until the mid-twentieth century. The Commissioners blamed the educated classes for the lack of 'initiative' which permitted such a state of affairs to persist from one generation to another. Nevertheless the whole problem of education, and especially of technical (i.e. commercial and industrial) education, was worse rather than better when Keenan

made his "Report upon the Educational System of Malta" in 1880 (B/266). He found that the 'over-crowding' in the professional classes was as irrational as in 1836 and that sound industrial and commercial training was limited to the Dockyard and even there on only a very small scale. There was little or no enthusiasm for attempts to build an adequate system of technical education and in this "inertia rather than hostility seems to have been the main cause of failure" (B/556, p. 151).

Keenan also strongly criticised the system of primary school education in the Islands. He brought to light

(a) the inadequacy of the staffing and equipment of the schools,
(b) the over-rigid adherence to a set timetable for the whole Island,
(c) the neglect of first-class pupils,
(d) the fact that "Maltese grammar is altogether ignored",
(e) the prevailing ignorance as to Malta and to things Maltese,
(f) the slow progress from class to class in the schools,
(g) the unsatisfactory teaching of English,
(h) the lack of qualifications of the teaching staff,
(i) the fact that "The free system of education pursued in Malta has not resulted in attracting to the schools the mass of the children. Indeed, not more than two-fifths of those of school-going ages are found in attendance".

Keenan strongly advocated compulsory education for children between five and twelve years of age, although this was not finally made law until 1946. Realizing the role of the Church he appealed for ecclesiastical support. He noted a desire to learn English in face of the limited opportunities mentioned and found that "the Italian language, like the English, prevails chiefly in Valletta,

Floriana and Cottonera"[41]. The linguistic storm which Keenan touched off by his assertions became the major pre-occupation of political, social, and educational thinking in Malta right up until 1934 (v. Chapter 7). The language problem in Malta was largely a product of the attempts in the latter part of the nineteenth century to educate that section of Maltese society which had previously lacked any formal education and certainly had not shared in the Italianate culture prevailing among the middle and upper classes of the towns. Italian language and culture had held almost undisputed sway among the small numbers of educated Maltese gentry, clergy and professional people. English had spread surprisingly little and was well known only by those coming into contact with it in the Dockyard or in commerce or government. Italian was, moreover, the language of a Church suspicious of British 'Protestantism'. The local language, Maltese, was a 'kitchen tongue', a 'dialect', or a 'vernacular' as was recognized in 1881 when the Census compilers observed

> "The Maltese, on account of their Religion, Education, Historical events and Traditions, and the geographical position of these Islands, form part of the European family, however they speak the dialect of a language belonging to an oriental people with whom they have no social tie nor connection and whose religious tenets they always held in abhorrence .... As the dialect is confined to the Islands of Malta consequently very few literary productions are published in the vernacular, a circumstance which evidently does not favour the diffusion of instruction among the lower classes of the people" (B/167 - 1881, p. 18);
>
> "The language or dialect spoken by the Native Maltese is

Oriental, and the Education is given in English and in Italian" (p. 14);

"It must be taken into consideration that the Boys and Girls attending the Elementary Schools belong generally to the poor classes. Before these children can acquire a competent knowledge in any of the languages taught to them, they are generally taken away by their parents in order to be apprenticed to some trade or employed in agricultural labour" (p. 16).

Some of the difficulties in the way of educational development in rural Malta emerge from these passages, notably the linguistic and therefore cultural isolation of the villager knowing neither Italian nor English and prevented from acquiring more than a smattering of either by the popular prejudice against education among the rural community at the time.

Taking Malta as a whole the census returns of the period show a relative decline of Italian in favour of English (B/167 - 1851, 1861, 1871) :

	1851	1861	1871
Able to speak English ...	6861	8675	9690
Able to speak Italian ...	14061	15806	15591

After 1881 English gained ground generally. Twenty years later it was considered necessary to give parents the opportunity to decide in which language they wished their children to be examined at school. Thus, in 1902, parents of pupils attending Standards V and VI indicated their preference as follows[42]:

Parents who wished English only to be used	71.2%
Parents who wished Italian only to be used	1.0%
Parents who wished both languages to be used	27.8%

When, in the same year, parents of pupils at Standard III or

below were called upon to make a straight choice between the two languages, the position was even more striking[43]

	Malta	Gozo	All Islands
Parents choosing English	98.7%	87.5%	97.7%
Parents choosing Italian	1.3%	12.5%	2.3%

(The position in Gozo at this time indicates a certain linguistic conservatism.) Thereafter the place of English was consolidated as the language of instruction - except in language teaching of Italian, Maltese, etc. - until Italian finally lost its place as one of the official languages of Malta in 1934 (v. Chapter 7).

The number of Maltese children attending schools had steadily grown during the second half of the nineteenth century as under

1842 ...	3833	pupils in all schools (B/167)
1851 ...	6047	" " " " "
1861 ...	9029	" " " " "
1871 ...	10424	" " " " "
1881 ...	12390	" " " " "
1891 ...	15774	" " " " "
1896-7 ...	13697	" " Government primary schools[44]
1908 ...	17968	" " Government primary schools[45]

The Report by the Director of Education in 1898[44] reveals the expansion in the system as a whole along with a realization of the shortcomings. In 1890, the course at the Boys Secondary School in Gozo (founded as the Lyceum in 1851) was reduced from six to four years as it was found that "the majority of the students who attend the Secondary School are prepared in the Primary Schools and belong to the agricultural or trading class; they consequently leave school early. The few who desire to continue their studies do so in the

Seminary conducted by the Jesuit Fathers"[44]. In the year 1896-97 the school had fifty-eight pupils and four teachers.

The fact that this popular apathy as regards the benefits to be derived from education was not limited to the farming classes is indicated by the reference to the Young Ladies Secondary School in Valletta, where it was observed that

> "The attendance is far from being regular ..... Although the school is re-opened in September after the summer vacation, a large number of the pupils do not return until October, or even November, as they remain while the warm weather lasts in the country ...."[44].

Even night schools suffered from poor attendances during the summer months when, it was reported, "most of the teachers in charge of night schools, even the best of them, find the greatest difficulty in keeping up attendances"[44]. A similar impression is gained from a study of the registers kept by schools in Nadur, Dingli and Mġarr (Malta) covering the period 1886-1941[46], although these do show that towards the end of this period a greater number of pupils, many of them adults, were attending more regularly, many of them seeking to acquire a knowledge of English before emigrating.

Another significant development in 1893 had been the establishment of a 'Technical and Manual School' although, three years later, instruction in cabinet-making, modelling, casting and carving was being given to only eighteen boys - a vivid reflection of the slow advance in this field[44].

Between 1901 and 1911 when the population of the Islands rose

by 14½% (B/167) school attendance increased by some 75% but the Royal Commissioners of 1912 heard that "with the exception perhaps of Valletta and some of the more distant places it is very bad" (B/186, para.6778). Such were the educational deficiencies revealed by their enquiry that the Commissioners advocated "that elementary education should be made compulsory as soon as funds permit, and that the curriculum should be simplified" (B/186, Report, p. 42). A large part of the work of the Royal Commission regarding education concerned the languages used in schools for this basic problem in Maltese education of the period was little nearer a solution than it had been twenty years before (B/186).

The War of 1914-1918 had but little effect on Malta and the Maltese when compared with the far-reaching social and material changes wrought directly and indirectly by the Second World War (v. Chapter 5) and it was not until 1921, when Malta received a Constitution of Self-Government, that further advances towards a solution of the language problem were made. In the previous year a Board of Education had been set up. In 1921 a new Director of Elementary Schools, Dr. Albert Laferla, was appointed (v.B/61, Feb.1958). His contribution to education in the Islands was to equal that of Canon Pullicino, seventy years before. He raised the standards required of teachers, extended school curricula and set up a School Medical Service (B/661, pp.218-219). He became Director of Education in 1933 and, in the following year, established the first Government technical school.

By this date, however, the language question had come to a head and education, in common with other aspects of life in the Islands, suffered (v. Chapter 7, and B/380).

The major event of the 1920s in education had been the Compulsory Attendance Act of 1924 which entailed that once a pupil was registered at a school he had to maintain at least a specified minimum of attendances. The logical sequel to this, the Compulsory Education Act, did not come until March, 1946, by which time the vast majority of children of school-age were already receiving some instruction.

Since the settlement of the language issue in the 1930s, the Maltese tongue has achieved a place of respectability on primary and secondary school timetables, although the aim is to use English as far as possible. At the University level, however, there is widely-felt opposition to the regulations requiring a minimum knowledge of Maltese, while a frequently recurring topic of correspondence in the local press is the argument as to whether Maltese children should be schooled against a bilingual (i.e. Maltese and English) background. One wonders, incidentally, whether the current rise in popularity of 'Radio e Telivisione Italiana' will go any way towards restoring the Italian language to its former prominence (v. Chapter 9).

The past few years have seen a tremendous spate of primary-school building in all parts of the Islands in an attempt both to provide accommodation for the growing school-population and to replace much of the grossly inadequate older property. The accommodation

problem was indeed serious until very recently. As late as 1954 only 561 primary school classes out of a total of 1777 were able to receive full-time teaching, although, by September, 1956, all part-time instruction had been eliminated (B/272) and the provisions of the 1946 Act thereby made practicable.

The shortage of teaching staff continues to be a serious drawback to educational development. Many primary schools are obliged to employ insufficiently trained staff who are then faced with over-large classes. Teaching at this level is not among the most sought-after professions, a situation not entirely due to the comparatively low salaries paid. Pre-service training for teachers was introduced in 1945 in an effort to raise standards and, two years later, this was extended to a period of twelve months. The supply of new teachers - with even limited qualifications - has, however, never kept pace with the rate of growth of the school populations, and today this is probably as serious as ever in Maltese schools.

Secondary education, particularly on the science and technical sides, is less well advanced than is primary (B/380, p. 32). Outside the dockyard in fact, technical education has only recently assumed any greater prominence than it had at the end of the nineteenth century (p. 35). Since the establishment of a separate Department of Technical Education in 1955, however, greater facilities have become available and a wider public interest in this important field is being awakened (B/111). Unfortunately there is still no provision for training in agriculture and

there is, consequently, no means whereby the young farmer may acquire any formal qualifications in his calling. If such possibilities were available within the Islands not only might the standards and prospects of agriculture be improved but the social status of the farmer would be raised. Moreover, more than a few of the young farmers currently leaving the land might be encouraged to stay (v. Chapter 13).

In its present form the Royal University of Malta is probably the most unsatisfactory part of the whole educational system (B/380, p.33). The absence of a sixth form in the secondary schools means that this function has to be filled by the University which is thereby prevented from concentrating on work at full university level. Charlton speaks of a lack of balance which "puts the University out of touch with the problems confronting Malta" (B/380, p.33). It is heavily weighted towards theology, law, and medicine, and has only a very limited staff in pure and applied science subjects, while there is nothing at all approaching a department of agriculture - or even geography. For the farmer's son the University is not a possible place for advanced studies, even had he the money to afford to go there. Crichton-Miller, in his 1957 report on the present position of education in Malta and Gozo, observes that "the top of the educational pyramid (i.e. the University and secondary sixth form schooling) is quite undeveloped while its base, represented by effective universal primary instruction, is already firmly established" (B/272, para. 59).

The Church, which was responsible for the first educational

institutions in the Islands, was confirmed in its supervisory rights in Maltese schools after the Royal Commission of 1836 (B/184) and has since lost none of this position (B/154). The Government is restricted to supervising only those schools which are subsidized by it (B/661), p. 221).

Perhaps more than any other single feature of Maltese society formal school education is influencing the thought and activities of the people. Naturally enough these changes are most evident in those sections of society which traditionally lacked any formal education at all, but they are apparent too in the urban area and its 'middle class' which have been in closer contact with foreign languages and cultures over a much longer period. In the rural areas the change is one from illiteracy to education in a generation. The implications of this within the social structure of family and village are discussed in Part 3. The mid-nineteenth century saw the extension of basic schooling: the mid-twentieth is witnessing the growth of an awareness of the importance of technical education in its widest sense. Within the farming community attitudes to education vary even now from the 'traditional' view that "education is no use in field work" to the opposite extreme where some farmers are prompted to make all manner of sacrifices in order that their children shall receive the formal education which they themselves never had for they regard this education, and especially a thorough knowledge of the English language, as the key whereby the children

may reach a higher standard of life in industry, commerce, or as emigrants, etc. and move out of the social class which bred them and leave behind the status of 'farmer' which has some note of insult about it.

CHAPTER 7

Language in Malta.

The Maltese language has a singular importance in the study of the Islands and their people past and present. On philological grounds alone it has a major place in Semitic and Romance linguistics, but the 'Language Question' and its wide ramifications have permeated Maltese thought and activity in education, political development, Church affairs, the Law, and have been identified with class structure and tradition to such an extent as to have become at times something of a national obsession (B/471, Vol. 1, Chapter 4). Thus for half a century before 1934, when Maltese finally became an official language in Malta, the controversy was the basis of political and social discord (v. Chapters 5 and 6). More recently new language questions have emerged within the changing social scene.

The study of the language has on occasion been distorted to such an extent that linguistic fantasies have become accepted both in Malta and abroad. The Semitic, and especially Arabic, affinities of the language have given it a Moslem connexion distressing to Maltese religious sensitivity and European aspirations. Thus theories designed to give the language - and the people - a Phoenician ancestry have always fallen on fertile ground in the Islands. Lord Strickland heads the list with his treatise "to prove that the Maltese are not the descendants of any Semitic or African race" and maintaining that both

Maltese and Arabs "learnt their speech from the Assyrians many centuries before the Arabs came to Malta" (v. Chapter 1).

Behind this persuasive thesis of 1921 was an emigration drive to Dominions where great importance was attached to 'European' credentials of prospective citizens (B/363). A few years later the propaganda campaign of Fascist Italy was to make use of the Maltese language in a different way. In an attempt to convince the Maltese people that they were really Italians and ought not to support the British their language was deemed an Italian dialect and, as long before the War as 1928, the 'Istituto Nazionale Fascista di Coltura' had been concerned with the language of the Maltese (B/557). An example of dogmatic linguistics at another extreme was the 1901 translation of "St. John XIV in Arabic and Maltese, showing that the Maltese is as much an Arabic dialect as any other"[47].

Fanciful linguistics in the study of Maltese are now giving way to systematic research into the evolution of the language. The foremost difficulty here is the climate of opinion in Malta which has considered the language of no practical use and, therefore, 'not worth bothering about'. A further severe handicap is the fact that Maltese has been a written tongue for only a small part of its history (B/400). In 1791, Vassalli produced a grammar of Maltese (B/625) followed, after a few years, by a dictionary (B/626) drawing in part on the lexical work of De Soldanis earlier in the century (B/602). In 1825, Vassalli became the first lecturer in Maltese in the University and

produced a much improved version of his grammar two years later (B/627). Vassalli's work and that of the Protestant Missionary Society which needed a Maltese Bible for its work in the Islands after 1800 (B/584) were the beginnings of a process which was to lift Maltese from its place as a 'kitchen tongue' to its present role as a respectable literary and official language of education and government[48].

The academic interest shown in the language in the first half of the nineteenth century by a small number of Maltese, English and other scholars (B/297) was eclipsed as the century advanced by the crucial position of the language in the great social movements - education, emigration, and constitutional development.

Unlike those of the twentieth century, when Strickland wrote, prospective emigrants from nineteenth century Malta had looked first to Mediterranean lands - especially those where the Arabic language prevailed where "in consequence of the affinity of the Maltese to the natives of those countries, in language, and even in habits, a Maltese migrant to any of those countries is more likely to succeed in the objects of his emigration than a Maltese migrant to almost any other.." (B/184, IB, p. 43). Price, on the other hand, insists "that there were more important forces at work than language affinity.." (B/556, p.90, inter alia), but he admits the effect of the views of the 1836 Commissioners on subsequent emigration policy in the nineteenth century (v. Chapter 5).

Primary education spread through the Islands in the second half of the century (v. Chapter 6) accompanied by an increasing acquaintance with English which posed the big question as to whether the Maltese child should be taught through English or through Italian with its centuries-old tradition as the language of culture and of the educated classes in the Islands (B/471). However it was not until 1900 that the place of English was generally recognized. The dispute extended far beyond school instruction for the 1912 Commissioners were able to report that "Italian is the language mainly used in the University, and its use constitutes a kind of caste distinction dividing the educated from the uneducated classes. On the other hand, Maltese is the language used by Maltese of all classes, from the highest to the lowest, in private life" and yet "in the elementary schools, where the children have the choice of learning either Italian or English, over ninety per cent choose English" (B/186, pp.36-37). The Commissioners went against the long-established place of Italian in the Law to assert that "all oral proceedings in these (i.e. Inferior) courts should be conducted in the language of the people, that is to say, in Maltese. Behind the controversy between Italian and English (the two official languages of Malta at the time) the Maltese language was itself becoming respectable.

The 'caste distinction' diagnosed by the 1912 Commissioners was nothing new in Malta and Gozo. For centuries Italian culture and

language had been that of the educated Maltese, and to be educated in Malta was to be familiar with that language - even after more than a century of British rule.

The language question became increasingly involved in political conflicts after the granting of the Constitution in 1921[49]. From this date the Nationalist Party[37] came to be associated with the pro-Italian faction (v. Chapter 5), especially in the legal profession which wanted no diminution of the position of Italian in the courts, schools, government and culture. The small-circulation, Italian-language newspaper run by Mizzi, the bitterly pro-Italian Minister of Public Instruction in the Mifsud Nationalist Government of 1932-33, attacked Strickland and his Constitutionalist Party[37] which represented, through its Maltese-language press, the opposition to the Italianist faction (B/508, Chapter IV).

The three elements in the 'Language Question' - the traditional position of Italian in culture, Church and government; the increasing importance of English after more than a century of British rule, garrison, commerce, and dockyard expansion; and the belated 'coming of age' of Maltese with primary education among the working and rural classes - were assembled for the clash which came in the early thirties, when it could be said that "the question as to the relative importance which should be given, by the Government, to the teaching of Maltese, English and Italian languages has had a political character for many years, and has accordingly led to differences of a deep-rooted

kind" (B/498).

A Royal Commission, charged with the investigation of language and its political implications in Malta, submitted its report in 1931 (B/187). In June, 1932, the Constitution, which had been suspended in 1930, was restored and a Nationalist majority elected to the legislature[37]. Straightway this administration (with Mifsud as Prime Minister) sought to reinstate and reinforce the Italian language in the schools and, at the same time, to remove Maltese as a subject of certain examinations in the Government Service (B/498). Letters Patent of May 2nd, 1932, had provided that only English and Maltese were to be taught in the elementary schools and that Italian was not to be a requirement of secondary school entry. Further "no alteration in the elementary school system can be effected without the Secretary of State's consent if it affects the provisions of the Letters Patent as to language"[50]. Therefore the action of the Nationalist Government[51] was taken as a direct contravention of the terms of the restored Constitution of but a few months previously. Faced with this alleged breach of contract and the refusal of the Nationalists to modify their position the Imperial authorities withdrew responsible government on November 2nd, 1933 (B/498). To say that the support for Italian language and culture evident, at this time, among a large section of the Nationalist following represents anti-British feeling in the Party as a whole is not correct. Some extremists certainly dreamed of political links with Italy but the mass of the

Party managed to combine an insistance on Italianization in language and culture with political loyalty to Britain and a realization of the economic implications of this link.

1934 saw the end of this phase of linguistic strife in Malta with Imperial Letters Patent reforming the language position in the courts. It was asserted that "the general language of intercourse in the Island is Maltese, which all Maltese of whatever class habitually speak; and English is far more widely used and understood in the Island than Italian" (B/508, Chapter IV). Maltese had at last attained the status of a recognized language in its own country - an event which was underlined by the granting of full official status, with English, to Maltese in place of Italian.

As an official language, Maltese needed a standard orthography which it had previously lacked. This, together with the ending of the worst of the strife over language after 1934, made it possible for energy to be diverted once again to the study of the origins and evolution of the language along with efforts towards standardization of script and usage.

In the early nineteenth century there had been some support for the use of Arabic characters in Maltese. However, in view of the long association with Europe, with Italian culture and with the Church of Rome, quite apart from the mass of Italian and other European vocabulary which had been assimilated by the language, there was a clear case for the use of a Latin alphabet. One of the attempts

at compromise appeared in 1845 when Falzon's 'Dizionario' employed such an alphabet modified to include the non-Italian consonants (B/436). During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries several attempts at a standard orthography were proposed. A Society of Maltese Writers, set up in 1921, produced a sound orthographical system shortly afterwards[52], but at this time the influence of Italian orthography was still paramount in general usage (B/396). Most Maltese continued to write in the Italian language anyway, even between themselves.

When Maltese graduated from being a vernacular to the status of a language in 1934 this chaos had to cease. Of the thirty-five experimental alphabets produced (B/297), that first proposed by the Society of Maltese writers a decade before was given Government recognition[52]. This was essentially a compromise between a purely phonetic script and the characteristics of word morphology in Maltese (B/607, 398). Aquilina insists that "what would have been gained in greater phonetic precision would have been more than lost in the value of a spelling system set loose from the rules of Maltese morphology" (B/297). The system is however not without its critics, some of whom go so far as to question the very existence of a Chair in Maltese in the University of Malta (v. Chapter 6). Ironically it had been an Englishman who first made possible the establishment of the Chair (B/297). As Maltese is now a language of Government, the Civil Service, Law, and Education, a knowledge of its writing and

grammar has come to be demanded of Maltese working in those fields although this knowledge is often acquired under protest. After twenty-five years of official status and spread of the written tongue many Maltese - particularly those of the lately Italianate classes - hold that Maltese is a difficult language "looked upon as a nightmare by the vast majority of children attending local schools" (B/54, 3.10.1957, Sub-leader). The children regard their language with dismay because of the social climate wherein many Maltese can still see in their mother tongue something of which to be - if only a little - ashamed. These people believe that education and culture are necessarily synonomous with knowledge of languages other than their own. To be proficient in Maltese grammar and orthography somehow suggests a limited acquaintance with foreign languages and therefore with culture itself. Significantly the countryman who traditionally lacked formal education whether based on Italian or any other tongue has been able to acquire the new Maltese or Anglo/Maltese culture much more readily and without the bitterness found among sections of the upper and middle classes. One is in fact reminded, in a study of modern Maltese society, of the 'caste distinction' observed by the 1912 Commissioners.

Both English and Italian are often spoken fluently by professional and business classes but generally knowledge of the latter is confined to people having some special contact with Italy. Italian was the language of the Church long after it had been displaced in other

spheres of life and society and the Italian connexions of the Church are likely to prolong this position indefinitely. In the ordinary work of the Church within Malta, however, the local tongue has now been fully accepted as a medium for worship and Church administration.

The impact of 'Radio e Telivisione Italiana' is interesting. Since it holds a de facto monopoly of viewing in Malta the non-Italian-speaking Maltese has to be content with programmes which he can understand only imperfectly. Naturally this television has been welcomed enthusiastically by the tri-lingual professional classes. Its profound popularity and extension in Malta and Gozo over the past few years could be the beginning of a linguistic come-back for Italian. Already one hears of Italian expressions and salutations creeping back into colloquial speech. In contrast to television most of the films shown in the many cinemas in Malta (there are no commercial cinemas in Gozo) are English-language (v. Chapter 9).

The emergence of the daily press in Maltese, the decline of Italian and the increase in the English press are reflected in the following classification of Maltese daily newspapers by language for 1888 ("Il Compagno per Tutti', 1888), 1920 (B/94 - 1920, p.333), 1933-4 (B/94 - 1933-34, p.409), and 1959 (B/97 - 1959, p.99)[48]:

	1888	1920	1933-34	1959
English	1	1	2	2
Italian	3	2	2	.
English & Italian	.	1	1	.
Maltese	.	.	2	2

The Maltese-language 'Il-Berqa' (B/55) is read almost exclusively by the working and rural classes - particularly those lacking a thorough knowledge of English; but the 'Times of Malta' and the other English-language papers are read by the professional, business and emerging middle classes[48].

In Malta today, therefore, the distribution of language may be considered in relation to class, to occupation and to locality. The languages concerned are Maltese, English, Italian and, within the Church, Latin. Maltese is not the mother tongue of all Maltese. Many families, anxious to give their offspring a sound basis in English insist on their speaking only this language in the home. In such cases the child learns Maltese only when he begins his formal schooling.

The relation between class and language has been mentioned but, confining attention to Maltese itself, another relationship is discernible. The urban-rural dichotomy is nowhere more vividly evident than in regional dialects. The broadcast distinctions are those between town and country and between Malta and Gozo but, within these major divisions, local districts and even single villages can be differentiated on the basis of pronunciation, intonation, vocabulary and sentence structure. For example, as Aquilina observes, "intonation, so very un-Arabic in Valletta and the neighbouring towns, has been largely influenced by Italian and Sicilian" (B/299). The same influence has affected the words used and the idioms of speech. Large numbers of words have been taken into the language and 'semiticised',

that is adapted to the rules of word morphology, given Semitic plurals, etc. Italian idioms have, similarly, been given literal translations into Maltese (B/297). This Italianization process first affected the towns and has, over several centuries, built up an 'urban' Maltese language notably less Semitic than is the speech of the countryman or the Gozitan who might use a 'Maltese' word where the townsman would employ an 'Italian' loan. Today a most striking feature of Maltese is the way in which it is assimilating English words and adapting them, in the indomitable and versatile pervasiveness that characterises the language (B/299).

Turning to local village and district dialect one finds a regional differentiation the study of which is important to the social geographer and historian but, apart from Aquilina, few authorities have made any attempt at comparative analysis. He maintains that "the difference between one dialect and another is rather more in pronunciation and intonation, only little in vocabulary, and next to nothing in grammar" but "sometimes dialect differences are found in the meaning of a single word" (B/295). Where a village has a dialect unlike those of nearby settlements one suspects that contact between villages has been very limited. This would appear to have been the case in Malta and Gozo until the present century. But, when two or more villages are found to share a particular dialect this may reflect a past or present connexion. For example, the dialect of Żejtun is close to that heard in Marsaxlokk, a small village dependent on it. Mosta and Mġarr have

much in common as regards speech; and it is known that many of the families at present in Mġarr came from Mosta during the past hundred years. Rural speech throughout Malta can generally be distinguished from that of Gozo but the distinction here is much less marked than that between rural Gozo, at one extreme, and Valletta at the other.

The 1939-45 War with its conscription, evacuation and siege conditions found Maltese and Gozitans moved from their home villages to other parts of the Islands (v. Chapter 5). This, together with the more leisurely process of social mingling and movement with the improvements in transport, tends firstly to make people aware of the language variations between districts and, secondly, begins the process of standardization. The schools and Rediffusion are two most important factors here. Aquilina notes that the "standard Maltese as written and taught in the schools is a compromise" (B/295), but it is a compromise weighted in favour of Valletta and the towns. Thus the rural gutturals and broad vowels are held to be wrong, ugly and socially unacceptable. Village children are taught to speak less like their parents and more like townspeople with their smooth, Italianate - or even Anglicised - Maltese. The inter-generational gulf widens, especially in rural areas. The 'local' dialects are becoming the dialects only of the older generations who had very limited schooling if any at all. Once again, distinctions of language are seen to parallel those of society in Malta and Gozo.

Since 1937, when the Chair in Maltese was re-established at the

University and the orthographical problem finally solved, philological work by Aquilina, who holds the Chair, and others, has established the now generally-accepted picture of the evolution and emergence of the language. This has gone far to clearing away the myths and laying the linguistic ghosts already referred to.

"There is no doubt that the Arabs laid the foundations of the language" (B/298). Thus does Aquilina discount the theories of Strickland (B/606) and others, but he does "not deny a priori the possibility of Punic lexical substrata" (B/298). Indeed, on the basis of the available evidence (v. Chapter 1), it would seem that Punic was in fact the language of the Maltese in Roman times but was replaced after the Arab occupation "for there is no doubt that, allowing for a number of peculiarities and erratic developments, Maltese is structurally an Arabic dialect" (B/298, p. 62). Arabic vocabulary -common words, numerals, basic verbs, everyday nouns, adjectives, etc. - remains the basis of Maltese as spoken today in spite of the immense superstructure of Italian and other European words which have merged with the Semitic roots for more than eight centuries to produce the resourceful and adaptable modern Maltese language.

CHAPTER 8

The Church in Malta.

It is not possible to analyse society in Malta without considering the nature of the Maltese Church and the way in which it has acquired its present functional rôle. To the student of the present-day social scene, moreover, one comparatively new feature -the Lay Apostolate- merits special study since it at once reflects and affects the Roman Catholic Church in Malta and Gozo today.

This Chapter therefore falls into two main parts, a chronological outline of the development of the Church in the Islands and, secondly, an analysis of the nature and function of the Lay Apostolate.

The student of the religious life of the Maltese Islands must be impressed by the time-scale of his subject. From the evidence of the elaborate temples and other remains of varying ages back to the second millenium B.C. it appears that religious activity of a highly developed and institutionalized nature is a most ancient feature of the social scene in Malta (v. Chapter 1). Local evidence of the religious activities of the Phoenicians and other visitors to the Islands during the last millenium B.C. is, however, rather more limited while, for the period of the Roman occupation, writers attempt to reconstruct a picture of Maltese society by analogy with what is known of the rest of the Empire (v. Chapter 1).

The Shipwreck of St. Paul in Malta about A.D. 60 is generally accepted as marking the beginning of Christianity in the Islands (B/281), although direct evidence of large-scale conversion is lacking (v. Chapter 1).

Of the period between the end of Roman power and the Arab conquest (870) as little is known of religious life in the Islands as of other aspects. Evidence of persecution under Moslem rule is lacking, although the line of Bishops, of which the first is popularly believed to have been Publius the Head Man of the Islands when St. Paul visited them, was interrupted (B/287, p.172). An estimate as late as 1240 listed 776 families as 'Moslem' as against only 250 'Christian'[53], which could suggest that Christianity had never previously been the dominant faith in Malta but might also indicate a nominal acceptance of the religion of their Arab masters between 870 and 1090 by many otherwise staunch Christians. Whatever the position had been under Moslem rule it is known that Count Roger the Norman built a Cathedral at Mdina after his arrival in 1090-91 and the line of Christian Bishops of Malta began again.

Norman rule brought the political, religious and economic connexion with Europe which has persisted to this day. It was continued by the Swabian, Angevin, Aragonese and Castilian overlords who followed the Normans (v. Chapter 1).

During the 268 years of rule by the Order of St. John after 1530, the Maltese Islands became a major focus of Islamic attack and the

people, on account of their enforced association with the Knights, suffered the consequences and enjoyed the benefits of the constant struggle (v. Chapter 2). Whatever religious toleration there may once have been was erased. Even since the departure of the Order and the end of the military threat the Maltese have somehow continued to regard themselves as a major bastion against "an oriental people with whom they have no social tie nor connection, and whose religious tenets they always held in abhorrence" (B/167 - 1881, p.18).

All was not well with the Church in Malta when the Knights arrived however. The report of an Apostolic Visitor, Mgr. Pietro Duzina, in 1575, is revealing (B/422, & v. Chapter 3). It showed that unorthodoxy was creeping in among both knights and Maltese and this led directly to the establishment of a Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition. There were then three forces rivalling each other in the Islands, the Grand Master, the Bishop, and the Inquisitor (B/375). Malta was attached at that time to the Curia of Palermo where the Bishop preferred to reside and the administration of the Church within the Islands was often left to non-Maltese priests with no knowledge of the local language (B/375, p.21). Duzina was also critical of the organization at the parish level, and he visited the Cathedral and churches of the Islands, ordering repairs to the structure etc., on one hand, and issuing instructions as to behaviour in churches and on the conduct of priests on the other (B/375, p.23). He, furthermore, insisted on the teaching of the

Catechism (B/91, p.46).

It appears that, in 1575, "the church had not yet come to be the centre round which Maltese communal life turned. More often than not a group of three or four small churches or chapels lay quite close to each other. Following the Great Siege (1565), with the gradual decline of Turkish power and with the increase in population, people began to feel the need for larger churches. The first and natural tendency was to enlarge existing ones, and the full development roughly coincided with the period immediately following Duzina's visit" (B/375, p.27). This process seems to have been modified eventually when "all the smaller churches must have vanished in their turn, to give place to a larger and more beautiful edifice.." (B/409). If this was in fact the case it can be said that the present pattern of village society in Malta, in which the Church and the Parish Priest retain their focal roles, dates from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As the parish system has developed in scope and in number of parishes so the Parish Church has become increasingly the pivot about which the life of the village and the thoughts of the villagers have turned (v. Chapters 3 & 10).

Under the Order of St. John the Church went on building up its position within Maltese village and national society. The large single parish church came to be the repository of the wealth, interest and energy of the parish. Beautiful architecture, painting

sculpture, and music, implied Church architecture, painting, sculpture and music. Numerous small churches and chapels either fell into disuse or came to be mere subsidiaries of the important Parish Churches (B/484, Part II). The period of rule by the Order in Malta saw the creation of many new independent parishes along with a considerable increase in the population (V. Chapter 10), and it also saw the shift in the capital of the Islands from Rabat to Valletta (v. Chapter 3). The Church followed the political move, especially after the building of the Co-cathedral of St. John in the new capital, although Rabat has retained a place of special prominence in Church activity (v. Appendix 6). The religious Orders established in the Islands after 1530 appeared in what is now the urban area. They have played an important part in the Church in Malta since the fourteenth century making notable contributions to education and other aspects of religious activity. Those now present include (B/91, p.287) :

Order	Founded	Established at	Date
Minor Conventuals...	1209	Rabat	1310
Carmelites.....	1247	Rabat	1370
Dominicans.....	1216	Rabat	1466
Friars Minor.....	1209	Rabat	1492
Jesuits.....	1540	Valletta	1582
Capuchins.....	1525	Floriana	1588
Discalced Carmelites	1562	Cospicua	1626
De la Salle Bros....	1725	Cospicua	1903
Salesians.....	1857	Sliema	1904

One of these Orders, the Society of Jesus, was responsible for the foundation of a college which later became the University

of Malta, while some of the Islands' best known schools are still run directly by Orders. Two such are St. Edward's (De la Salle) and St. Aloysius' College (Jesuits). The contribution of both the Orders and the regular clergy to the development of education in Malta and Gozo is discussed in Chapter 6, while the changing rôle of the priest at the parish level is outlined in Chapter 10.

As the Church consolidated its position during the rule of the Knights of St. John clashes of interests emerged not infrequently between the Curia and the Order. It has been suggested that there was in fact open rivalry from the sixteenth century onwards (B/375), but at least it can be seen as hardly surprising if the Maltese Church was not at times suspicious of the position and power of an Order owing direct allegiance to the Pope, Catholic and yet not Maltese. Whether or not the Church would have chosen the 'Protestant' British in place of the 'Catholic' Knights is open to discussion. Certainly either must have seemed preferable to the pillaging and despoilation suffered during two brief years of French rule (v. Chapter 4). Under both Knights and British the relations between Church and Government in Malta have had an important economic aspect. Whereas the Order derived much of its income from external sources (v. Chapter 3) and British rule after 1800 brought income through spending in and on Malta as a result of the naval and military position there, the Church has always relied for the major part of its sustinence on its Maltese

property and the regular support of the Maltese people[54].

Having consolidated its position under the Order, the Church spent the nineteenth century as it were 'marking time'. The major changes of the period were connected with purely administrative details of keeping pace with the rapidly rising population (v. Chapter 10), while the Archbishopric of Malta was established in 1831 with the separation from the jurisdiction of Palermo, and the Bishopric of Gozo was founded in 1863.

The Band Clubs which emerged as important social centres for men during the second half of the nineteenth century were not organized by or within the Church but they are examples of the way in which even non-religious movements in Malta acquire a religious element. Each club included among its 'officials' a Spiritual Adviser (v. Chapter 9). This symbolises one aspect of the importance of their Church to the Maltese. It is always there as a focus from which the individual may seek guidance and support and is represented in most forms of institutionalized behaviour in the community from the Band Club with its spiritual adviser to the priest when he blesses the homes of his parishioners at Easter.

Both as regard Religion in general and the Maltese Church in particular is this true. The Roman Catholic Faith by its basic tenets is founded on a uniformity of belief and worship along with a uniformity of organization under the Pope in Rome. On doctrine and dogma the individual has, therefore, a long established and minutely codified law upon which to lean. At the local level,

within Malta, the individual leans, as it were, administratively on the organization of the Maltese Church under its Archbishop, just as he depends for the spirit and dogma of his belief upon the teachings of Rome, relayed to him through the personnel of the Church of his own Islands. In Malta, moreover, the Catholic Church is the Church. There are no large non-Catholic elements as found in countries such as Belgium, France, and even Italy itself. There is no place for a 'Catholic Party' within politics. Avowed non-conformists have yet to appear. This aspect of the totality of the Catholic Church in Malta is reflected in a characteristic arrogance on religious matters. The Maltese is proud of his Church and, although he may readily enough criticise its administration he does not question its religious basis.

This applies as much in the twentieth century as it did in the nineteenth when Miège could say of the Faith of the Maltese (1840) "cette piété, poussé jusqu'au fanatisme, lui fait supporter, sans se plaindre, la misère et les mauvais traitments, pourvu que l'on ne touche ni à ses églises ni aux ministres du culte" (B/516, p.168). Within Malta of the nineteenth century this piety produced a communal solidarity and dependence on the Church which "probably helps to explain the failure of the Maltese, even in times of greatest distress, to riot or demonstrate against a government and social order approved of by the hierarchy" (B/556, p.18 et seq).

A new kind of trinity has replaced that of the Grand Master

Inquisitor and Bishop who, under the Order "were three rivals in little Malta each trying to oust the other" (B/375, p.1). The three factors today are the Church, the Governor, and the local Maltese Government (before the removal of the Constitution in April, 1958). On the Imperial side, the British Government has, since 1800 been careful and tolerant in its relations with the Maltese Church. Conflict has emerged only when some question such as that of Integration[55] has aroused a storm of suspicious protest (B/54, 26.7.1957 etc.), or when some Anglican assertions on "religious freedom" sparks off discussion in Malta and abroad (B/65, 19.2.1958, etc.). Generally the religious position has been accepted in London although the same amity has not always been found in Malta itself between the Malta Legislature and the Church. In fact the 'Church v. State Question' has at times during recent years assumed proportions rivalling those of the 'Language Question' earlier this century (v. Chapter 7). The Labour Party at times was held to be somehow 'anti-Church' though at no point 'anti-Faith' in so far as it supported the Integration proposals of the Mintoff Government[55], while the Nationalist Party, with its support in the Law, the University and the professions, seemed to adhere more obediently to the alleged views of the Archiepiscopal Curia.

A most astonishing feature of the Maltese clergy is its numerical strength (B/167,90,91). A proportion of one cleric

to every hundred of the population contrasts with the position, for example, in Roman Catholic South America with one in some 40,000. Moreover, there is a steady stream of applicants for admission to the Orders or the regular clergy despite its patent over-crowding and the near-poverty level of some Maltese priests. The large number of priests is brought into sharp relief today when the tendency is for the traditional versatility and omnipotence of the priest in the community to give way to a delegation of duty and diversification of function. This is especially true of rural Malta today (v. Chapter 10). To this extent a smaller number of priests relative to the total population is necessary but the very changes concerned are tending to produce a society in which the Church is becoming conscious of its changing role. As in other countries the Church's answer has been the Lay Apostolate.

The Lay Apostolate in Malta and Gozo comprises a wide range of institutionalized and institution-directed activity. There are twenty-six distinct movements working in support of the Church and the Catholic Faith. Though run by laymen they are supported and advised at all points by the Church and Clergy. In addition to the Lay Apostolate proper there are certain Confraternities, Third Orders and Guilds which are of ancient foundation and with a modern function largely limited to ceremonial. Most of the Lay movements are products of the twentieth century and, more especially, of the past thirty years. A full list of these organizations is

given in Appendix 5.

The present intention is to consider in some detail the nature and function of some of the more prominent movements. The first notable feature is that only one of the movements listed in Appendix 5 is directed at non-Catholics[56]. All the others are aimed at Maltese Catholics in Malta. This gives a clue to their function. They are the Church's answer to changes in society which are enabling the individual to learn, think and travel away from his parish and from his Church. The beginnings of this change came in the nineteenth century with the growth of the urban area round Valletta and the harbours (v. Chapter 10), but the present pattern is one of the extension of 'emancipation' in these terms to even the most rural parts of the Islands. The Lay Apostolate has, therefore, spread from its urban beginnings out into the country districts. An indication of this spread and of the present distribution of some of the movements is given in Appendix 6.

The largest and the most influential of the movements comprising the total Lay Apostolate merit detailed consideration as to their role and function within modern Maltese society.

Society of Christian Doctrine

Known generally as "MUSEUM"[57], this movement was founded in 1907 by a Maltese priest, Mgr. George Preca. It was canonically erected in 1932 (B/90, 91), but has always been run by lay men and women. The present full membership (over eighteen years of age)

includes some 600 men and 640 women who are responsible for the teaching work, catechism instruction, etc., among the children attending MUSEUM classes (v. Appendix 6). "The society embraces a wide variety of apostolate, but mainly that of the teaching of catechism" (B/91, p.321) and it is therefore regarded in some circles as narrow and extremist. The full members have no interests apart from MUSEUM and their occupation and have to observe a strict code of rules, ranging from celibacy and abstinence to matters of dress and social deportment[58]. They do in fact amount to auxiliary and unordained lay priests and nuns.

Their classes of catechism and religious instruction are held several times per week for children under twelve and, particularly in rural districts, it is estimated that ninety or ninety-five per cent of the children of that age-group attend. In the twelve to fourteen age-group the influence of MUSEUM is intensive rather than extensive for in this period certain pupils are 'selected' and encouraged to proceed further with their work for the Society. Some of the 'candidates' (14 - 18 years) become full members and accept the rules and heavy commitments involved[58].

The over-all aim of the Society is to counter the distractions of the towns and maintain the place which the Church still holds in the country districts and it believes that this can best be done by emphasis on doctrine - and especially on the Catechism.

CATHOLIC ACTION

Unlike the Society of Christian Doctrine, Catholic Action was active abroad before it was officially inaugurated in Malta in 1932, having first appeared in the Islands in 1921. In common with other movements of the apostolate its aim is "to promote the religious and social interests of the population, in direct collaboration with, and subordinate to, the Hierarchy of Holy Mother Church" (B/91, p.313), but its methods differ from those of MUSEUM in so far as it attempts to adapt itself to rather than to withdraw from the problems of a changing community. The total membership in Malta alone is 1774 men and 3168 women divided into four groups (v. Appendix 6) together with special groups of 'graduates' and 'teachers'. The appointments to the major offices in the movement are by H.G. the Archbishop, while Diocesan Councils are responsible for the organization at the local branch level (B/91). The movement did not begin operations in Gozo until 1936 and has clearly not achieved there the degree of activity and organisation found in the larger Island. This reflects the present position in which the need for such a movement is patently very much greater in the urban and sub-urban districts than in rural Malta and Gozo. Once again one finds that the movement is consciously striving towards a restoration of the traditional position of the Church. Indeed Catholic Action is said to be "the part taken by the Catholic laity in the apostolic mission of the Church with the object of defending the principles of

Faith and Morals and of spreading a sane and beneficial social action so as to restore Catholic Life in home and society"[59]. To this extent Catholic Action in Malta is part of the grand design of the whole Catholic Church which is having to face similar problems in many parts of the world[60].

Malta Catholic Action is certainly the most prominent of the Islands' lay movements. A number of sub-committees[61] are responsible for the work of the movement in a wide variety of fields, including the Press, Social Studies, Social Assistance, Public Morality, the Family, emigration, missionary work, health and recreational activities (B/91). Members are not required to observe strict rules and can work in whatever sphere they please.

SOCIAL ACTION MOVEMENT

----- Unlike Malta Catholic Action, the Social Action Movement is centrally rather than locally organized. It is also a very recent development, having been inaugurated in 1955 "to stimulate social action and social studies with a view to the setting up of a social order based on the tenets of Catholic teaching" (B/91, p. 334). Like MUSEUM it was not imported from abroad. The organizing nucleus is made of the 'Activists' who are required to undergo a two-year course of 'social studies' (sociology, ethics, law, theology, statistics, etc), although the ordinary members form the numerical majority.

Special Sections are set up to deal with particular social

problems as they arise. Notable amonst these are the Information Section, Family Association (B/54, 25.11.1957, etc), Housing and Slum Clearance (B/54, 11.6.1957, etc), Women Employees Organization (B/54, 31.10.1957, etc., & B/598), Centre for Social Studies (B/54, 18.2.1958, etc), and other temporary committees such as the 'Storm Damage Commission' of late 1957. There appears to be a considerable over-lap of interest between this movement and Malta Catholic Action although the leaders insist that they only work in fields not covered elsewhere and they quote the case of the teaching profession which already has its own Unions[62]. The Movement in Gozo, moreover, is a separate organization.

In both Islands therefore the Social Action Movement lacks the parish basis of other lay organizations and is consequently remote from the life of the average villager. Its activity is nevertheless much in evidence in the press and in the towns generally and it is an important and characteristic wing in the present reforming zeal within the Church in Malta.

THE LEGION OF MARY

Founded in Ireland in 1923, the Legion was first established in Malta in 1939. "Its main activities in Malta are hospital visitations, home calls, teaching of Catechism, dissemination of Catholic literature, and care of the lapsed. The Legion also works among non-Catholics, for whom it holds monthly conferences"

(B/91, p.322). The present sixty-one male and eighty-seven female branches have 742 and 1377 members respectively (v. Appendix 6).

The avowed aim of 'care of the lapsed' could be taken as the keynote of the whole Lay Apostolate movement if 'lapsed' were taken to include the potentially lapsed.

YOUNG CHRISTIAN WORKERS (Żgħażagħ Ħaddiema Nsara)

This movement, with twenty male branches (728 members) and one female group, typifies the post-1945 development of the lay apostolate in that it is concerned with the problems arising among an urbanate and 'industrial' youth. It has, therefore, not yet penetrated the rural areas of Malta and Gozo (v. Appendix 6). The movement developed in Malta on the pattern of the 'International Jeune Chrétienne' and is organized around a nucleus of 'leaders' who "exercise their apostolate among their friends and companions at work, in leisure hours in clubs and through contacts made during sales of the review 'Il-Ħaddiem'" (B/91, p.323). In addition, meetings, camps, sport, Rediffusion broadcasts, and national campaigns are organized.

The emphasis put on this and several organizations directed at the younger generation suggests that the Church is aware of the vulnerability of this section of the population to change. There appears to be, in fact, considerable duplication of effort. Not only is the Young Men's Section of the Catholic Action concerned in this field (B/54, 25.2.1958, etc), but the 'Malta Youth Consultative

Council', which attempts to coordinate activities among these youth organizations within the Islands, follows developments at the level of the 'World Assembly of Youth' and relays these in Malta through its "Youth World" (B/77).

At the parish level there is now felt a need for Youth Centres which "will serve partly as quarters to the main religious organizations of the Parish - which usually have to make do with the Parish Sacristy - and partly as a religious-cum-social club for the youngsters, affording them facilities for social and cultural functions" (B/54, 31.1.1958, etc).

Mention may also be made of the 'Malta Playing Fields Association' (B/54, 14.2.1958, etc) which, while not part of the Lay Apostolate, is part of the total social awareness of the needs of youth in a changing society.

CANA

Having originated in the United States, this movement was introduced to Malta in 1955 (B/91, p.326). Like the Social Action Movement it is organized at the national rather than Parish level and is mainly concerned with the provision of lectures and other guidance to engaged or newly-married couples, including a journal in English and Maltese (B/67).

CANA, like the Young Christian Workers' Organisation, is essentially an urban product. It is not yet needed in the villages. In the towns, on the other hand, "attacks on the family and family

life have increased in intensity since the end of the war. A counter-attack is called for" (B/54, 26.1.1957). CANA represents an awareness of this present problem in which "our families are today faced with a moral crisis. Infidelity is not uncommon and separations are on the increase" (B/54, 3.1.1958).

Within Malta a demand for premises to house at least the administrative activity of the Lay Apostolate has been felt recently. At the national level a 'Catholic Institute' of imposing structure and design was nearing completion in 1958 (B/54, 28.1.1958, etc). It was said that the Institute would serve as

i) a place for Catholic Culture - lectures, films, books, etc.
ii) the central headquarters for co-ordination of the various movements comprising the Lay Apostolate,
iii) weekly films and drama shows, etc.

At the parish and district level the same is happening. In Sliema, for example, the Dominican Order opened a hall in 1957. In Żabbar, spacious buildings are appearing; in other places more modest extensions to existing church premises are fulfilling the same focal function. In Mġarr (Malta) an Oratory has been in operation for some years and is certainly the finest building in the village apart from the Church itself (V. Chapter 10). In Gozo, the most influential and energetic Centre of this kind is the Don Bosco Oratory of Victoria. Founded in 1934 by a priest from Naxxar in an old house the Oratory grew to become the gathering place of "most of the boys and youths of Victoria"[63]. Catechism instruction

was the major part of the contribution of the Oratory but a wide variety of other activities have lately been added, including football (the Oratory has an overwhelmingly strong position in Gozo football), dramatics, lectures and debates. "All such activities cater for the educational welfare and upbringing of the Gozitan boy and youth"[63]. Girls and women are admitted to some functions but have no parallel organization. For boys, therefore, the Institute "has turned out to be the 'Town Hall of Gozo' ... it has narrowed the breach that was long felt in education"[63].

It emerges from the above survey that the need for the Apostolate is felt by the Church and Clergy who control many of the movements and assist in others although the working and receiving members are mostly Lay. In the towns this need appears to be greater than in the rural areas and is certainly much more pressing than in Gozo where the Bishop, Parish Priests and the St. John Bosco Oratory have not yet had to face problems of the same magnitude. There are as yet no lapsed Catholics in Gozo.

Within the urban areas the attempts by the Church to re-establish its position and its Faith have included measures not already considered such as censorship, crusades for decency in dress, and declamations on Church policy towards birth-control, civil and mixed marriages. Significantly, however, none of these are yet considered necessary in rural Malta and Gozo.

A further recent addition to the range of reforming activity on the part of the Church in Malta has been the serious research into 'religious sociology' in the Islands directed by the Abbe Houtart[64]. "It is only some fifteen years ago that the Catholic pioneers of religious sociology began their analyses of religious behaviour"[65]. Early in 1958 the Abbé Houtart visited Malta and lost no time in awakening the Church from its still over-complacent slumber. He pointed out that "as elsewhere in the world, a new and complicated social situation has brought new problems in Malta" (B/54, 13.2.1958, etc.). The Abbé's sound approach to his study is something new for Malta - where the University has no departments of geography, history, social anthropology, or sociology or similar disciplines which one might have expected. It is to be hoped that the report on his findings will be made public (B/482). His work will provide valuable evidence as to the present state of Church and Faith in "a country like Malta where religious practices are still homogeneous" (B/54, 13.2.1958).

CHAPTER 9

Utilities, Amenities and Institutions

In Chapter 5 an attempt was made to outline the major social changes prominent in Malta between 1800 and the present time. Separate successive chapters were then devoted to the examination of education, language and the Church as three of the most fundamental factors in such changes (Chapters 6, 7, and 8). Before proceeding to an examination of rural society today, with special reference to the individual in that society (Parts 3 and 4), brief mention must be made of some of the 'material' developments which have accompanied the social, cultural and economic changes discussed.

These material developments, or amenities, or utilities, may be classified as

(1) TRANSPORT
- especially public omnibus services and general improvements in the road network.

(2) PUBLIC UTILITIES
(a) Sewage, Electricity and Water
(b) Government Dispensary and other public Health Services.
(c) Police

(3) COMMUNICATIONS
(a) Press
(b) Telephone and Postal System
(c) Rediffusion, Radio, Cinema, and Television

(4) CLUBS
   (a) Band Clubs
   (b) Other clubs and associations (e.g. British Council).

Although covering a wide range of activity and 'amenities' these features have in common the fact that they are all contributing to the 'urbanization' of rural Malta and Gozo today. With the exception of some of the items under (4), which are not physical amenities in the sense implied in this Chapter but are included for completeness, they made their first appearances in the urban area and have since spread out into the country districts. It is proposed to examine each of these four categories along with a more detailed discussion of the effect and function of items of special importance to the subject of this thesis.

TRANSPORT

The 1912 Commissioners heard that "the highways are in a fairly good state, but the by-roads are not ... for instance, the roads between Valletta and Notabile, or Valletta and one of the main villages, are in a fairly good condition" (B/186, para. 4422). In general this radial pattern of transportation in the Islands with Valletta as the centre has been maintained. In 1912, roads were not the sole means of movement for also available were a railway between Valletta and Mtarfa (Rabat) and a tramway linking the capital with Birkirkara, Żebbug, and Pawla respectively[66]. Both railway and tramway have since closed, however, and the basis of

public transport today is the network of omnibus services based on Valletta, in Malta, and on Rabat (Victoria) in Gozo. A tolerably satisfactory service now exists in Malta between Valletta and all but the smallest settlements. There is, however, practically no provision for regular inter-village services. Despite such limitations the public 'bus transport system has certainly been a major factor in the 'opening up' of rural Malta[67]. For some years it has been possible for most villagers to get to Valletta within an hour. Many of the older country people have still never seen their capital but the transport facilities available have made Valletta and the urban Malta which it represents a familiar and readily accessible part of the experience of the younger generation of all parts of the Island. The same cannot, of course, be said for Gozo.

The development of Malta's 'bus services would not have been possible without drastic improvements in the state of even the main roads. Asphalting of the major roads was first undertaken in 1930 while, in Gozo, the main road between Mġarr and Victoria was the first in the Island to be metalled at about the same time[68]. The Second World War disrupted building programmes and no substantial improvements to the road network were made until after 1950. Since that date, however, there has been considerable road building and surfacing activity. In Gozo roads now connect Victoria with most of the larger villages, while Malta is rapidly becoming -if anything- over-supplied with main highways. The country districts, especially

in Gozo, still suffer from the poor state of local roads and tracks.

The combined effect of road improvements and the expansion of the 'bus services between Valletta and the towns and villages has been immense. Not only have villagers been able to travel quickly to work in the towns and especially in the Dockyard and harbours (v. Map 4) but the social and cultural horizon of the rural Maltese has been similarly widened. The same is not yet true to the same extent of the Gozitan. A ferry service between the two Islands provides an efficient link in all but stormiest weather but the Gozitans still regard Malta as 'overseas' and many have never been there.

PUBLIC UTILITIES

Prior to 1870, Valletta, Floriana, the Three Cities, and Birkirkara were the only places with public SEWERAGE systems, draining into the nearby harbours[69]. Soon after 1870, main sewers were constructed either side of the Valletta peninsula draining to a main outfall near Kalkara. By 1912 an intercepting sewer had linked up Rabat and Qormi to the main system and extensions were made to Sliema, St. Julians, Pietà, Msida, Tarxien, Pawla, Żabbar, and Żejtun. The extent of the system at this time is shown on a map accompanying the Royal Commission Report which also contains a considerable amount of information on this and other topics (B/186).

Birkirkara was linked to the main intercepter as early as 1902-3 but the nearby Three Villages[70] were only partially sewered by 1917. There were further extensions to the network in the five years before the 1939-45 War (notably at Żebbug and Gżira) but the biggest developments came after the War. An intercepting sewer reached Mosta in 1946, while plans were laid two years later for an extension to Siġġiewi. Naxxar was connected to the main intercepter in 1949 and most of the street sewerage there was completed by 1952 when Għaxaq was also street-sewered and the main intercepter pushed on to Gudja. 1954 saw work on the Birżebbuġa extension. A separate scheme for the drainage of Millieħa, begun in 1956, is now complete, while work is currently in progress in the Għargħur and Dingli districts[71].

In Gozo, an intercepting sewer reached Victoria (Rabat) in 1910 and street sewering there occupied a further two years. Apart from some extensions in Victoria and at Għajnsielem, near the main Gozo outfall, no major developments were made until after 1950, since when extensions to Xewkija, Sannat, and Nadur have been undertaken[71]. Much of Gozo remains un-sewered, however, particularly in the north and west of the Island.

The extension of the sewerage system in the Islands illustrates the changing status of suburban and rural Malta and Gozo. Comparatively small and isolated during the nineteenth century the villages were not thought to merit such an essentially 'urban' feature as an efficient

sewerage system. For their part, the villagers accepted standards of hygiene low enough to produce epidemics and to maintain a high infant mortality rate. The case of water provides a parallel example (v. below). During recent decades, however, the villages have been 'urbanized' and, as part of his general social and material emancipation, the villager has come to demand sewerage, water, electricity, and other features previously absent but now considered essential. The rapid growth in population in the villages has, moreover, made problems of unsatisfactory sanitation, etc., even more pressing than it would otherwise have been.

A similar situation prevails as regards ELECTRICITY which, although available in most settlements of village size in Malta is still absent from much of the smaller Island. As with sewerage, Victoria was the first part of Gozo to have a public electricity supply (1926). Four villages were added to the system just before the outbreak of the 1939-45 War but the biggest extensions did not come until the early 1950s. A submarine power cable was laid between Malta and Gozo in the latter part of 1957 (B/54, 19.10.1957) which, it was hoped, would enable facilities in Gozo to be improved generally to the level of the larger Island (B/163).

A public supply of potable WATER is a further important aspect of the material spread of 'urbanization' but, in the Maltese Islands, there is everywhere a notable shortage of this commodity (B/241, 524). Work has been going ahead recently on the construction

of new reservoirs, but, with increasing demands from industrial and domestic consumers, the shortage of water for agricultural irrigation and for rural use generally is likely to become acute (B/249). Over the past century there has however been a very considerable improvement in the quality of water available on mains supply. Though somewhat saline this water is now drinkable. In the nineteenth century the water-supply in both town and country was often a contributory factor in the spread of epidemics. For example, one 1876 report on the Islands' water supply was produced as an appendix to a 'Report on Mortality' (B/231).

The over-all improvement in the health standards in the Maltese Islands has been mentioned in Chapter 5, where the decline in the infant mortality rate since 1937 was given as an indication of the change. An important feature has been the development of medical and health services during the twentieth century. The Government Dispensary has become a characteristic feature of even the smallest villages (v. Chapter 10), and enables poor persons to receive attention under a district Medical Officer (B/228, para.55). There are some eight civil hospitals in the Islands, while the output of holders of degrees in medicine from the Royal University would suggest that there is no shortage of doctors. Nevertheless Cronin, in his 1956 report (B/228), was critical of almost every aspect investigated. Malta is clearly a long way behind such countries as the United Kingdom. One illustration of this backwardness is

the prevailing popular prejudice against nursing for, in Malta, "there is an impression that nursing is akin to servile work" (B/54, 2.12.1957)[72]. Other aspects of the medical services also demand urgent improvement but, when studied against the background of the progress which has been made, Malta emerges as much more advanced as far as her medical standards are concerned as compared with nearby Mediterranean littoral areas in both Europe and North Africa (B/135.136.137). The incidence of trachoma is a good illustration of the position. This scourge was traditionally prominent in Malta and, especially, in Gozo, as in nearby North Africa. The numbers of Gozitans afflicted have fallen sharply during the past generation and the disease can now be considered the exception and no longer the rule among rural children (B/137). In Tripolitania, on the other hand, a survey of schoolchildren as recently as 1957 revealed that over 80% were suffering from some form of trachoma - although this figure was substantially reduced after treatment[73]. Other diseases such as cholera have also become rarities in the Maltese Islands (B/223,224,137).

In the field of general social services Malta has advanced in recent years. Non-contributory old age pensions, for example, came into effect in 1948 (B/131 -1955, p.17), while relief for sickness, widowhood, destitution, accidents at work, etc., is also available (B/131, 121, 130). School free-milk and medical and dental services are well-established (B/137), while a full-scale

National Health Service on the pattern of that operating in the United Kingdom is under consideration (B/228, paras 66-81).

Since 1956 destitution has been further relieved by free food and other supplies from the United States. The biggest agencies concerned in these distributions have been C.A.R.E. and N.C.W.C. (v. Chapter 12).

The outcome of these various lines of development has been a general improvement in standards of health together with a growth in the awareness of the medical needs of the Islands which, despite the qualifications made and the needs for further improvements indicated, have put Malta in a very much better position in this respect than is the case in her Mediterranean neighbours.

COMMUNICATIONS

——Communications in the sense of movement of people has been mentioned above but no less important is the exchange and development of ideas by voice, the written word and the screen.

Under the Knights of St. John there was some printing in Malta but no free PRESS. Under the French (Chapter 4) restrictions were relaxed though only after the Royal Commission Report of 1936-37 (B/184) did the British Government reduce censorship of imported material[74]. During the latter part of the nineteenth and in the twentieth centuries the development of the Press -especially newspapers and periodicals- reflected the general 'language question' in the Islands (v. Chapter 7). Today, with general primary education

and the emergence of a public literate in Maltese, English and, even now, Italian, Malta has a substantial output of all types of periodicals and journals. Some of these are listed in Part 3 of the Bibliography, in the Introduction to which some account is also given of the distribution of reading habits (v. Bibliography, pp. 3 - 8).

With his ability to read books and periodicals the young countryman is now able to enjoy a far wider horizon of experience than was possible for his illiterate father.

Literacy opens up possibilities of similar wider contacts through the POSTAL SYSTEM. This is a particularly important feature in modern Malta where many people are in touch by correspondence with emigrated relatives.

Within the Islands the public TELEPHONE in every village is a further indication of spreading 'urbanization'. In 1957 an automatic telephone exchange was opened at Marsa (B/54 - 28.10.1957).

But the most important of all has probably been REDIFFUSION which has spread rapidly since 1935[75]. The network began in the urban area and, during the 1939-45 War, when public loud-speakers were installed in the villages, it played an important part in the war effort as the major source of news. The press was both too slow and too limited in circulation to have had a similar effect at the same period.

Within three years of the end of hostilities the number of

private subscribers had risen from less than 5,000 to 16,000. By the end of 1957, over 45,000 individual subscribers had been connected to the system. Of special importance was the fact that much of this increase has been in rural Malta (especially after 1950) and, since 1955, in Gozo. The Company moved into a new central Rediffusion House in 1957, since when the service has been extended to all but certain isolated rural areas.

There are two programme networks. "A" is largely composed of the relayed transmissions of the General Overseas Service of the B.B.C., While the "B" net caters primarily for local interest and is mostly given in Malta, relaying Church services, Band Club concerts and other local music, celebrity 'spots', British Council and schools' broadcasts, farmers' and other special programmes, apart from news and information bulletins[76].

Rediffusion has certainly played an especially important part in the 'emancipation' of the less well educated sections of society (i.e. rural Malta and Gozo) who are prevented by illiteracy or remoteness from taking advantage of even the Maltese-language press. In combination with other forms of 'communication' it is producing a generation of rural Maltese and Gozitans who are made instantly and increasingly aware of the world around them.

The number of private RADIO licenses is today below the total of Rediffusion loudspeakers in the Islands. Since 1923 there has been a steady increase in numbers, with an above-average

acceleration in the post-war period 1946-48, while, in 1957, 36,681 sets were licensed - or nearly four times the 1939 total[77]. One expects that as a greater number of Maltese acquire a thorough knowledge of English or some other foreign language the number of radios in the Islands will increase, but meanwhile the wireless holds little attraction for the monoglot Maltese.

The CINEMA in Malta has grown to become one of the major national pastimes. The urban area is particularly well supplied with cinemas and the country districts, although seen to have far fewer cinema seats, are within comparatively easy reach by public transport of the cinemas in the urban and fringe areas. The following table shows the distribution by the areas demarcated on Map 2 (v. Chapter 10) and reveals a heavy urban concentration (B/97 - 1959, p.151) :

	POPULATION	CINEMAS	SEATS	POPULATION/SEATS
Urban area.....	134,399	23	22,754	5
Fringe.....	83,898	11	6,889	12
Inner Rural.....	41,955	6	3,235	13
Rural.....	48,476	4	2,422	20
Outer Rural.....	10,892	1	360	30
Total.....	319,620	45	35,660	9

Most of the films shown nowadays are English-language : none is in Maltese. Cinema-going is becoming increasingly popular in the Islands and, unlike the United Kingdom, there is a demand for new and better cinemas - except in Gozo where films are shown only

on Sundays.

The cinema is however regarded with suspicion by the Church authorities, whose censorship follows the ideals laid down in the Papal Encyclical Letter on films of 1936[78]. Moreover, the 'National Catholic Film Centre', founded by order of the Archbishop in 1947, does not accept the Government's censoring as adequate. A double censor regime prevails but even this apparently leaves much room for worry about the effect which films can, and are, it is alleged, having on the youth of Malta. Significantly the 'Malta Youth Consultative Council' (v. Chapter 8) saw fit to organize a seminar on "Films, T.V., and Modern Youth" recently (v.B/54 - 8.5.1957, p.13) but the whole question of films, morals and youth reccurs at frequent intervals in the press.

TELEVISION in Malta, or more precisely the transmissions of 'Radio e Televisione Italiana', also give rise to demands for censorship in some quarters. The growth in its popularity in the past few years has been phenomenal. "More and more television aerials sprout from Malta's and Gozo's rooftops every week" (B/54 - 4.2.1958). A 'television revolution' has emerged covering all parts of the Islands, not excluding even the coffee bars of rural Gozo which, incidentally, gets the best reception in the Islands. People too poor to buy their own sets crowd the shops and cafes which have them. Even more effective than the cinema as an 'urbanizing' influence the television can even be accused

of producing a return of the Italian language in the Islands. This is likely to grow unless a local station can be established in Malta dispensing English- and Maltese-language programmes as was in fact advocated in the "Times of Malta" in 1957 (B/54, May 22nd, p.13) and elsewhere.

CLUBS

The most important formal club in Malta -other than those associated directly with the Church- is the BAND CLUB (B/520,521). The Maltese Band Club is a unique institution. It is not an 'urbanizing' influence on the lines of those features already considered in this Chapter because the Band Club movement began in rural Malta in 1860 when Clubs appeared in Rabat, Żebbuġ, and Zejtun[79]. In 1863 and 1865 further Clubs were founded in the Three Cities, although Valletta had to wait until 1874. The Band Club would seem to be a logical development in the type of society found in Malta. At the village level the Club meets the need for a rallying-point for communal energy and activity which is distinct from the Church; and, to the extent that it is 'extra-Church', characteristic of an increasingly 'urbanate' community, the Band Club movement parallels, in its effect, the functional contribution made by the other features considered in this Chapter. However many of these very features have in recent years tended to dislodge the Band Clubs from the position which they came to hold in the Islands during their Golden Age -1880 to 1939[80]. Football is

another modern counter-attraction and it is fashionable today to sneer at the Band Clubs and their musicians and supporters as at least a little 'antiquated'. However the Clubs are still there. There are some 54 in Malta and four in Gozo. Some have recently moved into spacious new quarters. The L'Isle Adam Club in Rabat, one of the oldest, has done this and now meet in their fine building where trophies, pictures of past maestros, bishops, the Queen, and spiritual directors and other Club officials, mingle with plush furnishing, marble floors and produce an aura of ornate dignity in which the members play tombola (housey-housey), discuss the Band and everything from Government to local developments in the Parish. When the Band gives a concert or holds a major rehearsal guests, including women and children, are allowed in and a general social evening develops with the maestro struggling to control both Band and audience. Intra-village rivalries frequently find one channel of expression in the Clubs and in nineteen towns and villages there are, in fact, two separate Clubs. A list of the present Band Clubs is included in Appendix 4[79], while the following table shows the modern urban-fringe orientation of the movement despite its rural ancestry:

	No. of Parishes	No.of Clubs	Ratio
Urban area	14	17	1.21
Fringe	10	14	1.40
Inner Rural	11	13	1.18
Rural	14	12	0.86
Outer Rural	8	1	0.13

Of the newer clubs and associations such as political, football, cultural, or trade union movements the first two are proving important alternatives within both village and town society, but although their raisons d'être are politics and sport rather than music they tend to acquire the same social function as the Band Club -namely that of a mens' club having no direct link with the Church. The British Council, with its Institutes at Valletta and Victoria, is also worthy of merit in this context because it too has made a contribution to the total process of social and cultural awakening. Its position in Gozo is particularly interesting for it has become, through its Institute, something of a focal centre of cultural development in the Island and, to this extent, is symbolic of the general 'emancipation' with which this thesis is concerned (B/54 - 2.8.1957).

NOTES on PART 2

35. B/556, p3 et seq. Price here gives an excellent account of the transition from the rule of the Order to that of the British.

36. A more detailed consideration of this aspect of rural economy is given in Chapter 13.

37. Seats in the Maltese Legislative Assembly:

	1921	1924	1932
The 'Unione Politica'	14	10	21
National Democratic Party ..	4	5	
Constitutional Party	7	10	10
Labour Party	7	7	1

38. Letters Patent of 2.5.1932 (v.B/498, p.3).

39. Linguistic and social aspects of this position are given further consideration in Chapter 7.

40. v. VELLA, J.P. : 'The Contribution of the Jesuit Fathers to Education in the Maltese Islands', unpub. Royal University of Malta, 1953.

41. Cottonera : i.e. Cospicua, Senglea and Vittoriosa.

42. Government Notice of 21.1.1902.

43. Government Notice of 7.4.1902 (No.84).

44. 'Annual Report by the Director of Education for the Year 1896-97', Malta, GPO, 1898.

45. 'Annual Report on the Working of the Department of Public Instruction for the Year 1908', Malta, GPO, 1908.

46. Permission for this study was kindly given by the head teachers concerned.

47. BEVIN, E.L. : 1901.

48. v. also Introduction to the Bibliography accompanying this thesis (pp. 3 - 7).

49. Constitution established by Letters Patent, 16.3.1921.

50. This policy was confirmed by an Act passed unanimously by the House of Lords (30.6.1932) and the Commons (8.7.1932).

51. A circular, issued 15.9.1932, by the Nationalist Government in Malta announced that "The Government intends doing its utmost to encourage the said teaching ... etc."

52. Taghrif fuq il-Kitba Maltija (1924) tal-Ghaqda tal-Kittieba tal-Malti.

53. An estimate made by Abate Giliberto for King Ferdinand II (v. B/83 - 1956, p.24).

54. Data on Church finances and property are not accessible.

55. i.e. the proposal to Integrate Malta with the United Kingdom.

56. i.e. the Knights of Saint Columba.

57. 'Magister utinam sequatur evangelium universus mondus'.

58. These rules are not vows - thus a member is free to leave the movement if he wishes to marry.

59. Acta Apostolica Sedis, 1928, p.384.

60. 'The Lay Apostolate' : Address by Pope Pius XII to the Second World Congress of the Lay Apostolate, 1957. (Catholic Truth Society, publication S.239).

61. Special Central Commissions.

62. Information on the Social Action Movement kindly supplied by Fr. F. Mizzi.

63. Information kindly given by the Salesian fathers responsible for the Oratory.

64. L'Abbé Francois Houtart; Centre de Recherches Socio-Religieuses, Louvain (v. B/482, & B/91, p.311).

65. v. B/91, pp. 138-143, etc.

66. A considerable amount of information on the tramway and railway which operated during the last decades of the nineteenth and the first quarter of the twentieth centuries is available in B/186 and B/94.

67. A detailed study of the development of the omnibus transport system, with particular reference to its economic implications, is given in B/381.

68. Information on road developments in Malta was kindly given by Mr. Cassar, of the Public Works Department, Valletta, while Mr. Huntingford, of the Gozo P.W.D., gave details for that Island.

69. v. "Particulars called for by Mr. J. Lawdon on the State of the Sewers in Valletta and Floriana", an M.S. prepared by N. VASSALLO, P.W.D. draughtsman, 30.11.1867.

70. Balzan, Attard, and Lija.

71. Information on the sewerage system in Malta and Gozo was kindly provided by Mr. Billion of the P.W.D., Valletta.

72. Also of special prominence in the Islands in recent years has been the Malta Memorial District Nursing Association (M.M.D.N.A.).

73. Personal communication from Mr. Hadi Bulugma of the Department of Geography in the Durham Colleges. Mr. R. Taylor, of the same Department, puts the incidence of trachoma through the whole population of Tripolitania at over 90%.

74. v. VASSALLO, J.G. : 'The Press in Malta', in B/97 -1954.

75. Information on Rediffusion (Malta) Ltd., was kindly provided by Mr. G.A. Slater.

76. v. also B/97 -1955, pp. 218-222; B/97 -1956, pp. 241-243; B/97 -1957, pp. 15-16; B/54 -details of daily Rediffusion programmes.

77. Information supplied by official sources, Valletta, 31.12.1957.

78. Pope PIUS XI : Encyclical Letter on films - 'Vigilanti Cura', 29.6.1936: v. B/54 -13.6.1957, p. 5.

79. Information on Band Clubs was very kindly provided by Mr. P. Farrugia, Hon. General Secretary of the Malta Band Clubs Association, 3.8.1957. (v. also B/521, 520).

80. An impression of the growth of the Band Clubs in Malta may be gained from the following figures:

1886	20	Clubs.	B/94 -1886, pp. 103-106
1914	30	"	B/94 -1914, p.391
1922-23	34	"	B/94 -1922-23, p.300
1933-34	41	"	B/94 -1933-34, p.410
1960	57+	"	v. Note 79.

\+ all but one are members of the Malta Band Clubs Association.

PLATE III

Terraced Fields Gozo

PLATE IV

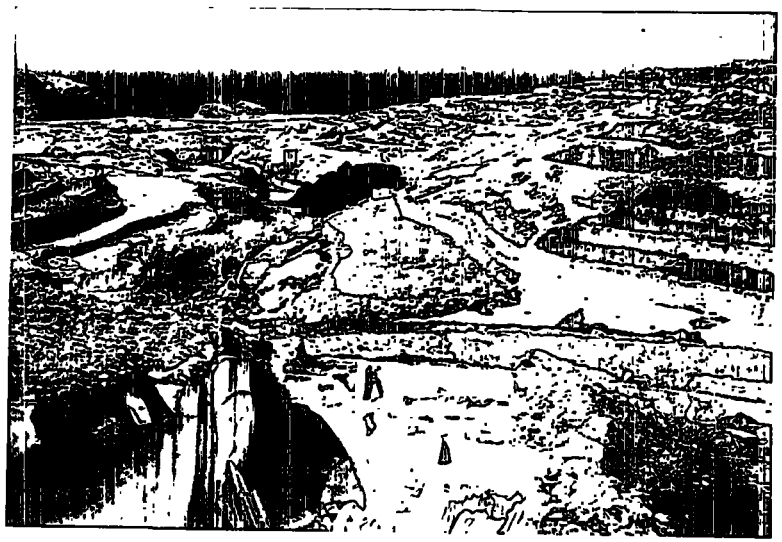
'Bus Bar and Buildings
Mellieha

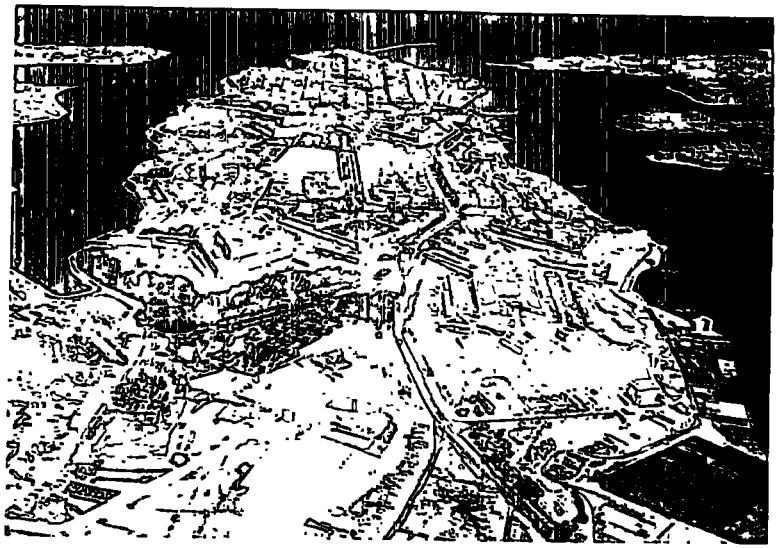
PLATE V

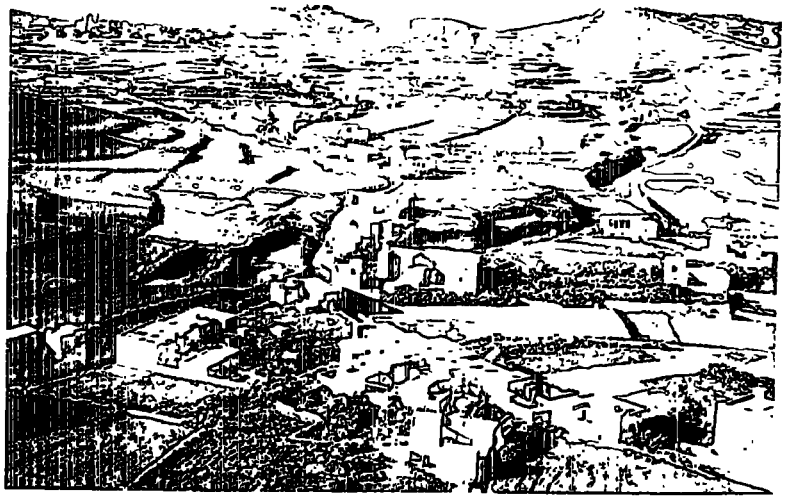
Valletta the Peninsula
and Harbours

PLATE VI

Gozo looking north from
Victoria







PART 3: THE INDIVIDUAL AND MALTESE RURAL SOCIETY TODAY

This part attempts to examine the nature of Maltese rural society as this has emerged today. It draws directly, therefore, from Parts 1 and 2. Chapter 10 represents a definitive outline of modern rural society in the Islands, while the position of the individual within agriculture — the basis of Maltese rural society — is considered from its technical, economic, and social aspects in Chapters 11, 12, and 13 respectively.

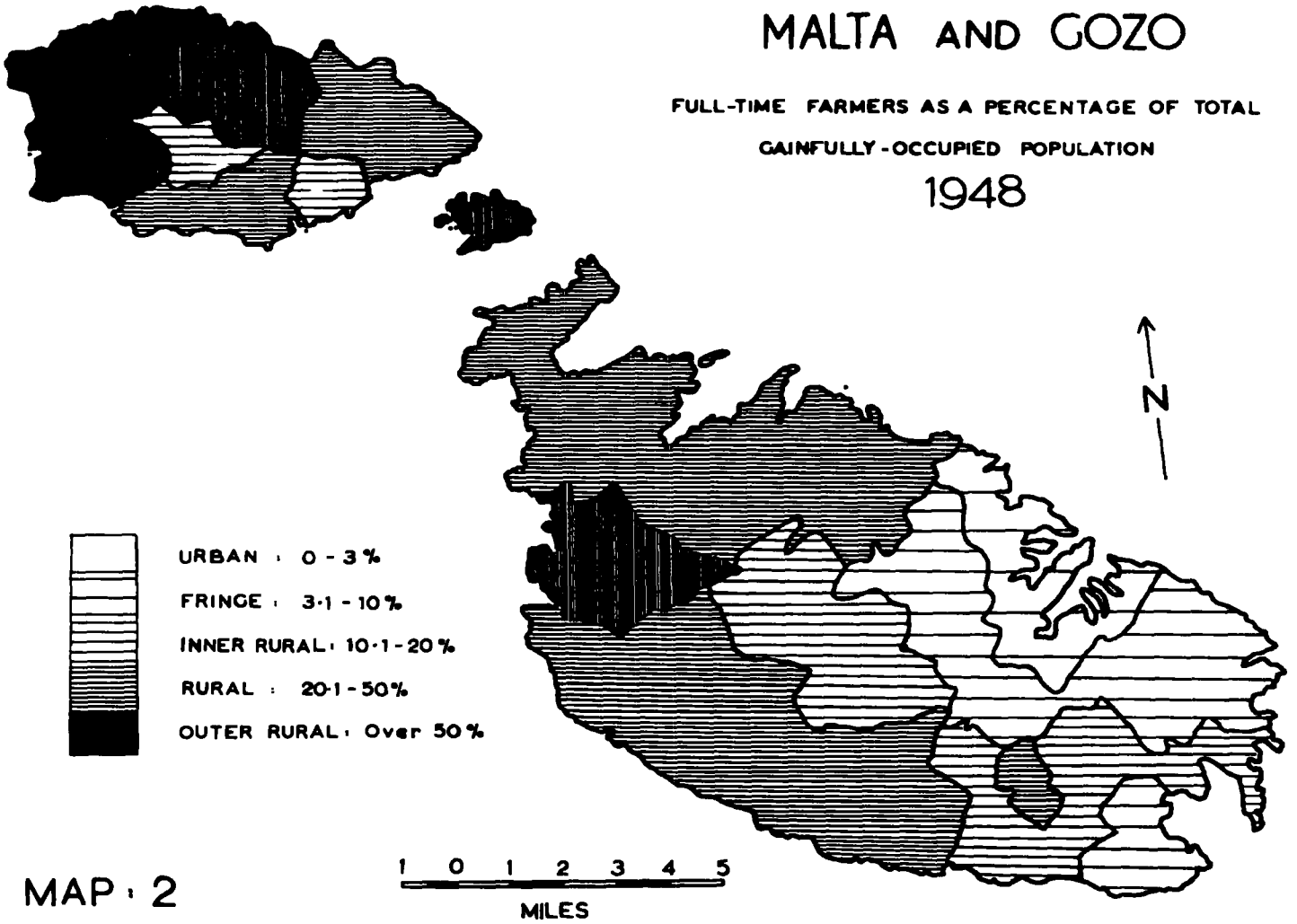
CHAPTER 10

The Village in Maltese Rural Society.

RURAL SOCIETY

It is reasonable to talk of the farming communities as being synonomous with 'rural' settlements in Malta but the position demands more precise definition. Certainly the largest part of the Maltese rural-dwelling population has been based on agriculture - whether the peasant subsistence of the past or the commercial farming of today. Peasant subsistence farming in small-holding units, supplying almost all the needs of the family working the farm, is a type of farming in which money plays little or no part. It has faded very rapidly only in the course of the past generation in Malta to give way to what may be called commercial farming in which crops, animals or animal products are sold for money.

By using the 1948 Census material (B/167 - 1948, Table 53) it is possible to classify districts on the basis of the proportion of the farming element within the 'gainfully-occupied' section of the population as follows (v. Map 2):


MALTA AND GOZO
FULL-TIME FARMERS AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED POPULATION
1948
N
URBAN : 0 - 3 %
FRINGE : 3·1 - 10 %
INNER RURAL : 10·1 - 20 %
RURAL : 20·1 - 50 %
OUTER RURAL : Over 50 %
1 0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES
MAP : 2

Urban (0-3%)		Fringe (3-10%)		Inner Rural (10-20%)	
Valletta	0	Balzan	5.48	Mqabba	10.5
Cospicua	0	Luqa	6.1	Marsaxlokk	10.6
Senglea	0	Birkirkara	6.16	Żurrieq	11.15
Vittoriosa	.008	Tarxien	6.43	Għaxaq	11.29
Gżira	.11	St. Vennera	6.46	Attard	11.53
Sliema	.24	Qormi	6.88	*Victoria	13
Floriana	.43	Birzebbuga	7.3	Mdina	15.4
Pawla	.8	Żabbar	7.35	Mosta	16.56
Marsa	1.2	Żejtun	8.27	Żebbuġ	18.41
Hamrun	1.35	Lija	9.9	*Għajnsielem	19.2
Msida	1.36			Gudja	19.91
Kalkara	1.84				
Pieta	2.6				

Rural (20-50%)	
Qrendi	20.25
Kirkop	22.33
Naxxar	24.8
Rabat	25.6
*Xewkija	27.7
Għargħur	29.1
Mellieħa	34.73
Siġġiewi	37.63
*Sannat	39.04
*Nadur	40.9
Safi	46.87
Dingli	47.4
*Qala	47.6
St. Paul's Bay	47.72

Outer Rural (above 50%)	
*Kerċem	56.43
*Xagħra	64
*Għarb	67.81
*San Lawrenz	68.3
*Żebbuġ	70.9
Mġarr	73.3
*Għasri	82.7
**Comino	89.47

Malta	9.11%
Gozo	41.78%
All-Islands	12.28%

* - Gozo

** - The Island of Comino is statistically part of Gozo.

Clearly such proportional measurement is by no means an indisputable criterion for assessing the 'rurality' of Maltese and Gozitan villages today but it provides a satisfactory overall basis for classification and is, as such, used in the ensuing account (Map 2).

Perhaps the most striking feature is the overwhelming significance of agriculture in Gozo. In Malta, by contrast, the

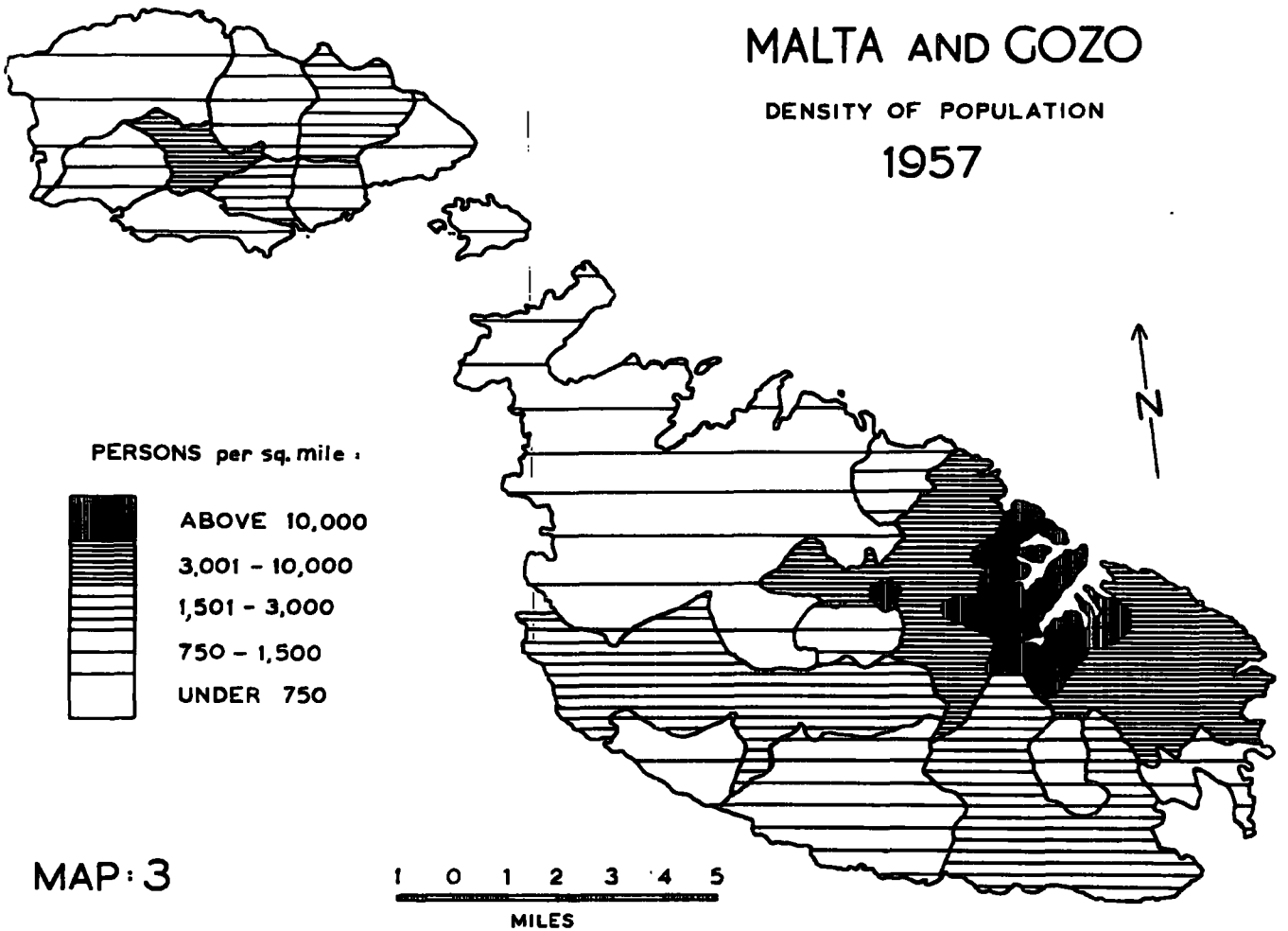
Dockyard and other industrial concerns exert an increasing pull towards non-agricultural employment in all but the most remote districts (Map 4). Valletta and the Three Cities (Cospicua, Senglea and Vittoriosa) are the most 'urban', and the northern and western parts of Gozo the most 'rural'. An impression of the changing status of this rural (i.e. farming) element may be gained from the Census Reports since 1842 (B/167) but direct comparison is hindered by differences of tabulation between the census counts. However, the fact emerges that those villages which are now 'rural' on the basis of the size of the farming element are the old settlements[1]. The non-agricultural Urban zone is a comparatively recent growth around Valletta and the Three Cities and lacks the traditional agricultural basis of most of the Fringe and Rural areas where the villages grew little in size and declined considerably in relative importance (v. Chapter 3).

A closer investigation of the declining relative importance of farming within the rural villages themselves over the past hundred years (v. Appendix 10: vii, and Graph) reveals that during some periods economic prosperity in Malta has attracted labour away from the land but, equally, that these moves were largely temporary and that there was a return to farming as soon as boom conditions disappeared (v. Chapter 5). This was the case, for example, during the last decade of the nineteenth and the first

decade of the present century (B/381). Since 1931 there has been a general retreat from farming (v. Graph) along with a socio-economic emancipation of the Maltese farmer in which the traditional ties with the land have been loosened. The earlier, temporary moves lacked this social rejection of an old way of life. The farmers who left their fields for industrial work at the end of the nineteenth century were in fact never very far from the land upon which they relied as a stand-by when the boom conditions declined. Today the farmer's son, far from maintaining a foothold in agriculture, is as fast losing touch with the land as he is with the community which it supported. If a depression were to appear along with any limitation in emigration a return to the land would be less easy than in times past. This would be due not to a shortage of land for farming or to difficulty in getting work in farm labouring but to the current estrangement between farmer's son and farming, an estrangement as much sociological as economic in character.

The earlier temporary moves from the land were partial rather than total in that the bulk of farmers and farm-workers who had sought urban jobs had come from the Fringe or 'Suburban' areas rather than from the Rural districts proper (B/381). The present move away is however from all parts of countryside. It is evident that both today and in the past the availability of alternative employment has been the governing factor. The earlier periods of economic

prosperity mentioned brought only temporary alternative opportunity for the farm-worker. In fact until the present century the only large-scale alternative to field work for the rural Maltese and Gozitan was cotton spinning and weaving (v. Chapters
Even here possibilities were limited. Cotton growing and manufacture in the Islands developed fast during the eighteenth century but went into decline early in the nineteenth, particularly after the Spanish Government prohibited all imports of yarn (1800). But the industry was slow to die and is today undergoing something of a re-birth under a protective monopoly[2]. Cotton provided, during the nineteenth century, much employment, particularly for women who, in 1861, amounted to 96% of all cotton workers (B/167 - 1861). The small male labour force was mainly engaged in the beating and dyeing departments of the industry. This industry moreover, was centred in the villages and was essentially a home craft, so that the worker in cotton was never very far removed from home or farm, and field work was an alternative when cotton production declined. This decline accelerated towards the close of the nineteenth century but was not spread at an even rate over the whole of the rural area of the Islands. The total decline was due to external economic factors but, within the Islands themselves, the industry survived longest in its traditional 'core area' of Rabat and Żebbuġ. "The cotton industry persisted where the skills were greatest - where it now exists as a craft industry" (B/381).


MALTA AND GOZO
DENSITY OF POPULATION
1957
PERSONS per sq. mile :
ABOVE 10,000
3,001 - 10,000
1,501 - 3,000
750 - 1,500
UNDER 750
N
MAP: 3
1 0 1 2 3 4 5
MILES

However the harbour areas and the dockyard were providing work and opportunity on an increasing scale towards the end of the nineteenth century and during the first quarter of this[3]. "The population nearest the harbour profited first, and there was a spreading outwards, as more and more of the Island sought work in the port. As the attraction of the harbour area spread, so interest in the declining cotton industry decreased". (B/381). A new alternative was thus appearing and one very different in that it meant a greater break with home, farm and village than had been the case with cotton. Agriculture itself came to feel the impact of the alternatives. "Gradually the whole Island became drawn into the economic sphere of the harbour area, and the population of the rural area became less and less dependent on agriculture for its livelihood" (B/381). This is a key factor in an understanding of rural Malta and Gozo today. The second, considered later in more detail, is the social change which has been brought about by the emancipation of the villager through direct and indirect education and contact with the people and ideas of the world outside (v. Part 2). Together these two forces, the one an extension and magnification of what had happened before on a temporary basis and the other a consequence of the trend towards social enlightenment which has been a widespread feature of the twentieth-century world, have given the farmer an escape. On the economic level he has the new range of employment opportunities

indicated, while his newly acquired literacy and education is making it possible for the young countryman to follow his economic shift from country to town with a social transplanting out of the close-knit community of the rural village to the cosmopolitan levels of life in the towns.

Along with the increase of employment in the dockyard and harbour there has been a relative decline in agriculture in that an increase in the total numbers of the farming community was accompanied by a shrinking of the agricultural sector within the total gainfaully occupied population of the Islands. The Dockyard has grown to become the largest single concern and, in March 1957[4], gave employment to 12,572 Maltese workers (plus a further 417 United Kingdom nationals). The percentage of Dockyard employees in individual districts may be taken as a second possible criterion of 'rurality'. Appendix 11, showing Dockyard workers in March, 1957, expressed as a percentage of the employed population, reveals the heaviest concentration round the yards themselves (the Three Cities) and in the Żejtun, Żabbar, Pawla and Kalkara areas of south-eastern Malta. The whole of Gozo supplied only twenty-five workers at that time - this being the same figure as for Santa Vennera, near Hamrun. Nevertheless it is significant that no part of Malta is unrepresented in the Dockyard (Map 4).

The workers listed in Appendix 11 are only a part of those employed in the harbour area and the towns and it is to this total

group that one refers when speaking of the 'draw' of the harbour area and its associated manufacturing and service industries. These include transport of various kinds, shops, cafes and bars, workshops, offices and all manner of public utilities and services.

It is clear that in a definition of 'rurality' the occupational structure, whether considered from a farming or dockyard point of view, is not the sole criterion though the most convenient. One might take, for example, the extent to which each census district is built-over. The 1957 census distinguishes 'township' areas within each district (Appendix 13). The township-dwelling population accounts, as one would expect, for nearly 100% of the total in the Urban zone, but even in the rural districts most people are seen to live within the villages rather than in isolated farmsteads. In terms of area on the other hand the contrast between urban and rural zones is marked. In all three rural zones only five districts show a built-up township area accounting for more than 10% of the total. Richardson considers this nucleated-dispersed aspect of settlement distribution for 1948 and 1931 and notes significant changes in the pattern (B/561).

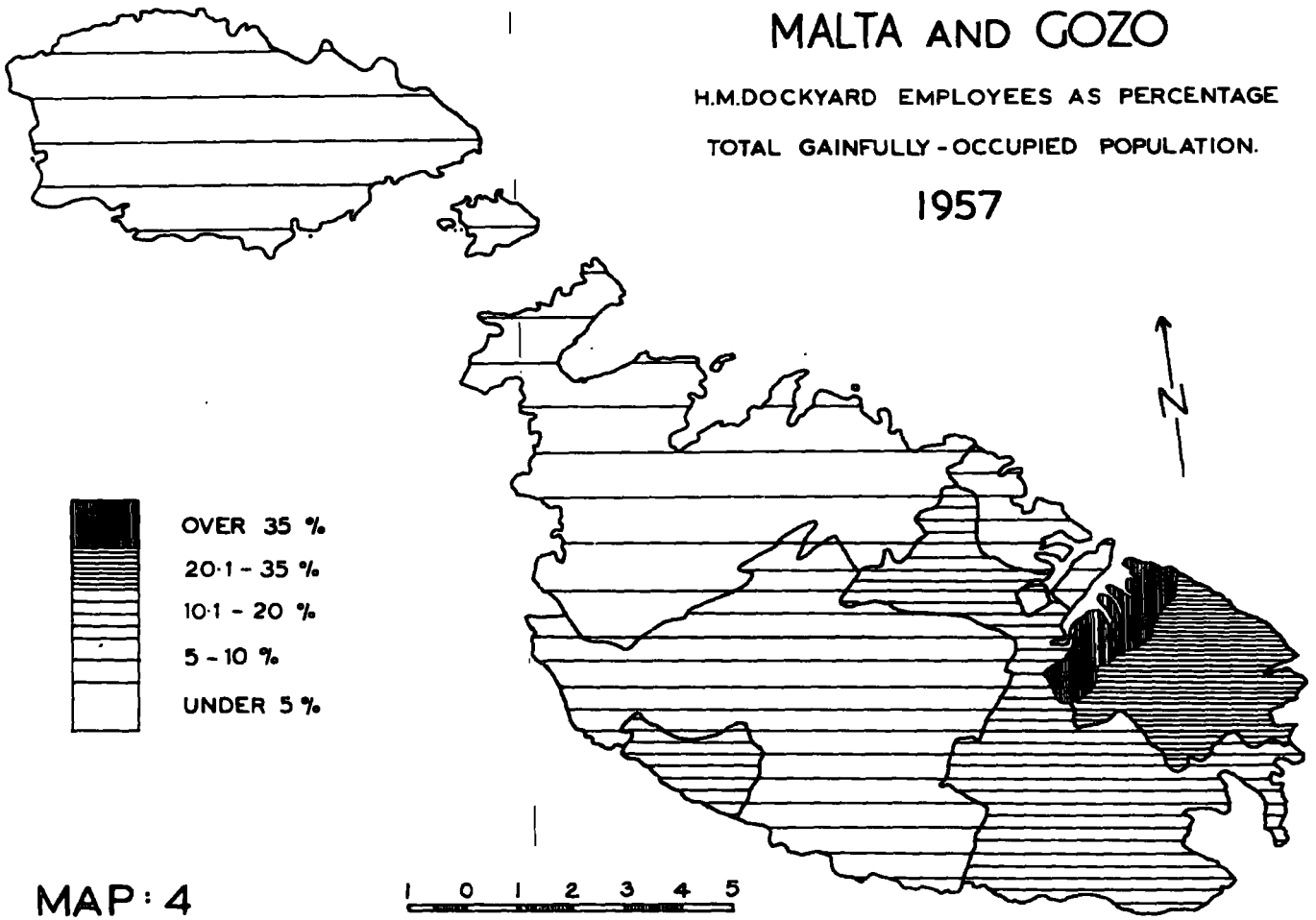
Map 3, showing density of population by localities for 1957, closely reflects the built-up area pattern. Broadly speaking it resembles Map 4 (residence of Dockyard workers) but here the emphasis on Valletta and Sliema, and all the northern part of the Urban zone, is notably less.

MALTA AND GOZO

H.M.DOCKYARD EMPLOYEES AS PERCENTAGE

TOTAL GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED POPULATION.

1957



MAP: 4

THE VILLAGE

Maltese rural society is essentially composed of village communities each occupying a compact settlement[5]. There are some three dozen villages in the rural area of the Islands (Map 1) among which there is considerable variation in site, date of foundation, morphology, population (B/561) and economic structure (B/381), but throughout the Islands there is a uniformity of function within the village as a community group. This makes it possible to speak of "the Maltese Village" from the point of view of social structure, and allows a qualifying classification into types on the basis of the features mentioned.

Maltese society as a whole, and particularly the rural part of it, is to some extent cut off from outside influences by virtue of the insular position of the country, cultural as well as geographical. Yet the Islands have clearly at no time in their history been independent of Europe to the north, Africa to the south and Asia to the east. Quite patently the opposite has been the case and Malta, as ever the mute pawn of great powers, has absorbed its material and moral culture from abroad just as it has received additions to its population whether coming as traders, invaders, or settlers, for four thousand years. But the Islands have put their own stamp on these arrivals so that a discussion such as this must take account of both autochthonous developments within the Islands, as well as those of wider origin.

The elements within the traditional Maltese village were, as discussed in Part 1, the Roman Catholic Church and clergy, the landed class, and the mass of the population - an illiterate peasantry, 'Traditional' here, refers to rural society as it existed in Malta one, two or three centuries ago.

This is not to say that the traditional has been erased from the present scene but rather that recent moves towards literacy, emancipation and communication, and a greater range of amenities within the Islands, have diversified and modified the traditional aspects to produce a variety of different types in place of the social uniformity of the past. But the traditional nucleus within the village, the Parish Priest and the Parish Church retain their pivotal role. The modification of this role is very apparent but the place of the Church has been affected far less in the country districts of Malta and Gozo than in the towns, where dockyard developments and other industrialization have produced a new kind of social environment. This is an important subject in itself but, for the present, attention is to be confined to the rural districts where change has to date been slower than in the towns but where the same factors are appearing now along with the rapid 'urbanization' of the villages.

In traditional Malta the function of the clergy[6] extended far beyond matters of religion. The priests were the teachers, doctors, and legal advisors as well as spiritual guardians of the

people. Government-organized education began in the nineteenth century. Previously such formal education as there was had been under ecclesiastical auspices. The clergy were literate when almost all the rest of the population was not (v. Chapter 6). This concentration of learning produced a situation in which only the clergy were able to step forward to take the lead among Maltese, for the nobility, which might have been expected to provide a focus and leadership, tended to be more Italian or Spanish than Maltese. Even revolutionary leaders came from the ranks of the clergy; the Mannarino Revolt against the Order of St. John (1775) and the rising against the French during the brief occupation of the Islands by Napoleon (1798-1800).

For some centuries before the arrival of the British in 1800, the Church had built up its dominating position in both village and town. Even the educated townsman going to the University came strongly under the influence of the Church, for the University, itself a Jesuit foundation of long standing, was and still is best known for its Theology. However, during the nineteenth century, the major changes within the Church of Malta were connected with purely administrative details of keeping pace with the rapidly rising population (v. Chapter 8).

Many new parishes were created in the second half of the nineteenth century and in the early part of the twentieth. The Archbishopric of Malta was established in 1831 with the separation

from the jurisdiction of Palermo, and the Bishopric of Gozo was founded in 1863. A movement of great sociological importance during the present century has been the growth of the Lay Apostolate in the Islands, especially in the urban areas. This represents a counter-attack against the forces which are today tending to detract from the traditional omnipotence of the Church. It is only a matter of time before the problems which the Church is facing in the towns will loom much larger than at present in the country districts and in Gozo (v. Chapter 8).

The landed classes in Malta and particularly the nobility have never taken any considerable part in the communal life of the villages in which they maintain their country seats and draw rents from the lands which they own. They have always been more urban than rural and more European than Maltese. A squirearchy on the English pattern has been lacking, and the functions which, in the English village, fell to the squire have, in Malta, come within the wide range of activities of the Parish Priest.

Apart from the clergy[6] and the gentry, the greater part of the population of the traditional village in Malta was made up of the peasantry deriving their livelihood directly or indirectly from the land or in some cases the sea. Within this section of the community homogeneity was the keynote. There was one Church. All the populace were Church members and attended the same services at the same times each day of every week. The Church

could therefore be the centre of diffusion of news to the villagers - both relating to farming and to general affairs in and out of the village.

Within the village the peasant and his family worked the few tmien of land held on rent or lease: rarely was much of it owned by the cultivator. The work of the farm and of the household went on as a single unit (Chapter 11). The two were often located within the same cluster of buildings (Case VI, v. Plan). Clearly some farmers were richer than others, some had more land, some more animals, but accepted stratification within the village went no further than this: there was no middle class between priest and farmer.

For the peasant, the bounds of his regular experience were the limits of the village. Contact between villages, even where close together, was slight and invariably less than that between the individual village and Valletta. Evidence of this is found in the dialect differences between villages but equally illuminating is the fact that the basic dialect distinction that can be made is that between the Urban area, with its Italianized vocabulary and intonation, and the rural parts of the Islands with their characteristically broader vowels, harsher gutterals and fewer European words and idioms (B/Aquilina, J). Language is but one aspect of rural culture in the Maltese Islands which reveals the essential independence of the village

within the traditional rural scene. Village patriotism is expressed in inter-Parish rivalry and in a variety of regional reputations, proverbs, and local lore. Thus the shrewdness of the inhabitants of Rabat is revealed by the saying that "A man from Rabat is worth two Jews"[7]. The men of Żebbuġ (Malta) are acknowledged to be merchants par excellence however, while those of Qormi are alleged heavy drinkers[7]. The notion held in Gozo that a man of Nadur claims to be more Maltese than Gozitan is held to point to the settlement of that village from Malta at some comparatively recent date[8].

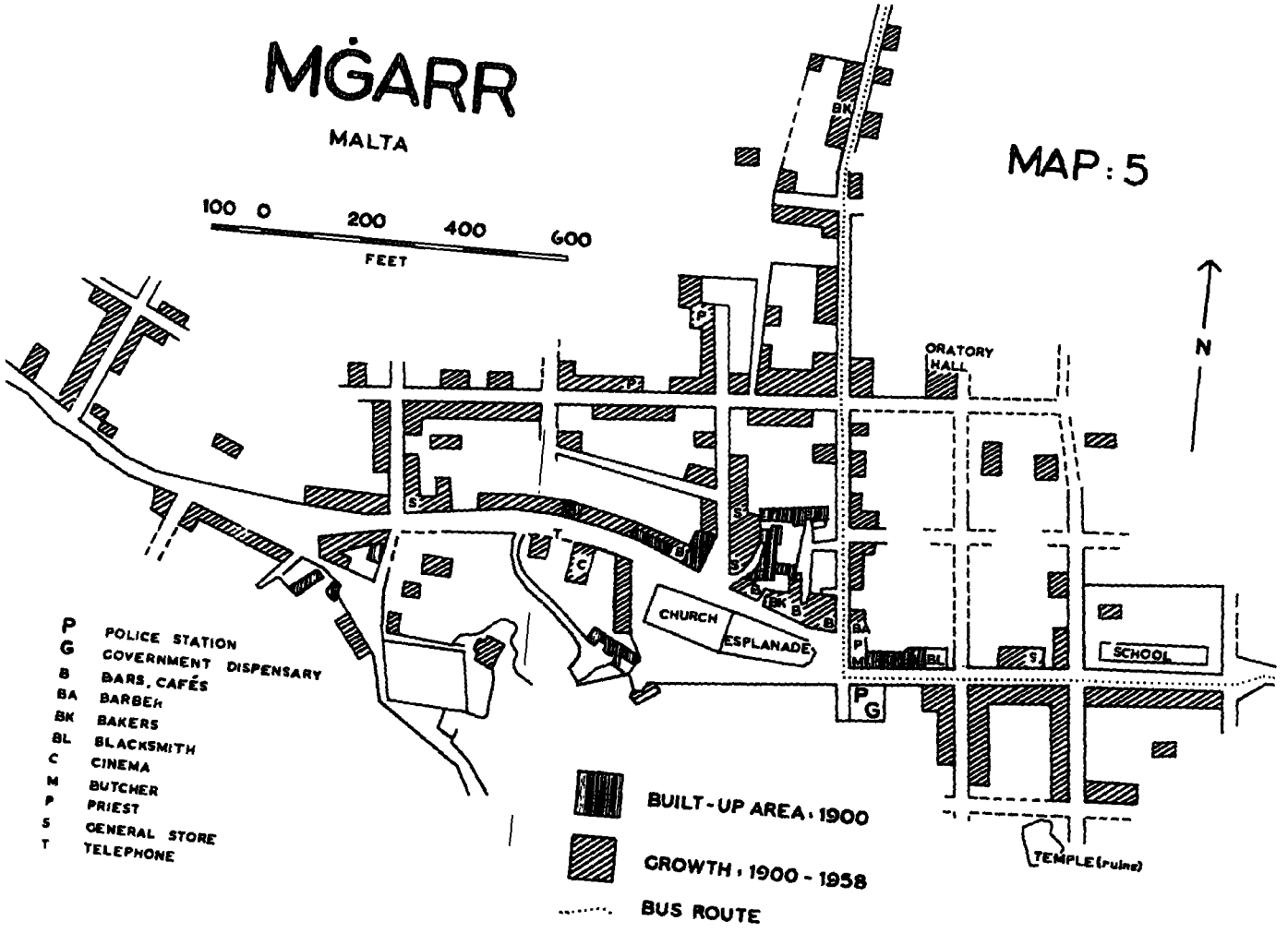
Whatever the difference of size, settlement, economic structure or tradition the functional basis of the Maltese village remains pivoted on the Church and the Parish Priest, and a detailed discussion of the present scene becomes largely an attempt to assess the part now played vis-a-vis the Church by the new features and modifications of the old landscape in the present.

Here we may consider the history and growth of a young Maltese village, MĠARR, to show how this growing settlement has acquired the essential features common to rural society throughout the Islands (Map 5).

Until the nineteenth century, Malta north of the Victoria Lines had remained without any large settlements, partly on account of the vulnerability of the area to attack from the sea.

This is not to say that there was no human activity in the area before 1800 for there is evidence of a small church in what is now Mġarr as far back as 1580[9]. Evidence, too, of life in other eras is provided by the temple of Bu Hagrat (2,000 B.C.) and the remains of a Roman house near the village.

However, in the early part of the nineteenth century, farmers from Mosta began to cultivate the land in what is now the Parish of Mġarr. The account, of the history of one of the families concerned in this settlement, given by Mitchell (B/525), is typical. The numbers involved in the general movement increased as the century advanced until, in 1898, an independent Parish was established. Before 1898, spiritual needs of the farmers were catered for by visiting priests from Żebbuġ, Balzan, Mdina and Mosta itself and the tiny Church of St. Mary was used throughout this period and until 1918. Earlier in the nineteenth century the colonization of Mġarr had been a 'week-day' venture with most farmers returning to their families and homes in Mosta for the week-end and the Sunday Mass. The visiting priests celebrated Sunday morning Mass for those farmers who began to settle in the area permanently. With the granting of parochial status in 1898, a full-time Parish Priest was appointed who came from Mosta and settled in the growing village. The first concern was for a new Church and work was begun in 1912, although the population of the village at this time was only 1,067 (B/167-1911).


MGARR
MALTA
MAP: 5
100 0 200 400 600
FEET
N
ORATORY HALL
CHURCH ESPLANADE
SCHOOL
TEMPLE (ruins)
P POLICE STATION
G GOVERNMENT DISPENSARY
B BARS, CAFÉS
BA BARBER
BK BAKERS
BL BLACKSMITH
C CINEMA
M BUTCHER
P PRIEST
S GENERAL STORE
T TELEPHONE
BUILT-UP AREA: 1900
GROWTH: 1900 - 1958
BUS ROUTE

Significantly, both the master mason and the architect concerned were Mosta men. Building went ahead slowly on the immense construction as costs were defrayed by private subscription in kind and in money, and the villagers were themselves responsible for much of the labouring work. Money and farm produce of every variety was given towards the cost which, in 1939, had passed £10,000 (B/54 - 12.8.1939); this in a parish which even ten years later had no more than 2,218 people (B/167 - 1948).

With the growth of Mġarr, assistant priests were attached to the Parish, notably Father (later Monsignor) Edgar Salamone, who went to the village in 1920 and became Parish Priest a decade later. The work of this one priest not only pays him personal tribute but illustrates the way in which Mġarr acquired the characteristics and features possessed by other villages of much longer standing in the Islands, with the Church itself as the prime consideration and focus of energy and resources. Mgr. Salamone was "sickened by the ignorance and backwardness of the people of Mġarr"[10] and set about establishing some sort of schooling in the village. He acquired premises, used at week-ends by the part-time village barber, and opened a school in 1920 for about 40 children and adults. Three years later a Government elementary school was opened (19.9.1923) and support for this still novel feature of the village grew fast enough for nearly all children to be attending when the Compulsory Attendance Act was passed in 1926.

At this time the health of the villagers was cared for by a Dispensary which opened once a week and by Mgr. Salamone himself. A statement in the Malta Legislative Assembly of 1933 observed that the Priest of Mġarr kept "a medicine chest of his own and people used to call on him at all hours of the day and night. He used to pack up his medical kit and go to anyone's bedside, whenever he was called for" (B/291, p. 6). As in all things the villagers turned to their Priest in difficulty or trouble whether spiritual, medical or social, as had been the custom for centuries. In 1933, however, the first medical officer for Mġarr began his duties in the village, and another of the traditional functions of the Priest passed to specialist hands.

After this, interest was turned again to building and the spacious esplanade in front of the Church was laid out in 1935, followed by a nearby construction to house the Police Station, Post Office, Government Dispensary and the District Medical Officer. Once again the villagers themselves were responsible for a great deal of the building work, as they were in the case of the Church which continued to grow until its completion and dedication in 1948 - at a total cost of some £16,000[10]. By the mid-thirties Mġarr had become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been connected to the Telephone network[10]. Other amenities to reach the village about this time included a number of levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until after the 1939-45 War.

During the War years most construction activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity of the village destroying two houses and killing three people (B/291). United States' forces camped near Mġarr prior to the Sicily invasion; an Italian aircraft crashed not far away. Mġarr heard about the war and experienced as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and other strategic targets. Good rationing and Government control of production put the farmers of Mġarr in as strong a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[7].

By the advent of the present decade Mġarr had acquired the normal characteristics of community life of village Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic Action movement (Appendix 6). A most modern and well-appointed 'Oratory' has for five years been the focal point of Catholic teaching and social work in the Parish. Its theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special occasions. More recently a commercial cinema has opened in the village but, one understands, it cannot detract from the popularity

of the oratory film show.

Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the village which is now independent in this respect for food and general items. Travelling vans, a prominent feature of the countryside, further swell the range of goods available on the spot and are joined in this door to door service by the weekly paraffin (petrolju) vehicle. For other items Mġarr housewives still make the journey to Mosta or Valletta on the buses which operate every few hours; a generation ago their mothers carried bread on their backs each week from Mosta, the parent village.

On account of its recent development, Mġarr lacks certain features found in the larger and much older settlements. The Catholic Action is the only Lay Movement in the village - though it is notably active there, and of the Confraternities which are numerous in the older settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 6). Other characteristic features of rural Malta absent in Mġarr are the Band Club and the Football Club. The Band Club movement which spread rapidly during the second half of the nineteenth century and the early years of this became the major 'social' centre for men outside the Church itself (B/521). Similarly football has become a focus of extra-church activity in the Islands - more especially in Gozo where the Band Club has had only a limited extension outside the capital, Victoria. In the case of Mġarr one would expect the village to acquire these 'later-stage' features as it develops in

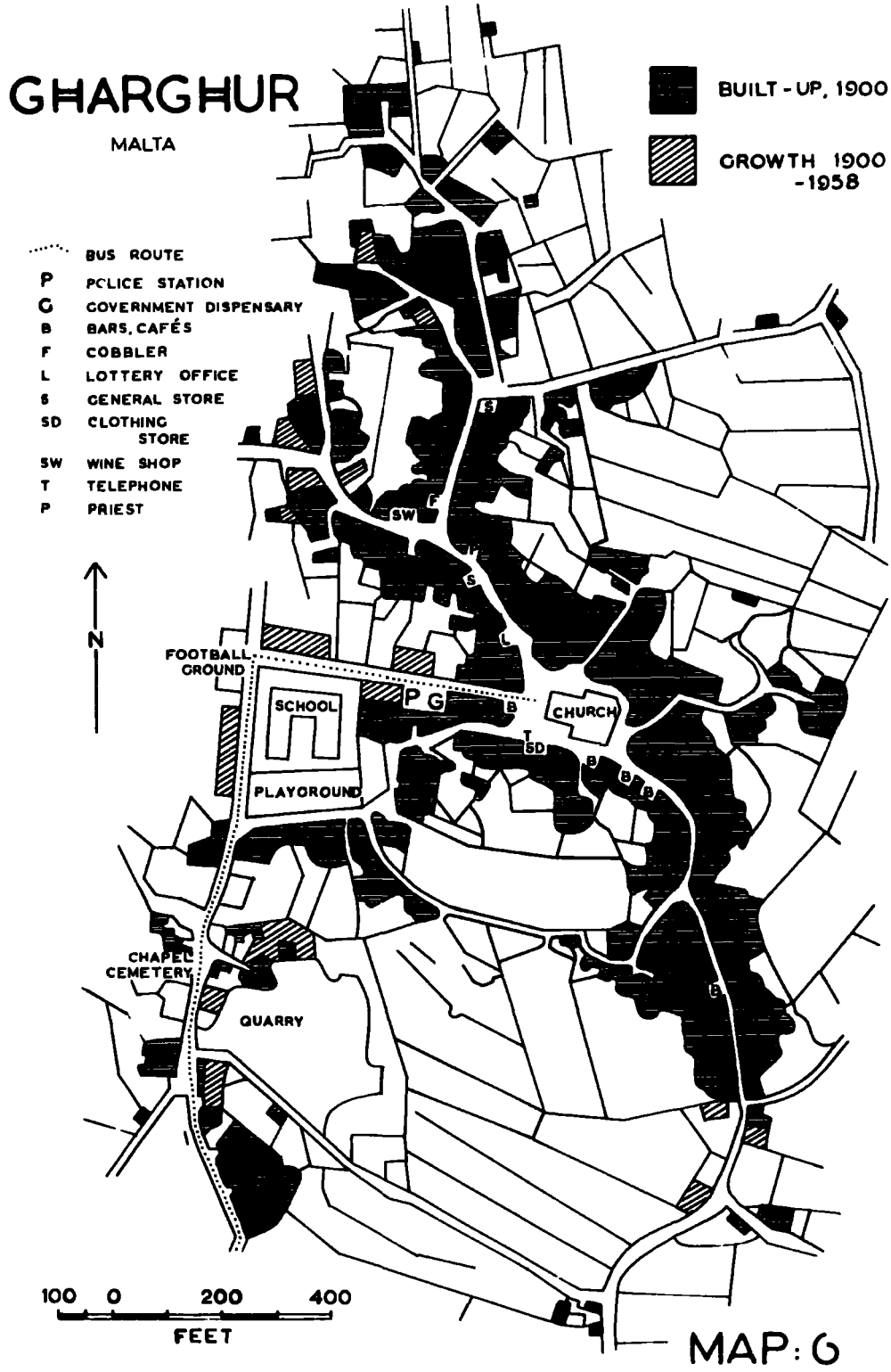
size and social diversity. The writer holds that at present Mġarr is essentially very close to what has been called the traditional Maltese village. Incidentally also its agricultural bias (Map 2) is less removed from the traditional than is the case in the more urban-influenced villages. It is certainly the most rural Parish of Malta and yet does seem more 'urbanate' in terms of social life than is the case over much of Gozo.

Having enumerated the essential elements of Maltese village structure as exemplified in Mġarr, a brief comparative study of other villages of the archipelago, many of which are much larger, older and more complex, is indicated. From observation two basic premises have been established:

(i) Despite the regional differentiation customarily made, rural society in the Islands has a basic homogeneity:

(ii) The modern problem of this rural society, the problem of the individual who is now socially out of sympathy with the life of the community which bred him, is common to all the rural community of the Islands.

Two villages which may be compared with Mġarr in an effort to illuminate this position are Għargħaur, a settlement of very old foundation, predominantly agricultural as is Mġarr and of like size, and Żurrieq, much larger, more urbanate in character, containing certain socio-functional divisions within itself, and also possessing two small satellite villages.


GHARGHUR
MALTA
BUILT - UP, 1900
GROWTH 1900 -1958
BUS ROUTE
P POLICE STATION
G GOVERNMENT DISPENSARY
B BARS, CAFÉS
F COBBLER
L LOTTERY OFFICE
S GENERAL STORE
SD CLOTHING STORE
SW WINE SHOP
T TELEPHONE
P PRIEST
N
FOOTBALL GROUND
SCHOOL
PLAYGROUND
CHURCH
CHAPEL
CEMETERY
QUARRY
100 0 200 400
FEET
MAP: 6

Morphologically GHARGHUR (Map 6) and Mġarr have little in common on first inspection. The latter contains many new or recent detached and semi-detached buildings within the regular street pattern previously laid down. Many of the houses are quite modern by prevailing standards and include such atypically rural features as ground-floor windows[11]. In Mġarr the Church and the Jubilee Esplanade are at the centre of village organization with most of the shops, police station and dispensary close by, and through this central area pass the bus routes from Għajn Tuffieħa, to the north, and Mosta to the east. Għargħur, on the other hand, is a village of many centuries standing. Its morphology is as irregular as that of Mġarr is regular. As one expects of a Maltese village the great Parish Church stands in the centre of the houses and the narrow streets - just as the Faith of the people stands in the centre of their life and work. The old streets of Għargħur grew up without any town-planning. Narrow alleys lead off to quiet courts; goat-pens, tiny shops and houses within yards of each other break the monotony of the streets in which few windows appear at ground-floor level[11]. First floor windows are seen, along with decorative balcony work and other embellishments of the yellow limestone walls. Map 6 distinguishes those parts of the village which have undergone new development, largely since 1945. The main part of the work has been the cutting of a section of new road through old buildings between the Church

and the recent Government school. This road now carries the bus route from the Church square, the terminus, to Naxxar, and also houses the police station and the Government dispensary. Here then is the core area of the village (Map 6)

(i) a main street, carrying a regular bus route,
(ii) Church, police station, dispensary and school,
(iii) shops and bars nearby.

Turning again to Mġarr we now perceive the basic similarities of pattern (Maps 5 and 6).

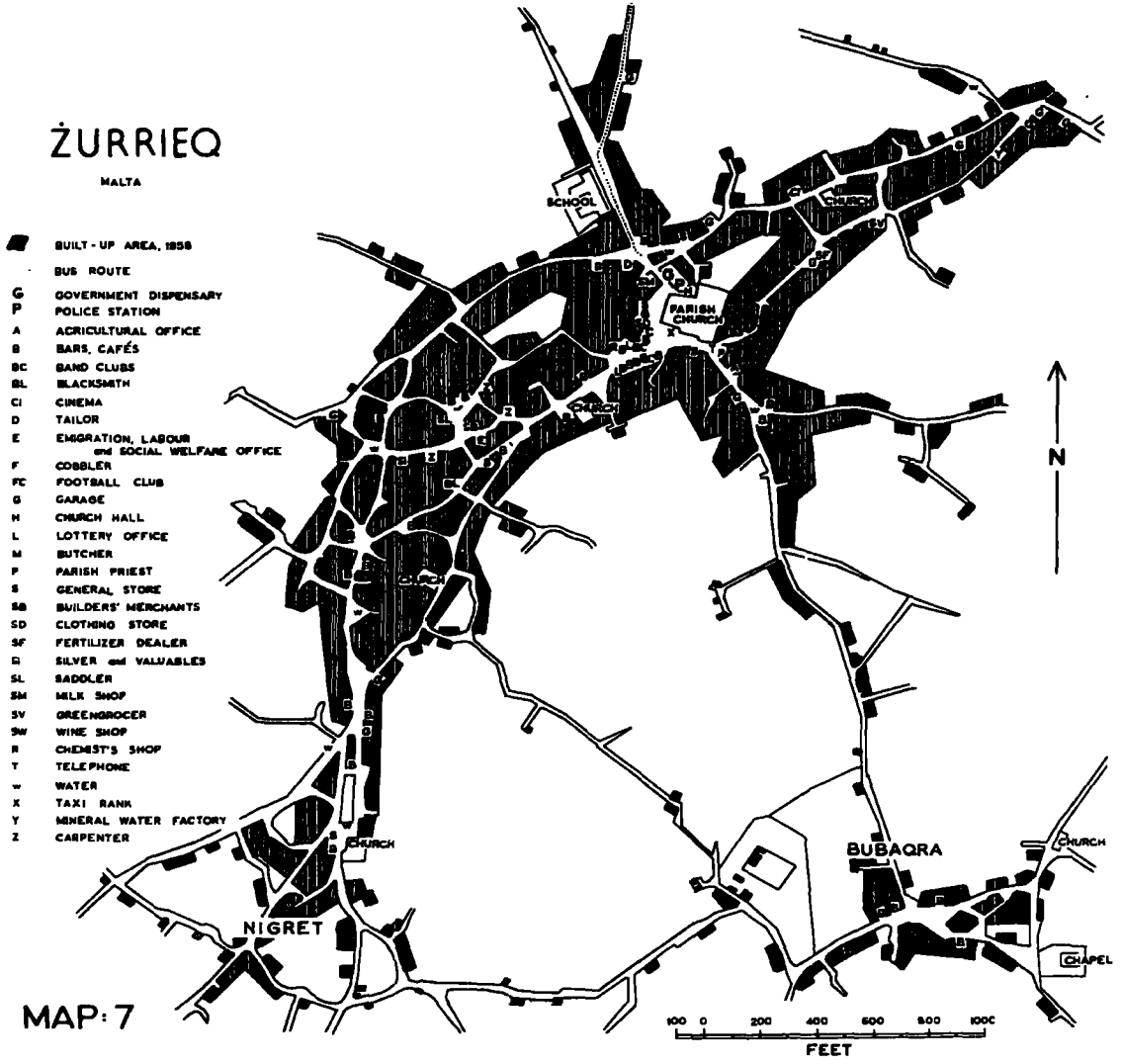
In the case of ŻURRIEQ (Map 7) the same basic elements appear, though the built-up area of this village is much larger and there are additional, more urbanate, features. Bubaqra is an example of a dependent hamlet lacking the full complement of features of an independent village; it has no school, police station, etc. Żurrieq's morphological development follows the general pattern of the long-established Maltese villages with narrow, twisting streets and alleys delving seemingly at random into the built-up mass of houses, farm buildings, shops and work premises. The village is large enough to allow of secondary nuclei, particularly around churches or chapels, but the bulk of activity is focussed on the core area between Parish Church and School and in and near Churchill Square with its Band Club and Football Club premises, Lotto office[12], and shops.

This type of core area therefore, as defined in these examples is the basic pattern in all villages throughout Malta and Gozo.

In a consideration of the present scene within the Maltese village it is essential to be aware, at all stages of the argument, of the evolution of the settlements concerned. In the Żurrieq case it is clear that the main village block is extending in several directions, notably northward past the school and south-westward towards the small hamlet of Nigret. This latter is already linked by a continuous built-up stretch to the main village and thus contrasts with Bubaqra which remains morphologically independent. In the case of some of the larger villages, Żebbuġ and Żejtun are two notable examples, the completion of this kind of merging of nuclei accounts for present intra-village sectionalism. Thus Żebbuġ (Malta) is a compound of three ancient village nuclei, Hal Muxi, Hal Mula and Hal Dwieli. The very title of 'Hal', or 'village', still given to these parts of what is now a single village reflects their original separate independence. They have grown together over the centuries and have been unified by the construction of a Parish Church and the appearance of a new 'township' core in the central area. Similarly Żejtun has three component parts, Ta'Fuq (Upper), Ta'Isfel (Lower), and Ta' Wara l-Knisja (Behind the Church): the present large Parish Church has been built in the space remaining between the merging older nuclei. The distinction here is clearly morphological rather than administrative but is, nevertheless, not to be ignored in a study of social structure and affiliation in a static and conservative community (v. Chapter 3).

ŻURRIEQ

MALTA



MAP: 7

Merging between fully independent villages has also occurred. Balzan-Birkirkara and Pawla-Tarxien are examples, but here the administrative and affiliatory distinctions have been maintained. At a higher level still the merging of the settlements comprising the Urban area, begun in the nineteenth century but more rapid in the twentieth, is the major feature of modern settlement growth in Malta (B/561).

Rabat in Malta, and Rabat (Victoria) in Gozo, illustrate another aspect of settlement evolution where morphological facts bear on social structure. In both cases the 'suburb of the citadel' (Ir-Rabat tal-Imdina') grew to large-village size outside the Walls of the central fortified stronghold of each Island. In Malta, Rabat remained as the main rural centre after the capital had moved to Valletta, with ancient Mdina itself remaining a quiet residential back-water.

In Malta the countryman still regards Rabat as an unofficial capital of the rural areas of his Island; markets are still held there even though the main ones have gravitated to Valletta and the urban area. The annual 'Imnarja', traditionally one of the main events in the farmers' social calendar, is held nearby[13], while the ancient importance of the Church is reflected in the large number of clergy, churches, confraternities and third orders found there (Appendix 6). In Gozo, Rabat is the administrative, cultural and economic capital with the old fortified 'Castello' now in large part

a deserted ruin.

The differing extent to which the villages of Malta and Gozo have been influenced economically by the industrial and urban developments of the dockyard areas and towns are paralleled in the social plane. Traditionally rural centres such as Qormi, Żabbar and Birkirkara have undergone increasing social and cultural attraction towards Valletta and the Urban area along with economic 'de-ruralization' by virtue of their proximity to the towns and harbours. The improvements in amenities and especially in transport facilities have tended to link these Fringe settlements to the Urban area rather than to the countryside which produced them (B/381).

A further type of village is exemplified by St. Paul's Bay. This began as a summer-time resort for town and city dwellers during the nineteenth century but attained a sufficient permanence and size to be granted full parochial status in 1905. The analogy in Gozo is Marsalforn though this settlement is perhaps half a century behind St. Paul's Bay in development and presents in winter time the appearance of almost a ghost-town with only a few permanent farmer and fishermen residents.

Birżebbuġa is a class on its own, having grown in the past few decades upon largely non-agricultural foundations of the British and United States' bases, oil installations and some small-scale industry.

Using this type of analytical approach, a classification of the villages of Malta and Gozo on the basis of their origin and socio-

functional characteristics becomes possible. (Richardson (B/561) goes into greater detail concerning the evolution of settlement in Malta itself and considers the development of the present pattern in the light of population growth and movement and other historical factors.)

(1) Medieval Capital Fortresses - Mdina in Malta and the Castello in Gozo. Both occupy central eminences in their respective Islands and were used as capitals by the Arabs (in Malta 870-1090) and by the various rulers of Malta between 1090 and the coming of the Knights of St. John in 1530. The former is today a tranquil, residential museum-piece; the latter ruined apart from the Cathedral and the Law Courts.

(2) Attached to each of the two fortresses there grew up at an early date suburbs which themselves achieved the status of independent settlements. Rabat is still an important focus for the farming community of rural Malta, while the Rabat in Gozo (or Victoria as it is now known) is the largest settlement in that Island and the only one with any urban features.

(3) The medieval town-villages of Malta, other than Rabat, were granted parochial status in 1436. This pattern of large agricultural villages formed the basis of the economic life of the times and even today they retain a strong flavour of the "Old Malta". They were Birkirkara, Qormi (split 1935), Żejtun, Żurrieq, Żebbuġ, Gudja, Naxxar and Siġġiewi. The parallel group of villages

in Gozo included Xewkija (1678), Għarb (1679), and Żebbuġ, Xagħra, Nadur and Sannat (all 1688).

(4) Soon after the arrival of the Knights in 1530 building in the Three Cities and on the Xiberras Peninsula began. Thus Senglea (1581) and Cospicua (1584) were given parochial status (Vittoriosa had been one of the two 'parishes' of 1090) and the Valletta parishes of St. Paul and St. Dominic were established on the Peninsula in 1585 and 1587.

(5) Chronologically, the next development was the 'filling-in' of the rural scene with new village centres during the rule of the Knights. In all, thirteen such parishes were established in Malta and ten of these were in what are now the Fringe and Inner Rural areas. They were Tarxien and Kirkop (both 1592), Lija (1594), Għargħur, Safi and Mqabba (all 1598), Mosta (1608), Żabbar (1615), Qrendi (1618), Għaxaq (1626), Luqa (1634), Balzan (1655), and Dingli (1678).

(6) After this spate of parish-building in the hundred years 1580-1680 there was a gap of a century and a half before any new parishes were created. The list then reflects very closely the growth of the Urban area under British rule after 1800 (v. Appendix 7, and Map 3). Of the eighteen new parishes in Malta eleven were Urban and three in the Fringe zone. The new Urban settlements were Floriana (1844), Msida & Pietà (1867), Sliema (1878, 1918, and 1940), Hamrun (1881), St. Julian's (1891), Kalkara (1898), Pawla (1910),

Marsa and Gżira (both 1913); in the Fringe zone came Birżebbuġa (1913), Santa Vennera (1918), and Marsaskala (1949). Other foundations in Malta were Marsaxlokk (1897) and the three new villages in the north - Mellieħa (1841), Mġarr (1898) and St. Paul's Bay (1905). In Gozo seven new parishes appeared in just over a century: Għajnsielem[14] (1855), Qala (1872), Kerċem (1885), San Lawrenz (1893), Fontana (part of Victoria, 1911), Għasri (1921), and Munxar (1957; v. Sannat, Map 1).

In the period reviewed the major development has been the emergence of Valletta and the Three Cities under the Order and the tremendous urban extension in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The town-villages of medieval Malta, looking inwards to Rabat, grew quietly but were eclipsed by the youthful Valletta and remained agriculturally and socially isolated. In recent generations the economic 'draw' of the towns and the harbour area penetrated the Fringe zone and then the Rural districts, bringing all the countryside in some measure within the economic sphere of the towns. This has been accompanied by the education and emancipation of the rural community which tends to blur the line of demarcation between townsman and villager. Thus an adequate definition of 'Rural Malta' becomes increasingly elusive.

CHAPTER 11

The Farmer and Farming

DEFINITIONS

In much the same way in which the terms 'rural community' and 'village' need examination before they can be used in socio-economic analysis, so too, in Malta, do the meanings of 'farmer', 'farm-holding', etc., need elucidation.

The definitions of such terms made by Mitchell (B/525) have been accepted by the present writer. The 'farmer' is the "owner or holder of the land which he cultivates either individually or as the principal person of an agricultural enterprise". "The land worked by the farmer and his group of helpers constitutes the 'farm holding' or 'farm'. 'Holding' here implies simply the land held by the farmer, and is not used in a synonomous sense with the legalistic 'tenement'. There are excellent reasons for maintaining a clear distinction between the two terms for, on the one hand, a holding may consist of many different tenements held by the farmer of as many landowners and, on the other, a legal tenement may be occupied by more than one farmer. Confusion may also arise, in this connection, from the fact that a holding may contain freehold as well as various types of leasehold land". Mitchell continues, "Most farms include land of more than one category, and especially in the north and west of Malta and the hard rock areas of Gozo many

farmers hold rights over waste-land which from the cultivators' point of view is useless". As to size "the range is enormous" but "it is clear that a reduction in the average size of the farms has taken place at all levels". Today "the great majority of holdings (83.5%) are seen to consist of dry land only. A very small proportion, less than half of one per cent, contain irrigated land only. The balance of 16% of all holdings are 'mixed'. The majority of the mixed holdings contain less than 5 tmien of irrigated and less than 20 tmien of dry land".

The past hundred years have shown "a general upward trend in the number of land-holders balancing a downward trend in the number of farm workers", while a "factor influencing the numerical increase and progressive reduction in size of holdings has been the long-term expansion of part-time farming".

This picture is made even more complex by the prevailing systems of land tenure and their wide ramifications. This sector has been investigated by Mitchell (B/525). He considers the various types of ownership (Government, Church, private ownership and owner occupation) and the systems of tenure (long and short lease and share cropping, etc.), and traces the land-holding history of one family back through four generations, in order to reveal the way in which the farm-holdings of the members of the various branches of the family have been assembled as the individual farmers have lived and built up their holdings and then dispersed upon death or retirement

(in B/337). "Both the methods of acquiring new land and subdividing land already held are seen to result in more scattered and smaller plots".

Thus the Maltese farm is characterized by variety of size, tenure, composition and soil types. Moreover, one must distinguish holdings which are primarily livestock supporting, from those essentially arable in emphasis and also from the heterogeneous class which might be called 'mixed farms'. The present discussion attempts to consider the Maltese farmer as an individual within the agricultural and rural scene and aims to demonstrate the contrasts between the illiterate and the educated, the old-fashioned and the modern, the prosperous and the poor. It attempts also to examine the modern scene in the light of the major changes and developments discussed earlier.

THE PROBLEM

This Section considers the dilemma of the Maltese farm today from the point of view of its technical management. The problem soon emerges essentially as the struggle by an uneconomic unit - the Maltese farm - for existence in the already unbalanced total Maltese economy.

The first aspect of the problem is apparent from the points of definition just made. This is the complex of features which have produced the present landscape of tiny field-plots covering the

cultivable parts of the Islands with a patch-work of small farms, each consisting of widely scattered pieces of good, bad or indifferent land. The farmer whose lands form one block is very much the exception. Yet although the number of constituent plots is often large the average area of the Maltese farm is very small ("Over 55% of the total number of holdings appear to have less than 9 tmien of cultivable land"; B/164 - 1957, p. x) and in many cases is patently insufficient to supply food for the family concerned as well as produce a surplus of crops or fodder (Case V).

The obvious solution of acquiring more land is not always possible, as illustrated by Case V where present and new building severely limits the extent of cultivable land in the vicinity. Moreover much land is going out of cultivation because the hand work required to maintain it is not forthcoming under the current wage/labour conditions. Many fields were built on inaccessible or barren patches of rock in days when manual labour was readily available and cheap, much of it unpaid family labour. Terrace walls were constructed expertly and soil tediously carted, levelled, tilled and irrigated. But while mechanization, particularly in the form of now popular small rotary cultivators, is enabling a smaller labour force to cope with more work over much of the Islands, some of these man-made fields defy even this kind of development on account of their small size, tortuous shape or inaccessibility. The terrace walls are neglected. A sudden storm removes a wall section and the

soil which it held in place collapses over the terraces below and into the 'wied' bottom whence, in associated flash floods, it may be swept seawards.

The tenurial aspects mentioned (B/525) complicate this picture since they make for further divisions in an already minutely parcellated lay-out. Moreover a farmer is frequently deterred from making improvements on a piece of land if he lacks security of tenure (Case IX): he concentrates any capital outlay on the patches of ground which he either owns himself or has on long lease and which show the necessary conditions of size, accessibility, irrigability (Case XI); or which provide suitable sites for building (Case I).

Part-time farmers are an increasingly important feature. They neglect or relinquish unprofitable land even more rapidly than does the full-time farmer who often seems to continue working unpracticable fields which, by present standards, are uneconomic. He continues to work them for reasons which are a mixture of sentimental attachment, force of habit and, quite often, stark ignorance of the fact that the plots concerned are bringing him loss rather than profit. He does not indulge in cost-accounting.

This is the background to the two main difficulties facing Maltese farming :

(a) a drastic reduction in the agricultural labour force due to the retreat from the land, especially by the younger generation,

(b) the fact that contemporary Maltese farming cannot produce a profit without subsidies and protection from foreign competition.

The answer to the labour problem is held to be mechanization, along with the education of the farmer in the use of better suited methods, crops, animals, etc., and maximum development of the land by means of low-interest Government loans to farmers. The accepted answer to (b) is in fact not an answer at all but entails the creation of an artificial farming economy in which Government subsidies and guaranteed markets enable the farmer to make some profit where he would otherwise sustain a heavy loss. The cost of this is the price which the Government is willing to pay in order to develop the Islands' only primary industry to the maximum and to encourage the farming community to remain on their farms.

The limited scope of these solutions emerges from the discussions of labour, mechanization and protective subsidies and guarantees which follow.

LABOUR

The decline of the peasant system in Malta and its replacement by what has been called commercial farming has been accompanied by changes in the family as the operating group within the farm. There has been no strictly formal division of labour by sex in Malta[15] but there is an 'accepted' division and this is important

to an understanding of the present socio-economic upheaval in Maltese rural society.

In traditional and peasant Malta woman's place was certainly in the home. An old adage held that "women should never appear but twice in public: the day they are married and when they are buried" (B/326, Vol. 1, p.80). Even today the countrywoman, especially in Gozo, still divides her activity between home, Church, and the fields worked by the family, while her daughter, literate, emancipated and 'progressive' by contrast, wants to take up paid employment outside the home or even outside the village and insists on a greater measure of social intercourse than would have been proper for her mother.

The home and the care of the children remains the sphere of women and girls. The menfolk took part in such work only in exceptional cases, such as illness. Nowadays the men are often more inclined to interest themselves in this side of family life but, as often in a discussion of this nature, the range of divergence of practice defeats generalization.

Until recently it was customary for most women and girls to work, unpaid, alongside their menfolk in the fields, especially when work was pressing as at harvest time. Furthermore cotton was the work of women in most stages of its preparation (Chapter 10), while lace was almost entirely the work of women - particularly those whose age or infirmity excluded them from field work. Cotton is

now of minor importance and lace-working is confined to the older generations. The employment vacuum thus created is now partly being filled by young women and girls seeking employment away from the family in clerical jobs, retailing, teaching and domestic service. Fewer work as hired farm-labourers than was the case a generation ago. Yet there remains an increasing number of unmarried girls today, educated far beyond field work, who cannot find employment to suit their aspirations or qualifications, whether because of the scarcity of suitable posts or on account of the attitude that persists in labelling paid employment for a girl as somehow improper (Case I). Married women are, in any case, discouraged from taking or retaining paid employment throughout Malta (B/598).

Some farming families still retain the traditional pattern of field work by the whole family (Case XI); others do not (Case VIII). In some cases the women and girls work occasionally with their menfolk (Case II). In the fields they are given hoeing, planting, reaping and picking jobs but heavier work and jobs considered skilled, such as spraying with insecticide, are left to the men (v. Case I on the division of family labour).

In general it appears that as the younger age-groups are educated and emancipated unpaid field work is avoided. The only remuneration noted was limited to small 'pocket-money' donations and even these went to sons working fulltime with their fathers (Cases X, XI) and

not to daughters. Here then is the problem. The farmer is faced

(a) with the labour of members of his family limited, in many cases, as far as the women and girls are concerned to casual assistance and to grudging work by his sons until they can find some paid employment away from the home farm, and

(b) with the high cost of non-family labour at between £1 and 30/- per eight-hour day where a member of the family would have worked from early morning until sundown. Moreover the supply of hirable labour is by no means great nor readily available and, unless a general economic collapse forces a return to the land, there are no indications of any improvement in the position. Rather is agricultural labour likely to become scarcer and more costly.

The problem is considerably aggravated by the fact that, as already suggested, the particular characteristics of Maltese farming demand an intensive application of manual labour, both in the maintenance of the more precarious fields as well as in cultivation. Something of the detail of this need emerges from a consideration of the timetable of the Maltese farmer both as regards the annual cycle of activity and the daily round of farm-work.

TIMETABLE

The timetable of the Maltese farmer is more diverse and varied than is at first apparent. It is convenient to distinguish the daily

timetable proper from the annual calendar of events. Under traditional peasant farming conditions there appears to have been a much greater degree of uniformity but as farming has been 'commercialized' so has the range of variety increased.

The peasant field-tiller depended on climate, on the crop cycle and on the sun. The year's round of field-work a century ago is recorded in an 1849 "Calendario dell'Agricoltore" (B/355) which listed the major farm activities of each month along with short articles on subjects of interest to the farmer of the time. Many of these topics, such as silk, olives, aniseed, cotton, honey, almonds, and tobacco, would not merit such prominence in a modern version of the Calendario[16]. More striking still is the emergence, since 1849, of dairying and stock-rearing, which was scarcely mentioned in the Calendario but has more recently grown to first importance for a large part of the farming community.

Changes of such magnitude over the century can be expected to affect the routine of farm-work and of village and family life. In the mid-nineteenth century, Maltese farming was still very much more 'peasant' than 'commercial' and the change between then and now becomes clear when a modern calendar of events is considered.

As random sample illustrations three farmers' accounts of their own work during 1957-58 are analyzed[17]. At least they reveal something of the variety that now exists between one farmer and the next.

(1) A full-time field worker (Case X) usually working with his brother and a nephew and having some irrigable land. An analysis of the routine of this man is given (Case X; E, v. Work Analysis) and, from the same material, Mitchell has made a detailed study of time/labour utilization (B/525). A summary of this, which is on the basis of the ten hours per day worked by each of the three men over the year 1957-8, is also included in Case X.

(2) The second example relates to an arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce (Case XI; E, v. Work Analysis). This man is helped in the fields by his wife and family. The analysis illustrates the main features of this 'irrigated' farmer's year (although in the year studied there was an exceptional loss of time in the Autumn due to storm damage) and should be compared with (1) above. Irrigation accounts for about a quarter of the months May-July but occupies a mere two afternoons in the period November-February. Cutting and reaping accounts for even more time in July than does irrigation: by October plowing is the largest single item apart from "no work (storms)". In November, planting and sowing account for slightly more time than "collecting greenery" and is by far the main work of December (potatoes). General cultivation work occupies much of the next two months but pruning and grafting of vines is the biggest single item of February. The parallel between this and (1) is clear, apart from the special emphasis, on fruit - largely apples - in the former case.

(3) A Goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping (Case II; E, v. Work Analysis) provides the third sample study. In 1957-58 this herdsman spent all but thirty afternoons "grazing the goats" - on only one Sunday or 'festa' day did he not go out with his animals. This illustrates an important feature. While Sundays and Holy Days are normally kept free of field-work, work with animals has to be allowed. The herdsman is consequently much more tied to his farm than is the predominantly arable farmer. He has a set daily schedule of feeding and milking the animals and cleaning out their stalls, etc., and can expect to have to adhere to this especially if he is working alone or with very little help. In fact the herdsman spends a considerable amount of his working year on

(i) the grazing mentioned,
(ii) cultivation of fodder crops,
(iii) tasks connected with the animals such as collecting milk receipts from the M.M.U.[18], cleaning, building and repairing accommodation for the animals, taking animals for slaughter or caring for them if sick.

And this emphasis is even more strongly seen among the increasing number of dairy farmers in Malta relying on cows rather than goats, as a result of current guaranteed milk sales.

The essential difference between herdsman and field-tiller is, thus, that animals require constant attention throughout the year and demand a much more rigid daily schedule. In (3), care of the animals directly or indirectly takes the greater part of

every working day.

The annual calendar of activities reflects the way in which the farmer's life and work are bound up with the elements which govern his environment. The storm damage of late 1957, a serious economic set-back, was regarded fatalistically by the farmer. As soon as possible the normal routine of work was resumed and losses accepted with a great deal of talk but little action. The differences between the annual farming calendar of 1849 and that of today, illustrated by the above three examples, have included the extension of one crop at the expense of another. But even the reasons for such basic changes as the replacement of cotton by potatoes were not understood by the farmer. Cotton, for example, had become so firmly entrenched that only in face of impoverishment was it relinquished. The illiterate farmer suspects any innovation with which he is not familiar on the principle of "Better the evil you know than that you know not". He lives in a world where he sees himself fighting against forces over which he has no control. These include the climate, the Maltese economy, foreign trade conditions and, particularly, "them" - otherwise "Il-Gvern" or the Government and officialdom in general. He is also competing with his fellow farmers, but with the ways and wiles of these he is better acquainted.

This whole question of mental 'attitudes' to external factors is held to be crucial in a study of illiterate or recently-illiterate

farming folk and is given further consideration in Chapter 13. Suffice it at this stage to emphasize its importance in understanding the apparently illogical or irrational element which creeps into such a basic part of farming as the use of time. This becomes clear when a detailed cost-accounting of man/hours against productivity is made. Much of the work done is uneconomic in the sense that a great amount of time is spent with no direct result. The farmer in (1) spends more than a fortnight each summer gouging tree pests from his apple orchard, a tedious and monotonous task for which the cost would be enormous if any account were made of the labour involved. He has always accepted this task as one of the essential jobs in his fields, presenting itself each year as regularly as the seasons. Today he is wondering whether the same result might not be achieved within the space of a few hours by the application of some spray treatment (Case X).

This is certainly not to suggest that the Maltese farmer has ever consciously wasted his time. The opposite is the case. Visitors to Malta and Gozo since the eighteenth century have been full of praise for the farmers of the Islands and for their diligent industry. In fact the physical limitations of the fields and farms are such that agriculture in the Islands has been maintained and developed only by the application by the farmer of meticulous hand-labour. Today a critical shortage of this very labour is producing a state of doubt and tension in the industry. The question is being

posed as to whether some forms of mechanized development can replace traditional manual labour. In view of the characteristics of the rural landscape of the Islands possibilities seem limited.

The farmer's daily timetable, with its long hours of monotonous toil for comparatively little remuneration, is producing a younger farming generation embittered with their inability to do a day's work on the farm in eight hours only and frustrated because independence - in their terms - is denied them. They are tied to the farm and the animals and unable to take as much leisure as their counterparts in 'urban' jobs. Independence for them implies the freedom to take time off from the farm in which to make themselves socially as 'urbanate' as possible. Independence for their fathers' generation is not the same thing. Here is seen a vestige of the traditional peasant way of life which was essentially independent in its family and village self-sufficiency. Thus the old farmer's concept of independence is the ability to rule himself and to work his long hours as he inclines. The liberty to sit with his goats between siesta and sunset, with no foreman and no questions, is in fact part of the attraction which keeps the older farmer in farming at all. It is by no means the whole story because he knows well enough that in his case it is too late to think of acquiring any of the education which he sees as the key to things better than farming. The younger generation do not see things in this light at all and regard their education as a means of escape.

The nature of the farmer's daily timetable depends on

(a) the type of farm-unit involved,
(b) the labour force available,
(c) location,
(d) season.

The farmer's day begins, on average, between 4 a.m. and 4.30 a.m. Extremes are found in the case of herdsmen who often rise much earlier - at 2.30 a.m. in the case of the Gozitan with a large herd of cows and only a limited milking labour force, or after 5 a.m. or 5.30 a.m. for a herdsman whose farm is close to an M.M.U. collection depot[18]. The M.M.U. requires herdsmen to deliver their milk at such a depot for transportation to the pasteurizing centre at Hamrun or, in Gozo (after 1958), to the new milk centre at Xewkija. Before this latter addition to the milk industry, which is expected to cope with all the Gozo-produced milk in both pasteurizing and other processes, it was possible for a herdsman (Case I) in north-western Gozo to have to rise as early as 12.30 a.m. Generally, in the summer, reveille for the field worker might be an hour or so earlier than in winter so that he and, even more, the herdsman might expect to begin most of his working days in darkness.

The first event of the day for many country people is Mass. Some are regular attenders at one of the services between 4 and 6 a.m. Others, living further from a Church or having very heavy commitments of work, are less so. Field workers frequently take the Mass on their way to the work of the day (Case X).

Breakfast is invariably a very light meal of little more than bread and tea or coffee. It is taken sometime between reveille and about 9 a.m. and does not constitute a major halt in the work of the farm. Milk producers in most cases do not breakfast until the animals are milked or even until they return with their carts from taking the churns to the M.M.U. collection depot in the nearest village.

The main meal of the day is lunch, taken somewhere between 10.30 a.m. and 12.30 p.m. and followed by a siesta of up to three hours. The herdsman's siesta is less flexible than that of the farmer for a 1 p.m. afternoon milking limits the time available. The milking over, the goat-herder takes his animals out to graze on a suitable patch of waste ground or stubble until 5 or 6 p.m. - or later in the summer (Case II). The milk is taken to the collection depot with minimum loss of time especially in hot weather. In the case of the herdsman with cows there is clearly no question of grazing these animals (Case VI), except in one case (Case IX).

The evening meal is generally smaller than the lunch although consisting of much the same elements - a thick stew ('brodu' or 'minestra'), along with bread, cheese, fruit, olives, tomatoes, etc. The consumption of meat and fish is in part governed by religion and in part by price and availability, though meat certainly figures much more prominently in the rural diet than formerly. The meal

is taken soon after the return from the fields, about 6.30 p.m. and is followed, an hour or so later by the saying of a family Rosary before retiring for the night about 8.0 p.m. In Gozo there is a tendency for people to rise, eat, work and retire to bed rather earlier than in the larger Island and smaller villages are usually dark and quiet by 7 p.m.

Apart, therefore, from external factors, such as M.M.U. collection or Church service timings, the daily timetable of the farmer and the herdsman depends to a large degree on his own volition. He knows what work is outstanding and can decide how and when he will do it within the limits imposed by the season, demands of animals, and so on. Thus, at a peak period of field-work, such as harvest, the farmer and his assistants may work on until the late evening - even through the night. During exceptionally heavy rains, as in October 1957, work on anything approaching the normal scale is, on the other hand, impossible and the farmer's day becomes one of doing what he can and complaining copiously meanwhile.

Miège (B/516, p. 236), writing in 1840, was impressed by the regular and assiduous labour of the Maltese farmer, even during the heat of the summer sun. "Il semble impossible, au premier abord, que le paysan maltais puisse résister aux chaleurs intenses de l'été. Cependant, au milieu des champs, dès le lever du soleil, on le voit, exposés a ses brulants rayons, continuer tout le jour

ses pénibles travaux. Il fait deux pauses: la première a huit heures; il se repose alors une demi-heure pour déjeuner; la seconde à onze heures; c'est l'instant de son dîner frugal, après lequel il se repose de nouveau jusqu'à midi en hiver, et jusqu'à une heure en été, tantôt à l'ombre d'un figuier, tantôt au pied du petit mur qui entoure le champ, la tête couverte d'un bonnet de laine, et le reste du corps exposé au feux du jour. Il reprend ensuite ses travaux avec la même vigueur, et ne se retire qu'au signal donné par la cloche de son village, c'est à dire au coucher du soleil".

The essentials of the daily round of the farmer have changed little since Miège wrote except in so far as the tremendous increase in the importance of stock-rearing and milk production (notably the growth in the number of dairy cattle in the Islands) has produced a new kind of operator in Malta, the cows' milk producer, for whom field work is secondary and then based primarily on the production of fodder for his animals and fruit and vegetables for the family.

Sundays and Feast Days bring a break in the routine. Work in the fields lapses but animals still have to be milked and fed. On festa days the whole village goes en fête and to Church. A procession of religious images, members of religious orders, priests, penitents and others to the accompaniment of fireworks and brass bands blaring through the bustle in the narrow streets and alleys fills the evenings of these not infrequent days of festa, fast and

feast. These Holy Days and holidays have been the traditional breaks in the round of hard and heavy working days. The present younger generation still enjoys the merriment and processioning of these occasions but the Band Clubs have lost for them something of their position of fifty years ago, and the cinema and bright lights of Valletta provide alternatives and additions to the range of possibilities. The young villager of today wants time off not only on festa days but on ordinary working days as well.

The village festa is a communal celebration. Both men and women can share in the religious and social aspects. The Band Clubs established in the most villages during the past hundred years have however been solidly masculine (B/521). Other recreations of the farming community are largely masculine pastimes such as shooting small birds, gossiping in the village squares and bars or at the M.M.U. collection depot, watching the races at the Marsa course or arguing prices at the Sunday morning market 'Fuq il-Monti' in Valletta. In Gozo the big assembly early each Sunday morning in 'It-Tokk', the main square of Victoria, is the scene of much buying, selling and talking by villagers from all parts of the Island who come each week to the capital but rarely visit other villages. The focal pattern resembles that in Malta, where the bus routes converge on the Urban area and Valletta but provide comparatively little inter-village transport (B/381).

Dissatisfaction with the way of life outlined above, whether for

economic reasons (the small remuneration per man/hour of effort), or social considerations (the low status of the farmer, fisherman and other country people) is producing a younger generation anxious to escape if at all possible from following in the footsteps of their fathers and, thereby, accentuating the problem of how the farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operation.

It is hoped that some at least of the answer to this problem will come from co-operation and mechanization. The first implies the pooling of labour resources of individual farmers while the latter includes the whole range of developments leading to a replacement of hand labour, as far as possible under Maltese conditions, by machinery or by more efficient implements.

CO-OPERATION

Co-operation in field work between farmers is not new in Malta[19]. It is either permanent, where two or more farmers combine with each other to work a single farm unit, sharing profits and expenses, or temporary, as when two or more farmers share the use of a threshing machine at harvest.

An example of the permanent type is a case (Case VIII) where five brothers work one farm-unit as a team with one of their number being something of a primus inter pares. This is an efficient and profitable arrangement with a substantial income accruing from the herd of some thirty head and the 70 tmien of land worked by the

partnership.

Another case (Case XI) is that of two unrelated farmers working one farm-unit as partners after a lifetime's friendship. So completely are their resources pooled that it is not always clear what belongs to the one and what to the other. With their respective eldest sons (teenagers) these two men operate a holding of some 100 tmien and have in recent years joined in the change-over from goats to cows. Their joint herd now numbers some forty head, but as an economic unit is in a much inferior position to that of the first example.

A third example (Case X) shows two brothers working the fields held by them together but maintaining clear distinctions as to which brother owns which plot. This association has also endured for decades and now includes the full-time assistance of the eldest son of the brother.

An example of a temporary association is that where two or more farmers combine to thresh the grain of each man in turn, six being the optimum number for a threshing team which normally includes the owner-operator of the hired threshing machine himself working as one of the team. In the days when the traditional threshing floor with the mule and hand-winnowing was the standard method of threshing (as before the 1939-45 War) different farmers would also join and help each other at the harvest. (Today this threshing floor method is confined to cases where a long straw is required.)

Direct hiring of implements from a contractor as against exchange of labour between farmers is becoming increasingly common, while a recent development has been the tractor co-operative in which a number of farmers share a cultivator or tractor which they own in common.

MECHANIZATION

The first large tractors made their appearance in Malta in the 1930s but "at that time there was a general feeling against the use of such machines on the land and it was about five years before their value was acknowledged and suspicions overcome"[7]. Since the 1939-45 War however, the number of farmers and others owning agricultural tractors and mechanized implements[20] has increased to about thirty in Malta[21] and some twelve in Gozo (1957). A sample survey of these tractor operators[22], made in 1957, revealed that the number of such machines is still increasing but the work available for them is decreasing.

The main points emerging from this investigation were:

(a) There are too many large tractors for the work available. In some cases, Government control was recommended, while in Gozo it appeared the contractors had themselves limited their own spheres of operation by agreement.

(b) The great increase in the number of hand-operated rotary cultivators was fast putting the large tractors out of business for

two reasons

(i) the machines are small, more manoeuvrable in tiny fields and can be used during the greater part of the year - even in wet weather,

(ii) costing only some few hundred pounds they can be bought by large numbers of individual farmers - especially since low-interest loans are now available from the Government.

(c) The limited area of land suitable for working with a deep-plow in the Islands. Many fields are too small or too inaccessible for such big machinery - though they can comfortably accommodate the small rotary cultivators.

(d) The exclusion of tracked vehicles from public highways (unless 'shod' or moved by lorry) irritates the contractors who frequently have to travel long distances between assignments.

(e) The high costs of fuel and the frequent need of spare-part replacements on account of damage.

(f) The increasing area being put to vines.

The advantages of tractor-plowing to the farmer include

(i) the speed of operation, in contrast with the traditional single-furrow wooden-plow working. Costs are therefore relatively cheap. They average about 15/- per tomna for tractor plowing and about £1 per hour for the hire of a threshing machine. Rotary cultivators can themselves be hired at between 10/- and 12/- per hour. A job which would take a mule and plow a whole day is done in a matter of minutes by the mechanical plows.

(ii) the tractor-plow, or the rotary cultivator, make

it possible for one man to work a larger area than if he had to rely on his own labour and hand-implements. To this extent such mechanization is solving the problem of labour shortage.

For the contractor himself there is a social as well as financial profit deriving from his machines. He has come to be regarded as rather higher in the social plane than the hand-labouring farmer. But his financial status is also clearly far above that of the field worker with no implements and his remuneration per man/hour of effort far greater despite the limitations outlined above. The main disadvantage is the short plowing season over some three summer months or less. Some contractors hire their machines and services to builders and others out of the plowing season, while others own a threshing machine which brings in further contracts in the summer.

It would appear that the large tractor is not the answer to the labour problems of Maltese farming, although it may bring considerable profit and advancement to the few dozen operators themselves. The present decline in this type of contracting has been noted. Charlton (B/381) maintains that this decline would be greatly accelerated if there were any large-scale return to the land in the near future. The small hand rotary cultivator is meeting with much more success and looks like going much further along the way to enabling a time/money conscious Maltese farmer to cultivate an adequate area with little or no paid hand-labour. Even this is

however clearly limited by the point made earlier that the Maltese farming landscape has been built up by hand labour and much of it can only be maintained by that same meticulous attention.

Many of the large tractor plowing concerns described above are run by two or more men, often brothers, in partnership. A much more recent development of this kind has been the 'tractor co-operative' in which a much larger number of farmers share the use and expenses of a cultivator of tractor. By the end of 1958 one such co-operative had been established in Mellieħa in Malta, and another at Għarb, in Gozo.

These two projects are attempts which, if successful, may be followed by the setting up of other similar co-operatives. Two powerful hand cultivators were donated by C.A.R.E.[23], the American relief organization, to a committee of farmers in Mellieħa and two more to a similar group in Għarb. In each village farmers wishing to join the co-operative paid a fee of some £2 after which they were entitled to hire the machine at a fraction of the prevailing commercial hire cost. In Għarb this was 10/- an hour where other private tractor operators were demanding 17/-. The C.A.R.E. gifts of tractors removed the need for the farmer himself to invest capital in something novel. He stood only to gain and not to lose and there was, consequently, fierce competition for the limited membership of the co-operative. Maintenance of the machines was in each case left to a full-time operator, while the running of the

co-operative was in the hands of an executive committee of some half dozen farmers in each case who were elected from among the members concerned. This kind of organization in farm work is quite new to the Maltese farmer who has previously been incapable of uniting to any degree, whether in a marketing co-operative or farmers' union (v. Chapter 13). If the Mellieha and Gharb projects prove successful the principle of such co-operation may well extend to other branches of agriculture. The resulting financial economies would considerably strengthen the farmer's position.

A co-operative of any sort is, however, a somewhat unknown quantity among a largely illiterate and conservative farming population not far removed from traditional independent subsistence. Moreover, until recently, mechanical skill has been confined to the small number of farmers operating tractors themselves. In the Gharb co-operative only two men were available who could in fact operate the machines at all.

Although it is too early to judge the efficacy of this kind of co-operative in Malta its initial success would suggest that it has a future. The answer to the problem of shortage of labour discussed earlier in this chapter may be a combination of the widespread owner-use of one or other of the small rotary cultivators on the market along with the setting up of co-operatives which would make available to the farmer a heavy tractor and deep-plow on hire as required and would enable the very small-scale farmer and the part-timer to hire

the smaller type of cultivating machine at low cost in cases where he does not wish or cannot afford to purchase his own cultivator.

SUBSIDY AND GUARANTEE

During the 1939-45 War the Maltese Government offered farmers in the Islands very high guaranteed prices for produce handed in to the collection centres in each district. Farmers enjoyed for a brief period prosperity they had never known before and were able to build up often considerable financial reserves (Cases VI, XII).

Following this precedent the farmer today, under quite different conditions of competition from abroad, demands a guaranteed income for the work he expends on crop and milk production. He insists that responsibility for this subsidy and guarantee falls, as in war-time siege years, on "Il-Gvern", the Government. He overlooks the fact that his produce cannot in many cases hope to compete with foreign goods on price. He is in fact not concerned as to who buys his produce so long as "Il-Gvern" organizes its export and marketing and gives him a substantial return.

The Government, for its part, realizes the difficulties which the farmer in Malta and Gozo has to face and is thus confronted with a choice of policy. Should it favour the consuming Maltese public by giving them the cheapest possible foodstuffs (which would

often mean imported goods rather than Maltese home produce) or should it protect the farmer by subsidizing his profit and guaranteeing his sales - at least in part? Official policy has of recent years tended to do both these things. The ration of basic commodities (bread, sugar, farinaceous paste, and butter) allows everyone in the Islands to obtain a part of the food they consume at low, subsidized prices, over and above which they are at liberty to buy on the open market.

The aid-to-farming programme is still more recent and is by no means yet old enough for all its ramifications and possibilities to be clear. So far it has included five main types of help to agriculture.

(a) First there is the guaranteed price to herdsmen for milk (of adequate fat content) supplied to the M.M.U. This varies slightly with season and there is a difference of a few pence between cows' and goats' milk. The average of some 5/- or 6/- per gallon to the producer amounts to some 8d per pint produced. Now the M.M.U. sells pasteurized milk at about this same price to the general public, regardless of the administrative, collection and pasteurization costs involved and the losses on surplus milk wasted. The subsequent deficit is born by the Government exchequer and may therefore be regarded as a Government subsidy to the milk producer. Its effect in the past few years has been immense in that it has encouraged herdsmen all over the Islands to increase their production to the maximum at the expense of arable cash-crops (Cases I to IX).

(b) As part of the general policy to improve farming in the Islands and, at the same time, to eradicate certain livestock diseases, the Government has made available to herdsmen an exchange scheme whereby they may exchange diseased animals for newly imported stock. This has also included goats, some dozen of which could be exchanged for a cow. Along with this stock improvement policy has gone official limitation on the number of animals entering the Islands since the present overstocking is regarded as

undesirable. Farmers have however not been slow to find ways round such limitations - one popular method of acquiring a cow having been, for example, for a farmer to buy in weak and ailing goats and effect an exchange of these for a healthy imported heifer.

(c) Of considerable help to the arable farmer as well as the herdsman has been the programme of 'Loans and Grants' ('Self u Donazzjonijiet') by the Government to farmers for the purpose of making capital improvements in the farm and its operation. The low-interest loans have been particularly popular and have already enabled many farmers to buy, for example, their own rotary cultivators (Case II). One important limiting feature in these loans has been the ignorance on the part of many farmers of the system and the suspicion felt by others of something new and not clearly explained.

(d) Of particular concern to the arable farmer have been the various distributions of free or subsidized seeds, potatoes, tomatoes, etc. In some cases the aim has here been to popularize some new departure from custom such as a variety of early potato new to Malta or to introduce farmers to the 'Balanced Ration' ('Għalf Bilanċjat') experiments of the agricultural authorities.

(e) In this same category of aids to farming comes the recently-formed Agricultural Advisory Service, which has itself been responsible for many of the new moves mentioned and also for the series of public lectures to farmers (v. Chapter 13), which have been part of the effort to improve farming in the Islands by providing an up-to-date research and information centre to which the farmer may turn for advice and material help. Much discussed by the farming community in 1958, were the plans for a proposed artificial insemination centre to help in the improvement of stock in the Islands along with the provision of an efficient stud. The early stages of the Advisory Service are outlined in B/252.

Thus a lot has been done and a great deal more said about farming in Malta and its improvement and modification to bring it more closely into line with present conditions both in Malta and abroad. The farmer's characteristic conservatism has to be overcome at every stage (v. Chapter 13) but where he sees a clear prospect of quick profit he is not slow to move. The outstanding

example of this is the guaranteed milk sale through the M.M.U.[18] which, in the space of a few years, has produced a revolution in dairying in the Islands.

The herdsman is not concerned with an increasing milk surplus in the Islands as a whole. While the guarantee remains he will continue to put every effort into selling more gallons each day and to subordinating cash-cropping to fodder production in his fields (Cases I to IX). It is certainly keeping him in farming but it is not, apparently, having the same effect on his son.

CHAPTER 12

The Farmer and Living Standards

MONEY

In the early nineteenth century the Maltese farmer was a 'peasant' in the sense that he was engaged in small scale subsistence farming with the help only of his family. Economically and socially he saw little beyond his family, farm and village. There were very few wants which could not be supplied at home, or at least within the village. In 1958 one heard of a now almost mythical Maltese countryman of a hundred years previously whose annual expenses in terms of money totalled 6d : 3d for paraffin and 3d to have his horse shod! Today, the farmer who spoke thus of his predecessor receives about £300 for the milk which he sells each year (Case I) as but one item in a present annual turnover of several hundred pounds which characterizes modern 'commercialized' agriculture in Malta where the farmer produces for sale. He still provides much of the food for his family but he is no longer a peasant.

Thus the place of money provides a basic distinction between the present 'commercialized' position and that which prevailed under traditional peasant farming. A century ago money and financial transactions in general featured only to a limited extent in the life and work of the average farmer, and barter as a medium of

exchange had a far greater importance than in recent decades. Family labour within the home went unpaid, but even where wages were paid they were very small indeed, both relatively and absolutely when compared with modern amounts (v. Chapter 11). Examples, for comparative purposes, are given by the 1836 Royal Commissioners (B/184), Miège (B/516) and Price (B/556), but even as late as 1911 a day's wages in farm-work might have been something of the order of 1s 3d (B/186). From this same report however, it is learnt that the farming community had by that date become investment conscious and had passed through a sequence of stages:

(a) hoarding "their small capitals" (B/186-12473),
(b) investing in jewellery,
(c) saving with the aim of buying a house,
(d) depositing in savings banks towards this aim,
(e) "Now they want bigger interest than the banks will give them and they are investing in foreign bonds" (B/186-12475).

The changed place of money in Maltese rural society today is exemplified by the field labourer of fifty years ago who received 1s 3d for a dawn-to-dusk working day where his grandson now expects 25/- or 30/- for a limited eight hour day, if he can be persuaded to indulge in field work at all. The developments observed by the 1911 Commissioners were by no means general among the rural population at that time. They were in fact merely the first limited signs of what was to come. However, between 1911 and 1939 the Maltese farmer moved steadily towards the commercialism of today. The Second World War brought siege conditions of shortage which put

the food producer in Malta in a more commanding position than ever before. He could expect very high guaranteed prices for his produce - or even higher ones on the black market. Farmers became used to the idea of big financial returns for their labour. Some were able to effect substantial savings under distorted war-time market conditions, but more widespread still was the feeling, which carried on after 1945, that farming in Malta ought still to produce, in competitive peace-time, the profits of war-time shortage.

The major underlying socio-economic trend has been the great expansion in the range of demands of the countryman. The traditional peasant subsistence farmer was content to live off his own farm as suggested above but the change to 'commercialism' in his farming along with his social emancipation has widened the sphere of considered needs. Diet has become more varied and now includes a variety of food items not produced locally: clothing standards demanded have risen; and luxuries, once almost unheard of, are now becoming part of the expected pattern of the life of the countryman (v. Chapter 11). For most of these new needs the farmer has required money. Hence progress, to him, has become synonomous with the acquisition of more money. Branches of banks have appeared in some villages in both islands since 1945 and the countryman is coming to accept this means of storing his accumulated wealth. The concern for bigger interest, first noted by the 1911 Commissioners, is replacing the traditional mere accumulation of

wealth whether in money or in jewellery and other valuables.

There is still, however, a very strong element of accumulation rather than investment in the finances of the farmer. This is particularly the case with the older generation who, as always, cling to the ways of the past because their lack of formal education makes them, apparently, unable to comprehend or adapt themselves to the workings of the present. Thus it is held that, while the younger generation have sought to urbanize themselves socially and economically with the money which now comes their way, many of the older generation, that is to say those who are tending to stay in farming today, have taken the 'new' money but have not changed their way of life or living standards to anything like the same extent. Thus dress, for example, is no sure indication of a farmer's wealth in terms of money and one hears of bare-foot, shabbily clothed countrymen with savings of £1000 or more. In traditional Maltese village society the uniformity which was the keynote (v. Chapter 10) encouraged the farmer to appear like his neighbour lest he be accused of deviationary tendencies: this feeling is often revealed today in the reluctance of the farmer to be the first to try a new method or crop in his fields for fear of becoming a laughing-stock.

Although the older generation do not strive to demonstrate their wealth in dress, habits, a new house, etc., and do not share the anxiety of the younger villager that he should look like a townsman and move to a 'good' - i.e. non-rural - district, their saving is not

completely without aim. To resolve this point fully it would be necessary to consider the whole complex of traditional Maltese village society but for the present discussion some major features only will be outlined.

Dowry is one feature of traditional Maltese society which is currently assuming different proportions to those earlier held. It was regarded in the past as essential for a man to provide his marrying daughter with as substantial a dowry as possible. This was partly in kind: land, animals, etc., and partly in money. The size of a girl's dowry was one of the indications of social position and for many a poor man the provision of it would represent sacrifice and saving over many years, especially where there were several marriageable daughters in one family. In the past, many farmers' sons could expect to find brides among the families of the same village and farming background. Thus a dowry of land or other property was an admirable way of building a farm-holding and was one of the counters to fragmentation consequent upon the system of land inheritance (B/525). Such an arrangement caused the minimum disruption in work and residence. However, as contacts between parts of the Islands have increased and marriages between individuals from different villages and also from differing economic backgrounds have become more common, a dowry of land is often quite inappropriate. Money takes its place and the desire for financial accumulation on the part of the fathers of girls of marriageable age leads them to put more emphasis on money and its

investment.

Another development which has put money into an altogether new perspective for the Maltese farmer has been his growing desire to own the house in which he lives. As seen (Chapter 11), most of the land worked by the farmers in the Islands is not owned by the operator concerned and this applies to the farm buildings and the house occupied by the family. As the farmer becomes ownership-conscious the first step is understandably to acquire his own home, a feature observed by the 1911 Commissioners. Having bought his house, the farmer turns his attention to the purchase of other parts of the land which he cultuvates, but, even before doing this, he wants capital to enable him to build up the live-stock side of his holding. The importance of meat and dairy stock-raising (v. Chapter 11) has increased rapidly in recent years - especially since the 1939-45 War, and the need for capital in such cases is clearly much greater than in a farm unit based solely on arable cultivation where lease- or rental-holding is a convenient and accepted method of tenure (B/525).

Similarly, the spread of mechanization in Maltese farming after 1945 (v. Chapter 11) brought in a need for capital. The Government added to this money consciousness with financial encouragement to farmers (in an effort to keep them on the land) in the form of very low interest loans for capital improvements of the farms and their equipment. The Government policy in connexion with milk (the

guaranteed price system for milk sold to the M.M.U.) has had a similar effect. It has encouraged the farmer to turn to milk production and to increase his herd to the maximum (Chapter 11).

Briefly therefore, the position is that the farmer in Malta and Gozo is now faced with a variety of factors tending to make him money conscious to a degree unknown to his grandfather - who spent the 6d per year already mentioned. These factors basically underly the complex of socio-economic changes which have brought and are bringing improved living standards, "emancipation" and a greater range of demands:

(a) In diet, clothing, recreation and 'luxury' fields the farmer is demanding more than before, and this means money.

(b) The traditional pre-occupation with saving has been diverted towards the saving and investment of money rather than the accumulation of kind. Dowry is one example.

(c) The raised circumstances of the farmer have made him anxious to own his farm, and especially his house and (with the recent emphasis here) his animals.

(d) Anxious to get the most out of his holding within the present commercial system he is keen to develop his farm by acquiring machinery (with possible help from a Government loan) or by making some capital improvement. Suffering from shortage of labour, he wants to be able to pay hired farm labour the high wages demanded. His own children work away from the home farm.

(e) The artificially distorted market conditions in siege and war-torn Malta between 1939 and 1945 put the farmer in a commanding financial position, which he continues to regard nostalgically as a Golden Age of Maltese farming. He has never fully been reconciled to his now changed position.

DEBT

Thus, where the peasant farmer of a century ago saw in his farm the means of providing for the various needs of the family, the modern farmer in Malta regards his holding, his animals, and equipment, as the means whereby he can make the money which he needs to buy more new items, to expand his property and to build up his capital reserves. This is the picture as it would be ideally and as it is for a very small section of the farming community: one of the major problems of Maltese farming today is that it is by no means the position among the great bulk of the rural and farming population of the Islands. If, having observed the present position of money and the demands upon which it is based, one turns to a more detailed examination of the financial status of the Maltese farmer the true nature of the problem emerges. Far from acquiring the money which he expects, the Maltese farmer is found, in a large number of cases, to be suffering from economic near-strangulation because the working of his farm-unit is linked with a fluctuating but permanent element of debt. This is because the factors mentioned above as producing the need and demand for money are operating, but the farmer and his farm-unit are unable to hold their own in the present agricultural economy of Malta; this in spite of the artificial boosts of Government loans, guaranteed prices, free gifts, agricultural development schemes, information services, etc., (Chapter 11).

There is a range therefore between the farmer who is proving able

to advance financially and he who is not, even to the state of impoverishment. The problem of the latter may be considered from two view-points, the economic and the social. Economically, the difficulty is clear. Many farm units as they exist today cannot hope to provide an income, after expenses have been met, which will support the family and allow of expansion or even maintenance of the unit. The social problem is less easy to define. It would appear that many characteristics of the traditional peasant farming system of subsistence and independence of each farm unit still remain beneath an often thin veneer of commercialization and modernization. This is related in large part to the lack of education of the farmer himself. The farmer of today in Malta is an old man and ageing who has been but little affected by the developments in education, in its widest sense, which are turning the ambitions of the present younger generation of the farming community towards the towns and towards non-agricultural pursuits. At heart, the present Maltese farmer is still in very many cases thinking as a peasant, isolated and independent, in a farming system now essentially commercial, competitive yet inter-dependent. Financial profits and losses now rule his life but the farmer is, in a disturbingly large number of cases, partly unable and partly unwilling to adapt himself and his farm to the new conditions.

Something of the effect of both the economic and social aspects of the problem may be gathered from a study of a number of sample

cases:

(a) A goats' milk producer, living just within the boundary of the Urban area of Malta (Case V), operated during 1957 with a persistent debt on the maintenance of his animals, the basis of his livelihood. During the year, the milk production of his herd varied between 70 and 30 lbs per day. This was sold for the official guaranteed prices and to this extent may be seen as a constant element. Produce from the tomna of land held by the farmer was used in the home but made only a minor contribution to the food budget. This man keeps no accounts of the costs of maintenance of his herd and profits therefrom. He is operating in a perpetual state of debt. A table of his income from milk sold and expenses on fodder during nine months of 1957 (Case V, Summary) illustrates the progress of this debt. He looks back nostalgically to the days when his father sold milk from door to door in the Urban area and complains bitterly of his present poverty. Incongruously, however, he insists that he fully realizes that without the present Government guarantee (through the M.M.U.) he could not operate at all. He probably does realize this.

(b) Another case of operation within permanent debt is provided by two cows-milk producers who work together as a unit (Case IX) with three dozen head of cattle and a total area held of about 100 tmien used primarily for the production of fodder for the herd. They claim that the debt factor makes it impossible for them to organize their farm and herd as they would wish. For example, while they fully realize the profit to be gained by rearing calves and selling fully grown animals, they are in fact forced to sell even female calves (which they would otherwise keep) in order to pay instalments towards the cost of cows or to pay off part of the debt outstanding to the fodder merchants. This debt position makes them reluctant to take on any further loan commitments: nevertheless the Government loan offers at only 1% are definitely attractive, as a means whereby they would be able to increase the number in their herd and also mechanize their field-work without making their debt position appreciably worse. Behind all this it is clear that they are basing all their hopes on the guaranteed milk price offered by the M.M.U. and they are therefore intent on accumulating animals and thereby supplying the M.M.U. with as much milk as possible.

They have no thought or care as to what might happen were the official guaranteed price to go, along with the subsidy which supports it. In fact they have singularly little appreciation of the total picture of which they form part and will be content to grumble quietly and ignorantly as long as the present artificial situation brings them a steady income. They are both illiterate (Case IX).

(c) An illiterate farmer and herdsman (Case VI) keeps no accounts of the finances of his farm working. The money of the household is "kept in one purse" from which all expenses, farm maintenance and improvement, household expenses and all 'extra' items such as the provision of dowries and wedding costs, etc., are met. This farmer admits to having been able to save more than £1000 as a result of the 1939-45 War but observes that today they "have a hard job to earn the daily bread". He claims that the savings had all gone by 1958 - partly on improvements to the house but mostly on the purchase of cows as part of his grand design to join the hundreds of other farmers in Malta and Gozo striving to ride on the crest of the wave of the M.M.U. guaranteed price for all milk produced. It is held that this pattern is typical of Maltese farming, and particularly dairying, today. The main energies of the farmer are devoted to making as large a profit as he can while the artificially-supported market for milk is maintained.

(d) A literate part-time farmer (Case XIII) keeps accounts of the working of his farm. His second employment brings him in over £5 per week for all but a few weeks of the year and at the expense of only a small amount of his time and effort. In a normal year he reckons to make an income of about £450 of which about a third goes in costs of seeds, transport and manure, etc. and a further £50 in hiring labour. On account of the steady income from his other job farming has something of the quality of a hobby, a pursuit to be followed because he has always been used to doing it and one which enables him to provide many of the food items needed by the family. Moreover he feels that his sons, who emigrated some years ago, will eventually wish to return to Malta and will be still enough attracted to the way of life which bred them to want to cultivate a small piece of land themselves during their retirement.

For this man, therefore, farming lacks the character of the bitter struggle with debt which it has for (a). To this extent he is typical of the large and growing number of part-time farmers in Malta today whose livelihood is provided by their non-agricultural job but who maintain a sort of residual interest in the land both as the source of 'extras' and as a link with the farming community from which they are but one generation, or less, removed.

The link with the land, mentioned under (d), gives both the full- and the part-time farmer a sense of independence to which he clings despite the inadequacies of farming from the economic point

of view. This sense of independence is revealed in cases where the farmer is not prepared to consider taking a loan, even from the Government at only 1% interest, partly because, as he says, he is "not used to it", but rather perhaps because the variable fortunes of farming (crop failure, storm damage, market fluctuations, etc.) might make him unable to continue payment of the interest on the loan. He wants to be beholden to no-one. Even the house in which he lives was bought by him from his own savings without the help of loans (d).

THE FAMILY BUDGET

It appears that MONEY is a variable but important factor in the operation of the modern Maltese farm as an economic or uneconomic unit. Money within the household, as distinct from the farm, merits further consideration.

As already suggested, there is generally no clear distinction made by the farmer between the finances pertaining to his farm and those of his family and its maintenance. The most common practice is for there to be "one purse" (Cases VI and X). Into this go all profits from sale of produce or livestock and out of it come the costs of running farm and household. As seen, the farm unit itself is not run with a budget in most cases and there is rarely any attempt on the part of the farmer to cost-account the working of his farm as far as the labour of his family and himself is concerned

(Case X). Similarly it is still the exception rather than the rule to find a herdsman who keeps cost accounts of his milk production. In many cases he knows he is making a loss, though of the details he has no notion. In carrying on his farming under these conditions he seems to be suffering from a mixture of inertia and pure inability to organize the accounts of his business. In some cases he is compelled to put forward an outline statement for income tax assessment but generally his illiteracy and suspicion makes him unwilling to trust other individuals with details of his income and expenditure.

Within the family, however, this suspicion does not normally exist. In fact the housewife tends to have full call on the contents of the "one purse" although in only a few cases was it found that she was making any detailed attempt at budgeting for the expenses of her home and family. As with the operation of the farm so with the home, the money is dispensed as demanded but all the time the instinct to save, observed by the 1911 Royal Commissioners (B/186), is there. The traditional peasant idea is that a large hoard of money or valuables will serve as an insurance when the expected depression arrives. Despite the opinion of the 1911 Commissioners, the notion that the saved capital would be better invested, possibly in capital equipment, is only now spreading to a considerable part of the farming community of the Islands.

In the day-to-day expenses of the traditional Maltese village household, barter played a considerable part. Today instances of it

are rare and money is the fully accepted medium of exchange. As already indicated the Maltese farmer is not so far removed from his peasant past as may at first sight appear to be the case and one of the basic aims of his farming is still the provision of food for his family. The average farm in Malta, whatever its basis (stock, dairying or field produce), usually strives to produce as much of the food needs of the family as possible, though the provision of the family's clothing, as in the past when home-grown cotton was spun and woven to make clothes for the members of the grower's family, is no longer attempted.

Thus the food bought in by the farmer's wife includes the 'new' items of diet which cannot be grown on the home farm: preserves, processed cheeses, spaghetti and farinaceous pasta, processed meats, tea, coffee, and evaporated milk (inordinately popular throughout the Islands). Flour rationing since the early part of the 1939-45 War has killed break making as a home industry. Meat, except for rabbit, fowl and small birds, has to be purchased, as all slaughtering is Government-controlled. The farmer does aim to produce the basic vegetables - potatoes, beans, peas, pumpkins, melons, tomatoes, onions, garlic, artichokes, endives, celery, cucumber, carrots, and fruits - oranges, apples, lemons, figs, peaches, etc., required by the family. In respect of diet an important distinction between town and country emerges. In the towns the diet is essentially 'Italian' with the full complement of spaghetti and other pasta dishes

while 'English' food is now also readily available; but in the country districts there is notably less pasta and its place is taken by potatoes and other vegetables. The townsman who has in any case to buy all his food has accepted Italian ideas on diet with certain local, Maltese modifications, but the countryman, still able to produce much of his own food, clings to vegetables for the bulk constituents of his diet. Bread is however a staple of both town and country (v. Chapter 11).

A range of soft drinks, commercial wines, spirits (whisky is very popular throughout Maltese society) are now standard elements in the diet, while luxury foods such as chocolate, biscuits and the wide range of sweet cakes ('qaq') are further examples of items which have now established themselves as needs and, consequently, as demands on the family purse.

Nowadays clothes (or at least the materials from which they are made) are bought by the housewife. This in itself has produced a minor revolution in rural economy. Traditionally the simple garments of cotton cloth were made at home or at least within the village and were worn by the field worker until they could be worn no more. Today a new range of clothing demands have appeared. The farmer now wants better clothes and footwear, but the greatest change is among the younger farming generation who want to dress like the youths of the towns. The retail sale of clothing in the rural districts has expanded rapidly, especially since the 1939-45 War years brought in

the widespread use of military surplus material.

Housing is important in the present consideration because money is now being spent by the farmer both on buying his own house where he can and also on developing it and improving the furnishings.

Having seen the comparatively well-appointed town dwellings he is not content with his poor country cottage.

There is also a wide range of incidental luxury or semi-luxury items which are being added to the list of 'needs'. Thus costs of travelling, entertainment and recreation all require money. Payments to the Church have now largely replaced the one-time gifts in kind, and taxes, paid by a few members of the farming community, can clearly only be met with cash.

The first difficulty in investigating BUDGETS is the typical reticence to talk on matters financial. The second and more important draw-back is the aforementioned lack of distinction between the money spent on the farm and that spent on the household.

In Case X there is an exceptional degree of trust and co-operation between husband and wife. Unlike the average Maltese farmer, the husband in this Case (literate and English-speaking) keeps some check on income and expenditure in the form of receipts and documents relating to the Pitkal and other transactions. He observes that his keeping such vouchers was regarded as "a waste of time" by his contemporaries until an instance arose where they proved of major importance and benefit.

At the end of 1957 he talked vaguely of a bank balance of £1,000. By April of the following year this had fallen to "£600" on account of certain heavy expenses (v. Case X). The period in question was financially atypical for this man because he was at the time rapidly expanding his herd of pigs, and he also suffered very badly from the severe storms of October, 1957.

The preparation of any kind of account for him or for any farmer like him is further complicated by the uncommercial approach which is made to the labour of the farmer himself (and in this Case that of a brother and nephew who normally work with him). Tasks are performed because custom demands that they are done and a job is not neglected because the return on it is insufficient. Thus the labour of the farmer and his relatives does not figure as a cost in production (Chapter 11).

His income derives largely from the sale of fruit (figs, apples, plums, pomegranates, etc.) but is variable. In 1953 the two brothers shared £620 but in the 1956-57 season a larger amount of actual produce fetched only £340 to be shared between the two men. The nephew "receives something when a crop is sold". Other items sold in 1956-57 were grapes (£32) and smaller sales of tomatoes, sulla and potatoes. Thus in the 1956-57 season each of the brothers received a gross profit of about £250 on produce sold. This takes no account of food consumed directly by the family (for details v. Case X) nor of the virtual income in a poor year such as 1956-57 from savings. This

feature is crucial. Given the normal conditions of peace, with no distortions as a result of war and siege, it becomes clear that the Maltese farmer is, in the great majority of cases, attempting to gain on the swings of the good year the saveable profit which he expects to lose on the roundabouts of a bad year not far hence. This insecurity of his capital is important in his reluctance to lay out money on new methods of production or farm management and in part also echoes the conservatism and inertia of the traditional peasant.

STANDARD OF LIVING

The past century and a half have seen the development from peasant to commercial farming, along with the adoption of money as the basis of exchange, and the appearance of a large range of new demands in diet, clothing, housing, luxuries, recreation, etc. Some observations on the living standards of the farming community during the period are now indicated.

Speaking of living standards in the Malta of the early nineteenth century, Price considers that "an identity and cohesion prevailed not only in major economic trends but in the economic habits of the people" (B/556, p.8). Thus "In these circumstances it is possible to examine together the habits of rural labourers, urban labourers, artisans, small farmers and fishermen...." (B/556, p.9). Price holds that during the first half of the

nineteenth century there was in fact little change in the living standards prevailing in the Maltese Islands despite the fluctuations evident within the national economy as a whole. "Years of prosperity may have brought a slight increase in the ratio of wheaten to barley bread or in the use of novel clothing such as straw hats. But, it seems clear, the chief effect of prosperity was to increase the consumption of oil, alcohol and tobacco; these, together with his religion, ranked first in the list of desirable and important things in the minds of the Maltese flush with surplus cash. Presumably there were the things he hoped society would give while his traditional diet, clothing and shelter were the things he expected society to provide" (B/556, p. 9-10). Among the unskilled urban and rural workers there was a notable uniformity in wage throughout the period. Price speaks of $6\frac{3}{4}$d for a day's work for a man (and about 1d only for a woman) but observes that skilled workers, and especially those in dockyard employ, could expect very much more (B/556, p. 9-10). For the mass of the labouring and farming community therefore income was of the order of a few pence per day but, as suggested, the prevailing self-sufficiency of the near-peasant farmer of the period made actual monetary income an inadequate indicator of standards of living. For the urban worker, on the other hand, lacking the farm basis, the low wage level meant poverty and hardship. More especially "Poverty.... pressed heavily on the under-employed" (B/556, p. 11).

The importance of cotton to the nineteenth century Maltese farmer

has been discussed in Chapter 10. In 1839 the Royal Commissioners reported (B/184) that "The principal manufacture of the casals[24] is spinning with the spinning-wheel, or sometimes with the spindle. Second to this is the weaving of canvas, cotton and cloth used for clothing by the country people, and the necessary preparatory work, such as winding, beating the cotton, etc." But the industry was then much weaker than it had been two generations before and as it retreated during the nineteenth century no ready replacement was forthcoming from within agriculture itself (v. Chapter 10). The farmer had to rely on other crops while, socially, the change affected the family as a working unit for cotton processing had been largely the work of women. Even in 1839 a considerable amount of blame for the prevailing low living standards could be attached to the decline of cotton. The Commissioners reported that the prevalent poverty had become worse since 1814 on account of the shortage of work and that unemployment was worst of all in the rural districts, the cotton areas, where the small wages not only precluded saving but also led to begging and stealing which was "One of the worst consequences of the prevalent poverty and at the same time a most active cause of it" (B/184).

Poverty, wages, sanitation and disease gave rise to much concern and investigation in the middle decades of the nineteenth century - especially in so far as the conditions of the labouring and rural classes were concerned. The Royal Commissioners' report in 1838-9 (B/184);

Miège in 1840 (B/516); the Census two years later and those made in 1851 and at ten-year intervals thereafter (B/166, 167); reports on sanitary conditions in 1867 and 1874 (B/223, 226); on distress in 1824 and 1867-68 (B/205, 207); on mortality in 1874-5 (B/225, et seq); and on cholera in 1865 (B/224), all threw light on the poor living standards of the Maltese. However the 1874-75 report on mortality did hasten to qualify its observations with "Poverty, indeed, at present, is not generally so great as it was in former times (about 40 years ago), when the bulk of the lower classes, especially in the country districts, lived constantly on barley bread of the worst description" while "It must also be admitted that the sanitary condition of these Islands, generally, is not so bad as that of other countries, and that, of late years, it has improved..." (B/225, p. 7).

The basic conclusion to emerge from this evidence is that there existed a considerable gulf in general living standards between the people of the towns and those of the country. There was also an important contrast within the then rapidly expanding Urban area, between the unskilled labourer and the skilled. This dichotomy was a regular feature during the nineteenth century, as in the twentieth, and is to be distinguished from the rise and fall of prosperity and depression which characterized the totality of economic life in Malta. Malta was highly susceptible to events in the Mediterranean basin and in Europe as a whole and was much affected by changes in trading

patterns and in strategy, so that the fortunes of the Maltese fluctuated with the alternation of prosperity and depression during the nineteenth century. The sequence of wars, trade booms and slumps, droughts, epidemics and other events which affected the Mediterranean in general was particularly strongly felt in vulnerable Malta (B/556).

The major economic developments arising from the growth of the dockyard and the consolidation of the Islands' role have been outlined in Part 2. The various stages in this expansion were reflected in the economic life and the living standards of the Maltese just as the chain of external events made their presence felt. In all this the fortunes of one section of the population, such as the farming community, could at no time stand unaffected by fluctuations within the economy of the Islands as a whole.

Malta remained sharply divided within itself by class, district and education and the parallel differences of living standards between one section of society and another were continued. But the later decades of the nineteenth century saw, on the social as distinct from the economic plane, the beginnings of general education which, during the present century, was to remove the illiteracy which had for so long prevented the rural classes in Malta and Gozo from having any experience of life and society outside the limits of the village. Improvements in transport and communication within the Islands and the spread of amenities from the Urban area to the villages

in the later nineteenth and in the twentieth centuries further tended to remove the veil of isolation which had shrouded the villages of Malta and Gozo and kept them cut off from the social and cultural changes of the towns. Traditionally, each village had been a closely-knit unit under a Parish priest and had little contact with Valletta.

In the later decades of the nineteenth century the forces indicated were beginning to modify the position but it was not until the present century and particularly the years after 1939 that the cumulative effects of education, emancipation and communication were to produce a society very different from that which Maltese country folk had known for centuries. It became different when the traditionally depressed sections of the community became restless and began to demand the improvements in their living standards which they came to believe should be theirs by right as well as need.

This is not to suggest that the present position of Maltese rural society is an 'end-product' of change. The opposite is true. The old and new exist side by side in agriculture and in the farming community of the Islands today. Some people, some places, and some features of life and work hold far more tenaciously to the old than do others where comparatively few years have seen considerable modifications of the traditional pattern.

By 1912, the Royal Commissioners were able to observe that

the living standards of the labouring classes of Malta and Gozo compared well with those of other Mediterranean countries (B/186, p.25-26). "Building", they said, "is cheap and good and the country people are exceptionally well-housed". But, in their consideration of the economic state of the Islands as a whole, the Commissioners thought the picture much more gloomy. The depression which they found, though of only recent appearance, was being felt by the mass of the people, although "until the advent of the present depression, the condition of the people has been one of comparative comfort". To appreciate "The present distress, and the greatly extended unemployment of the working people of Malta.... it is necessary to recognise the entirely artificial nature of their former prosperity and employments, which depended to a large extent upon Imperial expenditure...." (B/186, p.12). Here did the Commissioners strike at the root of the problem which has grown to formidable proportions in the half-century since the report was made. They pointed to the position in which the economic structure of the country as a whole was based on the shifting sands of Imperial naval and military expenditure and in which the living standards of the Maltese population were therefore tied indirectly and directly to that Imperial expenditure. Moreover, within the Maltese population itself, it is not difficult to see that the first to be hit by a drop in Imperial expenditure (as happened between 1902 and 1911 and, again, in the post-1945 period) were and are the labouring and

poorer classes generally lacking alternative employment in the Islands, in the event of their becoming redundant, and having often little or no capital reserves. Here the agricultural labourer has been in a much stronger position than the townsman for he has had the land to which he could return when no other work was available. Thus the degree of emphasis on the land within the past hundred years is seen to have varied inversely as the general level of prosperity in the Islands (v. Chapter 5).

The recent growth of part-time farming in Malta may be related to an attempt by the countryman to benefit from the higher wages and status attached to non-agricultural pursuits and yet at the same time to maintain the foothold on the land as if he were contemplating retreat thither in some future period of major economic recession and depression in the Islands. The difficulty here however is that Maltese farming as it is cannot support more than a minor part of the total population. As an economic retreat it therefore has severe limitations: but the problem goes further. The present younger generation in the farming community, in its anxiety to free itself from the stigma and status of farming and village life, is cutting as many ties with the land as it can - and as quickly. Therefore the foothold in farming, even for the few who might rely on it in time of distress, is weakening. The estrangement threatens to become too complete to allow of reconciliation.

Something of the change in twentieth century Maltese agriculture

may be seen from that afore-mentioned index, the wage rate. Without attempting a full analysis which would necessitate a consideration of the changing wage structure within the total employed sector of the population, an indication of average wage-rates for sample years available illustrates the steady level in the nineteenth century followed by a gradual increase in the first decades of the present century, and, after the 1939-45 War, a rocketing in the generally accepted level of the agricultural wage. It may also be observed that the agricultural wage, while generally lower than the average labouring remuneration during the nineteenth century is, today, equal to or even more than the general labourer's wage - an indication of the prevailing supply and demand of agricultural labour.

Daily wage of male agricultural labourer:

1826-42	6½d	- 8d	(B/556, p. 215)
1843-54	8d	- 10d	"
1855-56	1s	- 1/6d	"
1857-65	1/3d	- 2/6d	"
1866-85	10d	- 3/6d	"
1907-08	1s	- 2/4d	(B/165 - 1907-08)
1921	3s		(B/165 - 1921)
1936	3s	- 3/6d	(B/165 - 1936)
1957-58	20s	- 25s	(Personal Investigation)

In a consideration of the standard of living of the Maltese population in general and of the farming section of it in particular during the present century it is seen that the two World Wars (1914-18 and 1939-45) saw tremendous upheavals in this aspect of Maltese life, as in so many others. In the case of the 1914-18

struggle "there is no doubt that the War first and principally and secondly the political events that have occurred since have completely altered and raised the standard of living of the working classes in Malta...." (B/130 - 1930, p. ix). A distinction is here infered between the working classes and the upper and professional or business classes whose previously higher standards were maintained unimpaired or even improved. The wage-rate index after the 1914-18 War gives only an intermittent picture as official statistics on wage rates in agriculture have been very limited. The Blue Books of the inter-War period observe that "No official information is available" regarding agricultural wages (B/165) but the Cost-of-Living investigations between 1943 and 1946 are little better for they are concerned almost exclusively with non-agricultural workers (B/213, 214, 217).

It does emerge, however, that the 1914-18 War brought little change in Maltese living standards when compared with the effects of the 1939-45 War. In 1946 it was decided that "The War years have produced improvements in the standard of living and we may hope that the working class family will never revert to the pre-war standard" (B/217, para. 5). Costs to the consumer of food, clothing and other items had doubled and trebled between 1939 and 1946 (B/217, Appendix I, II, IIA) but wages had also increased. In 1936 an average wage for labour in 'trade and manufacture' was put at an annual £82, or about 31/7d per week (B/165-1936, Section 23).

Even by 1943 an average weekly wage for such workers had grown to £2 16s, plus an average 'other income' of a further 18/6d weekly. Against this was an average total weekly expenditure of £3.12.9d (B/213, Appendix R).

Farm work had shared in the increased wages. A 1936 estimate for agricultural labour put the weekly rate between 21/- and 24/- (B/165 - 1936, Section 23). The 1943 report quotes one farm labourer, among its sample 100 workers, as gaining a total of £2. 16s per week, or the same as the average 'earned income' (without 'other income') of all the sample 100 workers (B/123, Appendix R, No.90).

During the War years the farmer had been able to strengthen his financial position to an unprecendented extent. The high prices which he could command left him with a large reserve upon which to draw during the decade after 1945. Today these reserves are dwindling and disappearing. In part they have been put towards capital improvements on the farm - notably the acquisition of cows and machinery, and in part they have been spent on routine home and family maintenance. The farmer in post-War Malta and Gozo has been struggling to live up to 'Urban' standards, to many of which he was introduced as a result of the War. He has, in many cases, been living above his means to the extent of being perpetually in debt. He has somehow failed to adapt himself to his new position and still looks back nostalgically, at least from the

financial point of view, to his commanding position during the siege.

Today the farmer's standard of living compares unfavourably with that of the Urban working classes but is notably higher than that of other farming communities in nearby Mediterranean countries. In rural Greece, for example, annual earnings frequently do not exceed £25, although the average per capita income for the whole country is over £60[25]. Yet prices for simple clothing and other essential items are often quite exorbitant, especially for the impoverished Greek farmer. A 1954 survey of seventy Libyan farms in the Zawia area of northern Tripolitania found an average 'farm earnings' of £136 per annum[26], but the present rate for casual farm labour in the area is some 5/- per day only (about £75 per annum) and even less in more rural districts[27].

Thus in Libya a field-labourer may expect to earn little more than half the income of a land-holding farmer. In Malta, however, the situation appears reversed, and the labourer without field commitments of his own can demand his 25/- for an eight-hour day and emerge, in many cases, markedly better off than the farmer who hired him and who stands the loss on unsold, unprofitable or damaged crops.

Within his own country the Maltese farmer has, on average, a standard of life still slightly below the general level, although the disparity is by no means as great as it was in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Above-average exceptions include

those farmers who have been able to profit from the present régime of guaranteed milk sales by building up a large herd, or those who can still draw upon war-time savings or other accumulated reserves.

The C.A.R.E.[23] assessment of poverty made for the purpose of free food distributions to poor and needy families provides a most useful basis for a comparison. The assessment included a scale of income and other wealth and assets against family size. Thus a household of four persons, in 1958, with a total income below £5 per week or a family of 16 receiving less than £6.6s would qualify for the free food[28].

The 6568 'poor and needy' families entitled on the above basis to receive C.A.R.E. supplies[29] were classified by place of residence (February, 1958)[30]. Households in which the breadwinner was a farmer or farm-labourer were, in addition, also listed separately. The residential divisions used were those demarcated in Chapter 10 on the basis of the farming (i.e. rural element in the working population (Map 2).

	A	B	C	D	E
DISTRICT	POPULATION[31]	'Poor & Needy' as % Population	FARMERS[32]	'Poor & Needy' Farmers as% Farmers	B/D
Urban Area	134,399	5.9	224	4.4	1.34
Fringe	83,898	8.6	1150	5.4	1.59
Inner Rural	41,955	9.4	1513	5.8	1.62
Rural	48,476	10.6	3404	9.1	1.16
Outer Rural	10,892	14.5	1522	21.8	0.67
Total	319,620	8.2	7813	9	0.91

The figures in B and D illustrate the declining living standards

with distance from the Urban Area. Since the rural community in Malta and Gozo is based primarily on farming they therefore reflect the lower living standards towards the agricultural parts of Malta and, particularly, of Gozo. D and E show that the farmers in the Inner Rural and Fringe zones tend to be less poor than those in other districts, though in the Rural Zone they are nearer the general level (E). In the Outer Rural zone (most of Gozo, and Mġarr in Malta), however, the farmer is patently very much poorer (D) even than the general average for the zone (B) which is by definition the most dependent on agriculture. As a class, the farmers in this zone are one third below the general level as far as their standard of living is concerned (cf. the 0.67 under E).

The figures for the Urban Area reveal that although only 4.4% of these 224 farmers are poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E. help (the lowest percentage under D) they are nearer the general level (B) than is the case in either the Fringe or the Inner Rural zones. The difficult position of these 'urban' farmers is exemplified by Case V.

The over-all averages show that the farmers, of whom 9% were 'poor' by the C.A.R.E. definition, in 1958, are, as a class, slightly poorer than the 8.2% average for the whole population.

This pattern of comparatively low living standards in rural-agricultural Malta and Gozo is the essence of the problem with which this Chapter has been concerned. While farming and inferior

standards of life remain synonomous in the Islands the younger generation of the rural community will not be content to remain on the land.

CHAPTER 13

The Farmer's Outlook and Attitudes

The importance of the past in understanding the present in Maltese agriculture has been emphasized. The change from peasant to commercial farming has been considered from its technical (Chapter 10) and its economic aspects (Chapter 11). The social background to this change is, however, no less important, particularly in so far as it relates to the work, thought and attitudes of a farmer who in fact is often little removed from the traditional when one penetrates a veneer of commercial profit-farming. Both among the literate and illiterate sections of the farming community this question of attitudes and outlook is of fundamental importance in any efforts towards improvements in Maltese agriculture.

The social environment of the Maltese countryman may be seen as three concentric circles, the family, village, and Malta. To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to Malta and to the older farmer who knows little of Valletta the concept of 'Malta' is something large and indeterminate. Even for the majority of the rural population, for whom Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of experience, the Islands are large enough for them to feel none of the claustrophobia of which

visitors to Malta complain. The 'National' unit is big enough for the farmer to speak of "Il-Gvern" - the Government of which he has heard frequently though imprecisely on all sides and on which he blames many of his economic and social problems. In this important concept of 'Gvern' no very clear distinction is made between the local Maltese authorities and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy[33]. Neither is allegiance to political parties very significant for personality is more important than party. Historically, this attitude to a remote 'Gvern' probably descends from the tradition of rule in the Islands which has included foreign British government since 1800 and the paternal but rigid hold of the Knights of St. John during their previous two and a half centuries in the Islands.

Another Malta-wide authority is the Church, but the summit of this is scarcely less remote to the farmer than is 'Il-Gvern' for in the normal practice of his religion he leans directly on the local church and priests.

To the farmer 'Gvern' is synonomous with control. Illiteracy has, in the past, made it very difficult for him to view authority with anything but suspicion. This has not been made easier by incompetent and condescending elements within officialdom whose actions, if any, have confirmed the doubts of the small farmer striving to provide his family with a living despite the odds

against him - of which 'Gvern' was one.

Today the picture is changing. It is official policy to "encourage investment and to improve farming methods so as to raise the efficiency of the industry to a level where it can provide a decent livelihood for those engaged in it"[34].

The farmers' reactions to efforts on his behalf are particularly important at this crucial stage in the progress of agriculture in the Islands. Essentially his outlook retains much of the traditional reserve and caution of the illiterate peasant, an attitude apparent also in two further contexts, the organization within farming itself (Unions, Co-Operatives, etc.), and the farmers' attitudes towards society in general and rural society in particular.

The three aspects of the problems may be re-phrased as

(i) the farmer's attitudes to officialdom, especially the Department of Agriculture, and 'Il-Gvern' generally,

(ii) his attitude towards other farmers and towards the industry as a whole,

(iii) his position as a member of a socially 'low' class within Malta.

Within each of these the present gulf between the younger generation, with a degree of education and emancipation, and the older (including most of the Islands' full-time farmers) produces a further conflict of attitudes and aspirations.

THE FARMER AND GOVERNMENT

Official interest in agricultural development has increased very rapidly during the present decade and now includes a wide variety of measures aimed at improving farming by financial support and investment. These have been outlined in Chapter 10. There has also been an attempt to educate the farmer in better suited techniques and to make him aware of improvements which, it is believed, will increase the profit from his farm or herd. The problem here is seen to be twofold:

(a) to decide which crops, animals, feeding stuffs, machinery, methods of farm management, etc., are most likely to improve Maltese farming conditions, and

(b) to pass this information to a conservative and doubting farming public.

A central feature of official policy since 1956 has been the Agricultural Advisory Service (B/252), modelled on the parallel organization in the United Kingdom. In Malta this body has aimed to co-ordinate research and experiment with encouraging the farmer to adopt proven results. Within a short while of its inception the Service was concerned with detailed investigations into pig rearing, poultry feeding, dairying, potatoes, tomatoes, fertilizers and other agricultural topics in the Islands (B/252, pp.3-4). At the same time a great deal of importance was attached to demonstrations and lectures to farmers. In addition broadcasts were made over the Rediffusion system and these were supplemented by a certain amount

of printed publicity.

The easiest part of the programme of lectures and demonstrations was to get farmers and others to attend the meetings. Those who stayed away did so either because they could not be available at the appointed time or, more usually, because they could not be persuaded that foreign experts could know anything applicable to farming in Malta which the local farmer did not know already. The attitudes of those who did attend was revealing. In many cases the novelty of the event was the attraction but there was also a large element of reasoned interest. Attendances varied from a few dozen farmers in some of the smaller villages to 200 in Xaghra and other large rural settlements, while, in January, 1958, no-less-than 700 people assembled in Rabat to be lectured by four of the specialists then working with the local Department of Agriculture, and to see a film on "Clean Milk". The reactions of this audience were typical of the response to the whole range of lectures and demonstrations and illustrate clearly the kind of problem which any would-be improver of agriculture can expect to have to face in Malta. There was, significantly, only one Maltese woman in the audience at Rabat of which some two or three hundred appeared to be non-farmers and concerned rather with free coffee in the interval than with the topics of the lectures. Of the rest, however, some farmers had made considerable journeys to attend while more than a few of these had never set foot in a meeting hall or attended

anything in the nature of a lecture or lesson in their lives. For them it was a 'Sunday-best' outing. Even the bravest of those present could not however be persuaded to ask any questions of the 'experts' or to develop any discussion, although everything not in Maltese was translated copiously. They were over-awed by the proceedings but were not slow to seize on topics raised by the speakers for future discussion among groups of farmers. The average age of those present was lower than that of the full-time farming population on account of the presence of large numbers of disinterested village youths and young men. But the true farmers themselves paid attention to what they were told and were especially impressed by the film.

Some of the points raised were dismissed as "not suitable for Malta". Some suggested measures were "interesting but unremunerative", notably the efforts, demonstrated in the film, to achieve cleanliness in milking. The farmer could not readily comprehend how he was to profit financially if he were to add what to him were needless tasks to an already heavy time-table. Yet, on the other hand, he was sceptical when told that many of the jobs which he is accustomed to performing could be replaced by more efficient methods. Being unable to read of farming outside Malta the illiterate believes that no methods could be better than those tried, tested and taught by his father and grand-father before him. Hence a major part of the work of an advisory service is "to create conditions which will give the

farmer confidence in the advice given. The adviser must be above creed or party and honest in all his dealings. In addition, however, some inducement must be offered to the farmer to accept advice and the most powerful inducement that has yet been found is money - cash - a better price"[35].

One example of this inducement in practice was afforded by the study of pig feeding using balanced rations which was undertaken by the Agricultural Advisory Service early in its career. Haesler was able to show that "the high mortality rate in small pigs can be considerably reduced, and what is more important, losses in pig keeping have been turned into profits" (B/252, p.3). The farming public was assailed with Maltese-language leaflets[36] showing how the traditional pig feeding patterns were both wrongly balanced and generally excessive in quantity and encouraging pig breeders to invest in the prepared balanced rations ('Għalf Bilanċjat') then on the market. This improved diet would, it was claimed, not only produce a better pig but would result in reduced costs of feeding. This prospect appealed to the farmer, who hastened to purchase the balanced ration particularly as such rations were subsidized by the Government[36] in order to encourage their adoption. Sales soared after the ration appeared and the idea spread rapidly from farmer to farmer. Unforeseen difficulties soon emerged however and threatened to make the ration unpopular among pig breeders as quickly as it had become popular a short while before. Partly on account of

ignorance and illiteracy and partly because of the lack of the correct kind of propaganda farmers began to find that the ration was not the magical remedy to their pig problems. A sample investigation, by the writer, in Gozo among farmers who had purchased the balanced ration showed that some of them had understood it to be a kind of medicine to be given in addition to the diet normally fed, others treated it as one item of the feed and mixed it with their normal ration to the pigs, while most common of all was the complaint that "I've been feeding the balanced ration for a week and there is no sign of the promised improvement so I'm using no more". Individuals of this latter inclination not only stopped purchasing the ration themselves but spread ugly rumours about it among their fellows. None of those with such complaints would consider approaching the Officers of the Advisory Service - as they had in fact been invited to do in the leaflet[36]. For them the new pig feed was a failure.

Illiteracy produces a feeling of inferiority in most cases which makes the farmer too timid to approach a department or an official on some problem. Moreover the written word is for them suspect. Therefore if they are to be persuaded to adopt new techniques in their farming the instruction will have to be personal and followed up with further help and advice when difficulties and lack of appreciation of what is intended emerge. For these farmers lectures are too remote. Demonstrations of new crops or

cultivation methods, etc. are more likely to succeed but are insufficient in themselves. Unfortunately a large qualified staff of visiting advisers would be necessary to supervise farmers at such an individual level. In Malta this is not yet available. Even if it were the farmers' trust would have to be gained and maintained at every stage. In the past such trust has been conspicuous but its absence with the farmer believing that everyone with whom he comes in contact is anxious to take advantage of his illiteracy for their own gain. There has been no-one to give him professional, impartial advice on farming and the new Advisory Service with its free information and other help to the farmer is still something of an unknown quantity. The Agrarian Society (B/286) has in the past been responsible for a certain amount of research on agricultural topics in Malta but does not appear to have made its presence felt among the farmers themselves.

When a greater number of qualified personnel are available the Advisory Service and its various ramifications may go a very long way to improving Maltese agriculture and raising the profit-margin and therefore the living standards of the farming population. But in its early stages it has had to concentrate on the present farmers of Malta and Gozo who are, as has been emphasized, not only often illiterate but frequently near retiring age as well. The younger generation of farmers' sons, on whom the future of agriculture in

the Islands will depend, have had to be overlooked. But if they cannot be persuaded to stay in farming the improvements accepted after great effort by the generation of their fathers will mean very little.

In Malta and Gozo there is nothing to compare with the Young Farmers' Clubs of the United Kingdom; nothing in fact to serve as a nucleus around which an enlightened younger farming generation might develop. Neither is there anything in the Islands of the nature of an agricultural college where young farmers might be trained. It is possible that the primary schools in rural areas might provide a means of contact between the agricultural authorities and the children of the farmers but the difficulties which would arise are clear. Nevertheless such an approach as this might do something to alter the attitude to farming which is one of the biggest problems facing the industry in the Islands today. If farming and other rural children could be shown that farming is no less respectable than the variety of alternative occupations it might persuade them to stay in the industry long enough to build upon the improvements now being introduced.

As was clear in the case of the balanced rations for pigs mentioned above the farmer is not slow to take advantage of a financial subsidy. The major example of this is the recent growth of the dairying industry with the guaranteed price to producers for milk sold to the M.M.U.[18] In short, official policy here has

been to make milk production profitable for the producer but at the same time to maintain a low consumer price for the pasteurized product - at a level producing a loss the cost of which is borne by the Government. The totals of milk purchased from producers by the M.M.U. reflect the rapid increase in this aspect of farming in recent years. Milk surpluses (partly losses) also increased markedly as did the percentage of milk deriving from cows rather than goats[37].

Year	Purchased by M.M.U.	Surplus	Percentage cows' Milk
1943-44	510,000 gallons		27
1948-49	776,000 "		
1950-51	1,298,000 "		35 (1951)
1952-53	1,795,000 "	99,000 gallons	44 (1951)
1954-55	2,390,000 "	275,000 "	48 (1955)
1956-57	3,542,000 "	391,000 "	57 (1956

A consideration of Cases I to IX and XII shows how this official support for dairying in the Islands has made herdsmen in the Islands desperate to benefit from the guaranteed milk market. Many have greatly increased their herds and withdrawn from other aspects of their farming in order to concentrate on milk production. Removal of Government support would have serious repercussions but, meanwhile, the herdsman is well satisfied with his steadily increasing income. The attitude of mind which permits a herdsman to develop a particular aspect of farming on this basis is significant. Clearly he has little awareness of the artificial basis of the position or, if he

has, he is poor enough to take advantage of anything likely to bring a ready return whatever the long-term limitations may be.

Following the same pattern it would seem that if the farmer can be persuaded, for example, that he would increase the profit from his farm if he were to keep cost account records and modify his farm management accordingly he would be happy to do so. Similarly, as long as the balanced ration for pigs seemed to be doing his animals no harm he continued to feed it because it was subsidized and cheap. When, through mismanagement, the animals showed no signs of any improvement he returned speedily to the traditional feeding pattern. But this is a comparatively small question by comparison with the large-scale distortion of the dairying industry as a result of the guaranteed milk price - although the farmer does not think of the situation in these terms. There emerges, therefore, something of a moral obligation on the part of the Government to maintain the situation which a subsidy or virtual subsidy, as in the case of dairying, has produced.

Just as the farmer thinks only a short way ahead in time as far as the management of his farm is concerned so are his notions of space restricted. Earlier in this section it was observed that he is aware of little beyond Malta. Thus it is difficult to make the farmer appreciate the intricasies of the export market for Maltese agricultural produce[38]. The fact that Maltese produce for export suffers by being inadequately graded and packed does not

concern him although the specialist working in Malta on marketing problems has stressed this as a primary weakness up to now (B/253). The farmer is further reluctant to change to the production of certain 'early' varieties of potato which would sell much more profitably on the overseas market than does the Arran Banner which has been the predominant variety in the Islands for several decades.

The argument returns, in fact, to the thesis put forward in a number of contexts in this report that the farmer is still thinking very much as a peasant subsistence producer although to outward appearances he has now become a fully commercial, cash-cropping farmer. This outlook, the product of illiteracy and confined experience, will have to be appreciated by those concerned with any kind of improvement and development in the Maltese agriculture. It is the younger, literate generation of the farming community who would be capable of education in these terms - if they stay in agriculture to be educated.

In the long run it would appear that the most satisfactory kind of financial help to farming is the loan at very low interest rate (v. Chapter 11). The basis of this was the Agriculture and Fishing Industries (Financial Assistance) Act, No. 11 of 1956, which authorized the loans for approved capital improvement projects at only 1% interest per annum. A major result of the loan system was that it made the farmer independent

of money-lenders and money-lending middlemen. Previously many farmers had suffered near financial strangulation in the grip of these individuals, particularly where they were operating under perpetual debt (v. Cases V and IX). A second great advantage of the loan is that the farmer is able to improve his farm and farming and at the same time preserve that independence of operation so dear to him. Many of the subsidies on seeds, rations, etc. have forced him to use his money in a certain way. He much prefers if possible to have the money and spend it as he chooses on machinery, livestock and fodder, buildings, cisterns, irrigation equipment, land reclamation, and repayment of previous debts, etc.

One disturbing feature of the loans is, however, that they are putting a lot of money into the hands of the farmer without necessarily ensuring that it is spent to the best advantage of agriculture or to the farmer himself in a long term view. For example much of the money loaned has been put towards the purchase of livestock and accommodation for animals in order to increase milk production, while the present regime of guaranteed milk price remains. To this extent the loans have helped the herdsman to produce a now over-grown dairy industry (v. figures of milk purchases and surpluses above).

Similar problems arise from the way in which the loans have helped farmers to acquire machinery for working their fields. As regards the small rotary cultivators this may be to the good but

the position of the larger type of tractor is much more doubtful (v. Chapter 11), and little advisory control is at present being exercised.

UNIONS AND CO-OPERATIVES

The farmers' attitude to officialdom and 'Gvern' has been characterized by suspicion and doubt. But certainly no less strained have been relations between one farmer and another. An 'every man for himself' attitude has emerged on the administrative side of farming in the Islands, though not at the level of small-scale economic co-operation (Chapter 11). The main outcome of this has been that Unions of farmers have had only a limited appeal and even marketing Co-operatives have only recently assumed any importance. The very recent tractor co-operatives are proving successful but would probably not have begun without free donations of equipment by C.A.R.E.[23].

A common attitude met among all types of farmers in the Islands is that "Unions can do nothing for the farmer". At present there are two but, even together, they account for a very small part of the farming population and certainly have little effect on policy or on the organization of the farming industry. One of the two Unions was founded thirty years ago but the entire administration appears to be in the hands of one man and the farmers themselves take no part in it. In 1956 a faction within the Union broke

away and registered a second Union but this too has been supported by a very small number of individuals[39]. The fear at all times is that someone with education and ambitions will make use of such a Union for his own good and have no concern for the welfare of the farmers. Too ignorant and illiterate to speak for himself the farmer believes he is surrounded by treachery on all sides and consequently withdraws from all combined effort. He is still enough a peasant at heart to believe that his own interests can best be served by he himself maintaining strict independence in his farming. This emerges throughout the projects of official help to the farming community outlined above.

It has also precluded the development of a substantial Co-operative movement in agricultural marketing and trading. The details of the Co-operatives as they do exist merit a more detailed mention since it is likely that they will grow in importance in the future and concern a rather larger proportion of the farming population than at present.

In October, 1957, there were ten co-operatives in Malta concerned with the marketing of agricultural produce; Rabat (171 members), Żabbar (86), Dingli (76), Siġġiewi (59), St. Paul's Bay (52), Żebbuġ (37), Mellieħa (33), Qormi (23), Gudja (22), and Mġarr (16). All but two of these were officially registered in 1947[40]. The ten societies are independent but have delegate representation in an eleventh body, the Farmers' Central Co-operative.

In addition, there were in 1957 two other Co-operatives in Malta, one with only the minimum twelve members who clung to their complete independence, and the Co-operative Stores Malta with 80 members, the sole consumers' society. Of the four Co-operatives in Gozo at the time only one had any capital or was able to organize a market centre for Gozo farmers. All four were concerned with the distribution of fodder.

The two features of the Co-operative movement important in the present discussion are (i) the very small number of farmers who will have anything to do with it, and (ii) the fact that the movement was initiated not by farmers but by the Government, whose official policy is now to encourage the development of both consumer and producer co-operatives in the Islands[40].

The Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) is an independent and privately run body to be distinguished from the official Milk Marketing Undertaking (M.M.U.). The organization of the Company appears to depend entirely on one man who, as secretary and manager, claims to present the milk producers' grievances to the M.M.U. authorities. Numbers of herdsmen regard the Company as able to secure for them more favourable selling conditions than they could obtain as individuals. Being mostly illiterate they feel unable to speak for themselves on such matters and yet are not inclined to support one or other of the Unions. How the producer does in fact benefit from membership

of the Company is not in fact clear and some at least of its status in their eyes appears to depend on the personality of the secretary-manager[41].

Whatever future developments the farming Unions and Co-operatives may produce it is clear that at present only a small part of the farming population is concerned in either. Of the 5,635 full-time farmers in Malta in 1957 (B/164) only 589, or some 10.5% were members of the eleven producer co-operatives in the Island[42]. Fewer than one in three of the 7,813 full-time farmers in both Islands at the time were even nominal members of either Union, one of which could claim to represent 25% of the farming population and the other only 6%[39].

As long as the farmers' Unions continue to represent only a minority of producers and to be divided among themselves there is little likelihood of their being able to benefit those in the industry. But the writer maintains that the grievances of the farmer today are not of the kind in which Union action could effect fundamental improvements because the position of the industry at present and at least in the immediate future depends on a policy of official benevolence. More precisely, this includes the range of financial, material and advisory assistance discussed above.

The farmer does however stand to make real gains from an efficient and popular co-operative movement. The present limited appeal of the co-operative system is a major drawback. In his

interim report on the attitudes of the farming community, Fr. Cirillo observes that "the indifference and open hostility of the majority of farmers towards co-operatives can be partially explained by the fact that they are not able to give farmers the services which are expected of them....they are not in a position to operate as true marketing societies" (B/387, p. 18). Fr. Cirillo also points to the mistrust of local co-operative organizers on the part of many farmers who have, moreover, never completely overcome their suspicion of the Government initiative behind the movement.

It is clear that the system of marketing produce is the main weakness at present. Up to now most farmers have marketed their produce through a pitkal. This pitkal is a selling middleman who maintains a stall at one of the pitkaliji centres at each of which is a Government-appointed clerk. The pitkal has also served a secondary function as a money lender to farmers who regularly deal with him. Fr. Cirillo observes that "many farmers would not join a co-operative society because of the fear that they might lose their pitkal's friendship" and "the farmer's dependence on the pitkal makes him look at the pitkal with respect" (B/387, pp. 17-18). In 1957 it was proposed to centralize the marketing of produce through a single centre for the whole Island (B/253), but at least one of the farmers' Unions was quick to announce its opposition to the plan (B/54 - 11.6.1957, p.4). As on many parallel occasions the

farmer was here faced with a choice:- between trusting the Union or 'Il-Gvern'. In most cases he would not venture to make his own decision on the matter.

While the farmer does not favour the co-operative movement at present he is generally dissatisfied also with the pitkal system and complains of the excessive profits being made by the pitkal, the sensal (a broker and transporter of produce) and the retailer. Very few do however venture to evade these middlemen completely by selling their produce directly to the consumer (B/387, p. 17). This is probably the result in part of shortage of labour but in part also a reflection of the 'respect' in which the pitkal is held. The farmer is characteristically suspicious of any change in such a long-established part of his farming, even though he is loud with complaints of it.

The Government plan to centralize marketing on the one hand, and to encourage the co-operative movement in the selling of produce on the other, will not succeed without a great deal of patient education of the farmer supplemented by material incentives such as subsidies and other assistance already given in other aspects of agricultural development. The most successful co-operatives in Maltese farming to date are probably the two tractor co-operatives founded with the initiative and grant of free equipment by C.A.R.E. (Chapter 11). Here the farmer has seen a clear financial saving in plowing costs with no capital outlay on his part. He must

similarly be persuaded that centralization and co-operatives in marketing would be to his advantage. Not only the farmers themselves but the consumers also would stand to benefit from a streamlining of marketing with grading and better packing and presentation of produce, while the improvements in Malta's position as an exporter of agricultural produce would fully justify the effort involved (B/253)[38].

YOUTH AND FARMING

In their pioneer investigation into the attitudes of the Maltese farmer Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University team stressed the crucial position of the younger generation in agriculture in the Islands (B/387). The present writer concurs with their views and considers the present retreat from farm and village as the most urgent problem in the industry and in the rural society upon which it is based. Something of the technical and economic background to this trend has been seen in Chapters 11 and 12, but the social factors involved are no less important.

The fundamental contrast in outlook between the younger and older generations of the farming community today is that in the case of the older generation "with meagre opportunities in other occupations, and often lacking any education at all they took up farming as their natural calling" (B/387, p.9), but their sons are faced with

a choice both between occupations and ways of life. Their education is enabling them to compete with other sections of society for industrial and other non-agricultural employment while their emancipation, in terms of access to the world outside the village, is leading them to think of escape from the lowly social status of their fathers. They have been brought up to appreciate the insecurity of farming with its inadequate and fluctuating income and have seen the technical limitations and the hard and monotonous schedule of work with which their fathers have had to contend in order to provide even the most frugal living standards for their families. In very many cases the younger generation have been actively discouraged by their elders from contemplating farming as a livelihood. Within society as a whole they see farming as something of a low 'caste' and one example of this is the opposition faced by many a young farmer if he wishes to marry into a non-farming family.

The importance of this revolt on the part of the younger generation is clear when one considers the topic of this thesis. The current policy is to change the pattern of farming in the Islands and to raise the standards of living of the farmers by the variety of methods mentioned and these are, quite naturally, being aimed primarily at the present farmers, that is to say the older generation. But the future of farming depends on the future farmers who are, it would appear, leaving or have already left the industry. Many of

them do not plan to stay in farming longer than the time necessary to find another occupation and they are consequently not concerned with loans, subsidies, lectures, and the work of the advisory service. The farming which they are anxious to leave will, it is hoped, change rapidly in response to the measures outlined. But, even if only a few years are needed to show substantial results and a better kind of farming is evolved the younger generations may not be there to take over. Many of them will have emigrated from the Islands altogether and others will have left the villages for all manner of employment in the towns.

The official aid to farming policy may fail, one fears, on two accounts:

(i) The measures designed to assist the farmer and farming have not yet been as successful as was hoped because of the difficulties of having rapid and far-reaching changes accepted by a suspicious, conservative and largely illiterate body of farmers,

(ii) The younger generation are not interested in improving farming; they scarcely stop to think that any changes in the industry might be possible in their present anxiety to find a new job in a different walk of life. Thus they will probably not be available to take over Maltese agriculture, improved or otherwise, from their fathers.

CHAPTER 14

Conclusion

This thesis is concerned primarily with change. In Maltese rural society today it is evident that this change includes two main aspects. In the first place the social and economic changes, which have been called 'emancipation', are producing a villager dissatisfied with the way of life offered by his village. This is, moreover, particularly true of the present younger generation of the farming (i.e. rural) community who believe that Maltese agriculture as they have known it cannot be the basis of the improved economic and social position which they are demanding. The second aspect of the change is thus something of a social revolution in which the now 'emancipated' and 'urbanized' young villager cannot see himself improving his income, status and prospects within the context of the farming village community which bred him, so he is divorcing himself from it.

The main features of the 'emancipation' process, notably general elementary education and the widening of the horizon of the villager, have been considered in Part 2, while some of the more material aspects of the recent 'urbanization' of rural Malta and Gozo have been enumerated in Chapter 9. Something of the effect which these changes have had on the pattern of village society was considered

in Chapter 10, while the cases of certain individuals and their families have been considered in detail against the background of this change in Part 4.

An appreciation of the position of farming, as the basis of most of Maltese rural society, is fundamental to the present study of change in that society. The particular physical limitations on farming in the Islands have been outlined in Chapter 11. One of the more important of these has been the dependence of the industry on the meticulous hand-labour of the industrious Maltese farmer which has been necessary not only in cultivation itself but also in the maintenance and even construction of the fields and terraces themselves. The present younger generation of the farming community is showing itself unwilling to accept the life and work which conditions such as these involve. They demand an occupation which does not require such heavy labour and in which they can expect what they consider to be an adequate financial return for a limited working day's effort. The possibilities and limitations of mechanization in Maltese farming, notably the usefulness and adaptability of the small rotary-cultivator rather than larger types of tractor-drawn implements, has been considered in Chapter 11.

The demand for an increasing financial return is a fundamental element in the changed economic status of the Maltese farmer (v. Chapter 12). The traditional pattern of peasant subsistence farming, in which the main object was the support of the farmer

and his family, has been replaced by a money-conscious outlook. The farmer now expects his farm to produce a profit with which he can:

(a) purchase items no longer produced on his farm or by his family (bread, clothing, etc.),

(b) purchase items which have now become part of his regular demands and for which money is essential (property, farm machinery and equipment, clothing, preserved and other imported foods and drinks, recreation, transport, etc.).

Food, as an item of family expenditure, now figures especially prominently:

(a) Where the income derives mainly from milk sold to the M.M.U. and where the land is put, almost exclusively, under fodder,

(b) among part-time farmers (a very rapidly growing element in the farming community in recent years) who concentrate on fodder crops because of the comparatively little labour involved and the generally good market conditions.

Of still greater importance to the argument of this thesis is the fact that such demands for monetary gain are now a particularly prominent feature among the present younger generation of the farming community. For them a substantially increased income is synonomous with social and economic betterment. They do not envisage such an increased income coming from farming.

The Maltese farmer and, incidentally, also the fisherman (v. Case XV), has today a standard of living below the average for the whole country (v. Chapter 12). Moreover this low level

is in fact still lower than it appears statistically because

(a) the farmer does not enjoy a limited working day,

(b) he has even now a more modest level of demands (housing, clothing, food, recreation, etc.) than is the average for the bulk of the rest of the population,

(c) many farmers have been living since 1945 at a rather higher standard than that to which they were accustomed on the savings retained from the profits they were able to accumulate during the siege conditions early in the War. These reserves are now, however, dwindling and disappearing.

A further adverse feature of farming is the low social status of the farming community (v. Chapter 13). This is in large part the outcome of a tradition in which wealth and education has been confined to the urban area. Until recently, therefore, the Maltese farmer has toiled in his fields cut off socially as well as economically from the world outside his village. A certain felt inferiority among the present still-illiterate older generation of farmers puts them in a weak position for bargaining with Government officials and businessmen fully prepared to take advantage of their rather better education. Members of this generation do, in the majority of cases, continue to <u>think</u> as 'peasant' subsistence producers although they are at the same time attempting to operate in a now commercially-orientated agriculture. These individuals -who still form the backbone of the present farming force since the younger members are leaving the land as fast as they can- manage to combine an independent outlook and a caution in face of

outside interference of any type with a characteristic claim that the Government should be responsible for their welfare (v. Chapter 13).

The Government authorities in Malta and Gozo, aware of the difficulties facing the farmer and of the continuing flight from the land and from the villages by the younger generation of potential farmers (v. Graph) have attempted to assist farming in recent years in order

(a) to enable Malta's only basic industry -agriculture- to develop under protection from unfavourable competition and fluctuations in market demand for it is held that "in an Island where mineral resources are non-existent agriculture must play a predominant part in the national economy" (B/239, p.2), and

(b) to encourage members of the farming community to remain in their villages and in the industry.

Perhaps the most outstanding example of the complications which may arise when a policy of offical 'benevolence' directed at a near-peasant farmer is the case of the Maltese dairying industry today (v. Chapter 13). In the past few years many herdsmen have seized eagerly upon the guaranteed price for milk sold to the M.M.U. as a source of a steady income with the result that dairying has grown to an unprecedented size. Although the industry is now patently over-producing and the maintenance of the present conditions depends on a virtual Government subsidy many farmers are concentrating all effort into milk production to the neglect of other aspects of farming.

Official policy in general seems likely, however, to fail or to come near to failure on two main counts (v. Chapter 13) :

(a) the difficulties facing current attempts to persuade the farmer to accept new schemes, crops, methods, equipment, and arising from

  (i) the outlook and attitudes of the farmer as discussed in Chapter 13,

  (ii) the use of unsuitable means of propaganda by the Advisory Service and others at present attempting to persuade the farmer to accept new methods which would bring him cheaper working, a better profit and, thereby, contentment.

(b) the fact that the policy, outlined in Chapters 8 and 9, is directed, naturally enough, at the present farmers. This generation, however, illiterate and conservative, and with an average age in the late fifties is, in the long term view, the wrong one.

The present younger generation in the farming community, whose literacy and awareness of the world beyond the village make them educable and more responsive to new ideas, are the individuals towards whom official effort should be directed if Maltese agriculture is not to be lost by default. Nothing, however, included in official policy (up to January, 1960) is aimed at them; there is nothing resembling a young farmers' club in the Islands and no institute or college where agriculture can be studied. The younger generation is in fact, on account of the whole complex of technical, economic and social reasons discussed (the strenuous work, the insecurity, and the low social status involved), anxious to escape from farming as fast as opportunity to do so emerges.

The problem is clear, and its solution one of action. An F.A.O. report on investigations in Malta and Gozo observes that "progress in agriculture is fundamentally a human problem; it depends on knowledge and the intelligent application of knowledge" (B/243, p.9). Within the Islands themselves there is a certain awareness of the situation and particularly of the need for an official policy designed to develop the agricultural industry to the best advantage of the total economy of the Islands and to assist the farmers who "are perhaps the most hard-working, honest and God-fearing section of the community and the country will be the loser if it were to let them down" (B/387, p.7).

To recapitulate the basic argument to emerge from the material considered in this thesis, it would appear that the traditional, peasant farmer of Malta and Gozo had no freedom, either of social or of economic choice, whereas the commercially-minded, small-holding producer of today -or, more precisely, his son- is rapidly acquiring both types of choice. General education and other facets of the total process of emancipation are giving him the desire for social movement while the emergence of money and the facilities for a parallel economic shift are giving him the opportunity.

NOTES on Part 3

1. Except in the north of Malta where settlements of village status are a product of the past hundred years only.

2. Messrs. Rigg Welts, Ltd.

3. Some impression of the expansion of the Dockyard during the nineteenth century may be gained from Appendix 12.

4. A count, from employment files, was made in March 1957, by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton; permission being kindly given by the authorities of (at that time) H.M. Dockyard, Malta.

5. G.W.S. Robinson (B/564) distinguishes Gozo as possessing a pattern of isolated homesteads (1948), although Appendix 13 does not substantiate this.

6. Including members of the religious Orders, which have been important in Malta for five centuries (v. Part 1).

7. From conversations during field work.

8. "Jiena Malti minn in-Nadur" ('I am a Maltese from Nadur in Gozo').

9. v. B/291 and B/280 for background information.

10. In conversation with Mgr. Salamone.

11. Windows at ground-floor level were in traditional construction for reasons both of defence and privacy, and therefore provide a helpful dating feature.

12. Lotto - the popular Government lottery.

13. 'L-Imnarja' (the word is a corruption of 'Luminaria'), held each June at Buskett, includes a day and night of song and speeches and an agricultural show (v. B/286).

14. Now including the Island of Comino.

15. As there is in some societies; v. PIDDINGTON, R: "An Introduction to Social Anthropology", London, 1950, pp. 169-270.

16. v. Vegetable cropping chart for the Maltese Islands, published by the Dept. of Agriculture, Malta.

17. In three cases, the farmer himself or a member of the family wrote the daily account, the originals of which are in B/5. The analyses here given were based on translations of the originals by the writer.

18. M.M.U. : Milk Marketing Undertaking.

19. For discussion of co-operation in marketing v. Chapter 13.

20. The wide variety of small rotary cultivators, etc., is excluded.

21. List supplied by the Malta Police.

22. Made (1957) by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton.

23. Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc. (C.A.R.E. closed its Malta Mission in 1958).

24. i.e. the villages.

25. C.A.R.E.[23] Publicity Department Statement, 1957.

26. "Report to the Government of Libya on Indigenous and Italian Farm Enterprises in the Zavia Area".
FAO Report No. 259, Rome 1954, p. 80.

27. Personal communication from Mr. R.W. Hill, Dept. of Geography, Durham Colleges.

28. C.A.R.E.[23] scale of income (as in the Second Distribution, 1957-58, revized):

Family of 3 or 4 persons	....	maximum income	-	£5
" " 5 to 7 "	....	" "	-	£5 8s
" " 8 " 10 "	....	" "	-	£5 15s
" " 11 " 13 "	....	" "	-	£6 1s
" " 14 " 16 "	....	" "	-	£6 6s
" " 17 or 18 "	....	" "	-	£6 10s

29. In addition to the 'General Poor and Needy' category here considered C.A.R.E.[23] supplies went (March, 1958) automatically to 15,181 Old Age Pensioners and to 8,321 individuals on Social Service Assistance.

30. Permission for the writer to make this analysis and much other valuable help was given by Mr. J. Boissevain, Chief of C.A.R.E. Mission in Malta at that time (7. Feb. 1958).

31. (B/168, pp.38-40).

32. i.e. Full-time farmers (B/164 - 1957, pp.20-21), excluding 679 farmers who rendered no census return.

33. Since April, 1958, the Islands have been without a locally elected Government (January, 1960).

34. "Labour Government's Progress Report. 1956-57", Malta, Central Office of Information, 1957, v. p.37.

35. J. McClemont in lecture "Aims and Objects of the Dairy Training Course (1957) and the Functions of an Advisory Service", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

36. "Għalf Bilanċjat għall-Majjali" by A.T. Haesler, Chief Agricultural Advisory Officer, 1957, Malta.

37. R.G. Bonnici Enriquez in lecture "The Dairy Industry in the Islands of Malta and Gozo", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

38. v. Appendix 9 and 10 for details of the present trading position.

39. Both Unions were first officially registered in 1948 but these registrations lapsed. The Għaqda Nazzjonali tal-Bdiewa (1976 members in 1956) was re-registered in 1956 with only 494 members (Dept. of Labour and Social Welfare).

40. Information on the Co-Operative Movement was kindly provided by Mr. Farrugia.

41. Information on Unions, Co-operatives and the Malta Milk Company (K.M.H.) as at Easter, 1958.

42. That is excluding the Farmers' Central Co-operative.

PLATE VII

Plowing - Old Style

Naxxar

PLATE VIII

Plowing — New Style

Żejtun

PLATE IX

Fishermen — On duty

Marsalforn

PLATE X

Farmers — Off duty

It-Tokk, Victoria

PART 4

Case Studies

In the following Case Studies a detailed examination is made of thirteen individual farmers and one contract-plowman, together with a brief account of the fishermen of Malta and Gozo today in so far as their fortunes parallel those of the farmers.

These cases have been selected from the cases studied during the sixteen-month field work period in the Islands and may be seen, therefore, as the 'minutes of evidence' upon which the argument of this thesis has been based. They are held to be a representative cross-section of farming (and fishing; Case XV) in the Islands today. The information was given by the farmers in confidence so that identities have been purposely obscured.

An attempt has been made to consider each case against the background of the changes outlined in the preceeding chapters, while standardized Summaries, compiled with assistance from Mr. H. Bowen-Jones and Mr. J.C. Dewdney of the Department of Geography of the Durham Colleges, have been appended to each of the first thirteen farm studies to facilitate cross comparison.

The original field work upon which Cases II to XIII has been based was carried out in conjunction with Mr. P.K. Mitchell, also of the Department of Geography (v. Acknowledgements).

PART 4

Contents

CASE I : Pawlu. A Gozitan, large-scale goats' milk producer with a considerable land holding.

CASE II : Ġużepp. A goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping.

CASE III : Nardu. A goats' milk producer.

CASE IV : Wistin. A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land.

CASE V : Anġlu. A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer.

CASE VI : Gaetu. A milk producer with a considerable land holding.

CASE VII : Wenzu. A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land-holding.

CASE VIII : Niklaws. A working partnership of five brothers with diversified production.

CASE IX : Antnin & Ġakbu. A long-established partnership of two unrelated farmers now engaged in cows' milk production.

CASE X : Ġamri. An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production.

CASE XI : Pietru. An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.

CASE XII : Ċenzu. A cows' milk producer and part-time village weighman.

CASE XIII : Toni. A part-time arable farmer and caretaker.

CASE XIV : Ġanni. A young, progressive, contract-plowman, with heavy tractors and other mechanized equipment.

CASE XV : A note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo.

N.B. : CASE I (herdsman) and CASE X (arable farmer) are given more detailed consideration as examples of the two main branches of Maltese agriculture, while CASE XIV (young, mechanized contractor) is also discussed at some length since he typifies one of the basic features to emerge from the topic of this thesis - namely the 'revolt' of the younger generation of the farming (i.e. rural) community.

CASE I : Pawlu.
(A Gozitan large-scale goats' milk producer with a considerable land-holding).

Pawlu gives the impression of being one of the more prosperous of herdsmen in his native Gozo. He is currently concentrating his effort on his 46 goats and 2 cows and is typical of the many herdsmen in the Islands who are today profiting from the official M.M.U. policy of a guaranteed sale for milk produced. He receives between 5/- and 6/- per gallon, according to season, provided only that the milk passes certain fat-content and other tests.

This is the background to Pawlu's present specialization on milk at the expense of vegetable and fodder production for sale, a specialization which enables him to run his farm as an apparently profitable concern. The vulnerability of his position is however evident. A drastic change in the offical policy of 'subsidy by guarantee' would snatch away the basis of his income as it would that of the many herdsmen like him.

Pawlu's father was primarily a tailor, working a few fields in a part-time capacity. His grandfather had been a quarryman. In 1935, when he was thirty-two, Pawlu married the daughter of a farmer in his village. From that date onward he began to build up his own farm-holding - he had previously worked as a hired farm labourer. At his marriage he was given the tenancy of some land both by his own family and by that of his wife, land to which he

added in later years plots taken over from other tenants together with some further land from his family. Some of the plots which Pawlu acquired he later abandoned, sold, sub-let or exchanged on account of small size, inaccessibility, distance, etc., and he also declined to take over the working of 16 tmien (which would have come from his wife's family on marriage) on account of the distance of the fields from the home. A statement of the holding illustrates some characteristic features of the Maltese farm - its parcellation, the small amount owned rather than leased or held on rental, the variety of owners concerned in the case of most of the plots, the types of sources from which the fields were acquired, reasons for the relinquishing of certain pieces and the scattered nature of the holding of twenty-six separate plots spread over a quarter of the Island of Gozo (B/525).

Pawlu's holding at Easter 1958.

Origin of TENURE	1958 T S K	No longer held in 1959 T S K
From own family on his marriage in 1935....	5-5-5	 4-3-8
From own family since his marriage	7-4-5	
From his bride's family at marriage	5-0	16-0-0
From non-relatives, all since 1955	28-0-3	
	42-3-3	20-3-8

OWNERSHIP of land held by Pawlu.

	1958 T S K	Plots	No longer held in 1959 T S K	Plots
(Cathedral (Mdina)...	3-4-0	5	16-0-0	var
Church (Għarb.....	1-0-3	4		
(Benefizzju (agent)..	4-3-0	2		
Civil Government.....	3-5-0	2		
Other farmers.....	4-0-0	2		
Sinjur (a Xewkija Baron)....	5-0	1	1-1-8	2
Owned by Pawlu himself.....	4-0	1	1-0-0	1
Sub-leased (4-yearly) from 8 farmers who hold on long lease, or own.....	24-0-0	var.adj.		
Military authorities.....	0		0	
No information.....			3-0	1
Notary (agent).....			1-5-0	2
	42-3-3		20-3-8	

The details of the 20-3-8 relinquished by Pawlu are significant:

Sub-let because of small-size and inaccessibility	7-0
Sold because of inaccessibility	1-0-0
Abandoned because of distance and inaccessibility	1-0-0
Option declined because of distance	16-0-0
Exchanged	1-2-8
	20-3-8

On sixteen of his twenty-six plots of land Pawlu pays annually about £24 in rent. On average this works out at about 4 shillings per tomna for rough grazing land and £1.1.6d per tomna of cultivable dry (bagħali) land. Pawlu himself receives an income of 5s 6½d per annum as rent for two small patches (totalling slightly more than a tomna) which he sub-lets. He himself owns the pivotal centre of his farm, and four sigħan on which stands his house, cattle byre, coat shed, store rooms and small enclosures.

Pawlu's present policy is to expand fodder production in order to eliminate much of the very high cost of purchased fodder. Along with this he is keen to acquire the use of rough grazing land for his goats where he can do so cheaply. The large block of this type of rough grazing which Pawlu acquired during 1957 and 1958 makes the supervision of the animals easier than would be the case if he had to graze them in small fields adjacent to land carrying standing crops. Pawlu is cutting down the quantity of vegetables produced for sale each year since he is without any guaranteed market or price. He aims nevertheless to produce as much of the family requirements as possible. The trend is clear from an analysis of the utilization of his land holding:-

	1956			1957			1958		
	T	S	K	T	S	K	T	S	K
House and adjacent roadway		2	0		2	0		2	0
Vines		3	0		3	0		3	0
Prickly Pear		3	0		3	0		3	0
Potatoes	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Vegetables, other than potato(a)	6	4	0	4	3	0		4	0
Fodder(b)	8	2	3	10	3	3	14	2	3
Rough grazing - and shooting			0	12	0	0	24	0	0
Unused		1	0		1	0		1	0
	18	3	3	30	3	3	42	3	3

(a) mainly tomatoes and melons (bittieħ and dulieħ)
(b) Silla, Wheat (qamħ), barley (xgħir), mixed wheat and barley (maħlut) and beans.

Livestock

Pawlu's farm holding of slightly less than twelve acres is large by Gozitan standards. So also is the herd which it supports.

Late in 1957 he had some 40 goats and 8 kids, two cows, a sheep, one horse, and about 100 poultry. "Goats are easier to handle than are cows" (Pawlu). For him, as for most herdsmen in the Islands, the dairy cow is still something of a novelty, and an expensive one, requiring considerable capital outlay for both the animal and its accommodation. The single sheep is quite typical, being kept mainly for the popular 'rikotta' cheese made from its milk. The large poultry element is also becoming a common feature in Gozo, though disease takes a very high toll. Pawlu's one horse provides the motive power for the cart which for him as for the rest of Gozo is still the prime mover of goods and produce.

Pawlu's income derives mainly from the sale of milk to the M.M.U. This was also the case before 1958 when Gozo finally became a 'closed' area in which unpasteurized milk could not, legally, be sold. Thus the herdsman's cry of "Ħalib, ħalib" ('Milk, milk') as he took his goats from door to door and milked them to order on the customer's threshold is heard no more. The churned milk from the farms is collected and taken to the factory at Xewkija - before 1958 it had had to make the long journey to the Hamrun centre. Apart from the unpasteurized fresh milk used by the family, Pawlu sells, and sold, the milk his goats produce to the M.M.U. He pays no labour, hired or family, and does not consider his own time as a cost factor. Some idea of his income is therefore obtainable from an account of his receipts from the M.M.U. against the costs of the fodder.

The amount of fodder bought in to supplement home production varies. In the case of sulla (silla), particularly, Pawlu is forced to buy in a large quantity when his own crop is poor. His purchases of wheat (qamħ) and barley (xgħir) fluctuate but cake-feed is all bought from fodder agents. Milk production varies with season, being at its peak in the Spring. The price given by the M.M.U. changes accordingly to the extent of a few pence per gallon. On the basis of an average feed programme one can get some idea of the gross profit margin on which Pawlu is working, the absence of any allowance for labour costs being noted.

A sample feed programme with daily costs for one cow yielding about three gallons:

	s	d
3 rtal xgħir (barley-bran)	1	- 4
8 rtal cake	3	- 6
5 rtal sulla (silla)	1	- 4
8 rtal beans (½ tomna) ...	5	- 0
1 basket prickly pear	1	- 0
½ basket straw		6
	12	- 8d

Selling the three gallons at 5s 6d per gallon (see above) brings in 16s 6d per day, leaving a profit on the one cow of 3s 10d.

A sample feed programme with daily costs for 46 goats yielding about ten gallons per day:

	£	s	d
3 tmien (48 rtal) beans...	1	- 10.	- 0
1 tomna xgħir (barley) ...		6	- 0
4 bundles sulla (silla) ..		5	- 0
Furrajna (green barley) ..		5	- 0
	2	- 6	- 0

Selling ten gallons per day at some 6s per gallon thereby brings Pawlu a further profit of 60s minus 46s, or 16 shillings. This, together with the 3s 10d from each of his two cows, amounts to a net income of approximately 23/8d per day.

Unlike most of his fellow herdsmen in both Islands, Pawlu is fully aware of the relation between feed programmes for livestock and milk yields (B/379). He does not share the common view that "The more the feed the more the milk". He is also well aware of the economics of his situation as described above and, as seen, his aim is to cut the costs of fodder by producing more on his own holding and thereby increase his profit margin on milk sold. This is a most widespread feature among Maltese and Gozitan herdsmen today. But Pawlu goes further than most in that he is conscious of the need for a 'balanced diet'. Not only does he carefully regulate the types and quantities of feed which he gives but he also follows the latest researches of the Department of Agriculture, especially that of Haesler (B/252) and others working on this and similar topics. The average illiterate Maltese farmer tends to dismiss the statements and efforts of such experts as "No good for Malta, and useless in my district" but Pawlu, who has at all times in his life been conscious of education and a knowledge of things outside his village, is prepared to consider suggestions on their merits. This attitude pervades the working of his farm as a unit and has had important repercussions within his family.

In spite of his own lack of advanced formal education, Pawlu has in fact an awareness of its importance which is still uncommon in rural Gozo. He is constantly stressing the need for education in its widest sense, both general and technical. He is anxious for his children to be educated to a standard far above his own, while, in the wider scene, he recognizes the importance of education for the farmer and farming. His attitude to the course of lectures for farmers is typical of the man. He observed that "attendances at the lectures have been big because the farmers are interested - they wouldn't go if they were not". The ideas put forward by the experts are weighed by the farmer and, if considered 'good ideas', are discussed at length in the villages or at the It-Tokk market on Sunday mornings. These lecture courses for farmers, and others like them such as the important McClemont demonstrations and lectures on dairying technique, fail for Pawlu in so far as they do not lead to individual contact between specialist and farmer. No farmer would dream of making comment or criticising 'officialdom' - with which he naturally associates ventures like those of Haesler and McClemont. "The Maltese back down much more easily than do the English in their relations with the authorities. In England you might complain to a Government Department and there would be argument for a day but in Malta such a complaint would mean petty victimization for years". The farmer blames "clerical inefficiency" in Valletta for what he considers has been the failure to follow up the McClemont or other recommendations but no farmer would seriously consider

complaining in person to officialdom. They just argue and become increasingly bitter with their lot.

Farming for Pawlu means independence. He complains of the inferior social position which the farmer holds in Maltese society today and observes that the present generation of young people demand the means to enable them to equal the people of the towns in appearance, leisure and other superficialities. The old farmer with little formal education is not troubled by these notions. His life is the only one he can comprehend - apart from which his daily round leaves him little time to think. The youngster, on the other hand, is desperate for an eight-hour job with a steady income and leisure time in place of unpaid field work with his parents.

Pawlu admits nevertheless that much of the inferior condition of the farmer derives from his inability to unite with other farmers. Illiteracy, ignorance and suspicion are the major causes of his fear. Only a few farmers are members of either of the two opposing Unions of Farmers while the situation regarding co-operatives is equally unpromising. Pawlu himself became one of the organizers of a special 'Tractor Co-Operative', initiated by C.A.R.E. at the end of 1958 for a group of farmers in his home village. The members paid £2 each on joining the co-operative and were thereafter able to hire one of the two tractors donated by C.A.R.E. at only 10/- per hour

instead of the commercial 17s. The fact that Pawlu himself was among the organizers of such a novel venture reflects his progressive outlook, and his standing in the village.

Politics interest Pawlu, to a more than average degree. His concern is based on an informed intelligence. A supporter of the Labour Party, he considers the Nationalists as holding the masses in contempt and he points to their emphasis on the Italian language and the non-Maltese culture which it represented as evidence. He reads the local Maltese-language press but is sufficiently independent of mind to have cancelled his subscription to the 'Lehen is-Sewwa' (B/65) at the time of the 'Integration' referendum on the grounds that neither the Church nor the paper would publish an 'official' statement on the attitude of the Church. Yet his religious devotion is without question and he has a respected place in Church and village life.

The Family

Pawlu lives with his wife and six of his children. His eldest son and daughter are both working as teachers in Malta. Another daughter has emigrated.

Pawlu's wife speaks only Maltese and had as little formal education as her husband, but she has at all times nothing but encouragement for her family in their education. In this case there is not the usual gulf in outlook between parents and children on account of the education of the latter - for the parents fully realize the need. Pawlu's wife used to work in the fields when

young but now spends her time in the house. Certain jobs remain her special concern however, notably cheese-making, care of lambs and chicks and egg-collection.

The eldest son, now working as a teacher, is one of the young 'intellectuals' who are currently making an appearance in Gozo. The ties of family and respect between him and his father are strong but he is out of touch with the farm and ignorant of many details of its history and operation. He is "never likely to soil his hands with farming". He is moving away from farming and from the cultural and social life of his village. He apologizes for the efforts of the villagers when they attempt to produce a play, he dismisses nick-names as "old-fashioned", and he decries the limitations on activity in his native Island (no dancing or bright lights). Yet he is still enough attached to Gozo to want to introduce changes to it and to make it more like the place his education has made him want to live in. He is typical of one important and growing element in the younger generation of rural Malta and Gozo. In his teens he used to help his father in the fields and took milk to the collection depot, but this stopped as soon as he found a full-time alternative occupation.

Pawlu's eldest daughter, also a teacher, has left farm-work far behind. For her this was never more than casual assistance with vegetable picking and lifting during holidays from school. It is not likely that she will be a farmer's wife.

Pawlu's second daughter left school at twelve and divided her time between house and field work until her marriage in her late teens. She was acknowledged as her father's main assistant with the animals.

Two daughters in their middle teens are academically inclined to the extent of staying at school as long as possible and speaking four languages. Both still do incidental farm work when not occupied with studies. Both would be probable 'sixth-form' and university candidates were there any likelihood of financial backing. Their education, especially in English language and culture, is giving them - and many others like them - an advancement which is not matched by opportunity. They are learning in an educational cul-de-sac.

A son in his middle teens works full-time in the fields with his father, having left school at twelve, while two more boys are still of compulsory school age and give their father only casual assistance with feeding the smaller animals out of school hours. A little girl of some ten years makes no economic contribution to the farm.

The major feature to emerge from the above consideration is that the bulk of the work of the farm, and the full-time responsibility for all jobs, rests with Pawlu alone. The son who is old enough to deputise for his father has left farming: the only full-time help comes from a younger boy who may himself decide to

follow his brother in a few years. Now Pawlu complains that "labour is the main trouble if the farmer cannot cope with all the work of the farm and animals himself", and he can only cope with his own farm and animals if he follows a heavy and rigidly organized schedule of work. Hired labour is not a proposition, Pawlu avers, at £1 for an eight-hour day and this has apparently contributed to the emphasis which he has put on fodder and milk production in recent years. High costs of hired labour for field-work together with the poor and unguaranteed returns for crop produce make field work on dry (bagħli) land a poor prospect. Irrigiable land presents a different picture but there is none available in Pawlu's district.

Pawlu's timetable (in effect he runs the farm single-handed) centres on the animals. During the summer months the pressure is slightly less because the weather is easier, field-work is less pressing and he has the casual help of the younger children in school vacations. Daily time of rising for Pawlu depends on where and when the milk has to be taken for collection. At one stage, in 1957, he had to be up soon after midnight but, until the new milk factory was opened at Xewkija in 1958, a more usual reveille was at 2 or 3 a.m.

Breakfast, of coffee and bread, is taken when the family gets up or when they return from the Church nearby. Pawlu often has to take meals when he can fit them in between his jobs so that it is somewhat exceptional to find the whole family sitting together

for food. The morning milking takes him some two hours after which the animals need feeding and attention before he can go to the fields. About six times a month his morning takes him to Rabat on shopping or business errands.

Lunch, the main meal of the day, consists every day of either minestra (thick soup) or farinaceous paste of some kind, together with bread, cheese, oil (żejt) and home-made tomato 'kunserva'. Lunch is usually over by noon when milking and the preparation of the afternoon feed begins. The evening meal is normally similar to the lunch in content but less in amount. It is often taken immediately before retirement for the night which is early in the village. The farmer reckons to be in from the fields by sun-down but, when the evenings are longer, most of the village is quiet soon after 6 p.m. except where some conversation lingers in a paraffin-lit shop.

Sundays and festa days are breaks from the normal routine, but Church-going is not confined to these days and in fact accounts for some two half-hour visits every day with extra attendances at the weekend. In this very rural community the 'social' aspect of church-going retains most of its traditional importance. In the absence of cafes, clubs, etc., it remains the centre of village affairs and the focus of activity, secular as well as religious.

Pawlu is one of the farmers of this village, but his children are not likely to be farmers. Therefore can they remain of the

village? As yet it has patently little to offer their education and culture and no apparent opportunity for a livelihood at their new and higher standards. They are leaving farming and are leaving the village as well in search of the means of earning a living - other then in farming.

SUMMARY of CASE I

(A large scale Gozitan goats' milk producer with a considerable land holding).

A. Land.

- Area held in 1956: 18⅔ tmien, 1957: 30½ tmien, 1958: 42½ tmien, the additions being almost entirely in the form of grazing land. The present holding is in 26 plots, rented from several landlords including Church, Civil Government and private individuals. Owns one small plot and sublets several others from neighbouring farmers. Plots scattered over considerable area in Għarb and St. Lawrenz districts, Rent totals £23.14.0 p.a., ranging from 21/6 per tomna for cultivable (dry) land to 4/- per tomna for rough grazing.

- Previously held a further 20 tmien, 3 of which have been sub-let or exchanged and 17 abandoned owing to inaccessibility.

B. Utilisation.

	1956	1957	1958
House	⅓	⅓	⅓
Vines	½	½	½
Prickly pear	½	½	½
Fodders	8½	10½	14⅓
Vegetables	8⅔	6½	2⅔
Rough Grazing	-	12	24
Unused			
Total	18⅔	30½	42½ tmien

C. Livestock. (Nov. 1957)

38 goats, 8 kids
2 cows
1 sheep
100 poultry
1 horse

D. Capital.

- Land all rented save one small plot.
- Appears to be amassing capital from profits on milk production.
- No specialised equipment.

E. Labour.

- No permanent hired help.
- One son works full time on the farm, help from other children.

F. Production and Sales.

- Milk is the main item of income to which occasional small sales of vegetables are the only addition.
- Sample daily feed for 1 cow yielding c.3 gallons

3 ratal barley bran	1s. 4d.
8 " cake	3s. 6d.
5 " sulla	1s. 4d.
8 " beans	5s. 0d.
1 basket prickly pear	1s. 0d.
½ " straw	6d.
	12. 8d.

- Sample daily feed for 46 goats yielding c.10 galls.

48 ratal beans	£1. 10s. 0d.
16 " barley	6s. 0d.
4 bundles sulla	5s. 0d.
Furrajna (green barley)	5s. 0d.
	£2. 6s. 0d.

- Daily feed costs thus average £2.18.8 and the income from milk £3.16.6. Profit making no allowance for labour costs is 17/10d daily, varying slightly with milk prices.

G. Husbandry.

(i) - Does not subscribe to the common view that "the more the feed the more the milk".
- Attempting to increase profit margin by cutting fodder costs, which he does in three ways:-
(a) By extending the area held under fodder crops. The cost of fodder makes this worthwhile even

though it involves larger purchases of food for the family.

(b) By acquiring grazing land, a useful supplement to fodder crops.

(c) By improving feeding patterns to give a more balanced diet.

(ii) - Land lies idle in the summer months since none is irrigated.

- Two rotations are in use

(a) 1st yr: Wheat after manuring and thorough hoeing.
2nd yr: Sulla
3rd yr: Wheat
4th yr: Fallow

(b) 1st yr: Wheat
2nd yr: Sulla and Beans
3rd yr: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Melons after tractor plowing.
4th yr: Fallow

H. General

- Completely dependent on the sale of milk to the M.M.U. at current prices of 5/6 to 6/- per gallon.
- Commercially much more sophisticated than the majority of Gozitan milk producers, this farmer runs a profitable concern.
- Has shown himself willing to cut losses by relinquishing land which he cannot work profitably.
- At the same time makes considerable effort to add suitable land to his holding.
- Atypical in avoiding dispersion of effort over a variety of minor activity and in high degree of specialisation. This specialisation, however, renders him particularly vulnerable to any change in policy on the maintenance of milk prices.

CASE II : Ġużepp
(A goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash cropping).

Like Pawlu (Case I) Ġużepp is a herdsman. He has however fewer goats (25) and no cows as "there is no place to keep them". Accommodation is in fact one of the major problems facing him and thwarts his efforts to increase his herd and thereby his earning power. Late in 1957 some of his premises were deemed by the sanitary authorities to be unfit for animals. He has no goat pens near his house but is prevented by the lack of capital from making substantial improvements in his facilities. Owing to shortage of space, he prefers to buy in fully-grown animals rather than to breed his own, which would be cheaper. Fodder storage (he produces just enough sulla to feed his own goats) is a further problem and he tries to 'make do' with odd corners of often unsuitable space.

Crop production is geared to the provision of fodder for the goats, toegether with the supply of vegetables for the family, and grapes (for wine), some tomatoes and other items for casual sale to local shops.

The income side of his budget depends on the proceeds from the milk sold to the M.M.U. In August, 1957, he was getting about 16/9d a day for the milk sold. His grapes for 1957 brought him a further £66. His largest expense is fodder (apart from sulla) and its price is a constant cause of grumbling and bitterness by Ġużepp. Rents for 1957 totalled £35, that is about £1 per tomna for good land (generally red soiled 'ħamrija') and 15/- for poorer,

whiter ('abjad') soils. His cropping illustrates a common practice in Maltese farming in that he tends to plant more of a crop which has just had a 'good' season and thereby frequently suffers from glut conditions. Thus in 1958 he aimed to plant a large area to marrow (qargħa bagħli) because "last year's crop was good". In the previous year he had been unable to get all the potato seed he would have liked but, at the end of the season, was able to buy in potatoes very cheaply for the table because of the general glut in the crop which he had, as it transpired, fortunately avoided.

Ġużepp, like most farmers, is very critical of the great gulf between the price given by the pitkal and that paid by the consumer. In a small way he strives to avoid this by selling some of his produce directly in the local village, but this brings him only some £12 per annum.

Expenses are few apart from food, clothing and a few extra items such as Church contributions. His bill for entertainment is practically nil and his children are not yet old enough to demand large sums of pocket money - which one foresees they will do. Ġużepp is very anxious to enlarge his farm and his herd and to improve his accommodation. In this development one feels he is looking to the future support of his now school-age sons. Certainly the older of these seem at present to look forward to following in their father's footsteps. But it is clear also that Ġużepp's own deep attachment to the land and to farming is the source of the enthusiasm among his

children and when a few more years have made them money-conscious it is difficult to visualize their reconciling the limitations and lack of profit in farming with their aspirations towards the bright lights of Valletta and other diversions. For the present nevertheless Ġużepp wants to expand his land holding and herd, although he has no sort of a bank balance and thinks in terms of the present low-interest loans being made available by the Government for farm development and of "working harder, rising earlier and economising on fruit and desserts for the children".

His house is old and remote from the village. He pays the landlord, "who does not do the repairs he ought", £8.10s per annum and thinks £5 would be much fairer. Given a perpetual lease on a plot he would build himself a new house and include near it accommodation for his animals. For his large family of wife and eight children the house, though very well kept, is hopelessly inadequate. Certainly the placid and generous natures of both Ġużepp and his wife enable the family to carry on under limitations of both home and farm which would have persuaded many another farmer to emigrate long ago.

Moreover there is nothing in the hamlet which might be called social relaxation. The nearest Band Clubs, cinemas and cafes are in the village more than a mile away - a long distance by Maltese standards. However, as Ġużepp's wife observes "these things are not missed by the people" who have had little experience of them. She notes that in Malta, unlike England, the countryman can easily

get to the bright lights, if he wishes, by bus. "But work, family and Church take up a lot of time".

Labour problems do not trouble Gużepp. He can himself operate his small holding and care for his two dozen animals with the help of his wife, who joins him in the fields when work is pressing, and his young sons, whose contribution, he admits, is very considerable out of school hours and in the vacations. He is keen to mechanize (i.e. to acquire a hand cultivator on a Government low-interest loan) because he sees this as the way to increase the area worked with his present labour force. A larger area would mean more fodder produced which would bring more profit on the milk sold, while the number of animals could itself be increased along with the provision of extra accommodation (also on Government loan). The basic assumption here is that the Government's guaranteed price to the herdsmen for milk produced will continue. If it does not he would, it appears, be forced to rely more on field produce for sale through the pitkal marketing system. He knows that profits here would be less and disturbingly prone to competitive fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY of CASE II

(A goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. Land

Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra Region.

Several landlards; total rent (including house, £8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. Utilisation.

- Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley, sulla.
- Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

C. Livestock.

- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. Capital.

(i) No freehold land.
(ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
(iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cultivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid at £62 p.a.

- Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tomna.
- Borrows spray from brother.

E. Labour (v. Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

- No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. Production and Sales.

(i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily which sells at 16/9 (5/7 per gall.).
- Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.
- Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
- Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
- 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding; piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

(ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. farm at 28/- per 100.

Grapes sold the vinters. Price takes no account of quality.
- In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
- Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

G. Husbandry.

(i) - Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shorts cut back.
- Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
- Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.
- Many stocks now 20 years old require replacement.
- No early potatoes grown "because of sea-spray".
- Sulla sufficient for his own stock.

(ii)- Half of every working day is devoted to grazing the goats on waste and abandoned land.
- Fodder from his own sulla and barley but has to buy cake and beans, prices varying between £2 and £3 per qantar - expensive.

(iii)- Manure from his own stock provides all his requirements and leaves surplus for sale.
- Uses 6 bags of sulphate of ammonia p.a., the only chemical fertiliser.
- Pig feed costs 11/- per sack which lasts his 5 pigs 4 days.

H. General.

- Has a hopeful attitude towards farming but still expects a great deal of Government help in the form of grants, loans and subsidies.
- Claims that his children intend to succeed him on the land but they are young enough to change their minds.
- Willing to accept advice, but not impressed by experts who tell him either "things he knows already" or give him advice "which is sound but not applicable to Maltese conditions".
- Has only a very general idea of costs and returns. Takes no account of value of family labour.
- Basic income is from sale of milk (£300 in 1957) and grapes (£66) plus small quantities of vegetables (c. £12). Spends £100 p.a. on food for family in addition to his own produce.
- Typical of farmer who is satisfied with his lot, keeps his family decently fed and clothed but spends little or nothing on non-essentials. He is anxious to improve his herd, accommodation and methods but his farm provides no financial

surplus with which to do this.
- Continues to accept a standard of living far below that of his more sophisticated compatriots.

CASE II: ANALYSIS OF WORK RECORD. 1957-58[a]

	AUG.		SEPT.		OCT.		NOV.		DEC.		JAN.		FEB.		MAR.		APR.		MAY		JUNE		JULY		YEAR	
	am.	pm.	am.	pm.	am.	pm.	am.	pm.	am.	pm.	am.	pm.	am.	pm.	am.	pm.	am.	pm.	am.	pm.	am.	pm.	am.	pm.	am.	pm.
Sundays and feasts (b)	6		5		4		5		6		6		5		6		5	1	6		6		4		64	1
"Business", miscellaneous	1				1		2				1		2		1				1				1		10	-
Grazing Goats (c)		29		28		30		29		30		30		25		20		28		30		29		28	-	336
Collecting money from M.M.U.	1		1		2		2				2		1		1		1		2		2		2		17	-
Goats' sheds - cleaning			1		3		2	1	4		2	1	2		1										15	2
" " - building, repairing	3						9		1																13	-
Pigs, illness and slaughtering			1		1								1										1	1	4	1
Potatoes (Sowing			1																						6	-
Potatoes (Weeding, hoeing											5														5	-
Potatoes (Lifting									6						2		3				2				8	-
Vines Pruning											12		3												15	-
Vines Grafting											1		4		2										7	-
Vines Hoeing, plowing, spraying					1	1							1	1	6	1	3		9	1	1				21	4
Tomatoes Picking			6		2																				8	-
Tomatoes Planting out, hoeing															1				2				1		4	-
Tomatoes Picking	1		8		4		1																2		16	-
Wheat Sowing							1		10																11	-
Wheat Reaping																					11				11	-
Barley Sowing							3																		3	-
Barley Reaping																			5						5	-
Sulla Sowing	2																						1		3	-
Sulla Reaping	1												1		6		6						2		16	-
Sulla Binding (d)																	5						5		10	-
Marrows, Melons, Pumpkins													1				1		5		2		2		11	-
Onions and garlic					1				1																2	-
Beans, carob and Prickly Pear (e)	5		1		1						2				1		3								13	-
Gathering greenery (haxix)													1	1	1	2									2	3
Plowing (unspecified) : Motor -		2	1		5		2		1				4			1	2								15	3
" " : Wood plow. and hoeing			1		2										3	7			1						7	7
Threshing wheat and barley - (f)																					5		3		8	-
Manure spreading (g)	5		2						1														5		13	-
Repairing field storm damage					4		3						1												8	-
Other and unspecified (h)	6		2	2					1	1			1	1			1	1			1	1	2	2	14	8
TOTAL	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	365	365

(a) From work record kept by farmer's wife, (Translated by the writer): originals in B/5).
(b) No work in the mornings - goats grazed as usual in afternoon.
(c) Occasionally the children relieve Guzepp of supervising the goats' grazing.
(d) Including transport and storage.
(e) Hoeing and cutting.
(f) Including preparations for threshing.
(g) Including moving, spreading, turning and selling.
(h) Including 6 mornings when Guzepp washed clothes (wife's confinement), and others when weather was too bad for work.

CASE III : Nardu.
(A goats' milk producer).

Illiterate and suspicious, Nardu typifies the most conservative element in Maltese farming for whom nothing new can be worthy of consideration. It is probable that no amount of lecturing, demonstrations of improved methods, or capital loans from the Government, would persuade him to change the ways he knows. The prospect of machinery does not impress him although he thinks of acquiring a rotary cultivator (at about £245). His observation is, when freely translated, "You can't teach an old dog new tricks" (he is aged 40).

His father was a mason with a few fields. Nardu's brother took over the family business and sold his share of the fields to Nardu, who also bought out the shares of his five sisters. He has since concentrated all his effort on his herd of goats, regarding his fields primarily as a source of fodder. During the fifteen months of study his herd varied in size from 34 to 50 animals. All the goats are of local breed as he does "not like horned goats". He is more concerned with producing milk, under the current favourable regime of guaranteed sales to the M.M.U., than with breeding goats. Most of the kids born to his herd are sold for meat or for breeding to a dealer. Payment seems to be made as money becomes available from the M.M.U. every two weeks. Often however he admits to being up to two months behind with payment, settling one debt "when the next transaction is afoot".

In 1958, Nardu was talking at length about "getting two or three cows or calves". He "knows about cows from friends" but has not himself got the £300 capital necessary for two. Moreover he observes that "you can't graze cows' and their general upkeep is likely to clash with that of goats, especially where one man is working alone as in this case. There seems to be an element of prestige attached to the ownership of cows in a village such as Nardu's where the vast majority of herdsmen have only goats. Certainly his thinking is not guided by comparative costings of milk production from the cow and goat.

Nardu's fields produce fodder and some food for the family so that they "will not have to buy in everything from the shops". He reckons to save between 15/- and £1 per week in this way. His wife spends £3 a week on purchased food and she looks back nostalgically to her youth when her mother spent some 30/- per week on food and clothing for a family with twelve children, while she has only three. The steady item of income in Nardu's budget is the money received from the M.M.U. for the goats' milk sold. Shopping is done in the local village but Nardu makes the journey to Valletta for the 'Fuq il-Monti' Sunday market occasionally, though with the intention of gossipping rather than making purchases.

CASE III : Summary
(A goats' milk producer).

A. Land.
30 Tmien in Naxxar-Gharghur Hills area.

14 field plots in two main groups;
All on soils of tad-Dawl and l-Iklin Complexes.
Of this - 5½ tmien freehold,
- 24½ tmien leased from 6 landlords.
Rents range between 10/- and £1 per tomna.

B. Utlilisation.

Almost entirely fodder production e.g. February 1957.
3 plots under widna.
1 plot under barley - pulled green.
3 half plots under wheat.
2 half plots under sulla.
1 plot used for goat grazing - fallow.
1 plot under żofżfa (bitter vetch)
1 enclosure under prickly pear.
3 plots under vetches.
remainder subdivided and carrying potatoes, broad beans and a few vegetables.
Only regular cash crop - winter potatoes.

C. Livestock.

During 1957/1958 goat numbers ranged from 35 to 50, and milkers from 27 to 40.
5 sheep kept for wool and sheeps milk for cheese-making.
1 mule - imported from Tunis.

D. Capital.

- Land held in freehold valued at £400 in early 50's.
- Freehold village house.
- According to his own statement liquid reserves of £200.
- Equipment - hand tools, local wooden plows, etc. No machinery but plans to buy rotary cultivator.

E. Labour.

- Wife spends c.30% of her time on the land, although children's ages range from 3-8.
- Communal help for threshing.
- Hires labour for barley and sulla cutting (during 1957 c.18 man days at cost of c.£15).
- Every 4th year deep plowing (by contract) of about half the fields (Cost £1 to 15/- a tomna).
- Each year has some land tilled by rotary cultivator (Cost 12/- a tomna).

F. Production and Sales.

- Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.45 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day.
- Winter potatoes as cash crop vary considerably in yield and in selling price.
- Occasional sales of small quantities wheat and wool.
- Produce consumed by family valued at c.£1 per week.

G. Husbandry.

(i) Land - All dung used on fields - usually before potato setting.
- 7-8 bags of sulphate of ammonia applied annually.
- The concentration on leguminous fodders prevents the employment of the normal four-year rotation.

(ii) Seed - keeps grain and seed-potatoes back from harvest - usually least saleable.
- Buys sulla seed.

(iii) Livestock - Breeds goats from own herd and has no wish to try breeding experiments.
Replacement rate c.5 per annum.
- Feeding - no feeding programme and relies mainly on bulk green and dried fodder including rough grazing on wasteland and 6-7 bundles a day of 'ħaxix' - weedy roadside and wasteland vegetation.

H. General.

A conservative Maltese goats milk producer. More suspicious than most and not prepared to give much financial information. He has no idea of costs or profit and is only interested in sustained high milk prices.

CASE IV : Wistin
(A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land).

Like Case III, Wistin is a goat herder with fields supplying fodder for the animals together with some food items for the family. His herd is however much larger and in mid-1957, included ninety animals. He began goat herding with a few goats many years ago but the biggest increases have been in the past few years of guaranteed milk sales to the M.M.U. Now he aims primarily at profit from milk and is very much less concerned with rearing kids. He is a member of the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Malitja tal-Halib) which, he believes, stands for the 'rights' of the milk-producing herdsmen. The Company demands improvements in the system including a higher price to the producer in the flush production period. It can scarcely be said to argue from strength, in view of the present market situation heavily distorted in favour of the milk-producer by Government policy.

The village became a "Closed Area" in 1955. This meant that Wistin could no longer sell unpasteurized milk from door to door - previously there had been some seven or eight milk-sellers like him in the village. Since 1955 he has been concentrating on his goats and on fodder production. He says he "likes goats". Certainly milking, cleaning and grazing the animals takes the greater part of every day (as in Case II, Wistin takes out his goats to graze and exercise practically every afternoon of the year). He is proud of his herd and "would feel ashamed to appear at the M.M.U.

collection depot without a reasonable amount of milk for sale". In the flush summer season this is 20 gallons or more but drops considerably in the winter. Wistin strives to keep the milk production as steady as possible however throughout the year because a steady supply of milk to the M.M.U. means a steady income for his family. He himself works on his fields only "when some spare time is available", and normally delegates most of the work to a labourer who receives 24/- for an occasional day's work.

His own fields produce only a small part of the fodder required by the herd however and Wistin buys in sulla and other fodder "as it is needed". He does not buy regularly nor does he keep any record of his purchases or sales. In December, 1957, he was spending about 15/- per day on fodder other than sulla, on which he had spent £120 during the previous year, 1956. But of costs of production of milk he has little idea. His own labour does not figure as a 'cost'.

Wistin's family of eleven spends about £1 on food per day and eats potatoes and other vegetables and milk from the home farm to the value of a further 7/6d daily. The new demands on money are observed by both Wistin and his wife. She says that in her youth she "would never have dreamt of spending on clothes the money which her daughters are now spending". "In the old days, a girl went to the sea with her parents or on an occasional visit to Sant Anton

- now they go to the cinema or to Valletta to buy shoes for the festa". One of the daughters is shortly to be married to a policeman and Wistin observes that the costs of the wedding and the dowry will be very considerable.

Wistin is a true herdsman. He has no interests which would upset his heavy routine of work. He is "not interested in festas" and his only relaxation is an occasional visit to the races at Marsa when his children are on holiday from school and able to take the goats out to graze.

His father was a labourer with the Services and had only a few fields, but Wistin began working for other herdsmen and then gradually built up his own herd to its present size, particularly in the past few years when in common with many other Maltese and Gozitan herdsmen, he has ridden on the crest of the guaranteed-price wave. None of his children, however, shows any interest in goats and it is clear that both Wistin's wife and his brother-in-law (who has a half-share in the house occupied by Wistin and his family) are actively discouraging the children from planning to follow their father. Their main objection to herding appears to be the long hours and hard work entailed. Wistin is more than a little sad that the herd and farm which he has built up is likely to be broken up for lack of interest among his sons, for, as he says, "Once you leave the fields you never go back...."

CASE IV : Summary

(A large-scale goats milk producer with some land).

A. Land

6 tmien in the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills region.

- 10 field plots in single block of 4 tmien (Rent £2.10.0.), and
- 7 field plots in single block of 2 tmien (Rent £3).
- Grazing ground on Defence Dept., wasteland.

B. Utilisation.

(i) At any one time about half the land - that of the deep-soil terraces - will be under potatoes with a few vegetables, and the remainder under barley and leguminous fodder.

(ii) The arable land tends to be neglected as a result of pre-occupation with livestock. The land is therefore deteriorating and as soil wash reduces soil-depth and water availability, peas and vetches are replacing less hardy crops. The most accessible fields in this hilly region are worked mainly to meet domestic needs.

C. Livestock.

90 goats including 75 breeders and 2 billies.
7 sheep for meat and cheesemaking.
This herd built up in farmer's lifetime (c.50 years).

D. Capital.

(i) No freehold land.
(ii) A freehold village house joint possession of farmer and brother-in-law.
(iii) Receives C.A.R.E.[23] food gifts but the family standard of living is by no means poor. No debts except on intra-family loan basis.

E. Labour.

(i) Of the family of 11, two children are employed elsewhere and the remainder give occasional help with the stock and on the fields.

(ii) The fields are inaccessible to powered tools.
Hired labour for fieldwortk - c.15-20 man days @ 24/- a day including mule and implements.

F. Production and Sales.

(i) Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.100 lbs. per day to July maximum of 290 lbs. per day.
Annual sales of the order of 6,400 galls. @ average price 5/9d per gallon.
Gross income from milk sales c.£1800.
No accurate record of expenditure on purchased feed but

total can be estimated as of the order of £500 p.a. Net income probably not more than £800 p.a.

(ii) Manure sold to arable farmers during first half of year with net profit of £18.

(iii) Home produced and consumed food and milk valued at c.10/- a day.

G. Husbandry.

(i) Livestock feeding of traditional pattern sulla, beans and cake is more carefully regulated in relation to yields than in Case III. Considerable emphasis placed on grazing and on stock exercising.

(ii) Herd suffers fairly severely from abortion and the kids from various diseases - 5 out of 16 in 1956, 4 out of 12 in 1957.
No prophylactic or remedial measures except more careful feeding. Sells sick and old stock for slaughtering.

(iii) Tries to extend period of maximum production by prolonging mating period but prefers to rely on "natural" periodicity rather than on producing off-season high yields. Has high standards for yields and has a good record in local shows for billies and breeders.

H. General.

An example of a high-class village goats-milk producer. Present relative prosperity due to personal acumen, interest in stock and to guaranteed prices maintained by M.M.U. No great need for capital nor much possibility of accumulating capital. Utilises marginal land and family labour in a reasonably efficient way within local conditions. Will not be succeeded by sons, but represents a not unsatisfactory temporary response to the socio-economic conditions which have increased the production of fresh milk in Malta.

CASE V : Anglu.
(A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer).

Anġlu supports a wife and ten children on the proceeds of the milk of some four dozen goats. His serious financial position shows no possibilities of improvement.

His father was a herdsman and sold milk from door to door in Valletta from a base in the defensive ditch or "fossa" round the city, which, incidentally, earned the family the nickname of "Tal-foss". Some sixty years ago the Government forbade the keeping of goats in Valletta and the family moved some two miles. They continued to take their milk into the capital however until pasteurization began in 1938 and Valletta became a "Closed Area" (v. Case IV). Since then Anġlu has endeavoured to make a living on the milk sold to the M.M.U.

Unfortunately, however, he does not have a substantial land-holding which he can put to the production of fodder crops. He must thereby buy in all his requirements and spends some £400 per year on various types of fodder against a total annual income from the milk of £750. The only supplementary item of profit is a small quantity of prickly pear fruit sold from door to door near his farm. He himself holds a single tomna of cultivable land which barely supplies his own family with a few vegetables. The position of his farm within the urban area makes it impossible for him to obtain additional cultivable plots to put to fodders. They are both scarce and subject to pilfering in such a district. More-

over, the position far from grazing land is a serious drawback for, as he observes, "grazing improves the yield of milk".

Anglu's farm and family budget is dominated by DEBT. The fodder has to be purchased from agents who will give credit terms. Other farmers would accept a smaller price but would demand cash on delivery. The bills for fodder and other items are settled as the money from the M.M.U. comes in (fortnightly, in most cases) but Anglu's account never shows a credit balance although it fluctuates from season to season. The table in the Summary illustrates the progress of his debt over some nine months of 1957. It shows that on 1.9.1957 he still owed nearly £80 to one of his two dealers. This was not finally paid off until mid-November but, in the intervening two and a half months, the purchase of fodder had been continued and the debt maintained. In that September he himself put his debt at £60 and said that at the previous Christmas (1956) it had been £100. Thus a debt of £60 in the flush milk season of highest total receipts from the M.M.U. would appear to be the best financial position he could achieve. Removal of the guaranteed milk price to the producer could result only in ruin for this herdsman and the many in the Islands like him.

In spite of his own poverty Anglu maintains that he is fully aware of the artifical economic picture of which the guaranteed price is a part. In the same breath however he complains that he

could sell his milk for more than the M.M.U. gives him in the short season. Here he overlooks the obvious outcome of a removal of the guarantee during the annual glut.

His financial hardships make it impossible for him to hire labour or to invest in any capital improvements to the farm or herd. Neither does it enable him to support his family as he aspires. This is especially evident in the case of clothing because the family lives in an urban area and therefore strives to appear as well dressed as their non-farming neighbours. Anġlu observes that there has been a change both in the types of clothing worn and in the occasions on which they are worn. He speaks of a Doctor of the district who used to go barefoot in the streets carrying a pair of shoes to put on before entering a house or Church. Nowadays, by contrast, children attend school with shoes and are generally well turned out. This is particularly true of an urban area, where Anġlu's children go to school and where his teenage children go to work - a son as an apprentice carpenter, one daughter as a shop assistant and another as a factory worker. None of his children is likely to contemplate farming as a way of life and means of earning a living, for, in their father's case they can see an extreme example of the problem facing many farmers throughout the Islands today, that is a man unable to make a living wage for himself and his family from a farm limited in possibilities by external factors and dependant on a guarantee which could be removed at a general election.

CASE V : Summary
(A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer).

A. Land.

Rents and grazes 1 tomna of wasteland.
Rents and works as a domestic garden 1 tomna of dry land, in the Urban area.

B. Utilisation.

Most of the 1 tomna of cultivated land is permanently used for potatoes intended for domestic use. There are also a few patches of garlic, beans, onions and other vegetables. A few vines and prickly pear plants give some saleable produce e.g. prickly pear fruit sold from door to door fetched £10 in 1956.

C. Livestock.

November 1956:
45 goats, 7 kids, 2 billies, 1 horse, 24 hens and rabbits.
November 1956 to July 1957:
15 goats died.
July 1957:
50 goats.
September 1957:
48 goats, 11 kids, 1 billy.
November 1957:
25 milking goats, 10 kids.

D. Capital.

(i) No freehold property and little equipment except for cart.
(ii) In perpetual debt - probably between £60 and £100 behind in outgoings at any one time (v. Table).
(iii) Receives C.A.R.E. food gifts.

E. Labour.

No family labour. Of 10 surviving children, only two are above school-leaving age and they have non-agricultural employment.
- Hires no labour or machinery.

F. Production and Sales (v. Table).

(i) Goats milk sales range from December minimum of c.20 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day (1957). Typical annual pattern of usage in recent years:
2500 gallons sold to M.M.U. (@ average price 5/9 per gall.)
200 gallons sold privately (@ average price c.5/6 per gall.)
200 gallons used domestically.
Gross income from milk sales are of the order of £750 p.a.
Known expenditure on feed of the order of £400 p.a.
Net income probably less than £200 p.a.

(ii) Sales of old milch goats and kids fluctuate with condition of herd and with disease. In 1957 10 diseased goats fetched 70/- each and 5 kids c.10/- each. Replacements cost between £8 and £20 for Maltese-Saanen goats in milk.

G. Husbandry.

(i) Livestock Feeding. Typical pattern:
50 goats receive 4 bundles sulla, 25 lbs. beans and 50 lbs. cake in summer. During winter more greens and less beans. Very little grazing.

(ii) Herd suffers badly from pregnancy and after-birth diseases and also from abortion. No prophylactic or remedial measures known to the farmer who, like most of his type, merely tries to sell sick stock for slaughtering and replaces with new.

(iii) No real control of lactations and most of milking goats are mated between September and February. Is reluctant to try summer serving since suffering losses in 1956. Regards yield of 2 lbs. per day as minimal.

H. General.

This farmer is typical of many herdsmen. Without capital or or land he derives from previous generations of peripatetic herdsmen who milked their goats on the 'rounds' of urban houses. Now forced to sell his milk to a centralised agency (the M.M.U.) for pasteurisation he is protected from price decline during the summer season of over-production but prevented from obtaining extra profits and perquisites (often of rather a dubious character). Without capital he has to rely on credit

terms for fodder purchases and therefore pays merchant prices which are higher than those of other farmers. A garden plot and the stock supplies about half the family's food, without which increment the family economy could not operate. There is no possible future except on a low level for this type of production.

CASE V : SPECIMEN ACCOUNTS

Date	Dealer	Fodder	Rtal[1]	Shillings per ratal	Cost £. S. D.	Payment £. S. D.
?.12.56	B	Beans	287	70	10. 0.10	
		Cake[2]	201	50	5. 0. 6.	
		Corn[2]	113	56	2.18. 0.	
5. 1.57	B	Beans	285	71	10. 2. 6.	
		Cake	215	49	5. 5. 3.	
15. 1.57	B					5. 8. 5.
1. 2.57	B	Beans	255	71	9. 0. 1.	
		Cake	319	49	7.16. 3.	
						13. 1. 7.
15. 2.57	B	Beans	291	72	10. 9. 0.	
		Cake	186	48	4. 9. 6.	
						17. 0. 0.
27. 2.57	B	Cake	638	47	15. 0. 0.	
						15. 0. 0.
15. 3.57	B	Beans	180	71	6. 7. 9.	
		Cake	365	47	8.11. 6.	
						15. 0. 0.
1. 4.57	B	Beans	185	70	6. 9. 6.	
		Cake	278	48	6. 4. 9.	
						15. 0. 0.
15. 4.57	B	Beans	218	69	7.10. 0.	
		Cake	282	45	6. 6. 9.	
						15. 0. 0.
27. 4.57	A	Beans	282½	65	9. 3. 9.	
		Cake[2]	266½	44	5.17. 3.	
		Corn[2]	95	58	2.15. 3.	
1. 5.57	B	Cake	582	45	13. 2. 0.	
		W. Potato[3]	205		2. 1. 0.	
						17. 4. 0.
16. 5.57	A	Beans	76		2. 9. 6.	
17. 5.57	B	Beans	119	69	4. 2. 0.	
		Cake	474	45	10.13. 6.	
20. 5.57	B					15. 0. 0.
21. 5.57	A	Beans	316		10. 2. 6.	
		Cake	323½	44	7. 2. 6.	
1. 6.57	B					15. 0. 0.
3. 6.57	B	Beans	211	69	7. 5. 6.	
		Cake	290	45	6.10. 6.	
4. 6.57	A	Beans	363½	64	9.14. 2.	
		Cake	271½	44	5.19. 6.	
		Bran			6. 0.	
12. 6.57	B					15. 0. 0.
19. 6.57	B	Cake	621	45	13.19. 5.	
22. 6.57	A	Beans	330½	56	9. 5. 0.	
		Cake	261½	44	5.15. 2.	
2. 7.57	B	Beans	365	57	9. 6. 3.	
		Cake	325	45	7. 6. 3.	
						15. 0. 0.
5. 7.57	A	Beans	338	50½	8.10. 9.	
		Cake	280½	44	6. 3. 6.	
1. 7.57	A					8. 0. 0.
13. 7.57	A					15. 0. 0.
16. 7.57	B	Cake	753	44	17.11. 3.	
						16. 0. 0.
27. 7.57	A	Beans	371	48	8.18. 6.	
		Cake	298½	44	6.11. 6.	
1. 8.57	B	Beans	171	57	4. 7. 3.	
		Cake	383	45	8.12. 3.	
						15. 0. 0.
2. 8.57	A					15. 0. 0.
8. 8.57	A	Dari seed	96	52	2.10. 0.	
9. 8.57	A	Beans	344	51	8.15. 6.	
		Cake	288	44	6. 8. 3.	
14. 8.57	A					17. 0. 0.
16. 8.57	B					15. 0. 0.
23. 8.57	A	Beans	399½	51	10. 3. 9.	
					£353. 1. 8.	£273.14. 0.

1. 9.57 Debt (to A) - £79. 7. 8d

(1 - see Appendix 14; 2 - qamh harun; 3 - patata tax-xitwa)

CASE VI : Gaetu
(A milk producer with a considerable land holding).

In May, 1957, Gaetu had 9 cows and about 50 goats. During the year he sold some thirteen goats for the abbatoir and of the eight kids born in the year several died "because they didn't want to go on living". In November of the same year three of his cows had to be killed, two of them on account of 'paralysis of the feet' (probably related to lack of exercise and perpetual stall-feeding). The goats get scarcely more grazing than the cows, being limited to the small yards adjoining the main farm building (v. Map 8).

The compulsory slaughter of the three ailing cows (for which he will be entitled to import replacements) has profoundly shaken Gaetu's faith in cows in general. He maintains that he "will put his efforts into goats for the loss of a goat means a loss of £10 against the £200 in the case of a cow".

Together with his adult son, Gaetu works 23 tmien of land, including some which is irrigable; and the emphasis in cropping is heavily on fodder production. But they still have to buy in a considerable amount of feed. For example in the 1956-57 winter Gaetu spent £175 on sulla, £99 for straw, and £15 on winter potatoes which were in glut. He feeds his animals according to yield which appears to mean that he gives more food and attention to the better yielding animals. "There is no profit in providing expensive fodder for poor-yielding animals." In fact, however, Gaetu has very little

appreciation of his profit. None of his labour or that of his son is counted as a cost and he keeps no detailed account of income and expenditure. He gets receipts from the M.M.U. but otherwise, being illiterate himself, feels "reluctant to ask anyone for a written statement". Nevertheless he reckons to be able to put together some sort of balance sheet for the income-tax authorities each year.

Gaetu has been a member of the Malta Milk Company since its foundation in 1949 and appears to attribute some of the present benefits enjoyed by the milk producer to the work of the Company on behalf of the member herdsmen. In January, 1958, he was selling some 3½ gallons of cows' milk and 5 gallons goats' milk to the M.M.U. but was also selling some privately each day, notably 12/- or 13/- worth to a nunnery "where my grandfather used to sell milk before me". Both his grandfather and father were herdsmen with goats but it was not until after the 1939-45 War that Gaetu went in for cows. He acknowledges saving some £1200 as a result of the War and says that most of this money went on the establishment of his herd of cows, together with improvements to the accommodation for the animals.

Gaetu owns the house, which is several centuries old, and the farm buildings and rents the adjacent exercise yards from the Government. He has been keen to develop his own property since the war in order to qualify for the necessary permit from the

sanitary authorities to keep his now greater number of animals. The Plan given in the Summary of this Case shows how the activity of both family and farm is concentrated in a small and compact cluster of buildings and rooms within the built-up area of the village. This is typical of the majority of farm units based on livestock in the Islands (v. Cases I & IV) but contrasts with some (v. Case II) in which the animals have to be housed at some distance from the family living quarters, a much less satisfactory position for the herdsmen concerned.

The focus of domestic activity in Gaetu' s household is the tiny yard, some fifteen feet square. Doorways lead off to the ground floor living rooms, to the goat shed and cattle byres and, through a large passage-cum-storage room, to the narrow alley way which links the house to the street. From the yard steps lead down to a cellar used for fodder storage and another flight leads up to the first-floor storerooms above the kitchen and living room. A further staircase from inside the entrance room gives access to the first-floor extra bedroom. Gaetu' s premises are typical with their intensive use of available space and maximum building development on the portion owned by the farmer himself but atypical in that he has been fortunate enought to acquire the adjacent exercise ground and small patch of cultivable soil with a reasonable prospect of continued rented tenure (v. Map 8).

The family has occupied the present house for several generations

and has acquired the street name as a family nick-name (these nick-names remain the standard, even semi-official, mode of reference though not of address when the Christian name is used, v. B/376). Gaetu is a prominent member of the community in his part of the village which now includes some non-agricultural workers.

His outlook is rather more 'urban' than that of more isolated farmers, such as Case II. His adult son is an active supporter of the local football club and a regular cinema-goer. Gaetu himself is not concerned with such relaxation. He is devoted to his animals and especially to the goats which he will keep "because we have always had them". He takes an interest in farming and, despite his illiteracy, is fully prepared to listen to advice. He enters animals in shows at Ghammieri and attended public lectures organized for farmers in 1957. He thought the lectures and a film on dairying technique interesting but gave the usual verdict that Maltese farming suffers from special difficulties of its own which cannot be solved by what he believes are "foreign methods". He observes that "it would be an excellent idea to go to the trouble of washing one's animals regularly but the time and labour thus expended would bring no additional return to the farmer". He believes that the methods which he employs throughout the working of his farm are tried and therefore to be trusted although in more than a few cases some basic cost accounting (as suggested at the lectures) would reveal the patent weaknesses in his argument.

CASE VI : Summary

(A goats' and cows' milk producer with a considerable land holding).

A. Land.

23 tmien of land, mainly dry, comprising 11 plots in 7 parcels arranged in two main blocks, one in the Għajn Qajjet (Rabat-Dingli Uplands) one in the Blue Clay Basin on slopes of Wied Qlejgħa. The former on soils of the 1-Iklin Complex, the latter on good, sheltered Carbonate Raw Soils.
All rented from a number of landlords, including the Civil government. Rent estimated at c.£30 p.a.

B. Utilisation.

The emphasis is on fodder crops.

Crop plan, Feb. 1957.

Plot 1	Potatoes	Plot 7	Sulla
Plot 2	Sulla	Plot 8	Tomatoes, potatoes
Plot 3	Barley	Plot 9	Tomatoes
Plot 4	Barley	Plot 10	Vines
Plot 5	Vetches	Plot 11	Sulla
Plot 6	Poor grass for bedding and grazing.	Plus wallside fruits and vines in several plots.	

C. Livestock.

- 50 goats
- 2 cows, 3 calves, expecting to add 3 imported Friesians at c.£140 each.
- Chickens: buys unsexed chickens at 30-40/- for 50 in the hope of gaining egg producers. (Sexed females would cost 112/- for 50).

D. Capital.

- The farmhouse and buildings are owned, though the exercise yards are rented (v. Map 8)
- Seems to have a small capital reserve but is unwilling to spend this on equipment, which he prefers to buy with the aid of a govt. loan.

- Some £1200 amassed during the war has now been largely spent, in part on the house but mainly on purchase of stock.
- No mechanical equipment apart from a motor-pump bought for £68 in 1948.
- Tractor plows hired at £1 per tomna when necessary.

E. Labour.

- No permanent hired labour, but two youths employed at 10/- each per day, all found, for c.3 months of the year, and occasional hire of neighbours' sons.
- Full time workers: The farmer and his married son: no female labour is employed.

- The farmer is the only one of 7 brothers who have remained in farming.

F. Production and Sales.

- Goats' milk to M.M.U. varies between 5 and 10 galls. daily, plus c.7 galls. cows' milk. Probable income from these sources well over £1000 p.a.
- Against this must be set considerable expenditure on fodder, records of which are not kept. Sulla may cost up to £300 p.a. Straw may cost up to £125 p.a. Beans and cake at £3.10.0. and £2.18.6. per qantar respectively.
- Secondary small sources of income include "private sales" of milk, sales of vegetables and manure.
  These incomplete accounts suggest a modest profit, but this has not prevented disappearance of war accumulated capital reserves. (See D: Capital).

G. Husbandry.

- Feeds according to yield. Large scale purchases of fodder necessary, despite quite careful attention to holding.
- Feeds vegetables (including potatoes) when these are cheap owing to glut; when this is done, bean ration is reduced.
- Rations are doubled for cows in calf.
- Cows are exercised in yard but never grazed.
- Goats grazed on waste and fodder fields.

H. General.

- When asked whether he considered himself to be herdsman or farmer, replied that he might be regarded as a "general

dealer" in crops and animals.

- In fact his enterprise is overwhelmingly directed towards production of milk and is yet another dependent on the guaranteed milk price.

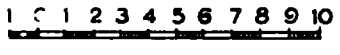
- Fields are definitely secondary, though well-tended and are primarily for the provision of fodder.

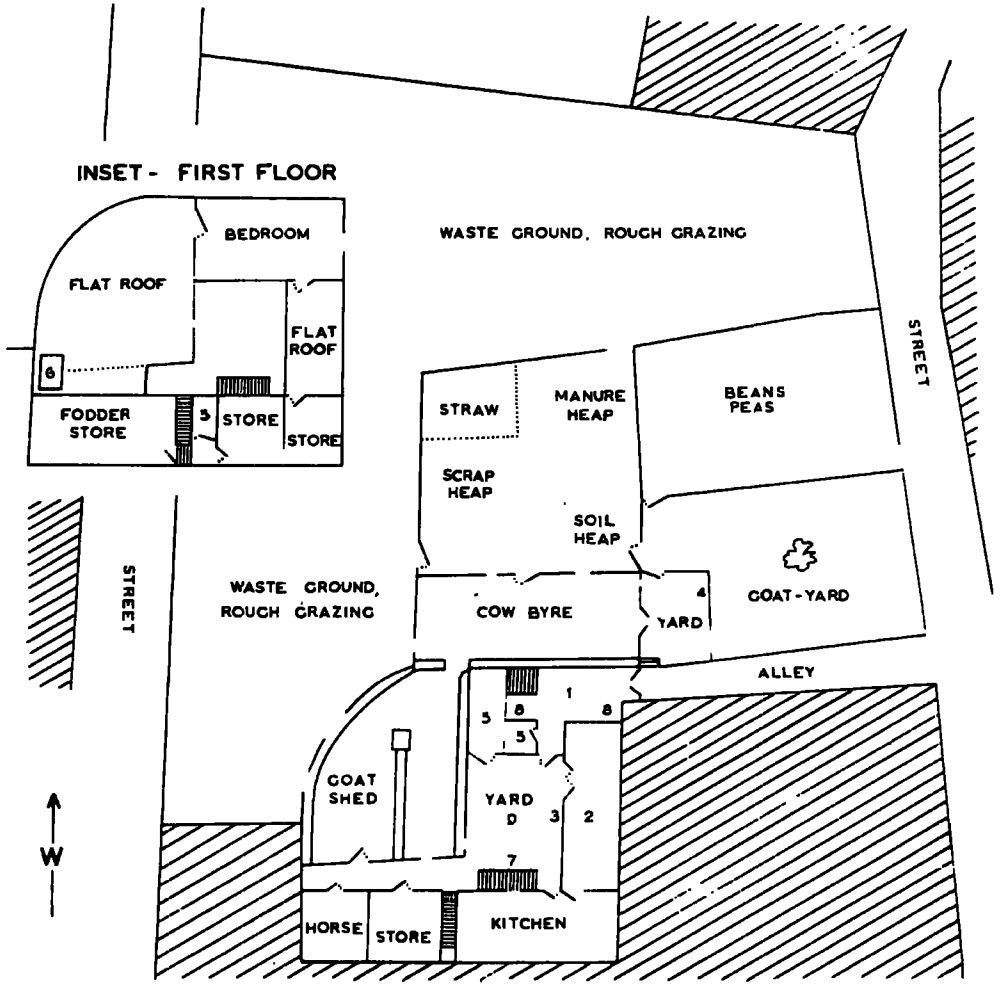
- This farmer appears to make a modest profit from his enterprise, but has no appreciation of the costs involved.

MAP: 8
FARMSTEAD
CASE VI

1 MAIN ENTRANCE ROOM
2 LIVING-ROOM/BEDROOM
3 WELL
4 WATER (TAP)
5 POULTRY
6 RABBITS
7 STEPS TO CELLAR USED FOR SHEEP
8 CARTS
9 GENERAL YARD

OTHER BUILDINGS





CASE VII : Wenzu.
(A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding).

Like Case VI, Wenzu has been a goat herder and is now anxious to concentrate on dairy cows. At present he holds 4 Friesians, belonging to himself and his sons, but he wants to import Ayrshires. This cow, says Wenzu, is better suited to Maltese conditions, needing less feed than the Friesian and standing up better to long periods of confinement in cramped stalls. Wenzu became interested in cows when the Government forbade the selling of raw goats' milk in Valletta. For a time thereafter he sold bottled milk in the capital and then returned to selling raw goats' milk in still unclosed areas such as nearby Cospicua until that too came to an end with the evacuation in 1940. After the War he went back to cows' milk production and sold his output to the M.M.U. He acquired the Friesians through an exchange for inferior quality and diseased goats organized by the Government (one cow for 13 goats). At present, he says, cows' milk production is the more profitable ("Six cows will support a small family") but that this would not be so were it possible to give goats good grazing land at low cost. He reckons that good grazing saves 15/- per day on the fodder bill.

Wenzu's Case illustrates an important feature of the study of a predominantly illiterate section of society. This is the prominence of personality in the thoughts and actions of the individual. Unable to read and suspicious of what he may hear over Rediffusion,

Wenzu relies on personal contact to a very considerable degree. This is clear from a brief survey of his life. He speaks nowadays of a certain Dr. MacFarlane whose veterinary skill and advice impressed him and who originally recommended him to keep Ayrshires. To listen to Wenzu talking of this "Scots Doctor" one gathers that Wenzu last spoke with him quite recently. In fact, however, Dr. A.M. MacFarlane was Superintendent Veterinary Surgeon in Malta some half a century ago! A Mr. Hurst gave him advice on bulls some 25 years ago while, much more recently, Mr. Ebejer Slythe of the Department of Agriculture gave him much valued information on lucerne as a fodder and, latest of all, Dr. Godfrey Alton, the veterinary expert, has become something of a hero for the injections he has arranged. Evidently, therefore, any improvements in Maltese farming have a greater chance of success if this element of personal contact - particularly in the cases of illiterate farmers - can be established. One man who will argue with one farmer for a morning on a single topic stands a greater chance of general success than has the big public lecture or even the practical demonstration. For once a single man can be convinced of the success of a novel method or crop he will soon be copied by his fellows. Wenzu himself observes that when he had heard about the lucerne for the first time and had planted some with great success in his own fields neighbouring farmers were not slow to copy him.

CASE VII ; Summary
(A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding).

A. Land.

- Has 3 tmien, worked by another farmer who shares income (21) with him.
- Holds on lease a further area which had been let out for building and brings him £32 p.a. - much more than could be obtained for its crops.
- Also rents grazing in summer months.

B. Utilisation.

- The 3 tmien field is under sulla, barley and a few vegetables.

C. Livestock.

- Is changing over from goats to cattle.
- Goats: 1954: 60; 1957: 44; 1958: 38.
- Cattle: 4 Friesians. Aims to build up the herd by private import of Ayrshires of which he has a high opinion. 3 of the cattle are owned by his sons though he tends them.

D. Capital.

- No information, but appears to have some reserves.

E. Labour.

- Some assistance from a son who is in govt. employment.
- Hires no labour.
- Thus does great bulk of the work himself.

F. Production and Sales.

- Milk (Oct. 1957) 10 gallons goats' milk, 9 gallons cows' milk daily to M.M.U. Gives sons a share in income though they appear to make no payment to their father for fodder, stall accommodation etc.
- Calves and kids usually sold after weaning.

G. Husbandry.

(1) Grazing. Where possible, goats grazed out and this is said to save him 15/- a day and to reduce sulla consumption to 4 bundles daily.

- Rents 7 tmien of govt. land from part-timers at £1 per month from Jan. to Aug.

- This land is good, cultivable land untended because of part-timers' inability to work it.

(2) Fodder
- Cake, barley, potatoes, beans, sulla.
- Feeds all that the animals will take.
- Buys in bulk when prices are low.
- In six months (Oct. 1957 - Mar. 1958) used nearly 5 tons of cake and 15 tons of beans.
- Sulla is bought at 9/- to 16/- per hemel according to quality and uses some 200 hmiel per annum.
- Fodder costs leave very small profit margin from milk.

H. General.

- Attempting to profit from sales to M.M.U. with no knowledge of the economics involved.
- Extremely suspicious of agents, government etc.
- Has a higher opinion of his ability as a stock farmer than facts warrant.
- Aims to build up cattle herd in place of goats since he assumes (with no factual background) that profit will be greater.
- Much influenced by personalities and is willing to accept advice uncritically if the person giving it is, in his opinion, sound.
- Lacks educational background and experience necessary to make a real profit from his herd, but seems content with present living conditions.

CASE VIII : Niklaws
(A working partnership of five brothers with diversified production).

Niklaws is the primus inter pares in a permanent partnership of five brothers. The syndicate farms some 70 tmien and, in February 1957, had a herd of thirty cattle. There is some division of labour among the five, with one being acknowledged the expert on cattle, another "knows most about the fields", and a third the driver and general business manager. Both their father, who died in 1915, and their grandfather were farmers but the brothers have considerably added to the holding.

The emphasis of the partnership is now heavily on cows' milk production. They retain only two goats. With about 20 cows in milk they aim to produce some 50 gallons a day - Niklaws observes that the yield from cows can be maintained while that of goats fluctuates markedly with the seasons. Costs of cows' milk production are also steadier, says Niklaws, with fresh greenery in winter and prickly pear in the summer months as supplements to the standard items of diet. The fodder produced on the brothers' own fields has to be supplemented by purchased feed but judicious use is made of vegetables in glut, especially cauliflowers which could be bought by the farmer at 1s per sack in early 1957.

Mechanization on the farm includes the hiring of a mould-board and tractor to deep-plow the land every fourth year (cost - £1 per tomna), and the hiring of a threshing machine. The brothers

themselves own two hand cultivators and a small van, complete with the partnership insignia on the door. Currently much capital is being put into building a large, two-storey cows' shed within the village. The brothers aim to centralise their milk herd here and plan to have an adjacent exercise yard and water tank. At present their animals are divided among three widely separated byres, although all of these are easily accessible by road - and the van. One of the existing sheds was built between 1949 and 1952 at a cost of "£3,000". On the costs of the present building Niklaws will divulge nothing. His attitude suggests that the money is coming from saved reserves rather than a loan, for he appears reluctant to borrow money even on low interest terms "because anything might happen to prevent the money being repaid". Niklaws observes that "Farming depends on nature" and he points to the storms of late 1957 as an example of the way in which the farmer may suffer irreparable and unexpected loss. On this occasion standing crops, soil and field walls were washed away and the whole planting and sowing cycle interrupted.

The brothers also complain of the present marketing regime which, they claim, militates unfairly against the producing farmer. "There is no guaranteed market for field crops sold and there are too many middlemen taking too large a cut". The brothers cling to the typical idea in Maltese farming that the 'Government ought to guarantee sales of field-produce in the same way that milk sales

are guaranteed'. They have little appreciation of ruling market conditions outside Malta. Niklaws says that the labour of the brothers is not considered as a cost - "if it were there would be no money left". They appear to have been in the habit of employing labour for many years and today have a full-time cow-hand. Only one of the brothers is married. Four of the brothers have therefore only themselves to support on their share in the income from this well-organized and apparently remunerative partnership, situated in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta.

CASE VIII : Summary

A. Land.

c.70 tmien of unirrigated land in Żebbuġ Region. 16 field plots in 11 parcels in a linear arrangement extending over $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles in the Żebbuġ and Wied tal-Isqof areas. All land lies in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta on good marled Xero-rendzina and Carbonate Raw Soils.

B. Utilisation. (i) Typical arrangement.

		Winter	Summer
Plot 1.	8 tmien	Potatoes & Wheat	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot 2.	1 tmien	Potatoes	Cattle exercise yard
Plot 3.	$1\frac{1}{3}$ tmien	Onions, Potatoes, Vines.	Legumes & Vines
Plot 4.	3 tmien	Potatoes & Vegetables	Cauliflowers & vegetables.
Plot 5.	2 tmien	Sulla & Barley	Tomatoes
Plot 6.	$1\frac{2}{3}$ tmien	Cereals, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot 7.	2 tmien	Wheat, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot 8.	7 tmien	Sulla	Cauliflowers & Tomatoes
		Cauliflowers, Wheat & Tomatoes.	
Plot 9.	2 tmien	Vines	
Plot 10.	2 tmien	Potatoes	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot 11.	21 tmien	Vines ($3\frac{1}{2}$ tmien)	
		Barley	Sulla, Tomatoes
		Vetches	Fallow

		Winter	Summer
Plot 12.	2½ tmien	Potatoes	Sulla
Plot 13.	1⅔ tmien	Wheat	Sulla, Vetches
Plot 14.	2 tmien	Fallow, Melons, Tomatoes & Cauliflower.	
Plot 15.	5½ tmien	Citrus Orchard	
		Tomatoes	
Plot 16.	1⅔ tmien	Cauliflower	Tomatoes

(ii) The intensive summer utilisation of the land for unirrigated summer vegetables is characteristic of this region. Tomatoes and brassicas are dominant. Vetches and beans are grown as catch-crops in small patches. This type of cropping sequence i.e. potatoes, vegetables, cereals, sulla, is typical of well-developed Maltese mixed-farming.

C. Livestock.

(i) c.33 head of cattle including 20-22 milch cows, 1 stud bull, 2 bull calves for fattening.
(ii) 2 goats, 1 mule, 1 pony, 12 hens.
(iii) The cattle-herd has been built up since 1940.

D. Capital

(i) The accepted leader of this partnership enterprise is typical of the more commercially minded and successful Maltese farmers in that he was prepared to discuss anything except financial details. The amount of capital property and even the details of land-holding of this "kulak" class is known accurately by nobody.
(ii) Equipment includes 1 van, 1 hand tractor, 2 water pumps, and two large cattle byres. At local values, farm buildings and mechanised equipment represents over £8,000 investment.
(iii) This partnership prefers to indulge in small-scale family borrowing and lending rather than to use official - and controlled - credit facilities.
(iv) Two village houses and over 3 tmien of land are owned freehold.

E. Labour.

(i) Partnership labour force totals 6 full-time farmworkers (5 brothers and 1 adult son).
(ii) A youth employed full-time with cattle.
(iii) All plots are deep-plowed by crawler tractor every fourth year at cost of £1 per tomna.

(iv) On this relatively level land a varying fraction of cereal reaping is done by machine. Machine cutting costs £1 a tomna, hand harvesting £3 a tomna. Hand cutting is less wasteful of straw but these farmers have a rare appreciation of the importance of the time-element in their complex economic and land-use system.

F. Production and Sales.

(i) The only certain information obtainable is of sales of cows milk. During 1957 minimum daily sales averaged 283 lbs. during May, and the maximum of 350 lbs. during March was almost matched in August and the following January. This constancy of sales based on a firm intention to allow production to vary but slightly from an average of 30 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is rarely found in Malta and is typical only of a few technically advanced and commercially minded farmers.

(ii) The partnership although possessing a stud bull usually buys cows in milk (preferably Ayrshires), a 'good' yielder costing c.£210. Breeding and raising heifers is regarded as unprofitable.

(iii) The main sales of arable produce consist of summer cauliflowers and tomatoes. In an effort to avoid the usual glut of summer brassicas considerable importance is attached to extending the season of production into autumn and winter. Price variations are considerable e.g. In 1956 cauliflower prices dropped to 1/- a sack while in 1957 they had risen to 20/- a sack.

(iv) Potatoes are grown regularly for the home market in spite of price variations - reported as ranging between 50/- per qantar in 1956 and 8/4 in 1957.

(v) Home grown fodder and forage makes up c.80% of non-concentrate feed. Other crops make members of the partnership self-sufficient in foodstuffs (at a high level of consumption).

(vi) Annual sales of wine-grapes c.40 qantar.

(vii) The response to general variations in yields and prices is to maintain the general pattern of production. The syndicate has enough capital to survive periodic losses and therefore deliberately ignores fluctuations. The only alterations made in a planned cropping sequence result from natural hazards e.g. if a late crop of sulla fails as a result of poor germination, a rapid switch may be made to black vetch.

G. Husbandry. General standards are good.

(i) Soil maintaining rotations are carefully and consciously practised. Thus leguminous fodders are regarded as essential in arable farming.

(ii) Fertiliser application is heavy:
- Organic manure is applied for the first two years of a four year cycle at a rate of c.60 sacks per tomna.
- Sulphate of Ammonia is applied to all the fields each year at a rate of 15-20 sacks per tomna.
- They do not regard the idea of green manuring with any favour although they use dry vegetable refuse mixed with dung.

(iii) They are very conscious of minor regional differences in soil and climate and regard the parcellated holding of selected land much more important than convenience of working a consolidated holding e.g.
- 'earliness' is associated with coastal situations and "early tomatoes will not come up in Żebbuġ".
- soils are classified as follows:
  - 'ħamrija' (red) is good for all crops
  - 'abjad' (white) for cereals and tomatoes but not for potatoes.
  - 'sewdina' (grey) for sulla and tomatoes
  - 'tafli' (clay) poor for green crops.
  - 'hirbi', an intermediate soil, easy to work.

  The differences between these types and the presence or absence of nodule beds, saline layers etc. are held to be sufficient justification for rental differentiation as between fields and parts of fields.

This articulate consciousness of environmental variations even in this case reinforces conservatism and much more importance is attached to such natural 'controls' than to crop strains.

(iv) Cattle are well housed and fed according to yield. Very vague about balanced feeding and rely on traditional greens, beans, hay and cake. Nevertheless in the spokesman's own words they are aiming at 'better management of the cattle rather than more animals'..

(v) In some ways, the high standards achieved using

traditional techniques are proving a barrier to further technical advances, e.g. the cattle are relatively free from disease and therefore more trust is placed in the expertise of the syndicate than in the 'book-knowledge' of a vet., e.g. whatever experts may say, any crop innovation must be demonstrated successfully and in the immediate locality.

H. General.

(i) In some of its characteristics this type of syndicate is not typical of Maltese farming systems. The partnership seems to derive historically from a line of large farmers and is now held together by the drive and ability of one of their number.

(ii) Nevertheless if one ignores the partnership organisation one may use this case-study as illustrating the practises and modes of thought of the most highly developed type of Maltese farmer.

- Characteristically there is a marked reluctance to give any financial information. Official records and returns are even less accurate than in the case of smaller-scale and more ignorant cultivators. Some records are certainly kept by the group but individual shares in gross income do not seem to be formally arranged. There does not seem even here to be either a monetary evaluation of their own labour or any assessment of net profit as distinct from gross income. Receipts appear to go into a central treasury which is drawn on by agreement over each specific case.
- Although there is present considerable financial acumen this is a matter of peasant shrewdness rather than any real commercial understanding.
- Yields are good - tomatoes will average 15 qantar per tomna, grapes 10 qantar per tomna, but these are attained by the careful application of proverbial wisdom and not by possession of better scientific understanding than their neighbours.
- In spite of the fact that the syndicate's capital reserves and their practical abilities are considerable, the physical environment dominates their actions. They are not prepared to experiment themselves and they look askance at those who are. One has an unhappy feeling that as already noted, their very success with traditional methods inhibits their acceptance of new ones. Thus even with farmers such as these there is a great mental

gulf between them and typical farmers of Northern Europe and between them and their advisers.

CASE IX : Antnin & Ġakbu.
(A long-established partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in cows' milk production).

Both these men are married and occupy houses in the same street. They have operated as a single farming unit during their whole working lives and it is not always clear whether they can distinguish which property belongs to each. The teenage eldest sons of each man work full-time with their fathers whose wives occasionally assist with field-work.

Some few years ago the two friends had 36 goats. By 1958 only two remained and the emphasis had swung to cows' milk production. In 1956 they had about 18 cows; eighteen months later the joint herd had doubled in size. Their aim has been to build up as large a herd as possible as quickly as possible in order to benefit from the guaranteed price offered by the M.M.U. for milk produced. The two men insist that they are at the same time striving to build up a substantial herd to hand over to their sons who, however, show no inclination to stay in farming.

A glance at their herd reveals their interest to be in quantity rather than quality. They admit, moreover, that they lack a good deal of knowledge on management of a herd of this size. A number of their cattle die from diseases and ailments of which Antnin and Ġakbu have little appreciation - official sources revealed that two which died in 1957 had anthrax. Their own inclination is to

slaughter an ailing animal for meat before it dies naturally. If a cow dies without replacement from the Government they become very resentful. They also suffer a high death rate among imported calves and again blame 'Government'. "The Government never tells us anything about the rearing of animals" assert the two men somewhat naively since they also maintain that "no-one but the farmers knows farming".

In 1958, twelve of the cattle were Bastard-Inglizi type. As the sanitary authorities would not grant a license for a larger herd to occupy the present makeshift accommodation (a patch-work, corrugated iron shed) Antnin and Gakbu aimed to replace these Bastard-Inglizi with the same number of Friesian stock, though would have preferred to have gone on increasing the number in their herd - and thereby the amount of milk sold to the M.M.U.

Antnin insists that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed". When asked for an estimate of the cost of producing a gallon of milk he asks "Who knows?" ("Min jaf?"). The fields held by the two men produce a considerable amount of fodder but much more has to be purchased. During glut conditions they feed very cheap cauliflower and, in the dry months between June and September, give the herd prickly pear at the rate of a lorry-load per day. They are almost unique among cows' milk producers in Malta and Gozo in that they are able to graze their animals on War Department land nearby although they have no guarantee of tenure.

Despite the large holding of land and the recent rapid increase in the size of the herd, the financial position of Antnin and Gakbu is precarious in the extreme. They are operating in a permanent state of DEBT, and have a fluctuating debit account with the dealer who supplies them with fodder (cf. Case V). This makes them reluctant to take on any new debts at high interest rates. The Government loans at 1% do however appeal to them as means of buying more cattle and still further increasing their milk production. Their debt is such that the two friends can rarely keep female calves but have to sell them to pay hire-purchase instalments on cows.

Their approach to farming is in fact a set of contradictions. With no capital reserves they are making every effort to expand their herd even though this means continued debt. They are full of "our rights as farmers" and yet "suspicious of the Government and what it says". As with milk, "the Government ought to be responsible for the marketing of field produce". On the other hand Antnin is "against co-operatives in farming", although he has never had any experience of any co-operative or farmers' union. They claim to be building up their farm and herd in order to be able to hand over a substantial business to their sons; but their constant complaint is that "Farming is finished in Malta" ("Il-biedja f'Malta spiccat"), and the avowed intent of both sons is "to leave farming where we earn nothing". They talk of leaving to "get a job" as if farming itself is something less than a 'job'.

CASE IX : Summary.

(A long-established partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in cows' milk production.)

A. Land.

Approximately 100 tmien of dry land in south-east Malta, the bulk in one compact block but with several outlying plots. The exact limits are uncertain since some land owned or rented by others is worked by the partnership. 25 plots are held from several landlords, Defence Dept. being the most important, and there is access to a good deal of grazing land, generally held at low rents from Defence Depts.

B. Utilisation.

	1957	1958
Plot 1	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 2	Potatoes, peas, beans, onions.	Potatoes, cauliflowers
Plot 3	Potatoes, sulla	Wheat
Plot 4	Used as a pig-sty	
Plot 5	Wheat	Wheat
Plot 6	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 7	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 8	Some potatoes, cowshed, exercise yard, manure heap and pig sties.	
Plot 9	Fallow	Plowed
Plot 10	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 11	Sulla	Plowed
Plot 12	Beans, barley	Wheat
Plot 13	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 14	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 15	Wheat, sulla	Beans
Plot 16	Wheat	Beans
Plot 17	Potatoes	Wheat, beans
Plot 18	Beans, barley	Potatoes, wheat
Plot 19	Yard and buildings	
Plot 20	Wheat	Barley
Plots 21-25	Wasteland grazing	

C. Livestock.

Shifting emphasis in recent years.
- Cattle 1956: 18; 1957: 36.
- Goats "some years ago": 36; 1957: 2.
- 8 Pigs.

The cattle are very mixed in breed including "Bastard-Inglizi", supposedly pure Friesians and crosses between the two.

D. Capital.

(i) No freehold property.
(ii) In perpetual debt, no reserves and frequent borrowings, particularly from the Government.
(iii) Equipment - usual hand tools
- rotary cultivator bought with a Government loan of £550, repayable at £100 p.a. plus 1% interest.
- small motor van, bought in 1953, for transport of milk.
- no piped water until Feb. 1958.

E. Labour

- No permanent hired labour.
- One man and his daughter together at 30/- per diem and one youth at 25/- engaged at busy times.
- Family labour: two partners and their two eldest sons work full-time and there is additional help from wives and children.

F. Production and Sales.

- Income almost entirely from sale of milk to M.M.U. Production varies greatly: June 1957: 50 galls. daily; Dec. 1957: 35; Feb. 1958: 80. Sold at 5/6 to 6/- per gall.
- Male calves sold to butcher at £10; females sometimes sold at £30-£40 to pay debts.
- No accounts kept of feeding costs. These include one truckload of prickly pear (30/-) daily from June to October, beans at 55/- per qantar and cake at 46/- (July 1957). A considerable amount of grazing is carried out e.g. on sulla bought green at £6 per tomna.
- Potato sales insignificant and in 1957, owing to glut, involved a loss.
- Vegetables produced are all consumed by the families.

G. Husbandry.

(i) - The importance attached to grazing of cattle is unusual. (Most Maltese cattle are stall-fed all the year).
- The emphasis is on numbers of stock rather than on their quality. The turn-over from goats to cattle

has been helped by the government exchange scheme and by Govt. loans.
- Occasional outbreaks of disease unnoticed until too late.

(ii) - Crops are often neglected owing to time involved in animal husbandry.

H. General.

The partnership is attempting to profit from guaranteed milk prices without the knowledge or skill to do so. The herd seems to have been built up beyond the numbers which can be properly tended by the labour available.

There is little knowledge of modern methods and still less of costs and returns. The view is firmly held that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed" and the reply to the question "How much fodder is required to produce a gallon of milk was "Min jaf?" (Who knows?).

The partners are extremely conservative in their attitude to marketing, suspicious of outside interference and hostile towards the idea of co-operatives. Yet they expect continued Government assistance.

Their general pessimistic attitude is summed up: "Il-biedja f'Malta spiccat" (Farming in Malta is finished).

Despite guaranteed milk prices on which the whole economy is based, the partnership is permanently in debt. Their failure to profit contrasts with the success of the Gozitan milk producer, Case I.

The partnership's main aim is to accumulate cattle within the current artificial economy of milk production. There is no thought or care for what might happen if the subsidy were removed or even reduced.

CASE X : GAMRI.
(An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production).

Gamri is an arable farmer, specialising in fruit. He has a couple of goats and sheep, a mule, and is keen to acquire more pigs for fattening. Most of his effort is however centred on the land holding which he and his brother work in partnership. Some fifty-three tmien are rented by the two brothers together while Gamri himself rents a further ten tmien. About two-thirds of the land (17 plots) is owned by private landlords, one sixth belongs to the Church, one tenth to the Government and the remainder - about an acre - is owned by Gamri's father.

The working partnership of the two brothers is of many years' standing. The brother's eldest son now works fulltime alongside the two men. The brothers say they could not cope with any more land than they are working at present. They share the common view that hired farm labour is both uneconomic (at 25s or more for an eight-hour day) and inefficient. The land worked by the partnership is dry (baghli) apart from two irrigable (saqwi) tmien. In 1957 it was utilized as follows:

Fruit and vines	21 tmien
Cereals and fodders	18 tmien
Fallow, unproductive, or sub-let	13 tmien
Potatoes	6 tmien
Other vegetables	5 tmien

Apples are the biggest single cash crop and the overall success of

any year depends on them. They were introduced to the district by Ġamri's father some years ago and now grow in large numbers in a sheltered valley along with lemons, oranges, mulberries, figs, cherry-plums and other fruits. The produce is good but is usually affected by some pest or disease. The most prevalent of these is a boring grub. Ġamri and his brother spend a large part of September and October simply gouging this pest from the trunks of affected trees - with penknife and piece of wire. They regard this time-consuming and unremunerative task fatalistically. But of late Ġamri has been wondering whether the same result might not be achieved in a fraction of the time by the application of some spray. He knows nothing of the details of this and is more than a little doubtful of possibilities.

Since 1953 Ġamri and his brother have expanded their area under vines, buying seedlings from the Government farm at 1d each. They consider vines the most profitable of crops, especially grapes for wine since these can be picked in a single picking and do not require the same attention to quality as those for the table.

In this move towards more vine production and the recent interest in pigs Ġamri is making a conscious effort to emphasize the profitable in place of the unprofitable. Income for Ġamri means the receipts on produce sold. Unlike most farmers he keeps a record of this income in order to see "how business is progressing" and in order to enable him and his brother to effect a share-out of profits. As

found generally Gamri takes no account of his own labour, or that of his brother or nephews, in his costing. Moreover the position is complicated by the fact that no clear distinction is made between money spent on the home and family, and money spent on field rents, costs of seed, manure, etc. It is all held "in one purse". Gamri himself maintains that a more usual practice is for the farmer to give his wife a fixed amount for house-keeping but, in his own case, there is clearly a high degree of trust and co-operation between husband and wife.

At Easter, 1958, Gamri spoke of a balance of some £400, less than half his reserves of a year previously. The drop was due to a £200 outlay on pigs and pig-sties together with several smaller items (such as £50 for street surfacing, £30 for a sewing machine, £15 hospital expenses, £30 for annual field rents, etc.) and the cost of repairing the damage wrought by the exceptionally heavy storms of late 1957. During the year 1956-57 it is estimated that Gamri's income was about £350. £250 of this came from the sale of field produce as shown below, the rest is an estimate of income from pig sales and other items.

Income:	From partnership land.	From Gamri's Land.	TOTAL
Fruit.....	£340	-	£340
Grapes.....	49	£ 8	57
Sulla.....	13	15	28
Potatoes.....	12	-	12
Melons.....	11	-	11
Tomatoes.....	7	13	20
Totals	£432	£36	£468
Gamri's share	£216	£36	£252

This income pattern is by no means standard from year to year. The 1956-57 season was a poor year, with potato prices to the farmer low, sulla yields below average and a glut of fruit. 1953, on the other hand, was the best of recent years and brought each of the two brothers an income of £310 on fruit alone. The 1956-57 season with its glut in fruit found a quantity greater than in 1953 bringing less return than in that year on the market. This uncertainty as to income between one year and the next is today more important to the arable farmer than to the herdsmen who can rely on the M.M.U.'s guaranteed price and can therefore estimate his income more accurately. The arable, and, especially, the fruit-farmer is not encouraged by this situation to invest his capital in any improvement for which no immediate return is apparent. Ġamri has, however, put a large amount of money into pigs and would seem to regard this as a better investment than putting his money into capital equipment for his fields. He has in fact no mechanical equipment, although his brother has a rotary cultivator which Ġamri hires at a reduced rate of 16/- per tomna (instead of £1) for his own holding. No charge is made when the machine is used on the joint holding, in which case Ġamri contributes to the cost of fuel.

Expenses within the household are difficult to determine since so much of the food eaten by the family comes from the fields worked by Ġamri and his brother. This includes vegetables, fruit, salads, melons. Tomato paste (kunserva), a common element of diet through-

out Melta, is home-made in this case. The two goats and two sheep supply the family with milk; though tinned milk is normally bought in for babies as required. Milk pasteurized by the M.M.U. is not bought. They occasionally buy in a little cheese, but most of this, and all eggs, are produced on the farm. Fish is caught from time to time by Ġamri himself, but some, such as tinned tuna, is bought. Poultry and rabbits for the family table are from the farm stock but some small birds, such as quail, are shot ('hunted') for roasting or stews. A home-made wine is supplemented with purchased soft drinks, notably the ubiquitous "Kinnie". Other items purchased include meat and hams, coffee, jams, biscuits and luxury confectionery (for special days such as first Communions, Confirmation, etc.), olive oil and olives, together with the rationed goods (1958) - butter, bread, sugar and farinaceous paste (għaġin). Ġamri observes that the rationed (subsidized) supplies are usually insufficient for the family so additional quantities of these items have to be bought. In the case of bread, for example, these more costly off-the-ration purchases bring the bill to some thirteen shillings. The sole means of cooking and heating is paraffin (petrolju), as throughout most of the rural areas of the Islands, and the family spends about 3s 6d. weekly on this. Heating is not considered essential even during the coldest part of the winter when the family "close the door" (Ġamri).

The <u>diet</u> of the family is essentially typical of rural Malta.

In some details this differs from that found among urban working classes in the Islands but these differences are of emphasis rather than content. Thus the countryman tends to consume potatoes, the produce of his own farm, where the townsman relies for the bulk element of his diet on paste, notably Italian spaghetti and macaroni. An important factor is religion and its fasting and other restrictions. Fasts are of three types:

(i) the Lenten Fast - "In the old days people fasted full forty days" (Gamri);

(ii) the Friday Fast - it is forbidden to eat meat on Fridays and preferable to avoid it on Wednesdays also; and

(iii) Special Fasts.

These include the 'Change of Season' fasts and a variety of Saints' Days, special personal observances and certain occasional fasts designated by the Church authorities. The emphasis is on self-denial in all fasts. Meat, confectionery and 'extra' items are strictly avoided, and the quantity of permitted foods is also reduced. Nothing is eaten between the frugal meals.

The timing of meals throughout the day is variable in Gamri's family. Rarely does he sit down to table with his wife and children, whose routine has to accommodate school time-tables, etc. On non-fast days breakfast consists of bread and coffee. Lunch is taken about noon - or an hour or so earlier on fast-days. If he is working in the fields Gamri may have a loaf of bread, with oil, cheese

figs, olives, chickpeas and corn beef or some fish, or some cooked meal may be brought out to him by one of the women or girls. Sweet black coffee or home-made wine are the staple drinks, and the meal is normally followed by a siesta of at least one hour. The time of the evening meal depends on the nature and pressure of work in hand and consists of a stew (especially where the lunch had been a cold meal in the fields). At all times food is used carefully. It is never wasted. Even produce of the farm such as eggs are "only given to the boys occasionally" (Gamri).

The proportion of food purchased is now much greater than even a generation ago in this type of family. The same is true of clothing. Clothing has changed very considerably both in style and variety since Gamri's father was a young farmer when half the people in the village had looms and many had spinning wheels to produce cotton garments for the family or other villagers. The old style of dress of the farmer consisted of knee-length, white cotton trousers, a thick woollen vest, waistcoat and cummerbund. The locally produced sheep's wool vest has been largely replaced by army surplus types of shirts. Garments of Maltese cotton and wool are now rarely seen except on the oldest men, who have been wearing them since they were much younger. The use of army surplus clothing has become very common since 1945 and the travelling drapers' vans, local shops and the Sunday markets (Valletta and Rabat) now do a considerable trade in both made up garments and materials of this type.

With the increasing contact between town and country the farmer has come to want smarter suits for his brief leisure hours. The younger generation of countryfolk no longer venture to the capital unless they are dressed like townsmen - suits, tie, shoes and so on. This increase in the range of demands along with the near disappearance of homeproduced garments has therefore required a much enlarged financial outlay on this part of the family budget. The villager now often takes a special pride in the clothing of his children, both the infants and those attending school. The compulsory attendance at school throughout the Islands has made the countryman more clothes-conscious, while the War of 1939-45 and the conscription which it brought put some men into shoes (or boots) for the first time and demanded that they be dressed to a rather higher standard than had been their practice before.

Work and Labour

As seen, Gamri's normal labour force consists of himself, his brother and nephew. His own children being all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little. This trio apportioned their time, during the agricultural year 1956-57 when a detailed study was made, as under:

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce:

(i) On the joint holding	- fruit.....	1740	man/hours
	- vines.....	489	" "
	- cereals and fodder.....	1437	" "
	- Potatoes.....	868	" "
	- other vegetables.....	505	" "
(ii) On Gamri's own holding	- vines.....	444	" "
	- cereals and fodders....	222	" "
	- vegetables...	65	" "
(b) Other work connected with holding.....		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage.....		160	" "
(d) Building of pig-sties.....		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous.....		677	" "
		6816	man/hours

In short, a total of 6818 man/hours was applied to about 62 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 110 man/hours per tomna. The above data are based on a daily work record kept by the farmer during the agricultural year 1956-57. The material may also be analyzed on the basis of his calendar of activity on the farm for the year (Summary E), and may be compared with a parallel work-analysis for two other farmers who provided a similar diary of their movements. Whereas Gamri is an arable- and fruit-farmer, working largely dry (baghli) fields and terraces, the other two examples chosen for comparative purposes include a man whose farm nucleus is a large and fertile irrigable (saqwi) block (Case XI) and one who is a herdsman with fields producing fodder

for his goats together with some vegetables for sale and for family use (Case II).

In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of activity reflects the major points of contrast between the 'dry' and 'irrigated' operator. The herdsman stands in contrast to both of these with the care of his animals occupying a large part of every day of the year - even including Sundays and festa days when the field-working farmer expects to be off duty.

Ġamri and farming

Ġamri is a highly intelligent man in his forties who by his own efforts has progressed well beyond the limits of his very elementary formal education. He reads the Maltese-language daily 'Il-Berqa' (B/55) and keeps abreast of the school work of his children whom he encourages to learn English thoroughly as "the land cannot be divided among them all". English language is synonomous with education in his thinking, and education, in turn, he sees as the means of escape from the lowly position of the farmer in Maltese society. "We are but an Arab breed", he observes somewhat ashamedly. He himself has "little faith in the Government - which should help us". Much of this attitude had its roots in the War years of 1939-45 when the siege and food shortages produced something of a Golden Age for the food-producer. The farmer has not forgotten the £10 offered by the Government for 1 cwt of potatoes. Since the return to peace-time conditions the economic position of the farmer has certainly deteriorated rapidly with the depletion in his reserves, built up

during hostilities, and the rise in labour costs and in the cost of living. During the War "the farmer was not so hungry as the townsman who had to rely on the black market"; now his position is one of a constant battle with rising costs. Gamri, as an arable farmer, lacks the steady and guaranteed income of the milk-producing herdsman. His recent moves towards pig-meat production represent an attempt to get into an apparently more profitable line.

His nephew and many other farmers, though not Gamri himself, make the mistake of failing to distinguish between the Church and the Government in their attitude to "the authorities". Thus the nephew regards the Catholic Action movement (of which he is an active member) as somehow "helping to run the country". But even Gamri himself thinks that the Social Action Movement (another part of the Church's Lay Apostolate) must have some part in the secular administration of the country for he believes that an application for relief for storm damage made, through the Parish Priest, to that Movement amounts to an approach to the 'Gvern' (Government) of which he is so full of criticism. The case illustrates a point made elsewhere that the Maltese farmer is still primarily village-conscious. Clearly this is not to deny, however, that his hoizon today is much wider than was the case when his father regarded Valletta as a mysterious other-world to be entered cautiously and very occasionally by the humble and bare-foot farmer.

Gamri is typical of the section of the farming community in

Malta and Gozo which has absorbed an education beyond anything in previous generations but whose age prevents them taking the lead into any kind of Maltese farming reconciled with current social, economic and technical changes. He is "too old now to move from farming", but he is encouraging his children to acquire the education which will help them to escape from the land altogether.

CASE X : Summary.

(An arable farmer (Ġ) in partnership with his brother and engaged in diversified production).
(Details refer to Ġ alone unless otherwise indicated).

A. Land.

- Ġ has an interest in 17 plots totalling 62.5 tmien; of this, 53 tmien is rented by the partnership.
- One large plot of 21.5 tmien, the remainder ranging from 1.0 to 8.0 tmien.
- All within an area of c.1 sq. mile in the Binġemma Basin and in Ġnejna, on a variety of soils, mainly Terra Rossa and Carbonate Raw Soils.
- 41.0 tmien owned by private landlords, 9.6 by the Church, 6 tmien by the Government, and 3.2 by Ġ's father.
- Rent approx. £30 p.a. varying from 8/- to 14/- per tomna.

B. Utilisation.

- The full range of crops grown in a complete year (1957-58) is shown in WORK ANALYSIS (q.v.).
- In summary:

Fruit and vines	20.9 tmien
Cereals and fodders	17.9 "
Potatoes	6.2 "
Other vegetables	4.9 "
Fallow or unproductive or let 'bin-nofs'.	12.6 "
	62.5 tmien

C. Livestock.

- Relatively unimportant in early 1957, but a herd of pigs is being built up and in 1958 numbered five sows and their litters.
- One mule.
- 2 goats, 2 sheep; milk is purchased as these do not supply family's needs.
- 2 dozen hens, rabbits.

D. Capital.

(i) - No freehold land apart from one small patch of roadside waste.
(ii) - Recent investment in the construction of pig-sties.
(iii) - Cash reserve of £400 in April 1958 represents a reduction of 50% on reserve held a year previously; £200 spent on building up pig herd and accommodation for same; remainder covered deficit on year's farming and special expenses e.g. road surfacing, hospital expenses, etc. Ġ. expects to build up his cash reserve again in ensuing years.
(iv) - Equipment:
- Usual hand tools, cart, etc.
- Ġ owns no mechanical equipment but his brother's rotary cultivator is used on the joint holding, Ġ paying his share of petrol and oil but making no payment for use of the machine. When used on Ġ's personal holding, a charge of 16/- per tomna was made, compared with normal charge to outsiders of c.£1 per tomna.
- 4 yearly deep plowing by contractor at 25/- per tomna.

E. Labour.

- Ġ's 8 children all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little. His brother, however, has 3 sons working with him and his family provides more than half the labour on the joint holding.
- Flexible use of this labour force as:

(a) Joint holding worked by partners and Ġ's nephew.
(b) Land held by Ġ, deriving from wife's family, farmed by Ġ and eldest nephew.
(c) Land held by Ġ's brother, deriving from his wife's family, farmed by himself and his two younger sons.

- A detailed work schedule was kept for the agricultural year 1957-58: see WORK ANALYSIS.

CASE X : WORK ANALYSIS. 1957-58[9]

ACTIVITY	AUG. AM	AUG. PM	SEPT. AM	SEPT. PM	OCT. AM	OCT. PM	NOV. AM	NOV. PM	DEC. AM	DEC. PM	JAN. AM	JAN. PM	FEB. AM	FEB. PM	MAR. AM	MAR. PM	APR. AM	APR. PM	MAY AM	MAY PM	JUNE AM	JUNE PM	JULY AM	JULY PM	YEAR AM	YEAR PM
A NON-FIELD WORK																										
Sundays, Feasts[1]	5	4½	5	4	4	4	6	6	6	8	6	6	5	5	6	6	4	4	6	6	7	5	4	4	64	64½
To Valetta or Mosta			1						1	1	2½		1		1										6½	1
Ill-health and resting	½		½	½			1											1						1	2	3½
Too wet for field-work[2]					10½	9½	9	13	3	6	4	5	1	3	2	2	2½	1							32	39½
Too cold for field-work									1																1	
Pigs needing attention															1	1									1	1
Shooting birds			1				1½																		2½	
Repairing storm damage[2]										1					3	2									3	
Other building work[8]	1		½		4	5	4½	3	3	1½								2							13	9½
Implement maintenance												1				1										2
B FIELD-WORK																										
Irrigating	1	11		5											1½	1½		4	2	5	2	11		11	6½	48½
Plowing, working[3]	1½		2		4½	6½	1	2½	1	2			7	4	2	2	6½	3							25½	20
Manure; refuse	2	1½	½															1			1½	1½	8	3	12	7
Threshing (grain & silla)			½																2	2	½	2	1½		4½	4
Transporting produce	1½	3	3½	2½	3	2	1			½											4	2	1	4	14	14
Sulphate spreading									1		1				½										2½	
Spraying (4)																1										1
"Among the trees" (general)[5]								1	1		2	2	7	5	8	7	3	2½	2						23	17½
APPLES[5]: GATHERING	7	5																			2		14½	4½	23½	9½
" : "GOUGING" (6)	3½	4	7	11	1																				11½	15
VINES : GRAFTING											5½	5	1	1											6½	6
: PRUNING											3½	3	2	2											5½	5
: PICKING	1		4	3½																					5	3½
: MAKING WINE			½	1																					½	1
TOMATOES : PLANTING																1		2		1						4
: PICKING	½		1		1	1																			2½	1
POTATOES : SOWING			1	1					1		5½	7	2	3											9½	11
: LIFTING							1		5	4									7	5			½	1½	13½	10½
BARLEY : SOWING					2	2	1	1																	3	3
: REAPING																1		1							1	1
WHEAT : SOWING							3	2½	1	1															4	3½
: REAPING																			4	2	6	2			10	4
GATHERING ROUGH GREENSTUFF[7]								1		2		1	2	5		4½	2	3							4	16½
BEANS : SOWING					1		1		4	2	1	1													7	3
: CUTTING															1		2	1½	2	1					5	2½
SULLA : SOWING																							½	1	½	1
: REAPING																	6	1½	3	2					9	3½
: BINDING																		1				½	½		½	½
OTHER FIELD-WORK	6¾	2	2	1½					3	2					1		4	1½		6	5½	5	½	1	22¾	19
OTHER WORK - UNSPECIFIED															4	2			2	1	1½	2			7½	5
	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	365	365

(1) And other Church visits.
(2) The latter part of 1957 saw exceptionally heavy rain in Malta.
(3) Including weeding, hoeing, etc.
(4) A new venture - in conjunction with Dept. of Agriculture.
(5) Largely apple orchard, in Onejna.
(6) A laborious process of removing larva from apple-tree trunks - with penknife and piece of wire.
(7) I.e. "Naxix" - including a variety of grasses, 'inglita', and other greenery - for animal fodder.
(8) And "odd jobs" in the house.
(9) From a diary kept by the farmer, at the writer's request (originals in B/5).

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce:-

(i) On joint holding:	Fruit	1740	man hours
	Vines	489	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	1437	" "
	Potatoes	868	" "
	Other vegetables	505	" "
(ii) On Ġ's own holding:	Vines	444	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	222	" "
	Vegetables	65	" "
(b) Other work connecting with holding		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage		160	" "
(d) Building of pig sties		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous		677	" "
		6816	" "

In short a total of 6816 man hours is applied to c.60 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 113 man hours per tomna.

F. Production and Sales.

(1) - Details of yields of individual crops not available, but cash income from sale of crops 1956-7 was as follows:-

	From partnership land	From Ġ's land	Total
Fruit	£340	-	£340
Grapes	£ 49	£ 8	£ 57
Sulla	£ 13	£15	£ 28
Potatoes	£ 12	-	£ 12
Melons	£ 11	-	£ 11
Tomatoes	£ 7 (est.)	£13	£ 20
Totals	£432	£36	£468
Ġ's share	£216	£36	£252

- This represents a poor year; potatoes prices low, sulla yields below average, glut of fruit.
- Yields and income vary greatly from one field to

another. Valuing the proportion of the crop retained at same level as that sold, e.g. sulla yielded from £6.10.0. to £15 per tomna, fruit £28 per tomna, tomatoes £18.10.0. and grapes from £8 to £18.

- Measured yields include:-

Grapes:	4.2 tmien	11.4 qantar
Winter sown potatoes (irrigated):	2.0 tmien	6.8 qantar
Autumn sown potatoes (dry):	3.3 tmien	7.6 qantar
Green beans in pod:	1.5 tmien	600 rtal
Wheat (threshed):	6.7 tmien	31.5 tmien
Sulla:	1.0 tomna	13 hmiel
	1.0 tomna	20 hmiel
	3.0 tmien	10 hmiel
Vetches	0.7 tomna	6.5 hmiel
	2.0 tomna	7.0 hmiel

- Thus, comparing these figures with figures for labour applied, cash receipts per man-day were £2 for fruit, £1.10.0 for grapes and £1 for sulla. Were labour applied to be costed at prevailing rates of 20/- to 25/- per man-day, a large loss on the year's working would result.

(2) A large proportion of the produce is retained for consumption by the family and by its small number of stock. In 1956/7 one quarter of joint holding and one third of G's own land produced entirely for home consumption.

G. Husbandry.

(1) - Rotations not strictly adhered to, but common sequences are:
(a) on good land
1st Yr: Manuring followed by potatoes or by winter fallow and summer crop (tomatoes or melons).
2nd Yr: Potatoes or tomatoes.
3rd Yr: Sulla.
4th Yr: Wheat.
(b) on poorer dry land an alternation of sulla or vetches with cereals.
(c) best irrigated land may carry 2 crops of potatoes in each of several successive years but more usually tomatoes or melons follow winter-sown potatoes and autumn -sown potatoes are then omitted.
(d) fields may be irrigated in alternate years only, with dry land crops (cereals, beans, onions) in non-irrigated years.

(2) - Common cultivation methods:
(a) Vines: land worked 3 times with tined hoes during late winter and early spring. Ammonium sulphate worked in during second cultivation.
(b) Tomatoes: surface scattering of manure followed by deep plowing (summer). Worked four times with wooden plow in winter and subsequently reduced to fine tilth with hoe before planting seedlings.
(c) Wheat: land worked twice with wooden plow in October, seed scattered broadcast and plowed in immediately.
(d) Melons: land worked six times during autumn, winter and early spring, four times with wooden plow, twice with rotary cultivator. Seed sown and watered in early April.
(e) Beans: land deep-plowed during summer and worked twice with wooden plow. Hoed during planting.

(3) - Seeds. Average rates of application:-
(a) Sulla (new crop) c.10 tmien (weight) per tomna of land, seed obtained from previous year's crop.
(b) Wheat and barley 4 sighan (weight) per tomna, generally from previous crop but may be purchased at c.3/- per sighan.
(c) Beans. 1 tomna (weight) per tomna of land.
(d) Potatoes are the only seed regularly purchased, Arran Banner and other Scottish varieties bought for January planting at 3-4 cwt. per tomna. Seed from crop used for sowing in following autumn.

(4) - Manure.
- Mixed urban refuse and animal manure plowed in to 12-18 inches.
- One field of 2 tmien received 1 truck load refuse and 30 sacks dry manure.
- One field of 1.5 tmien received 50 sacks of animal manure from G's stock.
- Vines receive c.½ cwt. artifical fertiliser per tomna almost every year.
- Wheat receives from ½ to 1 cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna per year, broadcast with the seed.

H. General.

- Partnership has prevented excessive fragmentation of father's land.

- Free exchange of labour allows Ĝ to maintain a relatively large holding despite the inability of his young children to assist him. If these children wish to continue in farming, pressure on land will result.
- Ĝ therefore encourages his children in their education with a view to emigration and/or employment outside farming.
- Ĝ has no real idea of costing of his production. Can give details of income and expenditure, but makes no allowance for enormous application of labour (see E) necessary for very modest income (see F).
- Willing to undertake still more labour (e.g. in spraying fruit trees) to avoid cash expenditure.
- All this despite the fact that G is well above average in in intelligence and standard of education.
- Conservative in techniques and attitudes but eager to invest in proven successes (e.g. extension of vines and apple orchards, development of pig-farming).
  However, markets may already be glutted.
- With clear, patient, reasoned and disinterested advice and encouragement, Ĝ could probably much improve his methods and yields to make his holding a more profitable enterprise.

CASE XI : Pietru.
(An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce).

The nucleus of Pietru's farm is a block of 14 irrigable tmien on which he spends the greater part of his time. His home is about a mile away in the village and he also holds a large number of patches of dry (bagħli) land scattered over the northern part of Malta. The more outlying of these dry fields have tended to be neglected, or left to Pietru's wife and family to work, while he has concentrated on building up and developing his irrigable holding. His father bought four of these irrigable tmien after the 1914-18 War although at that time the area was covered with concrete. This was laboriously removed and irrigation channels ('canali') installed. Other adjacent patches were acquired as they became available - Pietru himself acquiring the latest addition in 1954. He had taken over from his father some years previously although he had started his working life as a mason.

Today Pietru, his son, wife and daughters cultivate the 14 tmien very intensively. The suggestion of a pathway is rejected because "it would take up too much irrigable land". The larger pieces of ground are put to potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes (qaqoċċ), marrows (qargħa bagħli), and a variety of vegetables. Fig, pomegranate and other trees fill the corners and edges of fields and a

tomato seed-bed and a hen-house also manage to find space in odd corners. Two machine-driven pumps and a few tiny storage and shelter rooms complete the scene. The block of fields is in a small sheltered valley on the east coast of the Island and contains clay soils tending to be heavy, especially in wet weather.

Pietru's irrigable fields are clearly the focus of his interest and attention. He observes that they bring in a greater profit per man/day of effort than do the dry fields which he prefers to leave to the wife and children to cultivate on a more casual basis. Nevertheless Pietru is not able to make a profitable concern of his farm despite his own heavy working schedule and the full-time assistance of at least two teenage children. In fact he is poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E. food distributions. He is however content with farming as an occupation and critical only of the lack of adequate remuneration. His attitude is to 'make the most' of his farm within current limitations. He was a founder member of a C.A.R.E. sponsored tractor co-operative although he admits that when the project was first suggested he was opposed to it on the grounds of rather having the money than letting the Government get it. This belief that the Government is behind everything is characteristic. C.A.R.E. is of course an independent organization distributing American surplus food and equipment.

Thus Pietru's son who works full-time with his father is faced with his father's industry and enthusiasm for farming on the one

hand but he can see for himself the apparent impossibility of achieving anything above low living standards. Whether he will join the trek away from farming is not yet clear. His educational standard is lower than is the case among many of his generation and it may be that he will have difficulty in finding employment outside farming.

If Pietru can improve the efficiency and profitability of his farm (by using better suited crops, new methods and new equipment with Government financial and advisory assistance) his son might be persuaded to stay in it. The problem of Maltese farming today is that there are very few young men in the farming industry who show as much inclination to stay on the land. The Government has been keen to assist the full-time farmer with loans and other help in an effort to encourage him to stay on the land and to develop agriculture to the full but it has done comparatively little for the young men in farming who are, in the long term view at least, the more important. If they cannot be induced to stay in farming the industry would appear to be doomed.

CASE XI : Summary.

(An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce).

A. Land.

(i) 14 tmien irrigated land in single block of five fields in Mellieha District. 2 tmien freehold.
(ii) c.8 tmien dry land in single block of 3 fields in Qawra District.
(iii) 45 tmien in single block (of which 37 are wasteland) in Bajda Ridge area.
(iv) c.6 tmien in 21 scattered field plots in Marfa.

These lands lie on the periphery of a triangle with sides measuring 4½ miles X 2 X 2 miles. Leased land is held in a variety of ways e.g. some is held on an annual lease at a rate of 15/- a tomna, other is held in emphyteusis from the Government. Of the latter, a composition fee of £200 replaced an annual rental for the last 45 years of a 99 year lease for 45 tmien. For the rest a peppercorn rent of c.2/- a tmien per annum.

B. Utilisation.

With parcels of land so dispersed and so variable in quality great variations in land use may be observed.

(i) The irrigated land carries potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, a variety of pumpkins and marrows and many other types of vegetables. Tree crops are raised on the plot boundaries. Crop list: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Artichokes, Cucumbers, Marrows, Pumpkins and Water Melons; Sulla, Black and White Vetches, Turnips, Vines, Celery, Endives, Onions, Maize, Kohl Rabi, Carrots, Garlic, Figs, Pomegranates, Apricots and Peaches.

(ii) The unirrigated land ranges from patch cultivation of cereals, beans and peaches on Bajda Ridge to vines, cereals and vetches in the other districts. These parcels get only c.60 man-days work each year. This land, although neglected, is held, partly because of the low-rent emphyteutical leases, partly to supply small amounts of fodder and forages for the few livestock.

C. Livestock.

During 1957/1958 2 heifer calves. Cattle are only kept for rearing between ages of c.3 and c.18 months, and for supplying dung. 4 goats (2 ewes and 2 kids) and 3 sheep kept for supplying domestic milk and cheese needs. No work animals ('beġjem tax-xogħol').

D. Capital.

- 2 tmien freehold irrigated land valued at £200 and freehold house in the village.
- No liquid reserves other than petty cash, according to statement made to C.A.R.E. Estimated possible total less than £100.
- Equipment. No machinery other than local tools and a fixed

diesel water-pump. Not averse to mechanization but suspicious of credit terms.

E. Labour.

- Family labour of one adult son and occasional work from wife and from four other children. Mutual aid arrangement with brother-in-law.
- A member of a C.A.R.E. implement co-operative which entitles him to favourable terms for tractor-plowing: shallow-plowing at 10s per tomna and deep-plowing at 20s per tomna. This represents a saving of 5s per tomna in return for a deposit to the Co-operative of £2.
- Rarely hires labour.

WORK ANALYSIS. 1957-58[m]

	July[f] 57		Oct 57		Nov 57		Dec 57		Jan 58		Feb 58		May 57	
	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm.	am.	pm
Sundays, Festas	4	4	4	4	6	6	7	7	6	6	5	5	7	7
Business, Valletta	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Repairs fields & buildings (storm)	.	.	2	4[l]	1	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
No work (storms)	.	.	7	7[g]	6	3	3	3	8	7	2	2	.	.
Irrigation	8	6[j]	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	8	5[j]
Plowing	3	2	5	3	.	.	.	.	3	3	1	1	2	2
Planting, sowing	.	.	4	3	6	6	12	11[a]	7	8[b]	4	1	7	2
Working[c], etc.	5	5	4	2	3	5	1	2	4	4	5	3	.	3
Cutting, reaping	8	9[d]	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	3
Lifting potatoes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	3[h]	3	5[i]
Threshing	.	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Loading, transporting	2	1	1	1	.	.	3	3	.	2	.	1	.	2
Vines, prune, graft	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6	7	.	.
Collecting haxix	1	1	1	4	5	5[k]	3	4	1	.	.	3	.	2
Collecting seaweed			.	.	1	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
	31	31	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31

Notes

a. all potatoes

b. potatoes 3.5.
c. working, weeding, dressing, spraying, manuring, hoeing, etc.
d. wheat and barley 4.2.
e. ħaxix - general greenery for animal fodder.
f. data for other months not available.
g. the latter part of 1957 saw exceptional storms in Malta and Gozo.
h. the winter crop a month late on account of damp conditions.
i. the spring crop.
j. irrigation in dry months.
k. ħaxix gathering peak after 2 months of rain.
l. including 2.2 attending to animals (too wet to work fields).
m. from a diary kept (in Maltese) by the farmer's daughter.

F. Production and Sales.

(i) Main cash-crop irrigated potatoes - Arran Banner. Two crops - winter and 'early' crop, the latter for export. Yields vary considerably in spite of irrigation - winter crop 1956 double the quantity of the winter crop 1957. Soil conditions for cultivation and for germination can vary critically between November and February. Prices similarly vary considerably.
1956 - maximum price obtained 30/- per qantar.
1957 - April maximum price obtained 25/- per qantar.
1957 - May maximum price obtained 15/- per qantar.

(ii) Tomatoes. Pickings from May to October with peak production in July. Prices vary inversely with production (B/253). Irrigated local varieties only are grown. The best tomatoes are kept for seed, the next grade carefully selected for sale through 'pitkal' middleman for local market, the third grade sold to the tomato paste ('Kunserva') factory. Prices range from 10d. to 1/6d. per wizna, but vary with quantity available rather than with quality. Regarded as preferable to potatoes since the farmer believes they are less expensive to produce.

(iii) Artichokes. Irrigated perennials producing for up to about 8 years. Best marketing period is during Lent. Great efforts made to raise a crop early in February when prices start at c.9d a head rather than later in the year when they drop to c.4d a head.

(iv) A variety of other vegetable produce fruit and grapes

are sold in small quantities.

(v) Stated cash income - £200 per annum. Regular income comes from arable products. Every two or three years sales of young heifers in calf bring in sizeable sums e.g. in 1958 one such Friesian heifer was sold for £170 and a 3 month old calf bought for £61.10.0.

G. Husbandry.

(i) Land:

(a) Main concentration on maintaining high yields of vegetable crops on irrigated land, usually by heavy manuring rather than rotational farming.
In 1956 - used all dung from own livestock.
- Purchased £100 worth of dung from an urban milk producer.
- Applied 25 bags sulphate of ammonia @ 25/- to 27/6d a bag.
- Collected several cartloads of mixed refuse from Government centre.

Dung applied directly to cucurbits, but mixed with refuse and sulphate of ammonia otherwise.

(b) On non-irrigated land crop sequence usually cereal, leguminous fodder, potatoes, except on poorest land where vetches alternate with barley.

(c) Irrigation takes much of labour-time and water is applied empirically. A typical early potato crop will be watered 13 times, each watering by channel-and-bed control taking 1½ days.

(d) Chemical treatment of the crops is accepted but not understood. Since 1953, Chloride of Lime and Copper Sulphate sprays have been used but the farmer is not at all sure of why they should help - the sprays are applied "when the potatoes show a blackness". This exemplifies a general attitude that certain pests and diseases can be treated with one or another of the "medicines" but considerable mystery surrounds the methods of application and the processes concerned.

(ii) Seeds:

Relies entirely on own plant strains except for potatoes. Is prepared periodically to buy Arran

Banner seed-potatoes and in 1958 plucked up enough courage to try a new strain - Eigenheimer.

(iii) Livestock:

Only interested in rearing heifers which are fed traditionally on a little grain, green fodder including "haxix", sulla, hay and beans.

H. General.

(i) An example of better kind of intensive market gardener. It is unlikely that without a complete re-organisation of his farming life any more irrigated land could be worked. At present casual labour costs of 15/- to 25/- a day, expansion of the labour force would be impossible. The only relatively simple economic improvement that could be made is the raising of quality standards and to a limited extent yields. In Malta there is no effective price differential between products of different quality, and the local market is very quickly saturated. This cultivator and others like him vaguely realise the predicament and pin their faith on minimum price guarantees, which in fact have little to do with the case.

(ii) The farmer's children keep rough accounts but only of the main items of disbursements and income. This is one of the few farmers who occasionally put a monetary value on his own labour. That of the family was taken for granted.

(iii) Reasonably prepared to try new crops if they are proven in his district. Not prepared to accept anything technically as revolutionary as a wheelbarrow mainly on the ground that "it is not used here".

CASE XII : Ċenzu
(A cows' milk producer and village weighman).

Ċenzu is an example of one type of part-time farmer in Malta and Gozo in that his farm is the more important of the two occupations for his livelihood. His work as licensed village weighman is important both because of the extra income which it brings and on account of the social standing which goes with the office. He is a shrewd and literate man who earlier in his life also engaged in importing and other business. He was one of the many farmers able to build up a substantial reserve as a result of the 1939-45 War. The house is spacious and well-appointed by local standards and Ċenzu and his small family enjoy comfortable living conditions. His pre-War premises were damaged during the War and he received some £1800 official compensation to which he added a further £1200. This money was put towards the new house and towards the costs of building up his present herd of 12 cows, a bull and 10 goats. The milk produced and sold to the M.M.U. provides the basic element of his income but he also grows cash crops for sale. In the 1956-57 winter a third of his crop area was devoted to fodder. This increased to 74% in the following winter but, given a substantial improvement in the prevailing prices for cash crops, it is likely that he would devote more space once again to these and buy in a larger part of the fodder needed. In 1957 he purchased over £1000 worth of fodder and received about £1350 for milk sold during the same period.

Unlike most farmers he keeps detailed records of his income and expenditure on the farm and animals and on the weighing side of his business, but he remains unwilling to discuss his revenue with even apparently trusted outsiders. This reticence seems to relate to the traditional independent outlook of the farmer rather than to any anxiety to hide his accounts from a sense of guilt. He was prepared to join the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) because he saw this as of some benefit to the milk producer in his relations with the M.M.U. authorities. But he has never been a member of a farmers' union and is clearly not interested in them although he thinks "A union might be a good idea". He shares the typical failure to appreciate the role of an efficient Union. Neither is he interested in joining a producers' Co-operative.

As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows further enhance his status. He maintains that within the village the place of the Parish priest is as ever it was "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increasing number of dissenting voices in the village are kept firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in the towns. Ċenzu shares the still

general view that money given to the Church is "payment towards to good of the community". Money paid to the Government in the form of taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.
(A cows' milk producer and village weighman).

A. Land.

33 tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.
all leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

B. Utilisation.

Over 5 tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

C. Livestock.

Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves, 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats; 1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

D. Capital.

- No freehold land. Owns large village house.
- No statement as to capital reserves but general evidence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
- Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

E. Labour.

- Family labour - one 30 year old son.
- In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and female to 90 days.
  Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
  Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.
- Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and threshing machine each year. Costs of contract plowing 15/- to £1 a tmien.

F. Production and Sales.

(i) Cows milk sales range from December minimum of c.153 lbs. per day to April maximum of c.290 lbs. per day. Regards 3 gallon output per head a day as minimum profitable production. Milk receipts in 1957 c.£1350. (Costs of purchased fodder £1000).
- Goats milk sold for cheesemaking ('rikotta').
- About 20 gallons per annum of cows milk for cheese production.
- Practically no liquid milk drunk by family.

(ii) Potatoes - Winter Crop - September to December.
- 'Early' Crop - January to April.
Relies entirely on Arran Banner. Destination of crop depends on price e.g. Winter Crop 1956/57 sold at 23/4 per qantar for export. Winter Crop 1957/58 sold at 27/- per qantar for local market.
- Usually produces c.50 qantar per annum and 4 or 5 used for domestic consumption.

(iii) Onions produced for export and local market and for home consumption. Production fluctuates with climate - yields between extremes of 20 and 40 qantar per tomna.

(iv) - Small sales of vegetables - considerable range grown.
- Fodder productions meets c. one-half requirements.

G. Husbandry.

(i) Land
(a) On best land typical sequence would be.
Sept. (a) Heavy manuring - 96 bags of dung and refuse per tomna.
Sept.-Dec. (b) Winter crop of potatoes.

Jan.	(c) Artificial fertiliser - Sulphate of Ammonia 1 bag per tomna.
Jan.-April	(d) Spring crop of potatoes.
May-Aug.	(e) Summer fallow
Sept.-April	(f) Two crops of potatoes as (a) to (d).
May-Aug.	(g) Onions - on watered land.
Sept.-May	(h) Cultivation for and growing of wheat crop.
May-Aug.	(i) Fallow
Sept.-April	(j) Sulla

(b) More usual practice (which is not thought of as a strict rotation) is local variation of four-year cycle.
- Manuring. Potatoes, Onions, Wheat, Sulla, Vetches and seed fodders such as żofżfa and ġinġlin are introduced into this basic scheme.

(c) On fields near house domestic vegetable crops, e.g. garlic, brassicas, pumpkins, and marrows.

(ii) Seeds
- Mainly relies on own seed but periodically buys seed-potatoes for maintaining standard of 'early' crop.

(iii) Livestock
- Breeds cattle from own stock but prepared to experiment e.g. interested in artificial insemination.
- Feeding. Has a fair idea of fodder needs of livestock but uses traditional combination of green legumes, sulla hay, beans and concentrates without measurement. Has started purchasing ready-mixed balanced feed.

H. General.

(i) An example of the best type of cows' milk producer. Keeps rough accounts of expenditure and receipts from most of sales but even so does not think in terms of profit-income and does not compute family labour in monetary terms at all.

(ii) Is tending towards specialising in cattle-breeding and is inclined to doubt the value of the arable sector. Is typical of most of his class in that he keeps no accounts of fodder-production on his own land but maintains that it is becoming uneconomic because of high labour costs and difficulty of raising yields any further.

(iii) Makes careful practical distinctions between types of land:
- some fields have 8 inches of soil on rock platform and these can only be worked by hand.
- deeper soils up to 3 feet thick need periodic deep plowing although this may result in the bringing to the surface of "newba" (or "melh" - salt) - subsurface saline concentration with harmful results.
- red and white soils have different characteristics for tillage and crop-growth.
- notes the presence of a thin, very hard weathered layer on top of Globigerina bed rock. This "skorca tal-blat" is believed to prevent the movement of moisture from the rock water-table to over-lying soil.

(iv) In spite of literacy, general initiative and acumen he is conservative about trying new ideas. Here, as elsewhere, the chief obstacle appears to be social rather than economic - the fear of being different and the fear of failure in the eyes of the rest of the community.

(v) In spite of (possibly because of) experience in check-weighing, is no more prepared to trust M.M.U. and official marketing agencies than any other farmer.

CASE XIII : Toni.
(A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp).

An example of part-time farming in which the field operations are the subsidiary part of the business - from the financial point of view though not as regards the amount of time spent on them.

His caretaking duties bring him some £5 per week for most of the year and yet leave him with enough free time to cultivate several irrigable patches near the camp. Now aged nearly seventy he works a much smaller total area than the thirty tmien of his younger days. He could in fact live on his income from his caretaking and continues to work the fields for four reasons:

(a) To provide food for his present family of three,
(b) To produce a supplementary income from the sale of cash crops,
(c) To occupy his time with the farming which he knows - as something of a hobby.
(d) To provide his emigrated sons each "with a piece of land" when they return to Malta for their retirement.

Items (b) and (c) reflect his independence of farming for the maintenance of himself and his wife and daughter, while (c) and (d) suggest that although farming ceases to be the countryman's livelihood he inclines to retain a residual interest in it even when he has been away from Malta for the greater part of his working life. This is a characteristic feature of rural Malta and an important aspect of the recent increase in part-time farming. The 1957 Census of Agriculture lists 9,588 part-time as against

7,813 full-time farmers (B/164, p.xv). The trend towards part- in place of full-time farming is significant in the present overall retreat from agriculture. It represents in many cases a first stage in the move from the land and one expects it to be succeeded, possibly in the following generation, by a complete break with the land or the maintenance of a purely residual and casual interest, as in (d) above. In this Case, Toni continues to produce cash crops for sale but his sons when they return are not likely to do so. Thus this type of small scale part-time farming will have little or no importance in agriculture as a producing industry.

Toni himself substantiates this view. "Farming has no future in Malta since there is no money in it for the younger generation, and so you can't expect people to go on working fields if they can avoid it". He sees the farming population as a depressed class and attributes this in large part ot the fact that "The farmers count for only 12,000 votes at election times". Unions are, for Toni, "no use for the farmer and his problems" because, it appears, of suspicion and ignorence. He further observes that "the Maltese farmer grumbles easily" - because of the same factors. This is itself discouraging the younger farming generation from staying on the land and struggling against rising costs to sell products which are but feeble competitors against the imported article. He remains dubious of the effects of even the present

Government policy of assistance by both financial support in various forms and attempts to introduce more efficient methods and better adapted and therefore more profitable crops, etc.

CASE XIII : Summary.
(A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp).

A. Land.

- 2 plots of irrigated land at il-Ghadira and il-Hofra both in the Mellieha Isthmus area.
- Several plots of dry land, usually held idle for relatives who are expected to return from Canada.
- Soils: l-Iklin complex.
- Rented from Civil Government and War Department.

B. Utilisation.

- Irrigated plots carry potatoes, tomatoes and vines with a great variety of vegetables.
- Dry land: potatoes, tomatoes, beans, sulla, onions, herbs for home consumption.

C. Livestock.

60 or 70 rabbits, 1 sheep.

D. Capital.

- No freehold land, but owns a house in the village.
- Usual hand tools.
- Spray and rotary cultivator recently acquired.
- Financial position not disclosed but appears to have considerable reserves.
- Owns a car.
- Son owns motor lorry sometimes used on holding.

E. Labour.

- Some help from wife and daughter but remainder of family have either emigrated or entered non-agricultural employment in Malta.

- Formerly hired a labourer at £5 per week but he left for the Dockyard in 1955. In 1958 it was difficult to find farm labourers even at 25 to 30/- a day.
- Occasional hired help at harvest time.

F. Production and Sales.

- Main profit from tomatoes, grapes and potatoes. Subsidiary income from vegetables.
- Attempts to space out production and sales by using many different varieties and storing, e.g. potatoes until prices are high.

G. Husbandry.

(i)
- Potatoes: three crops annually on best land.
- Artichokes: replanted every 4 years.
- Tomatoes: seed beds attached to irrigated plots carry many varieties.
- Melons: has experimented successfully with seed sent by relative in Canada.
- Cauliflowers: 4 crops between August and March, earliest sold before heads are formed.

(ii)
- Manure brought from Luqa; 4 truckloads - £22 plus £8 for carriage will last one year. Also uses town refuse.
- Copper sulphate spray for potatoes, paraffin spray as weed killer.

(iii)
- Has recently added to holding by reclamation of wasteland. Constructed a 2-tmien field, soil for which cost £150 (20 truckloads) and transport £50. This field returned £60 worth of potatoes in first year, £35 of tomatoes in the second. In autumn 1957 was prepering to repeat the process.

(iv)
- Irrigated land rested under sulla every fourth year.

H. General.

An unusually proficient part-timer cushioned by income from position as camp caretaker (£5.12.0 per week when camp not fully occupied). His job appears to leave him plenty of time to devote to his holding. He is willing to experiment and take risks, though experiments are concealed from his neighbours until proved successful. Has a lively appreciation

of how to obtain best returns from his produce; very much au fait with market conditions.

Keeps fairly careful accounts and, according to his own statements, makes a profit of £250 p.a. from farming:

Receipts from produce	£450
Labour costs	£ 50
Seeds, manure, transport	£150
Profit	£250

Value of produce consumed by family £30

His two jobs have made him appreciably more prosperous than his neighbours. Without the subsidiary income from caretaking his financial position would be extremely precarious. As it is he is able to amass a considerable capital reserve.

CASE XIV : Ganni.
(A young, progressive contract-plowman, with heavy tractors and other mechanized equipment).

Ganni is a bachelor in his late twenties. In most respects he is quite atypical of Maltese farmers today but his work and attitudes illustrate most vividly the economic, technical and social problems facing agriculture and the rural community in Malta.

His youth, his knowledge of written and spoken English, his first hand acquaintance with Australia, the United Kingdom, Italy and other countries, his belief in mechanization as the way to make money in Maltese farming, his social rejection of his village background, and his attitude to agricultural and other authorities in the Islands all mark him out as apart from the 'traditional' kind of farmer. At the same time, however, his case reflects the frustration and impatience of his own generation in the agricultural community.

He comes of a village family in which his father and paternal grand-father were both butchers. His father acquired a small farm of some two acres to provide vegetables for the family but neither Ganni nor his brother, a few years his junior, was keen to expand the family holding. The family butchering business held no more attraction for them and was relinquished by the father when he retired from full-time work some years ago to run a small bar in the village. Both the brothers thought that neither butchering

nor farming presented scope for money making so they emigrated to Australia. Ġanni's seven years there left him unsympathetic towards farming as practised in Malta, with its fragmentation, hand-labour and other limitations. He saw mechanization on the Australian pattern, with tractor-drawn, three furrow plows, combine-harvesters and a variety of other large implements, as the only way to make Maltese farming a profitable venture.

He returned home full of ideas of making money as a contractor-plowman. His native knowledge of Maltese farmers and farming left him with no illusions as to possibilities. Ġanni's subsequent efforts to find takers for his deep-plowing have entailed a hard fight against prejudice and criticism. Clearly many of the objections raised as to his methods and machines being unsuitable for Maltese conditions have not been without foundation but he has pushed ahead, working over a larger area, buying new types of machinery, etc.

The present discussion is concerned less with the technical details of this kind of heavy mechanization in Malta than with the attitudes which it reveals - especially the tremendous gulf in outlook between the older farmers and the few young men like Ġanni who are still making some effort in Maltese farming. It is held that these latter are more important than their present numbers would suggest since, without their sustained effort, an economic and social continuity will be lost. They are individuals upon

whom some new or improved farming could be built in Malta and Gozo.

Ġanni's view of farming Malta.

"Farming in Malta is today generally uneconomical because of the high costs of the necessary hand-labour and because of the difficulties facing the mechanization of field-work" (Ġanni). He attributes what he regards as the present dismal prospect of Maltese agriculture to the lack of a guaranteed exportable crop, on the one hand, and to the lack of direction to the farmer from the agricultural authorities, on the other. Nevertheless he believes that neither of these problems is without solution and he puts a great part of the blame on the Maltese farmer himself who is prevented says Ġ by his illiteracy and suspicion from uniting and from seeking to improve his own farming. He maintains that it is possible to make money in farming today in the Islands, but only with the right methods, ideas and facilities. This is where he himself comes in, for he believes his ideas on mechanization are the answer, leading to the elimination of hand labour as far as possible. He insists that a profitable farm must be a workable unit, that is a large patch of twenty, forty or more tmien capable of being worked by mechanical implements. Moreover, he insists that the farmer should, where possible, sell his own produce to the consumer in order to evade the 'middle-men' and thereby make a greater profit.

Ġanni himself talks vaguely of acquiring such a farm, although to date his contract-plowing has absorbed all his profit-making energies.

Ganni's view of the farmer in Malta.

He lays a great deal of the blame for the present agricultural difficulties at the door of the farmers themselves. His view of his fellow farmers and villagers approaches cynicism: "The farmer's illiteracy prevents him from admitting that anything could be better than that which he knows. It also prevents him from trusting other farmers and prevents him from realizing the folly of putting bad-weight with produce for export. The young people who are far from illiterate and will listen to reason are not staying on the land long enough for this to be of lasting benefit to agriculture". He observes that the farmer is keen for a sure profit but not at all anxious to plunge his often considerable capital into a new venture such as buying a tractor. In fact he will not accept any new method or crop before he sees it a working success - preferably in a field near his own. This applied particularly to the 'outlandish' ideas on deep-plowing which Ganni brought back from Australia. His fellow villagers regarded his 16" mould-board, three furrow plows with great suspicion, and his ideas on potato-ridging, combine-harvesting and threshing met with no more approval initially.

Ganni insists that the farmer's saving is merely "an aimless accumulation of money: a man may look poor in dress and have £1000 tucked away". He says of an old lady in a nearby lonely house "She wears no shoes and has never been to Valletta but will die leaving thousands".

This conservatism and reluctance on the part of the illiterate farmer emerges, therefore, as a major difficulty in the way of improvement and modification. It is one which tends to be overlooked by well-meaning experts and officials who forget that, unlike themselves, the farmer is unable to read of successful experiments of one kind or another in a foreign land - he will only be satisfied with conclusive proof before his own eyes. Moreover the farmer often finds it hard to convince himself that some expert or high-ranking adviser on affairs agricultural can in fact be working for the benefit of the farmer and not himself. This is something new in his experience.

Mechanization.

Ganni and his brother work their machinery contracting business together, doing all but the biggest repairs. They have (1958):

(i) a three-furrow (previously a two-furrow) mould-board plow, the only one in the district,

(ii) a triple disc-plow (originally a double) for heavy ground,

(iii) a rotavator. Originally the brothers had a small rotavator but they complain that this does no more than kill off the weeds for a short time and harden the soil just below the rotavated surface. In 1958 they were buying a 5' trailer with 4 revolving claws which met with much derision from local farmers because of its weight.

(iv) a three-ton truck,

(v) a twelve-tined harrow,

They are keen to add (1958) a thresher and a small combine harvester which "might work in Malta with effect". Ġanni would rather "import a combine than let £1000 lie idle in the bank, unlike most other farmers". "New machinery soon pays for itself and is the way to make money in Maltese agriculture today". He advocates tyred tractors for Maltese conditions as they are easier to get out of rough ground and more convenient to cope with road transit. Many farmers prefer the caterpillar-tracked type. He maintains that the tyred tractor is better even for the deep-plowing which he advocates. This deep-plowing has grown in popularity only slowly - Ġanni is fully aware that "there may be drawbacks", but he reckons to work his four-month season each year to the full, earning about £5 per day on six days per week. The rest of the year is taken up with contract work with the machinery on building and other sites together with some attention to the few fields held by the family. The area covered by the brothers in their plowing operations extends to something like a quarter the area of Malta (v. B/381).

Ġanni and the village.

Ġanni is an outsider in his own village in so far as his literacy, travel and, especially, his Australian experience and his 'new ideas' have put him socially out of touch with his fellow-villagers. He maintains enough of a link with the village (through

his father) to be able to live there and make money, but he has little sympathy for the older people around him and they in their turn regard him as a social (as well as economic) rebel. He takes little part in the social life of the village. Work is his first concern and he is most annoyed when the priest, with whom he has "not been on speaking terms" since his return from Australia, forbids his working on Sundays. This includes even repair work on the machinery indoors. He knows well enough that were he to plow on Sundays or festa days he would be " publically ostracized and no villager would hire him and his plow". His relaxation is his motor-cycle on which he escapes at high speed from time to time along with others of his generation who "have eyes for the lights of Valletta rather than farming".

Towards his own parents Ġanni's attitude is typical. He regards his father as belonging to the old generation of illiterate or semi-illiterate countryfolk, steeped in the conservatism of the past and the traditional. Father and son argue continuously over points of policy - with Ġanni tending to assume that his education and wider experience entitles him to something of a 'casting vote' in such arguments. Nevertheless the family tie is there and is strong enough for Ġanni to have an innate respect for his father despite the gulf in education and ideas. Thus Ġanni supported his father's scheme to plant some cotton even though he himself doubted the profitability of this move (1958).

Marriage in Malta, where the "evil dowry" ('dota') system is maintained, holds little attraction for Ġanni. He observes that he cannot take a girl out on his motor-cycle without the older people of the village criticising him for not marrying her first. This and the whole social climate of village life in Malta of which it is part clashes with the ways he learned in Australia and with the ideas and beliefs which his education and his knowledge of the world outside the village of his birth have brought him.

Ġanni is primarily important to the village because he is staying there. He takes little part in village affairs, he does not "bother about festas", and he has few close friends in his age group of farmers. But his ideas and the new methods and implements which he has brought to the village in face of considerable opposition and ridicule are a significant item in the changing scene of Maltese farming.

CASE XV : A Note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo.

The fishermen of the Maltese Islands deserve mention in this thesis as their position today has many points in common with that of the farmers.

A 1957 estimate put their number at 840 (B/177 - 1957, Section F, p.1). This represented about 1% of the total gainfully occupied population at the time and is equivalent to only 11% of the number of full-time farmers in the Islands, although only about half of the 840 appear to be full-time fishermen. "Many are engaged in the industry for part of the year only and they usually have an alternative occupation ashore" (B/250, p.13).

Burdon, in his 1956 report, sums up the present condition of the fishermen : "The most remarkable feature of the industry is the diversity of methods which individual fishermen use. Some fishermen are more advanced than others, but in general they are progressive and their knowledge of the local fisheries is extensive. Unfortunately they have little contact with the world beyond Malta and do not learn of new developments in fishing technique. This is aggravated by the comparatively low standard of education" (B/250, pp.13-14).

The parallel with farming and farmers in Malta is clear. Burdon observes that recent developments "make it imperative that vocational training should be given to the fishermen. This must

be simple in form and should be taken to the fishermen - i.e. the classes must be held in the fishing centres at times when the fishermen are available. But such measures are unlikely to meet with success if confined to the fishermen whose livelihood depends upon fishing whenever the weather permits. Special attention must, therefore, be paid to the children of the fishermen who will become the fishermen of tomorrow" (B/250, p.14).

The need for education in agriculture is exactly parallel to Burdon's recommendation, but, whereas a start on these lines has already been made in farming (Chapter 13), nothing has been done in the case of fishing, although the need for the technical education of the fisherman has been stressed since as long ago as 1931 (B/237, p.47). There are still no qualified Maltese skippers (B/250, p.14) and, for work in the more distant grounds off Lampedusa and Sicily, Italians are employed. They are regarded with some awe by local fishermen for their literacy, technical knowledge and the rather higher wages which they can command.

There has, however, been material help to fishing in the form of the Agricultural and Fishing Industries (Financial Assistance) Act (No. 11 of 1956), and the introduction of a Fishing Equipment Supply Service (B/177 - 1957, Section F, p.1), but the essence of the problem is, as in agriculture, that there is a retreat from fishing by the younger generation.

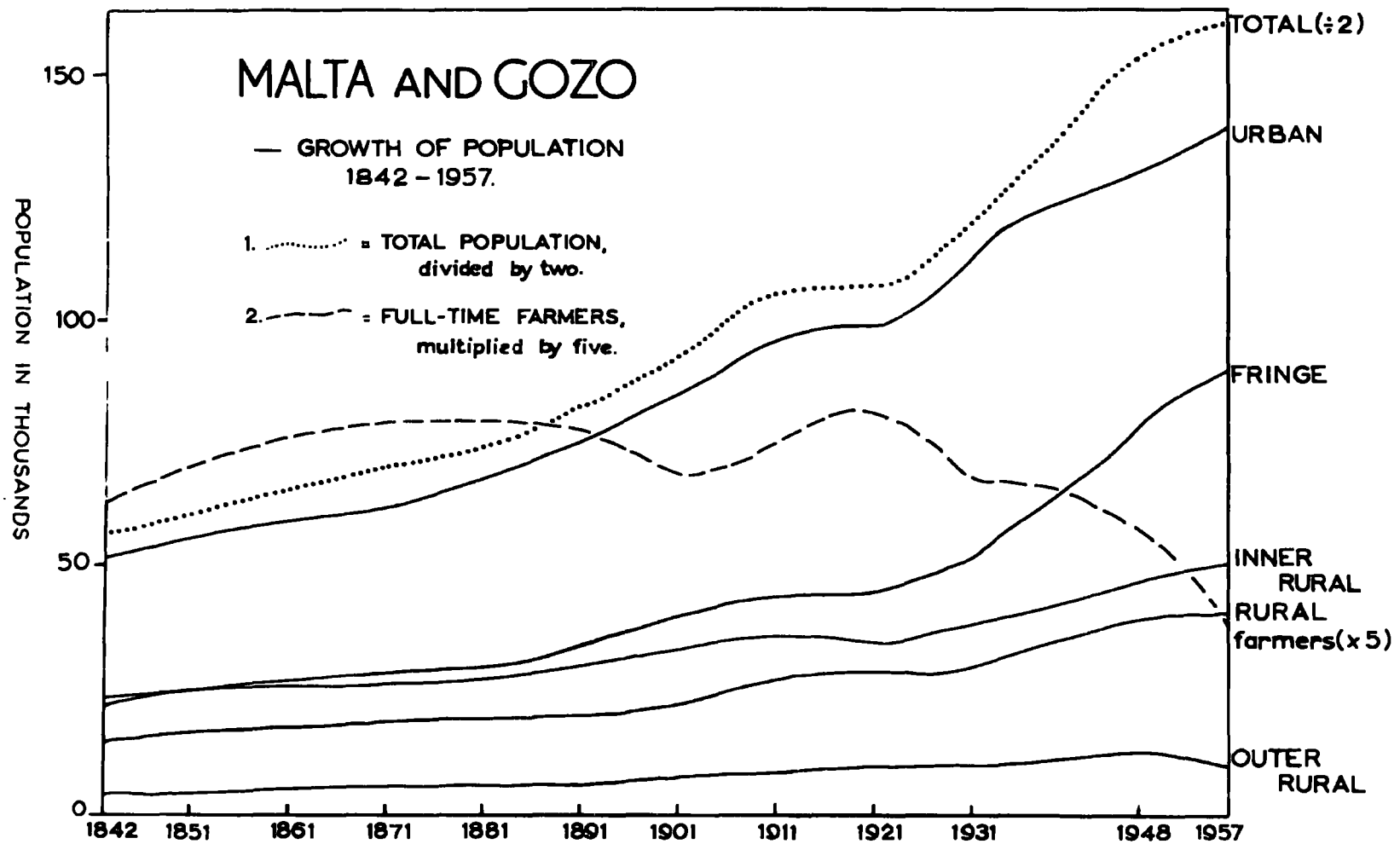
Marsaxlokk is the biggest fishing centre in the Islands while, in Malta itself, Żurrieq - though not a port - comes second by number of resident fishermen. In Gozo most fishermen live in Victoria and Xewkija, both inland settlements away from the fishing harbours of Marsalforn, Mġarr and Xlendi. Socially this residential distribution is important since only in Marsaxlokk is there a sufficient resident fishing population for one to talk of a 'fishing community'.

Marsaxlokk achieved parochial status in 1897 but the village is still without many 'modern' attributes such as cinema, resident doctor, barber and certain shopping facilities for which the fisherman goes to Żejtun. His interest is primarily the sea and many fishermen visit the 'town only for the fish market. In Marsaxlokk itself the fishermen gather for Church and gossip on Sunday mornings; the rest of their weekly schedule is governed by the weather and the season.

As a class the fishermen and their families are economically lower than the farmers. In February, 1958, about 10.4% of the estimated 840 fishermen were poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E. relief (v. Chapter 12). At the same time only 9% of farmers were entitled to supplies on the same basis, and the average for the total population was lower still at 8.2%

The fisherman is regarded, even by the farmer, as low on the social scale. This, together with the generally depressed standard of living of the fishing community despite the present official

financial assistance, is producing exactly the same position as in agriculture. The younger generation is not prepared to accept the industry as it is nor the way of life based on it.


MALTA AND GOZO
— GROWTH OF POPULATION
1842 – 1957.
1. ..... = TOTAL POPULATION, divided by two.
2. – – – – = FULL-TIME FARMERS, multiplied by five.
POPULATION IN THOUSANDS
150
100
50
0
1842
1851
1861
1871
1881
1891
1901
1911
1921
1931
1948
1957
TOTAL(÷2)
URBAN
FRINGE
INNER RURAL
RURAL
farmers(x 5)
OUTER RURAL

APPENDIX 1 : MALTA - A Chronological Outline.

PRE-HISTORIC :

PALEOLITHIC - no trace in Malta or Gozo.	
MESOLITHIC - no trace in Malta or Gozo.	
NEOLITHIC	
(a) Settlers from Sicily	c.2300 B.C.
(b) 'Tarxien Cemetery' Culture	c.1500 B.C.
(c) 'Borġ in-Nadur' Culture	c.1350 B.C.

HISTORIC :

Phoenicians	c.1000 B.C.
Greeks (no conclusive evidence)	c. 700 B.C.
Carthaginians (no conclusive evidence)	c. 450 B.C.
Romans .....conquest.	218 B.C.
St. Paul's Shipwreck	A.D. 60
Division of the Empire	395
Vandals (no conclusive evidence)	c. 500
Byzantine conquest (no trace in Malta or Gozo)	535

MEDIEVAL :

ARABS .....conquest.	870
NORMANS ..... "	1091
SWABIANS	
Henry IV	1194
Frederick	1197
Conrad	1250
Manfred	1254
ANGEVINS	
Charles	1266
ARAGONESE	
Peter I	1283
James	1286
Frederick II	1296

Peter II 1337
Ludwig 1342
Frederick III 1355
Martin I 1377
Martin II 1409

CASTILIANS
Ferdinand I 1412
Alphonso V 1416
John 1458

CASTILIAN/ARAGONESE
Ferdinand II 1479
Charles V 1516

MODERN :

ORDER of ST. JOHN of JERUSALEM (v. Appendix 2). 1530

FRENCH 1798

BRITISH (v. Appendix 3) 1800
Separate Diocese of Gozo established 1863
First Self-Government Constitution 1921
Malta a Metropolitan Archdiocese..... 1944
Messrs. Bailey (Malta) Ltd. replace H.M. Dockyard 1958
Suspension of 1947 Constitution 1958

APPENDIX 2 : Grand Masters of the Sovereign Order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Rhodes, and Malta, 1530 - 1798.

Fra Philippe Villiers de l'Isle Adam (Fr).....	1530
elected	1521
Fra Pietro del Ponte (Ital)	1534
Fra Didier de Saint Jaille (Fr)	1535
Fra Juan d'Homedes (Span)	1536
Fra Claude de la Sengle (Fr)	1553
Fra Jean Parisot de la Vallette (Fr)	1557
Fra Pietro del Monte (Ital)	1568
Fra Jean Levesque de la Cassière (Fr)	1572
Fra Hugues de Loubenx Verdale (Fr)	1582
Fra Martino de Garzes (Span)	1595
Fra Alof de Wignacourt (Fr)	1601
Fra Don Luys Mendez de Vasconcellos (Span) ...	1622
Fra Antoine de Paule (Fr)	1623
Fra Jean-Paul Lascaris Castellar (Fr)	1636
Fra Martino de Redin (Span)	1657
Fra A. de Clermont de Chattes Gessan (Fr)	1660
Fra Rafael Cotoner (Span)	1660
Fra Nicolas Cotoner (Span)	1663
Fra Gregorio Carafa (Ital)	1680
Fra Adrien de Wignacourt (Fr)	1690
Fra Ramon Perellos y Roccafull (Span)	1697
Fra Marc' Antonio Zondadari (Ital)	1720
Fra Don Antonio Manoel de Vilhena (Port)	1722
Fra Don Ramon Despuig (Span)	1736
Fra Don Emanuel Pinto de Fonçeca (Port)	1741
Fra Don Francisco Ximenes de Texada (Span) ...	1773
Fra Emmanuel de Rohan-Polduc (Fr)	1775
Fra Ferdinand von Hompesch (German)	1777
Order expelled from Malta.	1778

N.B.: Different authorities give varying spellings for most names listed.

APPENDIX 3 : Commissioners, Governors, and Bishops of Malta, 1800 - 1960.

BRITISH CIVIL COMMISSIONERS :

Captain Alexander Ball, R.N.	1799
Major-General Henry Pigot	1800
Sir Charles Cameron	1801
Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Ball, Bart .	1802
Lt-General Sir Hildebrand Oakes	1810

BRITISH GOVERNORS :

Lt-General the Hon. Sir Thomas Maitland	1813
General the Marquis of Hastings	1824
Major-General the Hon. Sir F. Ponsonby.	1827
Lt-General Sir Henry Bouverie	1836
Lt-General Sir Patrick Stuart	1843
The Rt.Hon. Richard More O'Ferrall	1847
Major-General Sir William Reid	1851
Lt-General Sir John Gaspard le Marchant	1858
Lt-General Sir Henry Storks	1864
General Sir Patrick Grant	1867
General Sir Charles van Straubenzee....	1872
General Sir Arthur Borton	1878
General Sir Lintorn Simmons	1884
Lt-General Sir Henry Torrens.....	1888
Lt-General Sir Henry Smyth	1890
General Sir Arthur Fremantle	1893
Lt-General Lord Grenfell	1899
General Sir Mansfield Clarke, Bart	1903
Lt-General Sir Henry Grant	1907
General Sir Leslie Rundle	1909
Field-Marshall Lord Methuen	1915
Field-Marshall Viscount Plumer	1919
General Sir Walter Congreve	1924
General Sir John du Cane	1927
General Sir David Campbell	1931
General Sir Charles Bonham-Carter	1936
Lt-General Sir William Dobbie	1940
Field-Marshall Viscount Gort	1942
Lt-General Sir Edmond Schreiber	1944
Sir F.C.R. Douglas	1946
Sir Gerald Creasy	1949
Major-General Sir Robert Edward Laycock	1954
Admiral Sir Guy Grantham	1959

BISHOPS and ARCHBISHOPS : N.B. The Bishopric of Malta was separated from the Archdiocese of Palermo in 1831, and became an independent Archdiocese in 1944. The Bishopric of Gozo dates from 1863.

Mgr. Francesco Saveria Caruana	1831
Mgr. Publio Sant	1847
Mgr. Gaetano Pace Forno, O.S.A.	1857
Separation of Bishopric of Gozo	1863
Mgr. Antonio Maria Buhagiar, O.D.C.	1885
Mgr. Pietro Pace	1889
Mgr. Angelo Portelli, C.P.Aux	1914
Mgr. Maurus Caruana, O.S.B.	1915
Mgr. Michael Gonzi	1943

APPENDIX 4 : The Band Clubs of Malta and Gozo, 1960.

LOCALITY	CLUB	FOUNDATION
Valletta	La Vallette	1874
"	King's Own	1874
Cospicua	St. George's	1863
Senglea	Queen's Own	1865
Vittoriosa	Duke of Edinburgh	
"	Prince of Wales	1891
Gżira	Mount Carmel	
Sliema	Stella Maris	
"	Sliema	
Floriana	Vilhena	1875
Pawla	De Paola	
Marsa	Holy Trinity	
Hamrun	St. Joseph	1889
"	St. Gaetano	1906
Msida	Melita	
St. Julian's	St. Julian's	
Balzan	St. Gabriel	1952
Luqa	St. Andrew	
"	Union	
Birkirkara	St. Helena	
"	Duke of Connaught's Own	
Tarxien	Annuciation	
Qormi	Pinto	
"	St. George's	
Birżebbuġa	St. Peter	1957
Żabbar	M.M. Gratiae	1883
"	St. Michael	1883
Żejtun	Beland	1860
"	Żejtun	1928
Lija	St. Pius X	1894
Mqabba	Lily	
"	King George V	1887 (1905)
Zurrieq	St. Catherine	1912
"	Queen Victoria	1881
Għaxaq	St. Joseph	1924
"	St. Mary	
Victoria	La Stella	1881
"	Leone	1863
Mosta	Nicolo' Isouard	1871
Żebbug	St. Philip	
"	De Rohan	1860
Gudja	La Stella	
"	Our Lady of Consolation	

Qrendi	St. Mary	1945
"	Lourdes	1905
Kirkop	St. Leonard	
"	St. Joseph	
Naxxar	Peace	
Rabat	L'Isle Adam	1860
"	Count Roger	1869
Xewkija	The Precursor (1929-1939)	1958
Mellieħa	Imperial	1930
"	La Vittoria	
Siġġiewi	St. Nicholas	1893
St. Paul's Bay	St. Paul's	1947
Xagħra	Victory	1935
Valletta - Police Force	Band Club	1919

N.B. Information supplied by Mr. P. Farrugia (v. Acknowledgements)

APPENDIX 5 : List of Movements Comprising the Lay Apostolate.

(a) The Society of Christian Doctrine (MUSEUM) was founded in 1909 and Canonically erected in 1932.
(b) Malta Catholic Action; a foreign import into Malta in 1932. The biggest and most broadly based of all the bodies.
(c) Social Action Movement : founded 1955, and has since "stimulated social action and social studies." (CD 334).
(d) The Legion of Mary, in Malta, is united with the senatus of Dublin, Ireland. (CD 322). Begun in Malta pre-war, biggest expansion in social teaching work post 1940.
(e) Young Christian Workers, started in Malta in 1945, and has spread to 19 of the bigger, more 'urban', parishes.
(f) CANA Movement: 1955. A centralized movement directed at engaged and married couples and the family in Malta.
(g) Sodality of Our Lady; old established (1908?), doctrinal.
(h) Christian Mothers Association; Run by Augustinians in 9 Malta parishes and in Gozo since 1918 (B'kara).
(i) Holy Name Society; founded 1921.
(j) Univ. Students Catholic Guild; 1929. Promotes Lay apostolate among Univ. students.
(k) Apostleship of Prayer; 1844.
(l) Apostleship of the Sea; 1944.
(m) Malta Catholic Adoption Society; 1958.
(n) Malta Assoc. for Transport of Sick Pilgrims to Lourdes; 1931.
(o) St. Vincent de Paul Soc (Male); 1850. Charity.
(p) " " " " " (Female); Charity.
(q) Royal University Students' Theological Association.
(r) Malta Private Schools Association.
(s) Malta Bible Society.
(t) 'Pia Opera Tabernacoli' Committee.
(u) Piccolo Clero (Altar Boys).
(v) Pro Sacerdotibus Christi.
(w) Knights of Saint Columba; Directed at non-Roman Catholic English in Malta.
(x) Catholic Social Guild; 1954.
(y) Catholic Motoring Club; 1958.
(z) Apologetic Circle; 1947.

Source : B/91, inter alia.

APPENDIX 6 : The LAY APOSTOLATE

Of the more than two dozen movements which now form the Lay Apostolate in the Maltese Islands (v.B/91) five of the more prominent organizations are shown in the table by their present distribution and by the date, where known, of their foundation in each parish. Numbers of confraternities and third orders, and numbers of churches in each parish are also included.

Malta Catholic Action - Young Men ..... CY
" " " - Young Women ..... CG
" " " - Men ..... CM
" " " - Women ..... CW
Society of Christian Doctrine (M.U.S.E.U.M.) - Men ..... MM
" " " " - Women ..... MF
Legion of Mary, number of Praesidia in each parish ..... LM
Holy Name Society ..... AM
Young Christian Workers ..... YCW
Confraternities and Third Orders ..... Cs
Churches ..... CHs
Date of foundation of Parish ..... Date
Parishes where a movement has no branch ..... .
" " " " " a branch but date of its appearance in that parish not known ..... @

In CY, CG, CM, CW, LM, MF, AM, YCW, numbers (e.g. 36,10) indicate date of appearance of branch (i.e. 1936, 1910, etc.)

No information ..... ?

NB - Information derived in large part from B/91.
- List arranged by increasing size of farming element of the working population. [redacted]

PARISH	Date	CY	CG	CM	CW	MM	MF	LM	AM	YCW	Cs	CHs
Valletta 1	1585	@	25	58	@	10	10	2	55	55	11	8
" 2	1587	@	@	@	@	@	.	10	.	@	6	10
Cospicua	1584	31	48	57	.	08	08	.	.	56	8	5
Senglea	1581	30	.	30	.	16	@	1	.	.	9	4
Vittoriosa	1090	@	@	@	@	@	@	.	@	.	7	5
Gżira	1913	37	39	45	43	33	10	4	49	.	2	3
Sliema 1	1878	32	31	33	58	.	.	9	@	.	4	3
" 2	1918	.	@	58	@	.	.	2	.	.	2	3
" 3	1940	41	55	41	@	@	@	10	.	@	3	5
Floriana	1844	27	@	50	53	07	26	3	36	@	5	4
Pawla	1910	28	@	28	28	10	10	4	48	46	2	4
Marsa	1913	@	@	@	@	09	09	1	.	51	.	3
Hamrun	1881	26	34	42	47	07	12	7	32	49	.	7
Msida, Pieta	1867	31	31	56	.	09	09	2	@	@	4	4
St. Julians	1891	45	44	45	46	?	.	2	.	.	5	2
Balzan	1655	@	56	31	57	@	@	4	@	.	4	?
Luqa	1634	51	51	51	.	@	.	.	.	.	4	?
Birkirkara	1436	32	?	@	57	@	@	8	31	49	6	10
Tarxien	1592	37	@	?	.	09	.	2	.	.	5	4
St. Venera	1918	45	37	45	50	34	34	1	.	.	2	4
Qormi 1	1436	@	@	.	@	?	?	.	.	.	7	6
" 2	1935	35	35	57	.	14	?	?	30	@	3	3
Birżebbuġa	1913	?	?	44	.	37	24	.	31	.	1	?
Żabbar	1615	45	45	46	52	09	.	5	47	.	6	3
Marsaskala	1949	.	.	.	.	45	45	.	49	.	1	1
Żejtun	1436	52	35	@	55	12	@	.	@	55	5	7
Lija	1594	@	50	58	.	52	53	2	29	.	3	5
Iqrabba	1598	.	.	.	.	32	33	5	32	.	4	?
Marsaxlokk	1897	.	56	.	.	50	50	.	52	.	2	?
Żurrieq	1436	32	30	47	40	26	28	.	29	54	6	7
Ghaxaq	1626	.	.	.	.	56	07	.	@	@	3	4
Attard	1575	.	.	@	.	21	21	2	.	.	4	?
Mosta	1608	@	@	46	49	@	@	5	.	48	9	?
Żebbuġ(*)	1436	32	33	44	49	11	15	.	28	.	7	10
Ghajnsielem	1855	@	@	.	.	.	@	1	.	.	2	4
Gudja	1436	.	45	.	51	15	15	.	33	.	4	4
Mrendi	1618	@	@	.	.	@	@	.	@	.	5	7
Kirkop	1592	48	46	.	.	52	.	.	44	.	3	?
Naxxar	1436	47	40	@	.	35	31	1	35	49	6	5
Rabat*	1902	33	33	57	.	33	37	8	28	56	15	17
Mewkija	1678	33	33	.	.	@	@	2	@	.	2	2
Ghargħur	1598	@	46	58	57	@	33	.	32	.	6	6
Mellieha	1841	54	48	57	54	.	44	3	@	52	4	3
Siġġiewi	1436	32	@	38	.	26	38	.	@	48	6	?
Senmat	1688	.	32	30	.	50	.	1	.	.	2	1
Hadur	1688	@	@	.	.	@	@	.	@	.	3	3
Safi	1598	?	54	.	56	.	@	.	37	54	3	2
Dingli	1678	48	.	.	.	36	36	.	32	.	2	2
Qala	1872	@	@	.	.	@	@	.	.	.	3	2
St. Paul's Bay	1905	46	.	@	42	.	46	2	.	.	4	7
Kerċem, St. Lucia	1885	@	@	29	@	.	.	1	47	.	2	2
Xagħra	1688	@	@	.	.	.	.	2	@	.	3	4
Għarb	1679	@	@	@	@	.	.	.	.	.	3	1
San Lawrenz	1893	@	@	@	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	1
Żebbuġ(G)	1688	.	@	@	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	1
Munxar (*)	1898	@	@	@	@	.	.	.	.	.	2	1
Għasri	1921	.	.	40	.	.	.	.	27	.	2	2
Nunxar	1957	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	.	.	1	1

Mdina (A.D. 60) 1090 - Co-Cathedral of Malta (with St. John's, Valletta). Cathedral of Gozo (at Victoria).

* - separated from Mdina, 1902.

APPENDIX 7 : POPULATION

YEAR	All Islands	Malta	Gozo	Urban	Fringe	Inner Rural	Rural	Outer Rural
1957	319,620	292,019	27,601	135,390	83,398	50,002	40,438	10,892
1948	305,991	278,311	27,680	129,153	78,492	46,766	39,405	12,175
1931	241,621	217,784	23,837	114,196	51,367	36,780	29,502	9,776
1921	212,258	189,697	22,561	98,069	44,114	34,166	26,877	9,032
1911	211,564	188,869	22,695	96,147	43,902	36,346	26,696	8,573
1901	184,742	164,952	19,790	84,429	38,111	32,276	22,614	7,312
1891	165,037	146,484	18,553	75,377	33,142	30,012	20,521	5,985
1881	149,782	132,129	17,653	68,476	29,386	27,837	18,162	5,861
1871	140,883	123,492	17,391	61,782	28,567	26,719	18,020	5,795
1861	132,956	117,497	15,459	58,788	27,197	25,289	16,493	5,189
1851	123,496	108,833	14,663	54,885	24,800	24,200	15,650	3,961
1842	113,864	99,522	14,342	51,487	21,923	22,163	14,438	3,853
1828	114,236	98,618	15,618	-	-	-	-	-
1807	93,054	80,225	12,829	-	-	-	-	-
1741	15,032	13,309	1,723	-	-	-	-	-
1632	52,900	49,900	3,000	-	-	-	-	-
1530	29,659	25,000	4,691	-	-	-	-	-

Sources:
1957 - B/168
1851 to 1948 (inc.) - B/167
1842 - B/166
1828 (estimate) - B/516, Vol.1,p.151
1807 (estimate) - B/86
1741 (estimate) - v.B/167 (1881, p.2)
1632 (estimate) - B/383, Vol.1, Chapter 8
1530 (estimate) - B/516, Vol.1, p.151 (after B/334)

Notes:

(i) 1957 population figures by census localities (B/168) are given in Appendix 13.

(ii) See B/166, 167, and 168, for full statistics since 1842; see also B/561 for detailed analysis of population changes.

(iii) Some of the information in the above table is given in graph form.

(iv) See Map 3 for Population Density by Localities, 1957.

APPENDIX 8.

Occupational Structure of Population 1957 (B/177 - 1957).

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
A. Malta Government			
Administrative, Executive & Clerical	1600	300	1900
Professional & Technical	1920	1520	3440
Protective Social & other Services	2650	690	3340
Minor & manipulative Office Staff	930	70	1000
Trade Groups	7090	200	7290
TOTAL	14190	2780	16970
B. Service Departments			
Industrial	17260	360	17620
Non-Industrial	1720	220	1940
H.M. Forces	3550	-	3550
TOTAL	22530	580	23110
C. PRIVATE INDUSTRY			
Agriculture	6512	1301	7813
Fishing	820	20	840
Construction	4940	10	4950
Wholesale and Retail	7510	3100	10610
Transport	3250	120	3370
Food (except beverages)	1150	460	1610
Beverages	750	250	1000
Personal Service	2240	3250	5590
All other Private Industry	7590	2030	9620
TOTAL	34762	10541	45303
TOTAL GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED POPULATION:	71482	13901	85383

NB - Total gainfully-occupied figures, by localities, are listed in Appendix 11.

APPENDIX 9 : Some Trade Statistics, 1957.

(i)
Principal Trading Partners, 1957 (B/181-1957)

COUNTRY	IMPORTS[a.] into Malta £	EXPORTS from Malta £	RE-EXPORTS from Malta £
United Kingdom	11,237,471	283,142	240,749
Canada	1,189,815	7,525	6
Australia	488,947	12,045	2,047
H.M. Ships & British merchants ships and aircraft	77,250	8,966	1,759,118
Rest of Commonwealth and Eire	641,083	43,710	23,391
Italy	3,334,315	254,164	161,519
Netherlands and Antilles	1,867,655	25,765	438
France	1,298,672	18,915	3,657
West Germany	1,099,727	19,089	9,366
United States	876,754	508	4,426
Denmark	641,590	3,938	1,317
Yugoslavia	607,563	9	100
Lebanon	598,647	2,009	3,079
Libya	418,067	193,436	156,382
other foreign countries except Eire	2,631,500	14,314	94,254
	£27,009,056	£887,535	£2,459,849

(ii)
Commodities, 1957 (B/181-1957)

Article (£)	IMPORTS[a.] into Malta	EXPORTS From Malta	RE-EXPORTS from Malta
Food, drink & tobacco	8,990,319	222,395	438,359
Raw material & articles mainly unmanufactured	3,576,170	494,503	1,507,631
Articles wholly or mainly manufactured	11,836,029	165,054	176,261
Misc. & unclassified	2,606,538	5,583	337,598
	£27,009,056	£887,535	£2,459,849

a. excluding Gold.

(iii)

Customs Revenue on Imports, 1957 (B/181-1957)

£ 3,846,620

(iv)

Trade in selected items of 'Food and Drink', 1957 (B/181-1957)

Article (£)	IMPORTED into Malta	EXPORTED from Malta	RE-EXPORTED from Malta
Meat - uncanned	393,991	-	6,672
Meat - canned	603,255	6	14,153
Milk - evaporated, dried, condensed	768,909	-	1,478
Butter	129,970	-	810
Cheese and curd	400,557	-	378
Eggs	193,424	-	-
Fish & Preparations	171,333	97	1,576
Wheat - unmilled	1,391,507	-	-
Barley - unmilled	78,877	-	-
Fruit & Nuts - fresh	421,683	-	63
Fruit - dried & preserved	205,826	25,334	8,185
Potatoes - table	1,083	104,961	-
Potatoes - seed	97,742	-	-
Other vegetables	832,739	15,076	-
Animal feed	456,161	-	-
Alcoholic Beverages	373,036	28,819	99,359

APPENDIX 10 : Agriculture (B/164-1957)

(i) AREAS

AREA of the Maltese Islands	276,429 tmien	(77,400 ac)
Area of Malta	217,143 tmien	(60,800 ac)
Area of Gozo	59,286 tmien	(16,600 ac)
CULTIVABLE AREA of the Maltese Islands	156,211 tmien	(12,484 holdings
Holdings of dry (bagħali) land ...	116,460 tmien	(10,517 "
Holdings of irrigable (saqwi) land	700 tmien	(88 holdings)
Holding of both dry & irrigable	39,051 tmien	(1,879 ")

(ii) ACREAGE and PRODUCTION of CROPS. 1956-57

CROP	ACREAGE	VALUE(£)	YIELD (Tons)	YIELD per Acre (Tons)
Wheat	5,192	98,908	2,916	0.6
Barley & Meslin	4,836	68,339	2,738	0.6
Vetches	1,727	51,993	1,354	0.8
Forages	11,000	361,150(a)	32,000(a)	2.3
Broad Beans	1,000	15,233	356	3.5
Cumin Seed	14	180	3	0.2
Cotton	35	800	8	0.2
Locust Beans	500	20,000	1,500	3.0
Total	24,304	616,603	40,875	
Potatoes (spring)	6,000	350,000	21,000	3.5
Potatoes (autumn)	3,057	193,394	9,157	3.0
Melons	2,721	32,908	1,714	0.6
Onions	789	47,970	3,000	3.8
Tomatoes	3,000	146,000	12,000	4.0
Other vegetables	3,697	344,744	18,436	5.0
Total	19,259	1,115,016	65,307	
Grapes	5,204	171,102	5,347	1.0
Citrus	160	32,000	510	3.0
Other Fruit	1,000	105,000	4,000	2.0
Total	6,364	308,102	9,847	
Flowers & Seeds	250	100,000	..	
TOTAL ac.	50,177	£2,139,721	116,029 Tons	

(a) Including Straw.

(iii) CLASSIFICATION OF LIVESTOCK. 1957 (September)

	Malta (1957)	Gozo(1957)	TOTAL (1957)	TOTAL (1949)
Horses	1,688	369	2,057	2,753
Donkeys	1,732	1,107	2,839	3,335
Mules	1,535	349	1,884	2,351
Goats	21,630	10,428	32,058	
Billy Goats	417	177	594	50,677
Kids under 1 year ..	3,564	3,121	6,685	
Sheep	8,091	4,241	12,332	
Rams	98	43	141	21,237
Lambs under 1 year .	1,015	1,330	2,345	
Bulls	377	294	671	
Heifers Pregnant ...	339	195	534	
Heifers other	731	363	1,091	
Milch Cows	2,539	953	3,492	2,633
Stud Bulls	111	26	137	
Maltese Draught-Cows	109	6	115	
Imported Store Bulls	2,860	824	3,684	
Breeding Sows.....	2,783	598	3,381	
Boars	214	87	301	
Sucking Pigs	935	367	1,302	20,015
Other Fatteners	6,561	1,753	8,314	
Hens	195,683	126,630	322,313	
Other Poultry	5,145	1,364	6,509	
Rabbits	43,645	16,048	59,693	

(iv) MECHANIZED IMPLEMENTS owned by farmers, 1956-57.

IMPLEMENTS	MALTA	GOZO	TOTAL
Tractors - under 10 horse-power.....	15	11	26
Tractors - over 10 horse-power.....	26	6	32
Hand Cultivators - under 10 h-p.....	592	74	666
Hand Cultivators - over 10 h-p.....	54	19	73
Harvesting machines - under 10 h-p..	16	1	17
Harvesting machines - over 10 h-p..	1	-	1
Threshing machines - under 10 h-p...	2	-	2
Threshing machines - over 10 h-p...	13	4	17

(v) FARMING POPULATION. 1956-57

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Full-time farmers.....	6,512	1,301	7,813
Part-time farmers.....	6,634	2,954	9,588
Farming population not in farming (over 14).....	5,777	14,694	20,471
Children (under 14).....	10,246	9,795	20,041
Total.....	29,169	28,744	57,913

(vi) DAYS WORKED on farms (in Man/days). 1956-57.

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Full-time farmers.....	full	full	2,343,900
Part-time farmers.....	part	part	340,221
Hired labour.....	158,515	28,401	186,916
Unpaid farmers' relatives.....	43,718	5,718	49,388

(vii) FARMERS as PERCENTAGE of Total Population. 1871-1957 (v.7)

	FULL-TIME FARMERS					as % TOTAL POPULATION				
	1871	1901	1931	1948	1957	1871	1901	1931	1948	1957
Urban	342	415	307	325	224	.55	.49	.27	.22	.17
Fringe	3923	2259	2181	1618	1150	13.7	5.9	4.25	2.1	1.37
Inner R.	5026	4224	3597	2404	1795	18.8	13.1	8.7	5.15	3.6
Rural	4856	4791	4602	4271	3133	27	21	15.6	10.8	7.8
Outer R.	1763	2200	3002	2805	1511	30	30	31	23	13.9
TOTAL	15910	13889	13689	11423	7813	11.3	7.5	5.15	3.7	2.46

NB: - Sources - 1957 full-time farmers (B/164 - 1957)
- 1957 population (B/168)
- other data (B/167)
- See also Map 2, and Graph.

(viii) PART-TIME FARMING (B/525, p.112)

	1901		1956
"Farmers".....	5038	Full-time Farmholders ..	4706
"Part-time farmers"..	500	Part-time " ..	5337
		Other Farmholders	1368
TOTAL	5538	11411	
No. of holdings	9178	12640	

(ix) FARM LABOURING (B/525, p.111): Farmholders, labourers, field workers as % total.

	1842	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Farmholders %...	27.2	19.7	17.1	30.2	19.1	37.4	36.4	47.9	41.1	47.3
Farmworkers %...	71.9	78.4	80.9	68.1	79.5	61.4	60.4	51.4	56.9	51.1
Total workers %...	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
On land (000's)...	12.6	13.4	10.8	15.9	16.0	15.6	13.9	15.2	16.3	13.7

APPENDIX 11: The Malta Dockyard, Employees by Locality of Residence, March 1957.

LOCALITY	Maltese Workers	Gainfully-Occupied	%	United Kingdom Workers
Pawla	1,261	3,115	38.8	20
Żejtun	995	3,506	28.4	1
Żabbar	961	3,461	31	1
Cospicua	960	2,599	37	6
Hamrun	715	6,594	11.25	5
Sliema	573	6,660	8.6	232
Senglea	537	1,408	38.1	17
Tarxien	467	2,184	21.6	-
Vittoriosa	461	1,216	38	4
Valletta	444	5,927	7.5	2
Birkirkara	441	5,128	11.8	5
Qormi	408	4,401	9.3	-
Rabat	363	4,293	8.7	1
Żurrieq	345	2,154	16	-
Marsa	343	3,023	11.4	-
Żebbuġ	248	2,554	9.7	-
Msida	240	1,725	13.9	15
Kalkara	218	616	35.4	3
Birżebbuġa	215	1,285	16.7	1
Gżira	214	2,214	9.6	26
Luqa	173	1,263	13.7	-
Floriana	172	1,755	9.75	5
Hosta	169	2,412	7	1
St. Julian's	155	2,153	7.2	44
Gharxaq	154	836	18.5	-
Siġġiewi	148	1,670	8.85	-
Gudja	104	514	19.9	-
Dingli	94	781	12	-
Marsaxlokk	83	484	17.2	-
Marsaskala	83	v.Żabbar		2
Pieta	79	1,062	7.45	3
Balzan	76	761	10	10
Lija	75	685	11	4
Qrendi	73	768	9.5	-
Naxxar	72	1,582	4.55	3
Mqabba	68	634	10.7	-
Attard	55	965	5.7	1
Mellieha	50	1,279	3.9	-
Kirkop	50	372	13.4	-
Safi	29	257	11.3	-
Gharghur	28	608	4.55	-
St. Paul's Bay	27	1,027	2.33	3
GOZO	25	7,893	0.32	-
Santa Venera	25	v.Hamrun		1
Hġarr	24	784	3.06	-
Mdina	11	v.Rabat		1
Not known	61			-
	12,572			417

Notes - The distribution of Maltese workers as a percentage of total gainfully-occupied population by localities is shown on Map 4.

- Sources : A count, from employment files, was made in March, 1957, by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton, permission being kindly given by the authorities of (at that time) H.M. Dockyard, Malta.
Gainfully-occupied figures from B/168.

APPENDIX 12 : The Malta Dockyard - Dates of major Extensions prior to 1910.

Admiralty House, Vittoriosa	Probably built	1670-1680
Superintendent Victualling Yard House	" "	1730
Captain Attendant's House	Built	1730
Admiralty House, Valletta	Re-built	1761-1763
Deputy Surgeon General's House, Bighi	Altered	1832
Officers' Residences	"	1832
Deputy Surgeon General's Office	Built	1832
Sea Baths, Bighi (extended in 1871, 1877, 1879 and 1886)	"	1832
Dockyard in Galley Creek	Mainly built	1840-1850
Corradino Tank, No. 1	Built	1841
Naval Bakery	"	1844
Clock Tower	"	1844
Camine Tunnel	"	1845
Dockyard Terrace, Senglea	"	1846
No. 1 Dock (Outer)	"	1847
Bakery Tanks	"	1847-1848
Officers' Mess, Sheer Bastion	Altered	1848
Buildings round No. 1 Dock	Built	1848
Admiralty Bridge (Margherita)	"	1848
Master Miller, Baker Engineer's House	"	1848
Police Quarters	"	1848
(Late) Torpedo Store	"	1848
Main Gate	"	1849
Wharf by Sheer Bastion and Main Gate	"	1850
Foreman's Residence	"	1851
St. Helena Tank	"	1852
Slip in front of Margherita Arches	"	1852
St. Teresa Tunnel	"	1855
St. Lorenzo Tunnel	"	1858
Corradino Tank No.2	"	1861
No. 1 Dock (Inner)	"	1862
Officers' Mess, Bighi	"	1863
Short Tunnel from Dockyard to French Creek	"	1865
Church Tunnel " " " " "	"	1866
Marsa Coal Stores, various	"	1869
No. 3 Dock (Somerset)	"	1871
Hydraulic Dock	"	1871
Dockyard Chapel, over Tunnel	"	1882
Pumping House, No. 3 Dock	"	1884
Torpedo Depot, Sliema	"	1884
North Gate	"	1892
No. 2 Dock (Hamilton)	"	1892
South Gate	Re-built	1894

Scheme for increased accommodation for H.M. Ships	Approved	1901
Works Department Office	Built	1901
New Docks	"	1906
Burmola Gate	"	1906
Ghajn Dwieli Gate	Re-built	1906
Corradino Gate	Built	1907
Ricasoli Breakwater	"	1907
St. Elmo Breakwater	"	1909

NOTE Information from B/466, Appendix XI.

APPENDIX 13 : The BUILT-UP AREA

"A Township is the definite urban-type built-up nucleus of a census locality" (v. B/168, p.38). On this basis the 'township' area and population within each census locality may be distinguished:

CENSUS LOCALITIES	LOCALITIES		"TOWNSHIPS"	
	LAND AREA. sq. miles A	POPULATION B	LAND AREA. as % of A	POPULATION as % of B
Valletta	0.281	18,202	100	100
Cospicua	0.241	9,095	100	100
Senglea	0.057	5,065	100	100
Vittoriosa	0.205	4,242	100	100
Gżira	0.411	8,545	38.9	99.3
Sliema	0.485	23,399	100	100
Floriana	0.341	5,811	100	100
Pawla	1.066	11,424	24.6	100
Marsa	0.883	10,672	39.6	100
Hamrun	0.360	16,895	73.1	100
Msida	0.368	6,587	53.3	98.9
Kalkara	0.471	2,101	28.9	92.9
Pieta	0.200	4,076	78.5	100
St. Julians	1.635	8,285	17.9	70.8
Balzan	0.236	2,734	68.6	100
Luqa	1.812	5,382	5.6	91.2
Birkirkara	2.736	16,987	15.2.	90.5
Tarxien	0.850	7,706	12.5	56.2
St. Venera	0.415	5,246	34.9	75.1
Qormi	2.412	14,869	9.9	95.6
Birżebbuġa	2.994	5,297	4.7	88.1
Żabbar & M'skala	3.255	11,893	9.5	61.3
Żejtun	3.777	11,665	5.9	87.2
Lija	0.547	2,119	24.1	98.3
Mqabba	1.242	2,088	5	97.5
Marsaxlokk	1.952	1,469	1.9	92.9
Żurrieq	3.536	6,837	4.3	92.8
Ghaxaq	1.121	2,830	6.8	96.5
Attard	2.090	2,663	7.2	97.2
Victoria	1,635	6,357	19.6	97
Mdina	2,473	823	1.1	100
Mosta	1.900	7,377	14	97.9
Żebbuġ	3.167	7,969	10.2	99.7
Ghajnsielem	1.414	1,830	6.9	98
Gudja	1.709	1,712	2.6	97.4
Qrendi	2.587	2,155	2.2	97.7
Kirkop	0.717	1,204	6.3	100
Naxxar	6.538	4,688	2.7	83
Rabat	8.048	12,792	2.9	82
Xewkija	1.286	3,281	12.9	99.9
Gharghur	2.023	1,813	2	87.3
Mellieha	7.808	4,290	0.9	71.9
Siġġiewi	6.230	5,055	2.4	96.4
Sannat & Munxar	2,167	1,656	4.9	99.6
Nadur	2.487	4,136	7.8	98.7
Safi	0.447	709	10.1	97.7
Dingli	3.674	2,041	1.7	68.5
Qala	2.218	1,616	3.6	95.8
St. Paul's Bay	5.620	3,040	2.1	72.5
Kerċem & St. Lucia	2.442	1,272	4	100
Xagħra	4.654	4,056	5.8	87.9
Gharb	2.043	1,269	2.2	67.3
San Lawrenz	1.355	428	3.4	69.2
Żebbuġ	2.775	1,199	4.4	95.1
Nġarr	5.956	2,167	0.6	31.2
Ghasri	1.423	471	3	41.2
Comino	1.075	30	0	0
Maltese Islands	121.850	319,620	7.6	91.1
Malta	98.876	292,019	8	90.9
Gozo	26.974	27,601	5.9	93.6

NB: - Information from B/168. (Table P IIIb).

APPENDIX 14 : WEIGHTS and MEASURES

UNIT	EQUIVALENTS		
	Maltese	British	Metric
LENGTH			
Pulzier (pollice)	-	0.859 ins	21.83 mm
Xiber (palmo)	12 Pulzier	10.312 ins	26.19 cm
Qasba (canna)	8 Xbar	2.292 yds	2.095 m
AREA			
Qasba Kwadra	-	2.252 sq.yds	1.891 sq.m.
Kejla	-	22.410 sq.yds	18.735 sq.m
Siegħa (mondello)	10 Kejliet	224.100 sq.yds	187.354 sq.m
Tomna (tummolo)	6 Sieghan	0.278 acre	0.112 ha.
Modd (salma)	16 L'Tomna	4.444 acres	1.798 ha.
		(1 acre - 3.6 tmien)	
VOLUME			
Xiber Kubu	-	0.63 cu.ft	
Qasba Kubu	-	12.04 cu.yds	
WEIGHT			
Uqija	-	0.933 oz	0.026 kg
Ratal (rotolo)	30 Uqija	1.750 lbs	0.793 kg
Wiżna	5 Rtal	8.750 lbs	3.968 kg
Qantar	20 Wiżna	175.000 lbs	79.378 kg
		(1 ton - 12.8 qnatar	1016.128 kg)
BUNDLE MEASURE			
Qatta, Xibka, Xkora (sheaf or bundle of sulla, wheat, etc.)			
Hemel (somma)	10 Qattiet (8 Qattiet in Gozo)		
CAPACITY: DRY GOODS			
Tomna (tummolo)	-	0.0625 qrs	0.1818 hectolitr
Wejba	4 Tmien	2.0 bushels	0.7272 "
Modd (salma)	16 L'Tomna	8.0 "	2.909 "
CAPACITY: OIL & MILK			
Terz	-	0.281 quart	0.32 litres
Nofs	2 Terzi	0.562 "	0.63 "
Kartocc	2 Nfas	1.125 "	1.27 "
Kwarta	4 Kratec	1.125 gallons	5.11 "

UNIT	EQUIVALENTS		
	Maltese	British	Metric
CAPACITY: BEER, WINES & SPIRITS			
Pinta	-	0.25 pint	0.142 litres
Terz	2 Pinet*	0.50 "	0.284 "
Nofs	2 Terzi*	1.00 "	0.561 "
Kartocc	2 Nfas*	2.00 "	1.136 "
Kwarta	4.75 Kratec*	1.187 gallons	5.398 "
Garra	2 Karti*	2.375 "	10.797 "
Barmil (Barrel)	4 Garar*	9.500 "	43.187 "

MONEY

Sterling is the official currency in Malta and Gozo but various old units are also retained in popular usage:

'Lira'	£1	'Sitta(6) rbghajja'	10d
'Nofs Lira'.....	10s	'Sixpence'	6d
'Tmintax (18) rbighi'.	2s 6d	'Tlieta(3) rbghajja'.....	5d
'Skud'	1s 8d	'Sold'	1d
'Xelin'	1s	'Sitt(6) habbiet'	½d

(A 'habba' - grain - was one twelfth of a penny; twenty 'habbiet' equalled one 'tari' or 'rbighi'.)

NOTES

(1) Plural forms, identified by an asterisk* in the table: Garar (s.Garra); Habbiet (s.Habba); Kratec (s.Kartocc); Kejliet (s.Kejla); Kwarti (s.Kwarta); Nfas (s.Nofs); Pinet (s.Pinta); Qnatar (s.Qantar); Qattiet (s.Qatta); Rbghajja (s.Rbighi); Rtal (S.Ratal); Sieghan (S. Sieghi); Skudi (s.Skud); Terzi (s.Terz); Tmien (s.Tomna); Xbar (s.Xiber); Wiżniet (s.Wiżna).

(2) The information in the table is based in part on that given in B/96 - 1958-9, p.410, and in part on personal investigation.

2 INCHES TO 1 MILE

MALTA AND GOZO

EDITION 4–GSGS
(Supersedes earlier editions)

SHEET 2

Refer to this map as :–	GSGS 3859	Sheet 2
	EDITION 4	

NOTE The Universal Transverse Mercator Grid on this sheet is not in terms of the European Datum

GRID DATA

Universal Transverse Mercator

Projection	Transverse Mercator
Spheroid	International
Origin	15°E. Equator
False Co-ordinates of origin	500,000 m.E 0 m.N.

Grid Zone 33 International Spheroid
The last three digits of the Grid numbers are omitted

GRID ZONE DESIGNATION	TO GIVE A GRID REFERENCE ON THIS SHEET
33 S	LETTER See 100,000 m.Sq. IDENTIFICATION
100,000 m Sq. IDENTIFICATION	FIGURES Pay no attention to the smaller co-ordinate figures in the margins. They are for Trading Sqt co-ordinates. ed. 100
V V	PAY ATTENTION TO LARGER MARGINAL FIGURES AND TO THOSE PRINTED ON THE FACE OF THE MAP. viz 1000
	POINT SELMUN PALACE LETTER VV
	East: Take south edge of square in which point lies and read the figures printed opposite this line (on north or south margin) or on the line itself (on the face of the map) — 44 3 — Estimate tenths eastwards
	North: Take south edge of square in which point lies and read the figures printed opposite this line (on east or west margin) or on the line itself (on the face of the map) — 79 5 — Estimate tenths northwards
	REFERENCE VV 443795
	Unit: Metre Square 1000m Reference to imprint 100m.

GRID N. TRUE N.
MAG. N.
0°19'W
1°31'W

APPROXIMATE MEAN DECLINATION 1956
FOR CENTRE OF SHEET
Annual Decrease 09'

RELIABILITY DIAGRAM

Revised from information by C.R.E., Malta., Nov., 1942

GLOSSARY

BAHAR	Bay
BIR	Well
BLAT, BLATA	Rocks
GEBEL	Rocky Hill
GHAJN	Spring
GHAR	Cave
HAL, HALL	Village
IL	The
KEBIR, KEBIRA	Large
QORTIN	High Lands
MISRAH	Wide Open Space
QALA	Inlet
RAMLA	Sandy Bay
RAS	Head
IR-RDUM, RDUM	Land between top of Cliff and Sea Line
TAL	Of The
TORRI	Tower
WIED	Valley

KEY TO PRONUNCIATION

a as "a" in "far"		g as "j" in "jam"	
aj – "i" – "ice"		(H) h – "h" – "honour"	
e,ej – "ey" – "they"		(H) h strongly aspirated as "h" in "house"	
i – "ee" – "eel"		gh almost silent-Arabic 'ain	
ie – "ie" – "pier"		x as "sh" in "sheet"	
u – "oo" – "boot"		j – "y" – "yes"	
ċ – "ch" – "church"		z – "ts" – "bits"	
g – "g" – "go"		ż – "z" – "zoo"	

Names in brackets are either alternative names or the approximate English pronunciation.

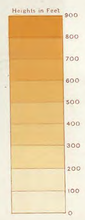
ROAD CLASSIFICATION

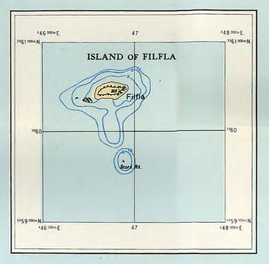
Class A Two-way, good surface.....
Class B Two-way, bad surface.....
Class C Two-way, but narrow.....
Class D Single-way, with passing places.....
Class E Single-way, bad surface.....

AIRFIELDS

Runways.....
Dispersal areas.....

Heights in Feet





CONVENTIONAL SIGNS

Country Cart Tracks
Footpaths
Site of Old Railway
Aqueducts, above ground
below
Reservoirs, Potable Water
Brackish
Pumping Stations, Potable Water
Brackish
Spring
Trigonometrical Stations (see Trig Survey Malta & Gozo, War Office 294/23):
Office 294(29)
Intersected Points. Church & Chimney + Other Buildings
Church or Chapel, with Tower or Spire
without other
Windmill
Lighthouse
Bridges
Police Stations
Antiquities Caves C. Megaliths M. Roman Remains R. Tombs
Milestones Distances from Kingsgate (Porta Reale)

Scale : 1/31,680 or 2 Inches to 1 Mile

5 Miles
9000 Yards
8 Kilometres

Kilometres
Metres

Contour interval 25 feet,
every 100 feet accentuated.

Geographical Section, General Staff, No. 3859
Published by War Office, 1954
Edition 4 GSGS 1954

Roads, buildings, airfields and dispersal areas revised by 512 (Army) Fd. Svy. Coy. R.E. 1943 from information by C.R.E. Malta 1942. Grid changed to U.T.M. Coastal and inland place names changed to Maltese orthography by War Office 1954.

5,000/6/55 S.P.C./R.E.

Refer to this map as :–	GSGS 3859	Sheet 2
	EDITION 4	

Photographed from the Air by the R.A.F. in 1927. Ground Control by Captains E.R.L. Peake & M. Hotine, R.E.
Surveyed from the photographs by the Geographical Section, General Staff, and by the Ordnance Survey. 1934.

Reproduced by War Office 1954

MAP LIB. U. OF GEORGIA UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

MALTA AND GOZO

2 INCHES TO 1 MILE

EDITION 3 – GSGS
(Supersedes earlier editions)

SHEET 1

Refer to this map as: —	GSGS 3859	Sheet 1
	EDITION 3	

NOTE The Universal Transverse Mercator Grid on this sheet is not in terms of the European Datum

GRID DATA

Universal Transverse Mercator

Projection	Transverse Mercator
Spheroid	International
Origin	15°E, Equator
False Co-ordinates of origin	500,000 m.E. 0 m.N.

Grid Zone 33 International Spheroid
The last three digits of the Grid numbers are omitted

GRID ZONE DESIGNATION 33S	TO GIVE A GRID REFERENCE ON THIS SHEET
100,000 M SQ. IDENTIFICATION	LETTER See 100,000 m SQ. IDENTIFICATION FIGURES. Pay no attention to the smaller co-ordinate figures in the margins. They are for finding full co-ordinates, viz. 1001
V V	PAY ATTENTION TO LARGER MARGINAL FIGURES AND TO THOSE PRINTED ON THE FACE OF THE MAP, VIZ. 3001
	POINT SAN BARTILMOW HOSP. LETTER V V
	East Take west edge of square in which point lies and read the figures printed opposite this line (on north or south margin) or on the line itself (on the face of the map) — East 33 8 Estimate tenths eastwards
	North Take south edge of square in which point lies and read the figures printed opposite this line (on east or west margin) or on the line itself (on the face of the map) — North 87 9 Estimate tenths northwards
	REFERENCE V V 338879
Unit	Metre Square 1000m. Reference to nearest 100m.

GRID N TRUE N
MAG. N
0°25'W.
1°46'W.

APPROXIMATE MEAN DECLINATION 1955
FOR CENTRE OF SHEET
Annual Decrease 09'

RELIABILITY DIAGRAM

Revised from information by C.R.E., Malta, Nov. 1942.

GLOSSARY

BAHAR	Bay
BIR	Well
BLAT, BLATA	Rocks
GEBEL	Rocky Hill
GHAIN	Spring
GHAR	Cave
HAL, MALL	Village
IL	The
KEBIR KEBIRA	Large
QORTIN	Flat Lands
MISRAH	Wide Open Space
QALA	Inlet
RAMLA	Sandy Bay
RAS	Head
IRDUM, RDUM	Land between top of Cliff and Sea Line
TAL	Of The
TORRI	Tower
WIED	Valley

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ċ – "ch" – "church"		z – "ts" – "bits"	
g – "g" – "go"		ż – "z" – "zoo"	

Names in brackets are either alternative names or the approximate English pronunciation.

Heights in Feet: 700, 600, 500, 400, 300, 200, 100, 0

Geographical Section, General Staff, No. 3859
Published by War Office 1953
Edition 3 GSGS 1953

Roads and buildings revised by 512 (Army) Fd Svy Coy, R.E. 1943 from information by C.R.E. Malta 1942.
Grid changed to U.T.M.
Coastal and inland place names changed to Maltese orthography by War Office 1953.
5009/53 S.C., R.E.

Refer to this map as: —	GSGS 3859	Sheet 1
	EDITION 3	

CONVENTIONAL SIGNS

Country Cart Tracks
Footpaths
Site of Old Railway
Aqueducts, above ground
" below "
Reservoirs, Potable Water
" Brackish "
Pumping Stations, Potable Water
" " Brackish "
Spring

Trigonometrical Stations (see Trig Survey Malta & Gozo, War Office 29/4/29)
" Office 29/4/29)
" of Joint Survey (see Trig Survey Malta & Gozo, War
Intersected Points
Church & Chimney & Other Buildings
Church or Chapel, with Tower or Spire
" " without either
Windmill
Lighthouse
Bridges
Police Stations
Antiquities — Cuves C Megalithic M Roman Remains R Tombs TT
Milestones Distances from Kingsgate (Porta Reale)

ROAD CLASSIFICATION

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Class C Two-way, but narrow
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Class E Single-way bad surface

Scale: 1/31,680 or 2 Inches to 1 Mile

1 0 1 2 3 4 5 Miles
1,000 0 1,000 2,000 3,000 4,000 5,000 6,000 7,000 8,000 9,000 Yards
Kilometres 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Kilometres
Metres 1000 500

Contour interval 25 feet,
every 100 feet accentuated.

Photographed from the Air by the R.A.F. in 1927. Ground Control by Captains E.R.L. Peake & M. Hotine, R.E.
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