

3 From Generals to Generals: Aborted Insurrection, Painful Resurrection

The sense of belonging to a religio-centric community has cradled patriotism and nationhood in modern times. The church was not only *imperium in imperio* in a wide sense; it was also to some extent a manifestation of the individual, of the particular, of the geographical environment. This cradling of patriotism by the institutional church was felt even in the Near East where Islam being a theocratic blueprint allowed less scope for it, yet scholars such as Hourani have argued that it is out of the religious *summa* that the sense of a secular nationhood emerged. In situations where the *ecclesia* and *imperium* are likely to be at odds, distinctions become easier and more formative. We have observed how it is wrong to conceive of the Rising of the Priests as an exclusively ecclesiastical occurrence. We emphasised the patriotic and political quality of the discourse that was being used, or indeed of the actions that were taken or contemplated from the accession of La Valette (indeed from the very arrival of the Order, which the Maltese nobility had reason to resent and to oppose), right down to the last days of the Order when Hompesch gave in the towel before entering the ring.

The selection of references to '*il Popolo Maltese*', to '*i Maltesi*', and '*povera Malta*' bring home to us how already in the early seventeenth century we had an embryonic nationalism. It was not the Jacobins who invented Mikiel Anton Vassalli's genius either for Malta as '*nazione*' or for Maltese speakers as '*veri nazionali*', although Vassalli's standpoint marks a note-worthy evolution in the sketching of nationality rights and self-image. Vassalli's '*patrie*' was, initially at least, the French one; but as he traced his own origins and his own inner language, as it were, he found in Malteseness a virginity that badly needed awakening and testing. His patriotism thus begins to take on a Maltese tinge. The influence of an idealistic abstraction - the revolutionary vision - is never far away. In the opening paragraph to his **Lexicon Melitense-Latino-Italum**, published in Rome in 1796, he deliberately calls his introductory address "*ALLA NAZIONE MALTESE*". The first word is a rallying cry reverberating from the squares of Paris rather than of Żebbuġ: "*CONCITTADINI*". And, all too typically in our history, everything is in Italian — not, of course, in Maltese! Vassalli's injection of linguistic national self-discovery is laced with sweet reasonableness, rationality and knowledge, and no less with patriotism applied here to the Maltese themselves:

"A niun altro che a Voi consacro la presente opera...A Voi la deggio unicamente dedicare, perchè describe ed illustra il pregevol monumento della più antica favella che insin oggi avete conservato. Voi la riguarderete come vostra, perchè raccolta tra di Voi medesimi da un vostro compatriotto. Voi più che altri formar potrete un'adequata idea e dare ragionato giudizio, qualore con principi e discernimento esaminar vogliate le proprietà, qualità, e prerogative...E siccome nel tessere questo Lessico ò avuto sempre innanzi gli occhi il comune vantaggio della mia Patria e le incessanti di lei brame; così ora nell'inviarvela mi lusingo di poter appagare il voto universale".

In terms of self-description — of regarding the Maltese *patria* as separate and dear, worthy of transmittance — this is by no means a beginning. Even before Filippo Borg — and leaving aside Pietro Caxaro of Mdina who was writing Maltese poetry in the fifteenth century — we know of others who expressed themselves in comparable idioms or phraseologies. Maurice Agius-Vadala has quoted chapter and verse for two of these, in the late sixteenth century.¹ Antonio Saliba, a Gozitan, in a work published in Naples in 1582, identified himself by profession and by nationality, describing Malta as "*Nostra Patria*". Eight years later, Giovanni Myriti, a Maltese geographer, was more pointed, describing Malta as "*patria mea dulcissima*". These generic references to patriotic adherence must be understood in the context of the times when it was common for people to identify themselves as farmers or fishermen or traders or home-dwellers from one region or another: the mountain, the valley or the coast. It is tempting to suggest, therefore, that the foreign occupation of these Islands, coupled with the fact of their insularity, were factors that seeped an individuality into the bones rather than drained it out. (Later and lesser mortals who, exalted and opinionated, have sought to attribute to themselves 'firsts' in achieving nationhood for everybody, must stand to be cut

down to size by history. Especially so when we are presented with *uno contro tutti* myths: I AND NOT ANYONE ELSE. How petty and base, uninstructed and pretentious in the face of this long history of often quite heroic people's self-assertion down the centuries! Tiny toes in the giant figure of recorded time, or, to be kind, shall we say a tussle of grey hairs on its forehead.) We started off by saying that independence is not made in a day but there is a day when it is attained, and we should now and again remind ourselves of that as we go along.

The French Revolution certainly is of the utmost importance — it is universally recognised as a genesis in many ways. By that we do not mean the legendary 'Fall of the Bastille', but the long, elaborate and circumlocuted currents of thought that characterise the eighteenth century, which in turn hark back to the seventeenth, when we had, after all, our newer parliamentary models especially in Britain. There is a close and discernible link philosophically and even directly, through the activity of pace-setters like Lafayette, between the American independence movement (that first anti-colonial rebellion that so shook the British crown) and itself, in and after 1789. Dun Mikiel Xerri - shot dead by French republicans on the Palace square with other Maltese patriots who risked their all in defence of hearth and home, of faith and creed, of integrity and self-respect - was the authentic local patriot. But, taking the long view, Vassalli may be seen to complement not oppose him. Perhaps here one could say Vasalli with Xerri not against him, Xerri with Vassalli, not against him. The former cataclysm, 1776, influences Malta most directly through its anti-Empire example even from kith and kin, and in so far as cotton production was concerned, during the civil war it eventually led to; the latter, 1789, penetrated the fabric of government directly because many of the Knights were French and many of the Order's estates were confiscated as a result of the revolution. These Knights had little reason to be republicans: if they admired Napoleon - we know some did for reasons best known to themselves - it was at their peril, unless the rewards appeared tempting. But there was the smell of rust in the Order's frame, the mould in the wheels, the excitement of novelty and grandness *outré mer*. The manifestoes were awe-inspiring. Take the 1789 Declaration of Rights. The new charter for a free and equal world. At last, freedom and equality combined. Right and duty in one gulp. As Roderick Cavaliero shows in his fluently written book **The Last of the Crusaders**, works of art and of architecture of much worth were still being patronised by the Order in the eighteenth century: the die was not quite cast, even if it may seem to have been so now, when we know what happened in 1798.

Our question is: whose revolution was 1798? Was it the one imported and planted by Bonapartism, or was it rather the unprecedented torrent of popular opposition that that unleashed? In other words, was the local rendering of the French revolution a Maltese revolution by default? The negative value of it lay in provocation to rebel in defence of cherished customs and values. And to do so armed with at least one of the three slogans on parade: *liberté*. In truth, the Maltese

insurgents on 2nd September 1798 were armed with little else. Church bells and bare fists; presumably a motley collection of farm implements and some shot. They regrouped and enlisted formations, without military training, on the run, improvising the means to sustain the struggle. All those bastions built for the godless republicans of France to hide in! The internal contradiction of the French revolutionary experience is manifested in Malta in much the same way as elsewhere, in Naples for instance. Those who supported the French republic there were mainly well-to-do families and a handful of intellectuals: Vincenzo Russo, Mario Pagano, Eleonora Fonseca Pimentel. Were these the true patriots? Not so, said the populace; they were enemies of crown and cross, invaders, collaborators and assassins. The abolition of feudalism and of primogeniture did not matter. Queen Maria Carolina and Cardinal Fabrizio Ruffo came first. The popularity of the anti-Jacobin uprising is in no doubt whatsoever, as may be gauged from this insurgent song, reproduced in a "bicentenary" interview with Professor Villari in a recent special supplement of **La Repubblica**:

"A lu suono de la gran cascia, /viva sempre lu popolo bascio/A lu suono de li tammurielli/so risurte li puerielli!/A lu suono de le campane, viva viva li pupulane!/A lu suono de li violini, sempre morte à Giacobбини!"

'Liberators!' rang the cry in the streets as the insurgents advanced against the Republic - and 'Defenders of the Faith!'

Now in Malta the insurgency was less institutionally-oriented in the sense that the Maltese were not positing one power against another. They rebelled. They did it to get rid of a 'system' of misrule, not knowing how it would turn out or indeed whose recourse they could have to seek. There was nobody to egg them on, nothing they could lean against: they were on their own, dependent on their own stamina and wits.

Established members of the community - traders, legal men, ecclesiastical dignitaries, accountants - joined forces: upper with middle classes, middle classes with farmers and farm tenants with farm labourers, and these in turn with just about everyone else in sight.

Vitale, Bugeja, Caruana and others could rely on the organisation masterly put in place in towns and villages where *luogotenenti di casale* took charge.² The aristocracy, understandably, was well represented as well: Count Salvatore Manduca, Marquis Vincenzo De Piro, Count Ferdinando Theuma Castelletti.

"The grievances of the Maltese were many", writes Cavaliero:

Troops had been billeted on the wealthier families and payment deferred; all the debts of the old *régime* had been cancelled; interest rates at the Monte di Pietà had been raised to 6 per cent; the distribution of alms and bread to the poor had been stopped; the Hospital had been cleared for French sailors; the families of those impressed for Egypt were repeatedly denied their share of the men's pay. But it was the cynical spoliation of the churches that supplied a naked flame to the touchpaper passions of a devout and Catholic people... The French had only themselves to blame; their pressing need of money had ignored the susceptibilities of the people. The priests were not ordinary "citizens", they were fathers in Christ; a marriage

celebrated before the altar needed no registration in a Civil Court; above all the peasant, who had contributed his mite towards the purchase of jewels for his Madonna, saw with angry eye the French hand that rose to seize them...The very arms that the French had distributed to the Cacciatori and the National Guard were now turned against their own breasts. By 4th September Vaubois had decided to call all the French into Valletta and to settle down behind the impregnable walls. He had not the resources to do more.³

A racy account of these events is given by Felice Cutajar, who became secretary to Alexander Ball. The major historians recount what happened, and most recently Testa has gone into more detail than Denaro and others had done. The point is, however, that after all that effort, so much loss of life, and the nearly-successful liberation of the country from French occupation, what was the outcome in fact?

The Maltese invited the British fleet to blockade the harbours, to give them a hand, a friendly gesture for a good cause. So they thought. In Naples and in Palermo too, as it happened, the British were lending a hand in driving out the French, with whom they were at war. There the insurgents took heart from news of French losses at the hands of the Austrians in Lombardy, and of the Russians in Piedmont. Here the insurgents made bold after news reached them of Abu Qir — the destruction of the French fleet with, possibly, much treasure ransacked and looted from Maltese churches and palaces. Was it not the Maltese who wished to be rid of the French? The British wanted that too, here they came. What exactly was the say of the Maltese leaders in the British decision to sail hither may never be known for sure. They might have come anyway, insurrection or not. They were chasing the French.

We now enter a period of great ambiguity. Mgr. Alfredo Mifsud, among others, devoted much attention to the origins of British sovereignty over Malta, and we have had a few later attempts to grapple with its implications, including those on the Neapolitan side of the story. The first Civil Commissioner, Ball, was generally thought to be a friend of the Maltese: he knew how to deal with them apparently; and witness the monument to him in Lower Barracca. Nerik Mizzi, however, once called him "*il primo traditore di Malta*". The French surrendered to the British, not to the Maltese, nor even jointly to the Maltese. These lionhearts were left out in the cold, excluded from the capitulation for which they had shed their blood by the thousand, whereas not a single Briton had laid down his life. Was it because of that, perhaps, that the Maltese insurgents were then requested by their new protectors to lay down their arms? Which they did. Exhausted and deluded, they could only hope for the best, surely they would not be deceived or let down, not by Magna et Invicta et cetera. Faint shades of Yalta and Potsdam, a war fought over Poland!

If here we had an aborted insurrection -which is indeed what we did have in the end - the resurrection was slow and painful, with the succeeding governors and their *protégés* often blurring if not falsifying the past in support of their acquired right to rule; and the freedom-fighters often enough harassed, maligned, even persecuted by their new-found protectors and guardians!

For a while the British were not sure whether to keep Malta or to settle for a peaceful arrangement with France whereby a somewhat regurgitated Order of Malta would rule the place, with guarantees of protection and assurances of neutrality. Charles James Fox thought Malta was plain, bare, naked — much what the Knights had thought when they first scanned it, and Fox still thought so regardless of the Renaissance. Early in 1802 the British officers administering the Island received instructions to start packing up to clear out, pending finalisation of an international treaty - the word used in despatches of this period was 'evacuation'.

Thus London to Valetta:

"His Majesty being solicitous to fulfill with the most scrupulous good faith the engagements which He has contracted by the Definitive Treaty of Peace, you are ready to concert with the necessary measures for giving effect to the Stipulations contained in the tenth article of that Treaty...From this article you will perceive that His Majesty had agreed that His Forces shall evacuate the Island of Malta and its Dependencies within three months after the Exchange of the Ratification of the Definitive Treaty, (which Exchange took place with France on the 18th, and with Spain and Holland on the 22 of April last) provided that the Grand Master or Commissioners duly authorized for the Purpose, be upon the Island to receive Possession, and that the Force of two thousand men to be furnished by His Sicilian Majesty be actually arrived there. You will take particularly care that these two Provisions should be literally effectuated; and should any difficulty or demur arise, with respect to either of them, you will distinctly declare that His Majesty cannot consent to relinquish Possession of the Island until they are effectuated conformably to the Spirit and Letter of the fourth stipulation of the tenth article of the Treaty..."

Meantime, the King's most Excellent Majesty in Council, be it carefully noted, already regarded Malta as "a possession", albeit - be it also carefully noted - Malta was regarded as "part of Europe".

A proclamation "*Alla Nazione Maltese*" on 18 May, 1802 by Charles Cameron, the British Civil Commissioner, said Malta would be "*in uno stato d'intiera indipendenza*" with regard to Britain and France.

Article 10 of the Treaty of Amiens of 1802 stated that Malta would revert to the Order, but with a Maltese Language included this time, and in a state of internationally ensured independence. Here in 1802 we actually come across a plan to make Malta independent, provided only that in the interest of the Powers the Island guarantee it would always be neutral. Sovereign and neutralised, as it were. Cameron's proclamation added "*L'indipendenza dell'Isola di Malta, di Gozo e di Comino vien posta sotto la protezione e garanzia della Gran Bretagna, della Francia, dell'Austria, della Spagna, della Russia e della Prussia.*" And "*La neutralità premanente dell'Ordine e dell'Isola di Malta con le sue dipendenze è proclamata.*"

But then other things happened. The Maltese leaders would not have the Order back: the new self-made Grand Master, czar Paul I of Russia, was unreliable, to be merciful to him; Napoleon Bonaparte of all people surely could not be trusted and if the Order would not raise a finger to defend Malta against France why would Russia? Naples felt, quite understandably, that it had a claim to the island, but Naples feared France and was Britain's protégé. Nelson in Naples ruled the roost,

and in more ways than one. [No, there could not be peace; nor any independence; nor indeed, for Malta, any of the rights and freedoms so eloquently hammered out in the **Dichiarazione dei Diritti degli Abitanti di Malta e Gozo** of 15 June 1802, signed by all the Representatives, Deputies and Lieutenants of the Villages and Towns.]

Ask

This **Dichiarazione**, an early lesson to the world in self-determination theory, speaks for itself. Even before this, however, we have talk of Malta's right to independence and even, indeed, to Malta's independence *de jure*, if not *de facto*. The proposed knightly helmsman led naturally to a conditional Maltese response: independence yes, but not with the Order here. The petitions signed, sent and delivered by Maltese representatives at this time are eloquent, bearing witness to a sense of betrayal - twice over or more - and equally, to an indignation that showed a proud people, even if one conscious of its physical, economic and political handicaps in the league of the Powers. To capture the spirit of the times we must lend ear to some of these assessments and aspirations, disappointments and laments.

[In an early representation by the Chiefs of the Villages, Representatives, Lieutenants and Chiefs of the Battalions to Charles Cameron, the Royal Commissioner, on 19th October in 1801, we read that the sensation produced in Malta by the news from France that the Island was to be again delivered to the Order was most intense and universal:]

"The conduct of the French captain and his officers, who landed immediately to communicate the tidings of their most notorious partisans, afford well-grounded reasons to suspect that Bonaparte has consented to this arrangement in order that he himself might repossess the Island on some future occasion. The Order has but few partisans, and these, since the expulsion of the Knights, have no influence among the people, yet attempt when occasion offers to excite odium against the existing Government under various false pretences. The French are generally detested, and as the Maltese foresee that by placing the Order in possession of the Island it is virtually handing it over to the French, they for such justifiable fear are determined to oppose it. All those who in the past made any resistance, either to the Order of St John or to the French, will most certainly become victims, and they form the majority of the Maltese nation".

In a subsequent petition to His Britannic Majesty dated 22 October 1801, the impatience grows at the manner of dealing being demonstrated by the British towards the Maltese:

"...never did they suspect that, abusing their confidence and violating all the laws of justice, human and divine, they should be forcibly delivered over by their own auxiliary allies, as a conquered nation, or as vile slaves sold for a political consideration to new masters, and to masters whose tyranny, extortion, and sacrilege have rendered them the execration of every virtuous individual, and to whom, whatever misery may ensue, they never will submit. Excluded from the fortresses, almost without arms, without ammunition, without provisions, and absolutely without any foreign alliance or promise of assistance, our brave islanders resolved to perish or to be free. The whole country rose, armed mostly with utensils of agriculture; they expelled the French from every post out of the great fortifications and kept it blockaded, repulsing every sortie made by the enemy. They mortgaged their lands and procured corn from

Scily. The entrance of the great port they could not command; this object was accomplished by the British fleet, while the islanders defended every other inlet until Valletta surrendered".

To perish or to be free! There's independence for you!

And now we begin to cut closer to the bone:

Has the King of Great Britain ever declared himself in any public act in this island sovereign of it? No other term has been used but that of protector, ardently as the Maltese wished to be styled his subjects. Is it to be expected that such a people will deliver up their rights to such masters? They may be free, but they may perish. At whose door will their blood lie?

Such a people, prepared to be free, would not have themselves held in vile subjection, treated as an inferior class of beings, whether by knights or republicans...or Albion perfide. It is interesting that in the course of this exciting petition, we find a dash of the 'Neapolitan' perception referred to earlier of Francophiles as "men in high office and command" as opposed to the "populace". The Maltese had had enough of talk of equality and fraternity, what they were worried about above all else now was freedom. Freedom and survival. To this manifesto of national rights, carried to London by the Marquis Mario Testaferrata, Filippo Castagna, Don Emmanuele Riccaud, Don Pietro Mallia and Michele Cachia, we find in support the appended signatures 'with out own hands' of a nation-wide representation from both the main islands: Casha, of Vittoriosa; Calleja, of Musta; Corso, of Siggieui; Carafa, of Micabiba; Dalli, of Zurricco; Buttigieg, of Zebbug; Frendo of Balzan; Gellel, of Curmi; Cilia, of Samra; Camilleri, also of Siggieui; Vincenzo Borg 'Braret', of Birkirkara; Zarb, of Attard; Chetanti, also of Mosta; Vassallo, of Naxaro; Salvatore Gafa', of Lia; Montebello, of Tarscien; Bonnai, of Gudia; Mallia, of Ascjak; Enrico Scerri, Captain of the Port; Fabri, of Borgo Vilhena (Floriana); Abela, of Zeitun; Damato, also of Zurricq; Zammit, of Crendi; Giovanni Gafa', of Gargur; Said, of Zabbar; Abdilla, of Safi. The Gozitans are very much in it too: we meet Hili, a priest, of Nadur; Zammit, of Xeuchia; Cassar, of Garbo, together with representatives from the small villages of Caccia, Zebbug. Sannat; the jurats Mallia, Busuttil, Debono and Busuttil Dalli, together with another priest, one Camilleri.

What do we have here if not a fully-fledged nationwide movement for independence, indeed for sovereignty, yet under the protection of the British Crown?

By now William Cobbett is interesting himself in this question, and various British personalities, such as William Eton and John Richardson, enter the scene arguing the Maltese case. Faced by what seemed for a time to be the *fait accompli* of the Order's return, yet another strongly-worded petition goes out, to Lord Hobart bearing the date 1 March 1802 and signed by Testaferrata, Riccaud, Mallia, Castagna, Mallia and Cachia. Independence is what we really want, they say! Our protectors are no good, they can keep their distance; a joint Anglo-French guarantee to our free and independent State would do us fine.

“Alas”, inveigh the petitioners exasperated by the turn of events and angry at their own goodness, “how can we hide from our descendants the details of a capitulation which ruined our rights, and rendered us unhappy. We cannot hide the fact of the evil impressions which the preliminaries of peace have conveyed to us of a Government to which we incessantly desired to give proof of our attachment, our fidelity, and our preference.. the Islands of Malta and Gozo should be left in their independence under the mutual guarantee of Great Britain and France, and not considered as a conquered country, after its inhabitants have shed their blood and expended their substance”. We are in March 1802. Three months after this, we have the famous *Dichiarazione dei Diritti*, what we described above as a lesson to the world in self-determination theory. Its text is being reproduced here in the English translation:

We, the Members of the Congress of the Islands of Malta and Gozo and their dependencies, by the free suffrage of the people, during the siege, elected to represent them on the important matter of ascertaining our native rights and privileges (enjoyed from time immemorial by our ancestors, who when encroached upon, have shed their blood to regain them), and of fixing a Constitution of Government, which shall secure to us and our descendants in perpetuity, the blessings of freedom and the rights of just law, under the protection and Sovereignty of the King of a free people, His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. After long and mature deliberation, we make the following declaration binding ourselves and our posterity for ever, on condition that our now acknowledged Prince and Sovereign shall, on his part, fulfil and keep inviolate his compact with us.

1st. That the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is our Sovereign Lord, and his lawful successors shall, in all times to come, be acknowledged as our lawful Sovereigns.

2nd. That his said Majesty has no right to cede these Islands to any power. That, if he chooses to withdraw his protection, and abandon his sovereignty, the right of electing another sovereign, or of governing these Islands, belongs to us, the inhabitants and aborigines alone, and without control.

3rd. That his Majesty’s governors or representatives in these Islands and their dependencies are, and shall ever be, bound to observe and keep inviolate the Constitution which with the sanction and ratification of his said British Royal Majesty, or his representative or plenipotentiary, shall be established by us, composing the General Congress elected by the people, in the following proportion, viz:

Cities: Notabile and Casal Dingli, 14 members; Valletta, 12; Vittoriosa, 4; Senglea, 4; Cospicua, 4.

Casals or Burghs - Birchircara, 6 members; Attard, 3; Lia and Balzan, 3; Curmi (also a city), 12; Nasciaro, 4; Gregorio, 3; Musta, 5; Zebbug (also a city), 8; Siggiewi, 4; Luca, 3; Gudia, 1; Zurricco, 4; Micabiba, 2; Crendi, 2; Zabbar, 3; Tarshien, 2; Hasciach, 1.

Total Members - 104

4th That the people of Malta, Gozo, and their representatives in Popular Council assembled, have a right to send letters, or deputies, to the foot of the throne, to represent and to complain of violation of rights and privileges, or of acts contrary to the constitution of the Government, or of the spirit thereof.

5th That the right of legislation and taxation belongs to the Consiglio Popolare, with the consent and assent of his Majesty's representatives, without which the people are not bound

6th That His Majesty the King is the protector of our holy religion, and is bound to uphold and protect it as heretofore; and without any diminution of what has been practised since these Islands have acknowledged His Majesty as their Sovereign to this day; and that His Majesty's representatives have a right to claim such church honours as have always been shown to the regents of these Islands.

7th The interference in matters spiritual or temporal of no other temporal sovereign shall be permitted in these Islands; and reference in spiritual matters should only be had to the Pope, and to the respective Generals of the Monastic Orders.

8th That freemen have a right to choose their own religion. Toleration of other religions is therefore established as a right; but no sect is permitted to molest, insult or disturb those of other religious professions.

9th That no man whatsoever has any personal authority over the lives, property or liberty of another. Power resides only in the law, and restraint, or punishment, can only be exercised in obedience to law.

Here then we do not have any urge for the *status quo ante*, Maria Carolina and Ruffo do not feature, nor do Grand Masters of whatever Langues and however gently emasculated. Nor do we find here the silver tongue of diplomacy, or the holier than thou disposition of defenders of the faith. This is a truly liberating declaration, a manifesto for the future, the basis for a lasting constitution, and a measure of the maturity and the erudition of those who drew it up, steeped as they must certainly have been in the finest and most advanced jurisprudence. Dangerous men! Not to be easily trusted! In the words of the Royal Commissioners of 1812, the Maltese were a people 'singularly unfit for representative government'. 1812, reverberations of the Battle of Borodino as the chimes echo in your ears, snowy blizzards in Napoleon's face. The British hung on to Malta and come 1814 they took it *de jure*, as a European possession, by international consent.¹

According to the Peace Treaty signed in Paris in May 1814, as announced in the *Gazzetta Straordinaria del Governo di Malta*, Malta and its dependencies had to belong "*in intiera proprietà e Sovranità*" to his His Britannic Majesty. This Treaty and the final act of the Congress of Vienna in June were confirmed in Paris in November 1815 under the signatures of Richelieu, Metternich and Wessenberg. "*In intiera proprietà e sovranità.*" *Melitensium Amor et Europae Vox*, says the

plaque on the Main Guard, in Valletta's Palace Square. "*Melitensium Amor*"? But if we examine the Maltese *animus* during this inter-regnum, as expressed again most eloquently and decisively in the *Memoriale De' Maltesi* signed by the Marquess Mario Testaferrata and four colleagues and published in London by Luke Hansard in 1805, there is evidence of "*Melitensium Amor*" only of the kind impressed in the stone on the Main Guard. The "*Europae Vox*" was to rubber stamp a *fait accompli*, once France had been finally put down; but the "*Melitensium Amor*" was at best a sop, at worst a make-believe - one that successive generations were to cling steadfastly to in the vain hope that, not being a conquered people, Britain would concede what they desired.

In the Testaferrata plea of 1805, the claim for independence - for sovereign independence (no imposed neutrality guarantees) - is clear. After charging the Order with the most ignominious betrayal and thereby to a renunciation of any rights it had had, the petition harks further back to the diplomas or decrees issued to Malta by Spanish Kings between 1397 and 1428 especially Alfonso V, whereby Malta was freed of feudal tenure and bondage, formed an autonomous part of the Royal Domains as a member, was to be associated to the Crown directly, and was entitled to defend this acquired freedom by force of arms if necessary: "*conjunctam semper tamquam membrum.. manu forti...*"

What is most significant is the interpretation of the political status thereby granted to Malta - by the Maltese representatives at any rate - as one of *indipendenza* and even *sovranità*: "*Ma i Maltesi hanno altre pretensioni alla Sovranità della loro propria Isola. Senza ricorrere all'argomento di alcuni scrittori, che quando il Trono è vuoto il diritto di nominare il Sovrano appartiene al popolo, provano il loro diritto all'indipendenza nel avere due volte comprato Malta, e pagato il prezzo stabilito ai Re' di Spagna, e Sicilia*". A graphic depiction of this redemption costing 20,000 florins exists: Maltese queue before a registrar who sitting with other assistants around a table takes due note of offers being made, valuing and counting the amounts involved until the total amount would be met. This was "*oro per la patria*" in a very real and total sense and with a specific aim in mind. Writing in *Lehen is-Sewwa* in September 1964 Laspina made reference to this "*Magna Charta*" of Alfonso's time and described it as "*speçi ta' Dominion Status*". In 1530 the Spanish Empire, in the person of Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, disregarded this agreement and once again handed Malta over as a fief, this time of the Order of St John *qua* landlord, to head off the threatening Ottoman Turks. A fief for a falcon.

As we have seen, that new overlord was no ordinary one, but not a more open-hearted one either. The Maltese luck with pacts stayed; it was a miserable lot.

The British would stress that they had at no time entered into any formal pact with the Maltese and they were not therefore bound to grant these people anything. The first fifty years of British rule in Malta are an undisguised despotism. Mgr.

Onorato Bres, an enlightened and brave ecclesiastic, said that much in his submission to the 1812 commission: Malta was a military dictatorship whereas the Maltese deserved and expected a different fate, the right to govern themselves.

A breath of fresh air comes with the change in government in Britain, when the Liberals under Earl Grey finally come to power in 1830, removing the long Tory ascendancy of the Napoleonic wars' period and its aftermath. The "iron duke", Wellington, thought that one might as well give a constitution to Malta as give one to a man-of-war, hence there was no inclination on the part of his British Government to give any constitution. Governor Maitland, known not affectionately as King Tom, was a despot of the worst brew, believing in rule by one man, truly a one man band. In spite of his outrageous salary - £10,000 per annum - he rarely resided in Malta, and in the latter part of his governorship was more taken up by administering the Ionian Islands. He refused the recommendation - which depended upon his own discretion - to as much as constitute an advisory council. He did set up courts and a justice machinery, and abolished torture; but otherwise in terms of constitutional advancement Malta saw precious little under this governorship. To say nothing of the plague which ravished the islands at that time.

After 1830 ripples of reform undertaken in Britain begin to reach other parts of the empire, including Malta. On the Maltese side the two overriding demands during the eighteen tens and eighteen twenties, and especially during the eighteen thirties, are abolition of the press censorship, in other words freedom of the press; and abolition of nominated and advisory councils, in other words elected councillors, with responsibility for the islands' administration. These demands are fought for tooth and nail, yet it is not before the decade 1839-1849 that the Maltese make headway, on both counts. A long and difficult struggle lies in between which has not so far been properly or fully researched and recorded, certainly not from the Maltese standpoint. Hilda Lee and Edith Dobie, who cover this ground seriously, are sympathetic to the British position generally, as are civil servant historians such as Albert Lafera, who would have been prevented from exposing the worse aspects of British rule by the estacode or other considerations of that kind. Mgr. Laspina, whose name we have already mentioned, was on the whole a generalist writing very much at a popular level and he injected a dose of emotion and patriotism into his story but kept out of the more controversial issues, which would have implicated the Catholic Church. We have to remember that whereas one was Director of Education, the other was a Church **Monsignore**. Probably the single most direct and uninhibited examination of this early period of British rule to date is a series of anonymous, unreferenced articles that appeared in **Patria**, a weekly PN organ, in 1952. While the object of these articles "*Irridu Kostituzioni Aħjar*" was somewhat propagandistic, they nevertheless make reference to important source material, some of it private hands (for the most part, one suspects, in the possession

of the writer himself). Unless otherwise indicated, subsequent references to documents will relate to texts mentioned therein.

We note in the first instance a promise or understanding contained in a letter from the Secretary of State Wyndham to Ball dated 28 February 1807 wherein it is recorded that in taking possession of Malta the British had promised to uphold the ancient law and customs of the Maltese. A basic undertaking, but one which the Order too was supposed to comply with, as they did, *pro forma* (with the exception of one Grand Master), in ritual style; but not otherwise.

The situation of the Maltese at the time of the Order's arrival was not too dissimilar from that at the time of the arrival of the British: in both cases, the Maltese felt that they had already rescued themselves from their oppressors, and that therefore they were to a great extent masters of their own destiny. What is of interest to us is to what extent, if at all, the British kept this solemn undertaking, repeated on different occasions until they consolidated their hold. Written or unwritten, a pact is a pact, an agreement is an agreement, especially if reached as a *quid pro quo* with war and peace in the balance. Still, in the absence of a written undertaking on either part, the constitutionality or otherwise of later behaviour becomes increasingly hazy and dubious, take or give some gentlemen strewn along the path.

And being relatively powerless, it was the Maltese who found themselves at the wrong end of the stick. It is in fact to English emissaries and lawyers that the Maltese are obliged to have recourse in order to seek to represent their case as well as possible in London, champions like William Eton and John Richards. They depend on these as their agents. Their requests are almost always the same or very similar in one petition after another. We have already made reference to some of these. There are numerous others. In one addressed to General Graham dated 14 June 1803 they demanded back their **Consiglio Popolare**, abolished by Ball.

In what must rank as the second most significant Maltese appeal since the 1802 *Dichiarazione dei Diritti*, and before the emergence of the **Comitato Generale Maltese** of the mid-1830s, we have the instructions sent to John Richards in a document dated 25 February, 1806. In this we find reference to Ball's "unlimited despotism", a situation in which "nobody dared speak his mind freely, or send to England signed petitions". The British carried on the Order's self-same tyranny! How to guard against this, if the powers-that-be would allow it?

It was necessary to have the means of protesting against the government without fear of victimization, that the judgements given by the courts be not influenced or controlled by the governor; and that the governor would not have the right to remove judges whenever he liked. Torture should be abolished, the Maltese implored. No person, especially employees, should be forced to sign documents under threat of imprisonment or dismissal. There should be means of ensuring that the mail be not tampered with by the regime, the Instructions stressed. Last but not

least, no Maltese or Englishmen should be exiled from Malta, least of all to the Barbary States.

That such specific grievances should be exposed courageously by Maltese representatives already in 1806 is indication enough of the kind of hell that Malta was like for freemen, that is for men (and women) who did not live by bread alone, who knew their rights and entitlements as citizens and as human beings. Clearly these no longer had illusions about the ready application of British liberty to subject peoples of the Empire. The man in charge of Malta is Ball, Malta's saviour from French despotism, true friend of the Maltese.

Times changed, and people changed with them the same people included. As soon as Ball died in 1809 we find the important Appeal from the Nobility and People of Malta dated 28 February 1810, to which various sources have made reference. Again here, Richards is the messenger, the carrier pigeon. The Maltese demands? More of the the same with some added elaborations: **Consiglio Popolare**, independent tribunals, a free press, the jury system; once again reference to the thousands of lives lost in 1798-1800 in the insurrection and the reminder that the Maltese had given themselves up to Britain in the belief that the British King would save their ancient rights, according to which no form of government could be imposed on the Maltese without their consensus. "Ancient Sovereigns" it was held, could not exercise sovereignty, because, by implication, it was the Maltese themselves or the **Consiglio Popolare** in their name that was in fact sovereign. The one who had the last word would have been sovereign, presumably; so all this talk of sovereigns not being sovereign and subjects not being subject is most confusing.

We have a repeat petition dated 10 July 1811 this time addressed directly to the King. Oakes had now replaced Ball. In reply to this petition, Oakes issued an insulting proclamation, in vulgar style, and dismissed the leading Maltese gentlemen who had made bold to speak up for their countrymen. Oakes literally sacked them from their occupations. The dismissed and humiliated signatories included Sir Paolo Parisio. No Maltese monument to him, of course, but Palazzo Parisio in Valletta, built to designs by the architect Peruzzi, bears his name to this day; ironically, it is where Napoleon sojourned during his stay in Malta in 1798, as the plaque reminds us. A noted philanthropist and a Knight of Devotion of the Order, Parisio had also lodged an English regiment in 1800 in the grounds of his residence at Naxxar, which is also extant. He was apparently a man of principle and after hosting Bonaparte took the side of the Maltese insurgents when the experiment with republican France turned sour. He did much the same with the British: hope sprang eternally in his heart, but he did not fancy kow-towing. Parisio was a European, a noble man. After commanding a militia division and a royal batallion he opted for right when the moment demanded it and took issue with the British *régime*, not fearing what might happen to him.

For vengeance there were ample precedents, one of the most notorious ever being the persecution suffered by one of the leading Maltese heroes in the insurgency, Vincenzo Borg "Braret" of Birkirkara, persecuted into the ground by Ball, who owed more to Braret's earlier support than words could tell. It was five or six years before Sir Paolo Parisio was rehabilitated and reappointed to a militia command under Maitland.

We would like to bring out the human qualities of those who were the victims of this system of rule, as we believe in the role played by individuals in history - a role that is not inferior to that of classes or structures. In whatever situation, it is ultimately men and women individually or collectively who are protagonists. What the British chiefs were clearly intent on doing was terrorizing the entire population into a state of wilfully accepted subjection and servility as a matter of course, and that by harshly persecuting the best and most heroic elements among the population, who came forward to speak in the name of the people about rights and representations. These were the dangerous men, not likely to kow-tow and be good loyalists! The system now demanded collaboration and sycophancy, not resistance and self-respect. In the public interest and for the good of the Empire. Here was a re-education camp writ large; that residue of rebelliousness, that impulse for justice, that lingering yearning for self-assertion, that ridiculous expectation for consultation and negotiation about terms had to be squashed: how could you captain a man-of-war on the premise that its crew were in a perpetual state of mutiny, expressing thoughts, asking questions, giving opinions, writing letters? Intolerable! Sedition! In a place like Malta informal or indirect rule fared rather badly; on deck. But Malta was not a man-of-war and the inhabitants, with a rather long and eventful history behind them, were not British deck hands.

After the monstrous behaviour by Oakes, Maltese determined to send a delegation straight to London to protest further, on the spot. Once again at its head we find the noble marquis Mario Testaferrata. After three months in London corresponding with various authorities, Count Liverpool told him his arguments would not be put before the King because he (Testaferrata) did not represent anyone. So said Liverpool. *Roma locuta est!* Three months in London at private expense could lead to bankruptcy which no doubt may have provided good cause for the excessive delay before Liverpool's enlightened conclusion about matters agitating the country. (Back to Malta empty-handed, marquis; next time round get a ship-load of compatriots with you and stage a demonstration in Trafalgar Square with placards saying "Cession not Conquest". After all, Mahatma Gandhi too represented nobody for a long time; wasn't he just a nuisance, a trouble-maker, a lawyer-politician, a polemicist, a fakir; who did he think he was? And that was in the twentieth century.) But all was not lost: the 1812 commission was germinated at this time, possibly because of the intercession of a friend of Eton and Richards, the

Duke of Sussex, a son of George III. Yet Oakes himself was one of the three investigators!

The fact that Onorato Bres addressed himself to this set-up must be measured, for courage, against the back-drop of harassment and persecution to which we have referred, most recently the indignity suffered by Paolo Parisio. Hence hardly anyone dared appear before the Oakes trio. It was a hand of iron that Maltese needed, said the Commissioners, shortly before Sir Thomas Maitland was sent over as the Crown Colony's first Governor.

Maitland's governorship which lasted until his death in 1824 deserves some attention for various reasons. As the first governor, he set the seal on a method of rule which, while consonant with what he had found in place, also constituted a precedent for future governors or for their Lieutenants. He was not just governor of Malta; in addition he was Lord High Commissioner for the Ionian Islands and also exercised authority over the consuls on the north coast of Africa. Apart from Gibraltar, he had to preserve the unity of British interests in the Mediterranean and from now on Malta was to be the lynch-pin of those interests. Malta and beyond.

Writing in 1939 about Maitland's governorship of Ceylon, before his Mediterranean assignment, Willis Dixon generously described him thus:

"Maitland had a great respect for historical development. He always professed to abhor mere theories. Before planning new regulations he invariably ransacked the archives of Government to find out what people were accustomed to and what reforms had been tried and failed..... There is no evidence in any of his three colonial administrations that he planned changes in the form of government that would make it representative. He was an absolute ruler. With the welfare of the people before him as his aim, he intended to "get things done". He insisted with Lord Bathurst on the "free and unfettered power of the Governor".

A later royal commission memorably recalled his government strategy as that of "kicking and beating mankind into obedience." Maitland would have found, naturally, the 1812 Commission report, which would have formed a decisive part of his briefing. "At no period of their history did the Maltese ever possess the slightest pretension or right to a deliberative and legislative assembly..... Even if the **Consiglio Popolare** had existed, in view of the violence and credulity of the Maltese, it would be folly to re-establish this institution....." And so on.

"To the British Government", comments Willis Dixon, "with the lesson of the American Revolution and more recent experiences in the West Indies and Ireland as a warning, it seemed indispensable to preserve the overriding powers of the Imperial Executive, although this was tempered by generous provision for the language, religion and local institutions of the colony. Malta was primarily a fort. It was not consonant with the military situation or with general colonial policy for the British government to grant any measure of local independence".³

While promising to respect their religion, laws and legal procedures, Maitland abolished such local institutions as had remained in function - the *Università dei Grani*, the *Giurati*, the Sanitary Board; the national archives containing privileges

and diplomas from ancient times were sequestered; the University of Studies suffered set-backs; Maltese were replaced by Englishmen in just about every decision-making occupation in government or related activity. While the plague was somehow brought under control - Maitland once refused adamantly to allow into quarantine a British ship carrying several yellow fever cases - the economy nevertheless did badly, partly due to the excessive salaries paid to Englishmen, starting with Maitland himself, which crippled the local treasury. His main and perhaps only notable achievement was in the field of the organisation of justice and legal work, introducing the principle that judges served *quamdiu se bene gesserint*. In other words, the judiciary was to be independent of the executive - a legislature there was not at this time. The government was not, ought not to be above the law. His most odious measure was possibly that of putting a heavy duty on wheat, as a source of revenue from the islanders' staple food much of which had to be imported.

The next protest of the Maltese, while Maitland ruled, was in 1821, and this time it was addressed to the House of Commons. The spirit of this was that the Maltese had been ill-treated and deceived by Britain and that under the Order the island had seen prosperity whereas now, under British rule, many faced starvation. So undefined and unlimited were the Governor's powers that judges were at risk if they upheld individual rights. The petitioners complained about the various repressive measures taken by Maitland: the abolition of local institutions and the replacement of Maltese by Englishmen in various jobs, as well as of the harm caused to the economy and commerce by exaggerated duties and restrictions introduced. The picture drawn of Malta, in our 1821 remonstrance, two decades after the coming of the British, is one of misery and discontent.

The petitioners demand the formation of a National Council or Assembly without whose authority no laws could be imposed nor taxes gathered; the reconstitution of the Maltese Board of Health; the abolition of the grain monopoly. The petition was sent back to Malta because it was too long! It had to be shortened and modified. Meanwhile, the grain monopoly was removed and instead, as indicated above, a heavy tax on grain was imposed.

The 1830s marked a change in the political climate of Britain and Europe, so it is no wonder that in Malta too we begin to see signs not only of further and still more pointed petitioning but also of an incipient political organisation to attempt effectively to lobby and agitate for their implementation. In France the restored Bourbons are overthrown and we see a constitutional monarchy; in Britain we have the Great Reform Bill of 1832 and the heyday of Chartism; in Italian and German states there are various outbursts against despotic rule interspersed with demands for liberal and even nationalist reforms. It is not suggested that the turn of events in Maltese politics from this time onwards is dictated by happenings in Europe, for what we see can be clearly understood in a continuum dating back to the unfulfilled

expectations of 1800, but the scenario of unrest and of registered progress in parts of Europe, particularly Britain and France, would have supported the cast in our local theatre. Events on the mainland and in the Empire were a supportive wind, blowing in the same directions as those envisaged by the Maltese leadership. Maitland's replacement, the Marquis of Hastings, was a very different man, an incomparably amiable man, but the crunch here was how far it was he who really ran the show, as his deputy, Hankey, was a power-monger of the first order. As soon as Maitland died in 1824, Sir John Richardson, who was in Malta for health reasons, was asked to report on the administration of justice and local laws. Richardson did one better, and advocated the establishment of a Legislative Council. Here was finally a distinguished English gentleman, *sur place*, proposing the sort of liberal measure that, as a minimum, the Maltese themselves had been fighting for.

In the wider context of British and European history these are still early days - 1824 - but although the Richardson proposal was turned down, it had been made, and when a fully-fledged Royal commission is finally assigned to the task, in 1836, there are positive results. Hastings was replaced by Ponsonby in 1827 and the latter, styled Lt. Governor, introduced the jury system, for grave crimes. Another improvement in the same general area of the administration of justice, which Maitland had contributed to. Slowly Malta begins to have an "infrastructure" of justice, at least in form. Yet Ponsonby's rule was, like that of Hastings, weak: power was wielded by subordinates. The Professor of Philosophy at the University of Malta, Dr. Nicola Zammit, described Ponsonby succinctly as "*ottimo amico, pessimo governante.*"

The *Patria* archivist refers to one more royal commission, appointed in June 1830, which although not specifically concerned with Malta nevertheless made recommendations which could be said to be of the utmost interest to us. "*Hu ta min jirrimarca illi dan ir-rapport mhu citat mill ebda ctieb ta Storia ta Malta, almenu sa fejn nafu aħna.*" The object of this 1830 commission, led by Rosslyn, was to investigate the income and expenditure of British colonies. In its report presented on 1 November 1830 it confirmed the repeated laments of the Maltese that the local treasury was being excessively burdened by unreasonable expenditures (which would certainly have included those of the super-extra salaries paid to British officials).

In our presentation the 1830s are to be regarded as most important, because they saw the formation of what was to become known as the **Comitato Generale Maltese** that spearheaded the agitation for political rights leading eventually to the 1836 royal commission enquiry and its subsequent far-reaching recommendations.

The 1830 Maltese liberal movement owed its origins to meetings in November of that year comprising, among others, Camillo Scceberras (1771-1855), a wealthy nobleman who was a man the world, learned and enlightened in its ways. In some respects Scceberras is the closest figure to Vassalli in so far as both were clearly

much influenced by French ideas, if not also the French occupation; indeed Sceberras more than Vassalli seemed favourably disposed to collaborating with the French occupation in Malta. Camillo served the French administration here while he was, like Vassalli, besieged in Valletta with Vaubois; subsequently he fought as commandant in the invasion of Italy, rose to fairly high office in Mantova, married a Milanese lady, and repatriated to Malta, rich with these adventures and achievements, in 1817. He had not been an anglophile as such, although he was disposed to new ideas. Fortified by pedigree and experience, Camillo Sceberras was very much a European. He was made of a hard metal and possessed within him the stuff required for a determined “go” at the existing situation; he embarked upon his reformist quest rallying support as he went along, garnering this in committee and publicising it through the petition tactic. Others who became involved with the November committee were Dr Paolo Sciortino, a lawyer; Raimondo Rocco, a merchant; Dr Giacomo Pantaleone Bruno, later a judge; Emanuele Zammit, another merchant. We had in this *mélange* then, the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie together: the men of the law as well as the men of trade and commerce were headed, in classical form, by a noblemen who had pursued a military career. This was a resilient enough combination, one that even “Divine right” *régimes* could never shake off their backs without much trouble, if at all.

Paolo Parisio, possibly still having nightmares of Oakes, would not cooperate apparently. The Comitatus's petition after many consultations was finalised on 28 June 1832, signed and ready for conveying to King and Parliament. The *Comitato* wanted the *Università dei Grani* and the Jurats back, a municipal corps, a free press, public instruction, court reform and appeals to the Roman Curia (presumably to ensure church support). Work on this project lasted at least eight months, from November 1830 to June 1831, but as it turned out that was only the first phase of the operation. Further study is required for a definitive interpretation of what happens now, but it would seem that personalities feature on both the Maltese and British side: on the one hand, the acting Lt Governor George Brown, who held the fort in Ponsonby's absence, and subsequently, upon his return to Malta, Ponsonby himself. On the Maltese side there is a split between those who were prepared to modify the wording of the petition before this would be sent off to London - possibly on suggestions from British quarters - and those who would not accept any modification. In the jargon of political vocabulary one might term these the “moderates” and “extremists”, although those are actually terms that would have been used by the British. From a Maltese point of view, one might talk of appeasers and of integralists, or compromisers and idealists, or pragmatists and hardliners. It is not a matter of collaboration as such, although in time the rift between collaborators and opponents does come into play very seriously, as we shall see in the next chapter.

Those on the former side - if indeed it was a side - included Bruno, Sciortino and Rocco - whereas Sciberras himself, his new and important aide Giorgio Mitrovich, Dr Arcangelo Pullicino and Dr Isidoro Spiteri belonged with the hard-liners. No modification. Take it or leave it. Ah, but there was the rub; would the petition be sent or not? And which version of it? And what were the chances of success? Cut your nose? It is convenient to dwell on these divergencies because they already show a posture that was to appear again and again during the succeeding decades - most memorably, perhaps, in recent times, during the disagreement between the Labour Cabinet and Mintoff in 1949 over what memorandum or ultimatum to present London with. The inter-war years are similarly characterized by contrasting pulls in Nerik Mizzi and Ugo Mifsud.

There is another vital technique here, not easily deciphered but discernible intuitively. Wasn't Ponsonby being sticky? Wasn't it his job to have the petition translated? Why this dragging of feet? And what were the petitioners being told exactly by the local British officials? Was there perhaps a reluctance to forward a petition that seemed to them to be too strong, too bare-faced, too demanding, too united, possibly reflecting badly on their own administration of the colony?

The original petition was presented to Ponsonby and was signed by 141 persons. It was not sent on to London at all. A second similar petition, signed by 506 persons, was presented by the Sciberras party, on 18 July. Less than one half of these signatories could be said to belong to the middle classes - some 100 being merchants and sixty legal men. There were 43 craftsmen (*artigiani*) and 11 middlemen (*sensali*). Only eight were land proprietors some of whom could have been noblemen. This means that we do not know exactly, so far, who the other half of the petitioners were - they could have been farmers, clerics, and - unlikely - some government employees. Perhaps a University don? Ecclesiastics were keeping very cool about this petition, possibly on instructions from Bishop F.S. Caruana. The general impression one forms, subject to further research, is that the Maltese movement was split over relatively trivial matters. Naturally, in the eyes of the British, this was an acceptable situation: if the Maltese were fools enough to quarrel among themselves over trifles when basic issues were at stake, the London end would have more reason to wonder and to procrastinate. And just possibly to provoke that sort of internal conflict. Was there not a Maltese proverb after all to the effect that Maltese were their own worst enemies (*il-Malti kelb tiegħu innifsu*)? Nothing new here.

Both petitions, be it noted, were presented to Ponsonby in Italian, with accompanying translations in the English language. In his covering memoranda Ponsonby defended the government position, arguing that lack of prosperity in Malta was due to the high density of population in relation to local resources and stagnated commerce. English salaries would be reduced, he said. He opposed a Legislative Council. In the words of our *Patria* mentor:

"*Fl-añharnett fuk Cunsill tal Maltin chellu xi jgħid dan: chiecu Malta chinet pajjis indipendentij hadd ma seta jichidilha dan id-dritt. Izda peress li chienet Colonja Ingliisa id-difficultajiet chienu jgħelbu il-vantaggi ta dan il-Cunsill. Veru li tcun haġia tajba li il Gvernatur icollu l'opinjonij ta' assemblea ta' Maltin fuk dac li jolkot l'interessi tal Gzira, izda ma chienx possibbli tiġbed linja biex tevita differenzi ta opinjonijiet meta ix-xeukat ta l'Inghilterra u l'interessi tal Colonia ma chienux jakblu. L'Inghilterra, spicċia il Gvernatur, tixtik inakkas l'ispejjes li thallas għal Colonji. Uakt li il Maltin chienu jippretendu li certi spejjes għandha thallashom l'Inghilterra, il Parlament Ingliis jaħsibhaxort'ohra.*"

To sum up this critique of the early period of British rule over the Maltese, let us quote from an "anti-Britain" letter by J.W. Dovers, of Glenluce, sent to the Colonial Secretary on 12 January, 1836 lumping together in a stroke a wide variety of grievances, complaints and violations in as hard-hitting an indictment as we could imagine. Much of Dovers' letter is reproduced textually in article eighteen of the *Patria* series and reads in part as follows:

"Could the now venerable Lord Lynedoch (then General Graham) ever have supposed his proclamation of the 19th June 1809 would have proved a falsehood? Or were General Pigot, or Sir C. Cameron, in February and July 1801, insincere? Or did they believe that what each promised, would be broken, used even as wards of reproach and in ridicule of the Maltese? In the name of his Majesty they promised "Full protection? And the enjoyment of all their dearest rights? To protect their churches? Their holy religion? Their persons and their property: that his (Majesty's) paternal care extend to the hospitals, and other charitable institutions".

"Satisfy yourself, my Lord, whether their rulers, on the contrary have or have not destroyed some, and pillaged others of their archives? Sold the brass guns from their fortresses? Whether the French alone sold the silver plate from the hospitals? If any portion of the public library may have gone? Whether the armoury yet remains intact?

"If by Proclamation on the 30th December 1818 they abolished their Jurats and charitable institutions? By that of 17th May 1820, the language of centuries? By those of 3rd May and 25th June 1822, they interfered, in several ways, with their religion?

"Whether they have seized or diverted bequests left for other purposes? That there has been one law for the rich, and another for the poor? That favouritism of the worst sort THERE holds sway?

"That we are daily insulting them, and that the Maltese, and even our own countrymen, have been told, at their peril, to appeal against such and other acts of equal injustice.

"Probe deeply, my Lord, and you will ascertain why it is that Great Britain should now have the greater portion of her Colonies discontented and awaiting but the fitting opportunities to throw off our domination.

"Most of the arguments now daily used against Russia for her aggressions towards Poland will fairly hold against our country for her treatment of Malta: *MIGHT ABOVE RIGHT* has also been the rule of our conduct towards the Maltese, long ere a course so despicable for Great Britain was sanctioned by the Quarterly Review of March 1813. *We have trampled under foot all the stipulations of our compact*, we also have sought to extinguish the language, the religion and the institutions of the Maltese (as the Czar has done to the Poles), and to substitute our northern dialect for the Italian of their Courts"....

"It is by such acts that we have reduced these Islanders to penury; who now are loudly told to emigrate, and for whom? Is it for those to whom the quotation may aptly serve? or is it for those who may feel a pride in saying 'they know that they are detested'? yet who will have the effrontery to ask for allowances and retiring pensions! But will they be granted? or at the charge of the Maltese?

"Listen not, my Lord, if you are to be told that they who appeal are the dissaffected or the penniless; they are Maltese who have shown the strongest attachment to us and to our institution. *They who appeal are rich, and also the respectable* (supported by men of equal character in this country), who finding that repeated promises have been broken as often as promised, will suffer no longer, and now demand redress at our bar of public justice.'

We have recounted these initial clashes in some detail because they are so pregnant with implication for our general understanding of future developments. There is much more that could be said, elaborating on specific occurrences, outlining the roles of individuals, and so on, but we cannot do that now. We have shown how some of the issues that underlie even the last lap of our independence history are already present in quite intelligible forms here, in the first three or four decades of the British occupation. Gradually we shall see a consolidation of the British presence, new generations who are born into this presumed and zealously propagated "Anglo-Maltese" world not knowing what it had in fact changed or ignored of the past: and new and more thorough demands start to be made on succeeding generations. However, the torch linking and inspiring the political elite is carried from one generation to another, and the quest for freedom, however impeded, is never extinguished. On the contrary, in response to an attempted assimilation and acculturation, it begins to light up the horizon with a stronger fire than ever before.

Before directing our attention to the kindling of that fire, in the next chapter, let us take a roving look at the three major constitutional developments that take place in 1835, 1839 and 1849.

Actually it is misleading to class the constitution Malta got in 1835 as a "major" development, whether in a constitutional sense or otherwise. This constitution is significant only in the context of barrenness and frustration which so characterises the first half-century of British rule in Malta after the victory over France. The grant of this 1835 Council, was considered an insult, a rebuff, by the Maltese, especially by the **Comitato Generale**, whose efforts were directed towards a **Consiglio Popolare** having at least 30 and at best 100 members in it, with the right to decide matters of public policy.

Mitrovich was in London during 1835 writing letters, meeting people, and publishing his famous pamphlets tracing historical justifications for the claims of the Maltese to self-rule. His **Claims of the Maltese founded upon The Principles of Justice** and his **Indirizzo ai Maltesi da parte del loro amico Giorgio Mitrovich attualmente in Londra** were both printed at London presses at this time, distributed in and from London. But all that London would allow was a Council nominated not elected and, on top of that, with the Maltese members in a minority in it. The functions of such a Council were to be purely advisory. The moment news of such a "concession" reached the *Comitato* they were furious, and their regard for the new Council was beneath contempt. Liberal MPs in Britain, who had been helping and advising Mitrovich and

Sceberras, like William Ewart of Liverpool, were disappointed; and so too, ironically, was Ponsonby himself, the Lt. Governor, who believed the Maltese should at least have had a majority on the Council. There were to be 7 members, plus the Lt. Governor. Four members were to be official ones - the senior army officer, the chief justice, the bishop of Malta and the Chief secretary. The three unofficial members were to be selected by the Lt. Governor, two Maltese from among the chief landed proprietors - a *benestante* and a merchant - and a leading British merchant, resident in Malta but born in Britain. To start with, the bishop, F.S. Caruana, never sat on the Council and soon enough resigned from it altogether; not surprisingly he would not take an oath which included allegiance to the Church of England! The Chief Justice, Stoddard, did not last long either, and was a punctilious character, demanding seniority for example over the senior army officer, which was understandable. The Maltese merchants selected to sit were Baron Giuseppe Maria Depiro - not one of the leading landowners, in fact - and Agostino Portelli, an established businessman. The English merchant was one Aspinall. The two most powerful men on the Council would have been the Officer Administering the Government, George Cardew, and the Chief Secretary, Frederick Hankey. The Letters Patent were modified a few years later but this change need not concern us because the Governor through his officials could do exactly as he pleased.

The mind of British imperialism saw Malta simply in relation to military needs and other parts of the Empire, as just another possession, virtually regardless of her history. What the Maltese sought to recall and to emphasize was the special relationship that Malta had with Britain, but in practical matters British administrators cared little or nothing for that. Hence the growing sense of betrayal, which was now becoming a festering sore. The patronising and even downright ignorant views expressed by certain British officials in London were amazing. "Surely the people of Malta have no wish to meddle with the affairs of government, or if any do, they are not of the most respectable class", wrote Robert Hay to Ponsonby on 30 April 1833! Too many lawyers, too many natives, this person commented. And his greatest worry was that in a Council you could get Maltese who were independent-minded and did not depend on the regime. If these would not be in the employ of Government, the London decision-maker observed, they would therefore be "independent". Free-thinking individuals! Natives having a mind of their own and the resolve to express it, what was the world coming to? It was absolutely necessary, on the contrary, to have a definite majority of official members on whose support the Governor could always depend automatically. And secondly, there was the gnawing preoccupation that of course Malta could not be given constitutional rights such as had not been extended to any other colony - there is no doubt that this thought featured firmly in the considerations of Secretary of State Stanley. The C.O. view was that Malta should never be conceded an elected

Council. The two big butts here were these: first, the Maltese had done a deal with the British in 1800, or so they thought; and second, Malta was the only substantive European colony in the British Empire, less predisposed to be "civilized" than elsewhere.

Mitrovich was increasingly mixing with the wrong company — Daniel O'Connell, for instance. Scerberras wrote to the new (and more liberal) Secretary of State, Glenelg, via Mitrovich in London, saying grievances had been increased not remedied by the 1835 proclamation of a 'constitution'. Work starts on yet another petition, together with a fledgling PR campaign, master-minded by Mitrovich, in the British parliament and sections of the British press.

Mitrovich's attack in his writings hit two jackpots: one was "the national honour of Britain": he was saying Britain did not respect its word and was a traitor to its allies and friends; and the other was that pamphleteering about Maltese political grievances was going on in Britain when such would never have been allowed in Malta itself due to press censorship. Thirdly, he was also coming to rely on liberal and Irish votes in the Commons. Fourthly, Mitrovich's London presence was important to instil some courage in flagging Maltese hearts who were inclined to be defeatist and afraid, after all that they had been through in thirty odd years. Initially not many seemed eager to jump on the latest Camillo Scerberras wagon: a morale booster was needed and Mitrovich's efforts and meetings in London could provide that. Various English commentators spoke up for the justice of the Maltese cause too. Others thought that Mitrovich had over-done it, and that he was taking upon himself responsibilities without due consultation. His acceptance of another commission of inquiry to visit Malta was taken as a betrayal - who was to enquire further about whom? - and he was suspected of double-dealing. Scerberras meanwhile refused an offer from Cardew to go to a meeting with him at the Palace to discuss matters. No deal. He had instructed Mitrovich to negotiate with the Colonial Secretary in London. Again here, this attitude, which had much to commend it in the circumstances, was misunderstood and misinterpreted by others in Malta, perhaps because they were not accustomed to strong, dignified political stands and feared worse. A 20-man committee, known as **Comitato di Petizione**, was formed, with Scerberras at its head. Other ring-leaders included Dr. Arcangelo Pullicino and Gio. Batta Vella.

The petition again demanded many of the usual things, together with some new ones - a modern code of laws, a free press, an independent health board, a free port, general primary education, a reform of technical education with greater attention to modern scientific advances. And no more enquiries: action!

By the time the petition, with others, was presented to the House of Commons on 7 June, 1836 by William Ewart, it contained 2,359 signatures. In anticipation of the commission of enquiry coming nonetheless, as it did in 1836, Scerberras developed the **Comitato di Petizione** into a **Comitato Generale Maltese**, a

novel **Consiglio Popolare**, which stated its deliberations with some pomp in 1836.

One of the commissioners this time would be John Austin, Professor of Jurisprudence at London University; another was George Cornewall Lewis, a lawyer and former Minister, liberal and experienced. The commissioners had to look at the civil administration of Malta, what was in effect a *carte blanche* for them to look at most things as this comprised the sinews of administration as a whole.

This stage brings us to the second most noteworthy development of the first 50 years of British rule: the report of this commission and particularly their recommendation in favour of a free press and also, eventually, of the elective principle in selecting a Council of Government. Still, theirs were cautions and slowly elaborated recommendations, which greatly disappointed the already impatient and irritated local politicians, if one might so call them.

Although it was not before 1839 that a press ordinance was finally consented to, newspapers start being published in Malta in 1838. It was known that they would not be suppressed once the ordinance to allow them was in the pipeline - and in March, 1839 Ordinance IV of that year laid down that henceforth "no printed writing shall be subjected or liable to the censorship which is now exercised in these islands by Her Majesty's Government therein". Yet the abolition of censorship was not a ripe cherry in everyone's mind. Far from it. At a certain point its grant may have been in the balance — touch and go. The Malta bishop opposed it; he wrote formally to the Governor against it. The King of Naples also feared it, lest Italian liberals and nationalists could utilise it from their base in Malta. As they certainly did. But fortunately the man who took the decision was Glenelg. In his despatch to the OAG Valletta of 12 January 1835 Glenelg showed himself convinced of the justice of the Maltese claim for that which he considered the most valuable of civil rights and the most effective safeguard of every other social and political advantage. He was, too, anxious not to incur the reproach of using military power "to repress in a small European community that very freedom of publication which we justly value as amongst the highest distinctions of our domestic and colonial policy". This was a charter not a despatch, and it did lay the foundations for what was to follow in social and political development, as foreseen by Glenelg.

For the first time, the Maltese have a platform, many platforms. It is possible for a public opinion to form in the cut and thrust of real life. It is possible for 'independents' to come out of the woodwork. Freedom of the press would be a buffer between the strict and segregating delineations between governing and governed, infallible and fallible, lawless and lawful, superior and inferior. We get measuring rods to prod situations, thoughts, feelings, aspirations, to dream and to stretch out, and also to pillory and attack, insult and threaten, gossip and rumour, abuse and vilify, often in bad taste and for the pettiest of reasons. *À la Maltais*. A libel law was all too necessary, and what a starter that was — libels and counter-libels, insinuations, imaginings, suspicions, feuds and jealousies, fanciful backyard

allegations. Not everybody needed the press for treaties or national petitions; but nevertheless, rot and not, here were new media whereby even literate ordinary people could at least begin to learn to have a say, for better or for worse. In the long run, empty sound was better than enforced silence. Some publications of fairly high standard also begin to see the light of day as the years went by, first among these prints inspired by the Italian rebels whom Naples and the Vatican feared. One of their papers which quickly started publication in Malta was called **II Mediterraneo**.

We argued earlier that such improvements as were made in the 1830s would have been more possible due to changing perceptions and situations in Britain and continental Europe. One thing led to another. With newspapers and unlicensed printing (as Milton would have called it) it was far easier to establish a bridge-head, to fortify and to extend it, to defend and to project it, than with the petition process which was cumbersome and expensive; that was also necessarily restricted to the signatories and the parchments. A broadsheet however, with large letters if necessary, distributed by hand as thousands of copies rolled out of the press, was a different medium altogether. Here we begin to have, in embryo, the mass audience, the possibility of mobilising not only the more literate but also the less literate sections of the population. Ideas begin to be more clearly defined, repeated, exaggerated. A newspaper could come out every morning, whereas a petition was an isolated event every so many years, when life became unbearable. By the same token, newspapers could degenerate and debase the political and constitutional argument, and even hurt the social fabric if irresponsible, unqualified, power-mongering scribblers were encouraged to prosper. Who, apart from the libel law, could control the editors, or protect the readers? Would the journalist uplift the audience oozing the best out of it, or pander to its lowest instincts, its dearest loves and pet hates? There was a challenge which a society that still was not too far advanced in education, and which did not control its destiny, had to put up with as best it could. But we can say that on the whole press freedoms were one of the more lasting and continuing traditions associated with British rule in Malta, even if increasingly they became the main channels of the linguistic-cultural-political disputes and a partisan polarisation (probably never more so however than in the last twenty years, when Malta was independent).

In 1849, when the elective principle is finally introduced, we are again in a Europe that has just erupted with protest. In Britain chartism heaved its last breath, but in France the Louis Philippe monarchy was replaced by a republic with another Bonaparte to steer it, and even more significantly the Habsburg empire of Metternich, the grand old man of restored dynastic hegemony, of European stability and reaction, had to go. The Frankfurt Parliament for a while seemed as if it would instil a new form of government to central Europe; it failed but it had been a valiant effort. That "crown from the gutter" could have changed Europe's fortunes for

generations to come! As has been well quipped, that was a turning point when the wheel failed to turn. Once again it may be contrived to seek to explain Malta's forward movement simply in terms of the general European dynamic, but it is tempting to feel that part of the British preoccupation with security must have been the unknown quality of Maltese discontent taken too far, being allowed to get out of hand. As with the reform bills and the factory acts and Bismark's welfare enactments, some reform was needed to keep the situation under control. As we have already said, Maltese politicians did not let the British off the hook - quite the reverse. Provoked further by the paucity of the 1835 constitution, they were now aided in their protest campaign by the means wherein to make their voices heard. Those newspapers! After 1836 the reform movement gathers momentum and the introduction of the elective principle in 1849 has to be seen largely as a concession to it. Yet this "concession" was not by any means one that was greeted with hosannas, for the Maltese remained in a minority in the Council, even if they could now elect their representatives.

As a constitutional instrument, the 1849 constitution gave Malta a Council of ten official members and eight elected ones. Of the ten official members, five would be Maltese: the Collector of Land Revenue, the Crown Advocate, the Quarantine Superintendent, the Charities Surveyor and the Cashier of the Treasury. Technically there was a Maltese majority, but this only had any significance if official members, who were Government employees in high office, could exercise their judgement and vote freely. Until the governorship of Le Marchant, there was no undue pressure on these official members to vote as a bloc, but after the mid-sixties and more so from the mid-seventies to do so became *sine qua non*. Hence in Malta a government side and an opposition side formed as blocs - one always supporting what the government wanted, *par force*; the other technically free to vote as it chose, but generally in opposition. There were no political parties as we understand them today. It is unfortunate that to the extent that this opposition *versus* government divide in the Council was a forerunner to party politics, it was a sickly device forced upon the country by colonial politics, a bad example and precedent.

The main importance of 1849 lies in the introduction of the elective principle. This was the first time Maltese were allowed to vote by the British. In other words, we had a franchise. A restricted one, to be sure, but there it was, a foundation stone to build on. This meant Maltese could have elections, some competition and contest within set rules, public debate with the prospect of a measure of responsibility and power.

The qualification for jurors operative since 1829 was used as a basis for determining who should be entitled to vote. In addition, you had those who by reason of their profession were excluded from the jury roll - clergymen, practising lawyers, surgeons and physicians, included in the electoral roll. Briefly, any male over 21 years who possessed land or property of an annual value of £8.6s.6d. (100

scudi), or who occupied as a tenant a dwelling valued at 50 *scudi* annually, or who was a partner in a mercantile firm with a person having the necessary qualification, could vote. The emphasis was thus on property rather than education, although the former then usually presumed the latter; there was also clearly a preference for the commercial interest, entrepreneurship being considered as an indication of initiative, of upward mobility and ability in society. In all, there were 3,767 electors, of whom 281 in Gozo island. In Malta each elector could insert four names on the ballot, in Gozo one only. The Letters Patent said nothing about status or occupation, other than the property and related qualifications just mentioned - no reference, for instance, to whether ecclesiastics could sit in Council or not. Hence they sat. For the time being.

Let us have a look at this first general election under British rule as it constitutes a water-shed in some respects; it allows people to come forward with ideas and some kind of general programme, emphasising one line perhaps rather

The outstanding quality that electors sought was the independence of the candidate; this independence too was what candidates sought to bring into sharp relief. Independence meant being sufficiently self-reliant not to be liable to be bribed; sufficiently educated and known for your integrity as a gentleman, not susceptible to any monkey business. It seems that there were sets of independents.

Electioneering takes place. Flysheets, which still exist, grouped certain candidates in one list, different ones in another.

One list, headed by Dr Gio. Carlo Grech Delicata, included Gio. Batta Vella, the lawyer John Griffiths, Dr Don Celestino Camilleri, the Canon Dr Filippo Amato, Dr Salvatore Borg and Dr Francesco Adami. These contested the election on behalf of **Il Circolo Maltese** and were put forward by it: "*sette individui benemeriti della patria*". This **Circolo**, so far, was a literary club rather than a political organization. Vella's name we have already mentioned: he was on Camillo Sceberras' C.G.M. The literary club could not have been politically colourless and one suspects it rather toed a "hard-line" in its literature-sustained politics. Its most important figure, politically, would have been Grech Delicata, who however was not elected. He came twenty-second, (with 218 votes). His colleagues were more successful: only Adami polled less votes than he did. Two were elected: the Canon Dr Filippo Amato, (second with 620 votes); and the merchant Gio Battista Vella, (seventh with 424 votes).

Another list was headed by Sir Ignatius Bonavita, until recently President of the Court of Appeal, and comprised a judge (no doubt retired) Giacomo Bruno, Vincenzo Lapire, W.L. Arrowsmith, the Marquis Barbaro di San Giorgio, and Frederick Sedley. In their appeal, circulated on their own account, the Bonavita group criticised the Letters Patent of 1849 *inter alia* because it excluded "*moltissimi che potrebbero dare un libero voto*" and incisively warned against a pro-government party that was contesting the election with the *régime's* backing. The Bonavita

group was markedly less well established electorally than Grech Delicata's: Bonavita himself only polled a few dozen votes and none were elected. Their best liked candidate was Arrowsmith, who was twentieth, and Marchese Barbaro di San Giorgio made a respectable showing. Bruno apparently withdrew his candidature as he only records one vote and possibly an invalid one.

If the candidates listed as pro-government were indeed so, they did well. Two were returned, the Bishop Mgr Annetto Casolani, came third (with 617 votes), and Dr Adriano Dingli, who a few years later was appointed Crown Advocate, was elected for Gozo. Another ecclesiastic on the suggested pro-government ticket, Canon Emmanuele Rosignaud, just missed getting in. The fourth "government" candidate, Dr Ignazio Schembri, did well but came in twenty-first place. What the success of this list suggests is that there was much regard for established personalities with stature, such as the Bishop; Dingli was a Councillor, a very bright fellow, and he hailed from a respected Gozitan family.

Head of the poll was a merchant, Giuseppe Montebello Pulis. The only lawyer elated was Dingli, the only medical doctor Arcangelo Pullicino, another C.G.M. man. The remainder were split half way between ecclesiastics (Amato, Casolani and Archpriest Mgr Leopoldo Fiteni) and businessmen (Montebello Pulis, Michel Angelo Scerri and the already mentioned Vella).

This election is something of a puzzle in that the outstanding political personalities of the time were on the whole turned down. Camillo Sceberras and Giorgio Mitrovich, the doyens of the Maltese liberal-patriotic movement in the first half of the century, received a pittance of sufferages, an insulting vote of no confidence if that is what it was. Sceberras with 34 preferences and Mitrovich with 26 must mean that something was afoot of which we are unaware. They may not have wished to enter their names, disappointed by the limited franchise. Sceberras was getting on in years, he would have been 78; but Mitrovich was only 56. Could it be that his valiant efforts had been regarded as a failure? Was there a blemish on his career that an ungrateful electorate would not forgive? An established leadership with credence and experience would have allowed the new team to push ahead in continuity with past struggles, rather than have many new faces slither into a new skin. The best mind around probably would have been Dingli but, as the Bonavita flysheet prophesised, it did not take him long to "cross the floor".

About 16% of electors did not vote at all, not a negligible number, perhaps signifying disgruntlement or cynicism, or simply reluctance to partake of innovative procedures. Such abstensionism could have had a marked effect on the election outcome.

A few months later **II Circolo Maltese** transformed itself into a political organisation called **Associazione Patriottica Maltese**. The first number of their organ, **L'Avvenire**, came out on 1 December, with a programme and a statute. Grech Delicata, for one, had not given up.

One paragraph from the APM programme says in a nutshell what this "party" were about: the object was to perfect the people, by means of politics, administration and public morality...

"le quali parole restano vuote di senso, se come base non abbiano la coltura e il progressivo estrinsecamento dei caratteri nazionali - come mezzo non adoprino la libertà, dalla legge giudiziosamente accordata - come risultato non ambiscano (con una filantropia che rendesi più sentita quanto più sono derelitte le classi che si vogliono soccorrere) a migliorare le facoltà intellettive e morali del popolo, ad accrescere o rendere più feconde le sorgenti delle sue ricchezze: nelle quali cose sta il vero progresso dell'umanità."

In conclusion, then, we finally have a free press and elections to a Council, with a technical Maltese majority. But the history of this Council soon begins to be tortuous. On the whole the next twenty years or so are a relatively calm period, with a sudden if transient prosperity resulting from the Crimean war in the mid-fifties. Various effective progressive measures are undertaken, especially during the tenure of office by Richard More O'Ferrall who in addition to being a Catholic was Malta's first Civil Governor - he was not a military man, and military matters did not appertain directly to his command. This new departure is done away with in 1859, however. Back to square one after that. There are protests and petitions, to be sure. Much energy is spent in deciding how to refer to the Catholic Church in the Criminal Code - "*chiesa dominante*" (as suggested by Amato) or otherwise. There are improvements in the financial condition of Malta even before the Crimean War breaks out (1854-56) a time when according to Laferla, smokers plugged their pipes with golden sovereigns. The APM complain of "intrigue, favouritism, misrepresentation, demoralization" in a memorial signed by Grech Delicata and 748 others in 1851, but when O'Ferrall resigns, fed up mainly with what he saw as a constant heckling and misrepresentation, some 2,000 Maltese sign a petition under the auspices of the Council asking him to stay on. We are in 1851.

"With the liberalism of Camillo Scerberras it is possible to have sympathy", comments Hilda Lee, "but for the attitude of Grech Delicata and his associates it is difficult to find justification; they themselves were forced to resort to statements which were obviously far removed from the truth. The liberalism of Malta of 1849-1851 had little in common with that which had existed in the 1830s. It is true", she added, "that the demand for a National Representative Assembly was still based on the historical argument that it had been first established by Count Roger of Normandy in 1090, that several of the exponents, Tancredi Scerberras, the son of Camillo, and Emmanuele Caruana, had been members of the Comitato Generale Maltese; but the new movement was hostile to Britain, subversive, grossly inaccurate in its statements, anti-religious and closely connected with and influenced by Italian political refugees."⁴

The British begin to express concern about the presence of Italian refugees in Malta for various reasons: and not least of all the influence which these could exert on their Maltese friends. The APM strongly objected to O'Ferralls's description of

themselves as “a group disturbing public order and producing the germs of anarchy”. Admittedly the numbers of these refugees were considerable - at one stage in the 1840s over 800 of them arrived, 49 being Jesuits.

Apart from this everlastingly delicate question of how many refugees a country could allow, especially a small island like Malta with an infrastructure already burdened with servicing imperial needs, the currents of liberalism continue to blow from London.⁵ A succession of secretaries for war and the colonies are small “1” liberals: Grey, Newcastle, Cardwell. The trend was that Orders-in-Council should be restricted to an absolute minimum - it was up to the local Council to decide on local matters. Most importantly, in September 1864 we had Cardwell's despatch which laid down the principle that:

“no vote of money should be pressed against the majority of the elected members except in very special circumstances in which the public interests or credit were seriously at stake and never without an immediate report to the secretary of state”.

Here in September 1864 - one hundred years almost to the day from Malta's independence from Britain - we had a formal recognition of the principle of no taxation without representation. Fortress or no fortress, this was to apply to Malta. Cardwell's principle as laid down in 1864 constituted a landmark of no small significance. Alas, it did not last more than a decade. While it lasted we had at least one open incident when the local governor, van Straubenzee, was given a public dressing down for having transgressed it and forced a vote against the will of the majority in local matters (the postal ordinance). Trouble really starts with Le Marchant and the abandonment of the separation between civil and military responsibilities. The sixties see the emergence of the Four Lawyers who closely monitored and whenever necessary opposed the military flair that again predominated in the colonial administration of Malta. The Four Lawyers, as they came to be known, were Ruggero Sciortino, F.F. Torreggiani, Filippo Pullicino and Pasquale Mifsud. They were on the winning side, in terms of popularity; election results in 1865 indicated this clearly. Those who had taken pro-government stands, mainly wealthy businessmen, lost ground, whereas the Four Lawyers and others who had supported a petition in 1864, moved ahead. That 1864 petition, pioneered by the Four Lawyers, obtained what was so far the largest number of signatures - 4,464. It urged a reform in the Constitution and the appointment of a Civil Governor, and was motivated mainly by Le Marchant's habit of forcing all official members always to vote with him against the elected members who thereby became a permanent minority even when unanimous in their demands or objections.

Straubenzee was another difficult character and he never forgave the Earl of Kimberly for upholding the Cardwell principle and for that dressing down, which the Maltese party made a meal of. He continued pressing for a revision of the Cardwell principle, using *raison d'état* and military argument against it. Finally Carnarvon in 1875 just about revoked it. “It would obviously be fatal to the sound administration of public affairs”, Carnarvon wrote to Straubenzee on 22 May 1875,

"if the language of my predecessor were to be understood as practically to transfer to a small number of Elected Members the sole responsibility of deciding important questions.....".

Yet another petition dated 13 July 1869, signed by 3,556 Maltese asking for a Consiglio Popolare, civil governorship, etc., had gone by unheeded; the time was fast approaching when even the reluctance to resort to Orders - in - Council would be waived in the Imperial interest.

The other expression of public opinion we had during this period was in 1870 in our first ever referendum, as to whether ecclesiastics should be re-admitted to the Council, after they had been excluded at the time of the earlier "*Chiesa dominante*" debate and related Catholic-Protestant clashes. Working out the result of this referendum, we see that, if all ecclesiastics voted - 551 of them - then only a minority of the lay voters opted for clerical representation on the Council. Out of the 2,464 admitted to vote, 1,409 voted in favour, 991 abstained and 58 voted against. But if among those who voted in favour, as one might presume, you had the ecclesiastics themselves, the case in favour seems to have been far less strong than one would have thought judging by repeated requests in petitions and in the papers for the re-admittance of ecclesiastics to the Council chamber. Perhaps "*la chiesa dominate*" was less so when it came to secret ballots. London decided to allow two ecclesiastics in the Council but in the election later that year only one was elected

In these calculations there is a whisper of anticlericalism which in Malta, as in other Catholic countries where the church was powerful, thrived somewhat secretly. It would come out into the open in the twentieth century.

¹See his response in *The Democrat* of May 1989 to an article on Vassalli. The sources for these quotations are, for Saliba, *Nuova Figura di tutte le cose che sono e del continuo si generano dentro la terra*; and for Myrtili, his *Opusculum Geographicum* (p.89).

²This writer happens to be descended in direct line from one of them: Giuseppe Frendo, *Luogotenente di Casal Balzan*, was a lawyer.

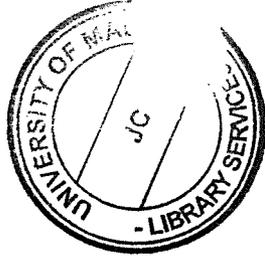
³See C. Willis Dixon: *The Colonial Administrations of Sir Thomas Maitland* (Cass, London, 1968).

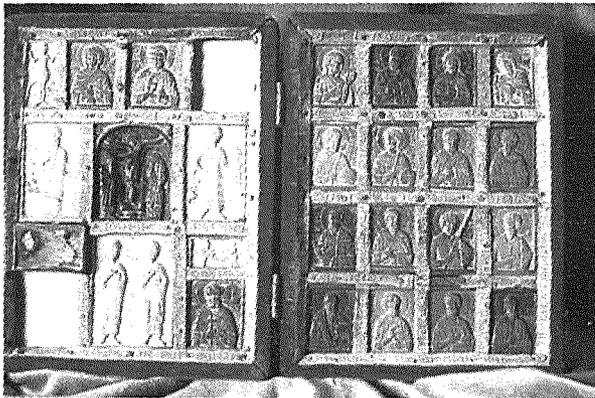
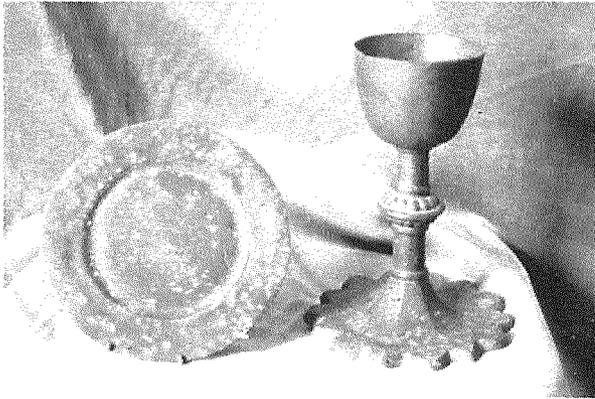
⁴H.I. Lee: *Malta 1813-1914; A Study in Constitutional and Strategic Development* (Progress Press, Valletta, 1972), p. 124.

⁵A case in point was 1956 when the Mintoff-led Labour Government refused to grant asylum to Maltese-descended and generally Maltese-speaking refugees from Nasser's Egypt. A slight they

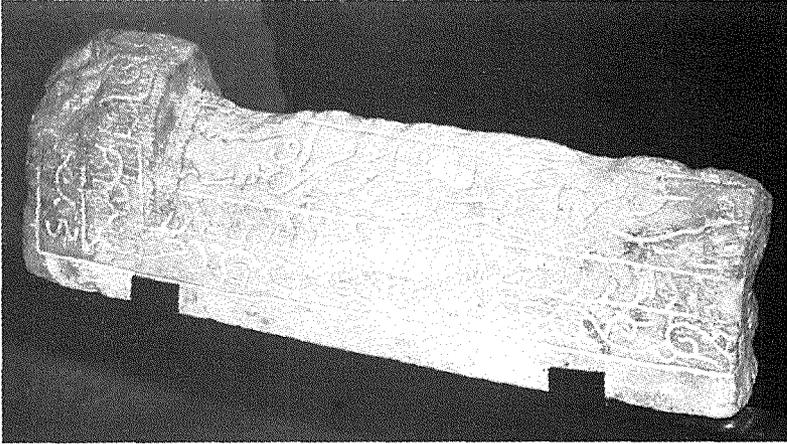
From Generals to Generals: Aborted Insurrection, Painful Resurrection

have never forgotten, several hundred of these went to Britain, Australia and elsewhere where some of them did exceptionally well. Very few could return home to Malta.

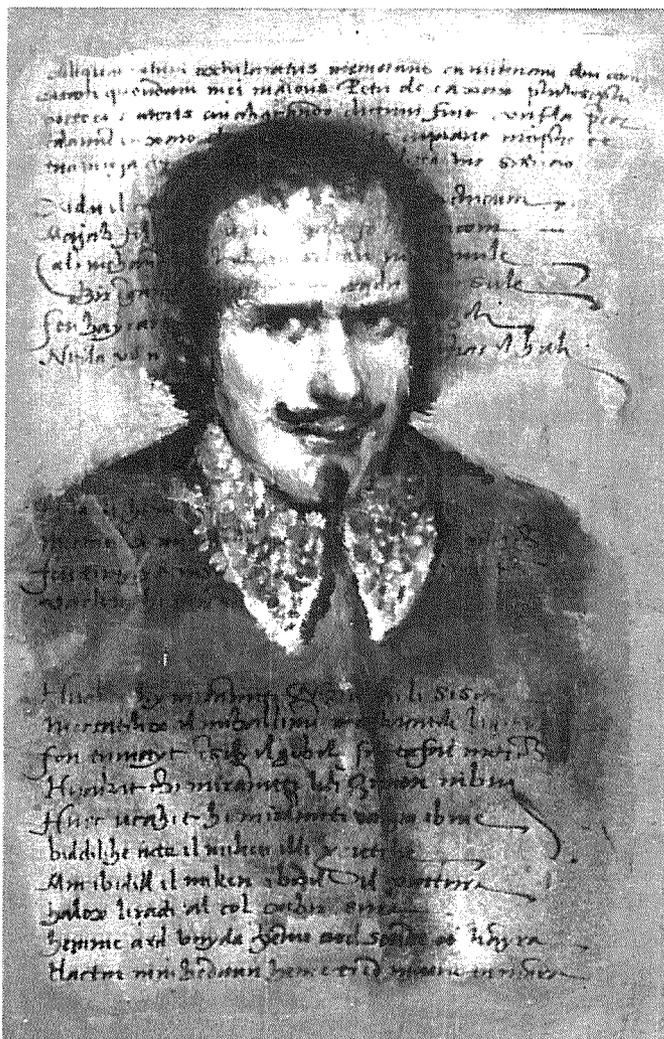




Roman, Romanesque and Byzantine remains may be seen exhibited at the Mdina Cathedral Museum, the Roman Villa outside Mdina and other sites.



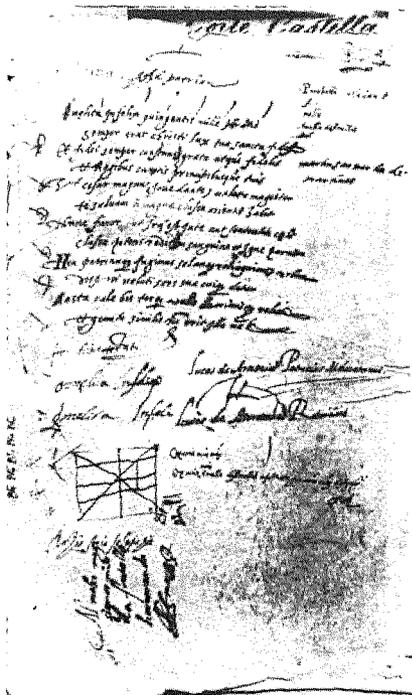
Some traces of Arab rule: the 1174 Maimuna tombstone found in Gozo and another twelfth century tombstone from the Muslim cemetery at Rabat, Malta.



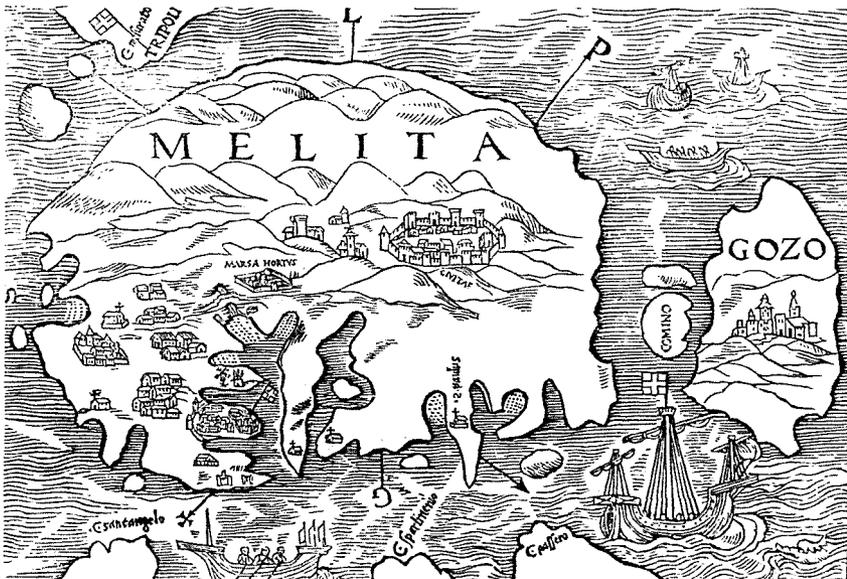
An artistic impression of Pietro Caxaro of Mdina, who was writing Maltese poetry in the fifteenth century.



One of the floats during the September 1964 festivities recording the Castilian domination: the Consiglio Popolare at the time of Alfonso V.



A mid-sixteenth century poem by Luca D'Armenia, in which La Valette is described as a Caesar: "Alas we flee our native land . . ."



A 1536 map of Malta published in Lyons, France.



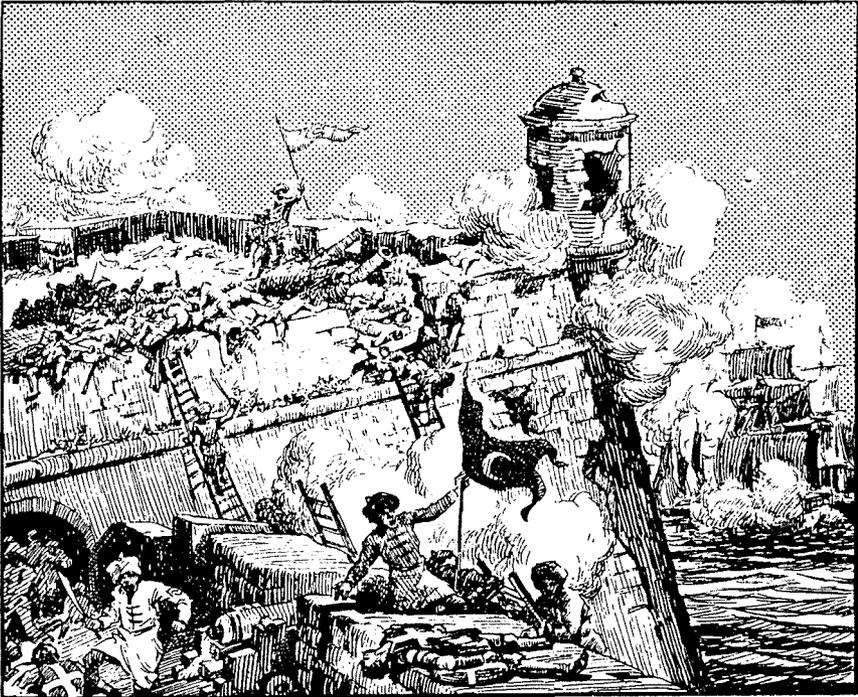
Grand Master La Vallette, as painted by Favray, during whose rule Matthew Callus was executed.



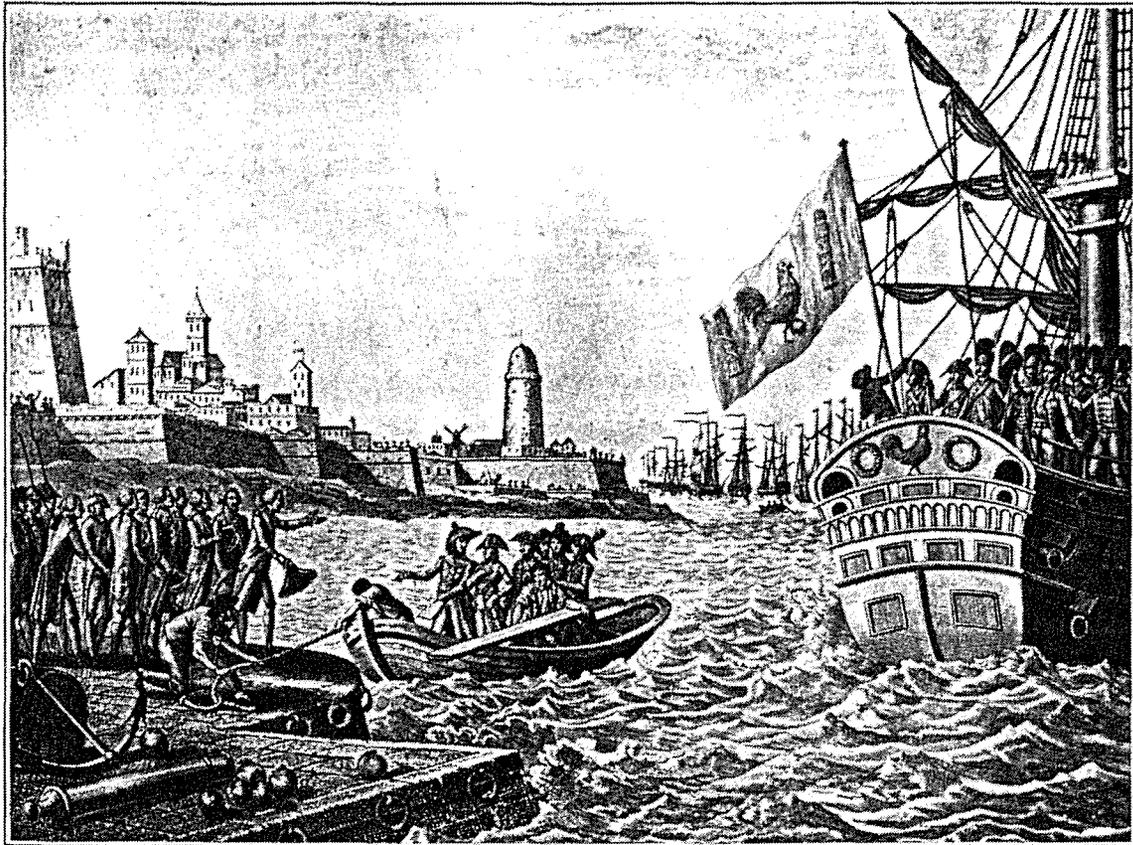
Grand Master Ximenes de Texada, against whom the "Priests" rose in 1775. "There were spies everywhere".



Grand Master von Hompesch, who surrendered Malta to Bonaparte, sailed away with full military honours, and the promise of a pension.



A textbook depiction of the legendary Great Siege in 1565: Cross won over Crescent, Europe over the Orient, and Maltese over the Turk. The Turk has not been too complimented by Maltese proverb and idiom since then!



An artist's somewhat imprecise depiction of Napoleon's reception by supporters in the Order at the Dogana, Valletta, on 12 June 1798.

L'impetrazione

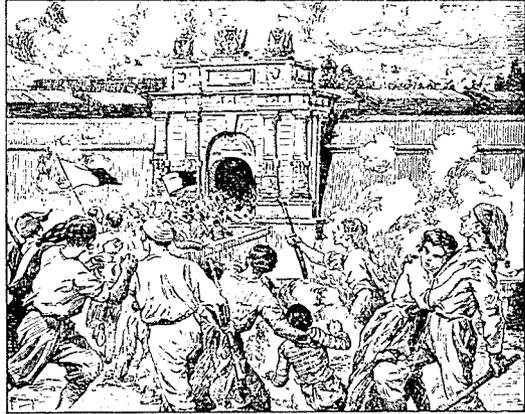
Notte 3. Ledi 1798.

Ven. pregha V. M. d'intervenire domani
in alle saranno l'ora del wt. alle ore 5.
mezzodi nella Città Notturna
per la difesa dei Cap. di Battaglione
per faranno gli interessi comuni e per
la difesa, e per la manovra, per la
1. e per la persona, per giudicare il partito
con la auguriamo tantanto ogni effetto
effettivo con ogni effetto

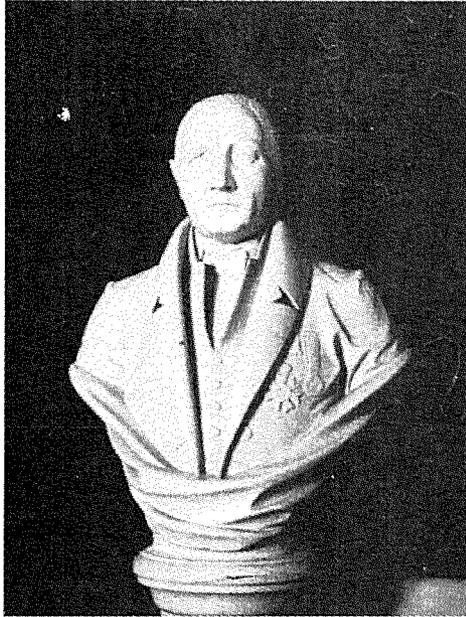
Di V. c.

Donato
Diop. dell'gov.
no. 1798
Gonze Salo
Michele
Ermete
Conte Ferdinando

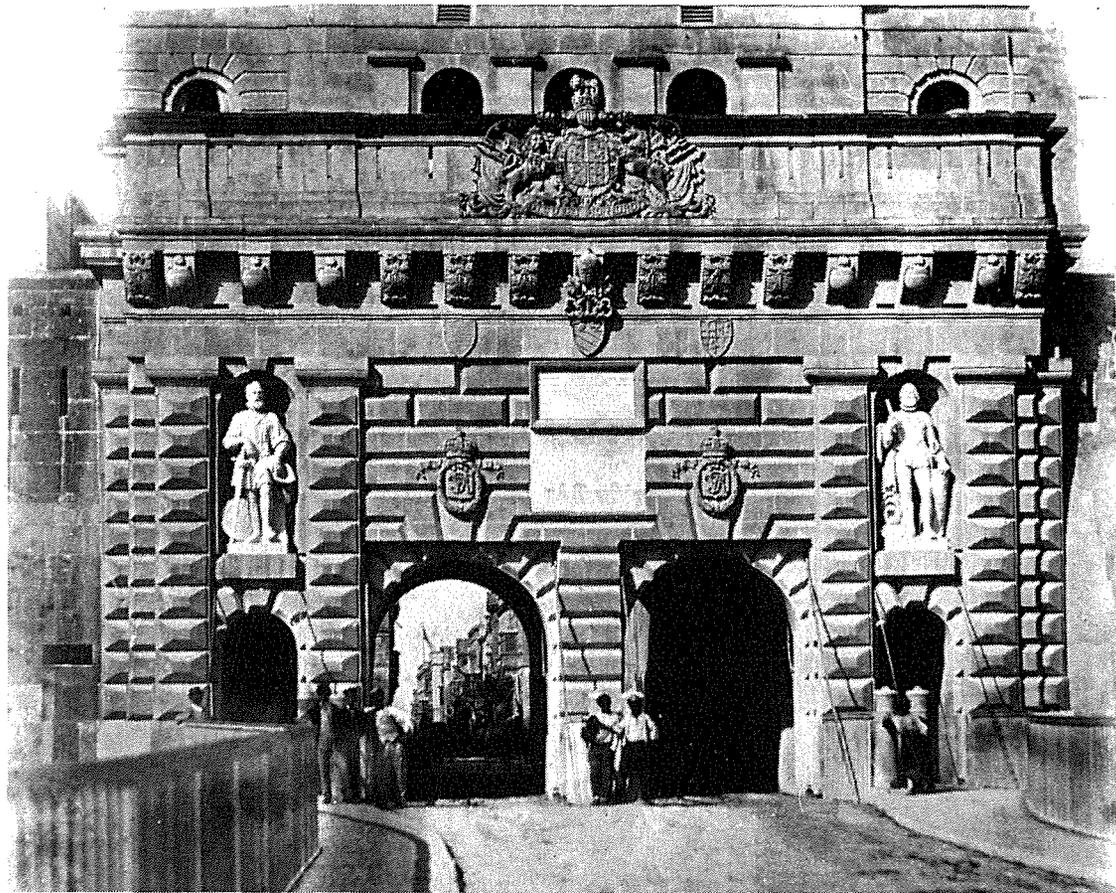
An early Maltese insurgent petition of 1798.



The Laspina graphic depictions of the outbreak of rebellion, familiar to generations of Maltese school-children.



Two of the leaders, Vincenzo Borg "Brared" and Can. F.S. Caruana who became Bishop under the British.



Putirjal as erected by the Knights and modified by the British, subsequently demolished and replaced by an entrance to Valletta which is itself in the process of being demolished and replaced by another.



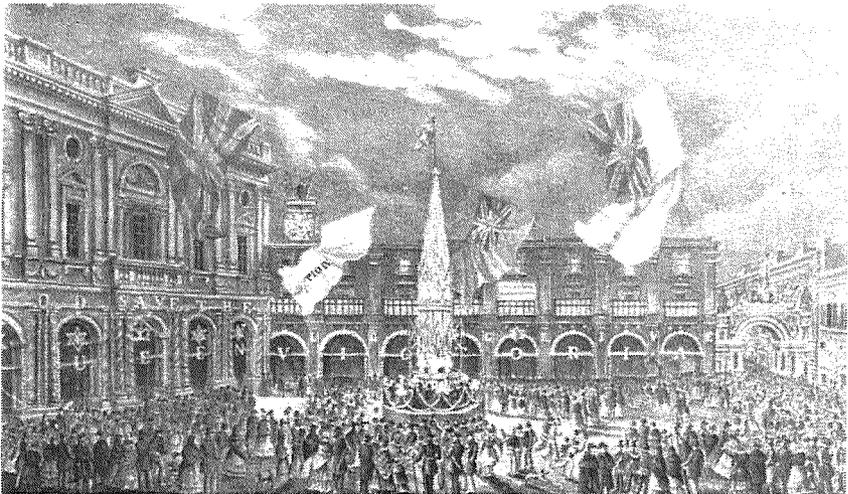
Lieut. Gen. Sir Thomas Maitland: "King Tom"



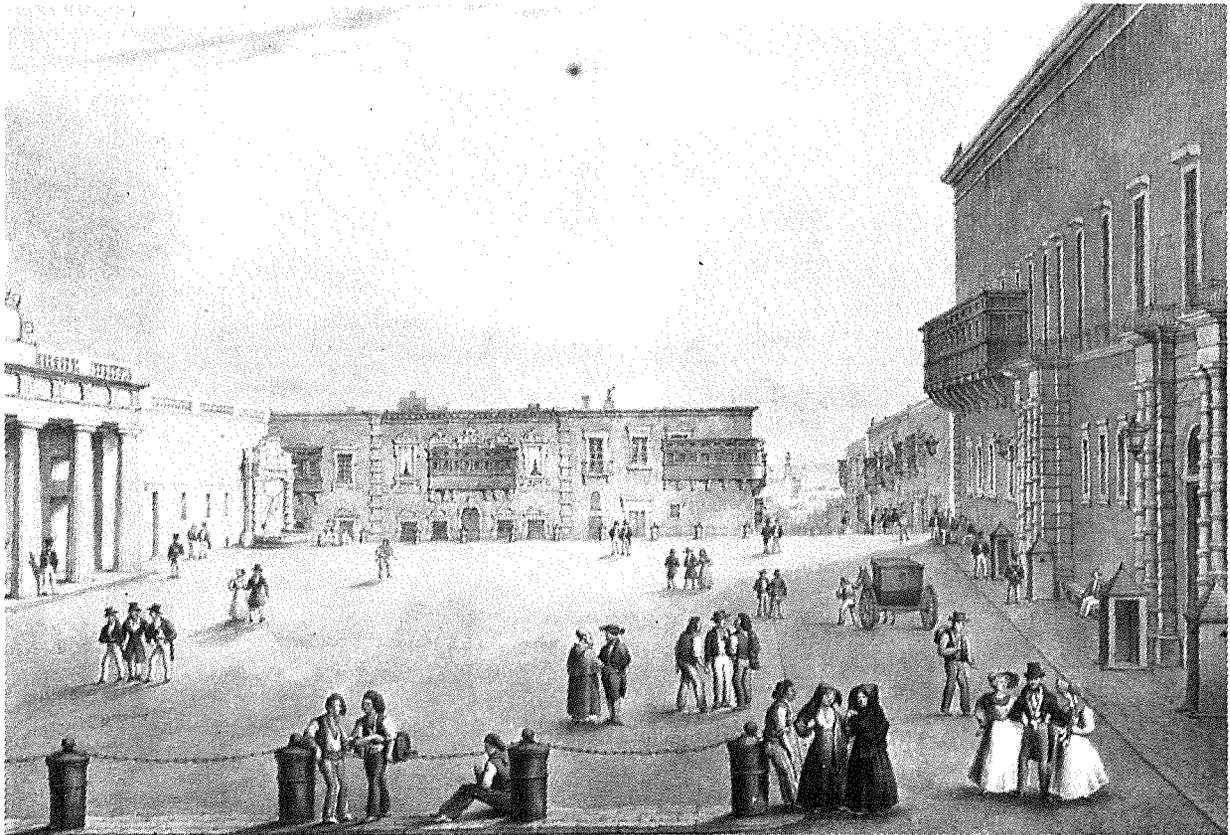
Camillo Scerberras - leader of the 1830s Comitato Generale Maltese



A welcome to the liberal commissioners Austin and Cornwall Lewis in the streets of Valletta, 1836.



1847 - The tenth Anniversary of Queen Victoria's coronation in Valletta.



A Schranz lithograph of the 1840s showing the various social classes congregating in Piazza San Giorgio, the Palace Square



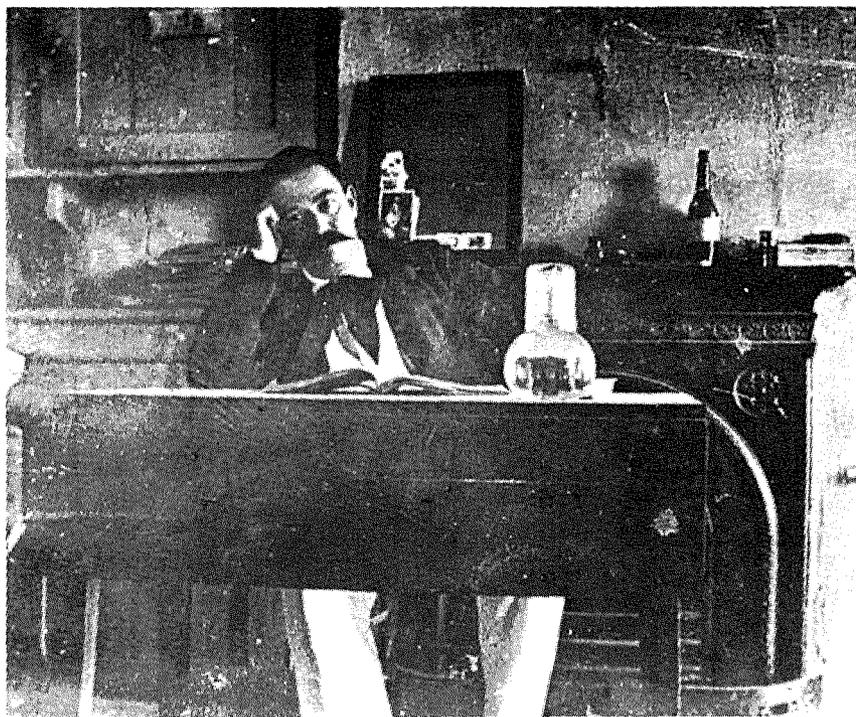
An earlier and a later photograph of the 'Pater Patriae', Dr Fortunato Mizzi, who fathered the Maltese Nationalist Movement from 1880 onwards.



A close collaborator of Mizzi was Salvatore Cachia Zammit.



A Mizzi rival was Sigismondo Savona, of the new Reform Party, who later cooperated with Mizzi and especially in the so-called Partito Popolare, with Canon Ignazio Panzavecchia. Mizzi and Savona both hailed from Valletta. Cachia Zammit was from Zejtun and Panzavecchia from Senglea.



Nerik Mizzi at Verdala barracks after his Court-Martial in 1917.

Str. 9, Mikleof 4 Via Ibrohara S. Għaliha



IL BANDIERA TAL MALTIN

GIURNAL MEHTIEG

IT-TIIELET SEWA

Jakwe eall
akar ta nibt, u
mista ta nibt tab
bil festa, p-hose
il Għanaka. Li n-wch
leb ta Malta thallse
tefin eall thot skur, u ta
barra ta n-wcha tal posta
wed. — Hoegre mteubha
l-ha ma n-ghatthowx jura



Isimgħuni, għax
sejjer ngħid hej-
jeg tajbin uisk; il
stuh ta xofftejja
sejjer icun għax
hueljo eewaa.



Ikku it-taġġim
figħi: il għaidud
collu ta fommni hu
bil hażk, fih ma
hemm kejn mħaw
ueg jett hazin.

SALAMUN.

Għaid Sold

Baxx tawid-heb
Dehlat jett n-wr
F B Stempria str
da Dno Ponte No. 128
Usta, jett għand is sur
G. Gargana sħa Br. Għanaka
No. 122 d'heh, jett għawd
is sur. R. D. S. M. Għanaka
Itali No. 132 il Għanaka.
Hemm n-wll jimp. Għanaka



EMMANUEL DIMECH
Dimech

Għaid 131.

IS-SIRT, 24 TA' NOVEMBR 1900.

SOLD

IL BANDIERA
TAL MALTIN
24 TA' NOVEMBR 1900

AKKRIJ!

Kubbra jila u kubbra il bar-
an-ghatthowx jura. — Hoegre mteubha
l-ha ma n-ghatthowx jura.

IL CONSILL

Il Consill' Għaliex tridax n-ghatthowx
fak il Consill' ta' mteubha l-ha ma n-
ghatthowx jura. — Hoegre mteubha
l-ha ma n-ghatthowx jura.

taġġa. Il poplu jata' inur jett k jett
irid. Tal poplu malti l'Inghilterra l-
obx ebennu tati zont, daks ebennu n-
għatthowx jura. — Hoegre mteubha
l-ha ma n-ghatthowx jura.

Dimech's paper in 1900: The British cared as much about the Maltese as you did about some files in your house!



Manwel Dimech and Juan Mamo together with two POWs in Alexandria, where Dimech was sent by the British in 1914. He never had the chance to repatriate.

POPLU MALTI ISMAGIINI!

Poplu Malti,

Smajt già il cliem ta minihobboc u li ghal l'interess u il gid tighèc dejjejn hadem. Fehmec x'tista tittelf u x'tista tirbah.

Il mument li ninsabu fieh hu l'izied serju ghax fieh jista jinxtered izied demm.

Il Protesta kauwija tighèc jafa cullhatt sa li stess Gvernatur li il bierah uighed inchiesta seuaa u li qualunqwe uiehed isibuh, hati li ma ghamilx seuaa jehdu passi contra tighu.

Il Cunsilieri tighèc già hadu passi li fl'cuwel Seduta tal Cunsill jitolbu inchiesta biex icolloc soddisfazion fuk dac li sar.

Ghaldakstant, fl'isem ta Sidna Gesù Cristu u tal mahbuba Patria taghna, nirricmandalec li trakkad il hruxija tighèc, u tuakkaf il hsrarat li minnhom int issosfri izied hsara.

Itlob dejjem bil quiet id-drittijet li ghandec il jedd ghalihom ghax gen lilec imueghdin solennement, la darba il Gvernatur ueghdec li ghandu jatie soddisfazion.

POPLU,

Zomm il quiet biex Alla icun mighec!

VIVA MALTA!

Mons. Panzavecchia I. Can. Cap.

President tal Cunitat Patriotticu.

9 ta Giumju 1919.

9. Tieni ta Għebla

10. Thela ta Għebla li Hamsin

11. Ebbgha S. Barnaba ap. m. *A temp.*

[samm u astin]

12. Hamsin S. Ginn min San Fecundu

13. Gimgħa Sant' Antoin min Padova.

A temp. samm u astin.

Kamar Quinta fid-9 u 30 m filghodu

14. Sibt S. Basilu Iskol *A temp. samm u ast.*

Akrau! Akrau!

L'ASSEMBLEA NAZIONALE

L'Assemblea Nazionale li President tabha hua il Patriotta Tabib Filippo Sciberras seira tergia tintaka fis-7 ta Giumju, fic-Cireolu "La Giovavane Malta." fl' 4. ta unra nofs inhar.

IL CUMITAT PATRIOTTICU

U IL FESTI TAL PAOL F' MALTA.

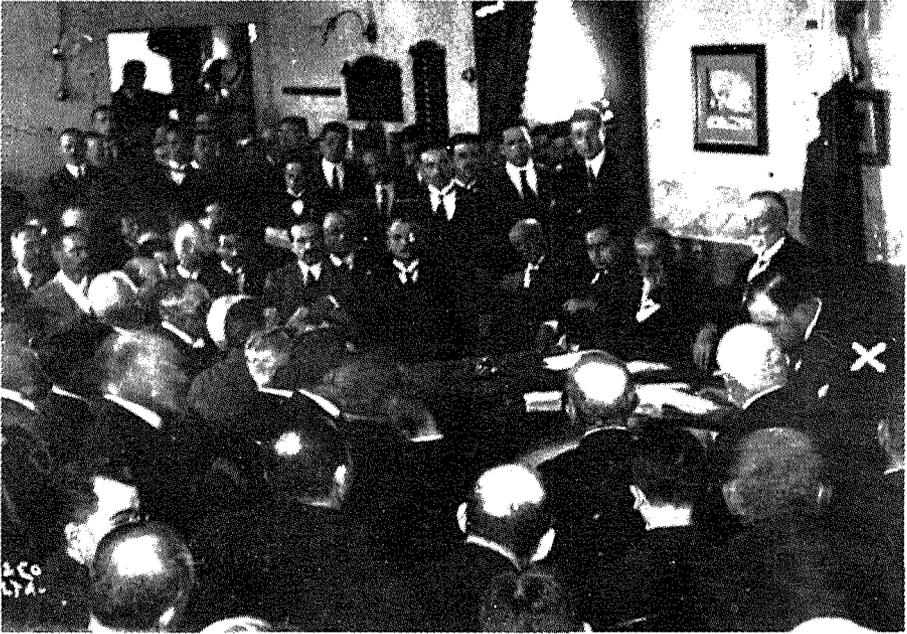
APPELL IENIOR LIL POPLU.

Billi ir-risposta tant mixtieka tal Ministru għer-risoluzioni ta l'Assemblea Na-

il maghruf Patriotta deherlu, li sabiex irida jixtu fl'ko ir-risposta tal Mi li dana il Cum riguard il festegg Dana il Cunitat li b' die ir-rispe ghada ma flax d pormezz ta l' Ass- lecc ma dehrux il mument tad-d l' għoti tal haija li biha m' hu se ghalecc għat tieu lob lil veri patri jehdu ebdu parti colla ingħeidu li: Banded, sabiex jol tati tahlhom ma jidhlu f' xi Cum Malti il festa tal it-trigija tal pajj ghedua, imma m fatti. Chif nistg hu uakt li idejn buta bil etajjen, minn dritt li fl' goudu, uakt li a zebilha. Meta li



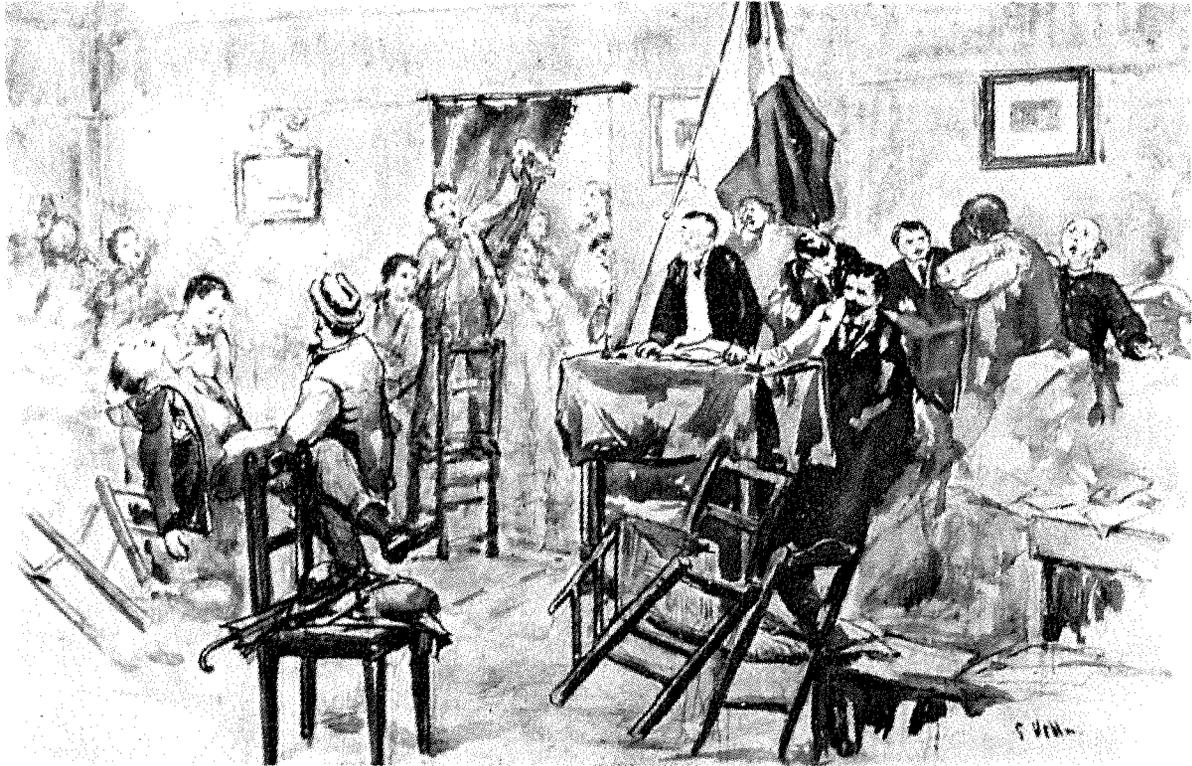
The Sette Giugno: freedom and survival. In September 1964, Strada Forni remembered two of the victims where they fell.



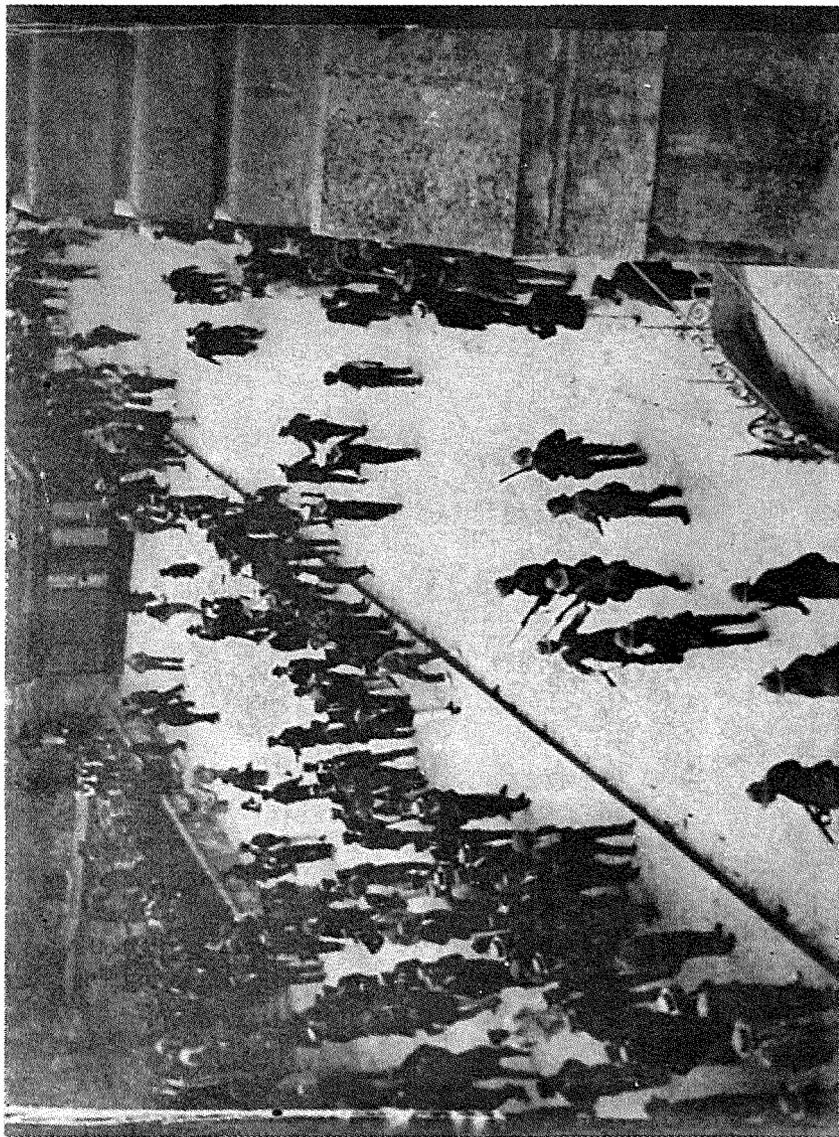
February 1919 – The first National Assembly in Giovine Malta.



The crowd laying a wreath where one of the *Sette Giugno* victims fell and died.



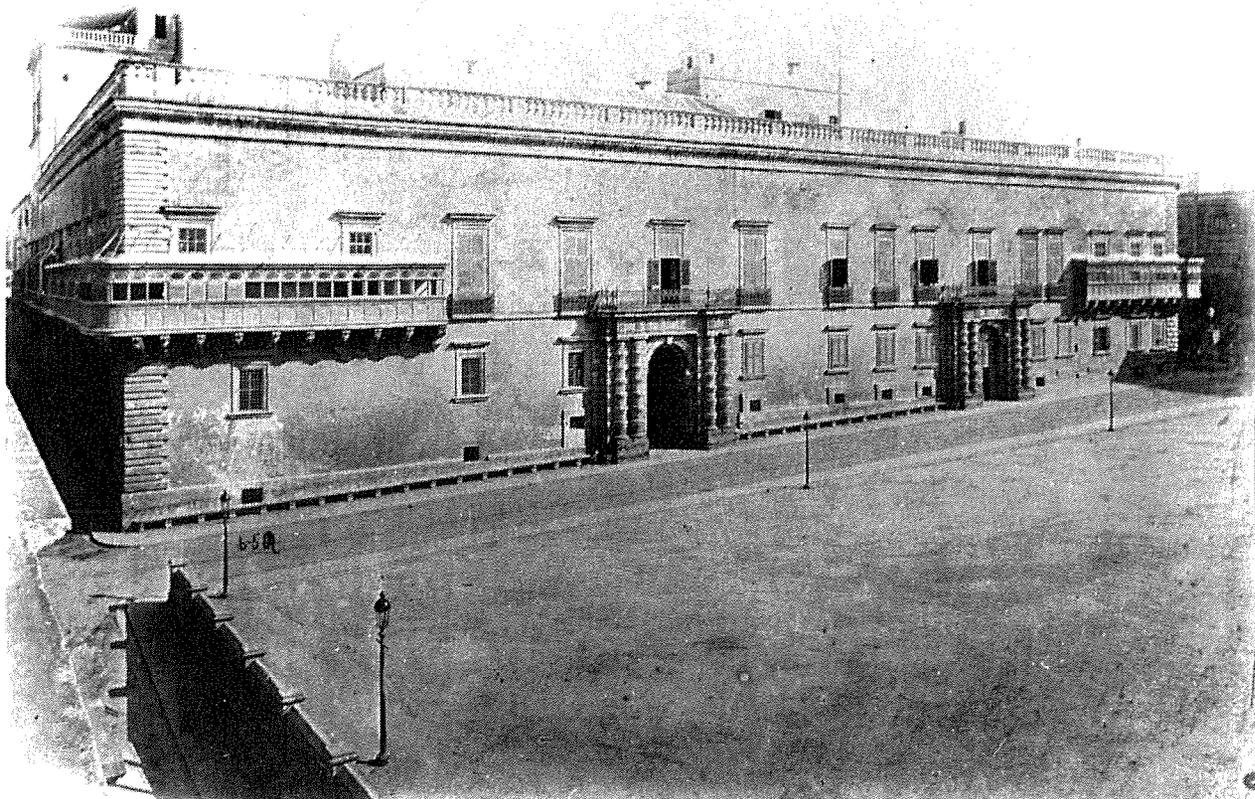
A victim of the Sette Giugno 1919 in the National Assembly. The artist Gianni Vella sketched this drawing on the spot.



British troops retreating to the Law Courts after the shooting.



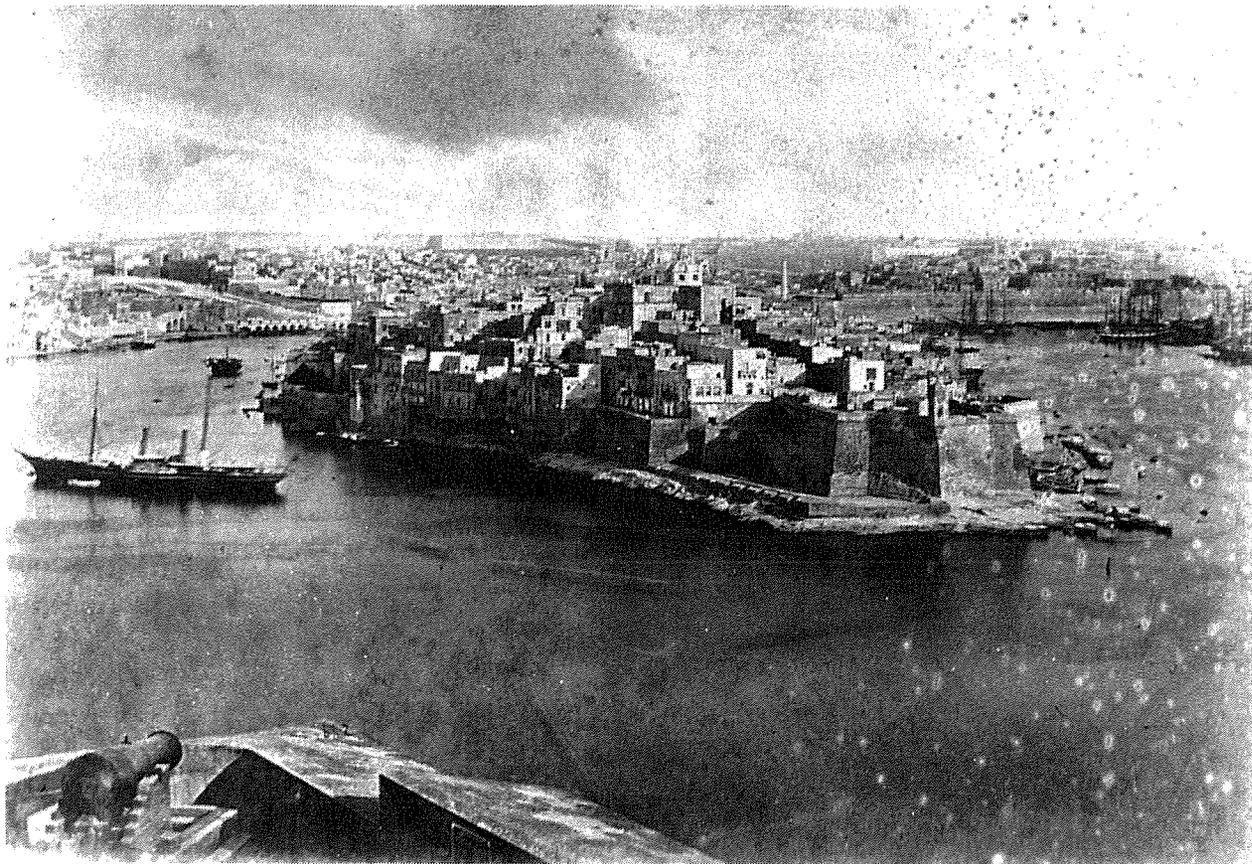
British troops assembled in front of the Law Courts.



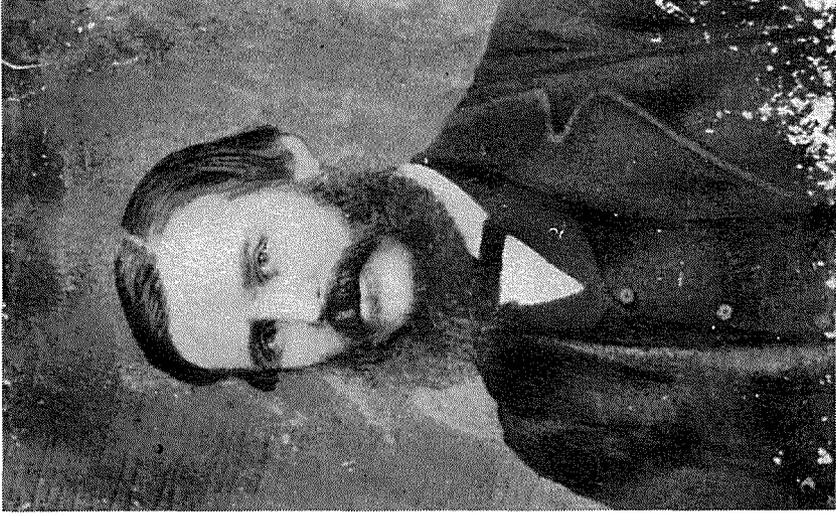
One of the magnificent buildings erected during the reign of the Knights of Malta (1530-1798): The Grand Masters' Palace, subsequently the Governor's, and now the President's.



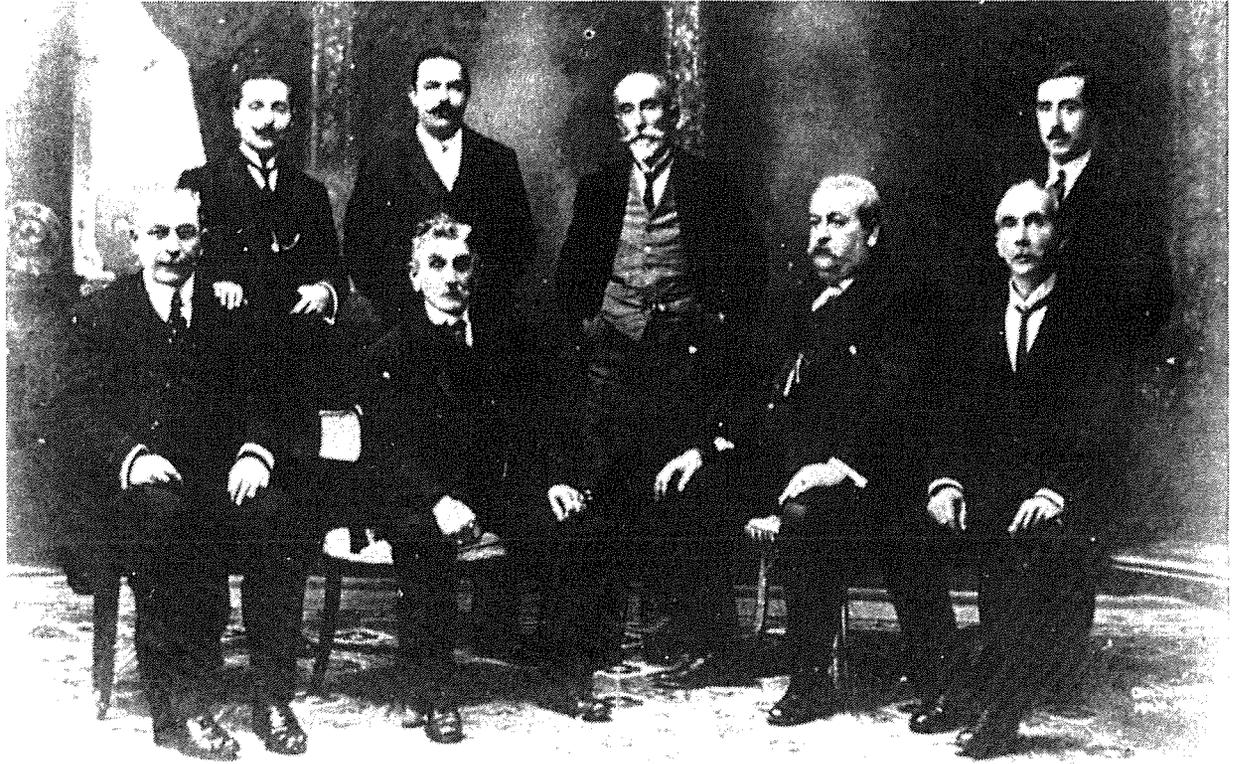
The Auberge de Castille, formerly used by the Admiralty and subsequently as Office of the Prime Minister (formerly the Auberge d'Aragon).



Fort St. Michael guarding the Grand Harbour, with a steamship to its left. These pictures were taken by Capt. Lyons in 1870 and printed in Geneva: they were kept in the former Palace Archives.



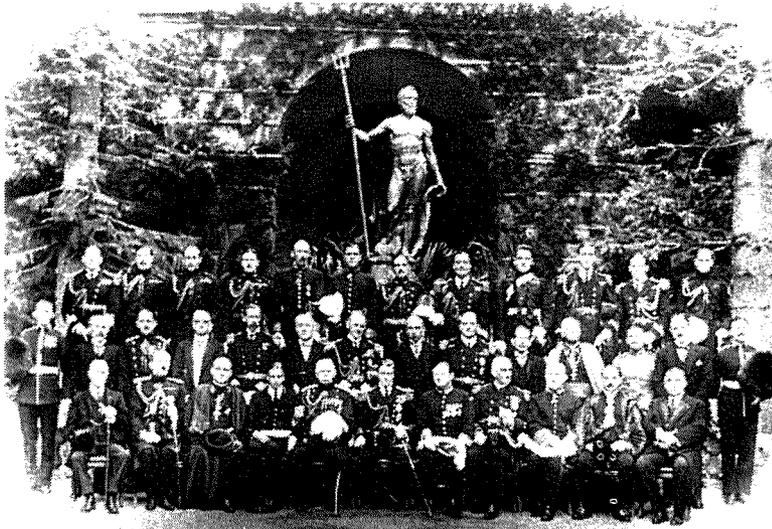
Lord Strickland and his father Commander Walter Strickland R.N.



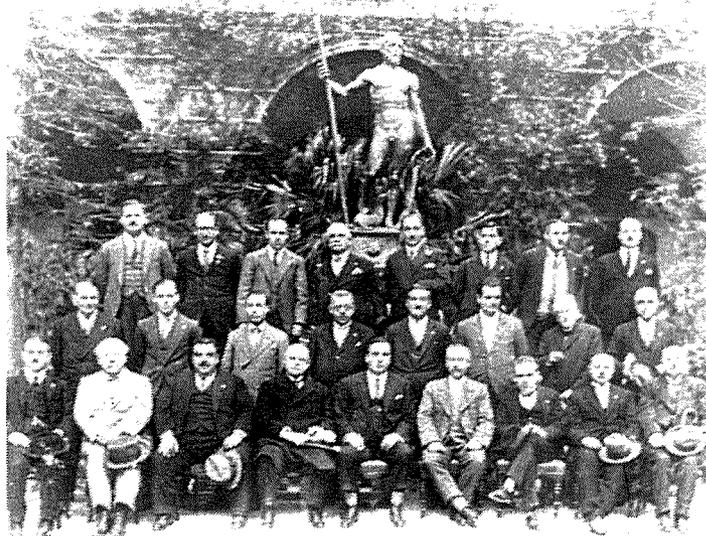
Members of the Council of Government 1917-1920. Seated:- G. Muscat Azzopardi, A. Pullicino, G. Gabarretta, A. Dalli, Standing:- G. Vassallo, E. Mizzi, G. Zammit, G. Bencini.



Joseph Howard, Malta's first Prime Minister. A small businessman, he was President of La Valette Band Club.



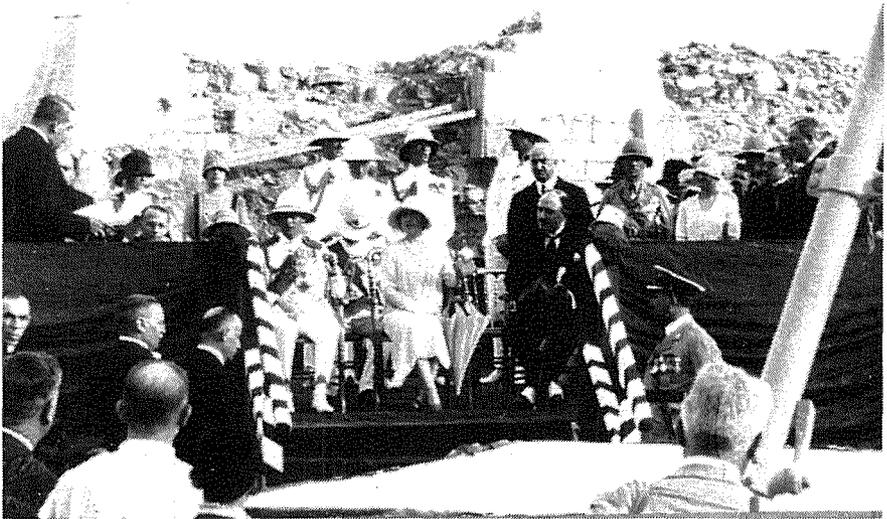
A group photo during a 1920s royal visit showing Sir Filippo Sceberras (first on left of first row) and Mr Joseph Howard (on right of first row).



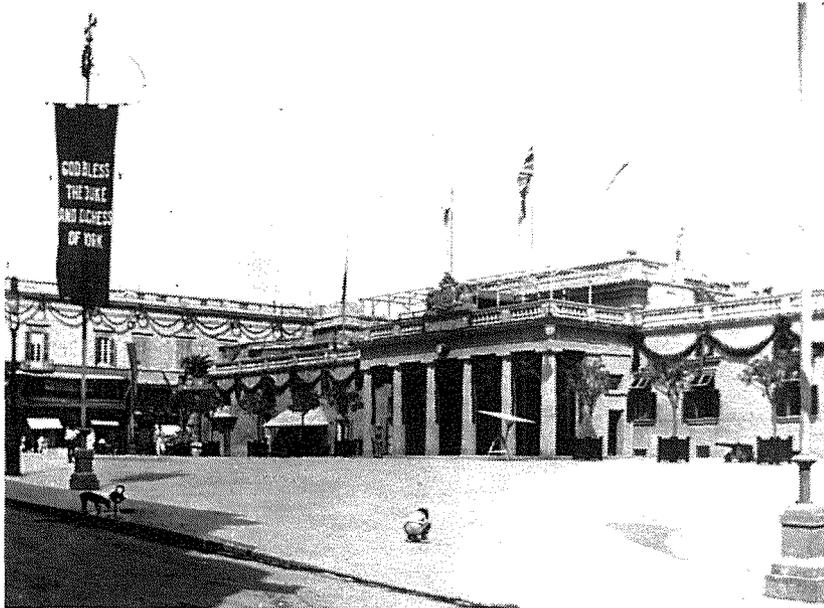
The "Compact" alignment in 1927. Strickland is fourth from left, and Dr Augustus Bartolo on his left. Boffa is third from right in the first row.



“Il-Waqgħa ta’ Bagħbas”. A Nationalist inter-war cartoon showing Ugo Mifsud triumph over Strickland (“Bagħbas”).



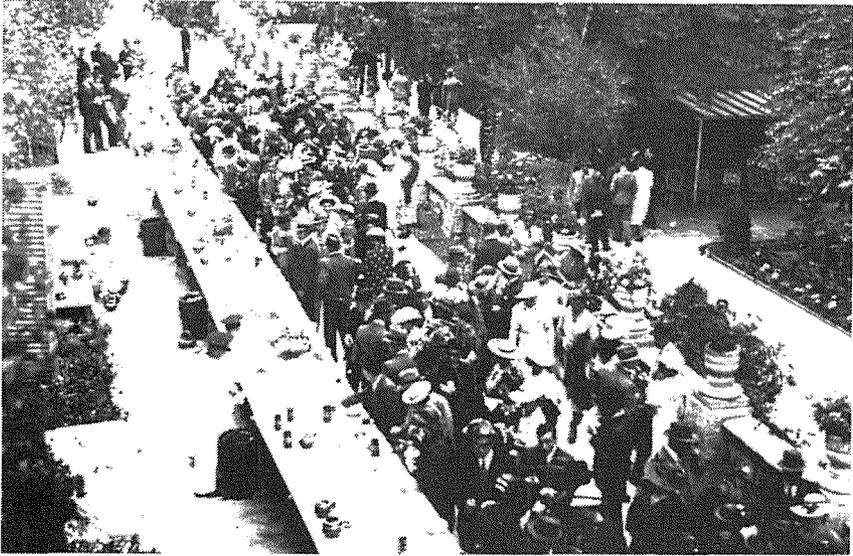
Sir Ugo Mifsud as PM during a royal visit in 1927. On this occasion the Duke of York Avenue – linking Floriana to Valletta on the harbour side – was started, and the first stone laid in what was known as the Harper area.



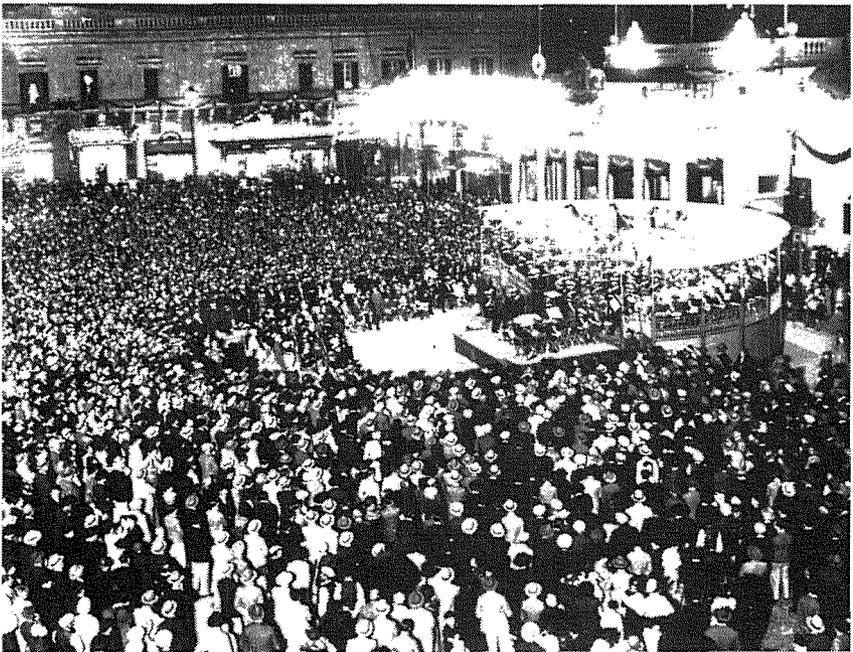
1927 - royal visit.



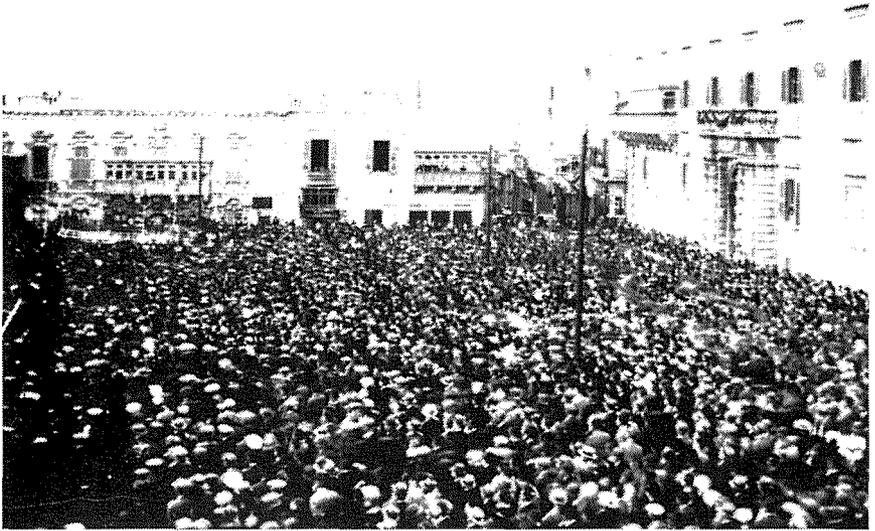
The Royal Malta Artillery, about which Brig. Samut-Tagliaferro has written, became an employment avenue for Maltese from various social classes, fostering an *esprit de corps* loyal to Crown and Empire. These pictures date back to 1895 and 1905.



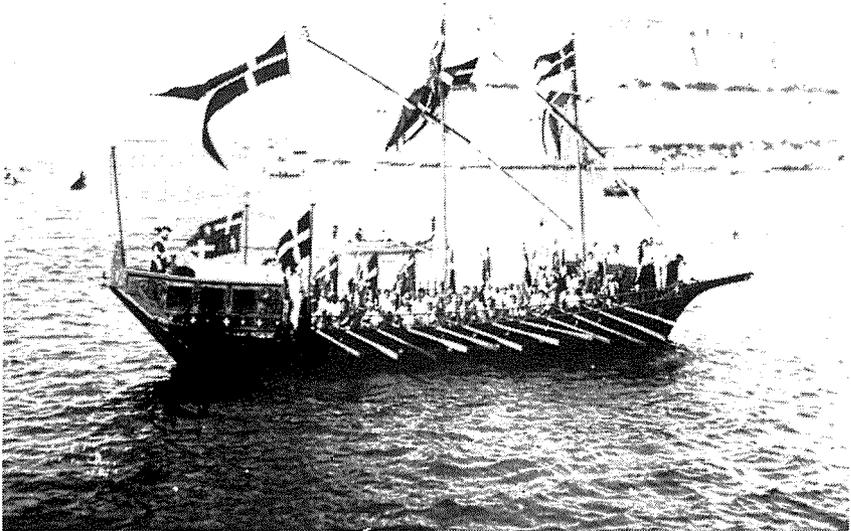
The Governor's Garden Party.



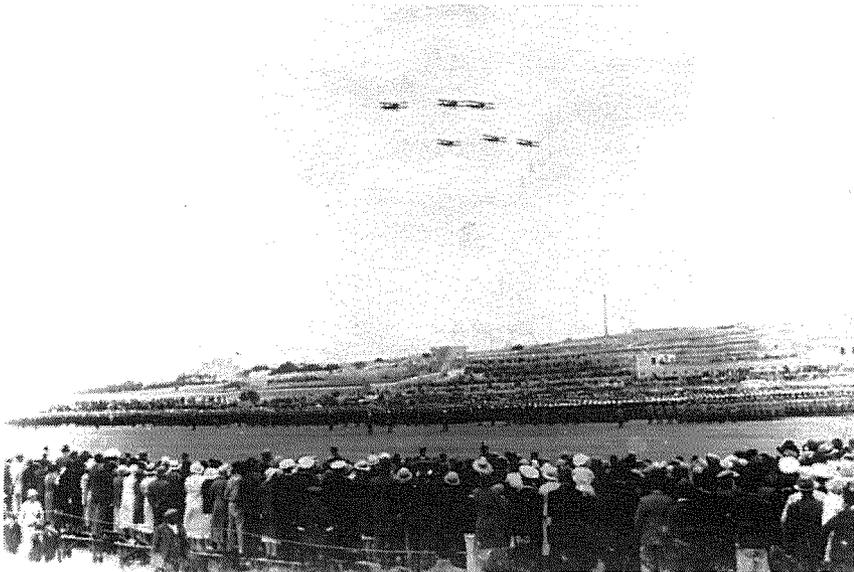
11th May 1935 – Naval and Military Massed Band on the Palace Square, Valletta.



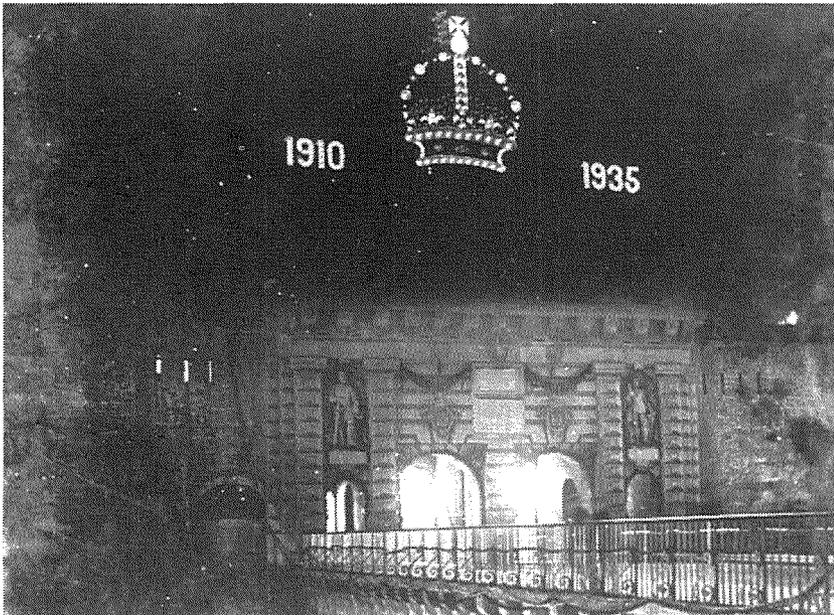
6th May 1935: Crowds on the Palace Square, listening to the relay of His Majesty's speech.



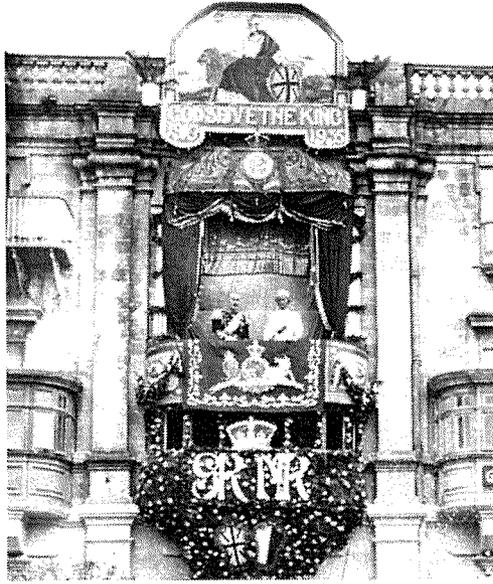
7th May 1935 – Water Carnival, the galley constructed by Dockyard labourers.



7th May 1935 - Combined review of Navy, Army and Air Force units at the Marsa Sports Ground.



Putirjal decorated for the King's Silver Jubilee.



General decorations of Royal Restaurant in Piazza Tesoreria.



Decoration of a shop in Kingsway now Republic Street.



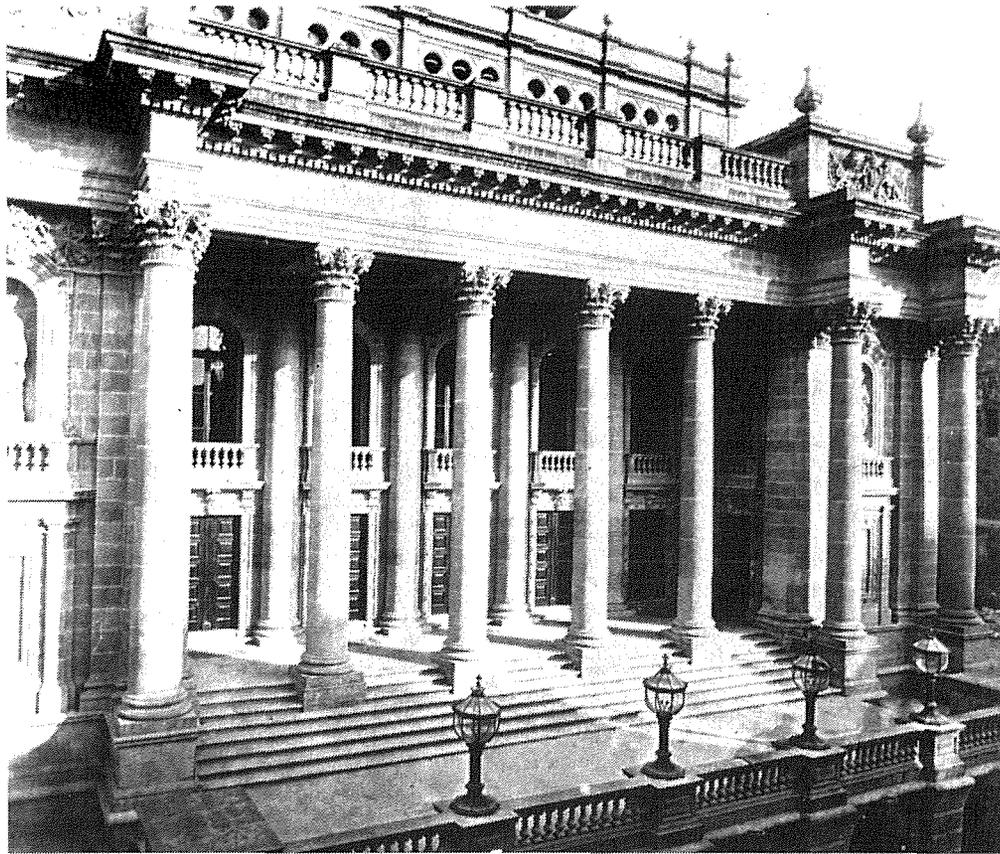
The party given at the Colonial Restaurant, Valletta, to 100 school children on the occasion of the Coronation.



Entertainment of children at the Manoel Theatre.



G.B.O. with Cardenio Botti, formerly Director of the La Valette Band, together with prominent members of the La Valette band club committee, including on Olivier's left Karm Pisani and, on Botti's right, Gustu Schembri. This photo was taken during the 1960s during one of the visits to Malta by Botti, whose sister married a Kissaun. Botti was one of the Italians expelled from Malta in 1935.



Probably the nicest building erected during British rule, designed by an architect of Covent Garden fame, Barry, the Royal Opera House was razed to the ground by the Nazis and is still in ruins.



Reggie Miller, who founded the General Workers' Union in 1943, was a well-read and cultured man who always tried to put the interests of Union members first.



Dr. (later) Sir Paul Boffa.



Mr. Dominic Mintoff, at the beginning of his political career, is here seen addressing Parliament in the late 1940s. The Labour Prime Minister, Dr. (later Sir) Paul Boffa was ousted from the leadership of the Malta Labour Party by Mintoff in 1949.



Dr. Arthur Colombo: had Mintoff met his match?



Governors and Constitutions:

Plumer, who saw self-government being ushered in, in 1921; du Cane and Campbell who saw it ushered out first in 1930 and finally in 1933; Douglas who was governor from 1946 to 1949, between its restitution and the Labour split; and Lt. Gen. Sir William Dobbie, who signed the deportation orders in 1942. Laycock, Mintoff friend turned enemy between 1954 and 1959; and Grantham, who saw the restitution of self-government after the Blood commission's report in 1962. Dorman, our last Governor and first and last Governor-General (excepting a brief spell by Sir Anthony Mamo, before the Republic came in, in 1974).



General Sir John du Cane – 1927-1931



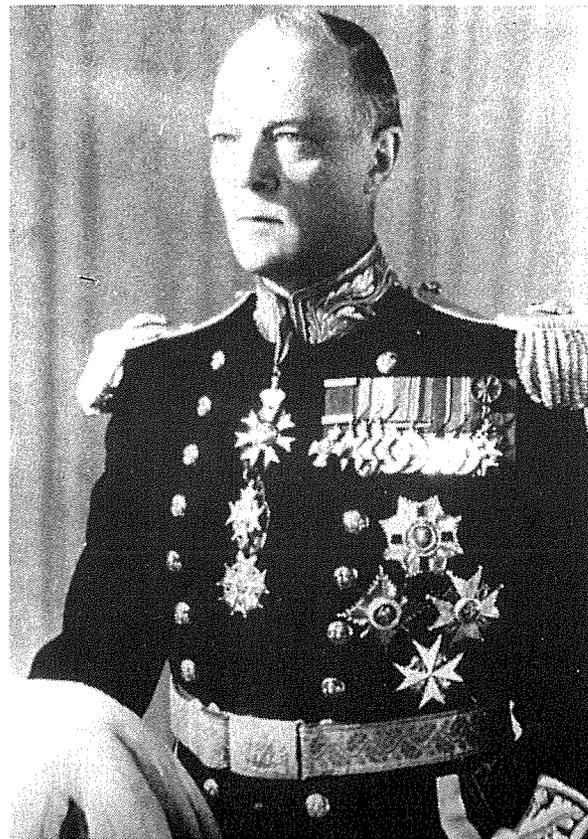
General Sir David Campbell – 1931-1936



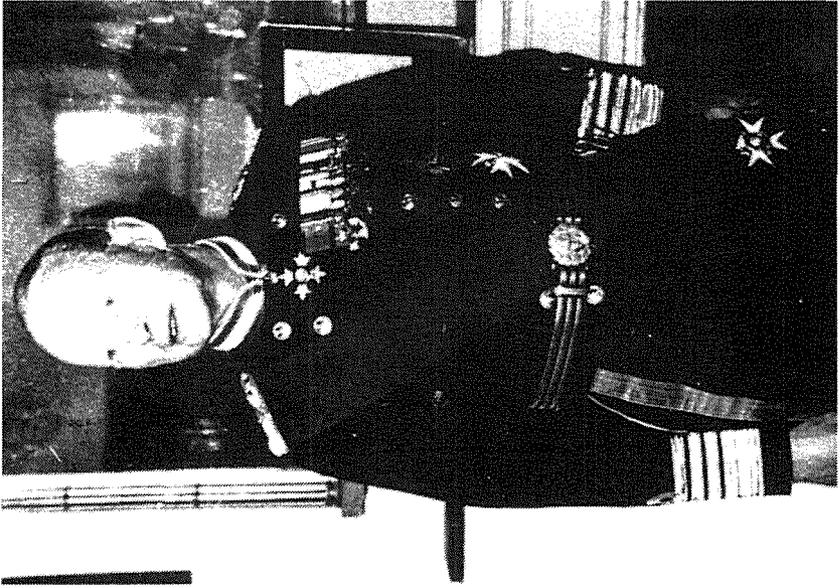
Lieut.-General Sir William Dobbie – 1940-1942



Sir F. (later Lord) Douglas – 1946-1949



Major-General Sir Robert Laycock – 1954-1959



Admiral Sir Guy Grantham - 1959-1963



Sir Maurice Dorman - 1963-1971

BRITAIN'S OFFER TO MALTA

'ISLE OF MAN' STATUS:
CLOSER TIES

RIGHT TO LEGISLATE
AND RAISE TAXES

SIMILAR PROPOSAL MAY BE
MADE TO GIBRALTAR

BY OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Proposals for a new constitutional relationship giving much closer ties between Britain and Malta have been made by the Government to the Maltese Government.

The suggestions were in response to demands for Dominion status within the Commonwealth. The transfer of responsibility for the island from the Colonial Office to the Commonwealth Relations Office was also sought.

These demands were not considered feasible by the Government, but counter-proposals were made. Their effect would be to give a status comparable to that of the Isle of Man, which comes under the jurisdiction of the Home Office though making its own laws and raising its own taxes.

No response to the suggestions has been received from the Maltese Government which is involved with a General Election campaign.

Polling is on Dec. 11, 12 and 14 and one issue is the future constitutional status of the island.

If the new scheme is accepted, it is likely that a similar status might be

Post, Monday, Dec. 21, 1953

MALTESE ELECTION

MALTA'S general election has resulted in a stalemate. It is difficult to say how it bears on

The "Home Office" offer as reported in *The Times* of London on 2 December 1953.

MORRIS
IL-CARROZZA
GHAL CULL BZONN
GHAL CULL BUT
MIZZI BROTHERS
Automobile Dealers

*Amey, il Nbi.
Bisshato Rd
Rabat*

Patria!

Organo Nazionalista

ITOLBU DEJEM
IL MAGHRUFA
MARCA
KITTY KOLA
Kitty Kola hua l'unicu xorb
addattat ghal cull occasione.
ISSIBUE CULLMCHEN.

II SERIE, N. 284.

Il-TI, eta, 17 ta Giunju, 1952.

PREZZ 2 SOLDI.

Indipendenza fi hdan il NISTENNEU Commonwealth

Minn TAURUS

FL'INTERVISTA LITTA IL PRIM-MINISTRU, DR. BORG-OLIVIER, LIH RAPPRESENTANT TAR-REUTER INSIBU FI OLIEH KASIR U CIAR LI SPIEGAZIONI... TAL'ASPIRAZIONI- GIET TAL POPLU TAGHNA U IS-SOLUZIONI GHAL PROBLEMI GBAR LI GHANDU.

Il Prim Ministru kal li li poplu taghna ghandu hafna diffi- coltajejt li walidu ma jistax isolvu u li li complessita' tagh- hona giet cagjonata principal- ment mit-trasparignu li usa maghna li Colonial Office minn meta giet irritata li Costituzione fil 1933. Di zwin l'Adminis- trazioni coloniali dauh il pro- blemi gu inbuhjiga completa- ment fuk li scedfi, ghax dac iz- zmien ebienu j'gharzu biss l'in- teressi imperjali, u ghalheco meta regghay tamma li Consti- tuzioni li ghandna huna, il Gvern taghna erellu isb irrapitu fi zmien kattr li, huc collu li ma ebienx sar li zmien ord...
L'Emigraciones trascurata mill- l'Administraciones Coloniali
Hece giara li'emigraciones, li popolazioni complet tieber dej- jem imma ebdu pian jec ghaj- janna ma saru mill Gvern impe- rialli halli li Malta isibu slog u

eament u hece incunnu nistghau inlahku mal- progress sociali li kieghed isir mad-dinja colla.
Biex isir dana, pero, Dr. Borg- Olivier ma nakas li j'apiega li halsa pendenz li ghad hemm elorna, il Gvern Imperiali tri- jrispondi ghal-trasparignu col- la li uera li Gvern Inglis, cull- meta hallena blz- costituzioni. Irid j'rispondi-gha-trakkis ta- panti u progress li ebien' hana fostna meta li-rappresentanti- tieber ebienu jamministrauna. Irid jaghmel tajjeb ghal-zmien fi intulef is-soluzioni ta hafna problemi taghna, ebif ucoll tad- diponament u tieghu 'general' ghal dac li ghandu x'fakom- mal' pianificazioni economica taghna. Fi fiti elem aha ni- tolyu li fi huejjigna nigvernau- aha, ura li il Gvern Imperiali- jec irrangia li hafna quistioni- jec li hana katt ma indenga li- j'aronta bi huc is-silvibom.

IL GRANET GHADDEJJIN-FIT, FIT, U ID-DELEGAZIONI MALTA, KECHDA TAKED ID-DMIRIET, TAGHNA FLONDRA, ADTARX L'ITIL MAGHRA, TAD-DELEGAZIONI FIL CAPITALI IN- CLISI TITUALI, L'ITIT, U DAN HUA SPIEGABILI HAFNA. ID- DISCUSSIONIJET HUMA' FUK HAFNA PUNTI, TANT FINAN- ZIARJI CHEMM COSTITUZIONALI, IL MA HUX POSSIBBLI LI... MIZZEUS NAHHIET... INTERVALL BEJN IT- TALDIJET HALLI JIGIU STUDIATI IR-RAGIUNIJET, IL PRO- POSTI U IT-TALBIET, LI ISIRU MIN-NAHA GHALL'OHRA.

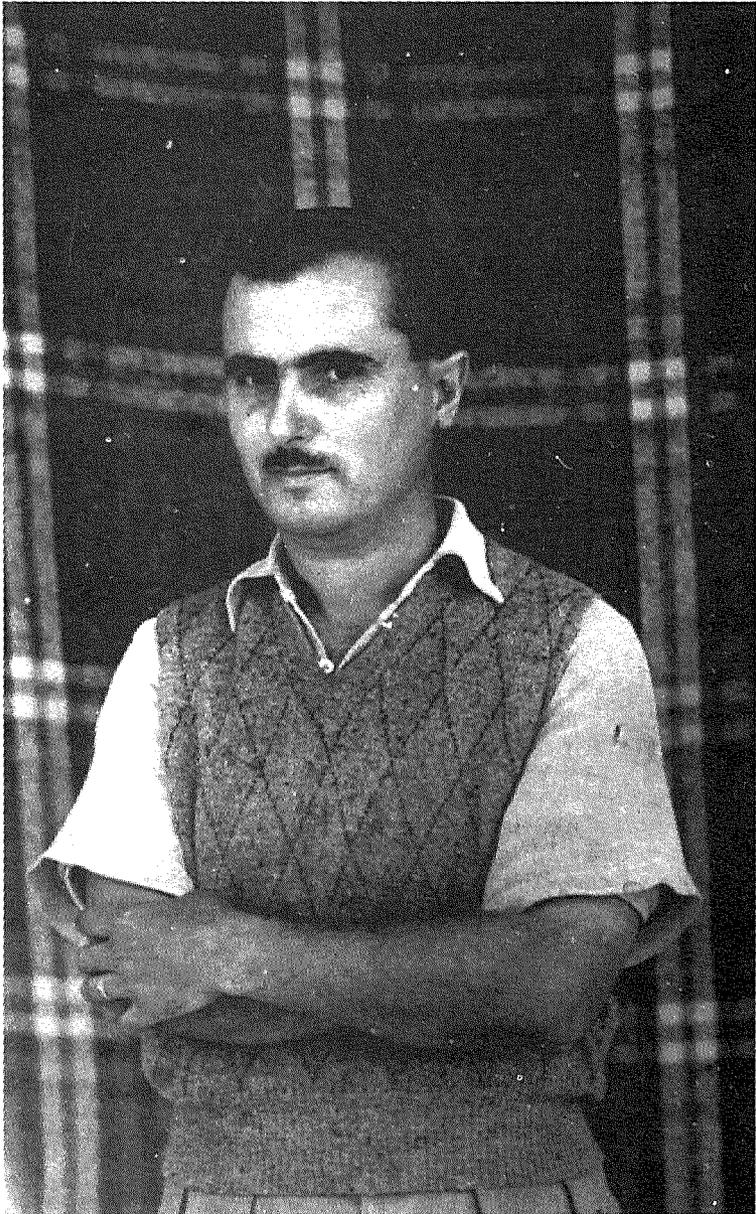


Il Prim. Ministru, Ontor, Dott. G. Borg-Olivier jidher kuddem le-Consatghu, Londra, xabli ma poggia. li Curuna bajda u...
L'Ontor, Dott. G. Borg-Olivier jidher kuddem le-Consatghu, Londra, xabli ma poggia. li Curuna bajda u...
L'Ontor, Dott. G. Borg-Olivier jidher kuddem le-Consatghu, Londra, xabli ma poggia. li Curuna bajda u...
L'Ontor, Dott. G. Borg-Olivier jidher kuddem le-Consatghu, Londra, xabli ma poggia. li Curuna bajda u...

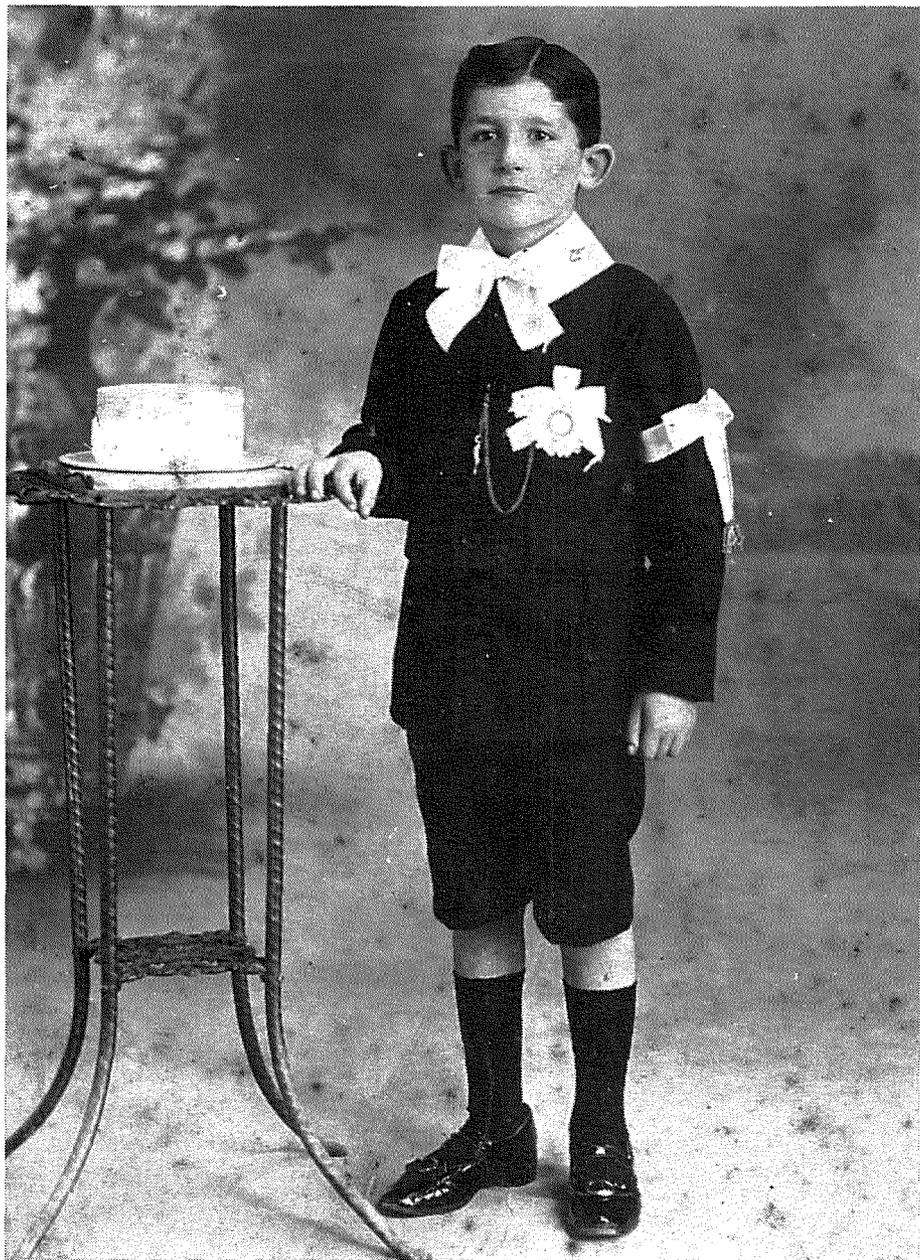
Patria - 17th June 1952



Mabel Strickland, Toni Pellegrini and Dominic Mintoff before departing to the round table conference.



Herbert Ganado recovering from Malaria during his exile in Uganda.



"Gorgi" Borg Olivier is seen here in hitherto unpublished pictures, kindly made available to us by a member of the Borg Olivier family: at his first Holy Communion.



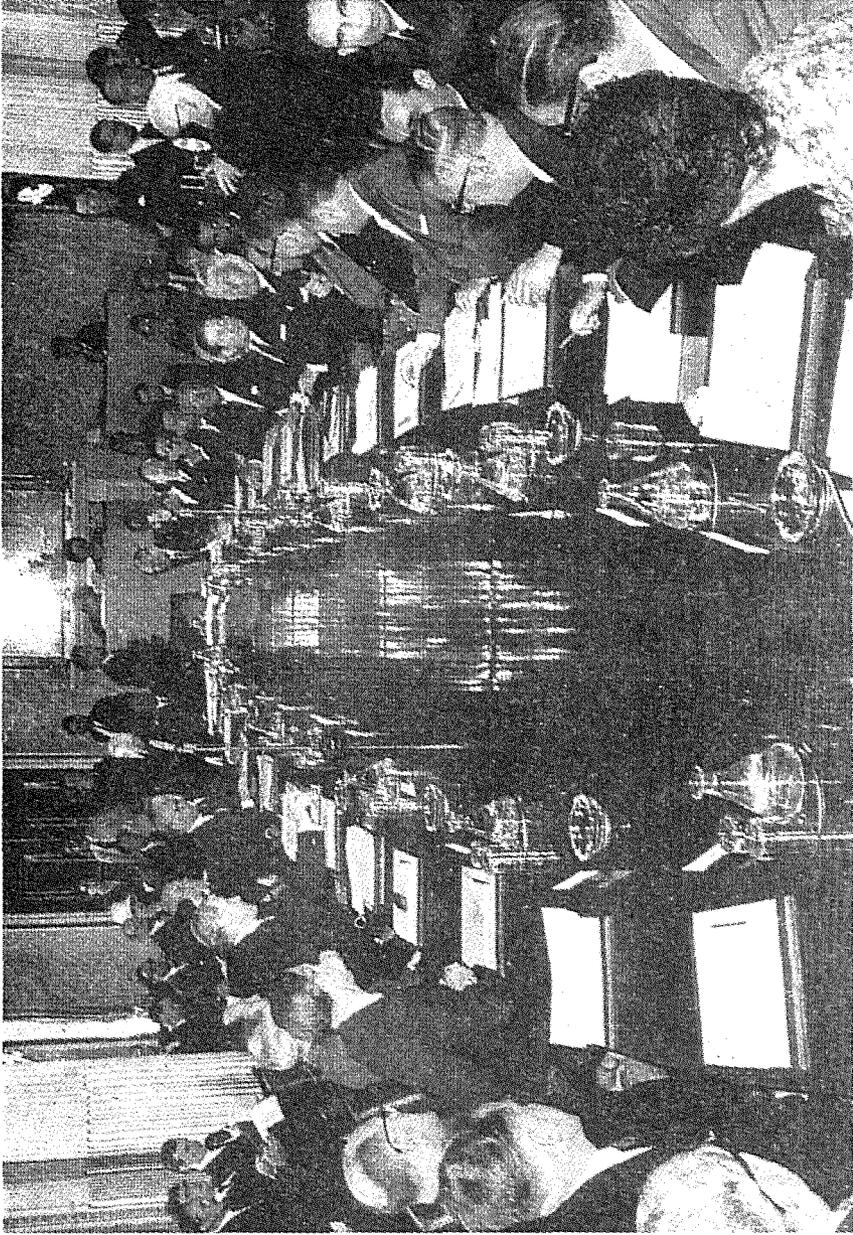
His parents Oliviero, an architect, and his mother whom he resembles, Rosa née Amato.



His graduation as a notary public from the local University in 1937,



and at the start of his political career.



Malta Independence Conference at Marlborough House in London.



An unusual pre-independence meeting between Heads of State: G.B.O. with J.F.K. at the White House. What was the purpose and the outcome of this encounter?

Id-Deciżjoni fuq it-Talba ghall-Indipendenza Ittiehdet

“Fl-opinjoni tal-Gvern Ingliż ir-rizultati ta’ l-Elezzjoni ta’ l-1962 kienu xhieda li kien hemm maġġoranza sostanzjali favur l-indipendenza malajr . . .”

“F’dawn iċ-ċirkostanzi ma jidhirx li għad hemm ġustifikazzjoni biex ma’ tit-tihidx deciżjoni fuq it-talba tal-Gvern ta’ Malta għall-indipendenza”.

Mr Duncan Sandys fi stqarrija li għamel fil-House of Commons fl-1 ta’ Awissu, 1963.

“Jiena dejjem sostnejt li dik is-sezzjoni li ssostni li ma għandux ikollna indipendenza kellha l-okkazzjoni u l-opportunita’ li tesprimi ruħha fl-aħħar elezzjoni.”

Dr Borg Olivier waqt li kellem lill-ġurnalisti fl-Ajruport ta’ Hal Luqa fit-18 ta’ Marzu, 1964.

The Review, published by the local Department of Information, selected two telling quotations in its pre-referendum write-up: that by Sandys and another by Borg Olivier, both precluding any need for a referendum specifically on the issue of independence itself.

COPY



THE PALACE,
MALTA.

11th April, 1964.

Thank you for your letters of the 10th and 11th April about the dates of the referendum. These are representations which should be made to the Prime Minister without delay. As your Party Executive will understand, neither the Referendum Act nor the Constitution confer upon me any powers to act contrary to the advice of the Prime Minister in this matter.

(Sd.) Maurice Dorman

GOVERNOR

The Hon. Mabel Strickland, O.B.E., M.L.A.,
Leader of the Progressive Constitutional Party.

Strickland's party objected to certain public activities preceding the date of the Independence Constitution referendum in May and tried to implicate the Governor, Sir Maurice Dorman, in decisions that appertained to the functions of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Both Dorman and Borg Olivier told Mabel off. The referendum was held as planned and various observers came from the UK for the occasion.

22nd - April, 1964.

Dear Miss Strickland,

— P-24

Further to my letter of the 14th April about the dates of the forthcoming referendum, I wish to say, in the first place, that it hardly does credit to the Executive Committee of your Party to request His Excellency the Governor to act unconstitutionally. You know full well, I imagine, that under Section 31 of the Constitution, unless otherwise provided in the Constitution itself or in any other law, the Governor is bound to act on the advice of the Cabinet or of a Minister specifically authorized by the Cabinet.

As regards the dates of the Referendum, you yourself state in the penultimate paragraph of your letter that independence is not an issue that impinges on faith and morals. Your objection that the religious rally at Floriana on the occasion of the feast of St Joseph the Worker, which happens to be the eve of the first polling day, is bound to influence voters can therefore hardly make sense.

So far as concerns the defile' held by the Malta Labour Party on the same day, the Referendum Act 1964 prohibits political meetings and demonstrations only on the days fixed for polling.

Yours sincerely
Legal C. May Oliver

The Hon. Mabel Strickland, O.B.E., M.L.A.,
Leader of the Progressive Constitutional
Party,
8, Britannia Street,
Valletta.



Tel:- DIAL 27085.

PROGRESSIVE CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY

Headquarters:
8, Britannia Street,
Valetta, Malta.



Cables:- PROCON-MALTA

LEADER AND CHAIRMAN OF THE PARTY: Hon. MABEL STRICKLAND, O.B.E., M.L.A.

Hon. Treasurer:
NOTARY A. SCIBERRAS TRIGONA, LL.D.

Secretary:
F. De DOMENICO

General Purposes Committee
ANTHONY MONTANARO

Industry & Tourism
ROBERT BIASINI

Agriculture
M.C. BORG CARDONA

Social Welfare
JOS. F. SPITERI

Emigration
CAPT. V. FORMOSA

Young P.C.P. Movement
WILFRED MAMO

Editor: FORWARD
IL QUDDIEM
G.M. PUGLISEVICH, B.E.M.

23rd April, 1964.

The Prime Minister,
The Hon. Dr.G.Borg Olivier,
LL.D., M.L.A.,
Auberge d'Aragon,
Valetta.

Dear Prime Minister,

It is now the 23rd April and on the 14th instant I received no more than an acknowledgement from you in reply to my letter of the 12th April on the subject of May Day and the Referendum polling dates.

The Referendum polling days have been fixed by you for the 2nd, 3rd and 4th May as I foresaw.

In view of the delay and your failure to reply to the representations made by me I propose to publish the correspondence that has passed between us as being a matter of vital public interest.

Yours sincerely,

Mabel Strickland

Leader of the
Progressive Constitutional Party.



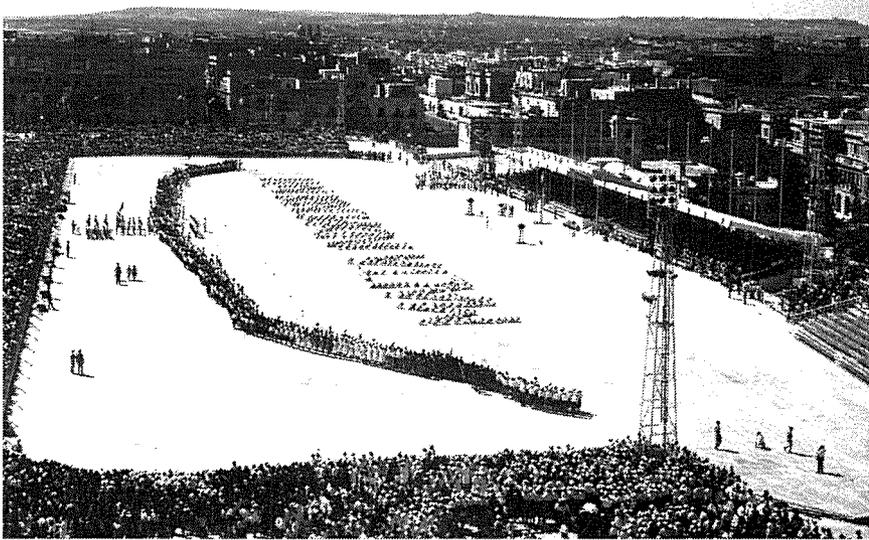
May 1964. If these PN club exhortations were to be heeded, what choice did a Maltese Catholic have? And what about independence?



Another poster on a Nationalist party club during the Independence Referendum.



The Prime Minister Dr. Borg Olivier and His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh wave to the crowds assembled in Valleta's Palace square.



"Malta Independenti" at the Independence Arena in Floriana.

CABLE AND WIRELESS LIMITED 51			
(INCORPORATED IN ENGLAND)			
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	TIME <i>1340</i>		
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TO BE SIGNALLED INSTRUCTIONS			
<p>NOTICE: In the absence of any indication to the contrary it will be assumed that this telegram is to be charged at full rate and treated accordingly. Please write the NAME AND ADDRESS in CAPITAL LETTERS.</p> <p>CLASS AND ADDRESS ETATPRIORITE IMMEDIATE HEAD PROGRAMS DIVISION BRITISH BROADCASTING COOPERATION LONDON =</p> <p>COMMENTARY ON MALTA REFERENDUM BROADCAST AFTER NOON NEWS BULLETIN CONTAINS SEVERAL MAJOR INCORRECT STATEMENTS OF FACT AND CONSEQUENTLY SOUNDED MOST BIASED AND MISLEADING STOP GOVERNMENT WOULD ADVISE BBC AT LEAST NOT TO REPEAT COMMENTARY = RAGONESI PUBLIC RELATIONS SECRETARY</p>			
<p>I request that the above Telegram may be forwarded subject to conditions printed on back of this form to which I agree to be bound.</p> <p>SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS OF SENDER <i>P.345 PRIME MINISTER</i> Telephone.....</p>			

A protest at the BBC's way of reporting the referendum and the BBC response which includes a snide at the role of the church.

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

HEAD OFFICE: BROADCASTING HOUSE, LONDON, W.1
BUSH HOUSE, STRAND, LONDON, W.C.2

56

TELEGRAMS: BROADCASTS LONDON TELEX ★ CABLES: BROADCASTS LONDON-W1 ★ TELEX: 22182
TELEPHONE: COVENT GARDEN 3456

27th May 1964

Dear Dr. Ragonesi,

Thank you for your letter setting out in detail your objections to Mr. Jacobson's talk on the result of the recent referendum in Malta.

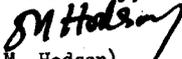
On your first point, I agree with you that it was wrong to have stated that the team of six experts would advise Mr. Sandys. No doubt they have been asked to interpret the results, and in particular the spoiled votes, but this is not at all the same thing.

On your second point, I think it is time to say that very many people, including ourselves, were misled as to the total number of voters. The only figure available to us in London was the number of registered voters - 162,743. If, as you say, only 156,843 of these were served with the "notice to voters", the base line of our calculations has to be altered. But one must wonder why there is such a big discrepancy between the two figures. Incidentally, to the total of abstentions one must in fairness add the 9,000 votes that were deliberately spoiled.

As regards your statement that "the Church in Malta has never exercised any 'political' influence", I think we must just agree to disagree. It would be hard to find a London commentator on Maltese affairs who would back your categorical statement, and it may well be, of course, that the kind of activity by members of the Church that we would regard as "political" you would regard as the legitimate activity of a priest acting as a private citizen. Naturally we have to report things as we see them to be.

Thank you for taking so much trouble about this matter.

Yours sincerely,



(D.M. Hodson)

Controller, Overseas Services

V.E. Ragonesi, Esq., M.D.,
Office of the Prime Minister,
Auberge D'Aragon,
Valletta,
Malta.



COLONIAL OFFICE,

(47) LONDON, S.W.1.

Our Ref: GEN 217/300/04
Your Ref: OPM/513/64

MALTA

NO. 188

14. September, 1964

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to your despatch No. 212 of 25th August, 1964, on the subject of the Royal Style and Title to be adopted for use in Malta after independence, and to inform you that The Queen is pleased to give informal approval of the Title proposed in your despatch namely:-

"Elisabeth the Second, by the Grace of God, Queen of Malta and of Her other Realms and Territories, Head of the Commonwealth."

2. In accordance with the normal procedure, other Commonwealth Governments will now be notified of the proposed style and Title for Malta.

3. It is noted that it is the intention that immediately after independence a formal submission will be made to Her Majesty seeking her approval for the issue of a Royal Proclamation to bring the new Style and Title into effect.

I have the honour to be
Sir,
Your obedient
humble servant,

Duncan Sandys

PRIME MINISTER

MALTA.

These exchanges of correspondence relating to the new title of Queen Elizabeth as Malta's Head of State show how a decision was taken involving the Prime Minister and Cabinet, Buckingham Palace and Westminster.



**AUBERGE D'ARAGON,
MALTA.**

Appd
SO

Dr. Giorgio Borg Olivier, Prime Minister of Malta, presents his humble duty to The Queen and has the honour to submit for Your Majesty's approval the proposal of Your Majesty's Ministers in Malta that Your Majesty may be graciously pleased to take the following title:-

"Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God, Queen of Malta and of Her other Realms and Territories, Head of the Commonwealth."

If Your Majesty is graciously pleased to accede to this request, Dr. Borg Olivier has the honour to submit further that Your Majesty may cause a Proclamation to be issued in the terms of the attached draft.

7th October, 1964.

Giorgio Olivier



THE PALACE,
MALTA.

26th October, 1964.

Dear Prime Minister

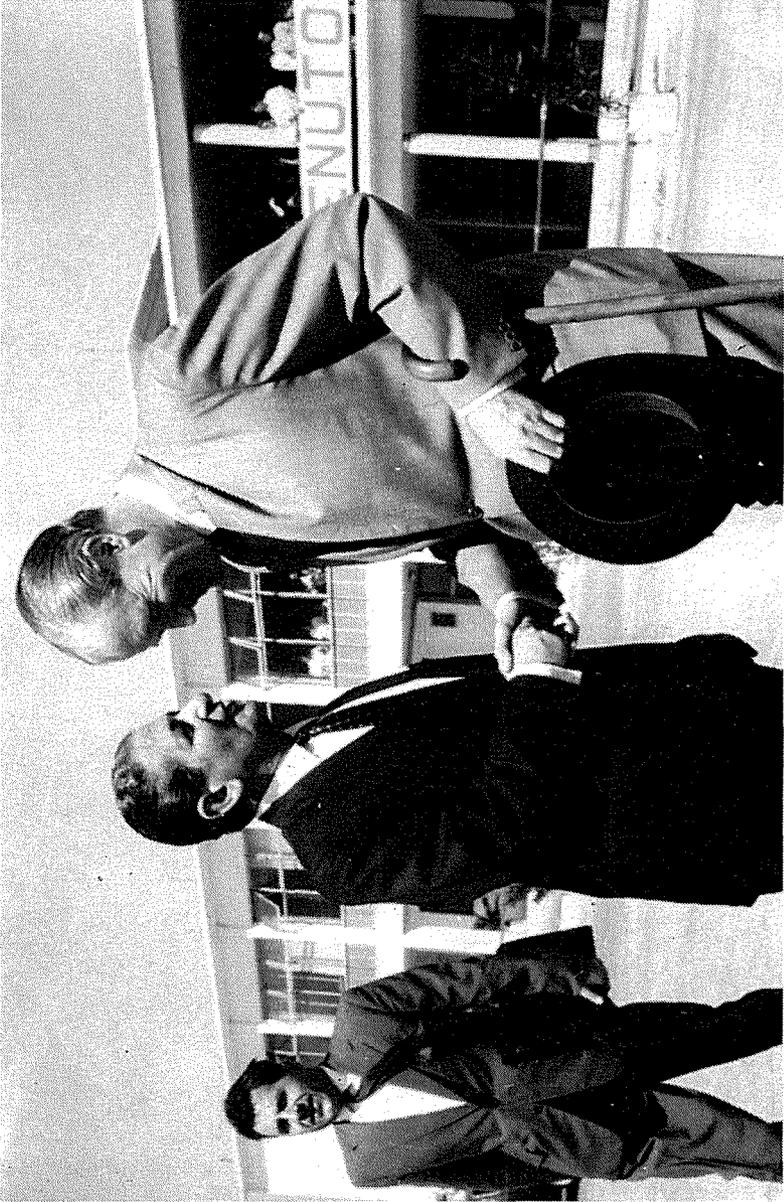
I have been informed by the Assistant Private Secretary to The Queen, Sir Edward Ford, that your formal submission of the 7th of this month, regarding the Royal Style and Title to be adopted in Malta, was duly laid before Her Majesty and has been approved by her.

2. The submission is returned herewith.

Yours sincerely
Maurice Duma

GOVERNOR-GENERAL

The Hon. Dr. G. Borg Olivier,
I.L.D., Hon. D.Litt., M.P.,
Prime Minister.



Borg Olivier welcoming Duncan Sandys at Luqa Airport.



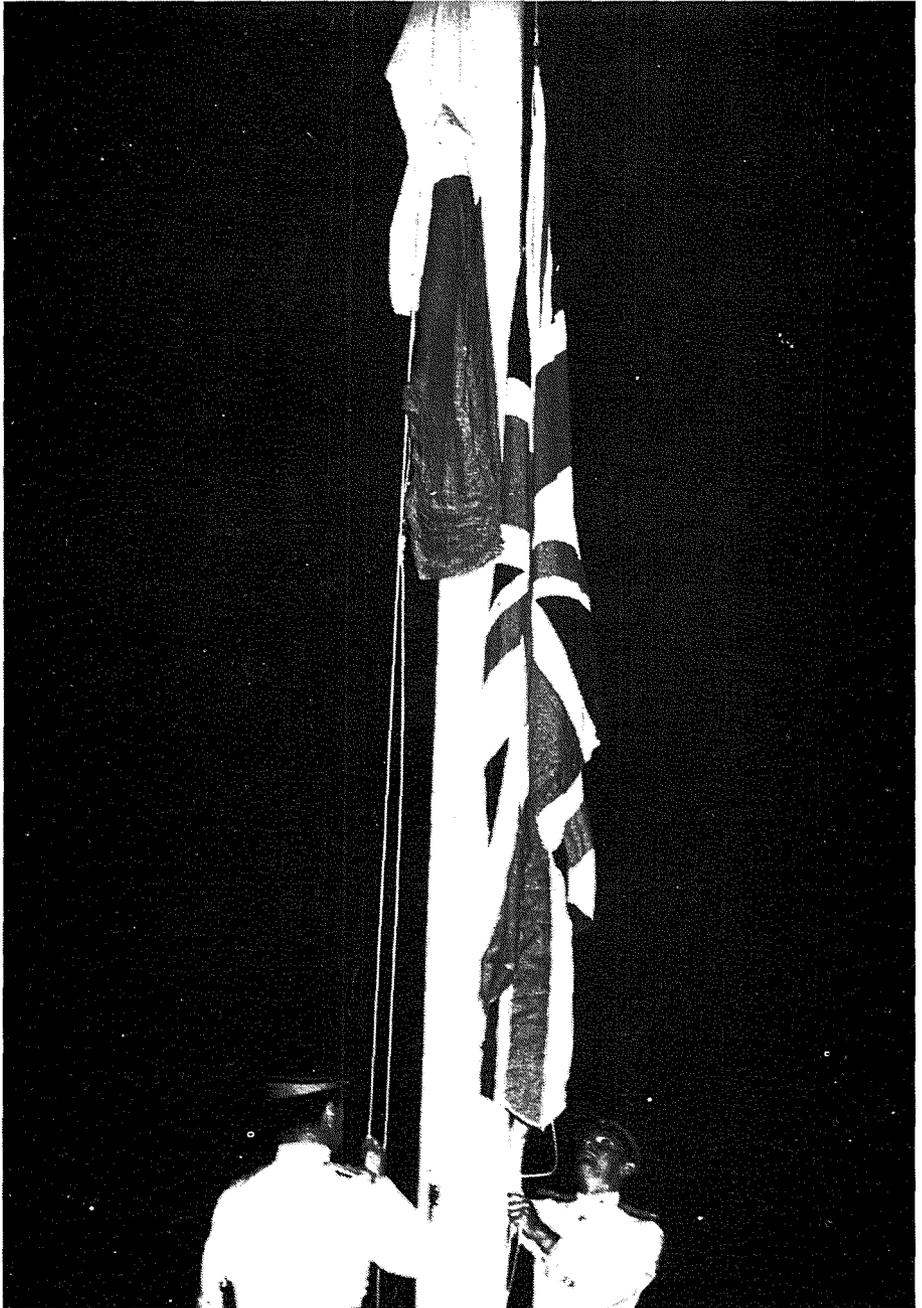
A smiling Sandys was less welcome to Mintoff's party.



An Independence Celebrations' float depicting the Maltese Revolt against the French passing through Kingsway is met by a hostile demonstration outside the MLP club. The poster on the club's balcony reads "SANDYS GO HOME".



The Archbishop of Malta blessed the Maltese flag before it was raised in the ceremony.



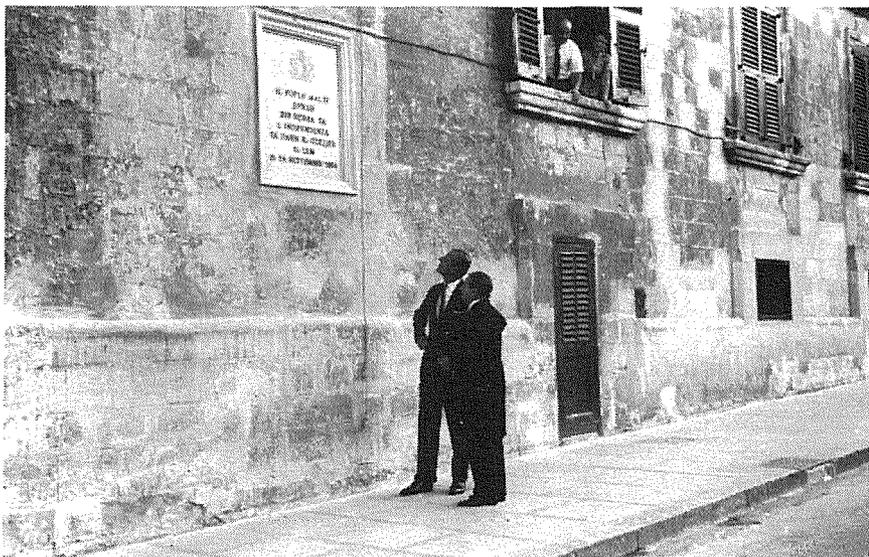
The lowering of the Union Jack and the raising of the Maltese flag.



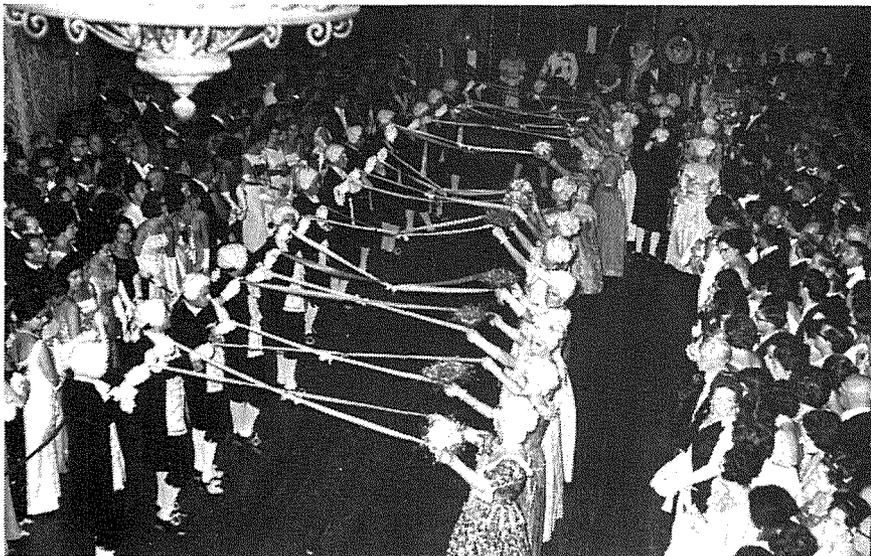
Borg Olivier waving the instruments of the Independence Constitution to the public.



The Prime Minister Dr. Borg Olivier during the children's rally in Independence Arena. Below: with Archbishop Gonzi and the Duke of Edinburgh, who twenty-five years later again represented Britain for Malta's XXV Anniversary.



The Prime Minister Dr. Borg Olivier and His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh after the unveiling of the plaque commemorating the Independence.



The Independence Ball at the Palace.



The Nationalist Ministers (from left) were: Dr. A. Cachia Zammit, Dr. T. Caruana Demajo, Dr. A. Paris, Dr. G. Felice, Dr. C. Caruana, Dr. G. Spiteri and Dr. P. Borg Olivier, the PMs brother.



One of the most active Ministers who worked closely with G.B.O. was Giovanni Felice. He was Finance Minister.



Dr. Carmelo Caruana another active Minister and a close friend of G.B.O.



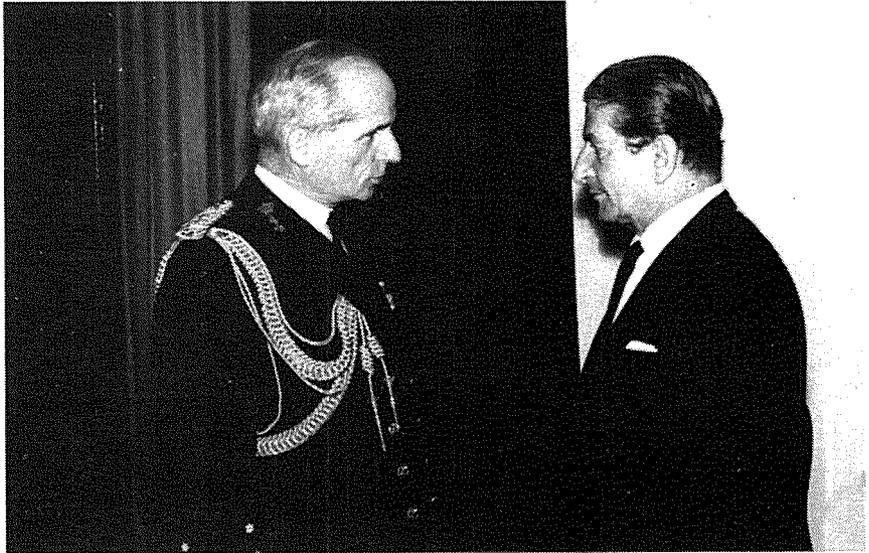
A greeting from a Prince, seen below with the Maltese cabinet in 1964.



A fly past of planes and pigeons.



His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh during the speech from the throne.



Credentials to the new State from Europe, Africa and Asia.





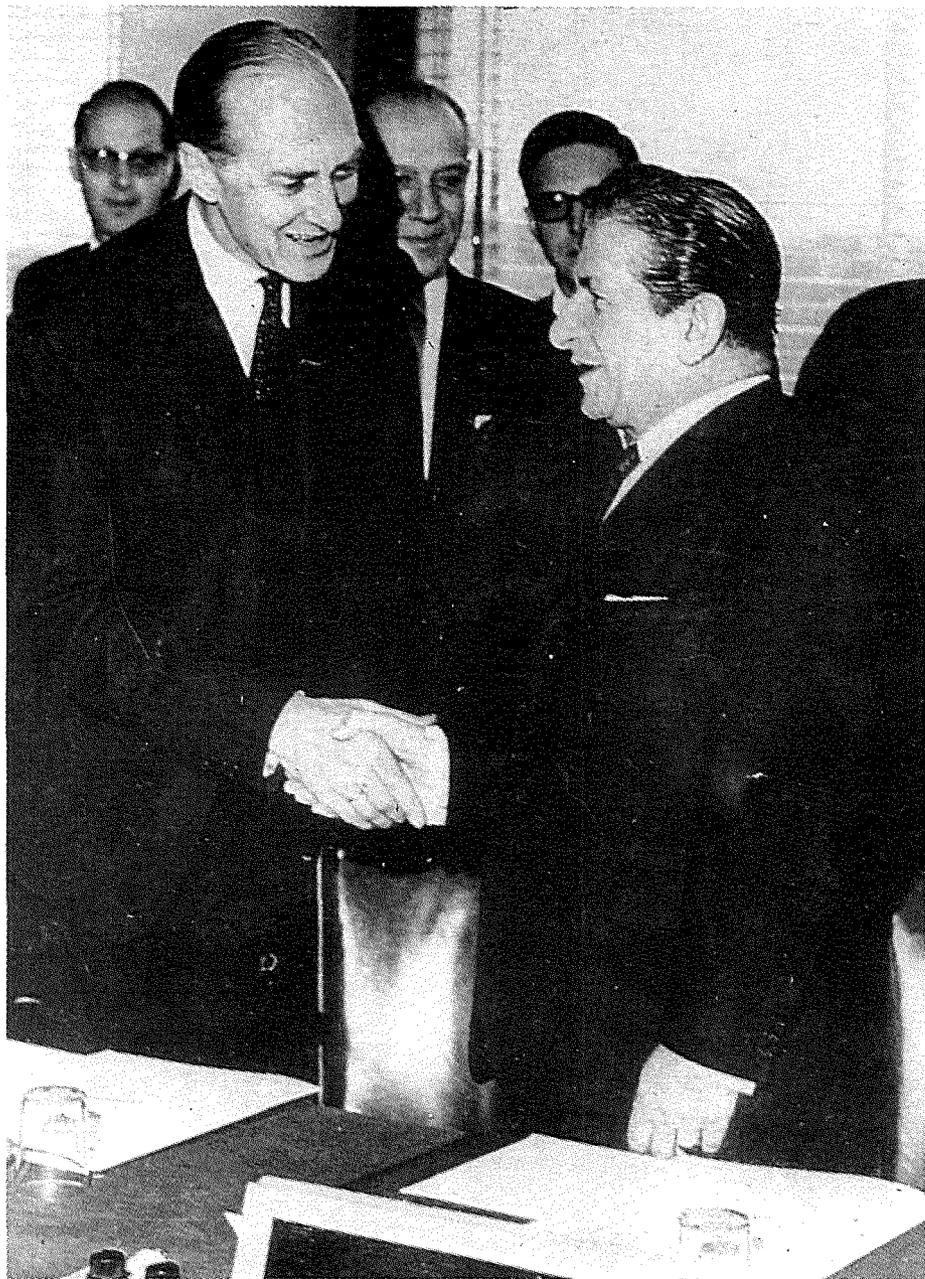
Independence was also an occasion for unveiling a bust of Nerik Mizzi in St. John's Square, Valletta, not far from where Mizzi had lived. After 1971 Mizzi's bust was savaged and stolen various times by MLP supporters. However, it was repeatedly put back in its place.



Dr Borg Olivier unveiling the bust of Nerik Mizzi. Also present was his son, Fr. Fortunato Mizzi.

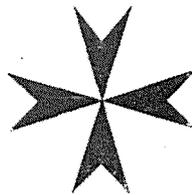


Dr. George Borg Olivier is seen here at the Council of Europe with the French Foreign Minister and other dignitaries, as Malta begins to join the international community as a new State.





The raising of the Maltese flag at the Council of Europe.



PREZZ 6d.

IL-GLIEDA GHALL- INDIPENDENZA

60208



NUMRU SPECJALI
mahruġ mill-Publications Department
tal-Union Press — 21 ta' Settembru, 1964



Supplement to "It-Torċa", "L-Orizzont" u "Malta News"

All Maltese newspapers commemorated Malta's independence by special supplement is published on 21 September. Here are the front pages and glimpses of the content of some of these: **It-Torċa**, **The Times of Malta**, **Il-Haddiem** and **Lehen is-Sewwa**.

RIZOLUZZJONIJIET TAL-G.W.U. GHALL-INDIPENDENZA

KONFERENZA NAZZJONALI — 8 TA' OTTUBRU, 1959

Li din il-konferenza wara li qed tara l-hsara lill-interessi tal-haddiema taqta' li tipprotesta bil-qawwa kolla kontra d-dewmien xejn gustificat ta' l-ghoti lura tal-libertajiet Kostituzzjonali li pajjizna u titlo Elezzjonijiet Mielsa minnufih, b'mezzi u procedura li ma jhallu l-ebda dubju li xi parti interessata tkun tista' tikkontrolla jew b'xi mod awtorevoli tinfluwenza r-rizultat ta' l-elezzjoni.

KONFERENZA NAZZJONALI — 16 TA' OTTUBRU, 1959

"Li l-Konferenza Generali tal-General Workers' Union kif imlaqqa' l-lum, 16 ta' Ottubru 1959, tipprotesta kontra c-cahda tad-drittijiet kostituzzjonali tal-poplu Malti li jinsob iggvernat min-nies li m'ghandhomx mandat dwar ix-xewgat u l-bzonnijiet tieghu.

Taqta' li tibghat titlo lis-Segretorju Generali tal-Gnus Maghquda biex irtessaq quddiem il-Kumitat, il-kaz ta' Malta, sabiex jigi mitmum il-Gvern Kolonjali kmieni kemm jista' jkun halli l-Gzejjer taghna jergghu jiedhu mill-gdid il-libertajiet kostituzzjonali bid-dritt li nideterminaw il-futur ta' pajjizna.

KONFERENZA NAZZJONALI — 5 TA' GUNJU, 1961

Illi din il-laqgħa ġenerali annwali tal-General Workers' Union:

TIRREGGETTA KOMPLETAMENT u bil-qawwa kolla l-kostituzzjoni ġdida proposta għal Malta mill-Blood Commission li ma kella ebda mandat mill-poplu Malti, għax din fiha nfiha bi mhux biss immorali u xejn demokratika imma għaliex prinċipalment tichad lill-poplu Malti d-dritt fundamentali tiegħu li l'pajjizju jkun jikkmanda hu u dan skond prinċipji l-lum ammessi minn kulhadd;

U GHAX thoss li ma jistax ikun hemm progress fl-oqsma soċjali, kulturali, ekonomiċi, politiċi u industrijali taht is-sistema kolonjali, TIDDIKJARA RUHHA favur li MALTA tikseb l-INDIPENDENZA biex il-poplu Malti jkun b'hekk jista' minghajr ebda rbit u adih ta' hadd, ifassal hu d-destin tiegħu fil-pajjiz u jagħzel Gvern tiegħu u għalih biex ikun jista' jmx-xina lejn il-progress u prosperita'.

LI fl-isfond ta' din il-policy, il-G.W.U. għandha, prinċipalment fl-interess tal-haddiema li hi jo tirrapreżenta, tagħti l-appogg tagħha lill-Malta Labour Party li jhaddan din il-policy u wara bic-car kemm fil-Gvern kif ukoll barra mill-Gvern li huwa għandu verament għal qalbu l-interessi tal-klassijiet kollha tas-soċjeta' Maltija; tingada b'kull okkazzjoni kemm fil-qasam lokali kif ukoll fuq livell internazzjonali biex tikseb appogg minghand kull min jista' jgħin biex MALTA tikseb il-Helsien totali tagħha, u b' mod partikulari tagħmel minn kollox biex permezz ta' l-I.C.F.T.U. tappella lill-Gnus Maghquda u organizzazzjonijiet oħra skond il-htiega biex jestendu l-għajnunata tagħhom halli MALTA ssir stat indipendenti;

TIDDIKJARA li l-Union, fl-interess tan-nazzjon tagħna għandha tikkumbatti bil-mezzi tagħha kolla l-politika u l-intrigi ta' daw, individwi jew organizzazzjonijiet, li biex id-għajju l-forza tal-haddiema fil-qasam industrijali qed jagħmlu minn kollox biex jaqsmuh fil-qasam politiku billi jhalltulu haġa m'ohra u b'hekk jergo' jsib ruhu fil-qagħda kerha li kien fiha qabel ma sab min iġaqqdu fl-oqsma industrijali u politiku.

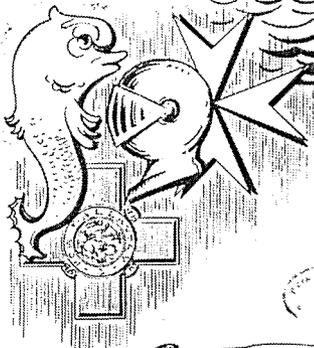
KONFERENZA NAZZJONALI — 30 TA' LULJU, 1964

Din il-Konferenza Generali, tal-G.W.U., miġbura l-lum, 30 ta' Lulju, 1964 "Tiddeplora bil-qawwa kolla n-naqqas serju tal-Gvern Malti li ma ikkonsultax mar-rappreżentanti tal-haddiema dwar it-Trattat ta' Difiza kif ġie mwissi mill-Kunsill Generali tal-Union bir-Rizoluzzjoni miġbutha lill-Prim Ministru fl-20 ta' Mejju, 1964.

Tosserva li t-Trattat ta' Difiza miftiehem bejn il-Gvern Ingliż u l-Gvern Malti, minn wara dahar il-poplu, huwa l-aktar umiljanti u jkompli jcaħhadna li nsiru kmandi l'pajjizna. Fuq kollox dan it-Trattat jgħar kundizzjonijiet li jxokklu l-iżvilupp liberu ta' Malta suppost Independenti u jorbatna b'ris mal-korru Militari Ingliż.

Jisgħobbha li waqt li t-Trattat ta' Difiza jagħti d-dritt lill-Gvern Ingliż biex jagħmel uzu sħi minn Malta bħala bażi Militari, ma jsemmi xejn minn namu ta' impjegji li joffru dawn il-faċilitajiet. Kull ma nafu huwa li d-Dipartimenti tad-Difiza f'Malta bihsiebhom jib-gghu sejrjn bir-"run-down" bil-passibilta' li jzidu wkoll ma' l-eluf ta' sensji diga avzati. Il-Gvern naqas li johseb għal din is-sitwazzjoni ovalja kien għadda mozzjoni fil-Parlament fuq daqshekk.

Tikkundanna dan il-ftehim bħolo mhux aċċettabbli u tirrakomanda lill-Kunsill Generali biex jipprova jfarrak it-Trattat ta' Difiza ma' l-ewwel opportunita' li jkollu. Il-General Workers' Union mhux lesto tikkopera f'kondizzjonijiet li ma qietx ikkonsultata dwarhom minn qabel, u twissi li fil-mument tal-prova tpoġġi l-interessi ta' Malta u l-haddiema qabel interessi oħra."

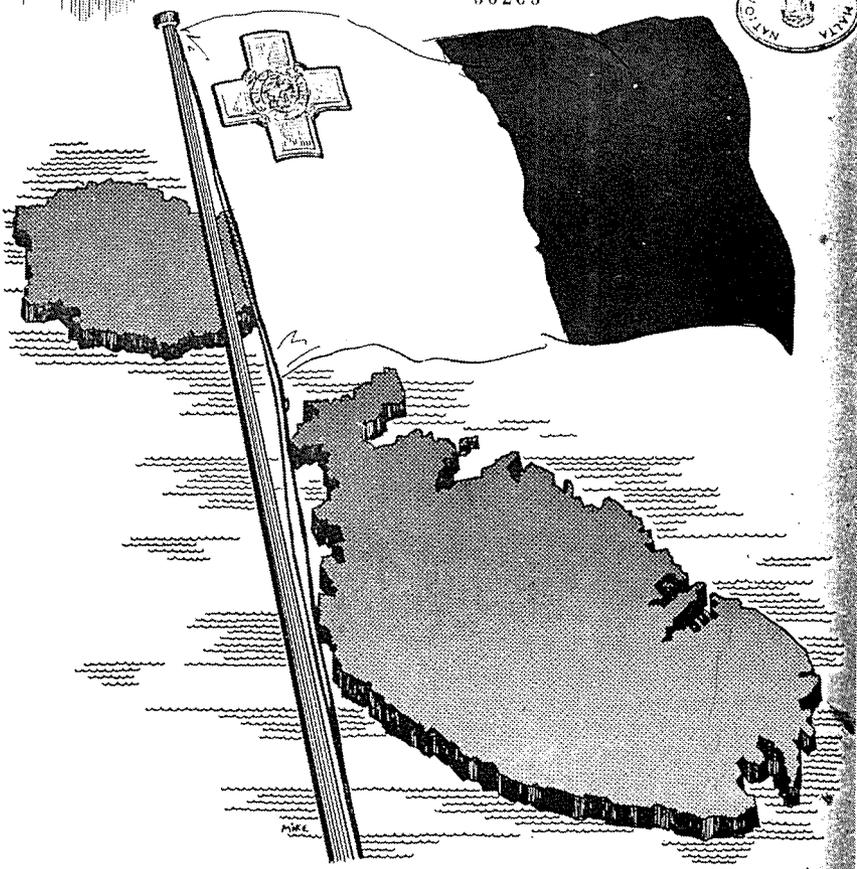


TIMES OF MALTA

SPECIAL NUMBER
TO MARK THE OCCASION
OF INDEPENDENCE
MALTA MONDAY SEPTEMBER 21, 1964



60205



U.N. Economic Mission Advise... Plan for a New Malta

Malta's second five year development plan is largely modelled on the advice tendered to Government by the United Nations Mission which early in 1963 undertook an economic study of Malta and submitted proposals.

The Mission's recommendations are contained in their report on the "Economic Adaptation and Development in Malta". The plan, taken also into account recommendations made by the United Nations Trade Policy Adviser on matters affecting tariff policy and the establishment of a free port.

The primary consideration of the United Nations Mission in formulating the second five year development plan is the preparation of an economic structure favourable to the creation of a viable export economy that ultimately will support its own growth. To achieve this long term aim, which is estimated to be attained within the next 25 to 25 years, the Mission lay great stress on the need for organisational changes to achieve maximum efficiency. It is argued that, to build up an export economy, Malta has to become efficient relative to present wage and income levels in order to overcome certain disadvantages vis-à-vis its major markets with the freight costs involved.

The Mission warn against attempting to preserve the "status quo" by maintaining employment in particular enterprises which are not economically viable and income must be probable. The establishment of a new rate of interest-free loans.

where possible, should help to attract only profitable investment.

The Mission consider that in the course of the next five years a Development Corporation should be set up embracing all the functions of the Ministry of Industrial Development and Tourism. The Mission also consider that the establishment of a Central Bank would serve a useful purpose.

The Mission argue that, as Malta's future depends on efficient export industries, it is imperative to lower import duties. In order to keep the cost of production and the wage level low and thus international competitiveness high. Lower duties should also help to create keen competition in the domestic market.

The Mission also make recommendations for increasing the productivity of the administrative machinery. In particular a reorganisation is recommended whose main function will be the hiring of consultants and stepping up works. The Mission also recommend a reorganisation of the Public Works Department to increase its productivity.

Unemployment, according to the Mission, can be kept within tolerable limits by increasing the rate of emigration to 10,000 per annum.

The Mission have recommended a total public capital programme costing £22.2 million, which, in their opinion, is compatible with Malta's absorptive capacity during the next quinquennium. The Mission also point out, however, that if the average living standards achieved in 1961/62 are to be maintained, total expenditure must be higher.

As it is not easy to increase quickly investment in productive enterprises, this can be done by increasing either the programme of works or the level of unemployment benefits.

The implications of the present economic climate on the Government finances as envisaged by the Mission are that the recurrent budgetary expenditure from £13.1m in 1962/63 will rise to between £16.5m and £17.2m. In 1968/69 depending on the rate of emigration. On the other hand, if the present rates of taxation continue, there may be a decrease in revenue of about £2m. The Budget deficit will be of the order of £2m to £5m.

The Mission were of the view that additional revenue might be found by taking out of the recurrent budget, expenditure on education and technical education, and placing it in the capital budget to be financed by the United Kingdom Government. A sales tax could be levied. The changes in the currency rate could be worked out in a way so that they will not be detrimental to revenue. Subsidies could



Mission accomplished, Professor Steiner, the U.N. Economic Adviser, heads for home.

be reduced and income tax could be restructured. The United Kingdom Government could be asked to make an annual payment to cover any cost associated with the forward base to be established in Malta. These adjustments would ensure a balanced budget.

The Mission worked out the effect of an expenditure of £35.9 m on the economy as a whole and showed that, with such an expenditure, the Gross National Product in 1969 would be £11.1m and £45.2 m against a Gross National Product of £46.7m. In 1962. Furthermore, the Mission outlined the implications of the proposed expenditure of £26.2m, and showed that, under favourable assumptions, Gross National Product would be £41.5m in 1969 and, under less favourable assumptions, the Gross National Product would fall to £40.5m, that is, a drop of £2.2m, when compared with 1962.

(Continued from the Maltese Times) — (P.S.) 2642.



Australia, home to the largest of the communities of Maltese people living abroad, congratulates Malta upon achieving Independence.

Throughout our land Australians will share their rejoicing at Malta's new status in the Commonwealth. Our countries are joined by strong links forged by tens of thousands of Maltese people who have settled in Australia.

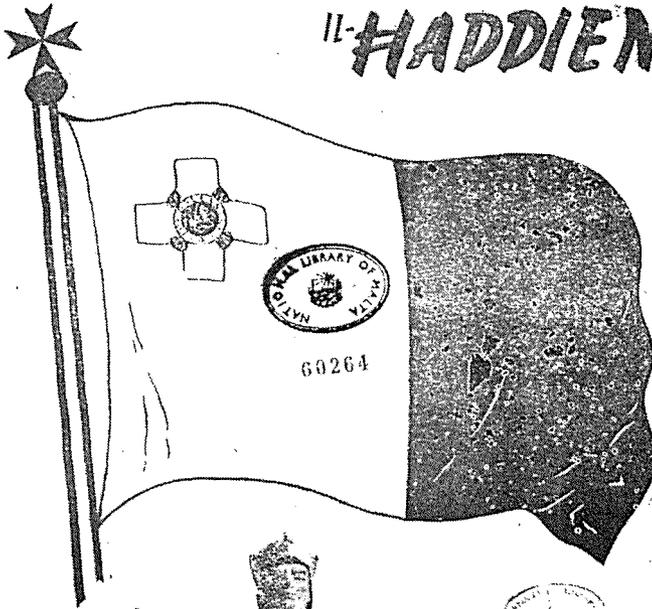
Australia trusts that over the years to come settlers from Malta will continue to join us in the task of building a great new nation in our part of the world.

Robert G. Opperman
(Robert Opperman)

Minister for Immigration



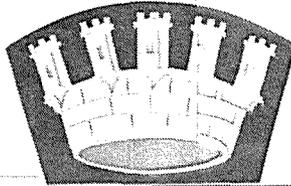
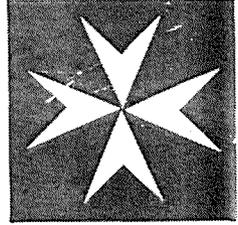
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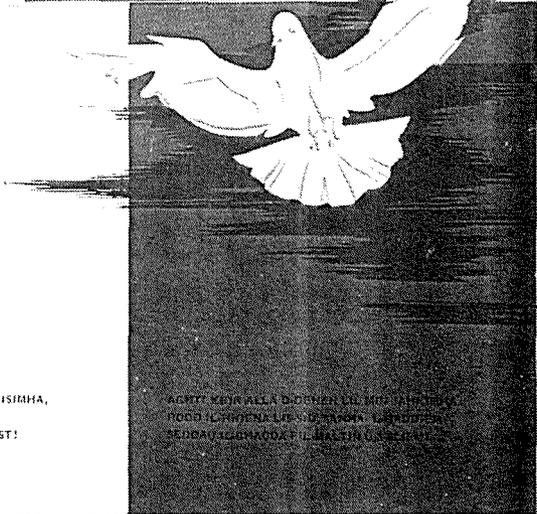
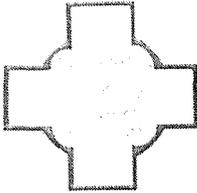
Nixtiegu
l-Malta
Futur
Migri fuq
Religjon
Gustizzja
u Civiltà

PREZZ: -/5.

Lehen Is-Sewwa



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LIL DIN L-ART HELWA, L-OBBLI TATNA ISIMHA,
HARES MULEJ KIF DEJEM INT HARIST;
FTAKAR LI LILHA BL-OHLA DAWL LIBBIST!

AGVI KUN ALLA D-DIEN LI M'GHIJIBU
FOC IL-PROVA LIL-DESSA L-INDIP
SEDDAY L-IGNORANT L-IL-DESSA L-INDIP

EREMNA

**MALTA TIFRAH
F'JUM
L-INDIPENDENZA
TAGHHA**

21 TA' SETTEMBRU 1964



Malta's Coat of Arms - Virtute et Constantia can be seen behind the Queen as she gives her address.



Her Majesty the Queen and Prince Philip receive the late Dr Anton Buttigieg, Deputy Leader of the Malta Labour Party and later President of the Republic.



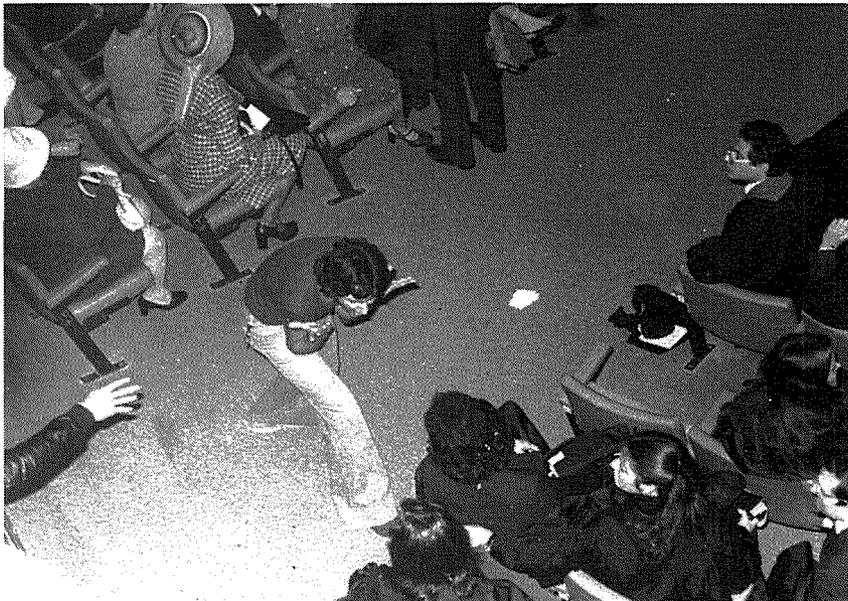
Her Majesty the Queen and Prince Philip receive Miss Agatha Barbara, later herself Malta's Head of State.



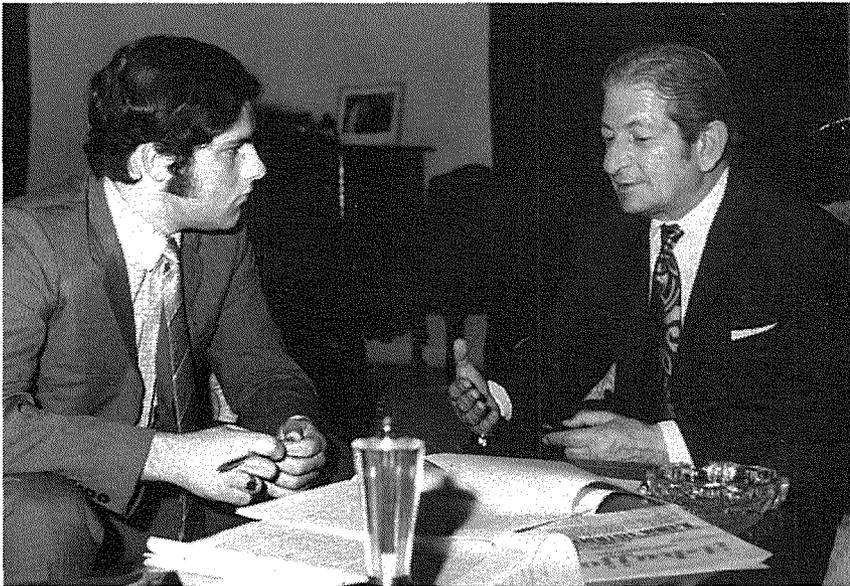
1967: Her Majesty the Queen and Prince Philip pose for an official photograph with representatives of the Maltese Parliament.



Feminine get-together: Elizabeth II with Malta's National Council of Women.
Below: with Archbishop, Governor-General and Prime Minister.



Heart-aches of Statehood: the students' housing campaign in 1969, and an MLP thug provoking students during the 1977 graduation ceremony.



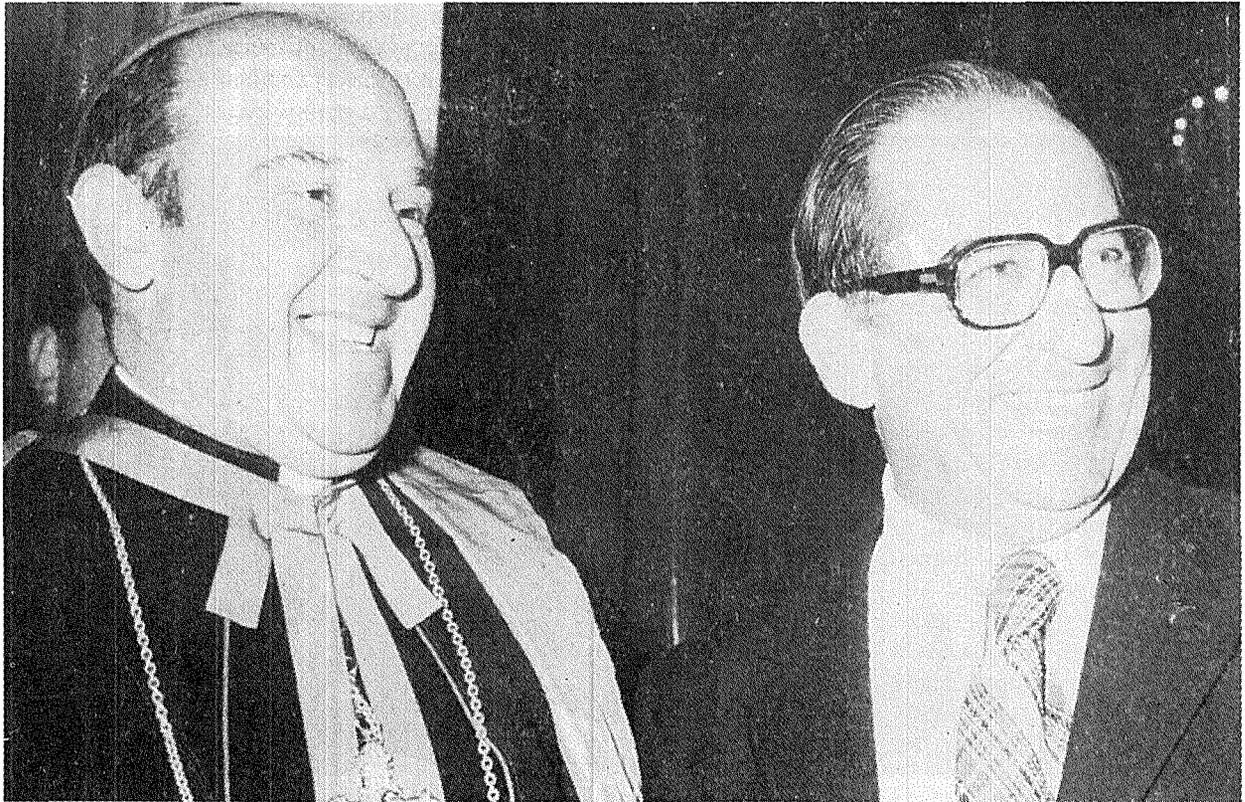
Henry Frenco with Mintoff and Borg Olivier in 1971, on the eve of the election, at the Freedom Press, Marsa and at the Auberge D' Aragon respectively.



On the eve of his own departure from Malta in November 1978 with Fenech Adami and Ċensu Tabone at the local Konrad Adenauer Foundation branch's documentation Centre in Sliema. This photo was taken by the then director of the Academy, Richard Muscat, who three years later sought refuge in Italy.



6 July 1971. PM Mintoff accompanied by secretary Camillieri calls on Archbishop Gonzi, coadjutor Gerada and auxiliary Galea: a rare manifestation of reconciliation between a former MLP senator and his arch-detractor. But by 1984 relations with the church were at thier worst ever, alomst reminiscent of 1798 or 1775. It seemed as if the pre-war “Viva Calles!” mob had joined forces with the post-war “Hymn to the Red Flag” diners and gone on a “revolutionary” rampage to rival even the incidents of October 1979.



Archbishop G. Mercieca, who succeeded Archbishop M. Gonzi, is here seen with Mr. D. Mintoff, who succeeded Dr. G. Borg Olivier as independent Malta's prime minister.

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Maltese prime ministers (1921-) as shown during the “*Lejn Stat Sovran*” exhibition at the Museum of Archaeology in 1989. From left: Howard, Buhagiar, Mifsud, Strickland, Boffa, Mizzi, Borg Olivier, Mintoff, Mifsud Bonnici and Fenech Adami.

From Generals to Generals: Aborted Insurrection, Painful Resurrection

have never forgotten, several hundred of these went to Britain, Australia and elsewhere where some of them did exceptionally well. Very few could return home to Malta.