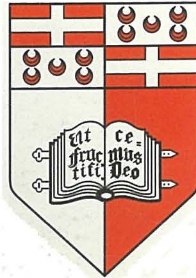

Institute of Forensic Studies
University of Malta

The Dr Joseph Louis Grech Commemorative Lecture

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Joseph Semini and the Beginning of Criminology in Malta

by

Dr Paul Knepper PhD

Dr Joseph Louis Grech (1927-1999) MD DCP (Lond) DMJ FRCPath FRCPA, graduated as a doctor from the University of Malta in 1952. He continued his studies in pathology and forensic medicine in London. He worked and lectured in both pathology and forensic medicine. He started lecturing in these fields in 1963 in the faculties of Medicine and Laws. For a number of years he was a member of the Medical Council of Malta and served as one of the officials in the council of the Medical Association of Malta. He was chairman of the Bioethics committee in the Ministry for Home Affairs and President of the Maltese Federation of Professional. In 1993 he was appointed as the first Chairman and Acting Director of the Institute of Forensic Studies.

The Institute of Forensic Studies

The institute is involved in research and teaching in the field of Forensic Studies, including Forensic Medicine, Criminology, related social policy issues and similar areas of study. It also acts as a resource centre for the provision of experts and expertise in the various fields of its activity to the Courts of Justice. Furthermore, it acts as an advisory body to the Government on matters pertaining to criminal justice.

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Summary of lecture: Joseph Semini, a superintendent of police, established himself as Malta's first criminologist with the publication of his short book *"Some Points on Criminology"* (c. 1926). This paper will discuss crime issues in Malta during the 1920s-30s of concern to Semini and examine the way in which he sought to address them with reference to criminological ideas in Italy and the United Kingdom. Semini's work, in light of criminological developments in Malta will be discussed.

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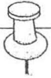

Joseph Semini was born in Valletta in 1884. He joined the Malta Police Force, becoming an inspector and distinguishing himself in the Criminal Investigation Division. He was appointed superintendent in 1929, about three years after he published "Some Points on Criminology"

Joseph Semini and the Beginning of Criminology in Malta

Paul Knepper, PhD

Criminology, as an accredited academic discipline, makes a relatively recent appearance in Malta. The current programme of study at the University of Malta extends from the Institute of Forensic Studies established in 1993. Institutes of criminology at universities elsewhere in Europe opened after the Second World War, and some, before the First World War.

The first criminology text in Malta appeared considerably earlier, however. *Some Points on Criminology*, by Joseph Semini, was published in Valletta in 1926.[1] Semini, a police inspector, relates several crime issues in Malta to concepts and theories in criminology. He demonstrates familiarity with legal reforms in England and academic currents in Italy. Semini expresses himself in a dissonant lexicon originating in the early years of criminology. Phrases such as 'congenital delinquent tendencies', 'degeneracy of a race', and 'low specimens of humanity' appear in his text, and looking back with knowledge of what these terms would come to mean in Hitler's Europe, it is disconcerting to read them. But the reforms he offers express a welfarist, not a eugenicist approach. He argues for less reliance on legal interventions and punishment and more emphasis on social welfare programmes with the potential for prevention.

In advancing the early Italian project, Semini becomes liable to the conventional critique of Lombrosian criminology as a specious science reflecting popular prejudices about the 'criminal classes'.[2] But it would be a mistake to reduce Semini to a Maltese *scuola Lom-*

brosiana. The problem of Semini's language suggests that there is more, and less, going on. *Some Points on Criminology* can really only be appreciated when framed against Malta of the 1920s and 1930s. In this essay, I discuss Semini's criminology in the context in which he wrote it; his perception of the problems that motivated his writing and the source of ideas that influenced his approach to them. In this discussion, Semini emerges as the first Maltese criminologist.

Semini's work invites an interesting question about the influence of Italian criminology in the emergence of British criminology. David Garland has argued that Lombroso had little appeal in Great Britain and that British criminology emerged from a domestic source, prison medical officers.[3] A rather different picture emerges when the history of British criminology includes the British Empire. Lombroso had some influence in British Malta although this was not openly acknowledged. The beginning of criminology in Malta contributes to the view of British criminology advanced by Neil Davie, who points out that nationalistic commitments and imperial prejudices prevented recognition of 'foreign' influence. British criminology in Malta as in England made a point of rejecting Lombroso's theories and then substituting domestic language for similar ideas.[4]

Political Conditions in Interwar Malta

To appreciate what Semini has to say it is necessary to have understanding about what he does not say, or as he explains in the preface, what he *cannot say*. Owing to his position as an inspector of police, he could not relate 'certain facts and incidents' known to him through his work. But more than his professional com-

mitments kept him from writing the book he would have wanted to write. He also hints at the political climate in which he was 'not permitted perhaps to speak too candidly on certain subjects', but had to 'tone down [his] work as much as possible and to suppress many things'.5

Intense and aggressive politics characterised the interwar period in Malta. In the 1920s and 1930s, a range of issues acquired immense political significance, in large part because of the structure of self-governance. The constitution of 1921 institutionalised the competing claims of two foreign languages: Italian and English. From the medieval period, when Malta was dominated by the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Italian had been the language of nobility; the church, the law courts, and the university. English became the official language of administration from the beginning of British rule. Britain made Malta a protectorate in 1800, and in 1814, a crown colony. English became a language of instruction in schools, and as Malta became a centre for trade with colonies to east (principally India), the principal language of commerce. The constitution also put in place two governments, a Maltese government and an imperial government, each claiming to act in the best interest of the Maltese people. The Maltese government consisted of a prime minister, a legislature (comprised of legislative assembly and senate), and a cabinet of seven ministers. The imperial government consisted of the governor (and chief secretary to government) who followed instructions from Colonial Office in London.

This rather complicated and unsettled situation became further complicated and unsettled by the rise of fascism in Italy. Mussolini made frequent reference to Malta as part of *Italia Irredenta* (Italy's 'unsaved' or 'unredeemed') and the Mediterranean as Italy's Roman

mare nostrum ('our seas'). His actions, and those of the pro-Italy faction in Malta, made the British authorities nervous, and self-government in Malta became subject increasingly to their imperial concerns in the Mediterranean. The pro-British press in Malta denounced Italian-language newspapers as the work of 'Italian propagandists' in league with fascist professors at the university and a few foreign residents.[6] Britain's concern to minimise fascist influence in Malta ended more than one career. In 1923, Malta's first prime minister, Joseph Howard, had to resign following an after-dinner speech in Rome to a Maltese audience when he joked about a Mussolini visiting card and made comments favourable to Italian influence.

Following the elections of 1932, when the victorious Nationalist Party attempted to restore the prominence of Italian culture, Britain ended self-government altogether and Malta reverted to the status of a crown colony. The Colonial Office declared the Italian language *lingua non grata* and attacked Italian influence with renewed vigour. Public servants known for their pro-Italian sympathies were dismissed from public office and British officers were brought in to replace them. When war broke out, a number of high-ranking officials were arrested, interned, and deported.[7] One of these was Carlo Mallia who served as Minister of Justice (with responsibility for police) between 1924 and 1926, the years when Semini wrote and published his short book. Mallia was appointed professor of commercial law at the University of Malta in 1918. The following year, he became a member of the national assembly representing the Maltese Political Union, one of the parties that would later form the Nationalist Party and he was elected to the national assembly in 1924, 1927 and 1932. In 1937, the Colonial Office removed Mallia from his professorship because of expressed fas-

cist sympathies. He left Malta for Rome where he led an Irredentist Maltese political group under protection of the Italian ministry for propaganda.[8]

And then there was Gerald Strickland, Count della Catena, the dominant political personality of the era. He would seem to have been well-prepared for negotiating Maltese and British loyalties: he was born in Valletta to an English father and Maltese mother, educated at Cambridge and Rome; he could speak Italian, and he was Catholic. But, he was also a 'dominating and aggressive force, with a manner calculated to cause irritation and annoyance'.[9] During his long involvement in Maltese government, he pursued the closest possible alignment with the British Empire. While serving as chief secretary to government from 1888 to 1902, Strickland carried out Joseph Chamberlain's anglicization policy in which Italian place names became English: *Strada Reale*, Valletta's main thoroughfare, became Kingsway, and *Porta Reale*, the main gate to the city, Kingsgate. Strickland left Malta during the first two decades of the twentieth century for the Australian colonies where he served a series of governorships. He returned after the grant of self-government, emerged as leader of the Constitutional Party, and waged a campaign of well-financed courtship and bare-knuckled intimidation. One night during the 1924 election, he led a mob of some five hundred zealots around Valletta; they insulted prominent Italian residents and vandalised Umberto Primo, the leading Italian-language school.[10]

Strickland succeeded in becoming Malta's fourth prime minister in 1927 and proceeded to rule Malta as his personal kingdom. Just before the general election, a fraudulent statement that Strickland was a freemason circulated among the Catholic electorate. As

a result, Strickland's party still received a majority in the assembly, but not in the senate, and he could only form a government by means of a compact with the Labour Party. On his first night as prime minister, he directed the police to search the houses of fallen ministers ostensibly to prevent the removal of documents from departments.[11] Before 1930, there were three plots to assassinate Strickland and one attempt; a Nationalist partisan shot at Strickland in the court-house, missing three times.[12] In response, Strickland went so far as to suggest the Archbishop of Malta was among those who wanted to see him dead. In a 1930 speech to the House of Lords, he claimed to have a letter proving the involvement of the Nationalist Party in one of these plots. He also claimed to have a document proving the Archbishop attempted to prejudice the legal enquiry into the plot by suggesting the suspect was not responsible.[13]

Semini can be forgiven, then, for avoiding clear reference to the Italian inspiration for his analysis. The political climate, combined with his personal background, called for discretion. He was born in Valletta in 1884, and although he was a British subject, the name suggests that his family had come from Italy. Semini is not a Maltese surname; it is a relatively rare Italian surname originating in the northern part of Italy.[14] Semini may have had extended family in Italy, or other ties, and this would have made his reference even riskier.[15] Had he announced his pursuit of an Italian approach, it may have cost him a promotion, perhaps his post. His solution explains the curious language of *Some Points on Criminology*; he offers a coded presentation, with direct references to British officials and British practises, and consistent allusions to Italian theories and ideas.

The Legacy of Italian Criminology

Ostensibly, Italian criminology had little influence in Great Britain. When in 1933, Prison Commissioner Alexander Paterson argued for establishing the first chair of criminology at a British university, he held up Lombroso as an example of precisely the sort of person he *did not* have in mind. The founder of Italian criminology had been mistaken in his effort to demonstrate a 'criminal type', particularly with reference to the body. British criminology should pursue a legal, psychological and to some extent, sociological, framework.[16] Paterson pointed to the work of Charles Goring, senior medical officer with the English Prison Service, as demonstrating once and for all the non-existence of any criminal type. Goring analysed some 2300 prisoners at Parkhurst prison in an effort to falsify Lombroso's theories.[17]

During the final decades of the nineteenth century, Cesare Lombroso established criminology as field of social-scientific enquiry.[18] After serving as a doctor in the Army and as superintendent of several asylums, he held a series of posts at the University of Turin in legal medicine and criminal anthropology. He generated dozens of books and hundreds of articles on insanity, legal medicine, anarchy, and criminality. *The Criminal Man*, first published in 1876, appeared in five editions during the next twenty years. In this work, Lombroso elaborated his claim that up to 70 per cent of criminal lawbreakers were of the 'born criminal type' (*delinquente nato*) and it was possible for the expert to recognise them from outward physical signs or 'stigmata'. In the third edition of 1884, he suggested the criminal type suffered moral insanity; the individual returns to a primeval state, deprived of moral sense. And, in his studies of prostitutes, he declared the crimi-

nal type to be rare among women; the prostitute alone resembles the criminal man. Lombroso wrote in a flamboyant and cavalier style, making use of statistics as it suited his purpose, that of defining and establishing a new category of scientific endeavour.[19] While amongst British specialists he was dismissed as a foreign novelist, he had become, even before his death in 1909, the archetype of a criminologist, mentioned by name in such novels as Joseph Conrad's *Secret Agent* and Bram Stoker's *Dracula.*

Enrico Ferri diffused and amplified Lombroso's project. He was an academic lawyer, member of parliament, member of the socialist party, and international spokesperson for the positive school of criminal science. In 1881, while professor of criminal law at the University of Bologna, he published what would become in the third edition of 1892, *Criminal Sociology.* The two volumes of fifth and final edition appeared in 1929 and 1930. Ferri became professor of criminal law at the University of Rome where he founded the School for Applied Criminal Law and Procedure, and for a number of years, he lectured at universities in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands.[20] Although Ferri continued to acknowledge Lombroso as the founder of his approach, he took little interest in 'measuring the heads of criminals'. He advanced an explanation for crime incorporating multiple causes. In addition to inherited physical characteristics, he called attention to 'telluric' factors, such as climate and time of day, and social factors, including poverty, illiteracy, and family conditions. He, like Lombroso, expressed his ideas in dramatic and cavalier language.

Despite, or because, of criticism Lombroso received in Britain, France and elsewhere, Lombrosian criminology surged in Italy. By the 1930s, a generation of Italians had developed the 'constitutional school' of

criminology. Nicola Pende, Salvatore Ottolenghi and Benigno Di Tullio carried out research into the causal influence of psychopathic personalities, neurological psychoses, physical disease, and alcohol and narcotic drugs in explaining criminality. Generally, they sought to identify the characteristics of the 'real' delinquent as opposed to the occasional lawbreaker. Real delinquents were born with psychological and physical predispositions, which when activated by particular environmental conditions, produced criminal behaviour. In pursuit of the 'delinquent constitution', the criminologists of the constitutional school explored what they believed to be factors responsible for the original abnormalities in the psychology of individuals, and those factors in the environment, which when in contact with a delinquent constitution, produce criminal behaviour. They also claimed that particular activities, including criminality and prostitution, contributed to degenerate heredity and eventually brought about a delinquent constitution.[21] Drawing on the idea of inheritance, Lombroso had taught it was possible to see 'marks of degeneration'. Degeneration arises in procreation; diseased, nervous parents pass on to their children the marks of degeneration.

Joseph Semini's analysis of crime, and his sense of legal reforms needed in Malta, reflects this tradition. In his discussing Malta's prison, he makes a favourable reference to 'many prominent authors on criminal anthropology'.[22] He reveals the source of his approach in his classification of criminal types. 'Modern criminologists classify delinquents under five categories' and proceeds to explain the meaning of them: 'insane', 'born', 'habitual', 'occasional' and 'delinquents by passion'.[23] It was Ferri who produced this set of terms, with reference to Lombroso, and elaborated them fully in the sec-

ond edition of his *The Murderer in Criminal Psychology and Psychopathology*. The scheme also appears in the fifth edition of *The Homicide-Suicide: Judicial Responsibility,* published at Turin in 1925.[24] Overall, Semini advances what Ferri called 'penal substitutes'. By this he meant all of the government measures to forestall crime other than those of criminal sanctions, such as social and welfare policies. In this way, the government could thwart future and potential criminality rather than fall back on intervention and punishment after the harmful consequences of a criminal act had been felt. Semini also mentions the 1925 International Prison Congress held at the Imperial Institute in South Kensington and quotes from the Home Secretary, William Joynson-Hicks.[25] Although it does not appear that Semini, or anyone from Malta, attended this conference, Ferri did.[26]

It is difficult to say where, or how, Semini acquired this knowledge. Perhaps he read, or read about, *The Criminal Man*. The National Library of Malta, established as a public library during the last years of the Knights of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, has been collecting books since the sixteenth century. The collection includes the fifth edition of *L'uomo delinquente* published in 1896-7. The University of Malta library received in 1925 a copy *Principles of Criminology* by K. Subrahmania Pillai, a professor at the Madras Law College. Published in 1924, the book represents a description of criminology from an ardent admirer of Lombroso.[27] Semini may also have acquired his knowledge of Italian criminology from a more personal source, the chair of forensic medicine at the University of Malta.

Malta's Tradition of Forensic Medicine

Semini took a keen interest in forensic science. He demonstrated some expertise in this regard in his evidence before the commission to enquire into the events of 7 and 8 June, 1919. Known among Maltese as the *Sette Guigno*, this date is remembered as the day when British forces fired shots into a crowd killing three Maltese. (British troops bayoneted another Maltese to death the following day).[28] An enquiry occurred in September of that year, and Semini emerged as an important figure. He had witnessed British troops fire repeatedly into the crowd in front of the bakery on Britannia Street and produced for the commissioners the official list of persons killed and wounded during the riots. He also recovered from the Central Hospital in Floriana, splinters of a bullet that had been mentioned by another witness as being a 'dum dum' bullet. Invented by the British Army in India, the 'dum dum' had a soft, lead point to expand on impact and increase the diameter of wounds. The Hague Convention (1899) outlawed use of such ammunition, and had British forces been unable to investigate the allegation, it would have meant even further embarrassment. After an examination, the commissioners concluded the splinters did not form such a bullet.[29]

Semini became director of the detective branch of the Malta Police during the administration of Colonel H.W.M. Bamford. Bamford served as commissioner of police and superintendent of the prison in the wake of the 1919 events until self-government in 1921. He declared the police in Malta to be an 'inefficient force' and announced the formation of the detective branch as part of a significant reform agenda.[30] As Bamford explained in his annual report of 1920-1, the detective branch dealt with criminal records, resident aliens, and

passports in addition to 'purely criminal investigation work'. He praised Semini for 'exceptionally good work', particularly in detection of forged currency and coins and in locating sites for production of unlicensed alcohol.[31] These years in the detective branch, Semini said, brought him into contact with a number of cases and afforded opportunities for studying the moral, social, and economic conditions that bring about professional criminality. Semini received a promotion to superintendent (one of six) in 1929, three years after publication of *Some Points on Criminology*.

Semini makes repeated references to forensic science, a well-established medical speciality in Malta.[32] Stefano Zerafa, the first chair of forensic medicine at the University of Malta, was appointed in 1829, and the faculty of medicine and chemistry demonstrated knowledge of microscope-based research into blood stains as early as 1846. The 1856 syllabus in medical jurisprudence included abortion, wounds, poisoning, mental disease, and chemical analysis. In 1869, the criminal court relied on three forensic experts, two professors from the university and the police physician in Valletta, for analysis of stains on the trousers of the accused. The panel based their testimony on spectroscopy and microscopy and cited English, German, and French medico-legal texts.[33] Yet the police did not institutionalise forensic technologies until the 1930s. The annual report for 1931-2 makes reference, for the first time, to a criminal investigation department organised to make fingerprints and photographs, and only in the following years does it appear this had become routine.[34] Curiously, the *Malta Chronicle and Imperial Gazette* printed a story in January 1933 about the importance of fingerprints to policing. Written by a former Scotland Yard detective, the article was occasioned by the centenary of the invention of fingerprint techniques by Sir

William Herschel.[35] But even in 1955, fingerprint identification remained under-utilised. A British consultant, W.A. Muller, commented in his report that year about the lack of police trained in use of fingerprint and photographic equipment. The Malta Police did not use fingerprint records for identification (but continued to rely on name searches); nor did they aggregate crime statistics for use in analysing crime patterns or deploying personnel.[36]

Semini calls for 'drastic reforms' in criminal records. He advocated the use of photography and fingerprint identification for habitual criminals and urged creation of a 'criminal museum which no organised Police Force lacks'.[37] He could not be referring here to a British institution because nothing along these lines existed. Aside from the fingerprint bureau set up at Scotland Yard in 1902, the English police had neither a laboratory nor scientific staff for research. British policing before the Second World War tended to decline scientific advances believed to jeopardise the good-will and cooperation of the public, those methods the ordinary person would have considered 'unfair'.[38] The paradigm Semini seems to have in mind here is the School for Scientific Police in Rome, founded by Salvatore Ottolenghi in the prison at Regina Coeli in 1903. The school, described as 'the brains of Italian police organisation', centralised criminal identification. From across Italy, police spent a period of several years learning the methods of fingerprinting, photography, and measurements. Through the application of such methods it was believed the police would become more efficient in preventing and fighting criminality. The school included a laboratory for microscopic and chemical analyses of poison, blood and other substances, and a psychological laboratory with apparatus for measuring psychological events. It also included a

library, lecture theatres, and 'a small museum of criminology'. The museum featured anthropometric records and rogue's gallery; it represented 'an imitation of many similar institutions in European capitals'.[39]

But it is clear that in discussing forensic science Semini has more in mind than recognising previous offenders or even solving individual cases. Fingerprints and photographs contributed to a system of 'card indexing for the study of criminology'. By improving the practise of record-keeping and introducing card-filing, 'we shall be able to find out in future, with a certain amount of precision, the causes of delinquency'. On this foundation, Semini believed it would be possible to 'eliminate certain conditions in our social structure which breed delinquency, encourage vice and stimulate degeneracy'. Through analysis of the facts concerning individual offenders, the criminologist could identify 'conditions of life and habits' that led to criminality. A comprehensive card-system would record information about home conditions, bad companions, and family conditions for each delinquent.[40]

This aspect of Semini's forensic project resembles research carried out in prisons in Italy and England in the 1920s and 1930s. Di Tullio conducted research on several thousand prisoners at Regina Coeli prison at Rome; he compared traits of prisoners with those of their parents. He published periodic reports, and eventually, summarised the research in 1931.[41] Alexander Paterson and W. Norwood East pursued a similar research at Wormwood Scrubs prison; they collected details concerning social and family background of boys, including conditions of birth, home life, school life, and work history in a single record. Paterson and East planned to collect 5,000 such case histories.[42] To what extent Semini knew of either of these projects is not known; he might not have heard of either. Still, he

was not an academic, and so it would appear he developed his ideas from someone familiar with such research.

Semini could have learned about Italian criminology, and Di Tullio's project in particular, from Giuseppe Hyzler, the chair of forensic medicine at the University of Malta.[43] Hyzler completed the course in medicine at the University of Malta and did postgraduate study at the Institute of Legal Medicine, University of Rome. He served the criminal court as an examiner in anatomy, surgery, and mental diseases and appears to have had some interest in criminal-justice intervention. In 1925, he visited the new reformatory for juveniles. Hyzler would have been familiar with Italian criminology from his study at Rome, although he seems to have been more interested in politics than academics. Hyzler joined the Maltese Political Union in 1919 and contested the elections of 1921 but was not successful. In 1932 he won election with the Nationalist Party.[44] If Semini did learn of Italian criminology from Hyzler, Hyzler's Nationalist credentials may have kept him from mentioning it.

Youth Crime and the Reformatory

Semini discusses the need for reforms in several areas beginning with the response to youth crime. Specifically, he criticised police practise concerning hawkers. Hawkers selling wares in Valletta had been a cause for comment at least since the nineteenth century. William Thackeray, who visited Malta in 1844, remarked about the appeal of Valletta. On *Strada Reale* he found palaces, churches, a court-house, library and genteel shops; soldiers in scarlet, women in black mantillas,

happy young officers, shovel-hatted priests and bearded capuchins. 'Professional beggars run shrieking after the stranger; and agents for horses, for inns and worse places still, follow him and insinuate the excellence of their goods'.[45] In 1903, the commissioner of police, Tancred Curmi, mentioned the hawkers problem: 'A great number of street Arabs, uncared for by their parents, infest the streets, causing trouble to police, and nuisance to the public, almost with impunity'.[46]

Hawkers had become a problem in the 1920s, at a time when Malta began pursuing tourism as an alternative to the service economy based on the presence of the Mediterranean Fleet. Each year, a greater number of cruising steamers called at Malta; in 1924, six ships brought 1530 passengers, and in 1926, 18 ships with 5320 passengers (and by 1932, these figures would increase to 26 ships and 14,714 passengers). Liners to and from the Far East put into the Grand Harbour and remained long enough for passengers to visit shops in Valletta. In 1923, the government appointed a committee to promote tourism and the committee inaugurated an advertising campaign at the Wembley Exhibition of 1924.[47] Leading Maltese, including Henry Casolani, envisioned Malta as a winter resort, featuring a first-class hotel, a casino, tennis courts, and fine restaurants. Sceptics claimed it would never happen as hawkers, along with church bells and goats, drove tourists away. Casolani did not see these an insurmountable problems, although he advised pursuit of an expert who would 'tell [Malta] how to deal with the hawker, and how the irresponsible child is controlled and punished in other countries'.[48]

Semini acknowledged boy-hawkers as a 'very serious problem for the future' but disagreed with the current policy response. The legislation was too severe,

and when wrongly-applied by the police, only compounded the problem. Any infringement of the law brought the boys into court were they received fines their parents were unable to pay. Boys of twelve and thirteen years of age could be seen in prison for having sold sweets or matches in the streets without a police license. 'We must bear in mind', Semini writes, 'that many of the boy-hawkers are by stern necessity driven to exercise a trade in order to be able to contribute to their poor parents...'. Many of them were only trying to assist their families by selling a few chocolates or wares; most of them did not possess 'a bad heart', but starting life in prison made them 'as hard as steel'. Short terms of imprisonment for trivial offences 'trained for future degeneracy, mendacity and delinquency'.[49]

Semini framed his analysis in the conceptual language of the Italians. 'From a criminological point of view we can say that man is generally the offspring of heredity and environment...'. So much had been written about heredity, he felt, that he need not elaborate, although he observed that delinquents result 'partly on account of those congenital delinquent tendencies they inherit from their degenerate parents'. Criminality was principally due to the environment in which individuals failed to develop moral reasoning. 'I strongly believe that most of the wretched poverty we daily see growing around us and much of the spreading latent delinquency we have in our midst is the direct cause of deficiency in our social structure'.[50]

He does not cite Lombroso or Ferri, but mentions Colonel Bamford, the late commissioner of police. Bamford, Semini writes, took 'a very wise step' in establishing a reformatory for juvenile lawbreakers. Semini shared Bamford's belief that although youth crime had to with the inability of parents to control their children, 'a more permanent cause is the lack of support afforded

by the police in the punishments awarded'.[51] The need for a juvenile reformatory had been proposed by Claude W. Duncan, who had been appointed to review police organisation in Malta, and later, organisation of the prison. He proposed in 1919 the establishment of an industrial school and reformatory, to be built on the neighbouring island of Comino. Although the prison at Corradino maintained a juvenile division, all the boys, serving short-terms and longer terms, were confined together, along with prisoners condemned to death. It was 'hardly necessary' to point out this arrangement was undesirable.[52] Plans to build a reformatory on Comino never developed, but the institution did open once Bamford found an existing building that could be converted. Bamford spied Salvatore Fort and Barracks, and as soon as the last of the Turkish prisoners of war had been evacuated, secured a budget for adapting it to a reformatory. 'The reformatory school', he taught, 'should be primarily an educational establishment and its most important function the training and development of good moral, mental and physical qualities'.[53]

The reformatory, Semini said, was the correct way to reform poor children. It removed children from miserable environments, and placed them in a position to receive training and education, as well as adequate food and proper clothing. This was the response of any humane and civilised government, but it did not go far enough. Semini urged steps to be taken for the young men after release. What was accomplished, he asked, when a man of eighteen years of age, was returned to the environment that had led him wrong to begin with? Once surrounded again by unhealthy conditions and old acquaintances, these 'reformed' young men would revisit their delinquency, and eventually, father 'further degenerate offspring' who would be sent to jail or a charitable institution. Semini suggested those released

from the reformatory should receive some assistance in finding employment. They might also be assisted to emigrate by means of a labour bureau abroad. He also urged the reformatory be expanded to include two sections or departments, a criminal section for 'delinquents and sons of delinquents and degenerates' and an orphan section for boys who, through the fault of their parents, would otherwise be forced to lead a 'vagrant and an irregular life'. An expanded reformatory would allow more boys to receive instruction in useful trades, such as boot-making, masonry, and hairdressing.[54]

Barmaids and White Slavery

Semini devotes considerable commentary to a discussion of prostitution, an issue of significance not only in Malta, but across Europe and the Americas. In 1902, when Gerald Strickland served as chief secretary to government, he initiated a campaign to end visible prostitution in Malta. Regulations were enacted to limit the streets where the commercial sex trade operated, and these areas were progressively increased through subsequent legislation.[55] Realistically, prostitution could not be banished from the island, particularly with the Royal Navy's Mediterranean Fleet at anchor in the Grand Harbour. During the first decades of the twentieth century, the number of naval, army, and air force personnel in Malta never fell below 10,000. Colonel Bamford referred to an increase of venereal disease among sailors and soldiers in 1921 as justification for imposing stringent measures to keep 'common prostitutes' under control.[56] Straight Street, or 'The Gut', in Valletta became notorious among Naval ratings as a place to find prostitutes.

Within a few years, officials no longer worried about common prostitutes, but about unregistered prostitutes. The attempt to regulate prostitution into extinction displaced sex from streets and doorways into wine-and-spirit shops and *tabarins* (music halls). The police devoted a great deal of energy during the 1920s to surveillance of barmaids and artistes. In 1925, Monsignor Paolo Galea, who had been appointed to represent the clergy in the Senate, asked the Minister for Justice, Dr Carlo Mallia, about the surveillance of barmaids. He renewed his enquiries several times, and asked why the police had not closed a particular shop with fourteen barmaids. In his reply, Mallia stated that police had some 66 barmaids under investigation for violations of the regulations.[57] A police circular of that same year from the assistant superintendent of police to divisions across Malta instructed police to inform the commissioner's office of any barmaids seen 'knocking about in company of different persons' after business hours.[58] In his annual report of 1926-7, Frank Stivala, the commissioner of police, declared that the monitoring of barmaids and artistes presented 'one of the most difficult and delicate tasks with which the police are confronted'. To respond effectively to an increase in the personnel connected with the Fleet, combined with an increase in the number of foreign women entering Malta to work in the night-time economy, he needed additional personnel.[59]

Semini recognised that the fall in prostitution, during the early 1920s, had led to a rise in 'clandestine prostitution'. The new regulations concerning barmaids had allowed women of 'doubtful moral character' to obtain employment in wine-and-spirit shops. Sociologists, he argued, regarded prostitution as a 'social necessity' that could not be 'disposed of or totally repressed'. The attempt to prohibit commercial sex suc-

ceeded only in driving the trade underground, which encouraged further crimes as it provided a distribution network for stolen property and forged coins. Further, the present application of the law concerning prostitutes 'contributed towards their financial, moral and physical ruin'. The police brought prostitutes before the court on a daily basis; some on as many as twenty charges, for each of which they were liable to a fine. In most cases, they could not afford to pay, which only indebted them further to *matrones*, a class of women who managed women in the sex trade.[60] He had even more to say about white slavery.

White slavery, or traffic in women for purposes of prostitution, emerged as an international issue in the decades before the First World War. Representatives from nations across Europe and the Americas convened for international conferences at Paris in 1904 and Madrid in 1910 and succeeded in obtaining commitments from several governments to enact harsh anti-traffic legislation. Following a storm of controversy, Britain's parliament passed the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1912, the 'White Slave Traffic' Act. This act authorised arrest without warrant for suspected procurers, increased penalties for brothel-keepers, and for those convicted a second time for living off the profits of prostitution, whipping.[61] In response, Malta put into force the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic Ordinance of 1918. The law made it unlawful to induce a woman to leave the islands for purposes of prostitution, to detain a woman against her will in a brothel, and for a man to live off the earnings of prostitution. As originally enacted, the law included the provision for whipping persons on second offence (up to 24 strokes for a man over eighteen years of age; 12 strokes for under eighteen years of age), but this provision was cancelled within six months.[62]

Semini referred to some 'typical cases of white slavery' to demonstrate the extent and severity of the threat. In one recent case, the court had given two years hard labour to a man for living off the earnings of his wife; not only was he married to a prostitute, he was the son of a prostitute and the brother of a prostitute. 'Souteneurs or white slave traffickers are the worst class of delinquents society has to cope with', Semini concluded, 'They are generally harsh and cruel people, of a violent temper, very often thieves and murderers'. The legislation of 1918 represented a positive step, but much more needed to be done. To respond effectively, the government needed to remove prostitution from the experience of children and families. He recommended that children of women engaged in the commercial sex trade be given preferential admission to places in orphan asylums or other charitable institutions. They should be given an education and training in industry to enable them to begin a life free from sexual and criminal vice. Brothels located in densely populated areas should be razed, prostitutes registered and monitored. He suggested the prostitution trade be situated in modern buildings to be built in St John's Ditch, outside *Porta Reale*, as this would prevent spill-over into residential areas of Valletta.[63]

The government did not follow Semini's advice. The White Slave Traffic (Emergency) Act of 1930 abolished the legalised brothel. The commissioner of police had authority to close any shop, lodging house, hotel or music hall suspected of being a place of prostitution. Fines could be levied against the owners of *kerrajja* (tenement buildings), lodging houses, and hotels for failing to evict persons the police had identified as prostitutes.[64]

Prison Reforms

Semini's final discussion spells out a series of reforms concerning imprisonment and it is in this context that he makes his most clear declaration of affinity to Ferri and the *scuola positiva*. 'The first object of the state,' Semini declares, 'should be the reformation of the offender'. The regimen should afford education and training so that prisoners released into society would be capable of making a honest living. 'Uninteresting industries', such as hat-making, broom-making, and oakum-picking did not provide for future employment and should be done away with, Semini argued. He favoured a more intensive system of classifying and grading prisoners. Each category of 'penal', 'ordinary' and 'special' prisoners should wear distinctive clothing consistent with a specific scale of privileges. He also favoured a more appealing diet as food should not represent the most objectionable part of imprisonment. 'Dull food as a rule produces dull people'.[65]

Semini's suggestions were consonant with those of the current prison administration. Frank Stivala, who superintended the prison during the early 1920s, was pleased to report the number of 'habitual criminals' to be diminishing. He suggested the Habitual Criminals Act of New South Wales, providing for an indeterminate sentence to be given for a third offence, could be adopted in Malta for this class of criminals.[66] Stivala also suggested the formation in Malta of a Discharged Prisoners Aid Society, which he believed would prove useful in finding employment for discharged prisoners. Salvatore Galea, who became acting superintendent in 1923, expressed similar aspirations. The average daily number of prisoners in custody had fallen to 153 in 1925, he reported, the lowest number in many years. It was due to the good organisation and discipline admin-

istered at the prison; apart from those habitual criminals, convicts were aware of the prison not only as a penitentiary, but as a reformatory.[67] In 1926, Galea announced that 'prisoners are no longer herded together indiscriminately but attention is being paid to the nature and motives of their crimes as well as to the conditions of the criminals themselves'.[68]

Semini expressed particular concern about the number of young persons sent to prison. 'All ways and means are justifiable to keep young offenders out of prison and every device should be resorted to in order to attain this object' he wrote. To imprison boys at a tender age made them 'lose their moral sense' and would very likely mean they would go on to 'supply the ranks of the habitual and of the professional class of criminals'.[69] Semini's references to 'all ways and means' may be a reference to a juvenile confinement experiment initiated by Stivala in 1921. Although the establishment of Salvatore Reformatory had reduced the number of young persons confined at Corradino to those serving short sentences, Stivala wanted this practise to end as well, and made arrangements to keep juveniles at the Valletta police lock-up. This plan had been put into place in 1923 and Stivala was able to report that juveniles were no longer confined at the prison. 'The danger of their being further corrupted by mixing with grown-up prisoners has thus, I am glad to say, been finally eliminated'.[70] But by 1925, this practise had ended and juveniles returned to Corradino; a juvenile division had been arranged featuring a separate entrance.[71]

Above all else, Semini insisted that imprisonment should be guided by the premise of 'delinquency as a form of lunacy'. Many confirmed criminals commit their misdeeds 'on account of their abnormal impulsiveness' or because they lack sufficient self-control. 'It

is very rarely that one becomes a criminal of his own free will. When a man resorts to a career of delinquency he must have a special physical and moral temper which either derives him on to commit crimes or which renders him incapable to resist external temptations'.[72] Semini proposes the prison should become a reformatory organised around provision of physical and psychological cures. 'Habitual criminals and incorrigibles are considered to supply a large portion of mental defectives,' he writes, 'and this has given rise to the absolute necessity of having psychiatrists or experts in mental diseases' to visit prisons and recommend transfers to the lunatic asylum. Many 'recidivists, incorrigibles, vagrants, swindlers, rogues and vagabonds' are sent to prison for second and third convictions that are more suitable for the 'poor house or the lunatic asylum'.[74]

As a practical matter, the prison administration made routine transfers to the lunatic asylum. Individuals were sent from the prison to the asylum for observation; the psychiatric staff certified some of them to be insane, others they sent back as 'not so mentally deficient' as to require confinement in the asylum. At the Corradino prison, the superintendent and medical officer also established observation cells. The year before Semini published his criminology text, the medical officer at the Corradino, Dr Domenico Calleja, certified the mental fitness of five prisoners. After several weeks in the 'observation cells for mental defectives', they were reinstated as normal. Dr Calleja remarked that these cells represented an improvement over the old ones as they were more hygienic, free from injurious materials, and equipped with a low-fixed sleeping board.[75] Semini would not appear to be making a comment on the actual procedure, but wanting to make a bold, even radical statement.[76]

Semini's declaration embodies the principles of the *scuola positiva* and he would appear to have learnt them from Ferri. In a series of writings beginning with his thesis in 1877, Ferri tried to show that the concept of free will amounted to legal fiction. The pretended moral responsibility of the criminal extending from this fiction should give way to the concept of social or legal responsibility, in which every person was 'socially accountable' for his actions as a member of society and not as a moral being capable of choice. In Italy, at the end of the First World War, the Minister of Justice invited Ferri to preside over a commission that would write a new criminal code to replace the one of 1889. The Ferri code of 1921 represented the most significant effort to transpose positivist philosophy into sentencing practise. It was translated into several languages, including English, and was widely distributed.[77] Semini's arguments concerning the value of prison-based psychiatry occurred, however, at about the time psychiatric thinking in Malta shifted from the Continent to Britain. Until the 1930s, clinical practise relied on concepts of mental illness advanced by French and Italian thinkers, and in criminal cases, by the work of Lombroso. British psychiatric literature began appearing in the 1880s, and by the 1930s, W. Norwood East had supplanted Lombroso on the relationship of crime to insanity. With the appointment in 1932 of Victor Vassallo as resident physician at the Attard Mental Hospital and professor of psychiatry at the University of Malta, the British connection became firmly established. He was the first physician to follow post-graduate study in London as would later generations of Maltese psychiatrists.[78]

Conclusions

Joseph Semini's *Some Points on Criminology* (1926) discusses several crime issues in Malta in light of theoretical and conceptual frameworks proposed in Italy and recent changes in British criminal justice. Semini considers youth crime and white slavery. He describes the need for forensic techniques and prisoner classification, in addition to improved methods of dealing with hawkers and prostitutes. Overall, the reforms he suggests are in keeping with less reliance on interventions by police, criminal court, and prison, and greater emphasis on social policy responses. He argues in favour of improved housing, industrial training, services to families, and more extensive education. Semini was only partly successful in his reform programme. For the most part, government authorities did not take his advice; some of what he suggested had been advanced by others. He did succeed, never-theless, in presenting the first Maltese voice in criminology.

Semini's language is archaic and dissonant. It reflects his interest in Lombroso and early Italian criminology, and to some extent, the criticisms levelled at Lombroso can be levelled at Semini. Like Lombroso, Semini used flamboyant and cavalier language to promote criminology as a new science of human conduct. But unlike Lombroso, Semini's language reflects his translation of Italian concepts into English within the political conditions in Malta. During the interwar period, Malta was pulled by British and Italian loyalties while in pursuit of a national identity. In advocating the need for forensic techniques—fingerprinting and photography—he envisioned a basis for a systematic understanding of criminal behaviour. Semini was a police inspector, not an academic, but he saw in criminology

the basis for a more effective and responsible crime-reduction programme.

Britain resisted the influence of Italian criminology. Commentators preferred to credit domestic sources for criminological ideas rather than acknowledge 'foreign' influences. This was also true of the British Empire. In Malta, colonial officials sought to supplant Italian culture and ideas with British culture and ideas. In writing Malta's first criminology text, Joseph Semini found a way to import Italian theories and concepts without raising political objections from colonial authorities. Semini writes in English, and makes a point of mentioning British officials and practises, but within a conceptual language developed by Italian criminology. When British criminology is seen as including the British Empire, Lombroso has some influence, even after Goring's 'definitive' refutation.

Notes

[1] Joseph A. Semini, *Some Points on Criminology* (Valletta: Giov. Muscat, 1926). The publication itself has no date. I have assigned 1926 based on publication of part of the booklet in 1925 in the journal *Melita*. A literary and scientific journal published by Giovianni Muscat in 1925, Melita contains articles in Italian and English. Two sections of Semini's work appear as articles in volume 5: 'Young Offenders' pp. 246-54 and 'The Penal System', pp. 298-307.

[2] Dario Melossi, 'Changing Representations of the Criminal', *British Journal of Criminology* 40 (2000), pp. 296-320; David Horn, *The Criminal Body: Lombroso and the Anatomy of Deviance* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Mary Gibson, *Born to Crime: Cesare Lombroso and the Origins of Biological Criminology.*

(Wesport, CT: Praeger, 2002).

[3] David Garland, 'British Criminology Before 1935' *British Journal of Criminology* 28 (1988), pp. 131-47 and 'Of Crimes and Criminals: The Development of Criminology in Britain', in Mike Maguire, Rod Morgan and Robert Reiner, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*. 3d (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 7-50.

[4] Neil Davie, *Tracing the Criminal: The Rise of Scientific Criminology in Britain 1860-1918* (Oxford: Bardwell Press, 2005) and 'Criminal man Revisited? Continuity and Change in Criminology, c. 1865-1918' *Journal of Victorian Culture* 8 (2003), pp. 1-33.

[5] Semini, *Some Points*, p. 2.

[6] Mabel Strickland, 'Has England Forgotten Malta?' (1923), reprinted in Mabel Strickland, ed, *A Collection of Essays on Malta 1923-1954*. (Valletta: Progress Press, 1955), p. 5.

[7] Godfrey Pirotta, *The Maltese Public Service 1800-1940* (Malta: Mireva, 1996), pp. 391-2.

[8] Michael Schiavone and Louis Scerri, *Maltese Biographies of the Twentieth Century* (Malta: PIN, 1997), p. 375.

[9] Hugh Molson, 'The Problems of Malta' *The Quarterly Review*, 263 (July 1934), p. 138.

[10] Henry Frendo, 'Italy and Britain in Maltese Colonial Nationalism', *History of European Ideas*, 15 (1992), p. 736.

[11] Molson, 'The Problems', p. 128.

[12] Henry Frendo, 'Britain's European Mediterranean: Language, Religion and Politics in Lord Strickland's Malta (1927-1930)' *History of European Ideas*, 21 (1995), p. 54.

[13] Gerald Strickland, 'Political Conditions in Malta' (London: HMSO, 1930), p. 11. Melitensia Collection, University of Malta Library.

[14] Personal communication from Laura Semini, 11 October 2007. Professor Semini, at the University of Pisa, observes that the Semini name can be found in the region of Venice, the area between Milan and Turin, and in the south of Switzerland. The first Semini lived in the valleys of the Alps between Italy and Switzerland where the religion is Waldensian and during periods of persecution, some of them left for the 'open-minded' Republic of Venice. Some of the Semini came to Malta, probably for similar reasons.
[15] His passport application of 1930 indicated plans to travel to London for 'duty' via Italy and France.
[16] Alexander Paterson, 'Should the Criminologist be Encouraged?' *Transactions of the Medico-Legal Society*, 26 (1933), p. 182 (180-92)
[17] Charles Goring, *The English Convict: A Statistical Study* (London: HMSO, 1919). Paterson regarded Goring's findings concerning the general physical inferiority and low intelligence of his subjects as a 'superficial similarity' common to men who have spent some time in prison. Lombroso claimed to have discovered a 'criminal type', Paterson said, when he had only come across the 'prisoner type'.
[18] In addition to prolific writing, Lombroso initiated the international congresses on criminal anthropology. Beginning with Rome in 1885, lawyers, academics, and government officials met every four years until the First World War. Martine Kaluszynski, 'The International Congresses of Criminal Anthropology' in Peter Becker and Richard Wetzell, eds *Criminals and Their Scientists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 301-16.
[19] Paul Rock, 'Cesare Lombroso as a Signal Criminologist' *Criminology and Criminal Justice* 7 (2007), pp. 121-2.
[20] Thorsten Sellin, 'Enrico Ferri (1856-1929)' *Journal of*

Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science 48 (January-February 1958), 481-92.

[21] Elio Monachesi, 'Trends in Criminological Research in Italy' *American Sociological Review* 1 (June 1936) pp. 396-406; Thorsten Sellin, 'A New Phase of Criminal Anthropology in Italy' *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 125 (May 1926), pp. 233-42.

[22] Semini, *Some Points*, p. 25.

[23] Semini, *Some Points*, p. 32.

[24] Sellin, 'Enrico Ferri', p. 485.

[25] Semini, *Some Points*, p. 33.

[26] Sellin, 'Enrico Ferri,' p. 489; Harvey Hartley and Nathan Raw, 'The Ninth International Prison Congress', *Transactions of the Medico-Legal Society*, 20 (1926), p. 2.

[27] *Annual Report of the University of Malta 1924-5* (GMR 958), p. 3.

[28] Henry Frendo, *Politics in a Fortress Colony: The Maltese Experience* (Malta: Midsea, 1991), pp. 171-3.

[29] Parnis, Anthony. *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Commission of Enquiry into the Events of 7th and 8th June 1919.* National Archives of Malta (GMR 746), p. 26.

[30] HWM Bamford, *Report by Commissioner of Police on the Efficiency, Status, and Exisiting Conditions of the Police Force* (Malta: Government Printing Office, 1919), p. 3.

[31] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Police 1920-1.* National Archives of Malta (GMR 767), p. 1.

[32] Medicine in Malta has reflected European advances owing to the interest of the Knights of St. John. As a hospitallier order, they took a great interest in medical advances, and as multi-national order, incorporated knowledge of medical research and practises in Germany, France, and Britain. Examples of forensic testi-

mony in criminal court can be found in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

33 Paul Cassar, *Landmarks in the Development of Forensic Medicine in the Maltese Islands* (Malta: Malta University Press, 1974), pp. 30-1, 36.

34 *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Police 1931-2.* National Archives of Malta (GMR 1186), p. 3.

35 'The Romance of Fingerprints' *Malta Chronicle and Imperial Services Gazette* (10 January 1933), p. 6.

36 W.A. Muller, *Report on the Malta Police Force* (Malta: Government Printing Office, 1955), pp. 11-2.

37 Semini, *Some Points*, p. 2.

38 Cicely Craven, 'The Progress of English Criminology' *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 24 (May-June 1933), p. 233.

39 Victor von Borosini, 'The School of Scientific Police in Rome' *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology* 3 (March 1913), pp. 881-2.

40 Semini, *Some Points*, p. 19.

41 Benigno Di Tullio, *Manuale di Antropologia e Psicologia Criminale* (Rome: Anonima Romana Editoriale, 1931), pp. 42-44.

42 Alexander Paterson, 'English Prisons', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 157 (September 1931), p. 170, and 'Should the Criminologist', p. 186. This was an advance in methodology undertaken by Goring who had relied on adult prisoners recollections of circumstances in their earlier life.

43 The previous chair of forensic medicine, G. Ullo Xuereb, represents a possible, but less likely source. From 1920 to 1927, he held the chair of mental disease as well as forensic medicine.

44 Schiavone and Scerri, *Maltese Biographies*, p. 349.

45 William Thackeray, *Burlesques: From Cornhill to Grand Cairo and Juvenilia* (London: Macmillan, 1846), p. 267.

[46] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Police 1903-4.* National Archives of Malta (GMR 412), p. 5.
[47] *Report on the Working of the Tourist Bureau 1933-4.* National Archives of Malta (GMR 1246), pp. 1, 3.
[48] Henry Casolani, *Make Malta Prosperous* (Malta: Daily Malta Chronicle, 1924). Melitensia Collection, University of Malta Library.
[49] Semini, *Some Points*, pp. 7-9.
[50] Semini, *Some Points*, p. 4.
[51] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Police 1920-1.* National Archives of Malta (GMR 767), p. 183.
[52] C.W. Duncan, *Recommendations with Regard to the Organisation and Discipline of the Corradino Civil Prison.* National Archives of Malta (GMR 982), p. 4.
[53] 'Report on Juvenile Offenders', *Government Gazette* (17 September 1920), pp. 247-8.
[54] Semini, *Some Points*, pp. 5-6, 22
[55] Government Notice 41, *Government Gazette* (26 February 1902), p. 143. Goeff Dench provides a substantive discussion of Strickland's campaign for public morality in *Maltese in London* (London: Routlege and Kegan Paul, 1975), pp. 112-5.
[56] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Police 1920-1.* National Archives of Malta (GMR 767), p. 183.
[57] *Parliamentary Debates Senate*, (13 November 1925), pp. 1394-5.
[58] Police circular 12 September 1925. National Archives of Malta (POL 8, 10/2, 1924-30).
[59] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Police 1926-7.* National Archives of Malta (GMR 998), p. 2.
[60] Semini, *Some Points*, pp. 14-5.
[61] Paul Knepper, '"Jewish Trafficking" and London Jews in the Age of Migration', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 6 (2007), p. 248.
[62] Suppression of the White Slave Traffic Ordinance, Ordinance No 13, *Government Gazette* (31 May 1918),

pp. 79-83; Suppression of the White Slave Traffic (Amendment) Ordinance of 1918, *Government Gazette* (15 November 1918), p. 157.

[63] Semini, *Some Points*, pp. 13-5.

[64] Ordinance No. 8, *Government Gazette* (1 August 1930), pp. 983-91.

[65] Semini, *Some Points*, p. 30.

[66] *Annual Report of Corradino Civil Prison 1921-2*. National Archives of Malta (GMR 792), p. 3.

[67] *Annual Report of Corradino Civil Prison 1924-5*. National Archives of Malta (GMR 956), p. 3.

[68] *Annual Report of Corradino Civil Prison 1925-6*. National Archives of Malta (GMR 918), p. 4.

[69] Semini, *Some Points*, p. 26.

[70] *Annual Report of the Corradino Civil Prison 1922-3*. National Archives of Malta (GMR 864), p. 5.

[71] *Annual Report of Corradino Civil Prison 1924-5*. National Archives of Malta (GMR 956), p. 3.

[72] Semini, *Some Points*, p. 25.

[73] Semini, *Some Points*, p. 29.

[74] Opened at Attard in 1861, the asylum followed the architectural plan of the asylum at Wakefield in Yorkshire. To ensure that it adhered to new systems of treating patients, local authorities consulted with superintendents of British asylums. Annual reports for the prison in the 1920s regularly contain references to transfer.

[75] *Annual Report of the Corradino Civil Prison 1923-4*. National Archives of Malta (GMR 1923-4), p. 6.

[76] A more moderate and conventional view was expressed in the 1940s by Sir Anthony Mamo, professor of criminal law. Before expressing agreement with the general proposition that the beginnings of a criminal career were to be found in the 'tangled roots of social, economic or educational insufficiency', Mamo explained why Lombroso should not be believed. As

Catholics, the Maltese people rejected any explanation that denied free will or moral responsibility. 'We refuse to accept,' he continued, 'the fatalistic Lombrosian theory—since largely discredited—of pathological peculiarities and innate instincts; or the facile and equally unfounded generalization of what is called "la complicitè sociale"'. Anthony J. Mamo, 'Some Thoughts on Crime Treatment and Prevention'. Address given at the graduation ceremony of the University of Malta, 1 October 1949. National Library of Malta.

[77] Sellin, 'Enrico Ferri', p. 489.

[78] Paul Cassar, 'Notes on the History of Psychiatry in Malta' *History of Psychiatry* 6 (1995), pp. 489-90.

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