

The People of Valletta
1900-1935:
An Overview



University of Malta Library – Electronic Thesis & Dissertations (ETD) Repository

The copyright of this thesis/dissertation belongs to the author. The author's rights in respect of this work are as defined by the Copyright Act (Chapter 415) of the Laws of Malta or as modified by any successive legislation.

Users may access this full-text thesis/dissertation and can make use of the information contained in accordance with the Copyright Act provided that the author must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the prior permission of the copyright holder.

**The People of Valletta
1900-1935:
An overview**

Marie Christine Bezzina

Dissertation presented to
The Institute of Maltese Studies, University of Malta
In part fulfilment of the requirements for the
Masters Degree in Maltese Studies
June 2021



L-Università
ta' Malta

FACULTY/INSTITUTE/CENTRE/SCHOOL INSTITUTE OF MALTESE STUDIES

DECLARATIONS BY POSTGRADUATE STUDENTS

Student's Code 173174 M

Student's Name & Surname MARIE CHRISTINE BEZZINA

Course M.A. in MALTESE STUDIES

Title of Dissertation

PEOPLE OF VALLETTA

1900 - 1935

(a) Authenticity of Dissertation

I hereby declare that I am the legitimate author of this Dissertation and that it is my original work.

No portion of this work has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or institution of higher education.

I hold the University of Malta harmless against any third party claims with regard to copyright violation, breach of confidentiality, defamation and any other third party right infringement.

(b) Research Code of Practice and Ethics Review Procedures

I declare that I have abided by the University's Research Ethics Review Procedures.
Research Ethics & Data Protection form code 7439 17122020

As a Master's student, as per Regulation 58 of the General Regulations for University Postgraduate Awards, I accept that should my dissertation be awarded a Grade A, it will be made publicly available on the University of Malta Institutional Repository.

Signature of Student

MARIE CHRISTINE BEZZINA

Name of Student (in Caps)

30th JUNE 2021

Date

30.01.2020



L-Università
ta' Malta

FACULTY/INSTITUTE/CENTRE/SCHOOL INSTITUTE OF MALTESE STUDIES

Student's I.D. /Code 173174 (M)

Student's Name & Surname MARIE CHRISTINE BEZZINA

Course M.A. in MALTESE STUDIES

Title of Dissertation/Thesis

PEOPLE OF VALLETTA
1900 - 1935

I am hereby submitting my dissertation/thesis for examination by the Board of Examiners.

Signature of Student

MARIE CHRISTINE BEZZINA

Name of Student (in Caps)

30th JUNE 2021

Date

Submission noted.

PROF. JOHN CHIRCOP

Principal Supervisor
(in Caps)

Signature

30th JUNE 2021

Date

*To my boys,
Joseph, John, Peter and Andrew.*

Preface

Although I was not born and bred in Valletta, I have city blood running in my veins. Both my parents are *Beltn* and therefore Valletta has always been an integral part of my life. Moreover, I have lived in the city for almost two decades of my adulthood, and felt I was at home. The aim of this thesis is to analyse the reasons why people came to live in Valletta during a particular period and called it home, where they used to live, and what was their occupation from which they earned a living.

The work would not have been completed without the encouragement, guidance and help of so many people to whom I feel incredibly indebted. First and foremost, I would like to thank Prof. Henry Frendo, Prof. Carmel Cassar and the Institute of Maltese Studies for providing me with this opportunity to further my studies.

I would like to express my deepest appreciation to my supervisor Prof. John Chircop for his expertise, availability, support and consideration.

I'd like to acknowledge the assistance of the librarians at the National Library in Valletta, those at the National Archives in Rabat and those at the Melitensia Section within the University of Malta library. Moreover, heartfelt thanks go to Marisa Calleja, senior assistant librarian at Giovanni Curmi Higher Secondary School, for always being there when I needed to consult or borrow Melitensia books throughout the course.

Several people provided me with invaluable insights and extensive knowledge amongst which are Mr. Michael Cassar and Mr. Michael Galea.

Particularly helpful during these times were my colleagues, Laura, Maria and Adrian who showed their unwavering support.

I'm extremely grateful to my parents who have instilled in me the drive to fulfil my goals.

I cannot begin to express my deepest gratitude to my husband, Joseph, for the constant support in all my endeavours and to my sons, John, Peter and Andrew for their understanding when I was absent, and their interest about my studies with whom I was happy to share my experience.

Table of Contents

<i>Preface</i>		vi
<i>Table of Contents</i>		vii
<i>Figures and Graphs</i>		viii
<i>Illustrations</i>		ix
<i>Appendices</i>		x
<u>Introduction</u>		1
<u>Chapter 1</u>	Demographics	6
<u>Chapter 2</u>	Housing	30
<u>Chapter 3</u>	Employment	56
<u>Conclusion</u>		82
Appendices		86
Bibliography		93

Figures and Graphs

Fig.1.1	Civil Population of Malta, the Urban District and Valletta	10
Fig.1.2	The Civil Population of Valletta according to age	12
Fig.1.3	A sample of Passport Applications of Valletta residents between 1900-1905 which totalled 386	14
Fig.1.4	Valletta population by gender	16
Fig.1.5	The birth rate of the Valletta Population 1900-1935	17
Fig.1.6	The birth rate in Valletta per month for the period 1900-1935	18
Fig.1.7	Table showing mortality in quinquennial and decennial age groups for the period 1903-1935	19
Fig.1.8	Table showing cases of and deaths from notable infectious diseases between 1903 and 1935	23
Fig.2.1	A statistic of non-residential dwellings to be found in the Valletta between 1891 and 1931	31
Fig.2.2	Inspection of shops carried out in 1903-04	33
Fig.2.3	Land and buildings, amongst which those to be found in Valletta, which were held by the War Office and the Admiralty	34
Fig.2.4	A statistic of residential dwellings to be found in the Valletta/Urban district between 1891 and 1931	36
Fig.2.5	List of works carried out in Valletta dwellings under the supervision of the Department of Public Health	37
Fig.2.6	A voting list of those residing in several streets of Valletta in 1900	38
Fig.3.1	The classification of occupations of the Valletta residents	60
Fig.3.2	The classification of the Professional Class	62
Fig.3.3	The classification of the Commercial Class	64
Fig.3.4	The classification of the Industrial Class 1891 - 1911	67
Fig.3.5	The classification of the Industrial Class 1921 -1931	68
Fig.3.6	Revision of salaries of those working in the civil service 1919	74
Fig.3.7	A sample of Passport Applications of Valletta residents between 1906-1918	78

Illustrations

Fig. 0.1	A map of the city of Valletta	1
Fig. 2.7	The Slum areas around the periphery of Valletta	43
Fig. 2.8	The Manderaggio as seen from Strada Santa Lucia	44
Fig. 2.9	Strada San Nikola on the the day the buildings were demolished	46
Fig. 2.10	The Ghetto Slum	47
Fig. 2.11	Tenders to lease tenements in Valletta	49

Appendices

Appendix 1	Class I – Professional
Appendix 2	Class II – Domestic
Appendix 3	Class III – Commercial
Appendix 4	Class IV – Agricultural
Appendix 5	Class V – Industrial (1891, 1901, 1911)
Appendix 6	Class V – Industrial (1921, 1931)
Appendix 7	Class VI – Unoccupied and unproductive

Introduction

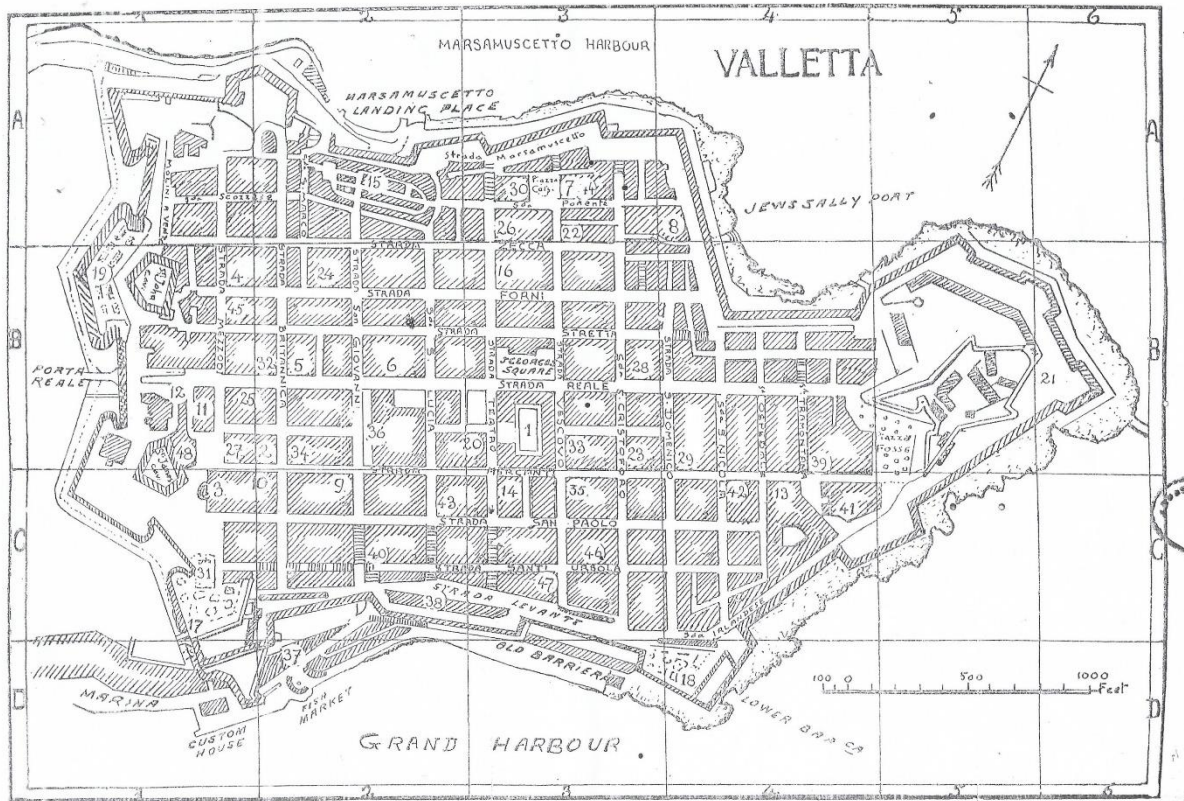


Fig. 0.1 A map of the city of Valletta
Source: Valletta - A Historical Sketch, Them. Zammit (1918)

Ever since it became a fortress-city and the capital of Malta, Valletta has fascinated a lot of scholars. It became the seat of administration and the point where all sorts of business and entertainment activities unfolded. Various historians have studied and written about different aspects of Valletta and how they perceived the city. The fortifications and architectural features have mesmerised plenty of authors who speak about the luxurious opulence to be found in the palaces and churches that stud the city. Others focus on the main harbours and the maritime activity on both sides of Valletta, it being a peninsula. The cultural aspect which the city had to offer in terms of both historical and entertainment has also been a major point of interest. Needless to say, the political scenario has always been a focal point, especially during the British era which was a time when the social nation came alive and participation in public

activities increased multifold. Albeit all this, what role did the residents of Valletta play and how were they effected?

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to seek to examine and understand the daily livelihoods of the people living in the city during a particular period of time. The study has a close look at three main themes: the demographic aspect of the population of Valletta and why it fluctuated during the period in study; the housing and sanitary conditions, depending always on the wellbeing of the individual; the employment sector and the variety of occupations by which the residents of Valletta earned their living. Why did people opt to come and live in the city and for what reason did they choose to remain here even though there was a serious problem of overcrowding? Furthermore, which class of people opted to call Valletta their hometown? What type of residential buildings could be found in the city and what modifications were necessary to accommodate the population? What jobs did the residents have and was it on account of class or of gender?

The period chosen is from the turn of the twentieth century till just before the outbreak of World War II, a time which caused such turmoil all over the island, especially in the Grand Harbour area. Although the first few decades of the nineteenth century were disrupted by the plague and the Napoleonic wars, around 1837, trends began to change. This was so as more vessels were calling at the Grand Harbour and the revenues of the administration, together with public works spending, increased.¹ The opening of the Suez Canal and the unifications of Germany and Italy together with the policies of the great powers to expand in the Mediterranean, marked a defining moment in the British occupation of Malta. The island became a strategic link between Europe and the Levant² and placed the island in the centre of international traffic. However, prosperity was short-lived and the 1890s brought a reversal of former trends as the harbour boom was over.

For such reason, when presenting my data, I also included those statistics given in the 1891 census in order to have a broader insight of the situation at the turn of the century. The population was always on the increase, as a result of which so was unemployment. To exacerbate the situation, the economic position of Malta could not

¹ Brian Blouet, *The Story of Malta 8th edition* (Mrieħel, Allied Publications, 2017), 157-158

² Carmel Cassar, *A Concise History of Malta* (Msida, Mireva, 2000), 179-180

be improved. The competition in the Mediterranean together with no alternative markets caused havoc and the British government created labour with the building of the breakwater in the Grand Harbour and other public works projects around the island. In British Malta, economic boom was always followed by depression being that the island depended on imperial spending. When the works ceased, crisis followed until World War I when the port region was once again in full activity resulting in an economic revival. This was short-lived and the tension reached a peak on 7 June 1919, when rioting broke out in Valletta, due to both a grave economic and a political situation. In 1921 a modified form of responsible government was given to Malta whereby consequently the control of the island was divided between the Maltese Imperial Government and the Maltese Government. In the 1920s and 1930s, a politically charged issue in relation to language, triggered a debate over whether the domineering language on the islands should be Italian or English. Whilst the Nationalist Party and the Church favoured Italian, Strickland's Constitutional Party and the Labour Party saw the importance of English.³ On 21 August 1934, Maltese was declared to be an official language alongside English and Italian. In practice, English alone was the medium of administration and public notices, and the increased tensions between Britain and Italy due to Italy's alliance with Nazi Germany in 1936 meant the cutoff to the official use of Italian in Malta.⁴ This brings us to the end of the decade, a time when the world was plunging headlong into World War II. When the war did break out, the Maltese Islands were hit very hard, suffering fierce bombardment and starvation. The areas worst effected were the cities around the port.

During the period in study, Valletta was not only the venue for political activities and public demonstrations of protest but it also was the site where celebrations like carnival and processions of the titular feasts of the Valletta parishes and of Corpus Christi took place. British and foreign nobilities, such as the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York,⁵ Kaiser Wilhelm II and Empress Augusta Victoria,⁶

³ Brian Blouet, *The Story of Valletta: A Companion to the City* (Valletta, Allied Publications, 2009), 39

⁴ Joseph M.Brincat 'The Language Question and Education: a Political Controversy on a Linguistic Topic', in *Yesterday's Schools: Readings in Maltese Educational History*, Ronald G. Sultana (ed.) PEG Ltd., San Gwann 2001, pp. 157

⁵ Joseph Bonnici & Michael Cassar, *A Chronicle of Twentieth Century Malta* (San Gwann, Book Distributors Limited, 2004),⁷

⁶ *ibid.*, 39

Prince Hirohito of Japan,⁷ King Albert of Belgium in 1925⁸ and King Alfonso XIII of Spain in 1927⁹ paid a visit to Malta where the streets of the capital city were purposely adorned for such special occasions. The visit by Edward VII, being the first sovereign to visit the island in 1903,¹⁰ that of George V and Queen Mary in 1912¹¹ and the Prince of Wales in 1921,¹² always culminated in an extensive round of luscious dinners, ceremonial inspections and spectacular parades. The International Eucharist Congress held in April 1913 was a great success despite the country's limitations and this event was attended by delegates, cardinals, bishops and prominent Catholics worldwide.¹³

How did all these episodes in the history of the Island effect the people of Valletta? How did they feel about being always at the centre of such occasions? Did the population of the city increase and decrease according to such events? Did it effect the conditions of their living habitat and the rent they had to pay? Were their jobs provoked and what solution did they find when no jobs were available?

One of the problems encountered in researching this period was the scarcity of information about the fields of study I was focusing on. This is because most of the literature covering the British era focuses on the seventeenth century, a time when having Malta was considered to be an all-important outpost of the Empire, a fortress colony with the best natural harbours in the Mediterranean.¹⁴ However, the Covid-19 restrictions were the major setback that disrupted my flow of work. The National Archives, the National Libraries and the University Melitensia library were closed for a period of time or accepting by appointment a very limited number of persons and therefore I could not continue to collect data for my research or borrow relevant literature as much as I wished to. Moreover, books and documents were kept in quarantine for 72 hours and therefore they were not always available. The librarians were very helpful and they did their best to assist me and to ensure that I had the relevant documents at hand when possible.

⁷ *ibid.*, 88

⁸ *ibid.*, 107

⁹ *ibid.*, 113

¹⁰ *ibid.*, 17

¹¹ *ibid.*, 53

¹² *ibid.*, 91

¹³ *ibid.*, 58-59

¹⁴ Henry Frendo, *Europe and Empire: Culture, Politics and Identity in Malta and the Mediterranean* (Sta. Venera, Midesea Books, 2012), 172

Research was conducted primarily at the National Archives in Rabat and the National Library in Valletta. Data was collected from the census of the Maltese Islands for the years 1891 to 1931, from reports issued by the various appointed commissions to study different aspects of administrative and social struggles that were troubling the British government, and from the reports of the government departments. Such findings were supported by different studies, discoveries and results conducted by professionals who in turn published their work, either in books or in journals. Some of this literature was researched on site as it could not be borrowed and this was mostly done at the Melitensia section of the University of Malta library. Also, a good choice on books for my perusal was borrowed from the National Library in Floriana whilst other relevant articles could be accessed online.

Such analyses are portrayed in the following chapters. Chapter 1 will interpret the demographic changes of Valletta and its conurbation, later referred to as the Valletta district, throughout the study period, with a closer look to gender and age. Chapter 2 will evaluate the various typologies of dwellings within the different established neighbourhoods of the city and their residents. Chapter 3 will analyse the various traditional occupations, the introduction of new trades to address the needs of the city and its occupants, and the association between occupations and gender.

Chapter 1

Demographics

Introduction

Modern Maltese history has been characterised by the Island's role as a strategic commercial and naval-military station in the Mediterranean – with its Valletta harbour functioning as a key entrepôt and trans-shipment port between Southern Europe and North Africa. Hence, maritime activities have always characterised Malta's economy in history and much more as from the 1800s,¹⁵ when the islands formed part of the British Empire. Throughout that period, the Royal Navy came to appreciate the value of its new base in the Grand Harbour – this being one of the finest natural harbours in the Mediterranean.¹⁶ Malta's Grand Harbour gradually developed as the core of the Island's economic activities during the first years of British rule where the harbour waters were divided between the naval and mercantile sectors.¹⁷

Political and intra-imperial rivalries in the Mediterranean caused the Admiralty to considerably increase the size of the fleet and the dockyard. Consequently, service facilities were expanded to meet the needs of the fleet. The dockyard was then to be considered the largest employer in the Islands with the opening of the first drydocks in 1848.¹⁸ Furthermore, with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the Grand Harbour became an essential coaling station and a sensitive imperial hub, linking the Island with the rest of the British imperial network.¹⁹ The population, which was always on the increase, shifted from the countryside to the urban and suburban areas around the harbour²⁰ because of labour opportunities. This caused overcrowding, especially in Valletta, where even though the city was the first to benefit from the

¹⁵ John Chircop, 'Maltese Maritime Historiography: A Critical Assessment' in *New Directions in Mediterranean Maritime History*, G.Harlaftis and C.Vassallo (eds.) St.John's, Newfondland 2004, 91

¹⁶ Peter Elliot, *The Cross and the Ensign: A Naval Hostory of Malta 1798-1979* (Cambridge, Peter Stephens Limited, 1980), 52

¹⁷ John Chircop, 'Evolution of a Harbour Infrastructure: from Mertantile to Naval Control', *Melita Historica*, 12, (1997) 209

¹⁸ Peter Elliot, 51-52

¹⁹ John Chircop, (1997), 209

²⁰ Edward L. Zammit, *A Colonial Inheritance: Maltese Perceptions of Work, Power and Class Structure with reference to the Labour Movement* (Msida, Malta University Press, 1984), 11

drainage scheme, a fact which should have reduced the spreading of diseases, overpopulation, bad hygienic conditions and poor housing remained the cause of a high mortality rate, especially amongst infants.

The increasing reliance of the Island's economy upon military spending, offered no stable means of living but brought fluctuations according to the current international situation and the tactical decisions taken by the Colonial and War office in London.²¹ At the turn of the twentieth century, increased Government expenditure and Imperial needs guaranteed jobs through the creation of extraordinary works in the harbour area. Once these terminated, unemployment increased²² and the difficulty of finding work at home, made the Maltese worker opt for emigration as a solution to this problem.²³ Male Valletta residents were also away from the island during World War I, where military units volunteered for service overseas in the Dardanelles and Salonika campaign.²⁴

This first chapter seeks to examine the population of the urban district of the city of Valletta according to age and gender, for the period in study. This study will contextualise - and hence interpret - the actual demographic shifts against the economic and social background of the time. Reasons for the birth and death rates are also fully examined.

The Harbour District

Events which happened beyond Maltese shores have left an impact on the Islands' development – both in economic and social terms – which in turn determined demographic shifts and changing population patterns. Hence, it becomes immediately evident with established major shifts in labour trends as Malta witnessed mass inter-island population mobility.²⁵ Therefore the main pull factor that caused the movement

²¹ Edward L.Zammit, 12

²² Ruth Vella *Malta Under Crown Colony Rule 1933-39* (unpublished thesis, B.A. Hons. History, University of Malta 1995), 5

²³ Fr.Lawrence Attard, *Early Maltese Emigration: 1900-1914* (Valletta, Gulf Publications, 1983), 2

²⁴ Brian Blouet, *The Story of Malta* (Mrieħel, Progress Press Co. Ltd, 2017), 181

²⁵ Louis Cassar, 'Settlement Patterns in the Maltese Islands: from Early Civilization to Pre-Independence', *GeoJournal* 41.2 (1997), 137

of the population to the Grand Harbour's fortified enclosures was the growing demand for labour from the naval and commercial establishments.²⁶

The Grand Harbour became Malta's central point for the main economic activities on the island and this steered to internal demographic and social transformations. The largest proportion of the labouring class was made up of coalheavers, carriers, porters and stevedores, amongst others, who became dependent on port activities.²⁷ At the beginning of the 19th century, the population of the harbour area grew slowly, having one-fourth of the population of Malta residing in the towns of Valletta, Floriana and those of the Cottonera.²⁸ The Islands' commercial interests became marine-oriented instead of agricultural-based, and therefore the need for stronger economic development of the port area was felt.

The main harbour of the Island had become a hub of activity, especially after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 - where this area turned out to be an important staging post for warships, troops and stores. This was besides its chief role of coaling station to steam ships.²⁹ The frequency of such ships in and out of the harbour opened-up further employment opportunities in the mercantile and naval facilities – which had already started in the 1840s – but took on a defined pattern as from the 1870s. Indeed, from the mid-1840s, records show increasing human crowding in the harbour district due to the inflow of households migrating from the economically poor agricultural areas of the Island.³⁰ The economic activity generated by naval and military movements became, to thousands of families in Malta, their livelihood. It was almost felt that the Navy was here for their benefit but soon they learnt that such affluence was artificial and that as the colony failed to develop a stable home industry, prosperity fluctuated.³¹

²⁶ John Chicop, (2004), 97

²⁷ John Chircop, (1997), 211

²⁸ L.H.Dudley Buxton, 'Malta: An Anthropogeographical Study', *Geographical Review*, vol.14, no.1, (1924), 85

²⁹ Peter Elliot, 53

³⁰ John Chicop, 'Female vulnerabilities and coping strategies in the poor neighbourhoods of the three colonial port districts: Corfu, Malta and Gibraltar: 1815-1870', in *Vulnerability, Social Inequality and Health*, J.Chircop and P.Bourdelaïs (eds.) Edicoles Colibri, Lisboa 2010, 37

³¹ Henry Frendo. *Europe and Empire: Culture, Politics and Identity in Malta and the Mediterranean* (Sta.Venera, Midsea Books Ltd., 2012), 25

In the years to follow, from time to time the British inspected the defences of Malta as military technology was moving fast, and according to a report produced in 1877 by J.L.A. Simmons, General of Forts, no expense was to be spared to make the islands as strong as could be. This was so because of its strategic position and also because it would have been difficult to maintain a fleet in the Mediterranean without possessing Malta. Moreover, if it were in the hands of others, it would have resulted in a dangerous situation, leading to an obstruction in the route to the Suez Canal and the Levant.³² Therefore, armoured ships and new armoured-piercing guns were ordered, new lines of fortifications were built and the garrison was doubled.

However, despite such efforts, matters started to take a nose-dive when Algiers and Tunis set themselves up as competing coaling stations for the ships passing through the Mediterranean. Furthermore, imports were by far greater than exports, especially as the population of Malta was always on the increase and the Maltese Islands had no natural resources. This resulted in an even greater dependence on military and naval spending, and great concern was felt when related issues were regularly debated and modified in London, when it was also considered whether to withdraw the fleet from Malta.³³ Moreover, the Grand Harbour Question was going on, which entailed disagreements between the Admiralty and the Chamber of Commerce as they both claimed that due to the great number of ships in the harbour, they were obstructing each other. The Maltese side feared that the warning of the Admiralty to abandon the Maltese waters and seek anchorage elsewhere was not a charade and this would have meant the worst for local economic activities.³⁴ All this had an impact on the inhabitants of the Grand Harbour's area as can be noted in Fig.1.1.

³² Peter Elliot, 54

³³ Peter Elliot, 58

³⁴ John Chircop (1997), 215

Civil Population			
	Malta	District	Valletta
1891	146,484	57,215	23,779
1901	164,952	54,625	22,680
1911	188,869	55,368	22,882
1921	189,697	53,463	22,392
1931	217,784	55,439	22,776

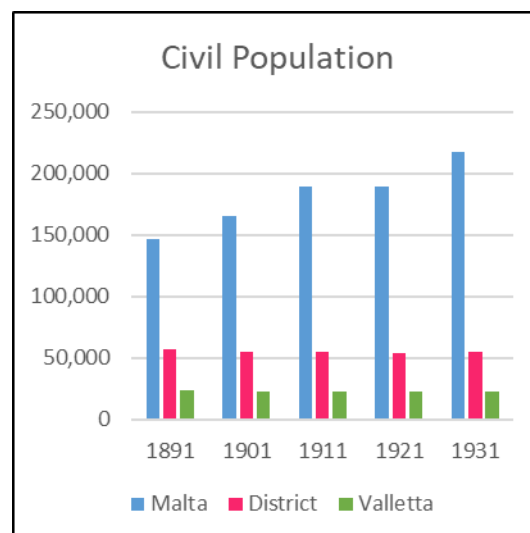


Fig. 1.1 Civil Population of Malta, the Urban District and Valletta
Source: The Census of the Maltese Islands 1931

The table shows that although the population of Malta was on the rise, with an increase of almost nineteen thousand people in 1901, the Urban District, comprising Valletta, Floriana, Vittoriosa, Cospiscua and Senglea, suffered a decrease of about three thousand in its population. A reason for such a decline was due to a stagnation in labour but also to the fact that road construction and public transportation facilitated the links between the urban centres and the nearby satellite towns. A railway connected Mtarfa and the limits of Mtarfa, to Valletta via Hamrun, and therefore the overflowing population of Valletta contributed to the expansion of the towns in the vicinity. The coastal suburbs of Valletta, which were originally developed as summer vacation districts for the capital's inhabitants, such as Sliema, became a residential district.³⁵ Population increase in the suburbs does not seem to have taken place at the expense of the city³⁶ for as one can note in Fig.1.1, the population of Valletta remained stable.

At the turn of the new century, the open polemic which ensued between the Chamber of Commerce and the Admiralty came to a halt. In 1901 the council of government saw no other solution but of totally surrendering to the Admiralty

³⁵ Louis Cassar, 142

³⁶ Carmel Cassar, 'Everyday Life in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', in *The British Colonial Experience 1800-1964: The Impact on Maltese Society*, V.Mallia Milanes (ed.) M.A.P.E. Ltd., Msida 1988, 94

demands where the most important zones of the Grand Harbour came under the direct control of the naval-imperial authorities.³⁷ Moreover, the Board of the Admiralty pressed on nevertheless with the development of the base of Malta, and as a demonstration of the British resolve, in 1903, King Edward VII made a ceremonial visit to Malta. Whilst he was here, he laid the foundation stone of the new breakwater which was to be built to protect the Grand Harbour.³⁸ The Royal Commission of 1911-1912 reported that between 1903 and 1906 the revenue showed considerable elasticity, resulting from this single project and other extraordinary works commenced by the Civil Government.³⁹ The demands for skilled labour was such that nearly 11,000 workers and labourers were involved and all the unemployed were fully occupied. Many workers from the outlying districts took up residence around the Grand Harbour.⁴⁰

Valletta's population

Whilst in 1901 the civil population of Malta was, roughly speaking, equally distributed among the urban, suburb and rural groups, in 1921, the proportion in the urban group declined to 28 per cent, that in the suburban group rose to 39 per cent whilst the proportion in the rural group remained practically stationary at 33 per cent. Therefore, two thirds of the civil population of Malta lived in the neighbourhood of towns and harbours within a radius of 4 kilometres from Valletta. Practically, therefore, the whole population of Malta was grouped within a radius of 9 kilometres from the focus of its economic life – the Grand Harbour.⁴¹ If it was not for limitations of space, the population of Valletta would have increased in the same proportion as that of the Maltese Islands.⁴²

³⁷ John Chircop (1997), 216

³⁸ Peter Elliot, 62-63

³⁹ *Royal Commission Report 1912*, 12

⁴⁰ Dr. Charles Boffa, *Malta's Grand Harbour and its Environs in War and Peace* (Mrieħel, progress Press Co.Ltd, 2000), 3

⁴¹ *The Census of the Maltese Islands 1921*, 5

⁴² *The Census of the Maltese Islands 1921*, 9

Valletta Population						
	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	Total
UNDER 5	2,603	2,295	2,362	2,197	2,179	11,636
5-	2,074	2,178	2,328	1,966	2,379	10,925
10-	2,120	2,100	2,287	2,282	2,052	10,841
15-	2,334	2,205	2,411	2,362	1,942	11,254
20-	2,230	2,327	2,290	2,203	2,319	11,369
25-	2,015	1,963	1,762	1,802	1,805	9,347
30-	1,993	1,795	1,725	1,664	1,760	8,937
35-	1,435	1,394	1,400	1,299	1,532	7,060
40-	1,586	1,558	1,481	1,462	1,449	7,536
45-	1,094	1,090	1,085	1,140	1,135	5,544
50-	1,252	1,190	1,208	1,234	1,212	6,096
55-	659	697	757	765	884	3,762
60-	910	767	766	866	799	4,108
65-	479	351	453	455	461	2,199
70-	435	318	334	375	368	1,830
75-	224	167	124	164	192	871
80-	136	120	73	88	73	490
85-	47	37	25	18	30	157
90-	12	18	8	3	5	46
95-	5	3	3	0	0	11
100 & UPWARDS	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total	23,644	22,573	22,882	22,345	22,576	114,020

Fig. 1.2 The Civil Population of Valletta according to age
Source: The Census of the Maltese Islands 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931

If we look at Fig.1.2 and analyse the age groups that formed part of the population of the city, it is clearly noted that those under 5 years of age are the largest group throughout the period in study. This suggests that the families consisted of numerous young members, on average five or more children, and although infant mortality was high, the population of the young was still substantial. The numbers remain constant till the 25-year-old age group. This portrays the fact that till that age, youths were still living with their family in the city.

The major development that took place in terms of settlement evolution had a significant impact on the Marsamxett Harbour and Grand Harbour District.⁴³ Families

⁴³ George A. Said-Zammit, 'Settlement Evolution in Malta from the Late Middle Ages to the Early Twentieth Century and its impact on Domestic Space', in *C Temple landscapes : fragility, change and resilience of Holocene environments in the Maltese Islands*, C. French, C. O. Hunt, R. Grima, R. McLaughlin, S. Stoddart & C. Malone (eds.) McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge 2020, 298

from the rural areas migrated to the city in search for employment opportunities but most of them lived in the poor quarters of the city. By necessity, even children filled the ranks of those employed in tobacco processing and the production of cigars and cigarettes.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the work productive bracket of the population started at the age of 25 where Fig.1.2 shows a drop in numbers, especially from 1911 onwards.

The labouring poor were always in search of work, and unemployment and poverty prompted them to leave the islands by demanding economic requisites. They sought territories in geographical proximity to Malta as a short-distant journey was essential to keep the initial expenses of migration as low as possible. Chain-migration networks were organised towards specific North African and Levantine ports to which most of the poor made the crossing in numerous small sailing vessels, owned or manned by relatives or friends. Settling as near as possible to their home island also meant that they could return periodically to visit and maintain strong links with their households.⁴⁵

Moreover, the expanding population of the Maltese Islands where too many civilians were crowded in a restricted space, had become a major headache that was troubling the British Administration. This much was hinted by Sir Charles Mansfield Clark, then British Governor of Malta when on 1 Nov. 1903 he was addressing the new Legislative assembly in Valletta. The British considered emigration as a possible solution to the overpopulation of the island but never involved themselves in organising emigration.⁴⁶ The Royal Commission Report of 1912 had drawn attention to the density of the population that intensified every year as a result of the high birth-rate. It continued to state that the number of Maltese who were settling in the Mediterranean littoral was not sufficient to meet the rapid increase of the island's population and therefore it was necessary to discover places elsewhere for emigration.⁴⁷ Nonetheless, till 1914, this procedure continued in a very unplanned

⁴⁴ John Chircop (2010), 42

⁴⁵ John Chircop, 'So Far and Yet So Near: Ionian and Maltese Migrant Networks of Support in the Southern and Eastern Countries of the Mediterranean: 1800-1870' in *The Price of Life: Welfare Systems, Social Nets and Economic Growth*, L. Abrev and P. Bourdelais (eds.) Edicoles Colibri, Lisbon 2007, 333-337

⁴⁶ Fr. Lawrence Attard, (1983), 1-4

⁴⁷ *The Royal Commission Report 1912*, 27

manner where the emigrant had to plan his future on his own because hardly anybody was willing to help him.⁴⁸

Passport No.	Date of issue	Surname	Name	Occupation	Parish	Destintion
274	1904	Abela	Antonio	not stated	St.Paul	USA
164	1905	Abela	Arturo	not stated	Portus Salutis	Egypt
150	1902	A bela	Giuseppe	not stated	St.Paul	illegible
187	1900	Abela	Lorenzo	not stated	St.Paul	Egypt
142	1904	Abela	Salvatore	not stated	Portus Salutis	Tunisia
130	1904	Agius	Emanuel	not stated	St.Paul	Italy
114	1905	Agius	francesco	not stated	St.Paul	Libya
199	1904	Agius	francesco	not stated	St.Paul	Italy
174	1901	Agius	Lino	not stated	St.Paul	Italy
104	1905	Agius	Michele	not stated	Portus Salutis	Egypt
33	1903	Agius	Paolo	not stated	Portus Salutis	USA
143	1904	Agius	Paolo	not stated	Portus Salutis	Tunisia
64	1905	Aloisio	Luigi	not stated		Gibraltar
279	1902	Amato	Alfredo	not stated	Portus Salutis	Italy
62	1903	Annati	Elizabetta	not stated	Portus Salutis	Egypt
120	1901	Aquilina	Antonio	not stated	Portus Salutis	Italy
282	1905	Aquilina	Carmelo	not stated	Portus Salutis	Tunisia
125	1901	Aquilina	Giovanni	not stated	Portus Salutis	Italy
146	1905	Attard	Alfredo	not stated	Portus Salutis	Egypt
112	1902	Attard	Armando	not stated	St.Paul	England
104	1904	Attard	Edward	not stated	St.Paul	illegible
221	1902	Attard	Luigi	not stated	Portus Salutis	USA
137	1901	Attard	Vincenzo	not stated	St.Paul	Tunisia
32	1903	Audibert	Carmelo	not stated	Portus Salutis	Greece
81	1900	Axisa	Carmelo	not stated	Portus Salutis	Egypt
1	1900	Axisa	Georgio	not stated	Portus Salutis	Egypt
159	1901	Azzopardi	Agostino	not stated	Portus Salutis	Italy
165	1902	Azzopardi	Alfredo	not stated	St.Paul	Egypt
252	1900	Azzopardi	Antonio	not stated	St.Paul	Libya
464	1900	Azzopardi	Antonio	not stated	St.Paul	USA
98	1902	Azzopardi	Carmelo	not stated	Portus Salutis	Italy
202	1901	Azzopardi	Carmelo	not stated	Portus Salutis	Egypt
467	1900	Azzopardi	Carmelo	not stated	Portus Salutis	Tunisia
104	1904	Azzopardi	Francesco	not stated	St.Paul	
350	1905	Azzopardi	Francesco	not stated		Italy
31	1901	Azzopardi	Giuseppe Maria	not stated	St.Paul	Italy
222	1903	Azzopardi	Maria	not stated	Portus Salutis	Italy
259	1903	Azzopardi	Paolo	not stated	St.Paul	Tunisia
138	1900	Azzopardi	Pasquale	not stated	St.Paul	Libya
155	1903	Azzopardi	Rafaela	not stated	Portus Salutis	Algeria
145	1901	Bajada	Carmelo	not stated	St.Paul	Continent
148	1902	Bajada	Giovanni	not stated	Portus Salutis	USA
212	1902	Bajada	Antonia	not stated	Portus Salutis	Italy
3	1904	Bartoli	Pietro	not stated	St.Paul	Egypt
43	1901	Bartolo	Antonio	not stated	Portus Salutis	Egypt
255	1903	Bartolo	Antonio	not stated	St.Paul	Libya
373	1903	Bartolo	Antonio	not stated	Portus Salutis	Egypt
283	1904	Bartolo	Emanuel	not stated	St.Paul	Libya
375	1903	Bartolo	Joseph	not stated	Portus Salutis	Egypt

Fig. 1.3 A sample of Passport Applications of Valletta residents between 1900-1905 which totalled 386

Source: National Archives Malta: NAM_mfa01_passport applications

⁴⁸ Fr. Lawrence Attard, (1983), 1-4

The British authorities had an interest in sustaining such people and so as to maintain the initial expenses of migration as low as possible, they adopted the procedure of putting the names of several of the poorest into one passport. The majority of those willing to attempt this venture were males⁴⁹ as can be seen in Fig.1.3. This gives us an idea about those Valletta inhabitants that were ready to try their fortune at other shores. The list also shows that they had no occupation and therefore they were ready to try their hands at anything that was offered. Workers without a job were considered to be a potential danger to the stability of the political system and to the efficiency of the island as an important Imperial base.

Whilst the British wanted the Maltese to emigrate, most of the Maltese migrants seemingly chose to move to certain areas in the Mediterranean for a short term and then come back to their islands.⁵⁰ Periods of violence or an outbreak of epidemics were the events that prompted the Maltese to return.⁵¹ There was a circular movement of Maltese, mainly to the North African Coast in view of existing trade links but also to other neighbouring ports amongst which we find Sicily, Naples and later on Marseilles.⁵² At the end of World War I, the Royal Navy Dockyard reduced labour, and thousands of skilled workers migrated to be employed in Michigan's automobile factories. In fact, Detroit still has a distinctive Maltese community.⁵³ Between November 1919 and December 1921, more than 14,000 emigrants left the shores of the Maltese Islands,⁵⁴ where between April 1920 and March 1921, the Maltese emigrant chose U.S.A. as the land of their future.⁵⁵ All this resulted in having more females than males in the city and this is manifested in Fig.1.4, especially from 1911 onwards.

⁴⁹ John Chircop (2007), 338

⁵⁰ Joshua.M. Hayes, 'There's no Place like Home: Maltese Migration to French Algeria in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Maltese History*, vol.2, no.1 (2010), 39

⁵¹ Joshua.M. Hayes, (2010), 43

⁵² Louis Cassar, (1997), 142

⁵³ Brian Blouet, (2017), 181

⁵⁴ Fr. Lawrence Attard, *The Great Exodus 1918-1939* (Marsa, PEG Ltd., 1989), 10

⁵⁵ Fr. Lawrence Attard (1989), 38

Valletta Population by Gender									
1891		1901		1911		1921		1931	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
11,539	12,260	11,192	11,488	10,914	11,968	10,406	11,986	10,739	12,037

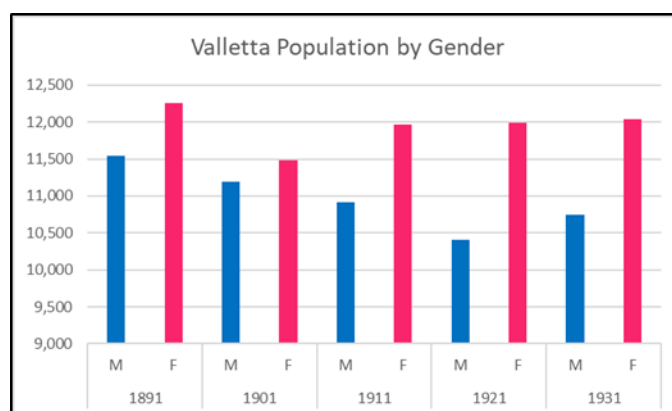


Fig. 1.4 Valletta population by gender.
Source: Census of the Maltese Islands 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931

One must also keep in mind that during World War I, many Maltese were working in the ship repair facilities in Lemnos and a large number were sailors on both British and French ships. The Daily Chronicle reported that almost all British ships had Maltese crew in employment and reports of ship losses invariably included the names of Maltese sailors. Of the over 600 Maltese lives lost, most were killed at sea.⁵⁶ Maltese military units volunteered for service overseas, suffering casualties in the Dardanelles and the Salonika campaign.⁵⁷ Although there was a dominance of male births, the heavier death rate among male children equalized the sexes up to adolescence. However, the male population in the early manhood bracket was reduced to a minority due to migration.⁵⁸

Births

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the birth rate was on the rise. This was the result of an exceptional boom in labour generated by a great increase in British Imperial spending during the period

⁵⁶ David Plowman, 'Malta and the Anzacs', *The Malta Independent*, 8 May 2011

⁵⁷ Brian Blouet (2017), 181

⁵⁸ *The Census of the Maltese Islands 1921*, 11

1903-1906. The Royal Commission of 1912 found out that between 1903 and 1906, Maltese employment had been enhanced to exceptional levels by Imperial expenditure. Major works had been undertaken concurrently, amongst which there was the breakwater at the entrance of the Grand Harbour, two new drydocks and a new wharf.⁵⁹ The Maltese worker felt confident in this span of good fortune, so much so that many married recklessly and the birth rate, always quite high in Malta, increased.⁶⁰ The highest number of births in Valletta in the period in study was in fact in 1906 with a record of 814 births. This can be observed in Fig.1.5.

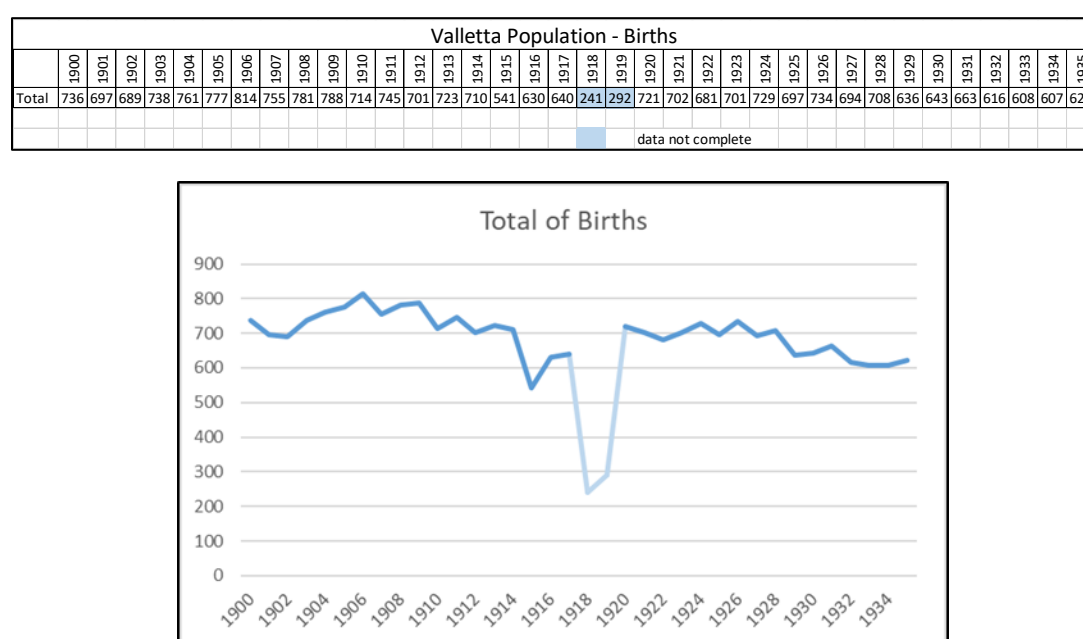


Fig. 1.5 The birth rate of the Valletta Population 1900-1935
Source: Return of Births as part of the Vital Statistics in The Malta Government Gazette Supplement

We can also note that the years to follow show fewer births and this was due to diminished prosperity which resulted during the severe recession Malta faced in 1907. Moreover, in 1915, war-time demographic disruption was felt, and only 541 births are recorded in Valletta. This was so, not only because the Maltese, especially those residing in Valletta, were living an uncertain period of time, but also because of the

⁵⁹ Paul A. Bartolo, War and Social Change – Malta 1914-1919 (unpublished thesis, M.A. History, University of Malta 1982), 14

⁶⁰ A. V. Laferla, *British Malta Vol. II* (Valletta, A.C. Aquilina & Co., 1977), 178

absence from the Islands of a considerable number of men who were on military and naval service.⁶¹ The 721 children born in 1920 was a result of the end of the war and the birth rate seemed to gain momentum in the 1920s. Going onto the 1930s, the rate decreased but kept a steady pace. This might reflect the mindset of the parents who became conscious that it was not wise to have a numerous family when financial circumstances were strained.

Births	Total 1900-1935
January	2,287
February	2,299
March	2,464
April	2,037
May	1,766
June	1,655
July	1,774
August	1,915
September	1,949
October	2,088
November	1,983
December	2,017

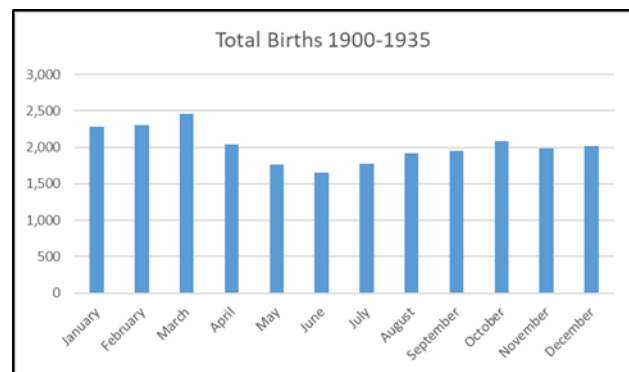


Fig. 1.6 The birth rate in Valletta per month for the period 1900-1935
Source: Return of Births as part of the Vital Statistics in The Malta Government Gazette Supplement

If we look at the births of Valletta residents by month, as shown in Fig.1.6, we notice that the highest rates are those that occurred during the winter months, meaning that these children were conceived between April and July. During such months, it was more prudent to sail back home. Labouring migrants, in their most productive age, made short visits, carrying with them money and gifts for their families. This was because women, children and the aged were left behind to keep the family bond and to protect any material possessions the family had. These short visits nourished intimate emotional attachments and strengthened the migrants' familial support relations.⁶²

⁶¹ Paul A. Bartolo,(1982) , 60

⁶² John Chircop (2007), 349

Deaths

Unfortunately, the high birth rate was accompanied by a high infant mortality despite which the population of Malta still increased steadily. The amount of deaths occurring to those under 1 year of age is quite astonishing. Records of infant mortality rate in the Maltese Islands go back to 1896. They show that until 1943 this mortality was very high and fluctuated between 190 and 310 deaths per 1,000 live-births.⁶³ This was caused by the overcrowding of the population where the low standard of living among the poorer classes and the limited economic resources were surely of no asset to aid in decreasing the mortality rate amongst infants. The mothers had to cater for a family of around six children and so found it difficult to tend and pay enough attention to their infants. Moreover, the lack of sufficient good milk and fresh vegetables together with the very limited earning of the husband tended to aggravate the circumstances.⁶⁴ It was habitual for Maltese women to consume substantially less food than men from already insufficient family meals. Undernourished lactating mothers were found to be unable to cater for the nutritional requirements of their infants, frequently causing them illness of which they often died.⁶⁵

The high mortality rate amongst infants and children under 5 years of age almost equalises the other ages summed up all together, as can be seen in Fig.1.7.

Under 1 yr	Under 5 yrs	5-	10-	15-	20-	25-	35-	45-	55-	65-	75-	85-	95-
4,003	5,542	238	160	265	282	567	675	1,108	1,553	1,950	1,494	434	31

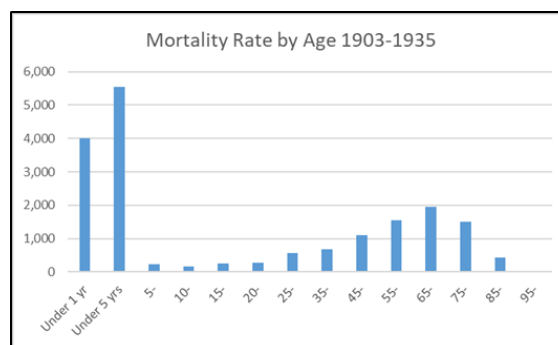


Fig. 1.7 Table showing mortality in quinquennial and decennial age groups for the period 1903-1935

Source: Appendix D in the Appendices of The Malta Government Gazette

⁶³ Walter Ganado 'Infant Mortality in the Maltese Islands' Proceeding of the International Conference 'Condizioni di vita e della salute nel bacino Mediterraneo e del Mar Nero' held in Palermo (Italy), October 17-19, 1963, *Acta medica et sociologica*, v.3, no.2-3 (1964), 237

⁶⁴ Walter Ganado, 'Health Problems in Malta', *British Medical Journal*, vol.1, no.3990 (1937), 1337

⁶⁵ John Chircop (2010), 40-41

More serious obstacles were rooted in the Maltese social life besides malnutrition, one of them being the ignorance of the oldest generation which was imposed on the life of the younger generations. Also the matriarchal tradition in Maltese household was very strong. The family environment was dominated by the grandmother and customs like over-clothing and under-feeding and early use of starchy foods, were difficult to eradicate. The difficulty of educating the population in personal health and hygiene proved insuperable. This was even due to the fact that medical services, particularly in relation to the problem of high infant mortality, developed late and slowly.⁶⁶

The mortality rate in Malta fluctuated considerably. The main factors responsible for the deaths happening were poverty, disease and unsanitary living conditions. Therefore, the main health improvements and the eventual decline in the death rate were a result of upgrades from public works construction of drainage and sewerage systems and a piped water supply in the most populated parts of the islands. Valletta, being an overpopulated city, was to benefit from such resources.⁶⁷ At the end of the nineteenth century, the remodelling of street sewers in Valletta had only first commenced. The drains were made to discharge in the intercepting sewers and a grating was fixed at the point of entry of each one to prevent the passage of improper substances. However, the gratings got choked up by the road debris and this sediment and silt was brought down by the old sewers. Therefore, it was part of the flushers' job to continually inspect and clean these gratings, especially after rain.⁶⁸ Moreover, the building laws required amendments as under the existing law of 1903, it was possible to oblige house owners to remodel their drains, but wherever the Department of Health had tried to enforce the remodelling of house drains, the result had been that the drains were either abolished altogether or remodelled and seldom used. This was due to the owners being too poor to undertake the cost of remodelling drains or to the tenants being unable to afford the expense of cleaning the cesspits and this led to worse health hazards. The only remedy was ensuring that modifying of house drains was made compulsory and the cesspits were cleaned at the public's expense.⁶⁹ The general

⁶⁶ H.Bowen-Jones, J.C.Dewdney and W.B.Fisher, *Malta: Background and Development* (Durham, Department of Durham College, 1961), 177

⁶⁷ H.Bowen-Jones, J.C.Dewdney and W.B.Fisher, (1961), 129

⁶⁸ *Malta Drainage Report of the Working of the Scheme During 1883*. Government Printing Office, (1884)

⁶⁹ Report and Statistics Respecting Public Health in these Islands in the *Report on the Working Government Departments*, Section J, 1903-04

improvement in the sanitation of the Island contributed to the general fall in the death rate.

Despite having a good water supply, a drainage system, and an improved sanitation system, it can be observed that the death rate is slightly higher in the city due to overcrowding.⁷⁰ Development in preventive remedial medicine and in disease control were slowly maintained and were effective in reducing mortality.⁷¹ Nevertheless, one can't help but notice in Fig.1.7, the low age of life expectancy, where most deaths occurred between the age of 45 and 75. Published reports of health in Malta prior to WWII consistently point out that mortality in urban Malta can be ascribed to countless inter-related problems related to indifference and poverty. These include: the contagion of the public and private water supply, faulty or non-existent house drainage, the contamination of food by flies between May and November, the irrigation of vegetables with substances of cesspools, an infested milk supply, ignorance of feeding practices and private hygiene. The situation was further compounded by the ubiquitous presence of night soil and house refuse together with improper storage of food.⁷² Moreover, the human congestion of impoverished families located in shabby slum tenements was of no help. The neighbourhoods of the harbour area were also affected by the pollution emanating from the nearby naval yards and mercantile facilities. The frequently recorded toxic stench, the coal dust and the smog as well as the industrial waste which washed up on the shore⁷³ increased the risk of dying young.

Deaths caused by contagious diseases

Disease, arising out of bad hygienic conditions and poor housing, spread with considerable speed. The social conditions of certain strata were overlooked, especially when the focus was on how to derive profits from trade. Economy booms affected the city's demography and the high levels of overcrowding led to a very low quality of life.

⁷⁰ *Malta Royal Commission Report 1912 – Minutes of Evidence*, Evidence of The Hon.Prof.F.Debono, 162

⁷¹ H.Bowen-Jones, J.C.Dewdney and W.B.Fisher, (1961), 129

⁷² Larry A.Sawchuk, 'Deconstructing Colonial Health Differentials: Malta and Gibraltar Prior to World War II', *Journal of Maltese History*, no.1 (2008),31

⁷³ John Chircop (2010), 38

The colonial harbour district of Malta contained several overcrowded quarters and human congestion and unhygienic conditions grew worse when an inflow of households were attracted by the employment opportunities offered by the mercantile and naval facilities. They lodged in dwellings which had no sufficient lighting, ventilation or cleanliness but were damp, filthy and comfortless.⁷⁴ It was the only shelter they could afford. Overcrowding was the principle agent of disease, causing it to spread like wild fire. Infectious disease can rapidly and easily be transmitted among family members of large households. This was so, as such families lived in poorly ventilated and unsanitary living quarters, a situation which provided perfect conditions for the spread of contagious diseases through the incessant contact and proximity to one another.⁷⁵

These families lived in *kerreyas*, common-lodging houses, for which the owner required a special licence and although inspections were made by the sanitary inspectors and medical officers, they had no power as regards to overcrowding in private houses unless they were really unfit for habitation. Moreover, these officials found it difficult to enforce the overcrowding laws as it was very difficult to persuade these people to leave their homes.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, *kerreyas* were a very important part of the inspectors' duty, and these habitations were inspected and cleanliness was enforced. Inspections were also carried out in shops and buildings, ensuring that the shops were properly kept and checking that buildings were erected according to the plans submitted. It, especially, was ensured that works carried out were according to sanitary laws, particularly the placing of water closets and the ventilation of drains. Nevertheless, the Public Health Department had no power to enforce flushing and therefore the chance of having diphtheria and enteric fever continued.

⁷⁴ John Chircop (2010), 37

⁷⁵ Lianne Tripp, Larry Alexander Sawchuk and Mario Saliba, 'Deconstructing the 1918-1919 Influenza Pandemic in the Maltese Islands', *Current Anthropology*, vol.59, no.2 (2018), 236

⁷⁶ *Malta Royal Commission Report 1912 – Minutes of Evidence*, Evidence of The Hon.Prof.F.Debono, 165

	Small		Chicken		Scarlet				Whooping						Enteric		Mediter.				Puerperal		Broncho-				Tubercula		Undulant		Pulmonary			
	Pox		Pox		Fever		Measles		Cough		Influenza		Diphtheria		Febricula		Fever		Fever		Erysipela		Fever		Pneumonia		Pneumonia		Phthisis		Fever		Tuberculosis	
	C	D	C	D	C	D	C	D	C	D	C	D	C	D	C	D	C	D	C	D	C	D	C	D	C	D	C	D	C	D	C	D	C	D
1903-04	8	3	6	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	4	0	1	0	13	7	23	7	6	0	2	1	2	16	3	12						
1904-05	0	0	6	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	5	1	1	0	1	1	10	6	53	18	5	1	3	2	9	11	6	8						
1905-06	0	0	8	0	3	0	2	0	1	0	2	2	18	6	0	0	8	4	76	16	4	0	1	0	9	5	7	7						
1906-07	2	0	15	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	8	1	12	1	4	2	41	9	8	3	3	1	2	1	11	9	7	2						
1907-08	8	2	5	0	0	0	128	1	0	0	9	1	6	1	1	1	6	1	38	6	1	0	1	1	6	5	7	6						
1908-09	0	0	2	0	2	0	6	0	1	0	13	1	9	1			19	3	34	6	8	1												
1909-10	3	0	5	0	1	0	0	0	19	0	7	1	5	0			145	16	36	5	7	1	1	1										
1910-11	2	1	16	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	14	0	1	0			12	5	31	1	10	1	1	1										
1911-12	0	0	41	0	15	0	490	13	0	0	7	0	3	0			24	6	38	4	4	1	1	1										
1912-13	0	0	10	0	9	0	15	1	7	0	9	3	2	1			8	1	37	4	10	4	0	0										
1913-14	0	0	5	0	3	0	3	0	127	1	1	0	7	2			32	6	34	2	13	3	1	0										
1914-15	0	0	11	0	0	0	1	0	12	0	5	1	5	2			43	11			2	0	0	0										
1915-16	13	0	2	0	30	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	3	1			53	7			3	1	0	0										
1916-17	0	0	13	0	35	0	546	17	0	0	0	0	3	1			34	4			4	0	0	1										
1917-18																																		
1918-19																																		
1919-20	2	0	17	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	126	11	1	0			37	5			6	0	1	0	24	8	12	7						
1920-21	0	0	8	0	27	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	5	0			33	5			20	0	2	1	12	6	7	2						
1921-22	0	0	30	0			0	0	0	0	239	4	6	2			32	2			8	1			14	7	12	5						
1922	0	0	6	0	31	0	0	0	0	0	222	4	5	2			31	3			9	1	0	0	8	5	12	4						
1923			4	0	3	0				72	6	11	1	1	1			13	0			8	0			6	3	3	5					
1924			0	0	2	0	104	1	13	0	39	3	5	1			26	8			6	1	2	1	6	5	5	3						
1925	17	2	17	0	2	0	7	1	0	0	5	0	9	2			31	4			10	1	4	2	16	7	8	3						
1926	8	1	53	0	2	0	136	1	21	0	7	1	10	1			29	5			11	1	2	1	6	2	3	7						
1927			7	0	13	0	2	0	45	1	6	1	4	1			65	11			14	0	1	0	17	14	10	2						
1928			28	1	4	0	2	0	0	0	4	0	7	3			22	7			6	1			17	8	8	4						
1929			43	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	119	2	4	0			14	2			4	0			19	12	6	1						
1930			22	0	2	0	291	23	61	2	3	1	11	3			9	2			11	1			46	19	3	2						
1931			7	0	1	0	32	0	28	3	6	0	7	1			20	3							15	18	4	3						
1932			9	0	2	0	2	0	41	1	7	2	9	2			29	3			8	1			17	15	11	3						
1933			13	0	2	0	1	0	8	0	3	1	5	0			14	2			7	1			10	15	8	3						
1934			6	0	92	5	17	0	0	0	7	0	10	5			5	0			7	0			14	10	11	3						
1935			19	0	16	0	188	10	14	0	0	0	3	0			5	0							13	18	7	3						

C = Contagious D = Dead

Fig. 1.8 Table showing cases of and deaths from notable infectious diseases between 1903 and 1935

Source: Appendix F: Appendices in The Malta Government Gazette 1903-1935

The above table (Fig.1.8) shows a constant number of people catching diphtheria throughout the years. This sporadic and endemic disease is water-borne and results from the pollution of the water supply. It was not so prevalent in the City as much as in the suburban satellite towns as the drainage scheme in the urban district was completed but withstanding that, overcrowding didn't help. It was a disease which also took the lives of 40 people amongst the population of Valletta between 1903 and 1935. As for enteric fever, the number of persons infected was higher and according to the numbers shown, it was the cause of the death of 146 Valletta residents during the same period. From January 1909 up till May 1910, there was an outbreak of this disease resulting in 466 cases reported across the Maltese islands⁷⁷ 145 of which were in Valletta. This epidemic was due to the polluted water supply.

Another disease which infected the population was small pox and the low incidence is thanks to the enforcement of vaccination, as all children were immunised after 2 months of age. This law came in force in 1909 and a record of every child

⁷⁷Malta Royal Commission Report 1912 – Minutes of Evidence, Evidence of The Hon. Mr. G.Carwana Scicluna, 161

vaccinated was kept and such register was checked every six months to ensure that every child had been vaccinated. No penalty was incurred for those protesting against taking the vaccination as nobody objected in doing so. Although revaccination was not compulsory, it could be done if there was an outbreak. All patients suffering from small pox had contracted the disease outside Malta and had therefore landed from ships in the harbour. Notwithstanding the precautions taken, the disease could spread.⁷⁸

If an infectious disease, like cholera, happened to break out in Tripoli or Tunis, the Maltese residing there insisted on coming back. This sometimes led to an outbreak on the island as, although the ordinary working of the harbour did not expose the population to danger, such a rush of passengers was sure to present a dangerous situation. This was the case in October 1911 when the disease visited the Island on the occasion of the immigration of nearly two thousand refugees, mostly of Maltese nationality from Tripoli and Benghazi following the outbreak of war between Turkey and Italy.⁷⁹ No case of cholera could remain at home and not only was the house disinfected but also was the surrounding area. Those cases of cholera or plague, both pandemic diseases, which were brought to Malta on infested ships, had to remain in the isolation hospital in Comino which served for such purpose.⁸⁰

Salmonella was the cause of the enteric fever which is spread by sewage contamination of drinking water or pollution of milk and food by flies, or even by the human carrier of the typhoid bacillus.⁸¹ Fig.1.8 shows a constant flow of cases throughout the period studied, with an outbreak in 1909-1910 where a record of 145 cases were registered in Valletta. This fever was also the cause of 148 deaths amongst Maltese residing in the city between 1903 and 1935. In 1906, enteric fever fell markedly amongst the soldiers residing in the barracks and this was because of the remodelling of the drainage system, and they were also given lectures on sanitation and specific hygiene practices like thoroughly washing the vegetables brought to the barracks by hawkers. These had to be rinsed in a weak solution of vinegar as they

⁷⁸ The Hon. Mr.G.Carwana Scicluna, 161

⁷⁹ Paul Cassar, *Medical History of Malta* (London, Wellcome Historical Medical Library, 1964), 208

⁸⁰ The Hon. Mr.G.Carwana Scicluna, 165

⁸¹ Morbidity and Mortality of The Malta Garrison 1816-1909

were often watered with liquid sewage from cesspits. Moreover, the soldiers were vaccinated for typhoid and therefore such contagious cases and deaths were largely avoided.⁸²

In 1889, Colonel David Bruce defined Mediterranean Fever, better known as Malta Fever, as '*an endemic disease of long duration, characterised by fever, continuous, remittent and intermittent in type*'.⁸³ It is a specific disease quite distinct from the enteric and remittent fever and it is caused by the entrance of a miniscule parasite into the system. No drug had yet been found to have any power to modify the action of the bacteria in the system. Those who contracted the disease were left exhausted by its symptoms and never completely recovered. In the report of the Commission appointed to investigate the Mediterranean Fever, Dr. R. W. Johnstone stated that between 1899 and 1904, the apparent accumulation of cases in the Manderaggio, in Strada S. Giuseppe and in Strada Pozzi were due to the simple fact that such quarters were overcrowded. The district consisted mainly of common lodging houses, each of which contained many families.⁸⁴ Moreover, an aggregation of cases of this fever in one place may be more infective than the same number spread over a large area.⁸⁵

It was only in 1905 that Sir Temi Zammit discovered that it was the ubiquitous goat and its milk that was responsible for the spread of the Mediterranean Fever.⁸⁶ Captain Matthew Louis Hughes had proposed that the names Malta Fever and Mediterranean Fever be replaced by Undulant Fever and this can be noticed in Fig.1.8 where the switch occurred in 1913-1914. The civil authorities were faced by apathy and obstruction from the civil population which gave rise to the persistent prevalence of the disease in the civil population. Prof. Francis Debono M.D. reported that although the mortality rate amongst the civil population caused by the Malta Fever was not very high and not very fatal, nevertheless, it produced significant incapacity

⁸² Morbidity and Mortality of The Malta Garrison 1816-1909

⁸³ William Osler, J P Crozer Griffith & Walter Mendelson, 1889. MEDICINE. *The American Journal of the Medical Sciences* (1827-1924), 98(2), 178

⁸⁴ Dr.R.W.Johnstone, 'On the Sanitary Circumstances and prevalence of Mediterranean Fever in the Maltese islands', *Report of the Commission appointed by the Admiralty, the War office and the Civil Government of Malta for the investigation of the Mediterranean Fever under the supervision of an advisory committee of the Royal Society Part II*, 1905, 26

⁸⁵ Dr.R.W.Johnstone., 42

⁸⁶ Prof. John Rizzo Naudi, 'Brucellosis: The Malta Experience-A celebration- 1905-2005', *Institute of Health Care Biennial Report 2006-2007*, 23

and it was a long, continued fever.⁸⁷ The Report by the Royal Commission of 1911 also remarked about this issue and concluded that as long as the fever prevailed among the civil population, the then position of the Island was far from satisfactory.⁸⁸ This was so as although the whole population was told not to drink unboiled milk, the public in general stated that the milk lost its taste when boiled. Moreover, they preferred goat's milk since the goats used to come to people's house and were milked there and then, and as the practice was a very long standing one, the elimination of the goat from the street was not easily accomplished.⁸⁹

This was a common scene in the streets of Valletta, so much so that Fr. Wistin Born included such an everyday occurrence in his novel *'Is-Salib tal-Fidda'*, having Gerit complaining that the milk vendor did not give her enough milk worth the *sold* she paid. In criminal offences dating 1905, we can find 211 entries of persons being charged of leaving animals not in proper custody in the street, that was unattended, and another 257 for obstructing thoroughfares,⁹⁰ probably by the herds of goats that had to be conducted along the streets to supply all the inhabitants with fresh milk. By 1920, 2400 goats used to enter Valletta daily and this led to many complaints about the insanitary conditions of the streets. Although there was a proposal to prohibit goats from Valletta, this could not be executed until an adequate supply of milk to the city residents was developed.⁹¹ The people were spreading rumours that these complaints were being made by The British Authorities in order to get rid of the goats as they preferred cow's milk and didn't want goats roaming around.⁹² Moreover, even cafes in Valletta had a goat latched to the door so as to produce fresh milk for the customers on request.⁹³

Between the span of years from 1928 to 1934, we can notice in Fig.1.8, that undulant fever was one of the most frequently occurring contagious diseases amongst the Maltese population of Valletta, having over 100 cases every year. When considering that the disease was preventable, this loss of lives could have been spared. It was only in 1938 that the Milk Pasteurisation Plant was officially opened. The Milk

⁸⁷ Evidence of the Hon.Prof.F.Debono, 73

⁸⁸ *Royal Commission Report 1912*, 39

⁸⁹ Paul Cassar, 114

⁹⁰ *The Malta Government Gazette*, 26th Apr 1905, xvi

⁹¹ Paul Cassar, 314

⁹² Herbert Ganado, *Rajt Malta Tinbidel – L-Ewwel Ktieb 1900-1933* 3rd edition (Malta, 1977), 20

⁹³ Herbert Ganado, 21

Scheme was at first limited to Valletta, Floriana, Msida and Sliema.⁹⁴ As soon as pasteurised milk was available in abundant quantities, the sale of raw goats' milk was forbidden in Valletta and goats were no longer permitted to be led or driven or kept in any street in the city as from 1 Feb. 1939.⁹⁵

The epidemic of the Spanish flu visited Malta between June 1918 and June 1919 and 807 people passed away between April 1918 and March 1920.⁹⁶ The dreadful lack of hygiene and the dominance of dirt together with overcrowding and the lack of a healthy diet, all contributed to the spread of the disease.⁹⁷ In Valletta, the number of cases of those who were affected by this influenza was high. 126 people fell ill in 1919 and it caused the death of 11 persons, as shown in Fig.1.8. When the influenza pandemic hit Malta, the Island was in turmoil. The price of bread, a food staple and a major source of energy especially for the poor, trebled and the social unrest this caused together with nutritional deficiencies, heightened mortality.⁹⁸ Studies also show that women, the main caregivers and homemakers, were the ones who suffered most as they experienced high stress levels and exhaustion due to the hardships. They spent most of their time indoors in close quarters with their children who are believed to have been important carriers in the transmission of disease. It was highly probable that the disease was introduced into the home by the children aged between 10 and 14 as these were mostly independent and active. Mass gatherings was also an important element in the diffusion of infectious diseases and albeit so, baptisms, marriages and funerals continued throughout the years of the epidemic. The festivals and carnival were also major factors in the spreading of the deadly virus as despite the ongoing presence of flu cases, they went forward just the same.⁹⁹

Another wave of cases gave way to the 1921-22 influenza epidemic with a total of 5508 cases, of which Valletta had 239 in 1921 followed by 222 the following year. Relatively high annual caseloads were reported for 1929 when 1130 people were infected, 119 of which were Valletta residents. This time, The Department of Health

⁹⁴ Prof. John Rizzo Naudi, 'Brucellosis: The Malta Experience-A celebration- 1905-2005', *Institute of Health Care Biennial Report 2006-2007*, 23

⁹⁵ Paul Cassar, 314

⁹⁶ Charles Savona Ventura, 'Past Influenza Pandemics and their effect on Malta', *Malta Medical Journal*, vol.117, no.3, (2005), 17

⁹⁷ Fr.Lawrence Attard, *The Great Exodus* (Marsa, PEG Ltd., 1989), 5

⁹⁸ Lianne Tripp, Larry Alexander Sawchuk and Mario Saliba, 233

⁹⁹ Lianne Tripp, Larry Alexander Sawchuk and Mario Saliba, 236

undertook a set of precautionary measures so as to control the spread of the virus. Public places, cinemas, theatres and other places of entertainment were prevented from being overcrowded, and the owners had to ensure that such places were kept clean and well disinfected. These measures were also extended to railway carriages and ferry boats, and increased visits to inspect dwelling places were undertaken by Sanitary Inspectors. Moreover, a public propaganda campaign was organised with emphasis being made upon the mode of transmission, that the infection was contagious, and how necessary it was to maintain personal and domestic cleanliness.¹⁰⁰

Conclusion

During the British stay in Malta, the majority of the Maltese labour force was employed by the Admiralty, and other Maltese workers depended entirely on the exigencies of the British Services. Population trends determine the size of the potential working population and as the Grand Harbour was the hub of all activity, the people shifted from the countryside to the urban and suburban areas around the harbour.

The increasing dependence of the Island's economy upon military spending offered no secure means of livelihood and brought about fluctuation in the city's population. Male labourers opted to migrate to cities on the Mediterranean Littoral, seeking economic opportunities in the neighbouring areas. Such moves were temporary as they often returned to Malta to visit their relatives, bearing money and gifts. Outbreak of disease and drought impelled the Maltese to depart and search for work, but in times of economic prosperity, they would return to find work on the island. During World War I, there was also a considerable number of men who gave their service overseas as part of the entourage fighting in the Dardanelles. For such reasons do we find a discrepancy in numbers between males and females when the censuses were taken.

The population was always on the rise with a high birth rate, but which, unfortunately, was accompanied by a high infant mortality rate. These were sustained

¹⁰⁰ Charles Savona Ventura, 18

for so long by illiteracy and resistance to change in traditions and lack of hygiene in the urban areas. Army doctors contributed extensively to the discovery and scientific understanding of diseases but this was done primarily to improve the health of the British soldiers and not for the benefit of the local people. Having difficult access to medical care led to frequent outbreaks of a whole range of diseases. During the period in study, the death rate for all years exceeded by far half the rate of births, and whereas the birth rate was decreasing, the number of mortalities remained stable. This therefore was quite alarming and had its effects on the population.

The colonial harbour district of Malta contained several overcrowded quarters of the poor, characterised by undeveloped public health infrastructures which became increasingly inadequate to the needs of the swelling population. However, the city was also adorned with palaces and large houses in which people of a different social status resided. Therefore, Valletta was home to everyone.

Chapter 2

Housing

Introduction

Architecturally, Valletta presented an unmistakable air of prosperity and a pleasant appearance which was gradually acquired along the Hospitaller period.¹⁰¹ The many British visitors, individual travellers, residents and colonial functionaries were quite impressed by Valletta, with its Baroque palaces, churches and spatial organization.

Various institutions could be found in the city amongst which were hospitals, asylums and prisons, together with military quarters and barracks. During the period under study, these diminished in number as they were transferred to other areas outside the city. There were also a number of convents and monasteries which the religious friars and nuns made their home and so, they too were considered to be part of Valletta's population. Most of them still stand to the present day, although the number of occupants has decreased drastically due to lack of vocations.

This chapter seeks to examine the various types of dwellings and other buildings to be found in the city. These were residential as well as business, administrative and other work related buildings. The city urban settlement was characterized by a combination of buildings which reflected the social class structure of the location. Those who could not afford to become house owners, rented a small house or a tenement.¹⁰² The main streets were adorned with palaces and town-houses for the well-off, but the lateral streets, which fall too steeply to the harbours, is where we find the poorer dwellings for those who could barely afford to live even in such shabby houses. I will also delve into the question of rent, sanitation in all dwellings and the density of the people living in such habitations.

¹⁰¹ George Cassar, 'Nineteenth-Century Valletta: A Tourist City in the Making' in *Humillima Civitas Valletta – From Mount Xebb-Er-Ras to European Capital of Culture*, M.Abdilla Cunningham, M.Camilleri and G.Vella (eds.) Heritage Malta, Valletta 2018, 377

¹⁰² George A. Said-Zammit, *The Development of Domestic Space in the Maltese Islands from the late Middle Ages to the Second Half of the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, Archaeopress Publishing Ltd., 2016), 108

Non-residential dwellings

With the start of British rule and after the unrest of the Napoleonic Wars, travellers began to make their way to the Maltese Islands. A steady flow of men of letters and politicians from the British Isles soon followed the arrival of the British Governors, of the officers and men in the Royal navy and the military garrison, and of officials of the new Administration.¹⁰³ Malta was advertised as a place for pleasure, business and health, and this type of visitor created a demand for tourist literature like guidebooks, that included descriptions of the Islands. This was to aid the numerous travellers, mostly the elites and the nobility, on their way to Levant as part of the classic Grand Tour. These travellers, usually made a short or long stay in Malta, en route.

Much of Malta's popularity was also owed to the technological advance which greatly facilitated sea communication, as well as to the climate of these islands which boosted their reputation as a health resort. Malta was not only offered as a place of residence for the invalid but also attracted visitors who found it cheaper to live here, compared to living in England or on the Continent. Such visitors spread the word that the hotels and inns were numerous, as can be noticed in Fig.2.1, and there no longer was any difficulty of obtaining accommodation.

	Valletta									
	1891		1901		1911		1921		1931	
	Inhabited	Uninhabited	Inhabited	Uninhabited	Inhabited	Uninhabited	Inhabited	Uninhabited	Inhabited	Uninhabited
hotels & lodgings	29	0	34	0	32	0	35	3	45	31
stores, shops & offices	171	1,247	181	1,349	182	1,288	146	1,963	33	2,287
coach houses & stables	10	80	11	73	8	49	1	80	2	115

Fig. 2.1 A statistic of non-residential dwellings to be found in the Valletta between 1891 and 1931

Source: The Census of the Maltese Islands 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931

Moreover, the almost daily arrival of English, French and Italian steamers made it easier to visit other countries and return to the island. Comfortable accommodation was surely to help travellers cherish happy memories of the places they had seen and the people they had met during their journeys.¹⁰⁴ One can notice in Fig. 2.1 that from

¹⁰³ Sir Harry Luke, *Malta: An account and an Appreciation* (London, George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd 1960), 147

¹⁰⁴ J. Cassar Pullicino, 'Some 19th Century Hotels in Malta', *Melita Historica* 8, 2, (1981), 109-112

1891 to 1921, the numbers are stable, with a slight increase in inhabited lodgings whereas the 1931 census recorded a high number of hotels and lodgings, totalling 76. Nevertheless, the surprising fact is that more than half of them were uninhabited and this results from the fact that such accommodation was then to be found in the suburban towns of Sliema and St. Julians.

All passengers arrived at the Valletta Grand Harbour, and for such reason one preferred to stay in the city. Moreover, Valletta was the commercial and administrative hub of the island and as seen in Fig.2.1, the number of stores, shops and offices is quite high. Whilst the inhabited property of this sort decreased throughout decades, those uninhabited were on the rise. A plausible explanation would be that although the owner kept the property, it did no longer suit him to live and work in it. Those who opted to go and live in the suburbs, still kept their property for commercial use as the ownership of a market stall in Valletta or the leasehold of a shop in one of the main streets of the capital often represented a major asset and attracted business partners.¹⁰⁵

The merchants and entrepreneurs who owned the palatial houses of Malta in the late 19th century, made a separation of residence and place of business as most commercial outlets were rented with the explicit intention for commercial purpose. Not the same can be said about the professionals, as it was the norm that one room was reserved from one's home to be utilised as office.¹⁰⁶ The shops were always on the increase and even reports by the Chief Government Medical Officer and Superintendent of Public Health were numerous as can be noticed in Fig.2.2.

¹⁰⁵ Michael Refalo, 'Commercial Partnerships in Late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century Malta', in *Colonial Encounters: Maltese Experiences of British Rule 1800-1970s*, J.Chircop (ed.) Horizons, Qormi 2015, 305

¹⁰⁶ Michael Refalo, 'Houses and Homes in late nineteenth century Malta', *Melita Historica* Vol XVI, 2, (2013), 84-85.

APPENDIX O.
Return of Inspections of shops made during the year 1903-4.

LOCALITY	DESCRIPTION OF SHOPS				Hawkers	Total number of inspections
	Public Houses	Groceries	Groceries with wine and spirits licence	Butchers		
Valletta	580	600	190	—	10	1380
Floriana, Hamrun, Misida and Pietà	190	330	220	46	15	801
Sliema and St. Julian's	90	160	230	80	30	590
Cottonera	330	820	160	120	10	1440
1st District	140	160	180	60	6	546
2nd District	190	180	120	36	10	536
3rd District	160	130	130	90	8	518
4th District	70	160	240	120	10	600
5th District	160	180	110	75	3	528
6th District	440	90	120	100	16	766
7th District	360	440	230	230	10	1270
Total Malta	2710	3250	1930	957	128	8975
Total Gozo	180	550	1120	56	6	1912
Total both Islands	2890	3800	3050	1013	134	10887

Fig. 2.2 Inspection of shops carried out in 1903-04
Source: Workings of the Government Department, Appendix O, 73

These mostly included places where articles of food were prepared, sold or kept for sale. Although they were licensed, they were not in accordance with articles 153 and 154 of the Third Sanitary Ordinance. Some of the owners failed to carry out the improvements recommended by the Department to render the premises in accordance with the law and the necessary legal proceedings were instituted against them. However, the officer stated that the results were satisfactory.¹⁰⁷ We must also keep in mind that the more general distribution of commercial and trading businesses in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Malta were those which gained profits from the basic essentials, such as food, for the local population.¹⁰⁸ Large wholesalers were among the more successful enterprises, and for their ware, they needed stores as close as possible to the Grand Harbour.

Moreover, Valletta became the seat of the Colonial Government, and all the administrative sections had their offices in the city. Many of the buildings previously occupied by the Knights, were converted into government departments, as can be noted in Fig.2.3. With the British rule, in 1800, the grandmaster's palace, the largest in the city, became the governor's palace. Its location was ideal as it was situated in the centre of the city. This ensured that it also remained the seat of the local power.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, businessmen and merchants opted to have their offices in the city as this

¹⁰⁷ *Workings of the Government Departments 1908-09*, Section J, Appendix M, 24

¹⁰⁸ Michael Refalo, (2015), 310

¹⁰⁹ George A. Said-Zammit, 53

facilitated the smooth operation of their enterprise being close to the Grand Harbour and right in the core of commerce.

44	MALTA ROYAL COMMISSION :
APPENDIX A.	
LAND AND BUILDINGS HELD BY THE WAR OFFICE AND ADMIRALTY WITHOUT PAYMENT OF RENT.	
I.—LAND AND BUILDINGS HELD BY WAR DEPARTMENT ON PERPETUAL USER WITHOUT PAYMENT.	<i>Cospicua.</i>
<i>Valletta.</i>	9. Chapel school.
1. Site of Chapel School.	10. Barracks.
2. Staff Sergeants' mess.	11. Married quarters.
3. Master Gunner's quarters.	The approximate area of lands in the Three Cities and the Cottonera lines held by the War Department without payment is 192·2 acres.
4. St. James' Cavalier, including magazine, telegraph offices, &c.	<i>Other Lands and Buildings.</i>
5. St. John's Cavalier, including magazine, stores, &c.	Fort Ricasoli and adjoining grounds; area, 46·3 acres.
6. Gymnasium (erected by War Department).	Military cemetery; area, 3,858 square yards.
7. Barrack stores.	Fort Manoel and adjoining lands; area, 48·7 acres.
8. Marsamuscetto Barracks and Guard Room.	Fort Tigne and adjoining lands; area, 21·54 acres.
9. Block of houses.	St. Julian's Tower at Sliema; area, 94·7 square yards.
10. Auberge de Castille; Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers mess, &c.	Grounds at Spinola; area, 8½ acres.
11. Auberge d'Italie; Royal Engineer officers' quarters, &c.	Signal stations at Asciak; area, 169 square yards.
12. House in Strada Mezzodi.	Signal stations at Gargur; area, 129 square yards.
13. War Department Stores in Strada Torre.	Fort St. Lucian, Zeitun; area, 10·7 acres.
14. Auberge de France; Army Service Corps offices and quarters and Infantry Brigade offices.	Gozo: Fort Chambray; area, 31·3 acres.
15. House in Strada Zecca; Chief Staff Officer's quarters.	Signal station, Guardia; area, 64 square yards.
16. House in Strada Zecca; Senior Ordnance Store Officer's quarters.	Signal station, Nadur; area, 54 square yards.
17. House in Strada Scozzese; Ordnance Store Depot offices.	II.—GOVERNMENT PROPERTY HELD BY THE ADMIRALTY RENT FREE.
18. House in Strada Zecca; Principal Medical Officer's quarters.	<i>Valletta.</i>
19. House in Strada Britannica; Chief Engineer's quarters.	1. Tryon Battery, Lower Castile Bastion, and shoreland; approximate area, 27,800 square yards.
20. Block of stores and stables in Strada S. Marco.	2. Three stores, Fuori la Mina.
21. Army Service Corps bakery.	<i>Ricasoli.</i>
22. Main guard.	3. Shoreland on the side of Rinella Bay; approximate area, 21,000 square yards.
23. Garrison library.	4. Part of the Rifle Ranges to the east of Ricasoli Fort; approximate area, 3,300 square yards.
24. House in Strada Ponente.	<i>Vittoriosa.</i>
25. Auberge de Bavière and dependencies.	
26. Military station hospital.	
27. War Department stores and laboratory barracks; Marsamuscetto.	

Fig. 2.3 Land and buildings, amongst which those to be found in Valletta, which were held by the War Office and the Admiralty.

Source: Report of the Royal Commission 1912, 44

In the city, there were also a number of coach houses and stables, as seen in Fig.2.1. The horse-drawn carriage, better known as the *karozzin*, was a popular means of transport in the Maltese islands. It was introduced in the mid-nineteenth century. This means of transport was a common sight on the streets and one could constantly hear the sound of hooves beating on the ground. It was not only used on special occasions like wedding ceremonies but it was used to go from one part of the city to another or even to run errands outside Valletta. Frederick Ryan mentions these carriages as cabs which one is greeted with on landing in Malta and after passing through Customs. He assimilated these quaint little carriages to small victorias, embellished with white Holland curtains suspended from a sort of framework like a four-post bed and by which the drivers scaled the perpendicular heights of the city.¹¹⁰ Horses were also the means of transport used by ambulant hawkers, who sold their various goods on carts.

In the yearly report of the workings of the Government departments of the working year 1908-09, the chief Government medical officer of the Public Health Department stated that several premises in Valletta and Floriana, in which mules, donkeys, horses and goats were kept, had improved. However, stables in several localities in the city were objectionable as they created a nuisance and therefore he recommended that licenses to keep animals should be issued by the Police. Fig.2.1 shows that the coach houses and stables were on the decrease between 1891 and 1911 as motorcars were becoming increasingly popular in Malta. In Valletta, motor traffic added to the numerous nuisances afflicting the capital city due to the lack of regulations. The early decades of the twentieth century were transitional years during which street-vendor carts, horse-driven cabs and the motorcars competed with each other in the narrow streets of the city, causing clashing and crashing.¹¹¹ It is curious to note, however, that such animal dwellings were on the increase in 1921 and 1931.

¹¹⁰ Frederick Ryan, *Malta* (London, Adam & Charles Black, 1910), 135

¹¹¹ Michael Frendo 'Noise, smell and other nuisances: Valletta c.1880s-c.1930', *Symposia Melitensia*, 12 (2016), 172

Residential dwellings

As can be observed in Fig.2.4, the number of houses increased along the years.

	Valletta									
	1891		1901		1911		1921		1931	
	Inhabited	Uninhabited	Inhabited	Uninhabited	Inhabited	Uninhabited	Inhabited	Uninhabited	Inhabited	Uninhabited
Houses	2,560	465	2,633	298	2,503	458	2,568	228	2,984	237
common lodging-houses (kerreyas)	169	0	259	5	239	7	230	2	199	2
rooms	633	216	614	79	571	389	617	262	571	88
Total	3,362	681	3,506	382	3,313	854	3,415	492	3,754	327

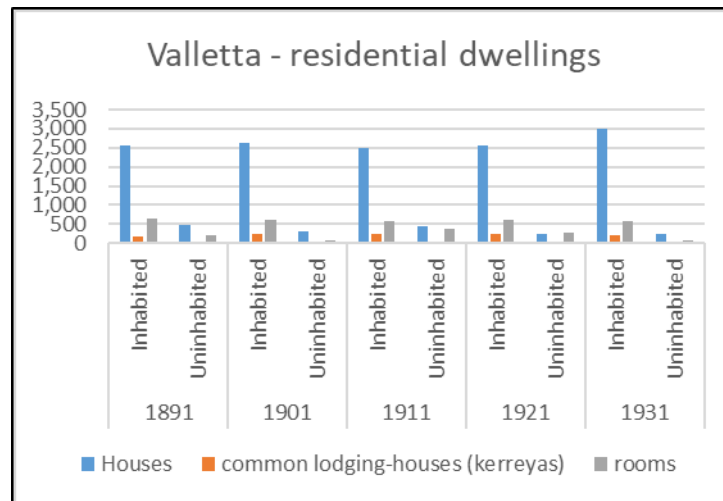


Fig. 2.4 A statistic of residential dwellings to be found in the Valletta/Urban district between 1891 and 1931

Source: The Census of the Maltese Islands 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931

By the turn of the twentieth century, Valletta was undergoing an extensive transformation in its infrastructure as old buildings were being transformed into blocks of residential apartments.¹¹² An example of such structures includes the Queen Alexandra Mansions. These residences were at the corner formed by South Street with St. Andrew's Street, where once stood the palace of the noble Guardagni family of Florence. It was demolished in 1907 to make way for a modern block of flats.¹¹³ Furthermore, on the site of a palace often referred to as the *Palazzo Britto*, today stands the St. Paul's Building which was erected in 1908.¹¹⁴ Big houses were being split up into smaller residences and this was a common practice, whether belonging to the nobility, to the government or to the church. Whilst the ground floor rooms were let

¹¹² Alexander Cutajar, *Remembering Sette Giugno 1919* (Hamrun, Kite Group, 2019), 20

¹¹³ Victor Denaro, *The Houses of Valletta*, (Malta, 1967), 110

¹¹⁴ Victor Denaro., 85

as commercial premises, the overlying floors served as residences.¹¹⁵ The reutilization of houses meant that structural alterations were needed to meet the specific needs of their new occupants as can be noted in Fig.2.5. The strict housing regulations issued by the Colonial government highlighted the importance of sanitation.¹¹⁶

Description of work	1903-04	1904-05	1905-06	1906-07	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29	1929-30	1930-31	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34	1934-35	1935-36
New Dwellings																																	
Houses & mezzaninos	6	10	8	5	8	27	26	0	25	0	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	1	5	11	0	0	0	0
Other Buildings																																	
Stables, Stores, Rooms etc	9	25	15	4	10	16	10	9	14	17	2	2	1	1			0	2	6	3	0	4	2	1	3	2	0	8	0	9	0	8	0
Modifications																																	
in existing buildings	10	8	27	15	21	28	66	24	32	26	8	12	11	11			4	5	10	22	19	35	25	25	26	19	35	58	41	53	51	34	38
New house drains																																	
Connected with main sewer	67	69	86	33	103	284	128	41	106	83	32	22	31	28			9	16	32	21	10	12	12	9	20	20	18	14	17	22	18	18	19
Repairs in house drains																																	
Connected with main sewer	86	43	21	7	32	71	101	52	40	35	29	20	18	13			0	0	0	4	14	9	9	6	5	7	3	2	3	3	2	2	2

Fig. 2.5 List of works carried out in Valletta dwellings under the supervision of the Department of Public Health

Source: Report on the Working of Government Departments 1903-1935, Section J

The arrival in town of government employees and Valletta's attraction to professionals and persons occupied in commerce, led to an increasing request for accommodation which was hard to be addressed due to the limited size of the capital. The solution adopted was to separate rooms from what previously formed single residences so that these could be let to the newly arrived. An analysis of the voting lists of the period for several streets of Valletta, which can be observed in Fig.2.6, points towards the existence of a number of residences where persons with different surnames are listed under the same address, sometimes with the addition of a 't' for *terrano*, 'm' for mezzanine or an A, B, C, D after the door number. Keeping in mind that the lists contain only the names of empowered males, the number of the tenants is impressive.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Michael Refalo, (2013), 82

¹¹⁶ George A. Said-Zammit, 117

¹¹⁷ Michael Refalo, (2013), 82

Secondo Distretto Elettorale — Valletta Occidentale.

(Tutta la parte della Valletta al lato occidentale dal centro di Strada Forni, comprendendo Sliema e San Giuliano.)

SEZIONE PRIMA.			
Valletta.			
Apap, Luigi	str. Forai 98	Meli, Vincenzo	str. Zecca 106
Attard, Paolo	18	Micallef, L.L.D., Antonio	59
Briffa, Antonio	96	Micallef, Giuseppe	131
Briffa, M.D., Enrico	83	Micallef, L.L.D., Stefano	49r
Briffa, Walter	72	Micallef, Vincenzo	43
Buhagiar, Luigi	38	Mifsud, Carmelo	134
Buattil, Lorenzo	34	Mifsud, Giovanni	134
Calleja, Ludovico	17	Mifsud, Giovanni	91
Canillieri, Carmelo	49	Mifsud, Vincenzo	91
Canillieri, Giuseppe	73	Mizzi, L.L.D., Onor. Fortunato	15
Carbonaro, Antonio	68	Perez, Benedetto	18
Caruana, L.L.D., Giovanni	31	Pons, L.L.D., Vincenzo	75
Caruana, Vincenzo	70	Psaila, M.D., Ignazio	50
Cassar, Francesco	42	Schembri, Spiridione	117
Diaghi, G.C.M.G., C.B., L.L.D., }	3	Scicluna, Rosario	85d
Sir Adrian }		Scifo Diamantino, P.A., Nicola	109
Doublesin, Francesco	24	Serge, M.D., Ruggiero	102
Fabri, Paolo	102	Spiteri Fiteni, Antonio	115r
Falzon, Giuseppe	60	Trapani, Mag. R.M.A., Alfredo	153
Fenech, Giuseppe M.	64	Vallone, Letterio	54
Fenech, Paolo	39	Vella, Alberto	62
Formosa, G. Lorenzo	66	Vella, Mag. R.M.A. Alfredo	62
Frendo Azopardi, L.L.D., Vincenzo	28	Vella, L.L.D., Eduardo L.	84
Gasan, Emmanuele	59	Vella, C.M.G., Onor. Francesco	62
Gasan, L.L.D., Giovanni	59	Vella, Gio. Batta	116
Gatt, Francesco	1	Xerri Decaro, Giuseppe	21
Meli, M.D., Enrico	43	Xerreb, Eduardo	70r
Micallef, Tommaso Giovanni	58		
Micallef, M.D., Vincenzo	121d		
Pariente, Guglielmo	82	Balbi, Giovanni Natale	str. S. Patrizio 56
Portelli, Robert	74	Barbara, Francesco	3
Portelli Carbone, M.D., Alfonso	9d	Bonnici, Carmelo	57
Portelli Carbone, L.L.D., Giuseppe	9d	Borg, Paolo	26
Reynaud, P.L., Paolo	14	Borg, Salvatore	29
Seaberras, Gioacchino	81d	Cotti, Antonio	61
Testaferrata Bonici Asciack, Mar- }		Cuschieri, Calcedonio	63
chese di San Vincenzo Ferreri, }		Cuschieri, Carmelo	20
Onor. Illmo. e Nobile Emmanuele }		Dominici, Vincenzo	52
Tenna Barthet, Valentino	103	Fabri, Paolo	7
Vella, Carmelo	65	Falzon, Giovanni	48
Zarb, Carmelo	86d	Galea, Paolo	
		Giorgio, Filippo	9
		Gusman, Giovanni	
		Natoni, Giuseppe	21
		Pisani, Gio. Maria	39d
		Pizzuto, Salvatore	63
Aquilina, Raffaele	str. Zecca 20		
Bonello, Carmelo	24		
Buhagiar, Can. Cap. Mons. Don Gio. Batta	86		
Canillieri, L.L.D., Luigi	63		
Caruana, Amedeo	94r		
Cassar, M.D., Salvatore	80	Bonaci, Luigi	Manderaggio 92
Canehi, Francesco	77	Bonnici, Vincenzo	223a
Cauchi, Giuseppe	23	Borg, Publio	173
Ciantar, Vincenzo	19	Borg, Salvatore	312
Cuschieri, Giuseppe	13	Bugeja, Giuseppe	293
Depares, Antonio	117	Camenzuli, Guglielmo	172
Farr, George	40d	Galdes, Giorgio	161
Farrugia, Agostino	100	Gatt, Giovanni	300
Farrugia, Francesco	27	Grech, Carmelo	295
Ferreri, Gaetano	123	Muscato, Paolo	198
Fiteni, Don Lorenzo	52	Palis, Vincenzo	175
Gabarretta, Carmelo	120	Sammut, Paolo	48
Gales, Paolo	152	Spiteri, Francesco	42
Gasciulli, Giuseppe	107	Spiteri, Francesco	331
Gera, Giovanni	40r		
Gera, Not. Guglielmo	40r		
Germani, Virgilio	8		
Guillaumier, Vincenzo	82		
Lanzon, Antonio	125		
Magri, Salvatore	90		
Mallis, Salvatore	69		
Meli, Giuseppe	109		
		Canchi, Don Saverio	str. Soccorso 9
		Theuma, Michele	8
		Aspinall, Cap. R.M.R., }	str. Ponte 93
		John }	
		Attard, Giuseppe	98
		Attard, Vincenzo	96
		Azopardi, Carmelo	13
		Azopardi, Gabriele	77
		Balbi, Giorgio	68
		Borg, Carmelo	8
		Camenzuli, Emmanuele	7
		Collins, Thomas	25
		Dedomenico, Alfredo	57
		Florini, Enrico	54
		Florini, Riccardo	54
		Grech, Giuseppe	89
		Grisoti, Carmelo	75
		Grisoti, Salvatore	75
		Imbroll, Carmelo	44
		Mercieca, D.D., Can. Cap. Cant. }	75
		Mons. Don Giuseppe }	
		Mizzi, Agostino	8
		Mula, Antonio	11
		Pace, Elia S.	99
		Pace, Salvatore	99
		Randon, Vincenzo	67
		Rossignaud, Francesco Saverio	63
		Rossignaud, Vincenzo	63
		Sapiano, Riccardo	1
		Sarona, Antonio	55
		Scicluna, Carmelo	3
		Scicluna, Carmelo	74
		Spiteri, Pio	71
		Stellini, Giovanni	97
		Turnbull, James	28
		Zammit, Luigi	37
		Zarb, Vincenzo	97
		Genovese, Antonio	str. S. Michele 2
		Caruana Tabone, D.D., }	Piazza Celsi 62
		Don Francesco }	
		Galizia, C.E., Emmanuele Luigi	64
		Galizia, M.D., Giuseppe S.	64
		Vella, P.L., Eugenio	63
		Vella, Don Francesco	63
		Apap, Michele	str. Scozzese 14
		Ganado, L.L.D., Luigi	1
		Ganado, L.L.D., Roberto Federico	1
		Mewter, William	17b
		Micallef, Carlo A.	2
		Proziosi, Alfonso	9c
		Randon, Giuseppe	10a
		Saou, Giuseppe	11d
		Bonello, Carmelo	str. St'Andrea 2
		Felice, Susraldo	9

Fig. 2.6

Source:

A voting list of those residing in several streets of Valletta

The Malta Government Gazette, 24 Feb. 1900, 109

The principal buildings of Valletta were mostly known by the name of their owners, or of the prominent persons who lived in them, as they were landmarks in the busy streets of Valletta. In South Street, for example, the house known by people as *Casa Raimondo*, recalling the Bailiff Raimondo de Souse y Silva, was The Admiralty House, and another fine palace in the same street was known as *Casa della Falconeria* as the Great Falconer of the Grand Master once lived there. Other *palazzi* recall high dignitaries of the Order whose names were constantly in the mouth of the people.¹¹⁸

The typical middle class home was adorned with mahogany furniture. Such was to be found in the bedroom together with an English-made iron bed, or for those who could afford, inlaid with mother-of-pearl. Common wood was the material of the furniture in lower class homes and in the second bedroom of most middle-class families. The dining room was also of mahogany furniture and filled to capacity.¹¹⁹ Such items were usually part of the dowry and it not only had to match the financial strength of the family of the bride but also that of the husband-to-be.¹²⁰ In the homes of merchants and other wealthy people, there was a noticeable difference between the rooms which were open to visitors, the ones intended for reception and to show off, and the more private ones. The commercial middle class considered the possession of expensive furniture and furnishings as an outlet for their wealth, and this also enhanced their social status.¹²¹

A number of townhouses were large enough to include a small mezzanine, which was generally used as the living quarters of the domestic staff, or was leased to third parties so that the proprietor would generate some extra revenue. The mezzanine, which was usually situated between the ground floor and the first floor of the house, generally consisted of some rooms characterized by a low ceiling and a window to the outside. Access to the mezzanine was usually through a separate entrance situated near the main door of the house.¹²²

In the early colonial phase, elite and upper middle class houses were usually located in the town centres. However, from the late nineteenth century onwards, there was a tendency among the well-off to inhabit in villas that were situated in new and

¹¹⁸ Themis Zammit, 70

¹¹⁹ Michael Refalo, (2013), 86-87

¹²⁰ *ibid.*, 88

¹²¹ *ibid.*, 90

¹²² George A. Said-Zammit, 104

quiet residential areas outside the urban centres. Thus, several palaces and townhouses in Valletta that were left unoccupied, were gradually converted into common dwellings.¹²³ There was a need for the palaces and fine houses in the capital to be demolished and to make place for apartments. It is true that one needed to attend to the health and comfort of the people but one also needed to carry any innovations with a sparing hand.¹²⁴

Government employees and professionals and persons engaged in commerce were attracted to Valletta and the arrival of such persons led to an increasing demand for accommodation which the capital city found hard to satisfy because of its limited size. Single residences resorted to rooms splitting so that these could be let to the freshly arrived settlers.¹²⁵ Demand was so high in Valletta that it was frequent to transfer property by emphytheusis rather than by outright sale. The property owners wanted to ensure that the house returned to the family after some time, and in the meantime to derive a regular income therefrom. There were also entrepreneurs who sought heirs of Valletta property to purchase from them undivided shares until they eventually managed to acquire the whole.¹²⁶

Fig.2.4 shows that renting rooms was very popular in the city, with both Maltese citizens who moved to the city for work purposes and also with foreigners who came to the Island for a long stay. These rooms were sought after by travellers who wanted to write about their voyages and therefore needed to describe Malta in the best possible way, even if it was not always in a positive manner. Valletta presented the complete scene with port activities, busy streets for commercial purposes, prosperous and magnificent buildings with all the palaces and churches that studded the city and the entertainment provided by the social activities held here. Valletta was active day and night, and therefore, renting a room was the most convenient and affordable accommodation to be at the centre of it all.

Almost all rooms were inhabited in 1901 and this reflects the work force that was needed during the labour boom in the Grand Harbour. A decade later, more than half of the rooms available were uninhabited and this decrease must relate to

¹²³ George A. Said-Zammit, 119

¹²⁴ Themis Zammit, 70

¹²⁵ Michael Refalo, (2013), 82

¹²⁶ Michael Refalo, (2013), 80

emigration and may be ascribed to the practice for wives to reside with their relatives during their husbands' absence from the Island.¹²⁷ By 1931, almost all the rooms available were inhabited and therefore, it follows that people had found a purpose to settle once again in the city. Nevertheless, one must not forget that such rooms were not always the best accommodation one hoped for. In the back streets of the city, there were overcrowded zones with narrow streets and closely-packed buildings, where lower class families occupied one or two rooms, deprived of any comfort.¹²⁸ Whenever a house became, through decay, or any other cause, inappropriate to be let to one family, the owner, turned the residence into a lodging house without making any necessary improvements or changes. In most cases, each room became the place where a whole family cooked, dined and slept without any regards to their physical and moral well-being.¹²⁹

When giving evidence to the Royal Commission in 1912, Mr. C. P. Bardon stated that, there was nothing worse than the tenements in the city and that these common lodging houses were purely speculative buildings which had not been built for such purpose. These were simply big buildings with single rooms which were let to those who could not afford anything better.¹³⁰ Later on, there was a regulation forbidding any owner from letting a *kerreya*, a popular lodging house, without the permission of the sanitary authority. The proprietor had to fill an application and then the medical officer of health visited the place, inquired about the sanitary conditions, took measurements of all the rooms and gave the permission under certain restrictions. The standard adopted was one person for every 700 cubic feet.¹³¹

One of the duties of the sanitary inspectors was to inspect such lodging houses and enforce cleanliness. Although upgrading was made throughout the decades, there was still room for improvement, especially with regards to overcrowding. As many buildings had been established outside the city, the people had scattered more, however these buildings still remained somehow overcrowded. The inspectors had

¹²⁷ The Census of the Maltese Islands 1921, 18

¹²⁸ Alexander Cutajar, 22

¹²⁹ Michael Refalo, (2013), 82

¹³⁰ *Malta Royal Commission Report 1912 – Minutes of Evidence*, Evidence of The Hon. Mr.C.P.Bardon,

51

¹³¹ *ibid.*, 73

no power to foresee overcrowding in private houses unless these were declared unfit for habitation.¹³²

The above figure (Fig.2.4) gives evidence that as there was an influx of people at the turn of the century, the number of common lodging-houses was on the increase. This does not mean that there was an extension of the area over which such buildings were erected but that there was a closer packing of dwellings in the same area. Therefore, due to an increase in population, larger properties were split into individual rooms, let to a single person or to a distinct family. It was only in the following decades that over population started to diminish as people sought cheaper rent elsewhere, with maybe better conditions of accommodation outside Valletta. However, the kerreyas were almost always all inhabited and this means that they were a popular type of dwelling, as although their state was very poor, the lower-class people could not afford otherwise and these were their only resort.

The City was originally developed by the Order of St.John in the late 16th century, to serve the needs of a population perhaps a quarter of the size it was during the period in study. It should be noted that though, in accordance with the regulations then in force, the street facades of all buildings conformed to a building line, there were, within the insulae, areas earmarked as open courts and gardens. It should also be noted that there were, scattered about the city, extensive areas free from buildings. Among these were the lower parts of the valleys which Harrison and Hubbard in their report named Manderaggio, Ghetto, Arsenal and St. Lazarus, as can be seen in Fig.2.7.

¹³² *Malta Royal Commission Report 1912 – Minutes of Evidence*, Evidence of The Hon. Mr.G.Carwana Scicluna, 165

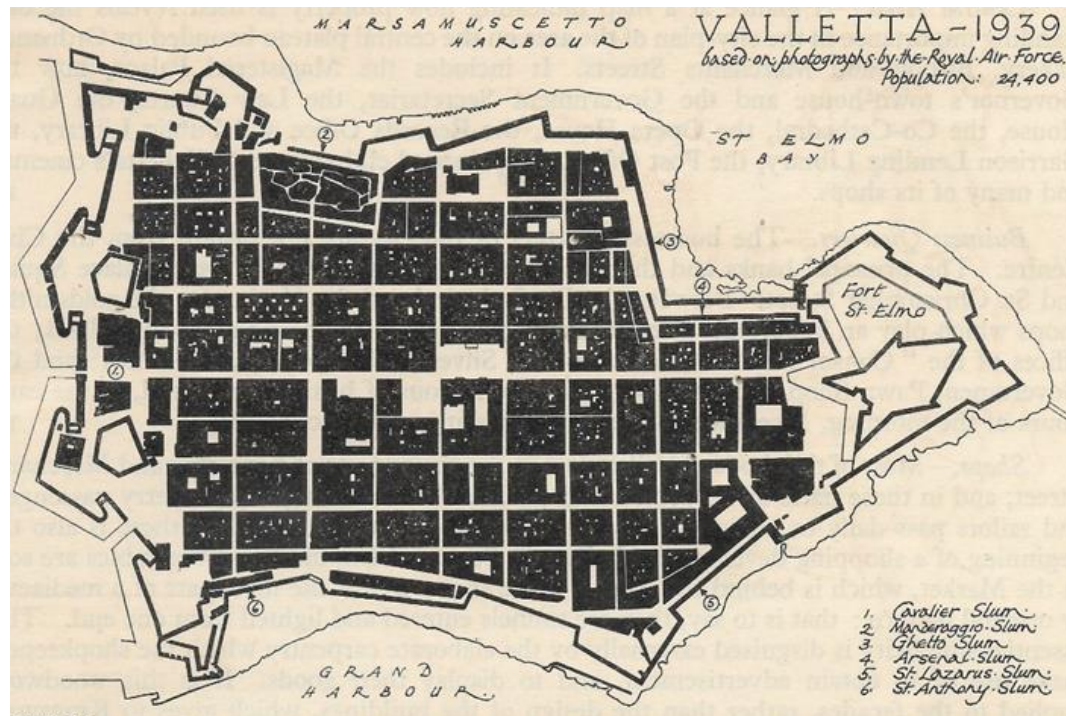


Fig. 2.7 The Slums areas around the periphery of Valletta
Source: Valletta – A Report to accompany the Outline Plan for the Region of Valletta and the Three Cities by Harrison and Hubbard, p.61

These low-lying areas were shut off from the creeks by the loft enclosure and therefore ill-ventilated and not easy to drain. They were long considered as unfit for human habitation and they ceased to be open spaces only when the pressure of increasing population drove the poor into them. These open spaces, which have since been covered with houses, were condemned by the Director of Public Health as slums.¹³³

When Valletta was being built in the 16th century, the location of the Manderaggio had been reserved for the formation of an artificial harbour, known as *mandracchi*, hence the Maltese derivation of *mandraġġ*, on the Marsamxett side of the city. It was ultimately abandoned half-way through when the Order of St. John decided to use the Grand Harbour as the naval port and arsenal. This resulted in a vast submerged area that almost reached sea level at its deepest point. Since no plans were

¹³³ Austen Harrison & Pearce Hubbard, *Valletta: A Report to accompany the outline plan for the Region of Valletta and the Three Cities* (Valletta, Government of Malta, 1945), 64

prepared miserable dwellings grew up haphazardly into a slum formed of irregular shaped blocks over an extent of some two-and-a-half acres as can be seen in Fig.2.8.



Fig. 2.8 The Manderragio as seen from Strada Sta. Lucia
Source: Photo taken by Richard Ellis – Times of Malta 25 Jun. 2015

There was one tortuous so-called street which was 20 feet wide at its widest point but only 6 feet wide along most of its course. This slum soon became one of the most heavily populated districts of Valletta.¹³⁴ The boundaries of this part of Valletta are Strada San Marco, Strada Santa Lucia, Strada San Patrizio and Strada Marsamxetto, enfolding an area which together with the area occupied by the buildings on one side of each of the four mentioned streets, measured 2.56 acres. Therefore, the Manderaggio lies hidden behind a rectangular group of buildings.¹³⁵

The main problem of the Manderaggio was that most of the buildings were far below acceptable standards for habitation. Sunlight hardly passed through the labyrinth of narrow alleys, and the level of humidity was worrying.¹³⁶ The buildings enclosing the Manderaggio were one to four or five storeys high. Attilio Critien, a medical officer of health, drew up a report after visiting the area in 1913 and portrays

¹³⁴ Paul Cassar, *Medical History of Malta* (London, Wellcome Historical Medical Library, 1964), 330

¹³⁵ Attilio Critien, *The Manderaggio – notes, historical and other*, (1938), 14

¹³⁶ Denis Darmanin, Residents, Reputation, Religion and Rebuilding in Valletta's Manderaggio, *The Times of Malta*, 28 June 2015

an idea of what the habitat of lower-class city people looked like. At that time, about 1,214 people were living there which amounts to about 5% of the total population of Valletta.¹³⁷ However, one must keep in mind that in 1881, this area was home to 2544 persons, as conveyed by Dr. S. L. Pisani in his report on the cholera epidemic in 1887.¹³⁸ The decrease in number of residents was due to the fact that as transportation to and from the city had become cheaper and more rapid, people opted to go and live in nearby Hamrun or B'Kara.

Mr. Critien gave a thorough account of the types of buildings to be found in this area. There were 10 cellars of which only 2 were occupied. Of the 199 rooms to be found at ground level, some of them were closets, 41 were unoccupied, 42 were let as shops of groceries, vegetables, wine and spirits, and tea and coffee shops. Another 10 were let as kitchens to tenants in nearby rooms.¹³⁹ 141 inhabitants lived in the 41, one room-tenement and therefore several had 4 and 5 persons whilst 9 of these rooms had 6 persons living together and 1 room had 7 persons. The remaining housing accommodations were made up of lodging having 2 or more rooms mostly above ground level, having 471 people in 104 houses made up of 255 rooms, and of the 24 houses used as *kerreyas*, 22 were inhabited. There were 153 occupied rooms of the 166 available, and these were home to 343 persons.¹⁴⁰ According to Mr. Critien, the inhabitants were hard-working and law-abiding. They were unable to enjoy privacy and peace as a result of poverty. The women had to perform most of their housework in the street due to constraints whilst children ran about in the wet alleys. The elderly, few in number, could be seen sitting on their doorsteps.

Ġużè Orlando, in his novel *L-Ibleh*, had described this area as '*il-qabar ta' nies ħajja*' - a tomb for living people - whilst describing his impression upon his visit to the Manderaggio where darkness enshrouded everywhere. He had been impressed by the fact that the rooms he went by, were inhabited by families of about 8 or more members.¹⁴¹ On the other hand, Sir Harry Luke says that whoever referred to this area as 'underground Malta' and that it was a region which could not be entered with safety,

¹³⁷ Attilio Critien, 27

¹³⁸ *ibid.*, 31

¹³⁹ *ibid.*, 15

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*, 18-19

¹⁴¹ Ġużè Orlando, *L-Ibleh*, (Malta, Associated News Ltd., 1985), 60-61

without even having seen the place, was giving imaginary descriptions.¹⁴² He continues to express that the Manderaggio was a depressed area as it was densely populated and that it was at a lower level than the bordering quarters. The inhabitants were no different from the rest of the population of Valletta except that they were poorer.

Another area of shabby housing mentioned by Harrison and Hubbard in their report is the St. Lazarus Slum, the area of Strada Pozzi, behind the military hospital, which is popularly known as '*L-Arcipierku*', the archiplelago, probably on account of the many lanes which break up the place into numerous islands of small houses.¹⁴³ Reconstruction works were carried out in 1972 when blocks were demolished and new housing apartments were built, as shown in Fig.2.9.



Fig. 2.9 Strada San Nicola on the day that buildings were to be demolished as part of the reconstruction plan in 1972
Source: Alfred Debattista *L-Arcipierku – Niesu u l-madwar*, 19

¹⁴² Sir Harry Luke, *Malta: An Account and an Appreciation* (London, George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1949), 38

¹⁴³ Alfred Debattista, *L-Arcipierku: Niesu u l-Madwar* (Hamrun, Alfred Debattista, 2003), 15

The Ghetto Slum shown in Fig.2.10. comprises the portion of Strada San Nicola, between Strada Reale and Strada Forni, and is better known as “*Id-Dui Balli*”, referring to two pillars surmounted by balls which decorated that site. Even during the short reign of the French, St.Nicholas Street was changed to Rue des deux balles, and this therefore confirms the origin of the name given to the neighbourhood. ¹⁴⁴



Strada San Giuseppe



Strada Sant'Anna

Fig. 2.10 The Ghetto Slum
Source: Richard Ellis Photography – Streets of Valletta – Set of 12 prints

The rental market

The great commercial activity in Malta brought about a constant arrival of foreigners and of British residents, and this led to a great demand for accommodation in Valletta. The consequence was that the landlords raised the rents and gave notice to the poorer tenants to leave. Many of the inhabitants were thus forced to abandon their homes to make room for wealthier tenants. It often happened that they were

¹⁴⁴ Alfred Debattista, *Id-Due Balli: Niesu u l-Madwar* (Hamrun, Alfred Debattista, 2015), 19

turned out into the streets with their numerous families, without the means of getting a habitation.¹⁴⁵

Several persons owned and let out a diverse variety of residences, and even though the dwellings were contemporary, the standard was poor. Newspaper correspondents wrote about their concerns of this situation and urged the lower classes to refuse to pay excessive rents but instead ask for an assessment of the property. The wealthier and supposedly more intelligent citizens were called upon to resolve the housing situation on the island, particularly in Valletta and the Harbour area. They stated that the poor were in no position to pay for better housing and moreover, they were ignorant of the great importance of suitable ventilation and proper drainage.¹⁴⁶

The Malta Royal Commission of 1912 reported that the leases granted by the Government were generally for eight years only, whether for houses or land, and the upkeep was the landlord's responsibility. For such reason, these leases were preferred to those offered by the Church or private proprietors, as these asked for a higher rent. On the other hand, the costs of maintenance and repair was much higher and the tenant had no choice but to let the property fall into disrepair and ultimately give it up in a worse state than when he had acquired it. So as to keep this situation under control, it was suggested that the Public Works Department had to make periodical inspections and compel the tenant to fulfil the conditions of the lease. It was surmised that the Government's revenue would increase if tenants were constrained by the conditions in the lease to ensure the repair and upkeep of the property. The only properties exempted from this provision were those whose rent did not exceed that of 10*l.* per annum.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Paul Cassar (1964), 328

¹⁴⁶ Michael Refalo, (2013), 81

¹⁴⁷ *Malta Royal Commission Report 1912*, 40

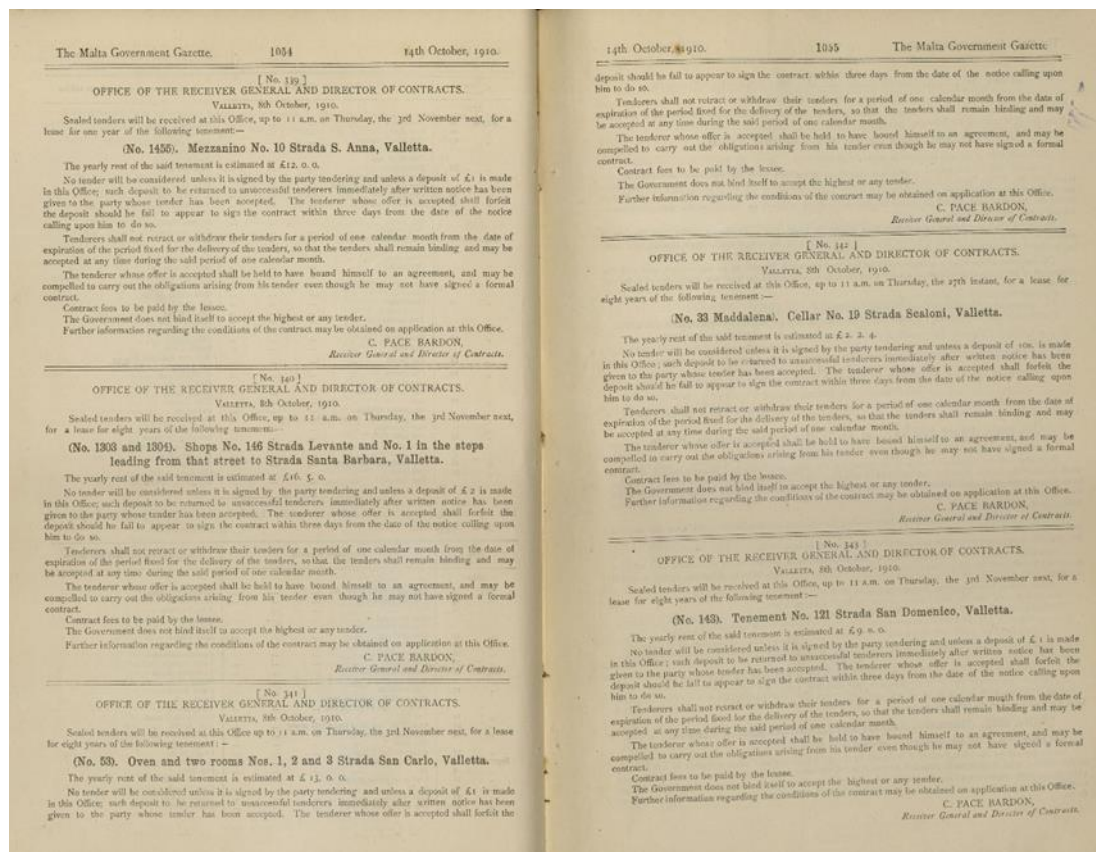


Fig. 2.11 Tenders to lease tenements in Valletta
Source: The Malta Government Gazette 14 Oct. 1910

The urban tenements that were of Government property, and for which tenders to lease can be noticed in Fig.2.11, were almost all in Valletta, and the rents were paid twice a year, on the 1st of January and the 1st of July.¹⁴⁸ On the other hand, the kerreyas were let monthly, and tenants were allowed to crowd together without paying more rent. The system was that when a room was let, the balance till the end of the month had to be paid upfront and then the rent payments had to always be made on the same day. This was done intentionally so that the owner only needed to collect the rent from all the tenants once a month.¹⁴⁹ It was technically illegal to sublet rented government property, but tenants repeatedly made use of such a method to lower their rent expenses, and in some cases, they also made a profit. There was a high demand

¹⁴⁸ The Hon. Mr. C. Pace Bardon, 52-54

¹⁴⁹ The Hon. Prof. F. Debono, 74

in the capital, and this inevitably pushed up the rent.¹⁵⁰ The lower classes, including tradesmen, were finding the rents in town too much for them and were moving out.

Popular housing was also a source of investment, and as the Maltese had little confidence in investment outside the Island, building leases developed as a major means in Malta's economy. As the request for building space had risen, especially within the Valletta fortification, the value rose proportionally. The building of houses and *mezzanini* in Valletta not only improved public revenue and raised the value of Government property, but also created an additional benefit of extending house accommodation which was in high demand.¹⁵¹ The protagonists in the property business were those defined on deeds as *commerciante* or *negoziante*. The majority sought to purchase their residence, place of business or additional property to pass on to their children. Those who possessed a surplus capital to invest, chose real estate, and the first to try their hand at such market investments were architects joined in partnership with builders. These were amongst the first to become aware of properties on the market and also appreciated the value of this branch of business.¹⁵² Dealing in property was perceived by a few as an ideal opportunity for enrichment. The population growth, residence in Malta of soldiers, sailors and bureaucrats, and the attraction of the urban centre, constituted the primary material for those courageous enough to embark upon such ventures.¹⁵³

This need for investment in building had to be controlled by the local Government to assure the interests of the population. Security and speculation were not the only pressures which defined housing. With the introduction of Victorian Codes of Law, post 1850, and the new housing standards regulations, sanitation also came to play an important role.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ Michael Refalo (2013), 83

¹⁵¹ Malcolm Borg, *British Colonial Architecture: Malta 1800-1900* (San Gwann, PEG Ltd., 2001), 116

¹⁵² Michael Refalo (2013), 80

¹⁵³ *ibid.*, 92

¹⁵⁴ Malcolm Borg, 117

Sanitation

The sanitary state of the habitations, especially those of the working classes and the poor, was neglected. The dwellings of Valletta could be grouped into three categories depending on their hygienic state. First and worst, there were the cellars consisting of a single room whose only means of light and air was the street door. They were dark, filthy and foul smelling. These had a vaulted roof and a wooden structure was installed at the height of the spring of the arch, forming a mezzanine floor and creating sleeping space for some members of the family. These were the habitations of the poorest class of artisans, in which they lodged together with their numerous families and carried on their trades. In summer the air inside these squats was so stuffy that the residents deserted them during the night to sleep outside on the pavement.

There were also the *mezzanini* which were constructed above the cellars and were inhabited by a better class. The only advantage they had in comparison to the rooms underneath was that they were provided with a window but they were still small, varying between eight to ten feet in height, dark and ill-ventilated. The houses of the well-off presented a noticeable contrast to the other dwellings, having an abundance of windows and large, grand and elegantly decorated rooms. Nevertheless, their drains were so faulty that an unpleasant odour of sewage was immediately observed on entering many of these habitations during the hot season.

Humid, dark and very badly ventilated dwellings seem to have offered the most advantageous conditions for the development and spreading of epidemics. The cholera epidemic of 1865 was instrumental in focusing attention on the unhygienic state of the homes of the poorer classes,¹⁵⁵ and improvements in the sewage and drainage system of Valletta, Floriana and the Three Cities were proposed in that same year. However, house fittings were not included in the financial estimates of the project and the scheme fell through.¹⁵⁶ It was only in 1883 that Valletta was drained and sewered, and the work was completed by 1886. There was a drain under every

¹⁵⁵ Paul Cassar (1964), 328-329

¹⁵⁶ Paul Cassar 'The Hanging Water-closets of Valletta', *The Sunday Times*, 7 August 1994

street and as the city is built on a hill sloping towards the harbours, the sewer in each street went without difficulty to the interceptor at the foot of each slope.¹⁵⁷ In Valletta, it was compulsory to connect with the drains and these, by rule, were attached to a six-inch syphon and a ventilator to the top of the house. This was done at the expense of the landlord, and the Public Health Department inspected the connection.

By law, all the dwelling houses had to have a water closet¹⁵⁸ although the sanitation commission appointed in 1887 did not recommend this as a general introduction in all houses. Only in the few houses of the well-to-do were required to adhere to this provision. This was because it felt that people were not yet ready for such an innovation.¹⁵⁹ In many *kerreyas*, this was not allowed in each apartment. The inhabitants of the common-lodging house shared the use of one basin. Even in the Manderaggio, the people were not allowed to have water closets in their houses but they had to empty their pails in basins provided by the Government in the public streets. This was considered as a very sanitary system, as in such a badly ventilated place, having a water closet in the house would have been a source of danger.¹⁶⁰ Along the whole Strada Manderaggio, there were 19 w.c. pans set in cement blocks which together with the street gratings, were cleansed and flushed daily by public scavengers.¹⁶¹

A domestic water supply was introduced in 1890 and until then, many people had to make use of public water-pumps and private wells.¹⁶² Most of the inhabitants in the Manderaggio obtained water from four public stand-pipes, as service water was metered to comparatively few tenements.¹⁶³ Moreover, because there was a shortage of water, there was no law by which flushing was enforced.¹⁶⁴ Advances in the sanitary arrangements of private houses were very slow, except for the replacement of porous bowls and stone troughs by impervious earthenware ones and for the installation of water flushing cisterns towards the beginning of the twentieth century.

¹⁵⁷ *Malta Royal Commission Report 1912 – Minutes of Evidence*, Evidence of The Hon. Mr. Lorenzo Gatt, 108

¹⁵⁸ *ibid.*, 111

¹⁵⁹ Paul Cassar (1994), xxviii

¹⁶⁰ The Hon. Mr. Lorenzo Gatt, 111

¹⁶¹ Attilo Critien, 25

¹⁶² Carmel Cassar 'Everyday Life in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century', in *The British Colonial Experience 1800-1964: The Impact on Maltese Society*, V. Mallia Milanese (ed.) M.A.P.E.Ltd, Msida 1988, 105

¹⁶³ Attilo Critien, 21

¹⁶⁴ The Hon. G. Caruana Scicluna, 163

This evolving process was so slow and erratic that 116 common lodging houses in Valletta had to wait until 1957 to have their drains connected to the public sewer.¹⁶⁵

In January 1910 a slight outbreak of typhoid fever occurred in Valletta, Floriana and Sliema. The Governor instructed the Superintendent of the Public Health to investigate the cause of the epidemic. The bacteriological examination of the water revealed the presence of *coli bactilli*, bacteria due mostly to the filtration of organic matter inside the stone conduits, stretches of which were found to be improperly sealed and otherwise exposed to contamination. The commission concluded that the most efficacious remedy was that of replacing the stone conduits by iron tubes.¹⁶⁶ The condition of certain buildings which suffered from senile decay aggravated by the neglect of the landlords and tenants did nothing to help the situation. Many of these very poorly lighted and aired tenements were declared unfit for habitation.¹⁶⁷ The number of persons who ordinarily occupied these habitations was greatly out of proportion to their size and thus aggravated housing conditions.

Density and Overcrowding

The density of habitation in different locations varied. In Valletta, the census of 1891 reported that four or more persons lodged in one room and this constituted a case of overcrowding. This was the situation in the common dwelling houses where 474 cases of families had insufficient accommodation.¹⁶⁸ The problem of overcrowding came to diminish as after 1901, many buildings were established outside the city and persons scattered more.¹⁶⁹ The compiler of the 1901 census observed that the increase in the number of available dwellings was a result of the carving up of larger properties. Therefore, there wasn't an extension of the area over which buildings had been erected but closer packing of dwellings in the same area.¹⁷⁰

In Valletta, the percentage of overcrowding rose from 38.2 in 1901 to 40.7 in 1911. As the civil population of Valletta slightly increased and the number of

¹⁶⁵ Paul Cassar (1995), xxviii

¹⁶⁶ Paul Cassar (1964), 319

¹⁶⁷ Attilo Critien, 39

¹⁶⁸ *The Census of the Maltese Islands 1891*, ix

¹⁶⁹ *Malta Royal Commission Report 1912 – Minutes of Evidence*, Evidence of The Hon. Prof. F. Debono, 73

¹⁷⁰ *The Census of the Maltese Islands 1901*, xv

inhabited dwellings decreased, the consequence was a slight increase in the overcrowding in 1911. It will be observed that whilst the civil population for Valletta was 24,427 persons, no less than 6,136 or about one fourth of it lived in kerreyas.¹⁷¹ Thus nearly one fifth of the population of Valletta lived in common lodging houses and therefore the proportion of the population living in kerreyas was still high in 1921. It is interesting to note that there was little overcrowding in these tenements.¹⁷² If we look at Fig.2.12, we can notice that the number of persons in each family in relation to the number of rooms to each family, was on the decrease.

1891	No. of rooms to each family	No. of persons in each family												Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12 & up	
	1	568	520	339	241	180	118	80	34	19	8	2	1	2,110
	2	93	216	201	192	185	116	80	50	24	15	4	2	1,178
	3	30	70	69	56	72	51	36	38	11	13	5	4	455
	4	11	34	28	31	39	20	23	16	12	5	3	0	222
	5 & upwards	83	141	232	203	194	168	161	152	76	48	37	58	1,553
	Total	785	981	869	723	670	473	380	290	142	89	51	65	5,518
1901	No. of rooms to each family	No. of persons in each family												Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12 & up	
	1	437	414	261	214	154	89	65	34	12	6	2	2	1,690
	2	59	236	192	172	150	83	62	45	35	7	5	0	1,046
	3	31	86	77	70	57	43	39	33	24	5	4	4	473
	4	34	87	92	72	59	59	43	26	10	14	3	4	503
	5 & upwards	70	157	237	203	222	164	125	103	64	57	30	44	1,476
	Total	631	980	859	731	642	438	334	241	145	89	44	54	5,188
1911	No. of rooms to each family	No. of persons in each family												Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12 & up	
	1	376	343	229	170	154	92	52	31	23	5	5	0	1,480
	2	92	92	232	214	175	177	105	99	60	38	19	8	1,219
	3	24	94	103	74	76	62	67	35	32	9	8	0	584
	4	13	22	51	57	60	49	37	34	33	17	6	3	382
	5 & upwards	35	118	180	179	200	105	125	88	94	58	41	16	1,299
	Total	540	809	777	655	667	473	380	248	220	108	68	23	4,964
1921	No. of rooms to each family	No. of persons in each family												Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12 & up	
	1	467	423	321	220	128	89	42	27	15	6	1	1	1,740
	2	115	285	272	217	189	130	109	51	30	17	9	3	1,427
	3	23	115	105	78	83	65	63	50	24	11	10	4	631
	4	17	52	60	56	52	27	28	29	19	11	8	4	363
	5 & upwards	29	115	166	156	162	118	97	82	64	39	27	14	1,069
	Total	651	990	924	727	616	429	339	239	152	84	55	26	5,232
1931	No. of rooms to each family	No. of persons in each family												Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12 & up	
	1	432	339	237	155	109	75	46	29	7	7	3	3	1,442
	2	128	329	199	239	176	145	97	55	45	14	6	1	1,434
	3	38	137	124	101	100	76	62	40	33	16	5	2	734
	4	18	57	74	75	57	66	42	36	29	15	6	7	482
	5 & upwards	36	151	164	175	153	127	111	88	53	43	16	15	1,132
	Total	652	1,013	798	595	489	358	248	167	95	36	28	15	4,494

Fig. 2.12 Housing of Families viz: the number of families occupying each a house or tenement.

Source: The Census of the Maltese Islands 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931

¹⁷¹ *The Census of the Maltese Islands 1911*, iv

¹⁷² *The Census of the Maltese Islands 1921*, 23

Conclusion

Restructure of the housing system during this period reflected the social and economic changes occurring at the time. The economy which was based primarily on different harbour and commercial activities, generated a long period of urbanization in the Grand Harbour area. Valletta and the Cottonera cities became cosmopolitan centres in which foreigners and locals were integrated on the social, legal and economic levels. Houses were acquired according to one's level of material wealth and social status.¹⁷³

The urban settlements were characterized by a combination of different social classes, having the elite which incorporated the nobility and the Church, the upper middle class was made up of members of different professions and entrepreneurs, the lower middle class comprised craftsmen, small business owners and clerical workers, whilst labourers, servants and the destitute were considered the lower class. The different types of houses reflected the different social classes that characterized the urban community.¹⁷⁴

Unless the house had been inherited or one was well-off enough to buy property, the majority had no choice but to rent. This depended on the financial means one could afford, be it a mezzanine, a room or a cellar. Sanitation was given importance in building regulations although not all gave it weight. Inspections had to be carried out to ensure that the population abided by such laws in order to secure a means to safeguard public hygiene, to prevent the spread of disease in areas that were densely populated. Large families flocked to the city which offered increasing opportunities, and therefore attracted people ready to work from all over the island, leading to a social and spatial transformation of this port area.

¹⁷³ George A. Said-Zammit, 111

¹⁷⁴ George A. Said-Zammit, 108

Chapter 3

Employment

Introduction

Malta's economic history can be understood if contextualised in a broader geostrategic dimension. Strategic decisions were taken by the Colonial and War Offices in London¹⁷⁵ and more often than not, these decisions actually meant the subordination of local interests to the expediency of British colonial rule.¹⁷⁶ The presence of the British Admiralty and military establishments required a direct flow of funds from the British treasury, but these fluctuated according to the defence needs and the political situation that prevailed in the Mediterranean. Such measures offered no stable and secure means of livelihood, as these were usually high in times of tension and fell in times of peace. Moreover, Malta's dependence on commerce in the Mediterranean was unstable and subject to a variety of influences, many of which lay out of the local or central economic system.¹⁷⁷

The dependence of the economy upon foreign sources, and especially on British spending, continued to keep pace and actually led to a demographic increase on the islands, particularly in the Grand Harbour area, during the period under review. The faculty of the government to provide direct and indirect employment became the decisive factor in the living standard of the increasing number of inhabitants in this part of the island.¹⁷⁸ Nevertheless, throughout most of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the social condition of the population was poor. One could therefore witness the ceaseless whining of beggars who roamed the streets of Valletta.¹⁷⁹ Conditions in town were somewhat better than in rural settings but albeit this, work opportunities were not secure and most worked on a seasonal basis. There was a noticeable difference between the life of the villagers and that of the townsmen.

¹⁷⁵ Edward L. Zammit, 'Aspects of British Colonial Politics and Maltese Patterns of Behaviour' in *The British Colonial Experience 1800-1964: The Impact on Maltese Society*, V.Mallia Milanes (ed.) MAPE Ltd., Msida 1988, 168

¹⁷⁶ Arthur G. Clare, 'Features of an Island Economy: Malta 1800-1914' in *The British Colonial Experience 1800-1964: The Impact on Maltese Society*, V.Mallia Milanes (ed.) MAPE Ltd., Msida 1988, 130

¹⁷⁷ Arthur Clare, 128

¹⁷⁸ Edward L. Zammit *A Colonial Inheritance: Maltese Perceptions of Work, Power and Class Structure with reference to the Labour Movement* (Msida, Malta University Press, 1984), 11

¹⁷⁹ Arthur Clare, 129

Life in the harbour was more varied but the lowest stratum of urban societies endured hardships.¹⁸⁰

This chapter will seek to give a brief overview of the work that was generated in the Harbour area. It will also have a look at which jobs were available to the people living in Valletta, the latter being both the administrative as well as the commercial hub of the island. In doing so we will put our focus on women's position in this job environment, and the wage earning structure prevalent at the time. This will also incorporate an investigation as to whether remuneration varied in relation not only to social status but also to gender and nationality. In addition, this chapter will also examine the levels of unemployment in difficult times and to what extent emigration might have presented a possible solution.

The Grand Harbour – a source of labour

For most of the nineteenth century and the first half or so of the twentieth, Malta was the headquarters of the British fleet in the Mediterranean and therefore a key naval-military station. With all the facilities lying in the Grand Harbour, the island became a strategic shipping port of call, a trading centre and a coaling station for British shipping in the Mediterranean. This resulted in the Valletta-Cottonera region developing as Malta's economic centre. This attracted most of the investments and generated a substantial portion of new employment, both of which mostly were related to the Admiralty and Mercantile sectors.¹⁸¹ For centuries, the Maltese worker had lived in the relative seclusion of the fields, and he had hardly ever had contact with Valletta.¹⁸² After the middle of the nineteenth century, the Grand Harbour witnessed an exponential increase in activity, thus generating further possibilities of employment.

¹⁸⁰ Carmel Cassar, 'Everyday Life in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', in *The British Colonial Experience 1800-1964: The Impact on Maltese Society*, V.Mallia Milanes (ed.) M.A.P.E. Ltd., Msida 1988, 102

¹⁸¹ John Chircop, 'Colonial Encounters in Multiple Dimensions: Collaboration, defiance, resistance and Hybridity in the making of Maltese History', in *Colonial Encounters: Maltese experiences of British Rule 1800-1970s*, J.Chircop (ed.) Horizons, Qormi 2015, 60

¹⁸² Salvinu Busuttil, 'Malta's Economy in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of the Faculty of Arts*, Vol.3, issue 1 (1965), 58

The volume of shipping in the Grand Harbour rose rapidly in the years 1854 to 1856, which led Malta through stages of commercial boom. The Island was the main military and supply depot, and the major naval base and arsenal, apart from being the most significant hospital centre during the Crimean War. The prosperous trade and increased British military and naval spending, were amongst the reasons which ensured that the island's economy flourished.¹⁸³ However, commercial pursuits were enhanced as a result of the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, when Malta became a focus point between the primary products of the east and the manufacturers of Europe.¹⁸⁴ From 1871 onwards, non-agricultural employment became prevailing in the Maltese economy. The local industries formerly tied to the old agricultural pattern began to die out, while more people were finding engagement with the Colonial Government. Malta was so important as a British base that it was felt required to provide direct employment for most of the population.¹⁸⁵

Exports of British steel increased significantly, and a succession of steamers called at Malta on their way to the East. On the return journey, they stopped at Black Sea ports to load grain for Western Europe, calling at the Grand Harbour en route.¹⁸⁶ In the 1870s and 1880s bunkering activities encouraged a shift of rural labourers into port occupations.¹⁸⁷ Towards 1890, however, ships grew larger and more powerful, thus reaching a greater range of sufficiency. It was no longer essential for most of them to make a bunkering call at Malta.¹⁸⁸ Steamship innovations and the international demand for grain slowly turned away from the Black Sea,¹⁸⁹ as this staple was being supplied by North America to the British and European markets. In addition, steamships began to find the ports of Tunis, Bizerta, Bone and Messina much cheaper and efficient than Malta.¹⁹⁰

To strengthen and secure the Grand Harbour as perhaps a key naval base in the Mediterranean, the first five years of the twentieth century saw feverish activity in the

¹⁸³ Rita Grima, 'Some Economic Effects of the Crimean War on Malta', *Melita Historica* Vol. VIII, No.4 (1979), 346

¹⁸⁴ Arthur Clare, 148-149

¹⁸⁵ Carmel Cassar, 95

¹⁸⁶ Salvinu Busuttil, 62

¹⁸⁷ Arthur Clare, 149

¹⁸⁸ Carmel Cassar, 62

¹⁸⁹ Arthur Clare, 151

¹⁹⁰ John Chircop 'Underdevelopment: The Maltese Experience 1880-1914 1919' (unpublished thesis, M.A. History, University of Malta 1993), 140

port. The single most important project of all was the construction of the breakwater of which the foundation stone was laid by King Edward VII in 1903. The one million pound breakwater was intended to protect the fleet against both strong north-easterly winds and torpedo attacks. The amount of employment generated by this project together with the half million pounds' worth investment in the dockyard was more than could be handled by the local workforce and labour had to be imported from Italy and Spain. Nevertheless, the 9,175 Maltese employed in the naval establishment in 1905 were, within a year, reduced to just over half the number.¹⁹¹ On the other hand, the build-up of the garrison, naval and military, ended in 1902 and the Royal Commissioners in 1911 estimated that the reduction of the garrison must have meant a loss to the industries of Malta of not less than £400,000 a year.¹⁹²

Whereas in 1911, only 5,181 Maltese were employed in naval establishments, during the war the figure tripled. The army too enrolled an unprecedented number of Maltese citizens, the number of which rose to 15,047 by 1918. Half of these were enrolled in the Maltese Labour Corps, employed mostly at Gallipoli, Salonica and Italy.¹⁹³ Activity in the Grand Harbour was continuous, not only was the workforce kept busy with the British and French troops, but furthermore, workers were involved in port handling and other services.¹⁹⁴ This artificial high level employment was attributable to the unprecedented expansion of the naval and military services on the island.¹⁹⁵ On the other hand, one of the most immediate effects on commerce as a result of the declaration of war, was the prevention of trade with the enemy. The war created chaos on Malta's trade, mostly due to the severe shortage of shipping.¹⁹⁶ Matters came to a head in 1919, where the years following the First World War brought about domestic and economic complications. The war had generated full employment, mainly in the Grand Harbour and the dockyard, and therefore, the

¹⁹¹ Carmel Vassallo, *The Malta Chamber of Commerce 1848-1919: An Outline of Maltese Trade* (Valletta, The Malta Chamber of Commerce, 1998), 73

¹⁹² H.Bowen-Jones, J.C.Dewdney and W.B.Fisher, *Malta: Background and Development* (Durham, Department of Durham College, 1961), 123

¹⁹³ Paul A. Bartolo, *War and Social Change – Malta 1914-1919* (unpublished thesis, M.A. History, University of Malta 1982), 51

¹⁹⁴ Charles Boffa, *Malta's Grand Harbour and its Environs in War and Peace* (Mrieħel, progress Press Co.Ltd, 2000), 41

¹⁹⁵ Paul A. Bartolo, 51

¹⁹⁶ Carmel Vassallo, 75

decreasing number of thousands of British servicemen negatively affected the local economy.¹⁹⁷

Both the Royal navy and merchant shipping were key factors in the process of British Empire expansion, so access to harbours and depots became vital. For coastal as for overland markets and for their protection, as well as to assert power, the port became a strategy. The economic activity generated by naval and military movements became a livelihood to thousands of families and it was almost felt that the navy was there for their benefit.¹⁹⁸ In the process of British expansion, the Royal navy and merchant shipping had a central role.

Occupational structure

The occupations of the people were classified according to the system followed in the United Kingdom and the colonies although a few modifications were introduced, suggested by the peculiar character of some of the occupations on the Islands. A number of persons in Malta and Gozo were engaged in more than one occupation. However that individual could not be returned under more than one head. Everyone was instructed that in the ‘Householders’ Schedule’ as part of the national census held every ten years, one had to state the occupation by which one’s livelihood was mainly earned. Occupations were divided into six classes as mentioned in Fig.3.1 and it was deemed convenient to subdivide, as much as possible, into Orders and Sub-orders, to provide more thorough information.

Valletta											
	1891		1901		1911		1921		1931		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Professional	1,425	213	1,727	214	1,263	230	1,258	260	1,274	347	8,211
Domestic	555	1,754	506	1,625	323	1,232	796	1,319	819	1,265	10,194
Commercial	3,088	134	2,902	152	2,944	137	2,408	162	2,397	336	14,660
Agricultural	16	0	4	0	4	0	2	0	2	0	28
Industrial	2,280	738	2,134	761	2,023	648	1,824	568	1,969	538	13,483
Unoccupied & Unproductive	2,922	8,145	2,828	7,620	3,292	8,548	2,963	8,635	3,037	8,421	56,411
Total	10,286	10,984	10,101	10,372	9,849	10,795	9,251	10,944	9,498	10,907	

Fig. 3.1 The classification of occupations of the Valletta residents
Source: The Census of the Maltese Islands 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931

¹⁹⁷ Charles Boffa, 48

¹⁹⁸ Henry Frendo. *Europe and Empire: Culture, Politics and Identity in Malta and the Mediterranean* (Sta. Venera, Midsea Books Ltd., 2012), 23-25

In Fig.3.1, one can immediately notice that the inhabitants of Valletta were not involved in agricultural activities. Moreover, although during the period in study, communications across the islands were facilitated first by train services from the 1880s, then by trams and subsequently by the Maltese passenger bus, the residents who sought jobs in the city preferred to live there. Valletta was the core of Malta's political, administrative and commercial action and therefore, people crammed into the city so as to be as close as possible to labour.

The mass employment of the Maltese with the Colonial Government led to a state where the workers felt obliged to the British because thousands of jobs were safeguarded at a rate of pay.¹⁹⁹ By the 1870s, the urban blue collar labouring population had become the focus of the Colonial State's modernisation drive, and particularly of educational projects that eventually sought to promote loyalty to a generous British Empire. The learning of English had become indispensable for access to government resources, such as for employment in the civil service and the admiralty.²⁰⁰

Government departments gradually came to be filled with politically reliable individuals who could be depended upon to promote and instigate the population at large to support the colonial project. Locally, employment with the government, more specifically with the civil service, continues to be deployed as a powerful source of patronage, resulting in the cramming of the lower levels of the government departments, with more and more individuals enrolled through patron-client networks. With the introduction of Maltese self-government in 1921, the highest available occupations, not to mention the lowest grades of the government service, continued to be used as a source of ensuring allegiance, as this was now open to exploitation by elected Maltese politicians.²⁰¹ The majority of the Maltese civil servants that occupied the top positions, came from collaborating elite families. These were essential for the continued functioning of the colonial state's heavy administrative, financial and charitable procedures. These top public servants maintained a policy of intensive recruitment of larger numbers of pro-British elements, making the Civil Service the

¹⁹⁹ Carmel Cassar, 96

²⁰⁰ John Chircop, 'Colonial Encounters in Multiple Dimensions: Collaboration, defiance, resistance and Hybridity in the making of Maltese History', in *Colonial Encounters: Maltese experiences of British Rule 1800-1970s*, J.Chircop (ed.) Horizons, Qormi 2015, 28

²⁰¹ John Chircop (2015), 43-44

backbone of the colonial presence in Maltese society. They were regarded as the key power holders, and they directed and administered the main establishments of the state.²⁰²

	Valletta									
	1891		1901		1911		1921		1931	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
CLASS I : PROFESSIONAL										
Local Government	423	1	320	1	313	10	268	5	282	7
Army & Navy	308	0	652	0	225	0	254	3	244	0
Professional Occupation	694	212	755	213	725	220	736	252	748	340

Fig. 3.2 The classification of the Professional Class

Source: The Census of the Maltese Islands 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931

As Fig.3.2 shows, the number of persons employed by the Local Government was quite substantial and this particular growth of the public service, particularly between the 1870s and 1910, created problems on the financial side of things. This was because there was an enormous number of civil servants more than necessary for the administrative requirements of the time. Moreover, this blown-up civil service was producing a diminishing low return because of the increasing cost of its upkeep.²⁰³ This process shaped the first course of social mobility. This is because not only members of the middle classes were involved but gradually, also educated individuals from the urban working classes, most of whose fathers were employed with the British Admiralty or other colonial entities in Malta, were taken on board.²⁰⁴ In his report on the civil establishment in Malta, Sir Penrose Julyan had stated that civil servants executed their duties with attention and care, but their salaries were unreasonably low and therefore, if greater efficiency were to be attained, their wage had to be increased.²⁰⁵

Work connected with the Navy had by the early part of the twentieth century become crucial to the Maltese economy. Following the Mediterranean fleet's cutback to six battleships, it was reported by the Royal Commission in 1911 that commercial action was revived as soon as the fleet entered the harbour. The most important industrial development during the British period took place at the dockyard, which

²⁰² John Chircop 'Brokers, Collectors and Collaborators: Mediating Colonial Modernization in Malta 1870-1914', *Proceedings of History Week 2003 – The Malta Historical Society* (2005), 53

²⁰³ *ibid.*, 53-55

²⁰⁴ John Chircop (2015), 43

²⁰⁵ Salvinu Busuttil, 62

saw a fast increase in its working force between the 1890s and the late 1940s.²⁰⁶ Fig.3.2 shows a spiked increase in occupations related with the army and navy in 1901, with a total of 652 men. A further explanation is given in Appendix 1, where we gather that the majority of these Valletta inhabitants in the army were gunners. Although thousands of Maltese were employed with HMS Dockyard, in the same table we can also notice that the Maltese, more specifically, Valletta residents that occupied the position of a clerk or that of an unskilled labourer, is rather low in number.

This was so as Englishmen were engaged at the head of every department and the Maltese were barred from all but the lowest offices. The exclusion of Maltese from high positions in the military and dockyard establishments persisted throughout the whole period of British rule, triggering constant friction and bitterness among striving and motivated Maltese individuals, though the majority were generally submissive and contented.²⁰⁷ This patronage was also felt in commerce, where Maltese industrialisation was led by the state and lacked private business investment. Moreover, the recurrent investment in commerce by way of importing business was a key barrier locally. The Imperial Government preferred to enable a greater diffusion of colonial markets by British manufacturing products instead of promoting local production. Maltese capitalists had a conservative mentality and were reluctant to invest money. Such mentalities, together with the local dependent economy, were the reasons behind the island's failure to branch out the economy. Large-scale industrialisation which was not connected to naval activity and defence, failed to take off in Malta.²⁰⁸

The change in the islands' commercial interests, from an agricultural-based economy to one which was essentially marine-oriented, was brought about with the arrival of the British. This meant that there was great need for strong economic development of the port area, where with no doubt these changes created a variety of new job opportunities. The presence of the fleet provided much needed security for the shipping lanes to and from Valletta harbours, as well as for shipping in general, particularly for those vessels sailing near Malta. With this safety guarantee, Malta

²⁰⁶ Carmel Cassar, 96

²⁰⁷ Edward L. Zammit (1984), 11

²⁰⁸ Jonathan Camilleri, 'Maltese Industrial Development 1933-1939', *Journal of Maltese History*, Vol.4, no.2 (2015), 23-24

became increasingly known as the commercial secure port of call, where storehouse facilities were available for trans-shipment ventures. In fact, warehouses, and every available bit of storage space around the harbour, were utilized for merchandise in transit. These facilities are known to have attracted numerous trading companies, mainly from Britain, Greece and Italy, as well as local ones, who set office in the harbour district.²⁰⁹ After the opening of the Suez Canal, the top merchants modernized the bunkering depots, storage and berthing facilities in the port. Therefore, huge magazines and coal stores were constructed along the perimeters of the Grand

Valletta										
	1891		1901		1911		1921		1931	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
CLASS III : COMMERCIAL										
Merchants, Dealers & Agents	1,673	131	1,376	113	1,527	75	1,350	92	1,262	105
Persons connected with commerce	733	3	748	38	877	58	494	67	644	222
Conveyance	682	0	778	1	540	4	564	3	491	9

Harbour.²¹⁰

Fig. 3.3 The classification of the Commercial Class
Source: The Census of the Maltese Islands 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931

As shown in Fig.3.3, the number of merchants is quite high, especially during the last decade of the nineteenth century. The numbers decrease at the turn of the century but then remain constant. Appendix 3 gives us a broader idea of what type of merchants lived in Valletta, having the most listed as general merchant dealer. A significant difference can be noticed between the 466 merchants in 1891 to only 164 in 1921. The same can be said to specific merchants, both dealers and agents in wines and spirits, bread and greengrocery. On the contrary, along the years, the pedlars, the commission agents, the bazaar keepers and those dealing in drapery and haberdashery increased in number. Likewise, bankers and those giving bank service also saw an increase in number.

Recruitment to the banks was by competitive examination, where students would do a commercial class or take private lessons in book-keeping at one of the few private establishments for such job finding purposes in Valletta or Sliema. If they failed the exam or did not make it to one bank, they would wait to sit for other banks'

²⁰⁹ Louis Cassar, 'Settlement Patterns in the Maltese Islands: from Early Civilization to Pre-Independence', *GeoJournal* 41.2 (1997), 141-142

²¹⁰ Henry Frendo. 210

exam, or some other competitive exam, the civil service or something with the British Services, as those were the main white-collar positions a school-leaver could aspire to.²¹¹ It was the owners and employees, together with the clients, who through contacts and grabbing opportunities that made and sustained the banks. Neither the Imperial nor the Maltese government were clients of the Maltese banks. So these depended almost exclusively on individual depositors, traders and several established Maltese businesses. However, between the two world wars, banking in Malta slowly became somewhat more professional.²¹²

Nevertheless, more and more people became dependent on harbour activities and many Maltese workers were gathered together in the vast mercantile and naval establishments which generated economic activity enclosing the Grand Harbour. Appendix 3 shows quite a number of seamen in the merchant service, carriers, and porters who made up the largest proportion of this port-dependent working class. The boatmen were a class of people whose living depended mostly on the British fleet's presence. When the fleet was in Harbour, they were kept busy by the crews of battleships, cruisers and destroyers. For decades, the boatmen, two *barklori* for every boat, gave good service to the Fleet and to passengers of visiting liners. When the fleet was not in, they experienced difficult times, so when work was not available, some of them worked as casual stevedores or labourers. There were other boats used by ship chandlers and traders who went near ships to sell their wares.²¹³

Hundreds of Maltese workers depended entirely on the needs of the English Services. It wasn't necessary to be directly employed. For example, the livelihood of suppliers of food such as meat, fish, vegetables, milk and other products was subject to the custom of the English colonists. Furthermore, civilian workers were employed at the officers' club in Valletta, such as cooks, waiters and domestics, importers of goods, building contractors and many other miscellaneous trades.²¹⁴ A complex economic pattern evolved with its ups and downs. The most industrial development during the British period took place at the dockyard, which saw a rapid increase in its working force between the 1890s and the late 1940s.²¹⁵ Due to the expansion of the

²¹¹ Henry Frendo, 390

²¹² *ibid.*, 384

²¹³ Charles Boffa, 52

²¹⁴ Paul Vella, *The Industrial Revolution of Malta* (Valletta, Midsea Books, 2007), 1

²¹⁵ Carmel Cassar, 95

naval dockyard during the last decade of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, a lot of works went on, and docks, related establishments and workshops, were constructed. Thousands of Maltese tradesmen were involved in the laborious work, such as diggers, stonemasons and carpenters.²¹⁶ Appendix 5 shows that the number of carpenters hailing from Valletta was constantly a large number. This was considered as an important artisanal group and their fortunes were considered slightly better than the rest as they could also work at the dockyard when work elsewhere was scarce.

Malta's wealth was clearly not based on any heavy manufacturing industry.²¹⁷ This was so as the wealthy merchants were reluctant to invest in local industrial projects due to deficiency of successful results of any venture. On the other hand, the government never helped the people to increase the wealth of the country through wise legislation but it was only concerned with levying taxes.²¹⁸ In fact, the commissioners that compiled the Royal Commission Report of 1912 stated that the Maltese had come to depend very heavily on the strategic value of its harbours.²¹⁹ This had diverted the local industry from production for internal consumption and external trade. The only major exports in 1913-14 were those of onions, potatoes, raw cotton and cumin seed to Germany and Austria-Hungary. On the other hand, the Maltese artisan product had suffered in competition with German machine-made lace, silverware and shoes.²²⁰ The First World War brought about abrupt blockage of the increasing business connections between Malta and the Central Empires. The great concern was mostly about the disruption of the export trade because of restrictions on trade even to neutral countries such as Italy, Tripoli and Greece.²²¹

Nevertheless, the end of World War I in November 1918 meant the immediate reduction of military activity in the Mediterranean. The British garrison was reduced and fewer troop ships called, and this meant a decrease in business for the bars, restaurants and souvenir shops. This also meant a slowdown at the dockyard, and the

²¹⁶ Charles Boffa, 29

²¹⁷ Paul Bartolo, 13

²¹⁸ *ibid.*, 25

²¹⁹ *ibid.*, 13

²²⁰ *ibid.*, 27-28

²²¹ *ibid.*, 46-47

workforce declined in number.²²² During the inter-war years in Malta, private industrial development was seen as a possible prospect to reduce unemployment and the need for economic diversifications was felt. In 1923 the president of the Chamber of Commerce suggested a possible strategy how to exploit Malta's position as a touristic destination, fast welcoming the increasing number of cruise ships calling on the islands and the establishment of the Tourism Bureau. This called for the investment of local capital in the construction of a modern hotel.²²³ Mr. Henry Casolani, when giving evidence to the Royal Commission in 1931, also promoted the development of the tourism industry, being that Malta lacked the primary elements, power and raw material.²²⁴ As one can notice in Fig.3.4 and Fig.3.5, and further more in Appendix 4, the food and lodging sector always offered ample work opportunities for the residents of the city, both for males and females.

Valletta						
	1891		1901		1911	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
CLASS V : INDUSTRIAL						
Books & prints	83	2	75	3	67	1
Machines & implements	30	0	40	0	57	0
Houses, furniture & decorations	306	7	297	2	235	0
Carriages & harness	16	0	19	0	11	0
Ships & boats	2	0	4	0	9	0
Chemicals & compounds	10	2	2	3	1	2
Tobacco	35	12	128	14	131	1
Food & lodging	514	62	502	46	430	55
Textile materials	1	27	1	16	0	14
Dress	766	624	712	672	783	575
Animal substances	5	0	5	0	2	0
Vegetable substances	11	0	8	2	5	0
Mineral substances	318	2	270	3	213	0
General of unspecified commodities	180	0	67	0	78	0
Refuse matters	3	0	4	0	1	0

Fig. 3.4 The classification of the Industrial Class
Source: The Census of the Maltese Islands 1891, 1901, 1911

²²² Brian Blouet, *The Story of Malta 8th edition* (Mrieħel, Progress Press Co. Ltd, 2017), 184

²²³ Carmel Vassallo, 88

²²⁴ *Malta Royal Commission Report 1931 - Minutes of Evidence*, Evidence of Mr. Henry Casolani, 114

Valletta				
	1921		1931	
	M	F	M	F
Class V: INDUSTRIAL				
Books & prints	67	1	91	7
Metal workers	269	2	217	3
Stone & lime workers	2	0	11	0
Workers in wood & furniture	161	0	215	0
Musical instruments	0	0	2	0
Textile & dress	406	521	462	465
Food, drink & tobacco	367	35	382	62
Coal & lightage	4	0	18	0
Other workers	548	9	565	2

Fig. 3.5 The classification of the Industrial Class
Source: The Census of the Maltese Islands 1921, 1931

When in Malta, the first place to visit was Valletta and the people of the city soon realised that tourism could keep the economy going and thus visitors had to be taken care of and offered the best possible environment.²²⁵ The tourist and the foreigner visitor found the city surprisingly pleasant as it offered all the advantages which a stranger to a foreign land would long for. Its people were considered friendly, many of the buildings were magnificent, it was well-supplied with necessities, and it was protected by the Royal Navy and a garrison from the armies of the Empire. Indeed, Valletta was an ideal place to visit, while not missing on an excursion or more to the countryside and coastal villages and the various other attractions.²²⁶ The strategic position of Malta facilitated visits by travellers while these transited from one port to another along the Mediterranean and beyond, to India and the Far East and therefore this meant that accessibility to Malta was easy. This not only meant business for lodging houses, inns and eating houses but when steamers visited, they would stay for a few hours and attract dealers in coral, silver filigree work, lace and other local products. The sellers could board ships and do business with whoever wished to buy their goods. The passengers who were ashore, were attracted by the shops that were

²²⁵ George Cassar, 'Nineteenth-Century Valletta: A Tourist City in the Making...' in *Humillima Civitas Vallettae*, M.Abdilla Cunnigham, M.Camilleri and G.Vella (eds.) Heritage Malta, Valletta 2018, 387

²²⁶ *ibid.*, 378

kept open beyond regular time, because of steamers that arrived outside usual opening hours.²²⁷

One must say that the Maltese economy remained underdeveloped because the British invested locally only in the strategic function of Malta and exploited its cheap labour to sustain the empire. On the other hand, the Maltese capitalist did not invest in industrial production not only because the local government did not offer protection but also for the reason that the foreign investor had the advantage of having contact with export markets, which the Maltese counterpart did not.²²⁸ In order to expand their business and share the risk, merchants associated with each other or with others. This enabled them to compete on the market and increase their profit margin.²²⁹ The local commercial community implemented and modified to what suited it best. If some of the direct influences were not regarded as beneficial, they were rejected or changed to suit the needs and expectations of the local society. As the greatest part of the commercial activity was concentrated in the port area, most partnerships were those between Valletta residents followed by those originating from the port cities of Cottonera or the Gozitan-born partners trading with Valletta-born ones.²³⁰ However, the most common type of partnership was a family arrangement where the merchant ensured a smooth transition of the establishment when forming a business with his sons.²³¹ Furthermore, the presence of women in commercial partnerships was fairly common. Usually, following the death of the male merchant, the widow entered the partnership to protect her own and her children's rights, although notwithstanding so, it was very rare for the woman to retain the managerial position. Furthermore, gender differences arose both from the practical terms of civil law and from actual practice.²³²

²²⁷ George Cassar, 385

²²⁸ Jonathan Camilleri, 32-33

²²⁹ Michael Refalo, 'Commercial Partnerships in Late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century Malta', in *Colonial Encounters: Maltese Experiences of British Rule 1800-1970s*, J.Chircop (ed.) Horizons, Qormi 2015, 299

²³⁰ *ibid.*, 302-303

²³¹ *ibid.*, 306

²³² *ibid.*, 316-317

Women's role in the labour force

Female work opportunities in the labour market induced many of them to search low-paid activities where no restrictions existed with regards to social respectability and marital and legal status.²³³ Therefore, by necessity, women undertook any paid work which they could lay their hands upon, to complement the money brought home by the husband, which was usually insufficient for their households to live on. There were others who were passing hard times, due maybe to the fact that the male breadwinner had a prolonged illness or even worse, they were widows or single mothers, and therefore more economically fragile and easy to slide into poverty. In such dire straits, women succumbed to prostitution, even if of a casual nature. To contain the movement of prostitutes, the colonial authorities had enacted laws where under this system, such women were required to register and then present themselves for physical examination once a month in order to be issued with a certificate of health by the police. These registered prostitutes were spatially segregated in market locations, such as around Strait Street in Valletta and other pockets within the harbour district.²³⁴

Strait Street was known as 'The Gut' amongst the British ratings whilst the officers frequented the upper section of this street, and Old Theatre Street was the break-point. Nearly all the bars provided musical entertainment and the larger establishments hosted cabaret and floor-show events while other bars had live music.²³⁵ Barmaids were to be found in all these establishments and while some state they were often also prostitutes to supplement their income, others claim they were just barmaids, serving drinks to sailors and trying to persuade them to spend more money on drinks. As from 1932, these women had to wear a medal to identify them and to maintain some order and regulation of the industry. Furthermore, they were not always paid a salary but received only a percentage of the cost of drinks a sailor bought from them.²³⁶ In the evenings sailors came ashore in their hundreds to spread out to

²³³ John Chicop, 'Female vulnerabilities and coping strategies in the poor neighbourhoods of the three colonial port districts: Corfu, Malta and Gibraltar: 1815-1870', in *Vulnerability, Social Inequality and Health*, J.Chircop and P.Bourdelaïs (eds.) Edicoles Colibri, Lisboa 2010, 37

²³⁴ *ibid.*, 43

²³⁵ John Schofield and Emily Morrissey, *Strait Street: Malta's 'Red-Light District' Revealed*, Valletta: Midsea Books 2013, 77

²³⁶ *ibid.* 89

their favourite bars in the city, which were innumerable, and also to the numerous ladies of pleasure.²³⁷

Prostitution is not illegal in Malta but only ‘loitering with the intent of soliciting custom’ is a criminal offence. There was a wave of prostitution at the beginning of the twentieth century, where whilst in 1903 there were 1,499 contraventions of the regulations dealing with prostitution, these soared up to 3,307 in 1922.²³⁸ The regulations issued in 1902 banned prostitutes from living within 50 yards of any place of worship, adjoining any licensed wine and spirit shop or stay in the doorway of her residence. In 1915, the Lieutenant Governor published a regulation regarding the dwellings of prostitutes in the Malta Government Gazette, barring them from living in most of the streets of Valletta, including Strait Street. Nevertheless, it is unclear whether this forbade them to rent rooms there for several hours.²³⁹ The number started to slide in 1923 after the government took measures to control this profession where one of the regulations was that prostitution in Valletta was only permitted in St. Anne Street and Fountain Street, both to be found at the far end of Strait Street, overlooking the French Curtain.²⁴⁰

Furthermore, the British military and naval forces, with their canteens and other amenities located very near their residential areas, provided for women a constant demand for some low-paid activities.²⁴¹ Amongst these jobs we find laundering and cleaning, and we can observe in Appendix 2 the high, although fluctuating, number of females in the washing and laundry services. We can also notice a high and steady number of women as indoor servants, where such a precarious and low-paid job was furthermore restricted to respectable females.

Such respectability was also expected from those employed by the founding homes or orphanages as wet nurses. Besides being in good health, they also needed to be honest and trustworthy, possessed a clean and well-kept appearance as well as being able to produce the necessary amount of good quality milk. The pay was either in reciprocation of some previously form of assistance rendered to them or in

²³⁷ Peter Elliott, 84

²³⁸ George Cini, *Strait Street: Secrets and stories from behind closed doors*, Valletta, George Cini 2017, 142

²³⁹ John Schofield and Emily Morrissey, 107-108

²⁴⁰ George Cini, 142

²⁴¹ John Chircop (2010), 43

exchange of provisions.²⁴² Moreover, women were also involved in specific social support tasks in the community, such as midwives, matrimonial brokers, healers and mourners. Others joined the multitude of pedlars and hawkers and in the poor quarters of Valletta, women and children were employed in tobacco processing and the production of cigars and cigarettes.²⁴³ A difference in female work which came about in the twentieth century lies in the number of school teachers. In 1901 there were 22, 11 of which lived in Valletta and 13 out of the 50 teachers in 1911. However, the number of females in this profession rose to 559 in 1921, 87 being Valletta residents and there were 97 in 1931. The teaching profession was considered to provide both status and security to women. Another job which seemed popular with the female population was that of shop assistant²⁴⁴ where in Appendix 3, we can notice a steady increase in those females giving shop service, having only 3 in 1890 to 178 in 1931.

Throughout the period under review women were paid less than half the wages of their male counterparts and their earnings were insufficient even to maintain themselves daily, let alone their families.²⁴⁵

Wages

The increased official spending in the late 1880s led to stability of money wages but this prosperity was short-lived as in the 1890s, not only did the international grain trade turn away from the Black Sea but also the efficient steamships led to a decline in bunkering activities. Malta was competing with Southern European and North African countries and was struggling for a trade.²⁴⁶ The following period of prosperity was between 1903 and 1906 with the extensive works on the breakwater and the building of barracks. Moreover, the maintenance and expenditure of a much larger fleet and garrison than those now stationed in Malta, caused so great a demand for labour that wages of all descriptions doubled. Nevertheless, when the construction of public works ceased and there was a sudden reduction in the Mediterranean fleet and the Malta garrison, a crisis arose and the Maltese became helpless. The wages of both

²⁴² John Chircop (2010), 47-48

²⁴³ *ibid.*, 42

²⁴⁴ Carmel Cassar, 97

²⁴⁵ John Chircop (2010), 43

²⁴⁶ Arthur G. Clare, 151

skilled and unskilled workmen were reduced by one-half from the highest rates payable during the period of inflation, while the unemployed population was on the increase. At the same time the people of Malta, had to face the general increase in cost of living.²⁴⁷

When the war was in its third year, the cost of living in Malta had more than doubled while the wages had increased by only 10%. Although during the war jobs were available, not many were earning enough money to keep going. A White Paper on the financial state of Malta had shown that imports had fallen and this decrease was due to the difficulty of importing things at a time when shipping in the Mediterranean was very hazardous. Therefore, industrial unrest was inevitable.²⁴⁸ The sinking of cargo ships pushed up prices and with scarcities, prices rose. The downside to wartime boom was inflation, and wages did not adjust easily to this increase.²⁴⁹ Moreover, the shortage of shipping led to unreasonably high flour prices, and the public anger vis-a-vis large importers was acute.²⁵⁰

It was the employees of H. M. Dockyard who were generally better paid than the average Maltese in other forms of employment. Therefore, the pursuit of getting a job in the dockyard came to dominate the life of the Maltese workman, so as to secure a comfortable living. Skilled labourers, craftsmen and foremen who could boast of such positions became respected members of society. Still, Maltese dockyard workers came to be paid less than the Englishmen for performing much the same jobs, and ranks were fragmented into many competing sub-groupings. Officially it was acknowledged that these different grades and the prospect of being moved up the scale, may have served as an incentive to individual men in improving the output of their work. Frequently, it depended on his ability to buy his way up the ranks.²⁵¹

At one time teachers used to resign and seek employment at the Dockyard because nevertheless the pay there was better than in the Government service. Even employees in the civil service were poorly paid. The lowest wage was 14 shillings per week, which together with a weekly bonus of 9 shillings, brought the weekly wage to a total

²⁴⁷ *Malta Royal Commission Report 1912*, 13

²⁴⁸ Fr. Lawrence Attard, *The Great Exodus 1918-1939* (Marsa, PEG Ltd., 1989), 2-3

²⁴⁹ Brian Blouet, 184

²⁵⁰ Carmel Vassallo, 77

²⁵¹ Henry Frendo. 363-364

of 23 shillings. In October 1931 a reduction of 1 shilling was made in the bonus while in the following year, with more cutbacks, a further reduction of 1 shilling was applied. In the case of better paid skilled workers in clerical and supervisory grades, the reduction was slightly higher. Sir Charles Bonham Carter, Governor between 1936 and 1940, sympathised with the Maltese cause and sent a dispatch to the Secretary of State, where he stressed the urgent need of removing the injustices. His efforts were successful and in November 1936, the bonus cuts' measures were reversed. Furthermore, the recommendations for a slight increase in salaries and some extra allowances for night duties for Government employees also came into force.²⁵²

APPENDIX D.
Salaries of First class Heads of Departments since 1885, and those of other Heads of Departments, which were revised after 1913-14.

Office	1885	1891	1897	1902-1903	1911-1912	1913-14 (After F.L.C. report)	1919-1920	Remarks
Lieutenant Governor	£ 6,000	£ 7,000	£ 7,000	£ 7,000	£ 7,000	£ 7,000	£ 7,000	(a) Including £ 300 entertainment or duty allowance.
Asst. Secretary to Government	£ 500	£ 500	£ 500	£ 500	£ 500	£ 500	£ 500	(b) and Clerk of the Councils.
Asst. Secretary to Government for Civil	—	350	350	350	350	350	350	(c) Salary reduced to £ 400 in 1914-15, and returned to £ 300 in 1919-20.
Treasurer	—	500	500	500	500	500	500	(d) The salary paid between 1912-13 and 1919-20 was £ 500, plus £ 50 as office in charge of Casa Museo di Pavia. As allowance of £ 15 a year was also paid in lieu of quarters, salary reduced to £ 400 in 1917-18, and returned to £ 300 in 1919-20.
Government Receipts and Payments	£ 5,000	£ 5,000	£ 5,000	£ 5,000	£ 5,000	£ 5,000	£ 5,000	The following duties were added after 1885:— (1885-1886) House of Commons (House of Lords) (1886-1887) Director of Contracts (House of Commons) (1887-1888) Auditor of Government Expenditure (House of Commons) (1888-1889) Carrying out provisions of Succession, Stamp and Commutation Duties Outcomes.
Collector of Customs (G.)	£ 300	£ 300	£ 300	£ 300	£ 300	£ 300	£ 300	(f) Based on transactions in first half year.
Customs Department Revenue	£ 1,800	£ 1,800	£ 1,800	£ 1,800	£ 1,800	£ 1,800	£ 1,800	(g) Executive Superintendent of the Ports.
Asst. Secy.	—	500	500	500	500	500	500	(h) This was under the Merch. Ships Act, valued at £ 72 a year, in 1917-20.
Superintendent Printing Office	—	100	100	100	100	100	100	(i) Salary reduced to £ 400 in 1914-15, and returned to £ 300 in 1919-20.
Railway Manager	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(j) Maximum salary of 1st class surveyor—£ 300 a year.
Registrar, Superior Courts	—	300	300	300	300	300	300	(k) Salary reduced to £ 300 in 1914-15.
Registrar, Courts of Judicial Police	—	300	300	300	300	300	300	(l) plus £ 25.
Chief Government Medical Officer	—	400	400	400	400	400	400	(m) Salary reduced to £ 400 in 1918-19. Returned to £ 300 in 1919-20.
Commissioners of Police	—	400	400	400	400	400	400	(n) Resides £ 150 as Inspector of Prisons, besides £ 200 allowances.
Comptroller of Charitable Institutions	—	300	300	300	300	300	300	(o) and officer in charge of the Museo di Pavia.
Rector of the University	—	500	500	500	500	500	500	(p) Salary reduced to £ 400 in 1914-15, and returned to £ 300 in 1919-20.
Headmaster, Lyceum	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(q) Plus £ 50 for duties in connection with the Oxford Local Examination.
Superintendent of Prisons	—	300	300	300	300	300	300	(r) Salary paid at £ 300 in 1914-15. Raised to £ 300-350 in 1919-20.
Manager, Water Works & Electric Lighting Department	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(s) Salary reduced to £ 400 in 1914-15.
Deputy Revenue & Expenditure	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(t) Sub-department of the Public Works.
Superintendent of Public Works	—	500	500	500	500	500	500	(u) Appointment since July 1913. Salary £ 400 to £ 450 in 1913, £ 300 to £ 350 in 1914-15, and £ 400 to £ 450 in 1919-20.

APPENDIX E.
STATEMENT showing proposed increases to employees, classified according to present salaries.

Classification	Number of employees	Total of present salaries	Proposed increases	Percentage of increase (column 3) on total cost of scheme	Remarks
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
I. Up to £ 50 a year	909	25,335	83	22.22%	Total increase £ 42,582 = 66.09% on total cost of scheme.
II. Exceeding £ 50 but not £ 100	435	31,470	70	20.15%	
III. Exceeding £ 100 but not £ 200	211	28,725	60	18.81%	
IV. Exceeding £ 200 but not £ 300	62	12,765	45	3.60%	
V. Exceeding £ 300 but not £ 400	12	5,675	35	2.65%	Total increase £ 3,865 = 5.46% on total cost of scheme.
VI. Exceeding £ 400 but not £ 500	8	5,910	25	1.36%	
VII. Exceeding £ 500	8	5,900	15 (a)	1.40%	
	1,650	£ 117,019	£ 20,866		(a) Only on salaries not exceeding £ 600.
Total cost of scheme		£ 70,866 = 60.56% on total of present salaries (£ 117,019).			
Less Bonuses & Broad Rebates		£ 28,739 = 24.55%			
Net cost of Scheme		£ 42,127 = 36%			

Fig. 3.6 Revision of salaries of those working in the civil service

Source: Report of the Committee appointed for the revision of salaries of Government employees 25 Nov. 1919 (National Library)

²⁵² Charles Boffa, 48-50

Fig.3.6 shows the revision of salaries in the different grades of government employees. The committee appointed in 1919 for such a revision had concluded that the scales of salaries were on the same level as they stood 25 years before and even further back. Thus, from the point of view of increased cost of living alone, the insufficiency of the present salaries was thus self-evident.²⁵³ The years of prosperity and those of economic slump brought about insecurity, fluctuation and high cost of living. A complex economic pattern evolved with its ups and downs. The Maltese had come to rely heavily on the Imperial policy since the government still employed a considerable portion of the population. This was bound to vary according to the international political situation; the Maltese economy flourished when conflict arose and times of peace marked an economic downturn. Therefore, the loss from Imperial expenditure together with the decline in bunkering and competition from other Mediterranean ports, gave rise to unemployment.

Unemployment and emigration

At the turn of the century, unemployment was high and population pressure was adding weight to this problem. Between 1903 and 1906, the revenue showed considerable elasticity, owing to the construction then in progress of the great breakwater by the Admiralty and to the commencement by the Civil Government of the programme of extraordinary works. When in 1906 the Admiralty works were completed, the extra demand for labour ceased, the rates of wages fell to their former level, and there began the growth of unemployment. The Royal Commission of 1912 had reported that,

the present distress and the greatly extended unemployment of the working people of Malta, have fallen upon them as a calamity which they could not foresee, and against which they could not make provision.²⁵⁴

The years 1906 to 1914 brought hardship and unemployment especially in Valletta and the Three Cities and a constant source of worry to the local administration was what to do with the unemployed. For this reason, the British appointed a Royal

²⁵³ *Report of the committee appointed for the revision of salaries of Government employees* – 25 Nov. 1919, 3

²⁵⁴ *Malta Royal Commission Report 1912*, 12

commission to report on the disturbing situation.²⁵⁵ In 1911 the civil population of Malta was 211,000 of which half that figure were either unemployed or unproductive. Fig.3.1 shows that for that same year, there were 11,840 Valletta residents who were unoccupied and unproductive. Moreover, the total sum of this class in the period of study is of 56,411 which tops the 46,576 residents employed. Although between 1914 and 1918 jobs had become available because of the war, when hostilities ended in November 1918, the Island rapidly became economically distressed. Europe was facing a period of great economic depression and as there was a lot of unemployment in England, the Government expenses were curtailed and this affected overseas spending, leading to an increase in unemployment in Malta.²⁵⁶

Living in urban port districts with developed consumer markets, cash was essential for the households to survive. This meant that during hard times and long periods of unemployment, the donations of money and provisions from outdoor poor relief agencies provided by the state, private philanthropists and the local churches were considered providential.²⁵⁷ Those who had no steady income or no earnings at all were forced to roam the streets asking for alms, and beggars were a piteous and common sight.²⁵⁸ The hordes of beggars, male and female, roving the streets of towns best reflected the spread of poverty. These were seen to be pestering people and particularly in Valletta, there was one particular locality, the Nix Mangiari steps, which was named after such idlers.²⁵⁹ In landing and making one's way up to the main thoroughfare of the city, it was necessary to run into these poverty-stricken people. This not only bothered the foreign visitors but also annoyed the sensibilities of the local middle and upper classes.²⁶⁰ The latter felt uncomfortable about the amount of men in the streets doing nothing, and they were afraid that the unemployed would create disturbances. Therefore, emigration would not only dispose of the unwanted mouths but would also rid the Island of potential trouble makers.²⁶¹

²⁵⁵ Charles Boffa, 36

²⁵⁶ Charles Boffa, 48

²⁵⁷ John Chicop (2010), 52

²⁵⁸ Fr.Lawrence Attard, (1989), 5

²⁵⁹ Carmel Cassar, 104

²⁶⁰ Michael Refalo, 'The Discourse on the Problem of Begging and Almsgiving in Late 19th-century Malta' in *Bridging the gaps: sources, methodology and approaches to religion in history*, Joaquim Carvalho (ed.) Pisa University Press: Pisa 2008, 187

²⁶¹ Fr.Lawrence Attard (1989), 17

Military establishments were dismissing redundant workers and many had found themselves without jobs which had been related to the war effort. Others who had sailed with the merchant Navy had come home to find no jobs available for them.²⁶² The first jolt of dockyard discharges as well as fear of further liquidations were an important factor in the violent demonstration of 7 June 1919.²⁶³ Workers without a job were considered a potential menace to the stability of the political system and to the efficiency of the Island as an important Imperial base. Emigration was the only solution to the problem of over-population and unemployment, and it had also become a political issue. There were those in favour of emigration who argued that the Maltese should emigrate to the lands of the British Empire which were protected by the Union Jack, itself a sign of stability, democracy and freedom. However, this meant that they had to speak English²⁶⁴ and the main receiving countries were devising restrictive laws and imposing quotas for entry. The physical, educational and social backgrounds of intending emigrants therefore needed considerable attention. Of the prospective emigrants in the early 1920s, ninety per cent were illiterate and apart from apprenticeship schemes in the Dockyard there existed no opportunities for vocational or technical training.

Fig.3.7 shows a sample of Valletta residents applying for a passport to try their fortunes abroad. Besides being asked the usual personal details, they were also requested to state their present occupation and almost all of them were unemployed. Moreover, the majority said they were illiterate and this led to a greater demand for education to meet the requirements of the immigrant countries.

²⁶² Fr.Lawrence Attard (1989), 3

²⁶³ Paul A. Bartolo, 53

²⁶⁴ Fr.Lawrence Attard, *Early Maltese Emigration: 1900-1914* (Valletta, Gulf Publications, 1983), 5-6

Pass. No	Date of issue	Surname	Name	Occupation	Place of Birth	Address	Literacy	Destination
587	1918	Ridge	Jane			Sda Reale	N/S	
792	1914	Abdilla	Angelo	merchant	St. Paul	Sda. Levante	yes	Tunisia
1642	1912	Abdilla	Antonio Rev.	priest	Zurrieq	Sda. Vescovo	yes	Italy & Sicily
286a	1911	Abdilla	Francesco	not stated	Portus Salutis	Sda. Sant' Ursola	no	Tunisia
574	1918	Abela	Albert John	notary public and merchant		Sda. Federico	yes	Italy & France
444	1918	Abela	Domenico	shipwright	Portus Salutis	Sda. San Giuseppe	yes	USA
423	1911	Abela	Emilio	not stated	Zejtun	Sda. San Cristoforo	yes	Libya
447	1907	Abela	Francesco	not stated	Zurrieq	Sda. San Paolo	yes	Italy
1	1908	Abela	Giuseppe	not stated	Portus Salutis	Sda. Reale	yes	Egypt
728	1912	Abela	Guido	not stated	B'Kara	Sda. San Cristoforo	yes	Libya
410	1909	Abela	John	not stated	Portus Salutis	Sda. Zecca	yes	USA
16	1910	Abela	Joseph	not stated	Cospicua	Sda. Manderaggio	no	Tunisia
256	1907	Abela	Lorenzo	not stated	St. Paul	Sda. Pozzi	no	USA
226	1913	Abela	Maddalena	not stated		Sda. Ospedale	no	Libya
2012	1913	Abela	Michael Henry	not stated			yes	Egypt
306	1907	Abela	Michael Enrico	not stated	Sliema	Sda. Ponente	yes	Italy & Sicily
1842	1913	Abela	Suzanna	not stated		Sda. San Paolo	yes	USA
1530	1912	Abela	Victor	not stated	St. Julians	Sda. San Cristoforo	yes	Levant
242	1907	Abela	Vincenzo	not stated	St. Paul	Sda. Federico	yes	USA
292	1915	Adami	Giovanni	advocate	Portus Salutis	Sda. Sant' Ursola	yes	Italy & France
264	1908	Agius	Alf M Rev	priest	Marsa	Sda. San Nicola	yes	Continent
2351	1913	Agius	Alfonso	teacher, Lyceum (Italian)	Valletta	Valletta	yes	Italy
2038	1913	Agius	Carmelo	not	Floriana	Sda. Sant' Ursola	yes	Tunisia
72	1915	Agius	Dominic	cook	Valletta	Sda. Reale	yes	Egypt
406	1907	Agius	Francesco	not stated	St. Paul	Sda. Sant' Ursola	no	Tunisia
389	1918	Agius	George	student		Sda. San Cristoforo	yes	Italy
634	1914	Agius	Giovanni Rev	priest	Valletta	Sda. San Domenico	yes	Continent
77	1915	Agius	Giuseppe	gas installation	Valletta	Sda. Zecca	yes	Tunisia
98	1907	Agius	Giuseppe	not stated	Qormi	Sda. Ponente	yes	Egypt
1110	1912	Agius	Lino	not stated	Valletta	Sda. Reale	yes	Continent
471	1912	Agius	Maria	not stated		Sda. Sperone	no	Egypt
165	1908	Agius	Paolo	not stated	Portus Salutis	Sda. San Marco	yes	Tunisia
1941	1913	Agius	Pubblio	not stated	Floriana	Sda. San Nicola	yes	Gibraltar
101	1908	Amato	Joseph	not stated	St. Paul	Via Britannica	yes	Egypt
315	1907	Anastasi	John Joseph	not stated	Valletta	Sda. Reale	yes	Continent
230	1909	Apap	Alfredo	not stated	St. Paul	Sda. Teatro	yes	Continent
1313	1912	Apap	Arthur	not stated	Valletta	Valletta	yes	Continent
202	1913	Apap	Carmela	not stated		Sda. Molino	yes	UK
191	1909	Apap	Luigi	merchant		Sda. Vescovo	yes	Continent
957	1911	Aquilina	Antonio	canteen assistant	Portus Salutis	Sda. San Nicola	yes	UK
1919	1915	Aquilina	Antonio	steward	Tunis	Sda. San Nicola	yes	France
308	1909	Aquilina	Charles M. Rev.	religious, Augustinian	Portus Salutis	Convent St. Augustine	yes	Italy
725	1916	Aquilina	Francesca	not stated	Tunis	Sda. San Nicola	yes	Tunisia
166	1917	Aquilina	Giuseppe	not stated	St. Paul	Sda. Tramontana	yes	UK
1747	1913	Aquilina	Paolino	clerk, 4th class Sup. Courts	Valletta	Sda. Zecca	yes	Continent
1020	1912	Aquilina	Vincenzo	not stated	Msida	Sda. Zecca	no	Tunisia
508	1916	Aquilina	Vincenzo	messenger	Portus Salutis	Sda. Scaloni	yes	Egypt
724	1916	Aquilina	Fortunata	not stated		Sda. San Nicola	no	Tunisia
255	1908	Arena	Guglielmo	not stated	Floriana	Sda. Sant' Andrea	yes	Egypt

Fig. 3.7 A sample of Passport Applications of Valletta residents between 1906-1918

Source: National Archives of Malta - NAM_mfa01_passport collection

The report of the emigration committee on the question of organized emigration from Malta and Gozo issued 1 Mar. 1921 stated that emigration barely met the annual increase of the population and that the census had defined an overload in the commercial and industrial classes who could only wish for nothing better than sporadic employment.²⁶⁵ The committee also drew a list of six classes of men whom it felt necessary to dispose of these being: a mass of unskilled men for whom it was difficult to find employment in any country; a very large number of men who were dumped every year on an already overloaded market by public or private schools; skilled men who had not already found their way to America; port hands; seamen and farm hands.²⁶⁶ The committee concluded that emigration from Malta during the next decade was absolutely essential. A properly conducted system of assisted passages was to be considered as a good investment of money which offered prospects of satisfactory results. Australia was eminently the land which was considered to be the most suited for the settlement of the Maltese.²⁶⁷

A decade later, it was reported that the Government should be constantly directed to the technical training of the masses into potential emigration material. Whether the Maltese had to earn their livelihood in a foreign land with foreign labourers or work in Malta and supply some of its essential requirements, in both cases they had to be taught by first class masters to handle modern machinery and be made familiar with up-to-date methods of work.²⁶⁸ Although according to the Census issued for the year 1931 the number of unemployed persons was returned as 3,048, Mr. W. J. Briffa, Commissioner for Labour, said that it was safe to state that by 1936 the figure nearly trebled. The increase in unemployment could have been attributed to the bar against Maltese emigration in general, during the last six years, due to the world economic crisis, the excessive and ever increasing population and the swelling of the ranks of the unemployed with clerks and public school boys who were not easily absorbed anywhere.

Mr. Briffa continued to state that the time seemed to be near when Malta should wake up and start a campaign to place on the market various locally-manufactured

²⁶⁵ *Report of the Emigration Committee on the question of organized emigration from Malta and Gozo*, (1921), 3

²⁶⁶ *ibid.*, vii-viii

²⁶⁷ *ibid.*, xi

²⁶⁸ *Malta Royal Commission Report 1931 – Minutes of Evidence*, Evidence given by Mr.H.Casolani, 115

articles of such a high degree of workmanship as to make them more readily saleable at home and abroad.²⁶⁹ Locally produced articles were thought of low class and imported products were considered better, simply because they were made in other countries. This led to a market flooded with imported goods. Even a foreign barber and foreign shoes became more fashionable and the painting inside the church was entrusted to a foreigner. The best investment of a nation had always been its working population and an exodus of healthy men from an island that hardly contained a quarter of a million people could have had a devastating effect.²⁷⁰

Conclusion

Malta's dense population was extremely dependent on British defence spendings. The business man relied on the purchasing power of the British Services whilst the working man could not live without the employment given by the Dockyard or the Fleet.²⁷¹ Therefore they had to rely on a large expenditure in the Island's revenue drawn from outside resources and this had diverted the industry from producing for internal consumption and external trade.²⁷² The successive periods of economic boom were followed by those of depression, all of which were uncontrollable and unpredictable, as they depended on the changing needs of the Imperial strategy with worldwide commitments. Employment aspects depended on the strategic value which was placed from time to time upon the Island by the colonial policy makers.²⁷³

The arrival and departure of Royal navy ships and the patterns of Admiralty investment is what the Maltese's employment and consumption depended on.²⁷⁴ Labourers of every class, be it directly or indirectly, depended on the Steamer, the Soldier and the Sailor of the British Fleet²⁷⁵ and therefore, the Grand Harbour became the hub of all activity. Moreover, the top merchants increased their securities in the

²⁶⁹ *Annual Report of the working of the Department of Labour 1935-36*, i

²⁷⁰ Fr.Lawrence Attard (1983), 17

²⁷¹ Sir Harry Luke, *Malta: An account and an Appreciation* (London, George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd 1960), 128

²⁷² *Malta Royal Commission Report 1912*, 12

²⁷³ Edward L. Zammit (1984), 73

²⁷⁴ Robert Holland, 'Cyprus and Malta: Two Colonial Experiences', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, vol. 23. no.1 (2014), 11

²⁷⁵ *Malta Royal Commission Report 1931 – Minutes of Evidence*, Evidence given by Mr.H.Casolani, 114

modernization of the bunkering depots, storage and berthing facilities in the port. People from all over the islands moved to the harbour district, attracted by the job opportunities opening up for males in the port facilities. On the other hand, women had to search for low-paid activities which they had to amalgamate with their daily household chores. They were also paid less than half the wage of their male counterparts, which meant that their earnings were insufficient even to maintain themselves daily, let alone maintain their families too.

Maltese employees were paid substantially less than their British fellow workers doing the same jobs. Furthermore, they faced poor working conditions and had no job security.²⁷⁶ The early twentieth century was a period of mixed fortunes for the Maltese. However, poverty and unemployment were present for many. Emigration seemed to be the only solution to over-population and unemployment but this hinged on the fundamental requirement of finance. Most of these people were too poor to afford buying the tickets they needed to go to distant countries, and because of lack of money, they only ventured as far as countries bordering the Mediterranean as this did not entail much expense. Moreover, the economic position of the receiving countries played an important part in determining the volume of emigration at any given moment, besides that they were formulating restrictive laws and imposing quotas for entry.

The Maltese economic activities came to depend on the unpredictability that characterized the fleet economy, especially for the population of Valletta and Cottonera. The concentration of local economy activities in the harbour area led to an uneven development of economic activity on the islands, discarding local production and hence leading to an increasing dependance on British Colonial expenditure.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁶ John Chircop (2015), 18

²⁷⁷ John Chircop (1993), 173

Conclusion

When Malta was part of the British empire, it was a strategic and naval-military station in the Mediterranean. The Grand Harbour was an important staging post for warships, troops and stores, and was a hub of activity, creating labour opportunities in the mercantile and naval facilities. For such reason, the population, which was always on the increase, shifted from the countryside to urban and suburban settlements around the harbour. During the period in study, although the suburb population increased as public transport facilitated the links to the city, this does not mean that families shifted from the city to the nearby satellite towns as the number of Valletta residents remained stable. In fact, if it was not for space limitation, the population would have increased.

Throughout the period in study, those under 5 years of age were the largest group and the number remained constant until the age of 25, when youths were still living with their families in the city. The drop in population of those over 25 years of years meant that they were prompted to leave the islands due to unemployment, trying their fortune in territories of geographical proximity to Malta. Although the British considered emigration as a possible solution to the overpopulation of the Island, they never involved themselves in organising emigration.

The result of an exceptional boom in labour that occurred at the turn of the twentieth century resulted in a high birth rate as the Maltese worker felt confident in this span of good fortune and many married recklessly. The rate however diminished when prosperity faded and war-time disruptions were also felt. The high birth rate was accompanied by a high infant mortality caused by overcrowding, low standard of living and limited economic sources. Moreover, poverty, disease and unsanitary living conditions were the source for the mortality rate in Malta which fluctuated considerably. A decline was registered when the construction of drainage systems was improved. However, the harbour area was also affected by the pollution emanating from the nearby naval yards and mercantile facilities.

Overcrowding gave way to infectious diseases to be transmitted easily and rapidly. Whilst diphtheria and enteric fever were due to a polluted water supply, salmonella was spread by sewage contamination of drinking water or pollution of milk and food by flies. Cholera and plague were brought to the island either by infested

ships or by Maltese immigrants coming back home after these pandemic diseases hit Tripoli and Benghazi. The ubiquitous goat and its milk were responsible for the spread of the Mediterranean fever or Malta fever, which was later called undulant fever. This contagious disease decreased when pasteurized milk was available in abundant quantities and the sale of goats' milk was forbidden, together with the prohibition of goats that used to roam about in the streets.

Valletta was the seat of the Colonial Government and many of the buildings that were previously occupied by the Knights of the Order of St. John, were converted into government departments. Moreover, the number of offices, stores and shops was quite high during the period in study as besides being an administrative hub, it was also a commercial centre. The city urban settlement was characterized by a combination of buildings which reflected the social class structure of the location. To accommodate the influx of government employees, professionals and persons engaged in commerce who requested accommodation in the capital, old buildings were being transformed into blocks of residential apartments and big houses were being split into smaller residences. The well-off decided to go and live outside Valletta and this was also a source of business for them where by renting to third parties, the owner generated some extra revenue.

In the back streets of the city, there were overcrowded zones with narrow streets and closely-packed buildings, where lower class families occupied one or two rooms. When town houses became unoccupied, these were converted into common-lodging houses, known as *kerreyas*, large buildings with single rooms let to those who could not afford anything better. Although such buildings were inspected regularly, the inspectors had no power to foresee overcrowding unless these were declared unfit for habitation. Overpopulation started to diminish in the following decades as people sought cheaper rent elsewhere. In the slum areas, most of the buildings were far below acceptable standards of habitation. The Manderaggio was the most heavily populated district of Valletta as it was the habitat of lower-class city people. The overcrowding together with the humidity and lack of sanitation were the worrying factors. This also applied to the other slum areas found around the periphery of the city.

This high density of people in the city was due to the fact that the Maltese were finding employment with the Colonial Government, and non-agricultural employment

became dominant in the Maltese economy. As the island became a strategic shipping port of call, a trading centre and employment was mostly related to the Admiralty and Mercantile sector, the Grand Harbour became a source of labour. However, towards the end of the nineteenth century, ships grew larger and it was no longer necessary for them to make a bunkering call to Malta, other ports like Tunis and Messina were much cheaper and the international demand for grain was being supplied by North America. The building of the breakwater together with other public works projects kept the labour force occupied, only until the works were completed. During World War I, activity in the Grand Harbour was continuous. Although the expansion of the naval and military services on the island boosted the workforce, severe shortage of shipping and the prevention of trade with the enemy affected the local economy.

The economic activity generated by the naval and military movements became the livelihood of thousands of families. As Valletta was the core of Malta's political, administrative and commercial action, people crammed into the city to be as close as possible to this labour hub. The number of civil servants was more than necessary and this was so as the strategy to make the civil service the backbone of the colonial presence in Maltese society meant the recruitment of large numbers of pro-British elements. In commerce, Maltese industrialisation was led by the state and lacked private business investment as wealthy merchants were reluctant to invest in local industrial projects. The island's economy had an increasing reliance upon military spending and this offered no stable means of living but brought about fluctuations. Moreover, the most industrial development took place at the dockyard and the workforce declined in number when the military activity in the Mediterranean was reduced.

Nonetheless, such workers were generally better paid than the average Maltese worker but still, they were paid less than the Englishmen performing the same jobs. During periods of prosperity, the demand for labour meant that wages in all descriptions were doubled whilst during times of inflation, wages were reduced by half. Unemployment was a constant source of worry to the local administration and emigration was the solution to overpopulation, to dispose of the unwanted mouths and also to rid the Island of potential trouble makers. However, the British never involved themselves in organising emigration. It was only after 1921 that the committee appointed to study the matter concluded that emigration was absolutely necessary and

that a properly conducted system of assisted passages was to be considered, bearing in mind Australia as the land most suitable for settlement.

This work has presented particular themes about the livelihood of the Valletta residents during the years 1900-1935. The turn of the twentieth century until the outbreak of World War II was a period of fluctuation. The inhabitants of the city chose to go and live elsewhere, either because they were well off and preferred to live in new residential areas that were developing outside the city or to fetch lower rental facilities. Nonetheless, this did not mean that the population of the city was affected but modifications were done to the existing building to accommodate the demand of those who wanted to live in the city. The primary reason for such a choice was to be as close as possible to the core of employment and for certainly, Valletta was the hub of all political, administrative commercial and social activity.

Appendices

Valletta													
			1891		1901		1911		1921		1931		
CLASS			M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
I	Professional	1 Local Government											
		Ministers										3	
		Civil service officer, clerk, writer	80	0	102	1	107	0	109	5	107	6	
		Civil service messenger, porter	100	1	73	0	74	10	63	0	85	1	
		Land police officer	9	0	5	0	5	0	8	0	5	0	
		Land police sergeant and constable	133	0	93	0	106	0	88	0	81	0	
		Marine police officer	5	0	2	0							
		Marine police sergeant and constable	98	0	45	0							
		Revenue Guard Officer					5	0					
		Revenue Guard					15	0					
		2 Army & Navy											
	Army	R.M.A. Permanent staff										99	0
		Non commissioned officer	51	0	55	0	26	0	1	0			
		Gunner	191	0	500	0	76	0	109	0			
		Civilians employed with the military	37	0	42	0	51	0	36	3	30	0	
	Navy	HM's Dockyard, victualling yard officer, clerk	10	0	13	0	8	0	47	0	31	0	
		HM's Dockyard, victualling yard porter, policeman	3	0	15	0							
		HM's Dockyard other employees exc. Skilled labourers					47	0	21	0	43	0	
		Royal Naval Reserve					1	0	21	0			
		Sailor										25	0
		3 Professional Occupation											
	Clerical Profession	Roman catholic priest	91	0	99	0	90	0	75	0	57	0	
		Roman catholic deacon	31	0	25	0	13	0	4	0			
		Roman catholic father	70	0	83	0	73	0	76	0	107	0	
		Roman catholic novice	25	0	10	0	4	0	0	0			
		Roman catholic lay brother	28	0	32	0	30	0	32	0			
		Roman catholic nun	0	39	0	57	0	37					
		Roman catholic sister	0	19	0	22	0	34					
		Roman Catholic nun, sister							0	81			
		Roman catholic novice	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	112	
		Roman catholic lay sister	0	15	0	5	0	21	0	19			
		Protestant minister	3	0	5	0	7	0	1	1	3	0	
		Minister of other religions	3	0	2	0	1	0					
		Mission worker										0	0
		Church service	51	0	51	1	53	0	37	0	31	1	
	Legal Profession	Judge, Magistrate, Advocate	56	0	53	0	65	0	52	0			
		Solicitor	7	0	16	0	25	0	18	0	70	0	
		Notary	16	0	14	0	11	0	11	0	8	0	
		Advocate, Solicitor, Notary's clerk							9	0	7	0	
	Medical Profession	Physician, Surgeon	47	0	42	0	21	0	42	0	34	1	
		Apothecary and Chemist	9	0	15	0	25	0	31	0	27	0	
		Phlebotomist, Veterinary surgeon	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
		Dentist	2	0	6	0	2	0	4	0	7	0	
		Midwife	0	13	0	12	0	11	0	11			
		Subordinate medical service	8	16	15	4	15	2	1	5	4	14	
	Teaching Body	Professor, teacher	13	0	11	0	13	1	23	87	60	96	
		Schoolmaster, assistant	30	76	35	73	30	79					
		Dame school keeper	0	4	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	6	
	Literary Persons	Editor, journalist	3	1	5	1	2	0	3	0	9	0	
		Interpreter, librarian	3	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	4	0	
		Genealogist					1	0	0	0	1	0	
	Engineers, surveyors, master mariners	Civil engineer, land surveyor, architect	19	0	23	0	32	0	20	0	10	0	
		mechanical engineer	12	0	16	0	16	0	56	0	26	0	
		electrician	0	0	9	0	15	0	20	0	53	0	
		master mariner, mate	13	0	8	0	4	0	4	0	4	0	
	Artists	sculptor, wood and stone carver							22	0	8	0	
		Painter	1	1	6	0	15	0	4	1	17	0	
		Musician, music composer	106	17	102	6	97	2	102	22	124	22	
		Actor	14	8	21	29	20	30	7	4			
		Singer										12	85
		Photographer	12	1	19	0	22	0	25	1	27	0	
		Draughtman	2	0	1	0	1	0	5	0	7	0	
		music, theatre service	4	0	2	1	1	0	17	19	3	2	
	Persons engaged in exhibitions, games	performer, showman	2	2	0	0							
		billiard service	11	0	29	0	13	0	27	0	22	0	
		Cinematograph service					6	2	7	0	6	1	

Appendix 1 Class I – Professional

Source: The Census of the Maltese Islands, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931

Valletta													
				1891		1901		1911		1921		1931	
				M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
CLASS		ORDER											
II	Domestic	4	Domestic offices & services										
		Domestic offices	gardener	0	0	1	0	1	0				
			coachman, groom	72	0	61	0	62	0				
			indoor servant, butler	479	1493	440	1,203	237	1,000	417	1,038	432	1,038
		Other services	washing and laundry service	4	261	4	422	23	232	5	210	14	183
			hotel, inn-keeper							31	3	17	2
			canteen manager-assistant									21	0
			lodging, boarding house keeper							5	0	29	0
			coffee, eating house keeper							71	13	41	4
			hairdresser, barber, tattooer							110	4	132	4
			shoeblack							8	0	5	0
			guide (valet de place)							3	0	6	0
			cook							146	51	122	34

Appendix 2 Class II – Domestic

Source: The Census of the Maltese Islands, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931

		Valletta											
		1891		1901		1911		1921		1931			
CLASS	ORDER	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
III	Commercial	5	Merchants, dealers & agents										
	General and undefined	Merchant dealer	466	31	379	12	312	3	164	1	385	7	
		Petty vendor, pedlar	83	3	18	0	82	0	150	5	199	4	
		Huckster	28	0	0	0							
		Dealer in second hand goods					22	1	45	1	12	0	
		Commission agent	20	0	25	0	45	0	71	0	62	1	
		Broker	63	3	39	3	34	15	33	3	16	1	
		Auctioneer, appraiser, valuer	2	0	0	0	7	0	13	1	8	0	
		Contractor	7	0	9	0	13	0	15	0	8	0	
	furniture & decoration	House furniture merchant, dealer	15	0	15	4	11	2	10	1	8	0	
		Fancy goods merchant, dealer	5	0	2	0	3	0	4	1			
	Chemicals & compounds	Colouring matters merchant, dealer	3	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	
	Tobacco	tobacco merchant, dealer	88	5	48	4	49	0	40	1	16	1	
	Food & provisions	wine, spirit merchant, dealer	186	14	119	7	176	8	139	18	74	14	
		general provision merchant						23	0	0	0	0	
		corn merchant, dealer	14	1	9	0	14	0	1	0	0	0	
		bread, paste, bran dealer	32	15	42	12	84	0	14	4	2	0	
		colonial produce merchant, dealer	14	0	9	0	25	1	0	0	0	0	
		agricultural produce dealer	11	0	17	0	15	1	12	0	2	0	
		cattle merchant, dealer	2	0	4	0	2	0	4	0	0	0	
		meat salesman	61	0	56	1	61	0	33	0	20	0	
		poulterer, game dealer	17	0	23	2	15	5	20	0	16	0	
		fishmonger	17	0	31	0	24	0	24	0	22	0	
		grocer	84	14	108	21	180	17	116	22	76	16	
		greengrocer, fruiterer	160	6	118	7	84	0	67	4	42	8	
		milk seller	2	2	2	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	
		egg seller	3	8	2	6	0	1	3	0	2	0	
		chessmonger	18	4	39	1	13	0	5	0	1	0	
		shipchandler	16	0	29	0	21	0	20	0	6	0	
		bumboatman	9	0	9	0	3	0	9	0	1	0	
	Dress	drapery, haberdeshery, dress merchant	92	13	78	16	105	11	119	16	44	15	
		lace merchant, dealer	28	3	27	2	8	4	28	8	15	4	
	Animal substances	wax, candle merchant, dealer	4	2	4	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	
		leather merchant	8	1	5	0	5	0	11	0	2	0	
	Vegetable substances	cotton merchant, dealer	0	1	0	0	3	1	1	0	4	0	
		wood, timber merchant, dealer	6	0	8	0	2	0	8	0	1	0	
		charcoal merchant, dealer	11	2	9	3	8	1	10	0	6	0	
		Flour vendor					0	1	0	0	0	0	
	Mineral substances	petroleum merchant, dealer	1	0	4	3	5	1	2	2	1	0	
		earthenware, china, glass merchant	14	1	21	1	24	3	11	0	4	0	
		hardware merchant, dealer	34	2	34	2	3	0	15	1	11	0	
	Dealer in money	banker, bank director	1	0	5	0	5	0	3	0			
		bank service	15	0	3	0	14	0	34	0	54	0	
		money exchanger	5	0	5	0	4	0	4	0	2	0	
		lotto receiver-assistant									21	0	
	Mixed	Motor cars merchant						2	0	1	0		
		musical instruments merchant, dealer	4	0	4	0	9	0	6	0	4	0	
		optical instruments merchant, dealer						1	0	4	0		
		antiquities merchant, dealer	4	0	3	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	
		bazaar keeper	20	0	11	1	27	0	57	3	110	34	
	6	Persons connected with commerce											
		consul, consular employee	16	0	8	0	7	0	7	0	6	0	
		commercial clerk, book-keeper, accountant	233	0	198	5	253	0	20	0	11	0	
		commercial employee	91	0	184	0	140	4	237	7	336	27	
		storehouse man, servant	118	0	5	0	7	0	29	1	21	0	
		watchman	32	0	15	1	18	0	46	19	70	17	
		guide (valet de place)	20	0	23	0	10	0					
		shop service	223	3	315	32	452	54	155	40	200	178	
	7	Conveyance											
	on land	cabman, coachman (omnibus service)	84	0	22	8	17	0	25	0	17	0	
		carter, carman	17	0	8	0	6	0	5	0	10	0	
		cab, stable owner	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
		railway service			5	0	8	0	2	0			
		tramway service					1	0	6	0			
		chauffeur					1	0	42	0	64	0	
	on sea	shipping agent	13	0	11	0	17	0	24	0	15	1	
		seaman (merchant service)	89	0	174	0	11	0	52	0	26	0	
		steward	19	0	51	0	61	0	109	0	130	0	
		pilot service	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	
		boatman	131	0	103	0	69	0	117	0	79	0	
		diver	1	0					1	0	2	0	
		launch, portoon service			0	0	4	0	6	0	5	0	
	in storage	weigher, measurer, gauger	8	0	12	0	9	0	7	0	5	0	
	in conveying messages	telegraph, telephone service	32	0	24	0	31	0	28	3	23	2	
		messenger, carrier	49	0	60	0	74	4	71	0	79	2	
	in portorage	coal heaver	25	0	16	0	69	0	3	0	4	0	
		porter, packer of goods	199	0	292	0	162	0	64	0	29	4	

Appendix 3 Class III – Commercial

Source: The Census of the Maltese Islands, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931

Valletta													
				1891		1901		1911		1921		1931	
				M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
CLASS	ORDER												
IV	Agriculture	8	Agriculture										
	In fields & pasture		farmer, cultivator of land	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
			farmer's relative assisting	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
			agricultural labourer	7	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
			shepherd	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	in gardens		gardener (not domestic)	6	0	2	0	1	0	1	0		
			pruner & vinedresser	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
		9	Engaged about animals										
			persons engaged about animals	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix 4 Class IV – Agricultural

Source: The Census of the Maltese Islands, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931

Valletta								
CLASS	ORDER	1891		1901		1911		
		M	F	M	F	M	F	
V	Industrial	10	Books & prints					
			publisher, bookbinder	27	2	18	3	17
			printer	47	0	51	0	47
			lithographer, engraver	9	0	6	0	3
		11	Machines & implements					
			engine maker	2	0	1	0	
			fitter, turner	2	0	7	0	37
			watchmaker, optician	21	0	22	0	17
			gunsmith, gunmaker	3	0	3	0	3
			musical instrument maker, repairer	2	0	7	0	0
		12	Houses, furniture & decorations					
			builder	5	0	0	0	5
			mason	5	0	1	0	1
			plasterer	0	0	0	0	0
			house painter	16	0	14	0	
			whitewasher, house decorator	33	0	30	0	29
			carpenter, joiner, cabinet maker	181	0	182	0	161
			chair maker	1	0	0	0	
			plumber, gasfitter	2	0	10	0	8
			glazier	5	0	7	0	4
			glider, galvanizer	16	0	21	0	12
			upholsterer, mattress maker	20	0	15	0	10
			wood, stone carver	15	0	12	0	4
			figure and image maker	5	0	5	0	0
			animal preserver, stuffer	0	0	0	0	
			artificial flower maker	2	0	0	2	1
		13	Carriage & harness					
			coach maker	2	0	1	0	0
			wheelwright, cartwright	0	0	0	0	2
			saddler	10	0	10	0	7
			farrier	4	0	8	0	2
		14	Ships & boats					
			ship, boat, pontoon builder	0	0	1	0	8
			caulker	0	0	0	0	0
			sail maker	2	0	1	0	1
			rope maker	0	0	2	0	0
			block maker	0	0	0	0	0
		15	Chemicals & compounds					
			dyer, scourer	10	2	1	3	1
			firework maker	0	0	1	0	0
			salt manufacturer	0	0	0	0	0
		16	Tobacco					
			tobacco manufacturer, cigar maker	35	12	128	14	131
		17	Food & lodging					
			hotel, inn keeper	23	5	6	0	29
			lodging, boarding house keeper	8	4	28	7	8
			coffee, eating house keeper	47	2	25	2	39
			brewer	2	0	3	0	1
			wine industry					0
			dairyman	0	0	0	0	0
			butcher	0	0	9	0	13
			fisherman	28	0	26	0	12
			mill	13	0	0	0	5
			baker	67	7	78	7	61
			kneader of bread & paste	44	9	26	2	25
			sifter	7	1	2	0	2
			pastry cook	34	5	46	0	
			confectioner	65	9	68	12	65
			cook	168	20	169	15	166
			aerated water manufacture	8	0	18	1	4
		18	Textile materials					
			cotton beater	0	0	0	0	0
			cotton spinner	0	0	0	0	0
			cotton weaver	0	0	0	0	0
			embroiderer	1	7	0	8	0
			knitter	0	9	1	0	0
			lace worker	0	11	0	8	0
		19	Dress					
			hatter	21	0	9	1	17
			tailor	335	0	322	629	442
			milliner, dress maker	0	40	0	35	0
			hosiery	0	578			27
			glover	0	2	0	3	0
			shoe, boot maker	317	4	269	2	178
			hairdresser, barber	90	0	111	2	118
			shoebblack	3	0	1	0	1
		20	Animal substances					
			candle maker	1	0	1	0	0
			soap maker	1	0	1	0	0
			skinner, furrier, tanner	3	0	3	0	2
			brusk maker	0	0	0	0	
		21	Vegetable substances					
			cane & wicker basket maker	1	0	3	0	2
			mat, straw, plait worker	4	0	0	2	0
			cooper	6	0	5	0	3
			sewer	0	0	0	0	0
		22	Mineral substances					
			gas work service	8	0	10	0	16
			street lighting service	0	0	0	0	1
			coal fisher	0	0	0	0	2
			water works & electric lighting			11	0	10
			limestone burner			0	0	
			lime maker	2	0			0
			earthenware manufacturer	0	0	4	0	2
			marble worker	7	0	0	0	2
			quarrier	1	0	2	0	0
			tile maker			1	0	1
			ice maker	0	0	2	0	0
			goldsmith, silversmith jeweller	198	0	156	2	120
			blacksmith	40	0	20	0	13
			coppersmith, brass manufacturer	6	0	5	0	2
			tinsman	53	0	57	1	40
			founder	0	0	0	0	3
			knife sharper, maker	3	0	2	0	1
		23	General or unspecified commodities					
			labourer	157	0	41	0	46
			engine driver, stoker, fireman	6	0	16	0	17
			artisan	4	0	1	0	
			overseer	4	0	3	0	3
			apprentice	5	0	2	0	6
			foreman	4	0	4	0	6
		24	Refuse matters					
			street sweeper	2	0	4	0	1
			manure collector	0	0	0	0	0
			rag gatherer	1	0	0	0	0

Appendix 5

Class V – Industrial

Source:

The Census of the
Maltese Islands,
1891, 1901, 1911

Valletta					
CLASS	ORDER	1921		1931	
		M	F	M	F
V	Industrial				
	Books & prints				
	Publisher, bookbinder	24	1	20	1
	printer, compositor	41	0	71	0
	lithographer, engraver	2	0	6	0
	Metal worker				
Iron, steel	fitter, turner, rivelter	72	0	74	0
	boiler maker	9	0	4	0
	gunsmith, gun maker	0	0	0	0
	plumber, gas fitter	15	0	14	0
	blacksmith	13	0	10	0
	coppersmith, brass manufacturer	10	0	2	0
	tinman	44	0	26	1
	founder	0	0	3	0
	knife sharpener, maker	1	0	1	0
	farrier	1	0	0	0
precious metals	gold and silversmith	104	2	83	2
	Stone & lime workers				
	mason	0	0	7	0
	plasterer	0	0	0	0
	lime worker	0	0	0	0
	earthware manufacturer	0	0	0	0
	marble worker	2	0	1	0
	quarrier, stone dresser, miner	0	0	2	0
	tile maker	0	0	1	0
	stone breaker	0	0	0	0
	bricklayer	0	0	0	0
	Workers in wood & furniture				
	carpenter, joiner, cabinet maker	135	0	188	0
	upholsterer, mattress maker	10	0	15	0
	coach maker	0	0	0	0
	wheelwright, cartwright	0	0	0	0
	cooper	2	0	0	0
	sawyer	0	0	0	0
	boat builder, shipwright, baulker	14	0	12	0
	Musical instruments				
	maker, repairer	0	0	2	0
	Textiles & dress				
	cotton beater	0	0	0	0
	cotton spinner	0	0	0	0
	cotton weaver	0	0	0	0
	embroiderer	1	11	0	3
	knitter	0	0	0	0
	lace worker	8	14	1	6
	tailor, dressmaker	213	466	278	406
	milliner	3	25	3	49
	glover	3	5	0	1
	shoe, boot maker	178	0	180	0
	sail maker	0	0	0	0
	Food, drink & tobacco				
Food	baker, kneader of bread & paste	94	6	83	4
	millers	9	0	4	0
	confectioner, pastry cook	82	9	103	9
	dairyman	0	0	0	0
	salt manufacturer	0	0	0	0
	sifter	0	0	0	0
	butcher	17	0	11	0
	fisherman	18	0	18	0
Drink	brewer	2	0	0	0
	wine industry	0	0	0	0
	aerated water manufacturer	9	0	8	0
Tobacco	tobacco manufacturer, cigar, cigarette maker	136	20	155	49
	Coal & lightage				
	gas service	2	0	6	0
	street lighting service	0	0	0	0
	coal fisher	0	0	0	0
	water works & electric lighting	2	0	12	0
	Other & undefined workers				
house decoration	glider, galvanizer	9	0	7	0
	artificial flower maker	0	0	1	0
	figure & image maker	0	0	1	0
	white washer, painter	51	0	34	0
Colouring matters	dye, scourer	0	1	0	0
Explosives	fireworks maker	0	0	0	0
Harness	saddler	6	0	6	0
Grease	candle maker	2	1	3	0
	soap maker	0	0	0	0
Skins	skinner, furrier, tanner	1	0	0	0
Clocks & watches	watch & clock maker, repairer	26	0	14	0
Water	ice maker	0	0	0	0
Wicker, cane & fibre	rush, straw & plait worker, ropemaker	0	0	1	0
	cane & wicker basker maker	5	1	3	0
Refuse	street sweeper	8	0	3	0
	refuse collector	1	0	1	0
	rag gatherer	0	0	0	0
General	labourer (unskilled)	357	6	445	2
	foreman, overseer	19	0	17	0
	engine driver, stoker, fireman	63	0	29	0

Appendix 6 Class V – Industrial

Source: The Census of the Maltese Islands, 1921, 1931

Valletta													
			1891		1901		1911		1921		1931		
			M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
	CLASS	ORDER											
VI	Unoccupied	25	Persons returned by property										
	& Unproductive		persons living on own means	174	320	153	253	178	309	145	198	63	69
		26	Pensioners										
			civil servant pensioner	31	7	33	1	46	0	72	5	69	13
			army pensioner	25	2	10	0	12	0	15	4	25	0
			navy pensioner	4	0	3	0	8	0	24	10	55	0
			pensioner undefined	33	4	26	6	5	0	7	0	12	1
		27	Scholars and children of no occ.										
			Scholars	1,732	1,307	1,629	1,068	1,534	1,235	1,600	1,417	2,104	1,583
			children of no occupation	354	647	443	770	1,307	881	909	1,507	336	446
		28	Inmates of institutions										
			in inst. Supported by the Gov.	133	169	39	51	52	49	3	1	0	0
			in inst. supported by the Church	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		29	Residue of the population										
			retired from business and no occ.	403	5,580	467	5,392	143	6,019	33	0	56	2
			retired from profession							12	0	19	3
			retired from trade							4	1	66	13
			no stated occupation							125	5,451	224	6,287
			mendicant	33	21	25	12	7	8	6	9	7	4
			fallen women	0	88	0	67	0	47	0	32		

Appendix 7 Class VI – Unoccupied and Unproductive

Source: The Census of the Maltese Islands, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931

Bibliography

Primary Sources

The Census of the Maltese Islands 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931

The Malta Government Gazette 1900-1936

Reports

1884. *Malta Drainage Report of the Working of the Scheme during 1883-1884*

1904-36. *Report on the Working of Government Departments 1904-36*

1905, April. *Report of the Commission appointed by the Admiralty, the War office and the Civil Government of Malta for the investigation of the Mediterranean Fever under the supervision of an advisory committee of the Royal Society.*

1910, 2 February. Binnie, Sir Alexander R. and the late Deacon, Dr. G.F., *Report on the Malta Drainage and Sea water Flushing Scheme.*

1912, August. *Malta Royal Commission Report on the Finances, Economic Situation and Judicial Procedure of Malta 1912 and Minutes of Evidence.*

1913, 3 January. *Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into the expenditure of the Government of Malta and the organization of the Government Department.*

1918, 22 October. *Report on leprosy in Malta by a Committee appointed by H.E. the Governor in 1917.*

1919, 18 and 19 September. *Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the events of the 7th and 8th June 1919 and its circumstances which led up to those events.*

1919, 25 November. *Report of the Committee appointed for the revision of salaries of Government employees.*

1920, 28 February. *Report of the Committee appointed by H.E. the Governor to consider and report on the question of granting the immovable property of the Government on long lease.*

1921, 1 March. *Report of the Emigration Committee on the question of organized emigration from Malta and Gozo.*

1925. *Report and other papers relating to the Valletta Layout Competition.*

1927. *Report of Emigration and Unemployment 1926.*

1930. *Report of Emigration and Unemployment 1928-29.*

1932. *Malta Royal Commission Report 1931 and Minutes of Evidence.*

1945. Harrison, Austin and Hubbard, R.Pierce, *Valletta: A Report to Accompany the Outline Plan for the Region of Valletta and the Three Cities.*

Secondary Sources

Books

Attard, Fr.Lawrence, *Beyond our Shores: A Panorama of Maltese Migration*, Marsa: PEG Ltd., 2007

Attard, Fr.Lawrence, *Early Maltese Emigration 1900-1914*, Valletta: Gulf Publishing Ltd., 1983

Attard, Fr.Lawrence, *The Great Exodus*, Marsa: PEG Ltd., 1989

Attard, Joseph, *Britain and Malta: The Story of an Era*, Marsa: PEG Ltd., 1988

Badger, George Perry, *Description of Malta and Gozo*, Malta: M.Weiss Bibliolife Reproduction (1989), 1838

Baines, Dudley, *Emigration from Europe 1815-1930*, Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1995

Ballou, Maturin. M., *The Story of Malta: 1893 Travel Guide for a Mythical Island Vol.1 & Vol.2*, Rabat: Wise Owl Publications, 2020

Blouet, Brian, *The Story of Malta* (8th edition), Valletta: Allied Publications, 2017

Blouet, Brian, *The Story of Valletta: A Companion to the City*, Valletta: Allied Publications, 2009

Boffa, Dr.Charles, J., *Malta's Grand Harbour and its Environs in War and Peace*, Valletta: Progress Press Company Limited, 2000

Bonello, Giovanni, *Histories of Malta: Vol.1- Deceptions and Perceptions*, Valletta: Patrimonju Publishing Ltd., 2000

Bonnici, Joseph & Cassar, Michael, *A Chronicle of Twentieth Century Malta*, San Gwann: BDL, 2004

Borg, Malcolm, *British Colonial Architecture: Malta 1800-1900*, San Gwann: PEG Ltd., 2001

Bowen-Jones, H., Dewdney, J.C., Fisher, W.B., *Malta: Background for Development*, Durham: Department of Geography, Durham College, 1961

- Brincat, Joseph M., 'The Language Question and Education: a Political Controversy on a Linguistic Topic', in *Yesterday's Schools: Readings in Maltese Educational History*, Ronald G. Sultana (ed.) San Gwann: PEG Ltd, 2001
- Busuttil, Salvino, 'An Overview of Malta's Economic Development', in *The British Colonial Experience 1800-1964: The Impact on Maltese Society*, V.Mallia-Milanes (ed.), Msida: Mireva Publications, 1988
- Cain, P.J. & Hopkins, A. G., *British Imperialism: Crisis and Deconstruction 1914-1990*, Essex: Longman Group Limited, 1993
- Cassar Michael, 'Baedekering Valletta in 1911' in *Humillmia Civitas Valletta*, M.Abdilla Cunningham, M.Camilleri and G.Vella (eds.), Valletta: Heritage Malta, Malta Libraries, 2018
- Cassar, Carmel, 'Everyday Life in Malta in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries' in *The British Colonial Experience 1800-1964: The Impact on Maltese Society*, V.Mallia- Milanes (ed.), Msida: Mireva Publications, 1988
- Cassar, Carmel, *A Concise History of Malta*, Msida: Mireva Publications, 2002
- Cassar, George, 'Nineteenth-Century Valletta: A Tourist City in the Making...', in *Humillmia Civitas Valletta*, M.Abdilla Cunningham, M.Camilleri and G.Vella (eds.), Valletta: Heritage Malta, Malta Libraries, 2018
- Cassar, Michael, *Connecting the Harbour Towns: O.F.Gollcher & Sons 1897-1959*, Valletta: O.F.Gollcher & Sons, 2019
- Chircop, John, 'Colonial Encounters in Multiple Dimensions: Collaboration, Defiance, Resistance and Hybridity in the making of Maltese History' in *Colonial Encounters: Maltese Experiences of British Rule 1800-1970s*, J.Chircop (ed.), Qormi: Horizons, 2015
- Chircop, John, 'Female Vulnerabilities and coping strategies in the poor neighbourhoods of three colonial port districts: Corfu, Malta and Gibraltar, 1815-1870' in *Vulnerability, Social Inequality and Health*, J.Chircop and P.Bourdelaïs (eds.), Lisboa: Edicoes Colibri, 2010.
- Chircop, John, 'So Far and Yet So Near: Ionian and Maltese Migrant Networks of Support in the Southern and Eastern countries of the Mediterranean, 1800-1870.' In *The Price of Life: Welfare Systems, Social Nets and Economic Growth*. P. Bourdelaïs and L.Abreu (eds.), Lisbon: Edicoes Colibri, 2008.
- Cini, George, *Strait Street: Secrets and stories from behind closed doors*, Valletta: George Cini, 2017
- Clare, Arthur, 'Features of an Island Economy', in *The British Colonial Experience 1800-1964: The Impact on Maltese Society*, V.Mallia-Milanes (ed.), Msida: Mireva Publications, 1988
- Critien, A., *The Manderaggio*, Hamrun: St.Joseph Insitute, 1938
- Debattista, Alfred, *Id-Due Balli: Niesu u l-Madwar*, Hamrun: Alfred Debattista, 2015

- Debattista, Alfred, *L-Arċipierku: Niesu u l-Madwar*, Hamrun: Alfred Debattista, 2003
- Denaro, Victor, *The Houses of Valletta*, Valletta: Progress Press, 1967
- Dobie, Edith, *Malta's Road to Independence*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967
- Elliot, Peter, *The Cross and the Ensign*, Cambridge: Patrick Stephens Ltd., 1980
- Ellul, Michael, *Valletta: Porta Reale and Environs*, Rabat: National Archives of Malta, 2013
- Erickson, Charlotte, *Emigration from Europe 1815-1914*, London: A & C Black Ltd., 1976
- Frendo Henry, *Europe and Empire: Culture, Politics and Identity in Malta and the Mediterranean*, Sta. Venera: Midsea Books, 2012
- Frendo, Henry, 'National Identity' in *Malta: Culture and Identity*, H.Frendo and O.Friggieri (eds.) Valletta: Ministry of Youth and the Arts, 1994
- Frendo, Henry, *Party Politics in a Fortress Colony 3rd edition*, Valletta: Midsea Books, 2013
- Ganado, Herbert, *Rajt Malta Tinbidel Vol.1* (3rd.edition), Malta, 1977
- Hayes, Joshua, M., 'Migration between Malta and French Algeria in the Nineteenth Century: Who was the Maltese Migrant?' in *Colonial Encounters: Maltese Experiences of British Rule 1800-1970s*, J.Chircop (ed.), Qormi: Horizons, 2015
- Holland, Robert, *Blue-Water Empire: The British in the Mediterranean since 1800*, London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2012
- Hughes, Quentin, *Britain in the Mediterranean & the Defence of her Naval Stations*, Liverpool: Penpaed Books, 1981
- Jeffries, Sir Charles, *The Colonial Office*, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1956
- Laferla, A.V., *British Malta Vol 1 and 2*, Valletta: A.C.Aquilina & Co., 1947
- Luke, Sir Harry, *Malta: An Account and an Appreciation*, London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1949
- MacGill, Thomas, *A Handbook or Guide for Trangers visiting Malta*, Malta: Luigi Tonna (Legacy Reprint Series), 1839
- Macmillan, Allister, *Malta and Gibraltar illustrated*, Valletta: Midsea Books Ltd. (Facsimile Edition), 1985
- Mallia-Milanes, Victor, 'Introduction to Hospitallier Malta' in *Hospitallier Malta 1530-1798*, V. Mallia-Milanes (ed.), Msida: Mireva Publications, 1993

- Martin, Robert Montgomery, Esq., *History of the Colonies of the British Empire*, London: Official records of the Colonial Office, 1843 (reprint 1967)
- Mizzi, John, A., *Gallipoli: The Maltese Connection*, Luqa: Tecnografica Publications, 1991
- Peto, Gladys, *Malta and Cyprus*, London: J.M.Dent and Sons Ltd., 1926
- Price, Charles, A., *Malta and the Maltese: A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration*, Melbourne: Georgian House, (reprint 1989), 1954
- Refalo, Michael, 'Commercial Partnerships and Malta's Colonial Status in the Late 19th and Early 20th Century' in *Colonial Encounters: Maltese Experiences of British Rule 1800-1970s*, J.Chircop (ed.), Qormi: Horizons, 2015
- Said-Zammit, George, A., *The Development of Domestic Space in the Maltese Islands from the Late Middle Ages to the Second Half of the 20th Century*, Oxford: Archaeopress Archeology, 2016
- Sant, Michael, A., *Ir-Revoluzzjoni Maltija*, Marsa: Sensiela Kotba Soċjalisti, 2009
- Savona-Ventura, Charles, *Outlines of Maltese Medical History*, Valletta: Midsea Books Ltd., 1997
- Schofield, John & Morrissey, Emily, *Strait Street: Malta's 'Red-Light District' Revealed*, Valletta: Midsea Books, 2013
- Smith, Harrison, *Britain in Malta Vol.1 – Constitutional Development of Malta in the Nineteenth Century*, Valletta: Progress Press Co. Ltd., 1953
- Spiteri, Edward.J., *Malta: From Colonial Dependence to Economic Viability*, Sliema: Edward.J.Spiteri, 2002
- Tripp, Llanne and Sawchuk, Lawrence, A., 'Undulant Fever: Colonialism, Culture and Compliancy' in *Colonial Encounters: Maltese Experiences of British Rule 1800-1970s*, J.Chircop (ed.), Qormi: Horizons, 2015
- Vassallo, Carmel, *The Malta Chamber of Commerce 1848-1979*, Valletta: The Malta Chamber of Commerce, 1998
- Vella, Paul, *The Industrial Revolution of Malta*, Valletta: Midsea Books Ltd., 2007
- Vivian Wyatt, H., 'Brucellosis and Maltese Goats in the Mediterranean' in *Colonial Encounters: Maltese Experiences of British Rule 1800-1970s*, J.Chircop (ed.), Qormi: Horizons, 2015
- Wignacourt, John, *The Odd Man in Malta*, London: G.Bell & Sons Ltd., 1914
- Zammit, Edward, I., *A Colonial Inheritance*, Msida: Malta University Press, 1984
- Zammit, Edward, L., 'Aspects of British Colonial Politics and Maltese Patterns of Behaviour', in *The British Colonial Experience 1800-1964: The Impact on Maltese Society*, V.Mallia-Milanes (ed.), Msida: Mireva Publications, 1988

Zammit, Sir T., *The Water Supply of the Maltese Islands*, Malta: Government Printing Office, 1931

Zammit, Them., *Valletta: An Historical Sketch*, Valletta: Critiens, 1918

Zarb-Dimech, Anthony, *Malta During the First World War 1914-1918*, San Gwann: BDL Books, 2014

Unpublished dissertations

Abdilla, Rachel. 'The urban context of Valletta as a bohemian and artistic hub in the twentieth century: with special focus on Strait Street.' B.A. (Hons.) History, Department of History of Arts, Faculty of Arts, University of Malta, 2017.

Bartolo, Paul. 'War and Social Change: Malta 1914-1919.' M.A. History, Faculty of Arts, University of Malta, 1982.

Chircop, John. 'Underdevelopment: The Malta Experience 1880-1914.' M.A. History, Department of History, Faculty of Arts, University of Malta, 1993.

Mifsud, Carmen. 'Economic repercussions on different aspects of employment 1880 – 1921.' B.A. (Hons.) History, Department of History, Faculty of Arts, University of Malta, 2017.

Vassallo, Matthew. 'Aspects of Social Life in Valletta 1813-1854.' M.A. History, Department of History, Faculty of Arts, University of Malta, 2007.

Vella Bonnici, J. 'Economic and other related implications of Harbour conditions (1901-1908) with special reference to the Breakwater's construction.' B.A. Gen., Faculty of Arts, University of Malta, 1974.

Walz, Leah Claire. 'Malta, Motherhood and Infant Mortality: Integrating biogeological and socio-cultural insights.' Doctorate of Philosophy, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, 2008.

Online sources

Apostolides, Alexander. "Economic growth or continuing stagnation? Estimating the GDP of Cyprus and Malta, 1921-1938." (2010). 13 Oct. 2021.
<https://www.academia.edu/35634348>

Apostolides, Alexander. "Why Did Small European Colonies Not Perform Better? GDP Estimation for Cyprus and Malta During the Interwar Period (1921-1938)." (2012). 13 Nov. 2021.
<https://ssrn.com/abstract=2071396>

Baldacchino, Godfrey. "Capital and Port Cities on Small Islands Sallying Forth beyond their Walls: A Mediterranean Exercise." Journal of Mediterranean Studies, vol.23, no.2 (2014): 137-151. 17 Feb.2021.
<http://muse.jhu.edu/article/671434>

Bianco, L. "Valletta: a city in history." Melita Theologica, 60(2), (2009): pp. 3-20. 10 Oct. 2020.

<http://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/handle/123456789/15640>

Busuttil, S. "Malta's Economy in the Nineteenth Century." Journal of the Faculty of Arts, 3(1), (1965): pp. 44-65. 19 Sep. 2020.

<https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/handle/123456789/39337>

Camilleri, Jonathan. "Maltese Industrial Development, 1933-1939." Journal of Maltese History, vol.4, no.2, (2015): 23-36. 21 Jan. 2021.

<https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/handle/123456789/18101>

Caruana-Galizia, Paul. "Mediterranean Labour-Market Integration: Maltese Real Wages in a Regional Context, 1836-1913." The Journal of European Economic History, vol. 41, no. 3, (2012): pp. 93-121. 5 Jan. 2021.

<https://www-proquest-com.ejournals.um.edu.mt/scholarly-journals/mediterranean-labour-market-integration-maltese/docview/1778650681/se-2?accountid=27934>

Caruana-Galizia, P. "Strategic colonies and economic development: real wages in Cyprus, Gibraltar, and Malta, 1836–1913." The Economic History Review, 68(4), (2015): pp.1250–1276. 13 Feb.2021.

<http://web.a.ebscohost.com.ejournals.um.edu.mt/ehost/detail>

Cassar, Louis. "Settlement patterns in the Maltese Islands: from early colonization to pre-Independence." GeoJournal 41.2, (1997): 137-144. 9 Feb. 2021

<http://www.academia.edu/6054301>

Chircop, John. "Evolution of a Harbour Infrastructure: from Mercantile to Naval Control." Melita Historica, xii (2), (1997): 209-218. 18 Nov. 2021.

<https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/handle/123456789/42389>

Chircop, John. "Maltese Maritime Historiography: A Critical Assessment." New Directions in Mediterranean Maritime History, no.28, (2004). Published online 2018. 4 Mar. 2021

<https://www.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.5949/liverpool/9780973007381.001.0001/upso-9780973007381-chapter-005>

Chircop John. "Brokers, Collectors, Collaborators: Mediating Colonial Modernization in Malta 1870-1914." Proceedings of History Week 2003. The Malta Historical Society. (2005): pp.43-56. 14 Oct. 2020.

<http://maltahistory.eu5.net/hw/hw20034.html>

Davin, Anna. "Imperialism and Motherhood." History workshop, 5(5), (1978): pp.9-65. 19 Oct. 2020.

<https://search-proquest-com.ejournals.um.edu.mt/docview/1297990356>

Ganado, W. "Infant mortality in the Maltese islands." Acta medica et sociologica, A. III, 3(2-3), (1964): pp.237-254. 19 Oct. 2020.

<https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/handle/123456789/12052>

- Ganado, W., & Bonnici, J. "Health Problems In Malta." The British Medical Journal, 1(3990), (1937): p. 1337-1337. 5 Feb. 2021.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25366389>
- Grima, Rita. "Some economic effects of the Crimean war on Malta." Melita Historica Vol.VII, no.4. (1979). 17 Jan. 2021.
<https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/bitstream/123456789/37788/1/3.pdf>
- Holland, Roger. "Cyprus and Malta: Two Colonial Experiences." Journal of Mediterranean Studies, vol.23, no.1, (2014): 9-20. 21 Jan.2021.
<https://muse-jhu-edu.ejournals.um.edu.mt/article/671422/pdf>
- Knepper, P. "A Few Detectives would be very Useful: crime, immorality, and policing in Valletta, 1881-1914." Journal of Social History, 43(2), (2009): 385-406,523. 6 Jan. 2021.
<http://dx.doi.org.ejournals.um.edu.mt/10.1353/jsh.0.0265>
- L. H. Dudley Buxton, L.H. "Malta: An Anthropogeographical Study." Geographical Review, Jan., 1924, Vol. 14, No. 1 (1924): pp. 75-87. 6 Feb. 2021.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/208356>
- Lanfranco, A. "Tuberculosis in Malta." The St. Luke`s Hospital Gazette, 7(1), (1972): pp. 41-45. 14 Nov. 2020.
<https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/handle/123456789/14870>
- Morbidity and Mortality of The Malta Garrison 1816 -1909. 5 Nov. 2020.
<http://www.maltaramc.com/articles/contents/mortality.html>
- Refalo, Michael. "The Discourse on the Problem of Begging and Almsgiving in Late 19th-century Malta" in Bridging the gaps: sources, methodology and approaches to religion in Joaquim Carvalho (ed.). Pisa University Press. (2008). 20 Oct. 2020.
<https://www.academia.edu/721448>
- Refalo, M. "Noise, smell and other nuisances: Valletta c.1880s – c.1930." Symposia Melitensia, Vol. 12, (2016): pp. 161-176. 3 Jan.2021.
<https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/handle/123456789/14910>
- Rizzo Naudi, J. "Brucellosis: The Malta Experience - A Celebration 1905 - 2005." Institute of Health Care Biennial Report 2006/2007 (2006): pp. 23-26. 12 Jan. 2021.
<https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/handle/123456789/43505>
- Said-Zammit, G. A. (2020). "Chapter 10: settlement evolution in Malta from the Late Middle Ages to the early twentieth century and its impact on domestic space." In: C. French, C. O. Hunt, R. Grima, R. McLaughlin, S. Stoddart & C. Malone, Temple landscapes : fragility, change and resilience of Holocene environments in the Maltese Islands. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research. (2020): pp.285-302.
<https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/handle/123456789/64171>

- Savona-Ventura, Charles. "Past Influenza pandemics and their effect in Malta." *Malta Medical Journal*. Vol.17(3), (2005): pp. 16-19. 20 Jan. 2021.
<https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/handle/123456789/651>
- Sawchuk, Larry, A. "Deconstructing Colonial Health Differentials: Malta and Gibraltar Prior to World War II." *Journal of Maltese History*, no.1 (2008) 19 Oct. 2020.
https://www.um.edu.mt/__data/assets/pdf_file/0017/120329/jmh-0101-03.pdf
- Thake, Conrad & Hall, Brent. "Valletta: city profile." *Cities*, Vol. 10(2), (1993): pp. 91-102. 3 Dec. 2020.
<https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/handle/123456789/6542>
- Theuma, Frank. "Maritime Areas, Ports and Searoutes: Defining Space and Connectivity between Malta and the Eastern Mediterranean 1770-1820." *Journal of Maltese History*, vol.5, no.2, (2018): 36-61. 21 Jan. 2021.
<https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/handle/123456789/47790>
- Tripp, Lianne & Sawchuk, Larry A. "Insights into secular trends of respiratory tuberculosis: The 20th century Maltese experience." *PloS one*, 12(8), (2017): p.e0183296. 20 Jan. 2021.
<https://search-proquest-com.ejournals.um.edu.mt/docview/1930441870>
- Tripp, Lianne, Sawchuk, Larry Alexander and Saliba, Mario. "Deconstricting the 1918-1919 Influenza Pandemic in the Maltese Islands." *Current Anthropology*, vol.59, no.2, (2018): 229-239. 9 Feb. 2021.
<https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/696939>
- Valério, N. "Some remarks about growth and stagnation in the Mediterranean World in the XIXth and XXth centuries." *Journal of European Economic History*, 21(1), (1992): pp. 121. 13 Jan. 2021.
<https://www-proquest-com.ejournals.um.edu.mt/scholarly-journals/some-remarks-about-growth-stagnation-mediterranean/docview/1292879468/se-2?accountid=27934>
- Wirth, Louis. "Urbanism as a Way of Life." *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 44, no. 1, (1938): pp. 1-24. 6 Feb. 2021.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2768119>.
- Young, B.S. "The Maltese Islands: Economic Problems and Prospects for Industrial Development." *Geographical review*, 53(2), (1963): pp.263–286. 19 Oct. 2020.
<https://www-jstor-org.ejournals.um.edu.mt/stable/212513>
- Zammit, Andre. "Valletta and the System of Human Settlements in the Maltese Islands." *Ekistics*, vol. 53, no. 316/317, (1986): pp. 89-95. 19 Jan. 2021.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/43620704>.