

THE MALTESE DIASPORA: THE HISTORICAL
DEVELOPMENT OF MIGRATION FROM MALTA.

by

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ABSTRACT

A study of the complexities of migration in relation to Malta, its history and geography, provides the general framework for an examination of three separate topics: emigration from Malta to Canada in the period from 1945 to 1960; the movement of Maltese between countries overseas; and return migration to Malta. This study argues that population pressure and economic factors alone are insufficient explanations for the high levels of Maltese emigration. Equally indispensable were chain migration, active government support of emigration, and cultural acceptance of migration by the Maltese people, and the receptiveness, at times, of receiving countries to Maltese immigrants.

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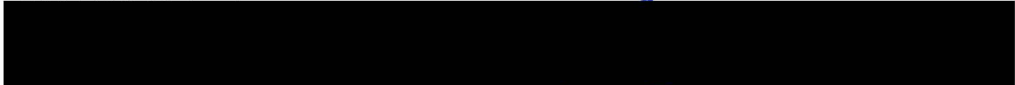
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INTRODUCTION.

Malta is the most densely populated country in Europe. In the decade after the Second World War it had the highest proportion of emigration to population of any European country¹. Indeed, Malta is unusual in having government departments and ministers of emigration while most countries emphasise immigration. Malta has been described as "Migration's Microcosm"², because it presents a wide variety of migration features allied to a relatively small population base. Malta is, therefore, an excellent focus for a study of migration.

The first chapter of this study is a synopsis of the geography and history of Malta emphasizing the growth of population in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Such growth in a country of small area and limited resources increased the propensity of the Maltese to emigrate. The second chapter presents a broad survey of emigration from Malta, and identifies factors which have promoted emigration and determined its direction over the years. A third chapter examines the various locations to which Maltese have emigrated. These first three chapters provide background

information for the examination of three topics which form the chief focus of this study.

The first of these topics is Maltese emigration to Canada from the end of World War II until 1960 (Chapter 4). This period includes the postwar wave of Maltese emigration. This chapter explains how the Maltese achieved unprecedented rates of emigration to Canada; it is not concerned with the Maltese after they arrived in Canada, except where their experiences affected subsequent emigration.

The next topic is Transilient migration (Chapter 5). This is defined by Bovenkirk in his 1974 essay The Sociology of Return Migration as "when people move on to a second destination"³. Anthony H. Richmond had earlier used the term in his 1967 book, Post-war Immigrants in Canada to describe migrants who did not set down roots in their first overseas location but tended to move around in response to economic circumstances⁴. In this study we will use the term to describe the movement of migrants between countries other than their home country. The subject has not received detailed consideration in past studies about Maltese emigrants, but it is important, because transilience was extensive, and a consistent feature of Maltese migration. The chapter

estimates the amount of transilient migration, but since the phenomenon is a relatively recent development and is little understood, a definitive explanation for its frequency would be premature.

The final topic is return migration (Chapter 6). This is a phenomenon which has been recognised and studied from an early stage of human migration studies. In the nineteenth century, Ravenstein described it as a 'countercurrent'⁵ in the migration flow, and subsequent authorities have investigated various aspects of the phenomenon. This thesis estimates the numbers of returning migrants to Malta from various countries. Unfortunately, complete and reliable data are scarce. In Malta, changes in methods of enumerating return migrants have resulted in considerable undercounting of return migration. This situation is compounded by the fact that the receiving countries such as Canada have not placed much importance on ascertaining the number of immigrants who decide to return to their original countries. This attitude in the receiving countries has changed somewhat in recent years when return migration has become more prevalent. Such data on return migration as do exist will be used, and will be augmented by

calculations using censuses, and by reference to academic analyses of the topic.

Malta offers many advantages for the study of the various facets of human migration. The country itself is compact and the population is homogeneous in many respects. A further advantage is that the Maltese abroad tend to live in geographically compact communities mainly in English-speaking countries, which have relatively accurate methods of enumeration and an established literature on the subject of immigration. The purpose of this study is to determine the circumstances which caused Maltese migration to take the form that it did , while outlining distinctive features of the Maltese migration experience, and placing that experience within the mainstream of migration literature.

CHAPTER 1.

THE MALTESE BACKGROUND.

The country of Malta consists of five islands, only three of which, Malta, Gozo and Comino, are inhabited. The tiny island of Comino has only a handful of residents, and these are normally included for statistical purposes with the residents of Gozo. The island of Gozo has about one quarter of the land area and one tenth of the population of the Maltese archipelago. The chief island is Malta, but in this study the word Malta will be used to identify the country rather than the island. Malta is located in the central Mediterranean, some sixty miles south of Sicily, and just over 200 miles from the coast of North Africa. The land area of the country is 122 square miles, which combined with a population of some 345,000 people, as determined by a 1985 census¹, makes Malta one of the most densely populated countries in the world. Much of the land is unsuitable for cultivation and Malta must import much of its food. Because of its strategic location and easy access from the sea, Malta has always been vulnerable to invaders seeking to enlarge their territories or to establish a strategic base in the Mediterranean. Although a country of islands, Malta was never

isolated. It has always had close links with the world beyond its shores, and in these external linkages the process of migration had its distant roots.

It has been stated that "Ever since antiquity the history of Malta has been a history of migration and domination"². This is made clear by noting the many changes of external control in the past. The earliest evidence of human settlement shows that late Stone Age and Early Bronze Age people, say from 5000 B.C. to 2500 B.C. were well established. These people erected many temples, tombs and villages whose remains are still evident. About 1000 B.C. Malta was colonised by the Phoenicians, and over the next two thousand years they were succeeded in turn by the Greeks, the Carthaginians, the Romans and the Arabs. In the eleventh century A.D., Malta came under the rule of the Kings of Sicily, and remained so until 1520. In 1530, the new rulers of Malta, the Holy Roman Empire, gave the country to the Knights of Saint John, who had recently been expelled from the island of Rhodes. When the Knights first arrived in Malta, fewer than ten percent of the people lived in towns; when they left, that figure had risen to fifty percent³. The rule of the Knights ended ignominiously in 1798 when they

surrendered the country to the French led by Bonaparte. The French occupation was of brief duration as the British, with the help of the local population, drove them out in 1800. Britain soon enrolled Malta into its empire where it remained until 1964, when the country became an independent member of the Commonwealth.

The changes which took place in Malta during the British period reflect in many respects the importance attached to the militarily strategic location of Malta. This importance was stressed by the British at the beginning of their occupation when the crumbling of the Ottoman Empire encouraged Britain to develop new trading arrangements in the eastern Mediterranean⁴. Later in the nineteenth century the importance of Malta received a boost with the building of the Suez Canal. From the termination of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 until after the Second World War, Malta was developed as the headquarters of the British Mediterranean Fleet. The jobs provided by the British military presence in Malta enabled more members of a growing population to find employment locally than would otherwise have been the case. When military expenditure declined, however, there were economic downturns, and an increased demand to emigrate.

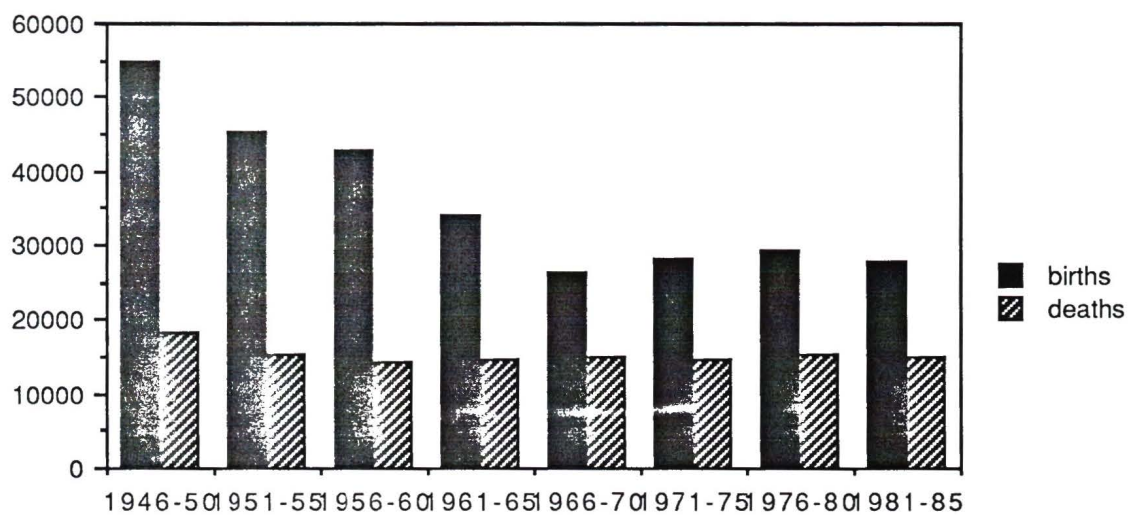
The Maltese have intensely debated how they might restructure their economy since the end of the Second World War. The alternatives most commonly suggested have been either massive emigration or equally massive job creation. Reduced military spending took place in the decade following the end of the war, but the first major announcement of drastic reductions at an unprecedented level came with the British Government Defence Paper of 1957. The first Five Year Development Plan, published in 1959, called for economic diversification and specifically the creation of 7500 new jobs, but only created 1000 new jobs. A second, less ambitious, plan, covering the period from 1964 until 1969, was overtaken by events, when in 1966, the British government announced an accelerated programme of defence spending reductions. This situation demanded greater efforts to offset the problem, and some improvement came through the timely growth of tourism and the associated construction industries⁵. In the 1970's, the Labour government of Malta adopted a policy of 'Maltanisation' to make the country less dependent upon foreign investment⁶.

Today, Malta relies heavily upon tourism for its economic

wellbeing. The growth of tourism has been remarkable: tourist arrivals have increased from 12,600 in 1959 to a peak of 730,000 in 19807. The many new jobs in the tourist industry allowed Malta not only to survive the effect of the economic losses resulting from the ending of British military spending but also to maintain its living standards and population.

The population of Malta experienced steady growth during the British period. A population of about 100,000 in 1800 was to double by the end of the nineteenth century, and to exceed 300,000 by the end of the Second World War, despite substantial emigration. Death rates fell but birth rates remained steady. The rate of increase has been greatly reduced since 1945, with the greatest decline taking place in the decade of the 1960's as a result of a declining birth rate (see Figure 1).

Fig.1. Numbers of births and deaths in each quinquennial period from 1946 to 1985.



Source: Malta. Central Office of Statistics. Annual Abstracts of Statistics, 1946 to 1985.

The most significant reduction in the death rate took place in the period between the 1931 and 1948 censuses, when the infant mortality rate fell from 200 per 1000 to 113 per 1000⁸. Happily, the infant mortality rate has continued to fall throughout the period since 1948. The demographic transition, which signifies the attainment of a degree of population equilibrium, was not completed in Malta until a later date than in many mainland European countries⁹. An indication of the time period for the transition and

for the dramatic decline in the birth rate is found by comparing the total fertility rate in Malta of 3.8 in 1957 with that of 2.0 in 1969¹⁰. These demographic trends are crucial to an understanding of the dynamics of Maltese migration. Sustained population growth was a major factor in the increasing propensity of Maltese to move to other countries, while the decline in fertility since 1957 has relieved much of the pressure to emigrate.

Apart from the effect upon employment and population, the British connection had an important influence on the language situation in Malta. When the British arrived in 1800 Italian was the language of officialdom and the intelligentsia, while Maltese was spoken by the common people. As British involvement grew, the English language was promoted in various areas of official activity such as the law courts, where the Italian language was well entrenched. This created a lengthy dispute between the proponents of the Italian and English languages. While Italian ceased to be an official language in 1934, the controversy raged until the Second World War, when Italy became an enemy participant, and identification with the 'Italian' political group was considered suspicious. Indeed, several members of that group were interned in

Uganda for much of the war¹¹. This dispute between the proponents of the English and Italian languages had an important side-effect in accelerating the development of the Maltese language as the vernacular¹². At present, Maltese and English are the languages spoken by almost all Maltese people and used in all government documents. The gradual development of the use of English in Malta, and the spread of compulsory education, have assisted Maltese emigrants, who have to an increasing degree chosen to move to English-speaking countries.

The British presence in Malta has profoundly influenced many other aspects of the Maltese experience, notably in education, and in social, legal and political institutions. Thus, the British influence has filtered down into the daily lives of the Maltese people, and has brought about far-reaching changes in the Maltese emigration process. In particular, the British connection has determined the chief direction of emigration from Malta through bringing the Maltese into "intimate acquaintance with a people engaged in activities as far afield as South Africa, Australasia and the Americas."¹³

The historical development of Malta reveals a variety of factors which have influenced the volume and direction of emigration. The growth of population in an area with limited natural resources is clearly a major factor. The period during which Malta was under British rule led to greater use of the English language. These factors and others have contributed to the movement of people from Malta. The factors are not only interdependent, but together they created the total environment necessary to explain the dimensions of Maltese emigration.

CHAPTER 2.

EMIGRATION FROM MALTA.

Human migration has been a common feature of the history of the Mediterranean area. Herodotus, for example, relates that in the twelfth century b.c., half of the population of Lydia in Asia Minor emigrated to Italy, where they formed a new community who were to become known as the Etruscans¹. The Phoenicians founded colonies in North Africa and Spain, while the Greeks did the same in Sicily, Italy and France. Human migration in the premodern era was usually caused by some ecological push such as the inability of existing resources to meet the needs of the people of an area². The Mediterranean has provided a fairly safe highway encouraging the free movement of people.

A study of the prehistoric sites of Malta suggests that their defensive nature can be attributed to population expansion with the accompanying competition for cultivable land³. The appearance of new settlers in Malta during the prehistoric period, is evidenced by

their artifacts. Similarly, there are periods of apparent population contraction dotted through the prehistoric period in Malta, although there is no evidence that emigration took place⁴.

Malta did not produce enough food in the medieval period to meet the needs of the population, and imports from Sicily were necessary⁵. Indeed, emigration to Sicily was taking place in the fifteenth century, while there were also indications of immigration to and population growth within Malta around the same time⁶. One form of human migration in this period was involuntary. Before 1798, intermittent raids on Malta by corsairs from the Barbary States led to the capture of many Maltese and their enslavement in Moslem countries. One raid in 1551 led to the complete depopulation of Gozo through the capture of its 5000 inhabitants⁷. On the other hand, many slaves were captured and brought to Malta by the galleys of the Knights of Saint John. These slaves were often ransomed but many stayed on in Malta⁸. A more conventional avenue for emigration was explored in 1653 when the Knights purchased some islands in the West Indies but sold them twelve years later⁹.

Not until the nineteenth century is there sufficient

information available to permit a detailed description of emigration. In a fine study entitled Malta and the Maltese, the Australian demographer, Charles A. Price draws a picture in which migration fluctuates in response to economic factors, and where return migration occurs when various kinds of crises develop in those countries to which Maltese had moved. There is also a sense of much migration taking place which is undocumented, indeed unnoticed, by the authorities or by unofficial observers. Price also makes clear that while the British government favoured emigration from Malta it was reluctant to provide any financial support for emigrants. Almost all of the migration described by Price was confined to the Mediterranean area. This geographical limitation owed less to logic than to habits and mistaken beliefs on the part of the Maltese, who thought that more distant areas possessed uncongenial conditions¹⁰. Most emigration from Malta in the nineteenth century was unorganised. One attempt to make a permanent settlement on the Ionian Islands in 1826 failed, and its members eventually moved to Corfu where employment was available¹¹.

A report in 1839 attributed the chief cause of emigration from Malta to "distress arising from the want of work", and

suggested that many more people would emigrate had they the means of doing so¹². The economic history of Malta in the nineteenth century was one of alternating periods of prosperity and distress, depending on strategic and military factors. As the century passes, the periods of prosperity become more bountiful and of longer duration, while the periods of distress became shorter and less acute. These economic improvements were the result of greater military expenditure in Malta together with the increased volume of shipping calling there en route to the Suez Canal.

Attempts were made by private individuals to settle groups of Maltese in the sugar cane plantations of both Australia and the West Indies. In the latter case, groups of Maltese travelled to Grenada and British Guiana to work in sugar plantations, but were unable to adapt to local conditions¹³. While organised attempts failed, numerous Maltese emigrants moved to Australia and North America in the nineteenth century and earlier.

Many emigrants left Malta in the nineteenth century. Price has calculated that from 1842 until 1880, 63,500 Maltese emigrated, and of these 50,600 returned to Malta. This represents a very high rate of return, some 80 percent, and leaves only some

12,900 emigrants who remained abroad¹⁴. The prevalence of emigration during the century created an acceptance of movement to other countries as being a means of escaping the economic and population pressures in Malta.

In the years immediately preceding the First World War, Malta experienced a degree of economic distress. Father L.E. Attard, the historian of Maltese migration in this period, argues that economic conditions encourage greater demand for and public interest in emigration¹⁵. The political situation, however, discouraged emigration. The government remained unwilling to contribute financially to an emigration programme, while the political opposition claimed emigration was a means by which the ruling class could remove excess workers.

This was the period of amateurism in organising emigration. Well-meaning private individuals made tentative but unsuccessful efforts to organise emigration but "the rulers of Malta had developed no policy regarding emigrants and emigration"¹⁶. Nevertheless many individuals and small groups of Maltese independently made their way to new countries.

The official statistics on emigration produced from the records of the Passport Office in Malta offer limited information. One figure provided is that the total number of emigrants from Malta from 1910–1918 was 9,443¹⁷. This, however, likely underestimated the actual movement because the Passport Office did not include "a sizeable number of passengers who had embarked for North African ports such as Alexandria, Port Said, Tripoli or Tunis, and would then carry on their journey to more distant parts of the world"¹⁸. Nevertheless, it is clear that more Maltese emigrants were moving to countries outside the Mediterranean area, although ignorance of the English language made emigration to English-speaking countries difficult, and the Royal Commission on Labour and Employment of 1912, which considered the effect of emigration on the labour situation, did not see that position improving without compulsory education¹⁹.

Between 1918 and 1939, several important factors emerged which affected future emigration from Malta. The movement to English-speaking countries was circumscribed by the policies of these countries, which while designed to control immigration

generally, in some cases affected Malta in particular. Australia and Canada²⁰ passed legislation in the early 1920's which effectively excluded almost all of those who sought to emigrate from Malta to these two countries, other than for the purpose of family unification. The Maltese government now realised that it had a role to play in supporting emigration. One evidence of this was the replacement, in 1918, of the relatively impotent Malta Emigration Committee by a Department of Emigration, headed by a Mr. Henry Casolani. This Department was created when large numbers of Maltese were emigrating in the immediate post-war period. The fledgling department had limited resources and at first was unable to do much other than to enumerate migration. However, Mr. Casolani proved an excellent advocate for emigration, underlining the problems being created by a burgeoning population. Both in the press and in publications such as Awake Malta or The Hard Lesson of Emigration²¹, he aimed at informing public opinion in Malta of the weaknesses of emigration practices which sent poorly educated, ill-prepared Maltese abroad where they were bad ambassadors for Malta. The creation of the new department underlines the change in government policy from one of moral support to one providing more

practical assistance. The relative lack of success in boosting emigration during the inter-war period was the result of conditions overseas, over which the Maltese government had no control.

Another improvement during the period was the creation of a Labour Training Centre by the Department of Emigration to help provide intending emigrants with those skills which would help them make a satisfactory transition to their new country²². Such a training centre was necessary because the best qualified emigrants had departed immediately after the First World War, and higher entry requirements in the receiving countries made it difficult for others to qualify²³.

Many Maltese emigrated at the end of the war. In the period of some two and a half years from Armistice Day in 1918 until March 31, 1921, a total of 11, 787 emigrated²⁴. The number of emigrants fell to 2,585 in the year ending March 31, 1922²⁵, and never thereafter exceeded 4,000 in any one year, dropping to less than 2,000 for each year of the 1930's with one exception, before drying up completely during the Second World War²⁶. The figures for return migration offset those for emigration to a considerable

extent. The total emigration figures for the period between the wars is 56,476, but 33,068 Maltese emigrants returned during the same period, providing a net emigration figure of 23,408²⁷.

An examination of these migration statistics broken down into countries or areas of destination show that net emigration was greatest to the major English-speaking countries. While almost equal numbers of Maltese went to North Africa and to the major English-speaking countries, the majority subsequently returned from North Africa while the majority of emigrants to the English-speaking countries did not. Indeed the net emigration figure for the United Kingdom alone for the period at 5,427, greatly exceeds the total net emigration of Maltese to all of the North African countries, and shows the United Kingdom as being the greatest net recipient of emigrants from Malta²⁸. A less important destination for Maltese emigrants in the 1920's was Argentina, with 70 persons making their way there²⁹.

The high rate of return migration to Malta from the North African countries argues that many of the Maltese concerned were sojourners rather than emigrants. It is certainly true that these

overseas Maltese retained strong links with their home country and often returned periodically. However, in many cases the return to Malta was made necessary by adverse circumstances in the overseas locations, so that it is difficult to determine exactly which proportion of the returnees had intended to return to Malta from the beginning, that is, were sojourners, and which were the returnees of failure or necessity.

These figures show that much of the emigration within the Mediterranean area was temporary in character with a high proportion of return; they also suggest that emigration to more distant lands was often more permanent, perhaps because of the expense of transportation; they further show that the change of direction in Maltese emigration in favour of the English-speaking countries continued, with two-thirds of the net migration figures from Malta being accounted for by those countries³⁰. This was encouraged by the increasing numbers of Maltese who could understand English. The role of government in the promotion of emigration grew during the period. The new department screened prospective emigrants, and rejected about one-third of these people as unsuitable before departure, resulting in a higher success rate

among emigrants³¹.

Malta was under siege for much of the Second World War, and emigration was impossible. However, there were some official statements and much public discussion which suggests that interest in emigration remained high. The Maltese people saw the good will earned by their wartime heroism as a positive factor creating emigration opportunities in the postwar period.³² When the war ended, many thousands of Maltese considered themselves prospective emigrants and waited anxiously for their opportunity to move abroad.

The Governor-General of Malta, in a speech made on July 19, 1945, stated that 4,500 intending emigrants had registered with the Labour Department³³, and this number reached 11,692 by March, 1947³⁴. Early in 1946, in a letter to the Times of Malta, John J. Cole, who was later to become the Minister for Emigration and Labour, and eventually was himself to emigrate to Australia³⁵, called for the creation of an organisation to ensure that prospective emigrants would be given adequate information and assistance ³⁶. This was the first step in the formation of the Malta Prospective

Emigrant's Organisation, an important pressure group of the time.

The first problem to confront prospective emigrants was a shortage of transportation, caused by the demobilisation of millions of service personnel. In March of 1946, a government spokesman stated that representations would be made for shipping to be allocated for emigrants "as soon as the general transport situation allows for the resumption of emigration"³⁷. Concerns were expressed that the resettlement of certain groups who had been given priority for transportation, such as Polish exiles, and German and Italian internees, who had been held in the United States, would take up the more attractive employment opportunities³⁸. Because it was easier to emigrate from Malta to Britain than to other destinations, 972 Maltese moved there during the year March 1946 to February 1947³⁹. It was 1948 before sufficient shipping was available to make real inroads into the numbers of waiting emigrants. A few emigrants made their own travel arrangements, but most went through the official mechanism arranged between Malta and the receiving countries and left on chartered shipping. In most cases, these ships called at Malta as one of several pick-up

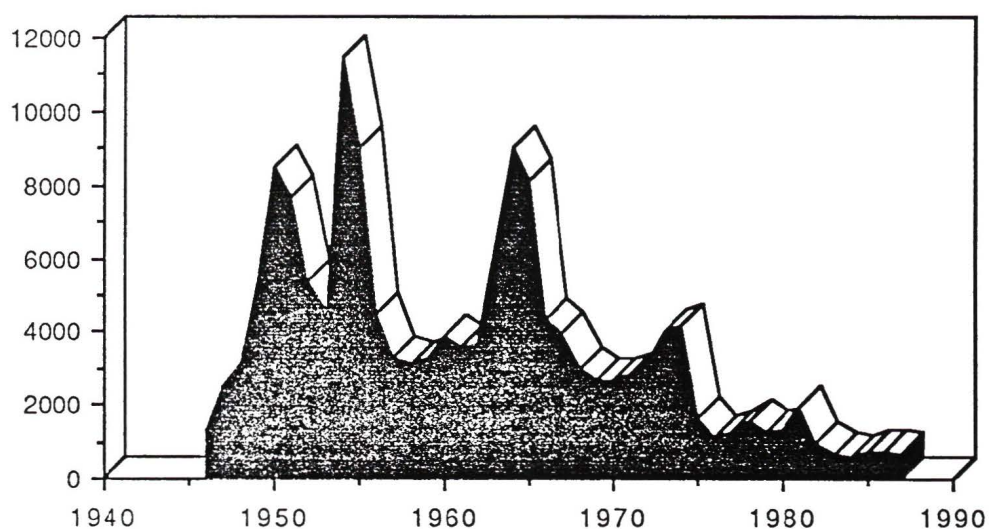
ports in the Mediterranean. For instance, the first group of emigrants bound from Malta to the United States, embarked on the Marine Shark on July 14, 1947, where they joined an Italian contingent already aboard⁴⁰. The first group of emigrants to Australia had left the previous year, joining a ship which had begun its journey in Britain⁴¹, while the first contingent for Canada left in the summer of 1948⁴².

Another problem arose from various immigration restrictions. Restrictions of consequence to Maltese emigrants were present in Canada, the United States and New Zealand in some degree and for certain periods in the years following the end of the war in 1945. In Canada, the Privy Council Orders 183 and 185, which had come into effect on the 31st of January, 1923, and which had restricted immigration from many countries, including Malta, to agriculturalists, domestic servants, and the families of persons already settled in Canada, were not relaxed until March of 1948⁴³; the McCarran-Walter Act of 24th December, 1952, restricted entry of Maltese to the United States to one hundred per year⁴⁴; while Maltese were unable to emigrate to New Zealand until 1955, and

even then only single males were permitted to enter to enter⁴⁵.

The emigration statistics for the postwar period are reasonably accurate and present an interesting picture. The bar graph (Figure 2), illustrates the annual totals from 1946 to 1987.

Fig. 2. Emigration from Malta annually from 1946 to 1987.



Source. Malta. Demographic Reviews for years 1965 to 1987.

Post war emigration began modestly in 1946 and grew quickly, reaching a peak in 1954 when 11,447 Maltese emigrated. There is then a decline until the early sixties when for a few years higher figures pertain, but thereafter the numbers dropped gradually until in the 1980s the annual emigration was below 1000. The official figures suggest a fairly low rate of return migration before 1975,

when for the first time there was a net migration gain (that is, an excess of returnees over outgoing emigrants). Indeed this net migration gain is a feature of the most recent period, and the figures from 1975 to 1987 inclusive show an excess of return migrants over emigrants of 5,526⁴⁶.

The fluctuations in the migration statistics result from a variety of influences. One important factor is the general economic health of Malta, and in particular, the level of unemployment, or even the fear of unemployment⁴⁷. One estimate suggests that without emigration, unemployment in the early 1970s would have been 22 percent or more⁴⁸.

The long standing perception that Malta was too densely populated was used extensively by the proponents of emigration in the post-1945 period, and was generally accepted by the public. Typical newspaper editorials agreed, "These islands are overcrowded with people and the population increases hourly"⁴⁹, or "Malta is the most densely populated country in Europe"⁵⁰. The high rate of natural increase led many observers to believe that the Maltese population would increase indefinitely. Since the electorate was predominantly

Roman Catholic, the government gave little encouragement to family planning. Nevertheless, a decline in the birth rate in Malta from 36.0 per thousand in 1948 to 17.1 in 1971 suggests the widespread adoption of family planning, although it appears that modern methods of contraception were not in use⁵¹. A recent census report calls for an annual population growth of about one percent in the short term⁵², while the latest official prediction suggests a peak population of 375,000 early in the next century, which would decline to 348,800 in the year 2050⁵³. These figures suggest that fears of unmanageable overpopulation in the future have been dispelled.

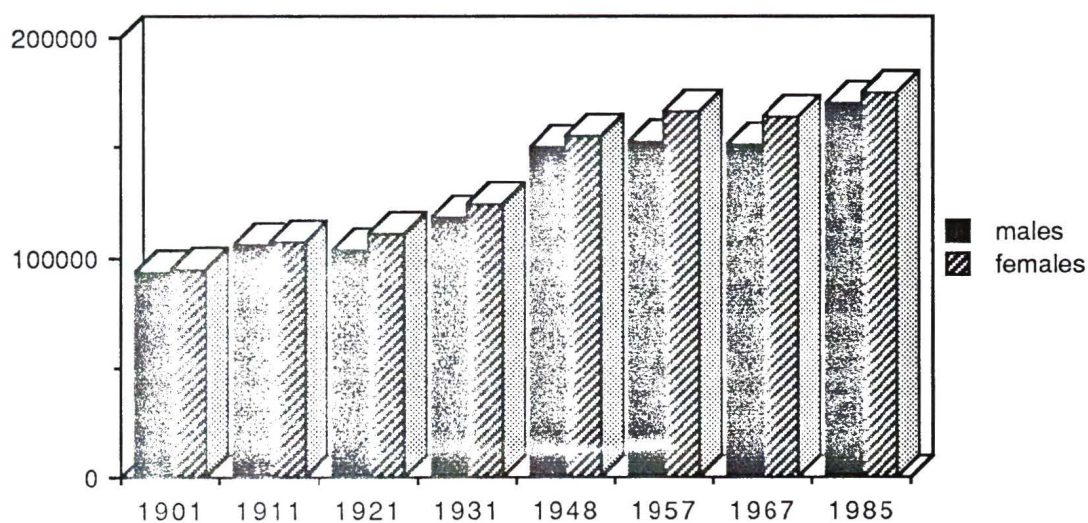
The fear of unemployment and the belief in the dangers inherent in overpopulation underpin the exceptionally high rate of emigration, but migration takes place because those involved believe that they will improve their lives and that of their children by emigrating. This belief can be discouraged by such circumstances as the restrictive policies of receiving countries, or by lack of the resources necessary to emigrate. It can also be encouraged through a variety of incentives such as assistance with travel expenses or the provision of helpful advice. In the context of emigration from Malta,

H.R.Jones, a geographer, in an article on Maltese emigration, has suggested that the dominant sets of influences are "government inducements and controls at origin and destination, and international networks of friends and relatives arising from past migration"⁵⁴. Similarly, E.P.Delia, a Maltese economist, has argued that "Maltese emigration has been primarily conditioned by the size of the Maltese population abroad"⁵⁵. This statement implies a multiplier effect by which the expansion of the Maltese communities abroad created a greater support base for future emigrants to these communities. This, of course, is not unique to Maltese migration.

Not everyone favoured emigration. The arguments opposing emigration fell under two main heads. Many of these arguments were based upon the unbalanced nature of the emigrant population. Emigration was selective as to age, sex and level of skill. The age ratios were as could be expected, with a high proportion of young adults among those leaving Malta. There was a marked sex imbalance. The proportion of males to females in the emigration figures for the period 1918 to 1927 was almost ten to one⁵⁶, while a comparison of the censuses of 1948 and 1957 reveals that an

excess number of females compared to males of 4,661 in 1948 had increased to 13,404 in 1957. The effect of the sex imbalance is shown in the graph (Figure 3), which shows the numbers of males and females in the population at each census this century. The greatest disparity between the sexes is found in the censuses of 1921, 1957 and 1967, which followed periods of intense emigration activity⁵⁷.

Fig.3. Population of Malta by sex as shown by the censuses of the twentieth century.



Source: Malta, Central Office of Statistics, Census '85. 43.

The chief economic argument used in opposition to emigration after 1945 was that because too high a proportion of skilled workers were leaving the economy suffered serious problems

at certain times⁵⁸. The Balogh and Seers Report of 1955⁵⁹, that was commissioned by the Maltese government, considered emigration to waste skills, and to divert resources and effort away from other policies capable of improving the Maltese economy. A 1982 analysis of the official figures of the skill composition of emigrants asserts that "Maltese emigration cannot be considered unduly skill selective"⁶⁰, but warned that the more selective immigration policies of receiving countries could produce a 'brain drain' in the 1980's⁶¹.

Opponents of emigration put forward other less rational arguments such as the emotional cost to emigrants and their families. This applied particularly to first generation immigrants, who could not easily shed their ethnic identity or lose their memories of their native land⁶². One observer who considered that emigration was at best a necessary evil, equated it "with exile from the Maltese way of life"⁶³. However, the arguments against emigration did not impede it.

In this chapter, certain features of Maltese emigration have become fairly clear. Emigration had long been an established

practice, and there was no built-in opposition to emigration when circumstances required. The change of direction from the Mediterranean littoral to the major English-speaking countries during the course of the twentieth century is also apparent. The propensity to return can also be identified as a recurring feature. The perception of Malta as a country with a population too numerous for its resources provides a general, if occasionally muted, background, upon which a variety of more particular influences act. The high rate of emigration, however, cannot be explained simply in terms of economics or pressure of population. As this study will show, cultural factors and the provision of financial support played a decisive part in determining the volume, direction and timing of emigration from Malta.

CHAPTER 3.

Destinations.

The Maltese have been emigrating to countries on the Mediterranean coast for centuries. In the nineteenth century most Maltese families had at least one member resident in one or other of these countries at least temporarily. Price estimated that there were some 55,000 Maltese living abroad in 1885, almost all of these in the Mediterranean¹. Another study calculated that in 1911 "33,623 Maltese had by then settled in countries bordering the Mediterranean", and this number included specific totals of 12,258 in Tunis, 5,532 in Algeria, and 5,902 in Alexandria and Cairo².

The attraction of the Mediterranean as a focus for emigration from Malta rested upon convenience and familiarity. The countries of the north coast of Africa, particularly present-day Libya and Tunisia, have always attracted the Maltese because they lie within easy travelling distance, but the Mediterranean as a whole has its own particular ambience. As Braudel, wrote of the sixteenth century context, "a native of the Mediterranean, wherever he might come

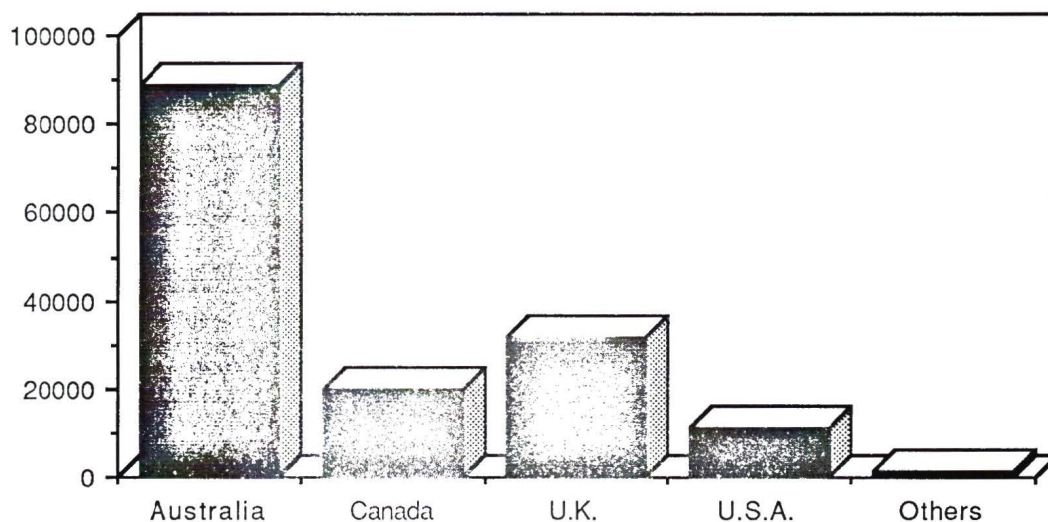
from, would never feel out of place in any part of the sea³.

In the nineteenth century, plague and political upheavals in several countries in the area resulted in many Maltese returning to Malta, while the Second World War and its aftermath also had serious effects upon Maltese overseas communities. The Maltese of Tripolitania were deported to internment camps in Italy at the beginning of 1941, and were unable to return until 1944⁴. Many of the Maltese living in the Balkans and Turkey had an even longer disruption. A large group of these 'Balkan' Maltese were evacuated to India in 1942, and the core of this group did not return to their homes for a decade⁵. The Maltese of Egypt survived the war without being required to leave their homes, but many left Egypt following the introduction of nationalist policies limiting the employment of non-Egyptians. An unfortunate feature of the plight of these people was that most were prevented from returning to Malta because of a law passed in 1948 which effectively barred second or subsequent generation Maltese born abroad from entering Malta⁶. This legislation reflects the importance attached to the problems of overpopulation felt in Malta and the fear that an influx of thousands

of returning overseas Maltese would compound these problems. In the event, most of the Maltese who left Egypt and other Mediterranean communities in the post-1945 period moved to Australia or the United Kingdom.

The level of emigration from Malta to Mediterranean countries has dropped to below one percent of total emigration in the period since 1945. Maltese emigration since 1945 has been directed almost exclusively towards the English-speaking nations, as is shown by the bar graph (Figure 4).

Fig. 4. The countries to which Maltese have emigrated in the period 1946 to 1985.



Source. Malta Demographic Reviews for the years 1965 to 1985.

In the twentieth century, more Maltese have emigrated to

Australia than to any other country. The Australian census of 1981 records 57,001 people born in Malta as being residents of Australia⁷. A recent estimate, which includes all people resident in Australia who have a Maltese ancestor, suggests that there are 400,000 of such people in Australia⁸. This figure which includes everyone in Australia who had one Maltese grandparent or great grandparent, exaggerates the impact of Maltese migration. A more significant calculation in the late 1970's which obtained a figure of 116,400 as the Maltese component of the Australian population⁹. This figure included those born in Malta, and the descendants of the Maltese-born, in the proportion of which they are Maltese. That is, a person with one Maltese grandparent would be considered as one-quarter Maltese.

There was little emigration from Malta to Australia in the nineteenth century. There seems to have been a few Maltese among the early convict population¹⁰, and at least one Maltese officer served with the British Army in Australia in the middle of the nineteenth century¹¹. The first real settler to come directly from Malta seems to have been Antonio Azzopardi, who arrived in

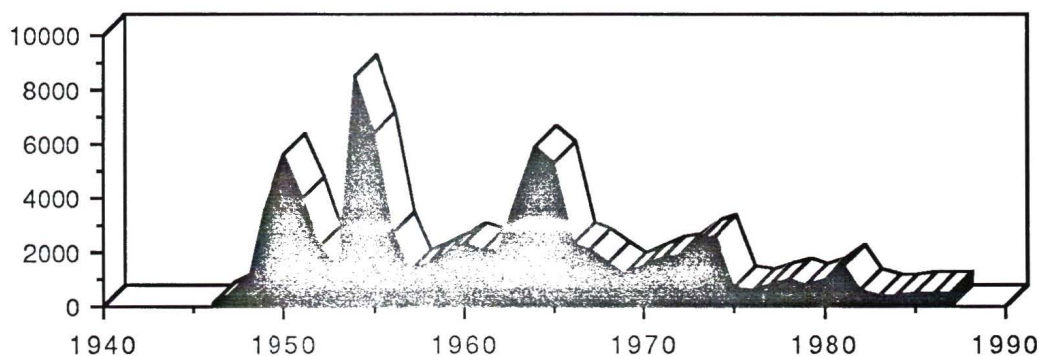
Australia about 1838, while a small group reached Queensland in the 1850's¹². A well-documented attempt by a group of Maltese to settle in Australia took place in 1883, when some seventy labourers, accompanied by a priest, contracted to work in the canefields of Northern Queensland¹³. From then until the First World War, only a few individuals or small groups reached Australia. This may partially explain why so few Maltese entered Australia between the two world wars¹⁴. About one thousand Maltese lived in Australia at the end of the First World War; some three thousand, at the end of the Second World war. One limiting factor was restrictive immigration regulations. One restriction providing that no more than twenty Maltese could enter any one port in any one month, effectively eliminating the practice of chartering ships to take emigrants from Malta to Australia. This restriction had been passed during the First World War at a time when a ship carrying Maltese emigrants had reached Australia while there was an intense debate in that country over conscription¹⁵.

This situation changed dramatically after 1945 when the Australian federal government began providing financial assistance

for emigrants. More than half of the migrants reaching Australia from 1947 to 1958 received such assistance¹⁶, and the Maltese, because of their British citizenship, received particularly generous help¹⁷. Immediately after the war, the only persons other than those from the British Isles who qualified for assistance were "allied ex-servicemen of 'pure European descent', residents of Malta, Eire and Dutch nationals"¹⁸. Apart from the Maltese who emigrated directly from Malta, a substantial number of overseas Maltese went to Australia from North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean. However, these overseas Maltese often had little in common with the majority of Maltese in Australia, who did not consider them as being Maltese at all¹⁹. One estimate suggests that there were 1200 Egyptian-born Maltese in Australia in 1981²⁰.

Maltese emigration to Australia was intensive during the late 1940's and the 1950's, with a further surge in the mid-1960's. Since that time there has been a progressive decline in the numbers. This pattern is illustrated in the graph (Figure 5) following.

Figure 5. Emigration from Malta to Australia 1946 to 1987.



Source. Malta. Demographic Reviews for years 1965 to 1987.

Depletion caused by death and the return migration which has taken place in the last two decades, coupled with greatly reduced emigration from Malta, has created a situation in which the Malta-born element of the Australian population has levelled off. Indeed, the 1986 census showed a decrease in the Malta-born population in Australia for the first time²¹.

Emigration from Malta to the United Kingdom has taken place continuously since Malta was incorporated into the British Empire early in the nineteenth century. The relative ease of travel and the absence of restrictions encouraged many Maltese to move to Britain, including many who were rejected for emigration to Australia. The latter proved poor ambassadors for Malta in the United Kingdom, since some became involved in vice and other criminal activities²².

The convenience of Britain for emigration has a similar effect upon return migration which has operated at a very high level.

It has been estimated that fewer than one thousand Maltese resided in Britain before the Second World War, with some concentrations in the seaports of Southern England and Wales. This figure was substantially increased by the rapid influx of Maltese after the Second World War, reaching a total of some 15,000 by 1966²³.

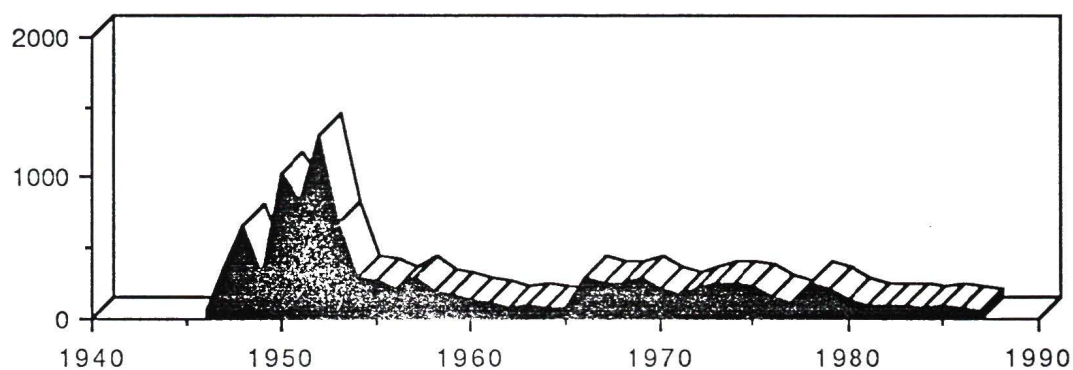
A feature of the Maltese population in the United Kingdom, particularly since 1945, has been the sex imbalance. There had consistently been seventy percent males in the total until the 1970's, when this proportion began to decline. This reflects the temporary nature of this particular migration, which involved many single men, or married men who left their families in Malta. While there is a strong temporary element in the Maltese population of the United Kingdom, a small core of permanent Maltese residents are well-established in the London area.

Whereas many Maltese in Britain remain only temporarily, those who go to the United States are more likely to stay permanently. A recent estimate suggests that about 70,000 Maltese

emigrants and their descendants live in the United States, with the largest concentrations being found in Detroit (44,000), and New York (20,000)²⁴. The first Maltese to reach the United States may have been Gannikol Caruana, who landed in California on October 9, 1697²⁵. A well-documented early immigrant was John Pass, who had a business in Philadelphia as early as 1745, and was associated with the casting of the Liberty Bell²⁶. One difficulty in tracing Maltese in the United States in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was that they were often misidentified as Italians. Indeed, tombstones of "natives of Malta, Italy" have been recorded in New Orleans²⁷. A few Maltese arrived in the United States in the nineteenth century, but the first significant numbers arrived in the decade preceding the First World War. One estimate placed the number of Maltese in the United States in 1925 at 15,000, with 6,000 of them in Detroit, and other groups in New York, New Orleans and San Francisco²⁸. However, immigration restrictions, particularly the introduction of the quota system in 1921, which adversely affected Malta, considerably reduced the numbers of Maltese entering the United States in the interwar period. This

quota system operated in such a way that during the latter part of the 1920's, reunification of families took up nearly all of the places allocated²⁹. Immediately after 1945, substantial numbers of Maltese began to enter the United States. This strong increase in the numbers of Maltese emigrants to the United States suffered a serious blow with the passing of the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952., which maintained the existing national-origins system while limiting the total number of immigrants allowed entry annually. The graph below (Figure 6) shows that this Act effectively restricted the entry of Maltese to a fraction of what it had been.

Fig. 6. Emigration from Malta to the U.S.A. from 1946 to 1987.



Source. Malta. Demographic Reviews for years 1965 to 1987.

Since 1952, a small but steady flow of Maltese emigrants into the United States has been largely made up of relatives of persons

already resident in that country. This is yet another example of Delia's contention that "Maltese emigration has been primarily conditioned by the size of the Maltese population abroad"³⁰.

As with the United States, some Maltese reached Canada before the twentieth century. The most prominent Maltese emigrant to reach Canada in the nineteenth century was Louis Schickluna. Born in 1808, he travelled to New York in 1825 before moving on to Canada in 1836. He became a very prosperous shipbuilder in St. Catherines, Ontario³¹. In the 1840's, one group, of which little is known, reached Canada³². A possible connection with this group may be a "Frederick William Camilleri, a Canadian-born Maltese, (who) first came to Australia as a seaman in March 1879"³³. Mr. Camilleri was probably born in 1861. A few more Maltese had reached Canada by the end of the nineteenth century, and "by the early 1900's, a substantial number of Maltese families could be found living in downtown Toronto"³⁴.

Between 1900 and 1914 Canada was the second choice, after the United States, of Maltese emigrants. One attraction of Canada was its proximity to the United States and the relative ease of

crossing the border³⁵. Indeed, it has been suggested that the majority of Maltese emigrants to Canada made their way south across the border³⁶. The Canadian immigration figures for the period are very interesting. Between 1900 and 1910, only two Maltese were recorded as having entered Canada, but 530 entered in the years 1912-1914³⁷, a period of economic downturn in Malta, where "a great number of persons are without employment, and many want to emigrate."³⁸ Many Maltese were interested in Canada in emigrating to Canada, although much of the information and advice available was misleading and contradictory. This was brought out at evidence given before a Royal Commission in Malta in 1911. Some thought that Canada was an excellent destination: "We have sent hundreds of people to Canada and they have all succeeded."³⁹ Others agreed with Dr. Charles Mattei: "Except British Columbia, Canada, on account of its climate, is not recommended for Maltese."⁴⁰ The report of the Royal Commission made no significant recommendations. Soon after this, Mattei led one group to Victoria, British Columbia. After a disastrous journey, they reached Victoria, where their inability to speak English made things very difficult.

Eventually they dispersed to other locations, particularly Calgary, in search of work.⁴¹ With the advent of war, in 1914, greater employment opportunities in Malta, and restrictions on civilian transportation brought emigration to an almost complete halt.

The years immediately after the Armistice of 1918 saw a great surge of emigration from Malta, and Canada received its share. During 1919-1920 405 Maltese entered Canada, but thereafter the numbers declined⁴², largely because of Canadian restrictions. Many Canadians feared the mass immigrations of the early part of the twentieth century were destroying "Canada's Anglo-Saxon character"⁴³, moreover, in the immediate post war years many immigrants attempted to settle in cities which already had unemployment problems. In this respect, the Maltese were considered to be particularly at fault, because the majority were "unskilled labour unwilling to accept employment outside certain cities."⁴⁴ A second problem which led to the reluctance of the Canadian authorities to accept Maltese immigrants were differences in their understanding of the description 'agriculturalists', one of the few categories of immigrant Canada wanted in the 1920s.

Maltese farmers worked tiny farms intensively, and on their little island lived within walking distance of a town; they had no conception of the size of Canadian farms or the distances from urban amenities. This misunderstanding led to the view in Canada that "Whatever Maltese might be when they were in their own country they were not farmers when they got to Canada"⁴⁵ The Canadian authorities adopted a policy of strict interpretation of the law when they determined whether to admit particular Maltese immigrants. This jaded view of Maltese immigrants was long-standing and as early as 1916, it was suggested that "no encouragement be offered to these people to come to Canada"⁴⁶

The Maltese authorities were understandably incensed at the problems experienced in obtaining entry for their emigrants to Canada. A 1926 Maltese Government Report alleged that "The Canadian Law, or rather recent stringent Canadian Regulations based upon that law have been specifically framed so as to admit every white man in the British Empire, and to exclude the Maltese. For purposes of immigration, the Maltese are placed on the same footing as aliens, with this however, that certain European aliens,

in practice usually enjoy a wide preference"⁴⁷. This assessment would seem to be supported by the fact that very few Maltese entered Canada in the inter war period. However, despite Maltese remonstrations to the British and Canadian governments, this state of affairs remained until after 1945. Perhaps the only positive element during the interwar period was the continued consolidation of the Maltese community in Toronto. This included the erection of the first St. Paul the Apostle Church, with a Maltese priest, Father Alphonse Cauchi, which formed a social and spiritual centre for the Toronto Maltese⁴⁸.

Emigration from Malta to Canada was clearly at a very low ebb during the 1900-1945 period, and the trickle of Maltese who entered Canada in the twenties and thirties was almost entirely made up of relatives of Maltese already in Canada. While the most common connection was that of husband being followed by his wife and children, there are also cases of men followed by siblings, and men followed by prospective brides. In one case of the latter, where the bride arrived in 1938, the conditions laid down by the Canadian immigration authorities included the setting up of a \$1000 bond,

recoverable after the marriage took place⁴⁹.

No matter where the destination, population pressure and economic factors provided the impetus for emigration from Malta, but its direction and timing was largely determined by more particular factors. Of these factors, greater familiarity with the English language, the existence of existing Maltese communities in the English-speaking countries, and the provision of financial assistance to emigrants by Malta and some of the receiving countries, were very important in encouraging the mass migration to those English-speaking countries which was a feature of the post-1945 period.

CHAPTER 4.**THE EMIGRATION OF MALTESE TO CANADA FROM 1945 TO 1960.**

At the end of the war in 1945 the interest of many people in Malta focused upon emigration. Pre-war emigration restrictions in various parts of the English speaking world had resulted in a build-up of potential emigrants. Interest grew in the various locations which might accept immigrants, including Canada, and the press kept people informed of all relevant information.

As early as 1943, a statement made by the Premier George Drew of Ontario suggested that after the war Maltese immigrants would be warmly received in Canada¹. The Maltese welcomed this because it suggested that previous restrictions on Maltese entering Canada could be relaxed. It accorded with the wartime sentiment in Malta, which favoured closer ties with the major English-speaking countries such as Canada.

The Maltese government began to register prospective emigrants in 1946, and the first count showed that 1,147 people,

about ten percent of the total registered, wished to move to Canada². Knowledge about Canada was scanty. Politicians suggested that Canada was a totally unfavourable location for Maltese people because of the climate³, or because of lack of opportunities for unskilled labour⁴.

There was concern in Malta about Canadian immigration restrictions, but early in 1947 Orders-in-Council in Canada opened the immigration door to categories of entrants previously excluded⁵, and allayed some of this concern by making it less difficult for Maltese to enter Canada. This was important because at the same time a well-publicised survey of emigration prospects by country released by the Maltese government warned that "Unless a person is a dependant or close relative of somebody legally admitted and resident in Canada, the chances of entry are remote"⁶. Much publicity was given to a case in which a Maltese resident in Egypt was refused entry to Canada as being ineligible under the Canadian immigration regulations⁷. Such examples created doubts in the minds of Maltese emigrants about their chances for entry into Canada. Not until March, 1948, when an agreement was reached between the Canadian and

Maltese governments for the admission of five hundred workers with their dependants, that the prospect of emigration to Canada became reality⁸.

This initial agreement led to a period of intense activity. Canadian officials arrived in Malta within a month to interview applicants for visas⁹. In less than two weeks the Canadian officials issued over 1000 visas¹⁰, and on May 8, the first contingent of 125 Maltese sailed from Valletta on the Marine Perch¹¹. The balance of the 500 covered by the agreement left on the Vulcania on 17 June. This was the beginning of the postwar migration flow from Malta to Canada.

The group who left on the Marine Perch included only one female, the wife of one of the male emigrants who, although Maltese, was himself a Canadian citizen by birth¹². The wives and families of the other married men were to follow once the men had established themselves in Canada. The Marine Perch party had a rough voyage. After a few balmy days in the Mediterranean, the Atlantic Ocean was stormy and most of the emigrants were seasick¹³. Publication in the Times of Malta of the details of the

voyage and the accommodations provided for the new arrivals at Fingal Camp, near London, Ontario¹⁴, were of great interest to many Maltese, especially those who were about to leave on the Yulcania.

The departure of a ship carrying emigrants from Malta was often the occasion for emotional farewells. The departure of the Yulcania was particularly noteworthy in this respect. The newspaper headline **"Malta's Migrants Given Greatest Send-off Ever"**¹⁵, accurately describes the scene. Many thousands of well-wishers, including the Archbishop and the Prime Minister of Malta, were present as the Yulcania sailed out of the Grand Harbour of Valletta.

A few early migrants were unhappy in Canada, and their complaints focussed generally on problems of accommodation¹⁶. The complainants formed a tiny minority, some twelve persons in all. Supporters of the government emigration policy were quick to point out that the relatively small number of malcontents was much lower than should have been expected in a mass emigration of this kind¹⁷. What the complaints did reveal was a lack of preparation and knowledge on the part of emigrants. This led to demands for adequate educational and training support for those considering

moving to other countries.

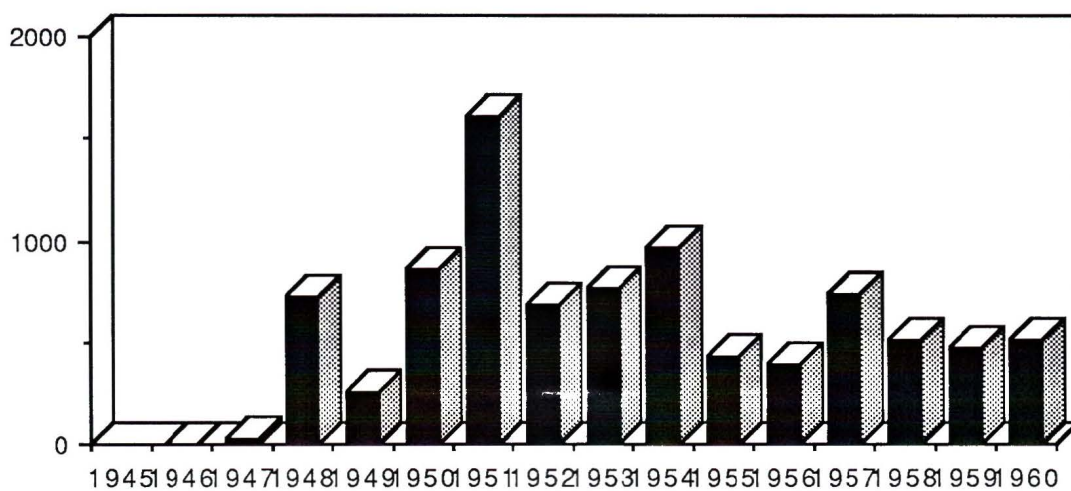
Late in 1948, concern was expressed both in Canada and Malta about the reaction of the Maltese migrants to their first severe winter in Canada¹⁸. However, the climate does not seem to have been a major problem for the Maltese in Canada, although a few more members of the original group returned to Malta over the winter months¹⁹. An increase in unemployment not the climate was the main problem. That led the Canadian government to postpone arrangements to have another group of emigrants sent from Malta. This group were rescheduled to leave Malta during the summer of 1950²⁰.

While the departures of organised groups were well publicized, as many individuals and family groups qualified for admission to Canada under such existing Canadian immigration provisions as those permitting close relatives to join people already established in Canada, including those who had arrived in 1948. In addition to the members of organised groups, another 500 Maltese made their own way to Canada in 1948 and 1949 through personal travelling arrangements. These people travelled by a variety of

routes, including some who first travelled by sea and land to Britain, then by plane to Canada²¹. The importance of the organised groups of Maltese workers whose entry was arranged, was that they formed a core around which much subsequent migration took place, in the form of either relatives or friends. Chain migration has always been an important element in the movement of Maltese to other countries, although not necessarily greater than for other national groups.

In the peak year of 1951, 1607 Maltese entered Canada²². The numbers dropped to 680 and 770 in the two succeeding years, and never thereafter approached the 1951 figure, as shown in the bar graph (Figure 7).

Fig. 7. Emigration from Malta to Canada from 1945 to 1960.



Source. Malta. Demographic Review, 1965.

Two categories of emigrants from Malta entered Canada in the 1950's. During the years 1957-62 those sponsored by relatives comprised some 70% of the total number of emigrants²³. The second category, the "Open Placement" emigrants had no sponsoring relative in Canada, and were specially selected on the basis of their skills by a Canadian team, who came to Malta one or more times annually for the purpose. "Open Placement" emigrants were, in effect, sponsored by the Canadian Government, who provided them with jobs and accommodation during their initial period in Canada.

A change in the attitude of the Maltese government towards emigration in the late 1950's led to a decline in the numbers of emigrants. This attitude was expressed as being one in which "Emigration is of secondary importance and has to be geared to economic development"²⁴.

The Maltese public was well informed about the progress of their compatriots in Canada. Interesting articles about the growing Maltese communities in Hamilton²⁵, and Windsor²⁶ appeared in the Maltese press, while in early 1951, George Bonavia began a series of reports on conditions in Canada. News from Maltese in Canada was

also broadcast over the Maltese radio²⁷. However, the chief source of information and encouragement took the form of first hand accounts sent home to friends and relatives.

The small size of Malta was a handicap in one respect. The immigration authorities in Canada did not maintain a permanent presence in Malta but Canadian officials made periodic visits to vet prospective emigrants and issue visas. Similarly, the Maltese government, with limited resources, did not establish permanent representation in Canada. This was offset to some extent by the work of such organisations as the Catholic Emigrants' Commission which was created in 1950²⁸.

Financial assistance to emigrants was an important factor. Between late 1947 and the summer of 1954, the Maltese government, through the Malta Government Passage Assistance Scheme, paid 75 percent of the basic fare to Canada²⁹. Ninety-two percent of emigrants to Canada were covered by this scheme³⁰. Emigrants who returned to Malta within two years were required to return the money provided, and the information on refunds was the basis for the enumeration of returned migrants³¹. From the summer

of 1954, financial support by the British government, permitted more generous assistance, and adult emigrants only had to pay ten pounds(\$40 at the time); teenage emigrants 5 pounds; while children travelled free of charge³². Small allowances were paid to dependants remaining in Malta before joining the family head in Canada. This assistance provided necessary support for the emigration movement, because the single adult fare to Canada represented about one year's wages for the average Maltese worker.

The quality of transportation improved through the period. The Marine Perch of 1948 was a simple wartime transport ship; by the late 1950's a modern liner, the Olympia, was the regular carrier³³. Several ships took part in the migration of Maltese to Canada, and of these, perhaps the best known was the Nea Hellas, which made about 40 voyages from 1950 to 1954³⁴. In the winters of 1956/57 and 1957/58 special emigrant fares were offered on scheduled transatlantic flights³⁵, and in 1958 the airplane superseded the ocean liner as the carrier of Maltese emigrants to Canada on a year-round basis, with many charter flights being arranged through the major European and Canadian airlines.

The Maltese view of Canada changed in the 1950's. The legislation of the interwar period was seen by the Maltese as unfairly excluding them from entry into Canada. The greater ease of entry and support offered by the Canadian government after the Second World War improved this view, and Maltese increasingly considered Canada as a country which welcomed them. Australia, where periodic economic downturns sometimes led to a less stable environment for new migrants, was the most favoured location for Maltese emigrants. Nevertheless, the Maltese presence in Canada is substantial, with one estimate suggesting there are now 50,000 Canadians of Maltese ethnic origin³⁶. The flow of Maltese emigrants to Canada since 1945 has created new links which should help maintain the movement of people between the two countries. The immigrants were employed in the construction and other industries, with a few working in government and education. Their children, the second generation of Maltese-Canadians, are not concentrated exclusively in working class occupations. Identifiable in many cases by their distinctive surnames, they can be found in Universities, the professions, and even, in the case of Tony Tanti, the National Hockey League.

CHAPTER 5.

TRANSILIENT MIGRATION.

The best known of the early Maltese emigrants to Canada was a transilient migrant. Louis Schickluna was born in Malta in 1808, emigrated to New York in 1824, then moved on to various places in the United States and Canada before opening a shipyard in St. Catherine's, Ontario, in 1838¹. He was the forerunner of many Maltese emigrants who found their way to Canada after periods of residence in other countries.

Published Canadian immigration statistics for certain periods have separated immigrants by origins, according to whether they arrived in Canada from the United States or from all other locations. The numbers for the twenty-three years from April 1, 1925 until March 31, 1948, show that of a total of 276 Maltese who entered Canada, 37 arrived from the United States². A Maltese correspondent suggests that Maltese emigration at this time comprised relatives of Maltese already in Canada and migrants who moved to Canada from the United Kingdom and the United States³.

Emigration from Malta to Canada in the post-1945 period

was much less restricted. For the years 1949-1965, the total number of immigrants of Maltese ethnic origin who entered Canada was 11,584. The great majority of these immigrants travelled directly from Malta, but a significant minority arrived from a country of permanent residence other than Malta. The number so recorded is 772, which is 6.66% or one-fifteenth of the total number of Maltese immigrants. Of this number, 570 or 74% came from the other major English-speaking countries, made up of 415 from the United Kingdom, 79 from Australia, and 76 from the United States⁵. The remaining 202 came from a wide array of locations. Although there is some variation in the countries and areas listed for individual years, it would appear that 168 accurately represents those Maltese who moved from other Mediterranean countries to Canada in the period. The balance of 34 came from countries as geographically apart as Iceland and New Zealand⁶.

The term 'Ethnic Origin' was not used in the same context in Canadian immigration statistics after 1965. However a comparison of data for country of last permanent residence by country of citizenship, and for country of last permanent residence by country

of birth suggests that the pattern of transilient migration evident in the 1949-1965 figures has been maintained.

The pattern of Maltese immigration to Australia is similar in many respects to that in Canada. Some early cases of transilient migration have been recorded. Barry York, in his book The Maltese in Australia, refers to a "Frederick William Camilleri, a Canadian-born Maltese,(who) first came to Australia in March, 1879", and who left ship in 1885 and stayed on in Australia⁷. York also writes "In 1911, Gaetano Zammit made the move to Canada, but in 1914 he joined three other Maltese in emigrating from Canada to Australia"⁸. These early cases confirm that some movement was taking place during this early period when the numbers of Maltese in both Australia and Canada was small. There continued to be some movement of Maltese from Canada to Australia immediately prior to the First World War and in the 1920's although the numbers remained small⁹.

The tabulation of Australian immigration data differs in many respects from that prepared in Canada. The term 'ethnic origin' does not appear in post-1945 data in any table appropriate for use in this study. To provide supporting detail, it is necessary

to compare statistics relating to both the birthplace and the place of last residence of Maltese migrants. This comparison is flawed by the inclusion of British service personnel's children born in Malta but helps to isolate transilient migrants. A further difficulty is created by the absence of data identifying those Maltese who had been long-term residents of other Mediterranean countries, and who had moved on to Australia. In 1966, it was pointed out that "The great majority of Australia's ten thousand Egyptian born are Greeks, Maltese, Jews and Italians, rather than Moslem Arabs"¹⁰. The absence of these ethnic Maltese reduces the number of transilient migrants suggested by the statistical tables.

Australian statistics for the period July 1, 1962 to June 30, 1982 indicate that of a total of 39,789 migrants born in Malta, 1,086 had been residents of countries other than Malta, and of a total of 4,736 departing settlers born in Malta, 601 were bound for countries other than Malta.¹¹ From this information we can make certain assumptions. The difference between the numbers of immigrants who gave their birthplace as Malta, and those who gave their country of last residence as Malta is proportionately small. Only 2.73% of the total whose birthplace was given as Malta had

previously resided in a country other than Malta. When we consider the data for immigrants, who left Australia, more significant figures emerge. As is shown above, during the twenty year period 1962 -1982 4,736 settlers who were born in Malta left Australia, but only 4,135 moved to Malta. This last number clearly represents return migrants, but the balance of 601 must be considered transilient migrants. This balance represents 12.7% of the Malta-born settlers leaving Australia, and while we have no data giving their destination, the countries most likely to have received the largest share of them are Canada and the United States, the other major receiving countries during the period. Once again, using Australian data, we find small but significant numbers of Maltese moving between countries other than Malta.

A similar situation can be found in the United States. We already have in the case of Louis Schickluna, an early example of a Maltese moving from the United States to Canada. Another likely case of transilient migration were the Maltese who went to Grenada and British Guiana in the nineteenth century. Price describes their arrival there in 1839 and remarks that their stay in these Caribbean locations was shortlived and that they dispersed with some

returning to Malta¹². Although only 116 Maltese immigrants arrived in the United States during the period 1819-1855, the fact that 28 arrived in 1839 and 66 in 1841¹³ suggests the possibility that those Maltese who failed to settle in the Caribbean moved on to the United States.

More recent information reveals further evidence of possible transilient migration among Maltese immigrants in the United States. Data released by the United States Bureau of the Census shows that the total number of immigrants entering the United States during the fiscal years 1972 to 1979 who gave Malta as their country of birth was 2010, while the corresponding numbers giving Malta as their country of last permanent residence was only 1817; the difference being 193, or almost ten percent¹⁴. This suggests that the United States follows the pattern of Canada and Australia in having a small but significant proportion of transilient Maltese immigrants.

The situation in the United Kingdom is less susceptible to the analysis of data on transilient migrants than that in Australia, Canada and the United States. For many years Maltese entered the

United Kingdom relatively freely and became entwined with the statistics for British people; in the 1920's, for example, some Maltese entered the United States as part of the British quota¹⁵. A further complication arises because of the British military presence in Malta, and the large numbers of children born in Malta to British nationals. Geoff Dench, in his book The Maltese in London estimated that "up to the Second World War most of the Malta-born population enumerated in Britain would have been non-Maltese"¹⁶. Dench also suggested that initially the Maltese perceived Britain as "a clearing-house for people unsure of exactly where they wanted to go, or unable to get there directly from Malta"¹⁷. Given these circumstances, it is difficult to determine precise figures for transilient migration relating to the United Kingdom, but it would appear that much movement of Maltese between the United Kingdom and countries other than Malta did take place.

The degree of transilient migration involving Maltese is not significantly different from that involving many other nationalities. For instance, in the same period 1949-65 where 6.66% of Maltese entering Canada were considered to be transilient migrants, 6.6% of

the Italians and 8.3% of the Greeks entering Canada could also be considered to be transilients. Some ethnic groups had much greater proportions of transilients, but these proportions were usually the result of exceptional circumstances, as with the Yugoslavs, more than half of whom resided in Austria as displaced persons before arriving in Canada¹⁸. The Maltese appear to conform to a general pattern in which a minority of emigrants move between countries other than their country of origin.

The Maltese who travelled to locations on the Mediterranean littoral in the past had a much greater variety of experience than those who went to English speaking countries. Many returned to Malta; some became assimilated, a process which was easier in Christian than in Moslem areas because of the religious factor; and others made permanent homes in their new countries but maintained their Maltese identity. Many among this last category became transilient migrants as circumstances changed in their countries of residence.

Many of those persons who left Malta to live in other Mediterranean locations retained their British citizenship. In some countries such as Egypt, the British connection was an advantage in

securing government employment; in others, British citizenship offered some protection in an age of gunboat diplomacy, and subsequently became a habit difficult to discard. However, these advantages disappeared when nationalist policies developed in most of the countries of North Africa and the Levant.

The Second World War displaced many millions of people, and the Maltese communities in some of the Mediterranean countries were among those forced to move. Some 600 Maltese from Tripoli were deported to Italy in January, 1942, detained in concentration camps, and subjected to considerable hardship before being released from imprisonment by the advancing allied forces. Late in 1944 they were shipped back to Tripoli but failed to re-establish a viable community¹⁹. In the 1950's many left for Australia. The early departures were by people who could pay for their passage; subsequently, the British government subsidised transportation costs of those remaining. The number who intended to move there was estimated to be 1300²⁰.

Another group of Maltese whose lives were disrupted by the war were those resident in south-eastern Europe and Turkey. As the Germans advanced into the Balkans in 1941, the British government

decided to evacuate all British citizens in the area. Somewhere between 700 and 1000 persons described as Maltese were evacuated to India in January, 1942. The nucleus of this group remained in India until 1948 when they moved first to Eritrea in East Africa and then to Cyprus, before their final dispersal. Everywhere during this journey, individuals or small groups made alternative dispositions. When the main party left India, a group of some forty people stayed behind, having made arrangements to travel to Australia or New Zealand. While many returned to their original homes, others found their ways to countries then receiving immigrants, chiefly the English-speaking nations²¹.

The Maltese in Algeria had a distinctive history. It was estimated that in 1600 about one-third of the total population of 100,000 residents of Algeria were 'renegades' from Corsica, Sicily, Malta and other poor parts of the Mediterranean²². These people merged over time with the indigenous population. During the French period, European settlement from Malta and other countries was encouraged, and about 100,000 European civilians resided in Algeria by 1847²³. The movement of Maltese to Algeria continued well into

the twentieth century. The Algerian struggle for independence in the 1950s and early 1960s was vicious in many respects, and the new rulers of the country were not prepared to permit Europeans to retain any of their past privileges. In a speech made in 1960 to the Europeans of Algeria, who were described as coming from "France, Italy, Spain and Malta", President Ferhat Abbas of Algeria made it clear that the colonial situation was at an end²⁴. The end of French dominion over Algeria was marked by the mass exodus of Europeans, including most members of the Maltese community, to France. The Maltese of Tunisia, who had provided aid to the many British prisoners held in that country during the war²⁵, did not face the same disruptive political changes in the postwar period as their neighbours in Algeria, but many decided to move to France.

The Maltese community in Egypt was important during the long period in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when the British either directly controlled or had a strong influence over the Egyptian government. Maltese held high positions in government, business and the professions, and assisted in the modernisation of the Egyptian economy²⁶. At the end of the Second World War there

were an estimated 12,000 to 14,000 Maltese in Egypt, but the changing political situation in that country adversely affected them. Egyptian legislation requiring employers to employ more Egyptian nationals created much unemployment among Maltese. In 1948 some 1000 of the Maltese in Egypt emigrated to Australia²⁷. Changes in Egypt in the 1950's removed all vestiges of British influence. During this period, many Maltese emigrated to Australia, the United Kingdom and Canada. Price, perhaps conservatively, estimates that some 1200 of these Maltese born in Egypt entered Australia²⁸. The number of Egyptian-born Maltese recorded as entering Canada from 1949 to 1965 is just under 100²⁹. A substantial number moved to the United Kingdom, and indeed the largest organisation of Maltese in Egypt, The Association of Maltese Communities in Egypt, founded in Alexandria in 1854, transferred to London in 1956. It is difficult to estimate how many moved from Egypt to Britain because they are identifiable only as British citizens born in Egypt rather than as Maltese. However, their Association today has a large, active membership which includes many Maltese now resident in a variety of Commonwealth and European countries.

The chief problem in determining the scale of the movement of people of Maltese origin from North Africa and the Levant is in identifying them. Many such people will be identified in statistical tables by their country of birth or their country of last permanent residence rather than by their ethnic origin. In this respect it should be remembered that many of these overseas Maltese retained their ethnic identity through three or more generations since departing from Malta, and while they were often not categorised as Maltese in the statistical tables, they considered themselves as being Maltese. This identification could be maintained through a series of movements, so that one family who, over the course of about a hundred years moved from Libya to Sudan then Egypt before moving to Australia still considered themselves as being Maltese³⁰. Unfortunately that was not the view of the Maltese government.

A remarkable feature of the post-1945 movement of the overseas Maltese from their various Mediterranean locations is that very few found their way back to Malta. In most cases they were legally prevented from doing so. In 1948 the Immigration (British Subjects) Ordinance stipulated that, inter alia, "a British subject shall be deemed to belong to the Islands if he - (a) was born in the

islands or of parents who at the time of his birth were ordinarily resident in the islands"³¹. This effectively prevented nearly all of the overseas Maltese from returning to Malta. This ordinance must be seen in the context of the time. In 1948, tens of thousands of Maltese were lined up to emigrate, and the Maltese authorities feared that a sudden influx of returnees to Malta, most of whom could not speak Maltese, would undermine the emigration program. In any case, the effect of the 1948 Ordinance was to increase the amount of transilient migration by Maltese expatriates.

The purpose of this chapter has been to indicate the volume of transilient migration involving Maltese emigrants. This transilient migration has taken two distinct forms. In the first place, there is movement reflecting economic and social choices made by the individuals changing countries. Father Attard states that many Maltese emigrants ask the Emigrants' Commission about conditions in one overseas location before moving to it from another.³³ In her most recent book, the Canadian political scientist, Freda Hawkins suggests that migrants from Europe often have to make an agonising choice between Australia and Canada, and that subsequent to their original decision, some change their mind and

move to the country other than that first chosen³². This situation obviously applies to other receiving countries. The second form of transilient migration involves a measure of compulsion, where economic and political conditions prompt a second move by migrants. A more detailed study of the phenomenon of transilient migration could perhaps identify the role of such factors as chain migration in the process; however, this initial survey suggests that transilient migration is an established feature of the migration process. It is also a feature which owes something to the relationships between overseas Maltese communities, which are often sustained by contact with friends, relatives and organisations in Malta, all helping to maintain a network through which information, and encouragement and practical support are available.

Transilient migration supports the argument that economic factors and population pressure were not alone in determining the characteristics of the Maltese migration process. The long established Maltese communities in the Mediterranean area had retained their identity, not only in terms of being Maltese, but as British overseas citizens, and when they had to move to other locations they chose the English-speaking countries. The only

important exception to this preference was the overseas Maltese in French-speaking countries who chose in most cases to move to France. This exception underlines the importance of language as a factor in determining the direction of Maltese migration. The movement of Maltese from countries in the Mediterranean to other locations was chiefly restricted to the major English-speaking countries, where government policies and the presence of established Maltese communities encouraged entry. The Maltese, with their long historical tradition of emigration, accepted movement between countries as an appropriate action when circumstances demanded.

Chapter 6

Return Migration.

Return migration concerns the return of migrants to their original locations from the places to which they had emigrated. Research into the phenomenon of return migration is well-established. The proportion of return migration, while varying according to circumstance, can be substantial. In Australia "about one-fifth of migrants who arrived in Australia since 1945 subsequently departed"¹. The situation in the United States has been similar: "Of the sixteen million immigrants who came to the United States from Europe in the three decades after 1900, almost four million went back in the same years"². There has also been considerable return migration from Canada, but the situation in that country is complicated by the movement of people from Canada to the United States.

There are a variety of reasons for people returning to their places of origin. Studies of Greek and Italian return migration suggest an interesting range of categories. One category could be

described as the return of failure, which includes those who cannot adjust to the new country, those who find the reality of their new situation disappointing, and those who are simply homesick. Another category which we could call the return of necessity includes those who must return because of unforeseen changes in their new country. A third and final category could be termed the return of success, and comprises those people who have achieved their objectives in their new country, whether those objectives involved wealth or experience³. Sometimes the nature of the new country becomes less satisfactory to emigrants with the passage of time. Many southern Italians returned to Italy after many years in the United States because "America was simply no longer the land for them once they had grown old"⁴. The decision to return can also be the result of a combination of circumstances.

Many emigrants set out for their overseas destinations with the firm intention of returning. This is particularly the case in smaller tightly-bound communities where "the most powerful motive still for emigration is the desire to make good, return and reap the praise of one's family and community The natal community alone, not the city or other alien places, can recognise

their success"⁵. Sometimes age at departure is an important factor in determining the strength of the ties with the natal community, and it has been suggested that "the probability of return is greater for those who emigrate at later stages of the life cycle"⁶.

Another category of migrant, similar to the return migrant, is the person who never really enters the society of the new country, but instead lives within a particular ethnic group resident in the new country. Research into this type of emigrant was first made on residents of the numerous 'Chinatowns' of North America, but they can be found among other ethnic groups. The term 'sojourner' was given to those individuals who lived an ethnocentric life, with no desire to adopt the mores of the country in which they now lived⁷. A more complex situation is that of the 'marginal man' who has a foot in both camps, uncertain of which country or society he should join, and whose symptoms include restlessness and instability⁸. The 'marginal man', a term which applies to both sexes, is a person divided, and it may well be that most migrants fall within this category to some extent.

Nineteenth century emigration from Malta was generally

directed towards the countries of the Mediterranean littoral. There was a high proportion of return migration to emigration, and this is supported in a report made by the United States consul in Malta to his superiors in Washington: "They are not, I am told, desirable additions to the population of other states. When they do emigrate it is only for a time, only long enough to accumulate means sufficient to enable them to return here and live on the proceeds of their foreign labour or speculations"⁹. A more sympathetic view of the Maltese propensity to return suggests that "It is true that the Maltese is to be found in every country that borders on the Mediterranean and even further afield, where a livelihood is to be made, but, like the Chinaman, he desires to bury his bones at home, and having saved a small sum he will invest it in buying or building a house in Sliema or San Guiseppe, or some other suburb of his beloved Valletta"¹⁰. The tradition of return migration is well established in the history of Maltese emigration.

Price has documented the very high levels of return migration to Malta in the nineteenth century¹¹. This was made practicable by the low cost and convenience of transportation

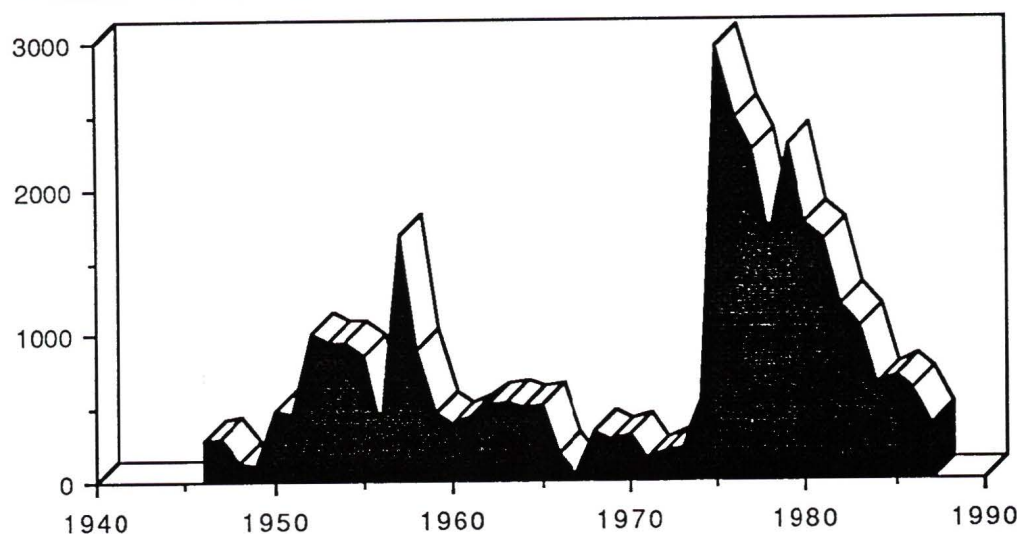
within the Mediterranean. Although many Maltese emigrants established their homes and families overseas permanently, most were attracted by employment at a decent and regular wage for an uncertain but impermanent period.

The twentieth century saw a steady change in the direction of Maltese emigration in favour of the major English-speaking countries of the world. These countries offered a much higher standard of living than then existed in Malta, and this has limited the strong desire of the Maltese in favour of return migration.

Apart from a strong outflow of emigrants immediately before and after the First World War, emigration from Malta in the first half of the twentieth century was less than the Maltese authorities wished, and they knew also that the levels of return migration were high¹². After 1945 there was a remarkable change in the situation, when between 1946 and 1970, 124,324 emigrants left Malta¹³. The official statistics show a total of 11,259 return migrants during the same period¹⁴, representing a return rate of less than ten percent. The annual figures are shown in the graph (See Figure 8).

Fig.8 Return migration to Malta from 1946 to 1987

(official figures).



Source. Malta Demographic Reviews 1965 to 1987.

The increase in the numbers of returned migrants after 1975 resulted, in part, from an improved method of enumeration which captured nearly all returnees. As recently as 1978 Maltese records on emigrants and returnees were hand-written and held on cards, and more sophisticated data collection methods were unavailable to those responsible for enumeration of migration¹⁵.

From the end of the Second World War until 1975, only those migrants who returned to Malta within two years of departure and who then indicated their intention to remain in Malta were enumerated as return migrants¹⁶. The two year time element in the qualification corresponded with the requirement that any emigrant

who failed to stay abroad for a minimum of two years was required to refund money received under the government's passage assistance scheme¹⁷. From 1975 until June 1985 recording of return migrants was done largely through applications for identity cards, and this method did not pick up all dependents of the adult returning migrants¹⁸. Return migration for the second half of 1985 and all of year 1986 was estimated¹⁹ but since the beginning of 1987, the enumeration of return migrants has been based on forms issued by the Board of Trade concerning the return of personal effects. These forms are designed to capture all returnees²⁰.

The best way to estimate accurately the number of return migrants would be to use census statistics, although some factors make the calculation of return migration to Malta through census data very difficult. The presence of British service personnel and their families in Malta was substantial until the mid-1970's, and while British service personnel were excluded from censuses after the Second World War, their dependents were included. In the 1967 census, the numbers of dependents were included in a manner which enables them to be separated from the Maltese element of the

population; however, in the 1948 and 1957 censuses, they were included in overall totals, and cannot be easily isolated. The 1985 census suggests about 1,800 dependents in 1948 and 7,500 in 1967²¹, and as late as 1972 there were some 4,700 dependents living in Malta²². These numbers, comprising as they did chiefly young persons, must be taken into account in determining the totals and natural increase relevant to the Maltese element of the population. The 1985 census would not be affected by dependents of British service personnel because the British no longer had a military presence in Malta.

A second problem is the substantial measure of re-emigration, - that is, return migrants to Malta subsequently moving back to the country to which they had originally emigrated. This category appears in the emigration statistics for the first time in the Demographic Review for 1966 as "Returning to Adopted Country" in a Table headed "Number of Emigrants Classified by Nominator, and Country of Future Residence." The identification of a person as a re-emigrant rather than someone who has been enjoying a vacation in Malta is determined by whether that person registered as a return migrant when entering Malta. Maltese resident abroad who return to

Malta for a visit are treated for statistical purposes as tourists. In the period 1966–1987, re-emigrants enumerated 8,697 persons out of a total of 45,390 emigrants²³. This means that almost one-fifth of the enumerated emigrants were re-emigrants. Prior to 1966, no such category was included in the analysis of emigrants, so that it is impossible to isolate the number of re-emigrants. It has been suggested that re-emigrants have consistently formed an important and undercounted feature of total emigration from Malta²⁴. If this characteristic is accepted, any calculation of return migration to Malta using census data should be considered one of net return migration, that is, the balance of return migrants after re-emigrants have been deducted.

Dr. E.P.Delia, has calculated a net return migration figure of 30,000 for the period 1945–74²⁵. Delia's calculation takes 5.7 percent as representing the non-Maltese element of the population²⁶. The 1985 census of Malta, however, estimates the non-Maltese element of the population enumerated was 3.5 percent in the 1948 census, with 4.5 percent in 1957, 3.8 percent in 1967, and 1.4 in 1985²⁷. This study will use the estimates given in the 1985 census.

The following procedure will be followed . Using 96.5 percent of the 1948 census as a beginning, the natural increase data for the period between the 1948 and 1985 censuses will be added, and the amount by which this new figure exceeds the 1985 census will be taken as being net emigration. To account for the non-Maltese component of the natural increase data, 3.5 percent of the natural increase between the 1948 census and the end of 1974, at which point the majority of dependents of British servicemen had left Malta, will be deducted. Because the 1948 census took place in May of that year rather than in November as was the case with later censuses, half of the 1948 natural increase will be included in the calculation.

Calculation of Net Migration Between Censuses of 1948 and 1985.

Maltese component of 1948 Census total:	295,281
Add Natural Increase between 1948 and 1985 Censuses:	<u>147,601</u>
	442,882
Deduct Non-Maltese Component of Natural Increase:	<u>4128</u>
Population calculation without Net Emigration:	438,754
Deduct Maltese component of 1985 Census total:	340,025
Net Emigration:	98,729

To ascertain net return migration, the calculation of net emigration made above should be deducted from the total emigration enumerated between the two censuses. Once again half of the 1948 figure for emigration will be used in the calculation.

Calculation of Net Return Migration between the Censuses of 1948 and 1985.

Total enumerated emigration between 1948 and 1985

censuses:	145,659
Deduct Net Emigration as previously calculated:	98,729
Total Net Return Migration:	46,930

The enumerated or official return migration total for the time period separating the 1948 and 1985 censuses was 32,182²⁸. The difference between this figure and the calculation of net return migration is 14,748. This difference indicates that return migration has been undercounted in Malta, but does not show the extent of this undercounting, in that it does not include the full effect of unenumerated re-emigration on these figures. A more detailed analysis of Net Emigration and Net Return Migration is given in the Appendix.

The Maltese component of natural increase for the period 1948-

85 is 143,473. This is more than offset by the figure for enumerated emigration of 145,659 for the same period. Even with the high rate of return, 32.22 percent, emigration has had a significant effect upon the population of Malta. If the net emigration figure of 98,729 for the period 1948-85 is added to the 1985 census figure of 345,418, the total population of Malta in 1985 would be shown as 444,147. However, this figure does not show the effect of emigration fully. It does not take into account the children who would have been born to these emigrants, a high proportion of whom were young adults, had they remained in Malta. The outlet provided by emigration not only altered the population figures, but changed the development of Malta in many ways, such as by reducing the demand for housing and social services. The accompaniment of a high rate of return migration has affected the population total and, through association with societies overseas, particularly in the English speaking countries, the social mores of the country. This effect is not necessarily shown in the political and economic arenas. While returning migrants have invested in small businesses and in the tourist industry, there are no clear examples at present of a returned migrant achieving political or business success to such a

degree that significant changes to the Maltese economy took place. This could suggest that the desire for such success is not the chief consideration in the decision to return. It would appear to be deeper psychological influences which call upon the Maltese emigrant to return home, influences which remain compelling after lengthy residence in another country, and are sufficiently important in the Maltese context to create a high rate of return.

CONCLUSIONS.

The geography and history of Malta have combined to produce a set of circumstances conducive to human migration. The very limited land area capable of agricultural production has led to chronic food shortages, while the maritime location has provided the means of population movement to locations with more congenial conditions. This movement of people has been a constant feature of the Maltese experience culminating in the mass exodus of the mid-twentieth century.

Until recently, outside powers, attracted by Malta's strategic location, have ruled the country. While this long history of external control ended with the achievement of independence in 1964, the effects of this control continue to have a lingering influence on migration to and from Malta. The most important example of this carry-over is the continued importance of Commonwealth countries and the United States as destinations for Maltese emigrants because of the greater use of the English language while Malta formed part of the British Empire.

Movement of Maltese to such English-speaking countries as Australia and Canada is a fairly recent phenomenon. A few Maltese

reached these countries in the nineteenth century and earlier, but the movement of large numbers occurred in the twentieth century and especially after the Second World War. Conversely, the traditional receiving countries for Maltese emigrants in the nineteenth century and earlier no longer play a part in such movement. This replacement of the Mediterranean littoral by the English-speaking countries as the recipient of Maltese emigrants has been both speedy and complete.

The factor of greatest importance in determining the volume of Maltese emigration in the twentieth century has been the tremendous growth of population during the period of British control, that is from the beginning of the nineteenth century until Malta achieved independence in 1964. This growth was the result of remarkably high birth rates; the average completed family for married women born before 1910 in Malta was between 6.6 and 7.0 children¹. This high birth rate was partially offset by high infant mortality rates until after the Second World War. Nevertheless, the population as a whole grew quickly and steadily through to the 1960's, at which time emigration and lower birth rates reduced the level of population growth to a manageable level. The role of

emigration in population restraint, if considered simply in terms of numbers of emigrants, does not present a complete picture, as the emigrant stream contained a very high proportion of young people, that part of the population most likely to have children. In chapter six, the addition of the total net emigration to the 1985 census population total provided a figure of 444,1472. Had there not been emigration after 1945, the Maltese population might exceed half a million.

Pressure of population in itself is not a sufficient explanation for the success of the Maltese movement abroad after 1945. It required affordable transportation. Financial support provided by the United Kingdom and the major receiving countries enabled many Maltese to move overseas, including many young men who took the opportunity to move abroad with the intention of staying for only a few years³. The British provided aid as part of their responsibility as the colonial power, the other receiving countries offered assistance as part of their policies to increase immigration. This situation compared favourably with the pre-war period during which little or no assistance was available, and where "The cost of the passage must have been a prime consideration for the destitute

worker with a large family typical of those times."⁴

Other factors played an important role in the emigration of Maltese. Chain migration also influenced emigration. In a quantitative sense, the existence of contacts in the receiving country encouraged many people to emigrate, qualitatively, it often contributed to the success of individual emigrants and their families by providing them with companionship and support. Chain migration was often the principal factor in the direction taken by particular emigrants, determining not only the country, but often the city, and even the district within the city, in which the new emigrant settled. Chain migration is an established part of the emigration process, and has been well-documented by such writers as John E. Zucchi , whose recent work on Italians in Toronto provides many parallels with the movement of Maltese to that city⁵, and Ken Bagnell, whose book on the Italians in Canada shows the clear linkages between certain towns in Italy and communities of Italian Canadians⁶. The importance of chain migration in the Maltese context can be gauged by the official view that "except for the United Kingdom, the majority of emigrants had friends or relatives in their country of

destination"⁷.

Chain migration is of tremendous importance, but is insufficient explanation for the tremendous wave of emigration from Malta in the late 1940's and early 1950's, when the sheer numbers in proportion to the populations of Maltese then resident in the receiving countries, argue that many of the new emigrants moved without the support of sponsors abroad. These new emigrants, once established, provided the basis for future chains of emigration from Malta. The operation of chain migration can also have a negative effect, such as that which developed in the United States following the passing of the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, which prevented entry by many Maltese, and led to the return to Malta of some emigrants who were unable to arrange for their families to join them in the United States⁸. The necessary ingredients in any explanation of the massive emigration from Malta after 1945 must include the impetus of overpopulation. Without the acceptance of the Maltese people that emigration was a reasonable method by which the country's problems could be addressed, the dimensions and timing of the post-1945 diaspora would have been much different. This acceptance was the result of the lengthy history of Maltese

migration.

The emigration of Maltese to Canada during the period from 1945 to 1960 displayed several interesting characteristics. The concentration of the Canadian-Maltese community in Ontario, and more particularly, Toronto, underlines the tendency of the Maltese, in line with many other national groups, to create their own ethnic enclaves. This tendency is most apparent within those ethnic groups which derive from countries in which local communities provide a strong focus for group identity. The system of "Open Placement", in which the Canadian Government sponsored certain categories of workers, was an important measure which supplemented the movement of Maltese to join those friends and relatives in Canada who were prepared to sponsor them. Without this system, the movement of Maltese to Canada would have been greatly restricted. The numbers of Maltese choosing Canada as their new home was clearly increased by the enactment of the McCarran-Walter Act in the U.S.A., as in the absence of that Act, many more Maltese would have emigrated to the United States⁹, thereby reducing the totals entering Canada. It is also clear that the movement of Maltese to Canada was subject to the vagaries of the Canadian economy. The

most important feature of the post-1945 position was the change in attitude of the Canadian immigration authorities towards Maltese migrants. This change owed something to the positive publicity obtained as a result of Malta's wartime record.

Transilient migration, particularly as it relates to Maltese migrants, can be clearly divided into two distinct forms. The first of these concerns the movement of Maltese who had been living in established communities around the Mediterranean littoral. Their circumstances deteriorated in the course of the twentieth century, and the apparent solution to their growing problems was provided by emigration. A large proportion of these 'Overseas Maltese', found new homes in the major English-speaking countries and, in the case of members of Maltese communities in countries which had been under French control, in France. The balance of the Maltese in North Africa and the Levant who decided to remain in these locations consisted of those who were either prepared to be assimilated or were too old to contemplate movement. An occasional Maltese community might remain in some cities¹⁰, but the future for such isolated groups was bleak. The 'Overseas Maltese' who reached such places as Australia or Canada, found little in common with those people who had

emigrated directly from Malta, and any organised groups which did emerge maintained a distinct identity, usually derived from the overseas community from which they had moved. The outstanding example of such a group was the Association of Maltese Communities in Egypt. The second form of transilient migrants includes those Maltese who move to another country, then move on to a second or even third country before settling, or in some cases, returning to Malta. The transilient migrants have been a small but significant and continuing proportion of the total emigrant population.

Return migration has been recognised as an important feature of Maltese migration statistics. This study suggests that the volume of return migration is somewhat larger than commonly believed. The calculations made in Chapter Six¹¹ demonstrate that almost one-third of the total number of emigrants in the 1945-85 period returned permanently to Malta. This proportion represents net return migration and does not include the many emigrants who returned to Malta and then re-emigrated. Much of this return migration has taken place since 1975, and in this respect Malta has paralleled the experience of other Mediterranean countries such as Italy and Greece

which have had more return migrants than emigrants in recent years¹². Many of the return migrants to Malta have been successful in their overseas experience and have returned with adequate wealth or income to enable them to live comfortably. However, there is no indication that these return migrants have become leaders in economic innovation since arriving back in Malta, although many may have invested in the tourist industry. There is also evidence that the return migrants have included some families with young children¹³, but in insufficient numbers to have a significant effect upon future Maltese population growth. In fact, while the level of permanent return migration seems high, it would appear that its effect upon emigration as a means of controlling population growth has not been proportionate to the numbers involved.

A superficial picture of Maltese migration suggests the predominant components are relatively massive emigration accompanied by a substantial measure of return. Closer examination reveals a much more complex situation. The degree to which such features as transilient migration, chain migration, re-emigration, and others exist indicate that there is a tremendous variety of migrant activity outside the conventional streams. In this respect,

Maltese migration is no different than the migrations of other nationalities. However, the development of the Maltese reality as it exists today contains many elements which make the story of Maltese migration unique, and in this respect also, Maltese migration is no different from that of other nationalities, each of which having elements unique to themselves. Maltese migration then has distinctive elements, but in general terms follows the pattern of migration found among many other nations.

Pressure of population and the desire for economic improvement were basic conditions of Maltese migration. By themselves, however, these conditions would not have led to the substantial emigration of the mid-20th century. Other distinctive factors influenced the volume, timing, and direction of Maltese emigration. These included economic, social and linguistic changes following from the British connection; more favourable policies in destination countries; stronger official support within Malta through its unique Department of Emigration; and a broadening cultural acceptance of migration among the Maltese. Emigration provided the receiving countries citizens of quality, and helped Malta to overcome the effect of severe over-population.

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Immigrants admitted. Country or Region of Last Permanent Residence by P.T.K.*, Students and all other occupations. (*P.T.K. is an abbreviation of Professional, Technical and Kindred Occupations)

Individual Tables for each fiscal year 1971 to 1979.

Immigrants admitted from Malta by Sex and Age, Fiscal Years 1971-1981[Hand-written]. Copy held by author.

APPENDIX.

Migration pattern 1948-85.

The purpose of this appendix is to provide a more detailed presentation of the migration pattern for the period 1948 to 1985. In the first place the data for the period will be divided into intercensal periods. Once this is done, a proportion of the unenumerated return migration for these periods will be allocated to each year. This will enable revised annual return migration figures to be prepared. This figure will be set against the official annual emigration figures to provide annual net migration figures. These annual net migration figures will be shown both in the form of a table and a line graph, the better to display the net migration pattern for Malta over the period.

The calculations include the Maltese element of the population in the proportions suggested in the 1985 census. These are: 1948 census 96.5 percent of the total enumeration; 1957 95.5 percent; 1967 96.2 percent; and 1985 98.6 percent. In determining the Maltese element of intercensal natural increase, a median figure is used. The Maltese proportions of natural increase for the intercensal periods are taken as being 1948-57 96 percent; 1957-67 95.85 percent; and 1967-85 97.4 percent. The figures for Net Emigration for each intercensal period represent the excess of outgoing over incoming Maltese migrants. The figures for Net Return Migration represent the excess of incoming over outgoing Maltese migrants other than those officially recorded as emigrants. If the official numbers for emigrants are accepted as being accurate, the outgoing migrants referred to in this description of Net Return

Migration will consist mainly of re-emigrants, a category of migrant which often escapes accurate enumeration.

Calculation of net emigration and net return migration for the intercensal period 1948-57.

Maltese element of the population at 1948 census.	295,281
add Maltese element of natural increase 1948-57.	<u>56,467</u>
Maltese population excluding emigration	351,748
Actual Maltese population 1957 census	<u>305,237</u>
Difference being <u>Net Emigration</u>	46,511
Enumerated emigration	61,246
deduct calculation of net emigration above	<u>46,511</u>
Difference being <u>Net Return Migration</u>	14,735
Official return migration	<u>6 9 6 5</u>
Unenumerated return migration 1948-57	7,770

Calculation of net emigration and net return migration for the intercensal period 1957-1967.

Maltese element of the population at 1957 census.	305,237
add Maltese element of natural increase 1957-67	<u>39,724</u>
Maltese population excluding emigration	344,961
Actual Maltese population 1967 census	<u>303,286</u>
Difference being <u>Net Emigration</u>	41,675

Enumerated emigration	49,446
deduct Calculation of net emigration above	<u>41,675</u>
Difference being <u>Net Return Migration</u> .	7,771
Official return migration	<u>4,512</u>
Unenumerated return migration 1957-67	3,259

Calculation of net emigration and net return migration for the intercensal period 1967-1985.

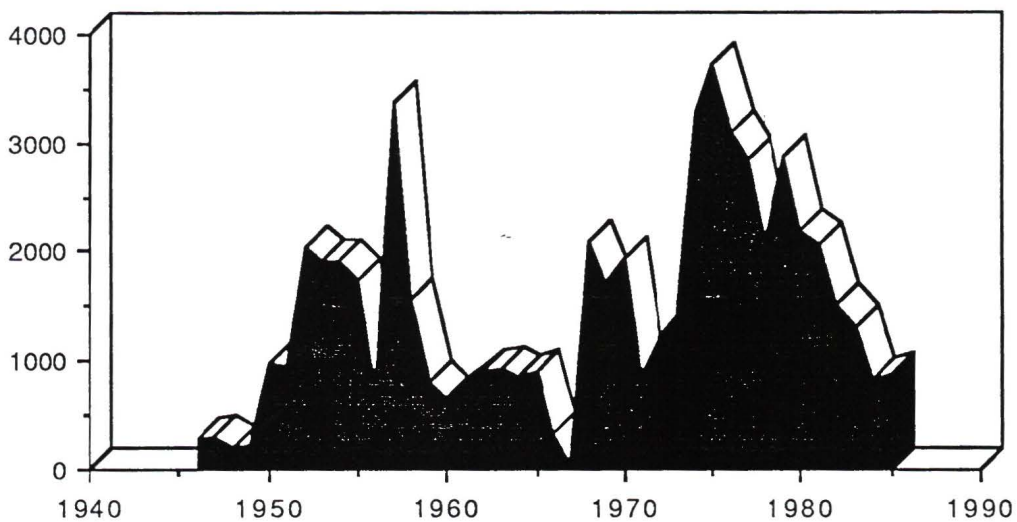
Maltese element of the population at 1967 census.	302,286
add Maltese element of natural increase 1967-85.	<u>45,804</u>
Maltese population excluding emigration	348,090
Actual Maltese population 1985 census	<u>340,025</u>
Difference being Net Emigration	8,065

Enumerated emigration	35,672
deduct calculation of net emigration above	<u>8,065</u>
Difference being Net Return Migration	27,607
Official return migration	<u>20,705</u>
Unenumerated return migration 1967-85	6,902

The unenumerated return migration for each intercensal period has been allocated to the separate years falling within that period in proportion to the number of official return migrants for that year. To take into account the great improvement in enumeration of return migration which came into effect in 1975, the amount allocated to each year from 1975 to 1985 will be five

percent of the proportion added to each year prior to 1975. By adding the number of unenumerated return migrants to that of the official return migrants for each year, a new table, which can be titled Revised Return Migration, is created. This table will be used to create a graph which will vary considerably from that which represents the graph for official return migration (Figure 8), which used a limited interpretation of return migration

Fig. 9. Revised return migration to Malta 1946-85.



The revised return migration figures as illustrated by Figure 9, underline the volume of return migration which occurred in the 1950's. These represent emigrants who returned to Malta after relatively short stays overseas. The period from 1959 to 1967 was one of limited net return, one possible reason being substantial re-emigration by some of the returnees of the 1950's, who, faced with a potentially serious economic situation following cutbacks in British military expenditure in Malta, moved abroad again. The period from 1968 to 1985 was one of substantial return to Malta,

engendered by a poor economic climate abroad coupled with the creation of a more stable economy in Malta as tourism enjoyed tremendous expansion.

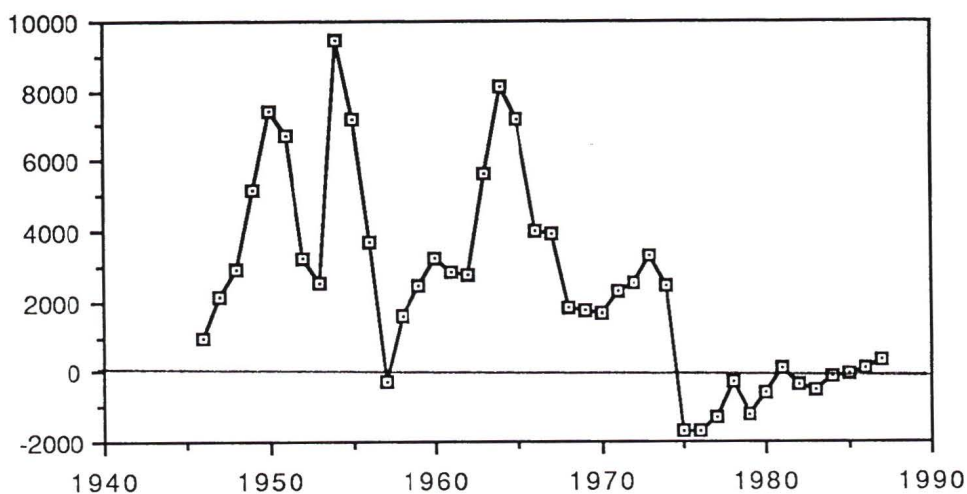
Net migration from Malta can be determined by deducting net return migration from the official figures for emigration. The figures obtained show the outflow or inflow for each year. These figures are presented in the table. (Table 1.)

Table 1. Net emigration from Malta annually, 1946-87.

Year	Official Emigr	Revised Return	Net Emigration
1946	1278	282	996
1947	2446	304	2142
1948	3150	205	2945
1949	5368	228	5140
1950	8503	1043	7460
1951	7692	994	6698
1952	5345	2135	3210
1953	4532	2008	2524
1954	11447	2010	9437
1955	9007	1821	7186
1956	4492	821	3671
1957	3285	3535	-250
1958	3152	1548	1604
1959	3265	801	2464
1960	3841	658	3183
1961	3580	777	2803
1962	3641	904	2737
1963	6579	923	5656
1964	8987	853	8134
1965	8090	913	7177
1966	4340	332	4008
1967	3971	62	3909
1968	2992	1136	1856
1969	2648	934	1714
1970	2696	1050	1646
1971	2798	474	2324
1972	3163	669	2494
1973	4059	762	3297
1974	4189	1772	2417
1975	1624	3299	-1675
1976	1107	2758	-1651
1977	1237	2522	-1285
1978	1577	1872	-295
1979	1303	2554	-1251
1980	1374	1956	-582
1981	1966	1834	132
1982	938	1331	-393
1983	641	1173	-532
1984	629	730	-101
1985	731	781	-50
1986	737	622	115
1987	670	365	305

The foregoing table indicates several important features. The first is that from 1975 to 1985 inclusive, each year, with one exception saw a net inflow of people to Malta. This contrasts with the lengthy period from 1946 to 1974 when each year, with one exception witnessed a net outflow of migrants. The peak periods for movement abroad were the 1950's and the mid 1960's when the bulk of the Maltese diaspora took place. It is possible therefore to perceive an outline of Maltese migration in the post-1945 era as one in which massive if uneven migration took place over a period of thirty years, which was then followed by a decade when returnees outnumbered emigrants. This overall pattern becomes more evident through examination of the graph below. (Figure 9.)

Fig. 10. Net Emigration from Malta annually from 1946 to 1987.



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