

M A L T A.

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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

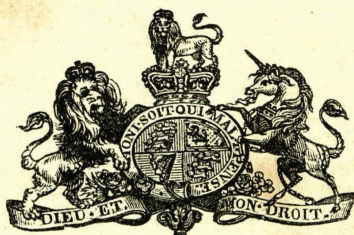
CONSTITUTION AND ADMINISTRATION

OF

M A L T A.

(In continuation of [C.—3524.] March 1883.)

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
March 1884.



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1884.

[C.—3948.] *Price 11d.*

C O N T E N T S.

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2	Ditto - - -	Nov. 3, 1883 (Rec. Nov. 9, 1883.)	Reporting the opening of the Council on the 31st October, and transmitting a précis of the proceedings, together with a copy of Governor's speech.	1
3	Ditto - - -	Nov. 23, 1883 (Rec. Nov. 28, 1883.)	Transmitting report of a debate in Council on the 7th November with reference to the electoral franchise, and the result of the recent elections, and commenting at length thereon.	4
4	Ditto - - -	Nov. 29, 1883 (Rec. Dec. 5, 1883.)	Reporting a demand of the elected members of the Council that explanations of Ordinances should be delivered in Italian, and asking for early instructions thereon, as the question has assumed a most important aspect.	11
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**Further Correspondence respecting the Constitution and
Administration of Malta.**

No. 1.

GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF
DERBY. (Received October 27, 1883.)

MY LORD,

Palace, Valletta, October 20, 1883.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the result of the general election of the elected members of the Council of Government was officially communicated to me on the 16th instant.

The members elected are :—

CARLO MARIA MUSCAT, Merchant.
Can. Penitenziere DON PAOLO AGIUS.
ZACCARIA RONCALI, LL.D.
AGOSTINO NAUDI, LL.D.
ARTURO DEI MARCHESI BARBARO.
CAPTAIN COOPER KIRTON.
VINCENZO BUGEJA, C.M.G.
FORTUNATO MIZZI, LL.D. (for Gozo).

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. BORTON,
Governor.

No. 2.

GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF
DERBY. (Received November 9, 1883.)

MY LORD,

Palace, Valletta, November 3, 1883.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the session of the Council of Government was opened by me on the 31st ultimo.

I enclose a precis of the proceedings together with a copy of the speech I delivered from the chair.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. BORTON,
Governor.

Enclosure 1 in No. 2.

COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENT.

On Wednesday afternoon last at 2 o'clock, the Tapestry Hall in the Palace was again thrown open for the reception of the members of our Assembly, an event which had been looked for by the public with feelings of the greatest eagerness and interest, as was amply testified by the numbers of the public who occupied the seats reserved for strangers and otherwise thronged the vacant space in the Chamber.

Precisely at half past 2 o'clock his Excellency the Governor entered the Chamber accompanied by Colonel Crichton, Military Secretary, and Captain Simpson, A.D.C., the Assembly receiving his Excellency all rising. The new official members, the Hon. W. Hely-Hutchinson, C.M.G., Chief Secretary to Government, and C. Rapinet, Esq.,

Acting Auditor General and Director of Contracts, and the hon. gentlemen of the Elective Bench, namely, C. M. Muscat, Canon Agius, Dr. Z. Roncali, LL.D., Dr. A. Naudi, LL.D., A. Barbaro, Dr. F. Mizzi, LL.D. (for Gozo), were duly sworn in. Captain Kirton was unable to attend through illness, and Chev. V. Bugeja, C.M.G., is absent from the Island.

His Excellency the Governor Sir Arthur Borton, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., as President, after expressing satisfaction at his meeting again the Council to transact business after the unusually long interval of more than a year and a half spoke of the prosperous state of the Island notwithstanding the detriment caused to trade by the rigid quarantine which had to be enforced in consequence of the outbreak of cholera in Egypt. His Excellency also mentioned that important public works would be brought before the Council during the present session as well as certain legal enactments amongst which his Excellency mentioned an ordinance to amend the law respecting the election of members of Council and another to afford better protection to railways.

Mr. Muscat, the leader of the elected bench then rose to make an inaugural speech in which the hon. member pointed out that the result of the recent elections has clearly shown whereto the aspirations of the Maltese people lean.

The questions previously given notice of by Dr. Mizzi and Mr. Muscat were duly put and answered. Dr. Mizzi then called attention to the fact that the lectures on international law were being given in the English language. The hon. member for Gozo referred to the interview which some of the elected members had recently had with Mr. Ashley, the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, and expressed his surprise at having found Mr. Ashley wholly in the dark as to the intention of the Government to force the English language. The hon. member said that the delivery of these lectures in the English language was an innovation which the elected members were bound to oppose with all their might and he also broadly hinted at their eventual withdrawal from the Council to redeem the pledge given to the electors, should the Government turn a deaf ear to their representations.

The Director of Education said that there was no innovation whatever; that the lectures on the British constitution had last year been given in the English language in compliance with the request of the students, and that international law would this year be explained to them in the same language to afford the students an opportunity of exercising themselves in the English language. The Government had no intention to substitute the English for the Italian language; and so long as the language of the courts continued to be Italian it was absolutely impossible to have the lectures in the course of law delivered in any other language. The lectures on the British constitution however were now delivered in the English language, and from an English text-book, as also those on international law. This would assist the students in improving their English, and enable them to plead one day in English before the Court of Admiralty.

Dr. Naudi then spoke in the same sense as Dr. Mizzi, remarking, by the way, that by the delivering of the lectures on international law in English, the law students would not derive the advantage pointed out by the Director of Education, inasmuch as questions of international law could never arise in the Court of Admiralty.

Dr. Roncali also spoke in the same strain; he strongly accentuated his statement to the effect that the language of the country, which had been spoken by our forefathers since time immemorial and also spoken by the present people of Malta, is the Italian language.

The Chief Secretary then rose to explain that he had regarded the question rather as one of detail, but that once allusion had been made by Dr. Mizzi and his colleagues to the policy of the Government he felt bound to speak. He said that it was possible though not probable that Mr. Ashley might have been misinformed, as Dr. Mizzi had given them to understand, as to the true intentions of the Government, but that he (the Chief Secretary) could claim to know those intentions, and was glad of the opportunity given to him to state that there was no intention whatever to force the English language or any other language on the courts. Why should we do so, asked the Chief Secretary, and to what purpose? As far as popular rights were concerned out of the 150,000 inhabitants of Malta there were 14,000 people who could understand Italian and perhaps a somewhat less number who could understand English, the remaining 120,000 or 130,000 could speak nothing but Maltese, and what therefore would be the use of changing Italian for English in the courts? He could not moreover agree in saying that Italian was the language of the country. Even most of the educated classes in Malta spoke nothing but Maltese in their domestic circle and with their friends and acquaintances. As to international law it was true that it had nothing to do with Admiralty Courts, but it had to do much less with ordinary courts. International law was explained simply to

complete the education of our lawyers, and this being the case the elected members who had declared themselves in favour of encouraging the English language might, without sacrificing any great principle, assist the Government in their endeavours in that direction.

Dr. Mizzi replied that the elected members would be glad to encourage the study of the English language, but they would ever strongly oppose even the smallest move towards the substitution of English for Italian.

The Council at 4 p.m. was adjourned to Wednesday next.

Enclosure 2 in No. 2.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen of the Council,—After the lapse of the very unusual interval of more than a year and a half it is a great satisfaction to me to meet the Council of Government with a view to have business carried on according to constitutional form. It is also a source of satisfaction to me to see again amongst the elected members some of those of whose exertions for the despatch of business and the maintenance of order I have already had experience. To the gentlemen who have taken their seats on the elected bench for the first time I beg to tender my congratulations on the confidence reposed in them by the electors which I doubt not will be fully justified by their exertions in furthering the interests of the population. Gentlemen, since the closing of the last Council much has taken place which has seriously affected the local and commercial interest of these Islands. More recently the strict and rigid quarantine we have been obliged to enforce in consequence of the deplorable outbreak of cholera in Egypt has caused a vast quantity of shipping to be deterred from entering our ports to the detriment of the interests of the local trade and also of our revenue. I am glad, however, to be able to say that, when the time comes for the Chief Secretary to make the financial statement, you will find that our position is still so prosperous that the Government will be enabled to lay before you, for your consideration, many proposals for important public works of which the necessity and utility have long been acknowledged on all sides, but which had to be postponed for want of the funds necessary to carry them out. I need not at the present moment go into details which will more properly be considered when the financial position of the Island is brought before you by the Chief Secretary. I think it desirable to take this opportunity to call your attention to the fact that during this long interregnum it has been found absolutely necessary to sanction certain items of expenditure which under ordinary circumstances would have been submitted to the Council; and I am sure that when the supplementary estimates are brought before you for your sanction you will give full consideration to the circumstances under which the deviation from constitutional practice has taken place. There will be several legal enactments to bring before the Council during the present session. One of the most important will be an Act to amend the law relative to the election of members of the Council of Government. Before bringing that Bill forward it will be necessary to take the opinion of the Council on the important question of the subdivision of the Island into electoral districts, and I think that the best mode of proceeding in the matter will be, in the first instance, to bring forward a resolution involving the whole question, so that it may be fully discussed. We must also frame an enactment for the management of the Post Office previous to the transfer of that department from the Imperial to the local Government. The protection of the railway will also require legislation, as the existing laws do not appear to afford sufficient protection. There are also many other important subjects under the consideration of the Government, each one of which, in due course, will be brought before the Council. As regards the order of business I would only remind you, gentlemen, that the financial year is so near its close that it is absolutely necessary that we should press forward the estimates with as little delay as possible. I am sure the gentlemen on the elected bench will furnish us with every opportunity for so doing. Indeed when I remember that there are on that bench three members of tried experience in all matters regarding the order and procedure of this Assembly, I venture to express a hope that the course of public business may flow on smoothly and without interruption, and that, this being the last session in which I shall have the honour to preside over your deliberations, our proceedings may be rendered memorable by the amount and importance of the business transacted, by the beneficial character of our legislation, as well as by the dignity, order, and decorum of our proceedings.

No. 3.

GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., to the RIGHT HON. the EARL OF DERBY. (Received November 28, 1883).

MY LORD,

Palace, Valletta, November 23, 1883.

IN forwarding to your Lordship the printed report of the proceedings of the Council of Government on the 7th instant, I beg to draw your Lordship's special attention to that portion of the report which deals with the subject of the electoral franchise and the result of the recent elections. A promise was made to the elected members that a copy of the debate should be forwarded in a special covering Despatch, and that the whole matter should be impartially represented to your Lordship.

2. As regards the recent extension of the franchise, there can be no doubt that it was not favourably received by any existing political party here, nor was it favourably regarded by many who, whilst they stand aloof from practical politics, take interest in the progress and welfare of these islands. It is equally certain, on the other hand, that many persons who are earning a living, whether as advocates, medical men, notaries, &c., and have a stake in the prosperity of the island at least equal to that of large numbers of the newly-enfranchised voters, are excluded under the present arrangement. A bachelor advocate, for instance, who lives in the same house as his father, pays no rent and receives none. He may at the same time be in receipt of a moderate income from his practice. Still he is excluded from voting, whereas an illiterate labourer who pays 6% a year rent for his holding enjoys (consciously or unconsciously) the privilege from which his educated and well-to-do fellow-citizen is excluded. It is for cases such as this that the elected members seem desirous to provide; and should your Lordship be of opinion that steps should be taken to meet their wishes, I shall be prepared to consider and submit a scheme by means of which their suggestions on this point may be carried into effect.

3. As regards the complaint advanced by Dr. Mizzi and reiterated by Dr. Naudi, that the Council had not been consulted as to the extension of the franchise, your Lordship will observe that the Chief Secretary pointed out in the course of the debate that owing to the action of certain individuals in procuring the return of Messrs. Chiappara and Baldacchino, there was no Council to consult.

4. As regards the evils, which Dr. Mizzi suggests as likely to result from the bestowal of the franchise upon illiterate persons, there can be no doubt that the franchise in the hands of illiterate persons is open to abuse; but I am in hopes that the occurrence of such abuses may be guarded against, at all events to a considerable extent, by the provisions of the new electoral ordinance.

5. The case mentioned by Dr. Naudi, of the Canon of Cospicua, whose name, notwithstanding his qualification, was not on the electoral list, does not appear to me to be of much importance. The lists were published, and every man who considered he had a right to vote had 10 days within which to bring forward his claim. If the canon found, when the election took place, that his name was not in the list, he had nobody but himself to blame.

6. The other point raised by Dr. Mizzi, and dwelt upon by Dr. Naudi, is perhaps of greater importance than the others. Whether the recent election expressed the will of the Maltese is a moot point, and is still violently debated in the local press.

7. There can be no doubt, in the first place, that the recent election cannot be taken as the expression of the will of the constituency recently enfranchised. Out of the total number of 10,627 electors, not more than 2,500 voted. It is estimated that not more than 1,000 educated voters, however, abstained; and it may fairly be said that at least as much interest was taken in the recent election by the educated portion of the community as in any previous election.

8. None, or scarcely any, of the illiterate electors voted, and although it is possible that the necessity of subscribing a declaration of illiteracy before a magistrate deterred some from voting, it may safely be assumed that at present the mass of the illiterate electors, some 7,000 in number, take no interest whatever in politics.

9. So far as the literate electors are concerned, probably about 1,500 of the 2,500 who exercised the franchise, voted for Dr. Mizzi and his friends; and it may be fairly estimated that the votes which Captain Kirton and Mr. Bugeja obtained represent about 800 electors. The remaining votes were distributed amongst the other 17 candidates.

10. Regarding, then, for the sake of argument, the literate voters only as the "popolazione" I think the recent election may be taken as the expression of the will of the majority of that portion of the "popolazione" who take interest in elections.

11. To what extent the desire of the majority of the "popolazione" so defined should be allowed to take effect, is a matter for consideration.

12. The Council, as at present constituted, may be divided into three sections. The first section consists of six members (Dr. Mizzi and his friends) who claim to represent the real wishes of the Maltese, and are opposed to the reforms suggested by Mr. Rowsell, Sir P. Julyan and Sir P. Keenan, notably to the abolition of the grain tax, the diminution of offices, and the spread of the English language. This section of the Council, which call themselves the "antiriformista" party, seem desirous to return to the "status quo ante" in the matter of education. The second section is represented by Captain Kirton, the local agent of the P. and O. Company, who has been returned as the representative of the commercial interest. Captain Kirton has expressed himself averse to the forced substitution of the English for the Italian language, a policy which, I may remark in passing, it has never been the intention of the Government to adopt, but I can scarcely think that he would be in favour of any retrograde step as regards education. As regards the tax on grain, Captain Kirton no doubt shares the opinion of the great majority of the educated classes here; that it is suited to the requirements of the place, and as regards such of Sir P. Julyan's departmental reforms as have not been carried into effect, or even as regards the maintenance of some of those which have already been carried out, I do not think the Government would be justified in counting on his unqualified support. The third section of the Council is represented by Mr. Bugeja, the sole member of the so-called "riformista" party who has been returned. Mr. Bugeja has not yet arrived in Malta, and I am not in a position to say, definitely, what his line of conduct is likely to be. But it may safely be assumed that he will act in an independent manner, that in the matter of education he will not support any retrograde movement, and that as regards the tax on grain, and Sir P. Julyan's reforms, he shares the views of the large majority of his educated countrymen, and would oppose the Government if it were to attempt to abolish the grain tax or to carry out in their entirety the departmental changes suggested by Sir P. Julyan.

13. As regards the tax upon grain, it is presumed that in view of the unanimous opinion of the elected bench on the subject, Her Majesty's Government will not desire that the question be brought forward. To discuss it would only engender bad feeling, and unless the views of the elected bench are to be overridden by the official majority, there is no prospect of obtaining its abolition. As regards the departmental reforms proposed by Sir P. Julyan, I presume that as these are matters of entirely local interest, and the elected members are opposed to Sir P. Julyan's proposals, your Lordship will not think it necessary to insist on their being further pressed on the attention of the Council. The question of education is in a somewhat different position. Steps have already been taken to carry out some of Sir P. Keenan's proposals, and it is part of the avowed policy of the "antiriformista" party to obtain the revocation of whatever has been done in the direction of encouragement of the English language and to return to the "status quo ante." No formal resolution has yet been proposed, but the series of questions which have been asked, the "call to attention" at the first meeting of Council, of which a report* has already been forwarded to your Lordship, the programme published by Dr. Mizzi and adhered to by his five colleagues, and the declarations made in the debate now forwarded, place it beyond a doubt that the question will be formally raised.

14. As I have said, I do not think it probable that Mr. Bugeja and Captain Kirton will support the "antiriformista" party in any proposals for a retrograde step in the matter of English education; but the difficulty to be anticipated is, that in the event of their desires not being acceded to, Dr. Mizzi and his friends have notified their intention of retiring from the Council with a view of procuring the return of "ridiculous" persons to serve in their place.

15. As regards the motives which may or may not underlie the opposition of the "antiriformisti" to the spread of the English language, they themselves say that they represent the will of the people, that the election was a "plebiscito." One of their organs says that the Maltese are "un popolo Italiano non unito alla sua nazione," that

* Enclosure 1 in No. 2.

the language of Malta is Italian, that the people are attached to the Italian language, and that whilst they are ready to assist the encouragement of English as a foreign language they will resist to the utmost any attempt to promote English at the expense of Italian, whilst as regards the charge of irredentism which is levelled at them by their enemies, they scout it as not worthy of notice; and one of them, Dr. Roncali, points out that Malta, being a small place, is destined to follow the fortunes of other countries and cannot voluntarily change its political position. On the other hand it is asserted that the "antiriformisti" do not represent the people, that their success has been gained by organisation of which their opponents at the election had none, and by the wholesale propagation of falsehoods (foremost amongst which was the assertion that the object of the Government in encouraging English was to pave the way for protestantising the Maltese), that the language of Malta is Maltese and not Italian; and that although Italian is and should remain the language of the courts of law, equal facility should be given to the spread of English, that the "antiriformisti" members of Council are tainted with irredentism, and that if the Government gives way to them the ground will be prepared for cultivation by the irredentists, who though small in number at present lose no opportunity of furthering their aims by persuasion, by cajolery, or by entreaty.

16. It is not for me to pronounce judgment on these conflicting statements, further than to say that there can be no doubt that the Maltese are probably a race apart, or if allied to other races certainly not to the Latin races, and that of the 150,000 inhabitants of Malta not more than 16,000 are able to speak Italian. On the other hand the charge of irredentism against the antireformist members has not, in my opinion, been established. One of them is a priest, another a well known supporter of the church; these two can certainly have no irredentist leanings, and the others have repeatedly declared their loyalty to the English Crown.

17. But although I am ready to recommend that in deference to the expressed opinions of the majority of the elected members, no further steps be taken for the propagation of English, I should not, as at present advised, be justified in suggesting that any retrograde step should be allowed. I trust that after reviewing all the circumstances of the case your Lordship will agree with me that on this point the Government should not retreat from its position. To the Government are entrusted the interests of the thousands of illiterate inhabitants of this island, who are unable to make their wishes heard or, if they have the franchise, are ignorant of the fact, or of the power it places in their hands. That it is the interest of these people, to have a competent acquaintance with English, rather than with Italian, there can be no doubt whatever, and whilst we may yield so far to the wishes of the majority of the elected members as to make no further alterations in the curriculum of the schools, I do not think we should be justified in sacrificing the interests and prospective benefit of the inarticulate majority to the aspirations, however strongly expressed, of the representatives of not more than one half of the educated portion of the electors.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. BORTON,
Governor.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 3.

EXTENSION OF ELECTORAL FRANCHISE AND RESULT OF RECENT ELECTIONS.

OBSERVATION.

Dr. MIZZI—Ho dato avviso insin dalla prima seduta di dover richiamare l'attenzione del Consiglio all'estensione della franchigia elettorale ed al risultato dell'ultima elezione. Comincio dal dire che l'oggetto per cui ho fatto questa mozione è, perchè desidero che il Governo Imperiale abbia una esatta idea delle cose del paese, sperando che il Governo locale vorrà sottomettere al Ministro delle Colonie lo stato delle cose e l'opinione pubblica, che è risultata molto chiara nell'ultima elezione. La mozione ha due parti: credo dunque dover parlare separatamente dell'uno e dell'altro capo. È già da un pezzo che i Membri Elettivi del Consiglio accennavano alla necessità, che esisteva fino alla pubblica-

zione delle ultime lettere patenti, di estendere la franchigia elettorale; e nell'ultima sessione della precedente legislatura mozioni speciali sono state fatte da parecchi Membri Elettivi sul proposito. Rammento al Consiglio che le vedute dei Membri Elettivi erano manifestamente diverse dal modo in cui piacque al Governo Imperiale di estendere la Franchigia elettorale. In quella circostanza quasi tutti i Membri si erano espressi nel senso che questa franchigia avrebbe dovuto essere estesa in modo da dare il voto più alla classe intelligente che alla possidente. Il Ministro delle Colonie aveva in allora espressamente dichiarato che su questo soggetto, manifestamente di interesse locale, egli desiderava contentare i rappresentanti della popolazione. E perchè le mie parole siano sostenute da documenti, prego permesso di leggere, dal dispaccio diretto il 24 Giugno 1882 dal Ministro delle Colonie a S. E. il Governatore, il paragrafo 5to. che, tradotto in Italiano, corre così:

In riferenza, però, alla rappresentanza fatta in quell'Indirizzo, che il Consiglio di Governo, consistendo di 18 membri—10 ufficiali ed 8 elettivi—con un elettorato limitato a 2,300 sopra una popolazione di 150,000 non rappresenta in alcun senso, nè costituzionale nè razionale, la popolazione, io ho sempre avuto e ripetutamente espresso, l'opinione che l'attuale costituenza è troppo piccola; ed il 20 Maggio ultimo vi ho informato che, al riunirsi del Consiglio di Governo nel prossimo autunno, io vi avrei dato istruzioni di prendere l'opinione dei membri elettivi sulle proposte che sonstate fatte per una estensione della Franchigia.

Questo dispaccio dà ragione a me, che anche questa volta intendo sullo stesso soggetto richiamare l'attenzione del Consiglio, senza che mi si possa opporre lo argomento che io voglia uscire dal campo della sfera di attività del Consiglio. Non-ostante questa facoltà espressamente accordata al Consiglio locale di Malta, dopo quanto è avvenuto colla elezione Chiappara Baldacchino, si è inteso un membro della Camera dei Comuni perorare la causa della popolazione di Malta perchè una facoltà già accordata al Governo locale ed al Consiglio—una facoltà già accordata alla popolazione—fosse dal Ministro revocata, e che egli stesso estendesse la franchigia elettorale nel senso della e insinuazione di questo membro della Camera dei Comuni, naturalmente dietro incinuazioni di qualche Maltese! Questi insidiosi suggerimenti ebbero il loro effetto; ed il Ministro delle Colonie, revocando la già fatta concessione, estese egli stesso la franchigia; e ciascuno di noi ha avuto occasione di vedere che l'estensione è stata fatta in un senso non certamente in armonia colle idee espresse precedentemente dai rappresentanti del popolo. Il voto è stato dato ad un numero immenso di elettori per la maggior parte illetterati, mentre molti della classe istruita—molti avvocati, medici, periti, commercianti ed altri—non hanno voto. Richiamo oggi dunque l'attenzione del Consiglio a questo fatto, perchè ho speranza che i miei colleghi siano della stessa opinione che, cioè, la franchigia debba essere, nell'interesse della popolazione, estesa in un modo differente; e che in conseguenza il Governo locale voglia sottomettere al Governo Imperiale questo desiderio della popolazione, che sarà espresso per mezzo dei suoi rappresentanti—siccome spero che i miei colleghi siano della stessa opinione—perchè la facoltà che ci era stata concessa col dispaccio del 24 Giugno 1882 ci sia nuovamente accordata, affinchè la franchigia elettorale sia estesa nel modo che ai rappresentanti della popolazione paja espediente; e se una franchigia già accordata non è, secondo i principî costituzionali, da revocarsi—sebbene sia stata revocata la concessione fatta col dispaccio del 24 Giugno 1882—che almeno sia concesso al Consiglio di estendere in un altro senso la franchigia elettorale, cioè che per controbilanciare il numero di illetterati, sia estesa la franchigia a quelli delle classi istruite che ne sono esclusi. Intanto io sono stato informato che nell'ultima elezione è stato trovato un modo ingegnoso per fare che molti delle classi illetterate potessero votare. Io certamente non dirò che questa informazione sia vera e la do sotto riserva,—ma le persone che me l'hanno data sono degne di fede—e non posso non sottomettere al Consiglio l'informazione che ho avuto. In ogni caso, se nel fatto non successe l'inconveniente, è possibilissimo che succeda, e sono giustificate le langnanze della popolazione, che l'estensione della franchigia è stata fatta nel senso di favorire le persone possidenti ed escludere le intelligenti. L'informazione datami è questa:—che si è pensato di incidere in placca di latta un nome perchè la persona che non sappia scrivere calchi l'incisione con una penna e produca così il nome. Ora una persona illetterata non è nel caso di sapere se quell'incisione esprima realmente il nome della persona in favore della quale intenda votare: e, se questo metodo è stato adoperato, avremmo tutta la ragione di temere che la persona che intendeva votare per Tizio si fosse trovata ingannata e avesse votato per Sempronio. Questa non è una cosa che si dovrebbe permettere, e il Governo locale dovrebbe sottomettere al Governo Imperiale che questo inconveniente, se

non ha avuto luogo, è tuttavia possibile, e bisognerebbe evitarlo. La seconda parte della mia mozione è relativa al risultato dell'ultima elezione. Io credo che non possa succedere un guaio maggiore alla nostra isola di quello che il Governo Imperiale sia male informato dei bisogni e delle aspirazioni del popolo Maltese. Noi abbiamo sentito un membro della Camera dei Comuni dire che i Maltesi si danno dei pugni perchè il Governo Imperiale non li ha ancor obbligati a parlare la lingua Inglese—e che si attribuisce tutto il malcontento a questo fatto che i Maltesi sono desiderosissimi di essere obbligati a parlare la lingua Inglese. Ora è ben noto a tutti che il fatto del malumore attuale, e che le cose vanno di male in peggio, non è attribuibile a questo. E questo discorso non può essere stato detto nella Camera dei Comuni senza che qualche persona non avesse dato a quel membro questa strana informazione. Vedo l'onor. Doganiere inquietarsi—vorrebbe dire forse qualchecosa ?

The COLLECTOR of CUSTOMS.—I simply asked my hon. friends near me where has this strange conversation appeared? If it did take place in any of the Houses of Parliament it would have been printed in all the papers, but I have not seen it anywhere.

Dr. MIZZI.—L'onor. signore vuole sapere dov'è stata letta questa informazione. Il discorso al quale alludo è stato pubblicato in tutti i fogli locali. Certamente in quel discorso l'onor. signore non troverà le parole "i Maltesi si sieno dati dei pugni:" quelle parole sono state da me dette per incidere vieppiù il senso del discorso al quale alludo, ma la sostanza è stata quella—e mi meraviglio di sentire che l'onor. signore—il quale sempre si è mostrato molto informato degli affari del paese—non abbia incontrato questo certo discorso nel quale è detto che tutto il malcontento dei Maltesi proviene dal fatto che non sono stati obbligati a parlare l'Inglese. Io prenderò la prima opportunità che mi si presenterà per leggere al Consiglio il discorso, al quale ho fatto riferimento: Comunque sia, senza riferirmi a quel discorso, posso riferirmi ad un altro più recente tenuto pochi mesi addietro, non in Inghilterra ma in quest' isola—alludo al discorso che il Governatore ha tenuto in occasione della laurea conferita nella Chiesa dell'Università, dove egli ha detto che il partito contrario alla imposizione della lingua Inglese è molto ristretto. E desidero richiamare l'attenzione del Consiglio a questo punto per dire, che il risultato dell'ultima elezione mostra che queste informazioni non sono esatte. Non un solo indirizzo è stato fatto dai candidati agli elettori in occasione della elezione, nel quale fosse stato detto che il candidato si presentava col programma di sostenere la sostituzione della lingua Inglese alla Italiana. Tra i tanti candidati che si presentarono non un solo ha avuto il coraggio di dire questo, e non uno fra quelli conosciuti favorevoli a tale sostituzione fu eletto. Questo mostra ad evidenza che non è piccolo il partito opposto alla imposizione della lingua Inglese; è anzi il partito della popolazione; è l'opinione pubblica, alla quale sono certo che il Governo Imperiale vorrà fare giustizia e non vorrà andare contro l'opinione generale della popolazione specialmente in cose, come questa, che non dovrebbero molto interessarlo. Cosa preme al Governo Imperiale se la popolazione parli lingua usata da centinaia d'anni piuttosto che un'altra?—Io non voglio entrare nell'altra questione se questo sì desideri perchè si hanno in mira le idee dell'irredentismo—quell'asserzione è tanto ridicola che non merita l'onore di una risposta. Oltre la questione della lingua vi è quella della sostituzione di tasse dirette alla tassa sul grano. La questione è da tanti anni che si dibatte, ma non credo necessario trattenerne il Consiglio sulla stessa per la ragione che ho avuto il piacere di sentire da una persona di molta influenza, che non si intende portare più quella questione in seguito al risultato dell'ultima elezione. Concludo col pregare il Governo di voler dare retta informazione al Governo Imperiale sui sentimenti della grande maggioranza della popolazione, perchè, come diceva da principio, credo che non si possa dare male maggiore di quello di avere il proprio Governo non informato dei veri bisogni della popolazione. Io voglio sperare che i miei colleghi si esprimeranno nell'istesso senso.

Dr. NAUDI.—La prima volta che ho sentito indicata la espedienza della estensione della franchigia fu in Inghilterra, dalla bocca di Sir Michael Hicks Beach nell'anno 1878. Io mi era allora portato in Inghilterra; e l'onor. Direttore della Educazione, il quale era allora membro elettivo, mi aveva preceduto di alcuni giorni ed aveva già avuto occasione di intrattenersi in colloquio col Ministro delle Colonie. Quali ragioni avessero spinto l'onor. Signore a incontrarsi col Segretario di Stato io non lo so; so che io aveva cercato di parlare con lui, siccome una mozione pendeva in Parlamento, mossa dal Signor Mac Iver, in riferimento alla tassa sul grano alla quale l'onor. membro pel Gozo ha fatto riferimento. Nell'abbozzamento col Ministro io mi misi a sottomettere le ragioni per le quali questa popolazione riteneva inespedito la revoca di quella tassa. Sir Michael Hicks Beach mi domandò in qual modo aveva la popolazione espresso la sua avversione

alla revoca della tassa. Io risposi che l'aveva fatto per mezzo della Petizione mandata al Parlamento, coperta da oltre 5000 firme, e per mezzo della voce dei suoi rappresentanti in Consiglio; al che il Ministro mi osservò che da 5000 a 150,000, che era il numero degli abitanti di Malta, passava una grande differenza e che i Membri Elettivi non rappresentavano la popolazione, siccome erano eletti da soli 2000 elettori appartenenti alla classe dei proprietarj, i quali aveano interesse di mantenere questa tassa; e che, per poter dire che i Membri Eletivi rappresentassero la popolazione, bisognava che fossero eletti da un numero competente di elettori; e questo non si poteva ottenere a meno che la franchigia non venisse estesa a quelle classi che piu delle altre soffrono il peso di questa tassa sul grano. Oggi questa estensione della franchigia l'abbiamo avuta sotto le circostanze indicate dall'onor. membro pel Gozo, vale a dire che nel mentre che il Ministro ci dichiarava che avrebbe sottomesso al Consiglio l'approvazione ed esecuzione di questa misura, la sanziona più tardi senza per nulla consultare il Consiglio: e questo procedere giustificava il dubbio che l'estensione della franchigia non veniva accordata in vantaggio alla popolazione, ma si bene nello scopo di ottenere quello che da tanto tempo si domandava da chi non cerca il vero interesse nostro, di aver, cioè, membri in Consiglio mandati da quelle classi che si suppongono avverse alla tassa sul grano, per contentare quei due o tre membri di Parlamento che da qualche tempo vanno insistendo per l'abolizione di quella tassa. Il dubbio venne confermato dal modo col quale la franchigia venne estesa. Per formare la nuova lista degli elettori altro non si è fatto che mandare agenti di Polizia a domandare di porta in porta l'affitto che si pagava, oppure la rendita che si avea. Più di questo non si è fatto: e non si è cercato per nulla di indagare se vi fossero altri che avessero dritto di essere elettori. All'occasione dell'ultima elezione ho avuto l'opportunità di vedere molti amici che mi dicevano di non avere voto quantunque fossero intitolati ad averlo—nomino uno—il Canonico Portoghese della Cospicua: “Sono proprietario;” mi disse, “ai miei inquilini hanno dato il voto, a me non l'hanno dato”—Mi si dirà che vi fu la notificazione che avisava tutti coloro che avessero il dritto di ricorrere. Questo è vero; ma se coll'estensione della franchigia si è voluto conferire un vantaggio a tutta la popolazione, dandole il mezzo di mandare i suoi rappresentanti in Consiglio, sarebbe stato il caso, nello stesso tempo che si investigava chi tra le classi basse avesse il dritto al voto, di vedere ancora se vi fossero persone delle altre classi intitolate ad avere questo voto. Ho detto tutto questo, per spiegare maggiormente come si ha ragione nel credere che nel concederci la estensione della franchigia non si avea per nulla in mente l'interesse della popolazione, ma quello di avere in Consiglio membri che avvocassero la revoca della tassa sul grano. Alla revoca di questa tassa inoltre sono preordinate molte delle progettate riforme—e le Commissioni seguite non aveano altro scopo che questo. In primo luogo fu mandato il signor Rowsell per investigare specialmente la questione della tassa, o meglio per rapportare sul modo di toglierla e su quello di sostituirla da altre. In seguito venne Sir Penrose Julyan coll'apparente mandato di suggerire il modo di fare economie; ma evidentemente per trovare il mezzo di scemare l'ammonto della spesa pubblica e rendere così più facile la revoca della tassa sul grano. Se abbiamo torto di così pensare ci si dia il campo di ricrederci riportando l'intera misura all'esame del Consiglio. Quanto al risultato della ultima elezione—non ho che una parola da dire: essa non è stata un'elezione, ma un plebiscito. È da tempo che ci lamentiamo che, per quante lettere vengano scritte e per quante rimostranze vengano fatte al Ministro, soltanto i suggerimenti di un certo partito sono presi in considerazione. Ciò è tanto vero che in dispacci pubblici troviamo citati i progetti di persone che non hanno nessuna autorità in paese, ma che anno forse il merito col Ministro di seguirne le aspirazioni. Una lettera importantissima, che io desiderava fosse pubblicata in Londra, dietro che i fatti nostri erano stati erroneamente esposti nella Camera dei Comuni in occasione di una risoluzione del Sig. Anderson, fu da me mandata all'editore del *Times*, ma inutilmente, perchè mi si disse che il *Times* ubbidisce al Governo in potere, e non avrebbe pubblicato cosa alcuna che potesse dispiacere al Governo. Non avendo potuto ottenere nel *Times* la pubblicazione di quella lettera, io la mandai al Segretario di Stato, dal quale ebbi in risposta la solita formola che le cose da me sottomesse “sarebbero state prese in considerazione!” Le mie rimarche dunque valevano meno agli occhi del Ministro dei progetti di un privato, ai quali si dava tanta considerazione da essere finanche notati in un pubblico dispaccio! Che è a dirsi poi quando si osserva che i progetti della persona di cui il Ministro citava l'autorità non hanno mai riscosso l'approvazione pubblica in Malta ove sono stati sempre considerati piuttosto come progetti di un utopista? Ho ragione anzi di credere che la mia lettera fu appena letta nell'Ufficio Coloniale: perocchè, avendone fatto menzione allo stesso Segretario di Stato, Mr. Ashley, quando si trovava ultimamente in Malta, mi accorsi che quel Signore non l'aveva neppure veduta.

Giudico che la stessa sorte sia toccata alle altre scritte dai miei colleghi in allora—l' onor. Cachia Zammit e l' onor. Mizzi—poichè le loro lettere, come lai mia, non furono messe sulla tavola della Camera dei Comuni quando si domandò in quella Camera la produzione della corrispondenza e delle comunicazioni fatte sugli affari di Malta. Ma l' ultima elezione ci ha fatto giustizia, e la voce pubblica ha confermato che i nostri protesti erano quelli della popolazione. Io e l' onor. Dr. Mizzi fummo eletti perchè abbiamo promesso agli elettori di fare appunto quello che suggerivamo in quelle lettere; ed i nostri colleghi hanno avuto il pubblico suffragio perchè hanno un programma uguale al nostro. Se non che, come diceva bene l' onor. membro pel Gozo, nessun candidato nell' ultima elezione ha parlato di riforme, ed io devo aggiungere, che perfino nei manifesti di certi candidati si diceva che essi non differivano da noi gran fatto sulle riforme. Intanto la popolazione, che comprende oggi che cosa sia il Consiglio e la importanza dello stesso, so che la rappresentano membri obbligati a cercare i suoi veri interessi. Col nostro programma, accettato dagli elettori, abbiamo sottoscritto un contratto che non possiamo non eseguire senza disonore. Ecco come si deve spiegare l'ultima elezione:—fu essa un plebiscito col quale la popolazione ha dichiarato che cosa vuole e desidera.

Mr. MUSCAT.—Non credo necessario esprimere nuovamente le mie opinioni riguardo le questioni portate innanzi dai miei onor. colleghi, perchè insin dal primo mio discorso ho spiegato quali sieno le mie intenzioni in seguito al nostro programma ed al risultato delle ultime elezioni. Mi basta perciò dire che confermo pienamente le opinioni oggi espresse dai miei due onor. colleghi (Dr. Naudi e Dr. Mizzi).

The CHIEF SECRETARY.—I have not risen to speak until now because I wished that all the members who desired to speak might say what they had to say. Sir, it is not my intention to enter into any argument on the question brought forward. The hon. member for Gozo has expressed his desire that the wishes of the elected members on this question should be brought to the notice of the Secretary of State, and I take this opportunity to say that a report of the debate will be forwarded to the Secretary of State in a special covering Despatch. But there are one or two points to which I should like to refer, not in the way of argument, but to clear the atmosphere. I understood the hon. member for Gozo say that the Secretary of State did not keep faith with the Council inasmuch as he had extended the franchise without reference to the Council.

Dr. MIZZI.—Io non dico che il Ministro abbia mancato di fede; ma soltanto che, dietro qualche comunicazione mandata da qui, egli ha revocato la concessione già fatta. Non do la colpa a lui, ma a chi gli ha scritto.

The CHIEF SECRETARY.—I did not mean to say that the hon. member accused the Secretary of State of deliberate breach of faith; the hon. member complained that the members of the Council had been led to think, from some expressions in a Despatch from the Secretary of State, that the question of the extension of the franchise would be left to the Council to be dealt with locally, and that afterwards the Secretary of State dealt with it himself. Of course this is a question of Imperial Policy in which I need not enter; but it certainly appears to me that at the time the extension was granted there was no Council to appeal to in consequence of the election that had taken place. I do not know who was responsible for those elections, but it must have been quite clear that there was a desire to throw ridicule on the Council, and the only remedy was to have a new form of Council, which is what we now have. The question of the extension of the franchise must be dealt with at home, we have no right to deal with it here; the Letters Patent distinctly say that it is not a matter in which the Council can interfere, and that is one of the reasons for which I did not rise sooner to discuss the question. I understand, however, that my hon. friend the member for Gozo does not wish to ask for the revocation of the recently granted extension, but that a lateral extension be added to the vertical extension which has been already made. I can say that the whole matter will be impartially represented to the Secretary of State; but it is of course impossible for me to say what the Secretary of State will do. One or two other matters were mentioned in the course of the debate not directly connected with the question and which trench upon debatable ground. I do not see any necessity of speaking on those questions at present as they are not regularly before the Council. At the same time I wish to say that whenever these matters are brought forward formally I am quite prepared to discuss them.

Dr. RONCALLI.—Poichè si tratta di far nota di ciò che dicono i Membri Elettivi per informare il Ministro di Stato, credo mio dovere di dire che non ho da aggiungere a ciò

che essi hanno esposto e dichiarato essere le mie, opinioni in tutto ciò che s'è detto uniformi alle loro. Dirò soltanto un' ultima parola circa la accusa di irridenditismo, che il partito riformista affibbia parecchi di noi. Di questo è giusto che se ne parli con grande precisione, specialmente quando si tratta di far nota delle nostre parole onde trasmettere i nostri discorsi al Governo Imperiale. Questo partito irredentista fu menzionato la prima volta da uno dei Commissionari, Sir Penrose Julyan, il qual disse che la grande insistenza di parecchi Maltesi per la conservazione della lingua Italiana era conseguenza della speranza che avevano alcuni fanatici che i Maltesi potessero un giorno arrivare all'annessione alla vicina penisola. Non so cosa pensino altri, ma so che io ho sempre pensato che noi Maltesi, come piccoli, siamo destinati a subire le sorti di altri paesi, senza poter mutare la nostra posizione volontariamente. E questa è una ragione di necessità. Ma ci è un' altra ragione più importante, ragione di onestà e galantuomismo. Ciascuno di noi ha sottoscritto e giurato di dover essere fedele al suo governo. Quindi, oltre al dovere generale di qualunque suddito, abbiamo il dovere morale e religioso del giuramento di fedeltà al governo; per cui credo, più che insolenza, essere stupidaggine accusare di slealtà persone, che non hanno fatto altro, se non proclamare altamente i dritti di un popolo di far uso di una lingua, che gli appartiene e che lo accomuna alle più civili nazioni d'Europa.

Canon AGIUS.—Dopo quel che si è detto da parte de' miei onor. colleghi credeva non essere necessario aggiungere parola alcuna sul proposito. Però siccome l'onor. Principal Segretario ci ha promesso di dover spedire al Segretario di Stato per le Colonie copia fedele dei dibattimenti di questo Consiglio, credo mio dovere dichiarare di aderire in tutto e per tutto a quel che si è detto dai miei onor. colleghi.

No. 4.

GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY. (Received December 5, 1883.)

MY LORD,

Palace, Valletta, November 29, 1883.

WITH reference to my Despatch of 23rd instant,* I have the honour to inform your Lordship that at the meeting of the Council of Government yesterday Dr. Roncali, one of the elected members, made a formal demand on behalf of his colleagues that all explanations of ordinances introduced into the Council should be delivered in Italian.

2. The demand was made on the occasion of the introduction by the Crown Advocate of a Bill to establish a local post office. Dr. Roncali was supported by Mr. Barbaro, who stated that, not understanding English, he had not understood a word of what the Crown Advocate had said, and by Dr. Mizzi. Dr. Naudi, Mr. Muscat, and Canon Agius said nothing, nor did Captain Kirton speak on the subject, but the three former are known to share Dr. Roncali's views, and I have every reason to believe that on this point Captain Kirton will not oppose the rest of the elected members. Mr. Bugeja, the other elected member, has not yet arrived in the Colony. He is said, however, to be in favour of reasonable encouragement of the English language.

3. After some discussion the Chief Secretary intervened, and pointing out that the question before the Council was whether the Crown Advocate's Bill should be read a first time, declined to discuss the language question, and moved the adjournment of the debate, which was acceded to. The elected members, however, have now given us clearly to understand that they will decline to pass any legislative measures whatever unless the official members speak in Italian. As regards the estimates, they will doubtless assume a similar attitude in considering the education votes, and will refuse to vote supplies for education unless the Government agrees to place Italian on the same footing in the schools as it was previous to the appointment of the present Director of Education.

4. It is my intention to postpone the next meeting of Council until I have received a reply to this Despatch; in the meanwhile it is necessary that I should receive definite instructions from your Lordship as to the extent to which I shall be justified in acceding to the wishes of the elected members on the language question, or to what extent I may count on your Lordship's support in resisting their demands.

* No. 3.

5. The question is one of considerable interest and importance. The recommendations of Sir Penrose Julyan and of Sir Patrick Keenan on the subject of the English language are clear and explicit, and have to a considerable extent been adopted by your Lordship's predecessor. If the elected members are allowed to have their way (especially as regards their demands on the subject of education), the Government will have to retire from a position which it has deliberately adopted; and a severe blow will have been dealt to the influence of the Government, and to the spread of the English language in Malta.

6. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the elected members are very much in earnest, and will not easily be deterred from the object they have in view. As regards the use of Italian in the Council, they point out that as one of the elected members (Mr. Barbaro) does not understand English at all, and some of the others but to a limited extent, it would only be an act of courtesy on the part of such of the official members as can speak Italian to speak in that language. They urge further that as the ordinances are printed in Italian, and Italian is (as they allege) the language of the Island, and by law the language of the courts of law, the explanations of the ordinances should be delivered in Italian, and that until a few years ago (1880) some of the official members used to speak in Italian. As regards education, they assert that Italian being (as they allege) the written language natural to the Island from its geographical position, Italian should be the fundamental educational language; and whilst they express their readiness to vote any reasonable sum that may be proposed for the encouragement of English in the schools, they are uncompromisingly opposed to any deviation from the principles (so far as the predominance of the Italian language is concerned) according to which education used to be conducted in Malta previous to the recent changes in the educational system. They have already stated that they disapprove of the lectures in international law being delivered in English, and I am given to understand that when the professor's salary is under consideration they will refuse to vote it unless the Government gives way. I have no doubt that they will place similar obstacles in the way of the votes for the primary schools, unless the Government consents to return to the *status quo ante*, so far as Italian is concerned in the matter of primary education.

7. If the question of the use of Italian in Council by official members were to be brought to a vote, the seven elected members now in Malta, including Captain Kirton, would be unanimous against the Government.

8. As regards the education question, I now understand that Captain Kirton will not oppose his colleagues in their efforts to procure the delivery of the lectures on international law in Italian; and as regards further retrograde measures, I am not now by any means sure of his support. Mr. Bugeja, on the other hand, will not, if I am not misinformed, support his colleagues in any retrograde step as regards education; but there is no doubt that as regards the lectures on international law, and a probability that as regards the general question of education, not more than one elected member will be found to support the Government.

9. I think there can be no doubt, that in the event of either of these demands being refused, a political crisis will supervene. No local question has arisen here of late years which has so profoundly exercised the minds of those who take an interest in elections as this question of English *versus* Italian. What form the political crisis is likely to take I cannot say at present. There will certainly be a deadlock in public business, and perhaps a wholesale resignation of the elected members, and a petition to the House of Commons.

10. As regards the question of the use of the Italian language in Council, it may not, perhaps, be regarded as essential; but there is no doubt that to yield on this point would, to a considerable extent, stultify the Government, and would lead to much inconvenience in the event of a Governor being appointed who does not understand Italian. The use of Italian in all cases as the educational language I should regard as a great misfortune to Malta. And although the use of Italian in teaching international law is not of itself of much importance, we could scarcely, if we were to give way on this point, consistently refuse further concessions in the matter of education.

11. I have already recommended that concessions be made to the elected members in the non-essential points of translations of the estimates and of documents laid before Council. Anxious as I am, however, to meet the wishes of the elected members so far as can reasonably be done, I cannot recommend that any retrograde step be made in the matter of education. The utmost that I should feel justified in suggesting on this head is that an assurance might be given that no further step will be taken in the direction of carrying out Sir P. Keenan's recommendations without the consent of the elected

members. Such an assurance would, no doubt, seriously hamper the efforts of the Government to improve the educational system; but it would afford an undoubted proof that it is not the intention of the Government to force the English language on the Maltese against their will.

12. As to the use of the Italian language by the official members, the utmost concessions that should be granted is, in my opinion, permission to the official members to make use of whichever language they please. To attempt to force the official members to speak Italian would be as unreasonable as to attempt to force the elected members to speak English. And the inevitable result would be a demand that all speeches in English should be translated into Italian. I have pointed out, in paragraph 10 of this Despatch, other objections against conceding the point; but I am content to leave the matter in your Lordship's hands.

13. I need scarcely point out to your Lordship that in stating to the Council what concessions, if any, will be made, I should be in a position to state your Lordship's final decision; and that whatever position is taken up by the Government should be steadily maintained.

14. I have only to add that it is of great importance that I should be in possession of your Lordship's views at as early a date as possible, as many votes in the estimates for 1884 remain to be taken.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. BORTON,
Governor.

No. 5.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY to GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON,
G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

TELEGRAPHIC.

December 7, 1883.—Your Despatches 29th and 30th November.* Will send Despatch as soon as possible. Wait.

No. 6.

GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY. (Received December 10th, 1883.)

MY LORD,

Palace, Valletta, December 4, 1883.

IN forwarding to your Lordship the official report of the sitting of the Council of Government held on the 21st ultimo, I desire to draw your Lordship's attention to the discussion which took place upon a portion of the works estimate providing for the primary schools.

2. Dr. Naudi has so considerably altered his speech in correcting it that I have thought it best to forward to your Lordship, in addition to the printed report, a copy of the shorthand writer's original notes of his statement.

3. Mr. Savona's speech appears to me to be a complete reply (if one was needed) to those who assert that the Maltese are Italians, and that Italian is the natural written language of the Maltese.

4. Without entering into any lengthy arguments on the subject, it is sufficient for me to point out the fallacy of the statement advanced by Dr. Mizzi, that owing to the importation of a Sicilian Colony (alleged by Dr. Mizzi to be large, but according to Passallo not consisting of more than 2,000 persons), after the expulsion of the Saracens,

* One only printed, No. 4 in series.

the descendants of that Colony, who are now indistinguishable from the Maltese, are to be regarded as Italians; nor need I do more at present than contradict the assertion that Maltese is a dialect of Italian, and the implied conclusion that all Maltese are Italians.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. BORTON,
Governor.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 6.

414*l.*, Lyceum, as detailed in Estimate.

84*l.*, Primary Schools, as detailed in Estimate.

DR. RONCALI: Ci è una partita di 52*l.* per provvedere nuove tabelle e restaurare le esistenti tabelle delle Scuole Primarie. Perchè si vogliono fare questi restauri? Si tratterebbe forse di cambiare l'antica dizione italiana in inglese?

The DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION: The only object in view is to provide new sign boards for the schools that are not provided with them, and with regard to the existing sign boards, it is proposed to repaint them.

MR. MUSCAT: Ben inteso che si rinnovino nella stessa lingua italiana.

DR. MIZZI: Sembra che si voglia spendere questa somma solamente per cambiare la dicitura di queste tabelle, e dire in inglese ciò che oggi è scritto in italiano.

The DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION: I said that the principal part of this item is required to provide 10 new sign boards and the remainder is to repaint the existing ones. I cannot now say whether the words will be painted in English or Italian. I believe the expense will be the same, whether the words be painted in English or in Italian.

DR. RONCALI: All'osservazione dell'onor. Direttore che si bada alle piccolezze, bisogna soggiungere che le piccolezze stanno in primo luogo da parte del Governo. Per esempio nel foglio stampato distribuitoci oggi si legge *Qammieh* scritto col Q per esprimere il suono della gutturale, che finora si è espresso sempre col K. Così si tenta d'introdurre il famoso alfabeto *fonetico*. Noi ci occupiamo anche delle piccolezze, quando con queste si vuole sostituire l'inglese all'italiano.

DR. MIZZI: Io credo che non occorra domandare più la ragione. Consta che si vogliono buttare nel mare 52*l.* per scrivere in inglese queste tabelle. Secondo me si dovrebbe rigettare il voto.

The DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION: But 10 of the sign boards are to be new.

DR. MIZZI: Allora veniamo ad una transazione. Si facciano in Italiano.

DR. NAUDI: Si conservi quel che ci è oggi e ci è stato sempre.

The COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS: Am I to understand that a sign-board in English over a school door-way is an invasion into the Italian language?

DR. MIZZI: Ogni volta che viene un' opportunità di fare qualche passo in questa direzione, si dice: qui sta tutta la sostituzione dell' Inglese all' Italiano? No, non è qui. La sostituzione è nell'insieme di tanti attentati fatti fin oggi per sostituire la lingua inglese all' antica lingua del paese. E se dovessi dare una lista di questi attentati sarebbe più lunga della lista delle innamorate del "Don Giovanni."

The DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION: If there is any objection to these sign boards being in English, I presume for the reason that, especially in the country districts, the persons who are to read them do not understand the English language, the same reasons holds good for the Italian, and it would be better to have the sign boards in Maltese.

DR. MIZZI: Il maltese non è lingua, ma dialetto.

The DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION: I positively deny that. The Maltese is a language and not a dialect. It is the language of the country, spoken by each and every one of the 150,000 inhabitants of these islands, 140,000 of whom, at least, do not speak or understand any other language, do not understand Italian which has no connexion whatever with our Maltese language, and which is spoken or understood only by those who have learned it at school, as a foreign language. It is quite incorrect to say that the Maltese is a dialect of the Italian. The Maltese language may be a corruption of Arabic or of the original Phœnician language spoken by our forefathers; but it is absolutely certain that it is neither a dialect, nor a corruption, of the Italian language.

MR. MUSCAT: Domando all'onor. signore quale sarebbe la sostituzione, in Maltese, delle parole *Scuola di Governo*?

The DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION: With regard to the word "skola," that Maltese word is as much Italian as the English word "school" is Italian. The word "skola" and "scuola" are both derived from the Latin.

DR. MIZZI: Domando io però: la parola "skola" è venuta nel maltese dall'Inghilterra o dall'Italia?

The DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION: Both the Italian word and the English word are derived from the Latin. The Maltese word is also derived from the Latin through Italian, just as many English words of Latin origin entered the English language through the Norman.

DR. NAUDI: E curioso di vedere che si voglia rendere tanto tributo al linguaggio da noi usato da chiamarlo una lingua. Il nostro non è che un dialetto e questo è tanto vero che l'onor. Direttore dell'Istruzione, per poter promuoverne l'importanza si è trovato nella necessità coll'appoggio del Comitato semitico di creare un alfabeto fonetico e di fare guerra alle parole italiane di cui è pieno il nostro parlare. Senza citare molti esempi, dirò solo che questa società per proscrivere la parola ombrello o meglio *umbrella*, chè così chiamiamo noi il paracqua, ha voluto chiamare quest'oggetto "shaba terriekia." Oggi mai queste sostituzioni sono divenute la favola del paese. Ciò posto dirò che è giusto che si noti una volta per sempre che la nostra opposizione alla guerra mossa contro la lingua italiana non è già fatta in odio alla lingua inglese—al contrario noi tutti siamo pronti a promuoverne lo studio ed a incoraggiarne la diffusione tra noi. Sosteniamo bensì che la lingua italiana non ci venga tolta perchè è la lingua nostra, vale a dire, è la lingua che abbiamo usato dal tempo che Ruggiero cacciò da Malta i Saraceni e dal momento che abbiamo avuto il bisogno di toccar la penna. E questa lingua fu sempre conservata fin'oggi. Io non intendo dire che il linguaggio Maltese non sia usato; anzi è quello che comunemente si parla, ma accade spesso che si comincia a parlare in Maltese, e si finisce in italiano; e, parlando in Maltese, tante sono le parole italiane che si usano che per ogni quattro parole maltesi si hanno dieci parole italiane. La lingua italiana infine è la nostra lingua legale. Se ho ben compreso si è detto quest'oggi che in campagna se non capiscono l'inglese non capiscono nè anche l'italiano, ma non è questo il fatto: tutti i preti, tutti i benestanti comprendono e parlano l'italiano come anche una buona parte dei residenti nei casali. Anzi per mezzo dell'italiano hanno incominciato a leggere e scrivere in Maltese i figli del popolo, e tutti coloro che leggono i libri di preghiere in maltese li leggono perchè leggono le lettere italiane sì come si è sempre fatto uso delle lettere italiane per scrivere il maltese. Al dire dell'onor. Direttore dell'Istruzione sembrerebbe che in Campagna nessuno sappia l'italiano: quando l'onor. Signore constatterà meglio la campagna sono certo che avrà motivo di ricredersi.

The DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION: I did not say that the people in the country districts can speak English; I only said that they do not speak Italian. The hon. gentleman said that the priests and the "benestanti" speak Italian. What are the few priests and half a dozen "benestanti" in each village, compared to the rest of the population? The great bulk of the people, nine-tenths at least of the people in the country districts, and I may say also in the towns, speak and understand nothing but Maltese. With regard to the knowledge of Italian possessed by the children in the primary schools I hope I shall be allowed to give an opinion on that point. I have had more than one opportunity of examining these children, brought up under the system of teaching them through the Italian, and I have very often gone to the schools even of Valletta and asked the children to translate into Italian some very simple Maltese phrase such as "ghada seyver insiefer." The answer to my questions was, generally, perfect silence, though occasionally a stray boy would stand up and say two or three disconnected words in Italian such as "domani partire." That was all the Italian I could get out of the children in the primary schools, at the time when the system of teaching them through Italian was in full swing. But as regards the statement made by the hon. gentleman that the people who read Maltese prayer-books have learnt to read them through the Italian, all I have to say is that it is not the case. Ever since the primary schools were opened the first language taught has always been the Maltese. The hon. gentleman need not take this fact as coming exclusively from me; he will find it repeated in the reports and programmes of my rev. predecessor, in the direction of the elementary schools. So the children of the primary schools never learnt to read Maltese through any other language than the Maltese. With regard to another statement made by the hon. gentleman and by the whole elected bench, not in this room but in another place, that the only use that ought to be made of the Maltese language is to collect it in a dictionary, deposit the same in some library for the use of philologists, and eliminate it completely from common use, that statement is not only most exaggerated, but it is in manifest contradiction with the real facts

of the case. By setting aside the Maltese language, you would deprive nine-tenths of the people of Malta of the only means of communicating one with the other. Nine-tenths of the people of these islands understand and speak their own Maltese language and nothing else; and I defy any man in his senses to deny this fact. The hon. gentleman has also expressed another opinion, and that is that we have never had a Maltese language and that to create a Maltese language and alphabet I had induced certain persons to form themselves into a Semitic society for the purpose. Now the fact is that a society for the cultivation of the Maltese language had existed many years before I had any connexion with the Education Department, and consequently there was no occasion for my asking anybody to form a society which had existed long before. Moreover, the hon. gentleman has shown that he is very little acquainted with the object and work of the Semitic Society which is simply that of studying and cultivating the Maltese language—a most important and patriotic work deserving of the greatest praise and encouragement. One of the members of that society is Mr. Annibale Preca, and I hope some, at least, of my hon. friends have had occasion to read a book, greatly admired not only in Malta but also in other countries; entitled “Saggio sulla lingua Maltese,” in which Mr. Preca has endeavoured to show, I believe with success, that the Maltese language is not a corruption of the Arabic, as some persons seem inclined to think, but that both Maltese and Arabic are derived from the same parent stem. As to the value of the Maltese language and the importance of the study and cultivation of that language—of which hon. gentlemen opposite seem to have so mean an opinion—I shall quote the opinion of a gentleman who had no idea, I am sure, when he wrote, that he would have to be quoted one day in support of the very existence of the Maltese language. I allude to Michel Antonio Vassalli, who pointed out that the Maltese language could be very easily written. I shall read two extracts from his Vocabulary of the Maltese language, published in the year 1796. The first is from the Preface addressed to the Maltese nation:—

Mi è abbastanza noto essere taluni malamente prevenuti della lingua maltese credendola inutile ed incapace di coltura al pari della loro ristretta e volgare capacità; e questa prevenzione cotanto dannosa insin adesso ha sempre prevaluto, e quindi privato la Nazione di un tanto bene. Ma ora che si presenta il fatto, ed in modi i più chiari e ragionati, l'opporvisi o è un assoluto delirio, od uno sfacciato odio del bene pubblico. Gli uomini giusti, saggi, e filantropi non cercano altro che la verità e l'essere istruiti; e quando mai si mettessero a criticare, solo il fanno per isvilupparla, e metterla in chiaro aspetto, e non già per mera vaghezza di opporre.

Then there is a “Discorso Preliminare” in which at p. xiii he says:

Gli indigeni però e veri nazionali, che sempre rimasero nella una e nella altr'isola, mantennero da padre in figlio la lingua nazionale e ce la tramandarono sino al secolo in cui siamo. In tal guisa e fra tante vicende conservata, la lingua Maltese ci presenta in oggi il monumento il più raro della antichità degno veramente delle più sublimi ricerche dei letterati, e della più raffinata coltura. Gli eruditi osservano in questa ignoti e rari vocaboli, scorgono grande analogia ed affinità colle primarie lingue d'oriente, posso spesso per mezzo suo interpretare dizioni dubbie sinora di significato e non ben note agli interpreti, scoprono di molt'altre le proprie e principali significazioni; in poche parole ravvisano essi e potranno ravvisare frasi e maniere di dire semplici ed eleganti. ed eleganti, ed incontrano ad ogni detto voci fenicie e puniche cotanto bramate nella repubblica delle lettere, e ricercate, voci caldaiche, siriache, ebraiche, e samaritane, moltissime arabe letterarie e poetiche, e persino alcune persiane.

So much as to the importance of the study of the Maltese language. As to its practical utility, I could quote the opinions of competent persons, not of our days, but who wrote so far back as the years 1827 and 1837. The language of the Maltese people is the Maltese language, which has nothing whatever to do with the Italian language or with any other western language. It is not by quoting such words as the necessities of civilization make one people borrow from another, that the parentage of a language can be ascertained, but by taking the essential elements of the language, the words representing the essential and most important ideas and notions common to all mankind. I take the Maltese numbers, “wihed, tnei, tlieta, erbgha, hamsa,” and all the rest. Where is the Italian element? Take the principal actions, “nqum, norquod, niekol, nixrob, “nxomm, ntighem, nara, 'nhares, nitla, ninzel, nimxi, nieqaf, narfa, njib, nati, niehu;” or the passions, “nhobb, nobghod, nifrah, nibki.” Take the names of the principal necessities of life; “hobz, jaham, jobon, ilma, imbit, zeid, hall,” and thousands of like words of pure oriental origin, wherein not the slightest trace of Italian is to be found.

MR. MUSCAT: Se si entra in chiesa poi non si troverà più Maltese.

The DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION : Yes, and for a very good reason. Because at the time when the Maltese language, be it derived from the Arabic or from the Phœnician—was formed, the terms now used by Christians were not in use. But this is not peculiar to the Maltese; it has happened to the generality of Christian nations; they have taken their Church vocabulary from the Latin. So in English there is *victim*, in Italian *vittima*, in French *victime*, and we say *vittima*. In English they say “*Sacrament*,” in French they say “*Sacrement*,” in Italian “*Sacramento*,” and we say “*Sagrament*.” All Christians, whatever may have been their own language, have borrowed all such terms from the Latin Church. Here in Malta because the language known by a certain number of persons who studied at school was the Italian, we borrowed these and several other terms from the Latin, through the Italian; but in Malta, 200 years ago and 300 years ago, there were not, just as there are not at present, any considerable number of Maltese, who understood or spoke any other language than the Maltese, and they did not understand a single word of Italian unless they had studied it at school. And I was thunderstruck when I heard that hon. gentlemen opposite had publicly declared that we, the Maltese, are an Italian people, and that our language is the Italian. Sir, these things are said by members of this Council who know that we have had in this very Council members who were not able to speak correctly half a dozen words in Italian; when any person frequenting the courts of law may have heard even sentences pronounced by Judges—I do not speak of the present Judges—in a language that clearly showed how very imperfectly they were acquainted with the Italian language. The fact that such bad Italian was spoken and written in our courts of law, which are said to be the stronghold of the Italian language in Malta, speaks volumes in confutation of the assertion made that Italian is the language of the Maltese. I could quote other facts to illustrate the correctness of the language spoken in our courts; but I shall content myself with relating only one anecdote. Some time ago, whilst a man was being tried for his life in Her Majesty’s Criminal Court, an Italian gentleman happened to enter that court, whilst the counsel for the accused was pleading in his defence. The remark made by the Italian gentleman to a friend, on leaving the court, was that before hearing the verdict of the jury or the sentence of the judges on the accused, he would have hanged the counsel for the defence, for assassinating the Italian language. And still, with all this before us, we hear it asserted that the Maltese are Italians, that their language is the Italian language, and that the only use that can be made of the Maltese is to collect it in a dictionary and deposit it in a museum.

DR. MIZZI : Io faccio le meraviglie a sentire l’onor. Direttore dell’ Istruzione mescolare insieme due questioni separate, discuterle come se fossero una sola e applicare le ragioni dell’ una all’ altra. Io desidero ripetere quì quello che ho detto al signor Ashley e che è provato dalla storia. Io ho detto che la lingua maltese non è scritta—che soltanto in questo secolo si incominciò a scrivere. Noi abbiamo il commendatore Abela, il quale nella sua opera scritta, se non erro, verso il 1600 rapporta come cosa meravigliosa l’aver trovato scritto in maltese il Baternoster. È forse la prima carta che si conosca scritta nel nostro dialetto, ma dopo di quella non si scrisse più fuorchè la Dottrina Cristiana, di Monsignor Duzzina. La prima volta che si cominciò a voler scrivere il Maltese fu in questo secolo: nacque la fantasia di far rinvivere una lingua che moriva per la necessità delle circostanze e si riuscì ad introdurne poche parole ed anche adesso si introdurranno qualche parole per opera della società semitica. Ma se dieci entrano da una parte, venti ne escano dalla altra. Dopo la Dottrina Cristiana di Monsignor Duzzina non un altro libro fu scritto in Maltese fino al nostro secolo. Quando si cominciò a scrivere il Maltese si invogliarono alcuni di inventare nuovi alfabeti, e l’alfabeto fonetico è l’ultima invenzione di questo genere. Il Vassalli avea tentato la stessa opera di cambiare l’alfabeto in un modo ancor più straordinario; ma ho la consolazione di sapere che prima di morire ei si ricredette. E da quel tempo tutti gli scrittori in Maltese hanno fatto uso del solo alfabeto italiano. Quanto alla questione se la lingua Maltese debba essere coltivata, deve farsi una distinzione: come lingua si deve studiare nel modo stesso come si studia la lingua latina e la greca antica. La lingua maltese, essendo una lingua antica, per mezzo di essa si possono interpretare altre lingue antiche; ma non è utile che si studi dal popolo. Quando il maltese avrà studiato e saprà il Maltese si sarà isolato da tutto il mondo.

The DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION : Come è isolato.

DR. MIZZI : Ma questo non è un bene, e non è opera patriottica il volere che si continui a soffrire la conseguenza di questo isolamento; non è opera patriottica il perpetuare le conseguenze funeste di un’ epoca, quando i nostri padri, mordendo le proprie catene, parlavano per forza la lingua dei loro tiranni. Ma subito che si liberarono dal giogo dei

Saraceni si diedero ad adottare una lingua europea. La lingua italiana allora entrò in Malta, e continuò ad esistere fino al giorno d'oggi. Già lo dissi in altra occasione e torno a ripeterlo oggi, la prima canzone italiana si cantò in Malta prima che nell'alta Italia.

THE DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION: Quanti l'avranno capita?

DR. MIZZI: Era ancora il principio della lingua; e se la lingua Italiana non era sparsa nè anche in Italia non è da far le meraviglie se non lo fosse in Malta.

THE DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION: Molto più che non si è sparsa nè anche al giorno d'oggi.

DR. MIZZI: Per riguardo al nostro sangue è parimente un fatto storico che, dopo la espulsione dei Saraceni, siccome Malta non aveva una popolazione sufficiente, è stata portata una grossa colonia dalla Sicilia; e desidero sapere se i discendenti di quella colonia si possano o no chiamare Italiani.—In conseguenza non è affatto da meravigliare se diciamo che la lingua italiana sia la nostra lingua, perchè fu adottata dai nostri padri insin dal suo primo nascere, se la memoria mi assiste verso il secolo decimoterzo.

THE DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION: Ma dove è oggi questa lingua italiana?

DR. MIZZI: Oggi è per due terzi nella lingua Maltese e posso fare un discorso in Italiano innanzi ad una persona maltese e farmi comprendere da lei, se non parola per parola, almeno nel senso. L'onor. Direttore dell'Istruzione poi portava, come grandissimo argomento in favor suo, il fatto che non conosciamo bene l'Italiano. Nell'ammettere il fatto sono pronto a mostargli lettere di Avvocati italiani e fargli vedere la razza di scelleraggini in lingua si scrivono; e la ragione non è perchè non hanno istruzioe e perchè non conoscono la lingua; ma perchè, avendo il dialetto proprio, seguono spesso le scorrettezze del dialetto e parlano male la lingua. In conseguenza, noi, che abbiamo avuto un dialetto anche più lontano dalla lingua Italiana che non sono gli altri, non è gran cosa se commettiamo dei maltesismi. Da una provincia all'altra in Italia non si capiscono, ma questo non significa che non siano tutti Italiani.

MR. KIRTON: As my hon. friend the Director of Education has imported the Latin language into the debate, there can be no objection to my introducing a Greek anecdote. When the Laconian Ambassadors went to Athens to intercede with Pericles for the Megarensians, against whom a decree of the people had been issued, Pericles pointing to the tablet in the wall on which the decree was engraved, pretended that there was a law which forbade the removal of any tablet on which a decree of the people was written. One of the Spartan Ambassadors replied: We do not wish the tablet taken down, only turn its face to the wall. The English language is the vexed question; we do not wish it removed, only turn it to the wall and let us get on with the estimates; it is no use trying to force it upon the people, but if it be turned to the wall until all this ill-feeling has passed, the probability is that in a year or two the elected members will be the first to desire its retroversion.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY: I have not been able until now to get an opportunity of speaking on this question, but it seems to me to be a matter for some regret that a vote for a few sign-boards should have provoked philological discussion which although very interesting has been conducted with somewhat unnecessary amount of heat. I trust I may be allowed to throw some oil on the troubled waters. There appears to be a great deal of difference of opinion in the council as to whether Italian or Maltese is the language of Malta; and probably the best way of disposing of the question for the present is to withdraw this vote and to go on with the next.

Item of 52/ for the sign-boards withdrawn.

Enclosure 2 in No. 6.

EXTRACT FROM THE STENOGRAPHER'S NOTES.

DR. NAUDI: Questa è la prima volta che si volle rendere omaggio alla lingua maltese, chiamandola una lingua. Noi parliamo un dialetto; e questo è tanto vero che l'onor. Direttore dell' Istruzione, per poter promnorer il maltese, ha veduto la necessita di costituire una società per cominciare a stabilire un alfabeto ed a fare guerra alle parole estere che si usano nel diabetto maltese. Senza andare a citare altri esempi, dirò solo che questa società semitica per non dire "ombrello" ha chiamato quell' oggetto "shaba terriekia!" Oggi mai queste sostituzioni sono divenate la farola del poese. Pero è giusto che si noti una volta per sempre che la nostra opposizione alla guerra massa alla lingua italiana non è già

fatta in odio alla lingua inglese come già si è detto tutti siamo prouti a fare tutto il nostro possibile onde incoraggiare la lingua inglese. Dobbiamo però opporci a che la lingua Italiana non ci venga tolta. La lingua Italiana è la lingua nostra dal tempo di Ruggiero; e se noi insistiamo perchè questa lingua non ci venga tolta, non è già perchè odiamo l'Inghilterra e per tante altre sciocchezze che si dicono, ma perchè non vogliamo prodere questa lingua. Nel dire questo non intendo dire che la lingua maltese non sia usata; ma tutte le volte che cominciamo a parlare in maltese finiamo per terminare il nostro discorso in Italiano; ed in secondo luogo anche quando parliamo in maltese, per ogni quattro parole maltesi si fa uso di dieci parole italiane; insomma la lingua italiana è la nostra lingua legale. Quindi si deve siconoscere il giusto risentimento di questa popolazione al vedere che si voglia fare il ganbetto alla lingua italiana. Quanto a queste tabelle ci si dice che in campagna se non capiscono l'inglese non capiscono nè anche l'italiano, ma non è questo il fatto: tutti i preti, tutti i benestanti comprendono e parlano l'italiano, e per mezzo dello italiano hanno incominciato a leggere e scrivere in maltese i figli del popolo e tutti coloro che leggono i libri di preghiere in maltese perchè si è sempre fatto uso delle lettere italiane per scrivere il maltese. Al dire dello onor. Divettore dell' Istruzione sembrerebbe che in compagnia nessuno sappia l'italiano e che l'inglese si comprenda da tutti.

Valetta, December 4, 1883.

I HEREBY declare that the foregoing is a transcript of notes taken down by me of a speech delivered by Dr. Naudi at the sitting of the Council of Government held on the 21st November 1883.

(Signed) PAUL F. BELLANTI,
Stenographer to the Council.

No. 7.

GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY. (Received December 10, 1883.)

MY LORD, Palace, Valetta, December 4, 1883.

WITH reference to my Despatch of the 29th ultimo,* I have the honour to forward the shorthand writer's notes of the discussion which took place on the 26th ultimo on the subject of the use of the Italian language in Council, on the occasion of the introduction of the Crown Advocate's ordinance to establish a new post office.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, (Signed) A. BORTON,
&c. &c. &c. Governor.

Enclosure in No. 7.

POST OFFICE ORDINANCE.

THE CROWN ADVOCATE: I have given notice that I would ask leave to introduce three ordinances. The first one refers to the post office. I will explain in a few words the object of this ordinance.

DR. RONCALI: I request that in matters of legislation the hon. the Crown Advocate may be pleased to speak in Italian. I think there can be no objection to my request. The language of our law being the Italian language, it is only fair that our law should be made and discussed in Italian.

THE PRESIDENT: I can understand the hon. member much better in English.

DR. RONCALI: But the greatest interest in this matter is that of the elected members, and they prefer to have these explanations in Italian.

* No. 4.

THE PRESIDENT : The request of the hon. member cannot properly be considered at the present moment, when the motion before the Council is to give leave to the Crown Advocate to introduce an ordinance. Should the hon. member wish to press his request he may do so by making it the object of a separate motion which would then be considered at the proper time.

THE CROWN ADVOCATE : The Imperial Government intend to make over the Malta post office, which has hitherto been an Imperial establishment, to the local Government. But the transfer cannot be made without an ordinance establishing a Colonial post office, and after instructions received we propose to introduce an ordinance for the purpose. The ordinance will contain a provision relative to the formation of an independent post office in Malta, a provision giving power to the head of the Government to appoint not only a postmaster, but also all the subaltern officials that are to be employed in the new department. Also provisions relative to the revenue of the establishment, fixing the rates of postage to be levied and enacting that all proceeds from the post office are to go to the Malta revenue. Then, to protect the revenue, there will be a provision making it the exclusive privilege of the Government to convey letters from one place to the other. It will also contain penal provisions for all those who contravene to the laws enacted for the protection of the post office. These are I think the main features of the proposed ordinance on which I need not for the present make any further remarks. The draft will be published in a few days, and the original circulated among all hon. members, who will then have every opportunity of making whatever remarks they wish when the ordinance is discussed in Committee. I now move that the ordinance be read a first time and ordered to be printed.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY *seconded.*

MR. BARBARO : I have not understood a word of what the Crown Advocate has said. Will the hon. member, with the permission of the President, repeat what he has said in Italian ?

DR. MIZZI : There seems to be hesitation to comply with the request of one of the elected members that what has been said in English should be repeated in Italian, because he does not understand a single word of English. A short while ago we were asked to allow, as a matter of courtesy, that we should be crushed, and now the courtesy is denied to us of making us to understand what is being said. The President said that as he understood English better he preferred hearing the explanation of the ordinance made in English. I submit, however, that it is impossible that the President, before coming here should not, as head of the Government, have been well aware of the object for which this ordinance was to be introduced. That object is only unknown to us, and we only ask that it should be explained to us. I believe it is very reasonable to request the President that he should cause the object for which the Government wish to introduce an ordinance to be explained to the elected members. I also submit that according to the Letters Patent our laws are to be in the Italian language, and it is therefore very reasonable that the discussion on the making of our laws should also be conducted in the Italian language, and it is most reasonable that they should be explained and discussed in Italian, particularly for the reason that there are some of the elected members who do not understand English. Let Italian be spoken, at least when it is a question of introducing ordinances and of legislating. Once that the Crown Advocate does not think fit to speak Italian we are placed in the necessity of awaiting the publication of his explanations in the local papers to be enabled to give our opinion, and I think, therefore, that the first reading of this ordinance ought, should my colleagues agree with me, to be postponed.

DR. RONCALI : I frankly confess it was my intention not to demand a postponement but to oppose the introduction of the ordinance. It is not from motives of courtesy that the explanation should be delivered in Italian, but from motives of justice. We are Maltese,—and I repeat it at the risk of exciting the wonder of some member on the opposite bench,—our language is Italian, and has been so from the most ancient times and continues to be so up to the present day, wherefore it is on grounds of justice and not of courtesy that we demand that the reasons of Government for proposing a law should be expounded in our own language. The Government exists for the good of the governed and not the governed for the good of the Government. If our rulers are foreign to us, let them learn our language. The demand therefore which we make, that we may understand what we hear, is the least demand that can be made.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY : The question is simply whether the Crown Advocate's bill is to be read a first time, and I have no intention to enter into any philological discussion

on that simple question. If hon. members opposite wish rather that the Crown Advocate's motion be postponed, I am perfectly ready to meet their wishes, and I am sure my hon. friend the Crown Advocate will find no objection.

Ordinance postponed.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY said that the order of the day for next meeting would be : continuation of the estimates and the other business on the order of the day.

THE PRESIDENT, at p.m., adjourned the Council to Wednesday, the 5th December, at 2.30 p.m.

No. 8.

GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY. (Received December 10th, 1883.)

MY LORD,

Palace, Valletta, December 4, 1883.

WITH reference to the correspondence* on the subject of the use of the Italian language in Malta, I have the honour to forward copy of an address, signed by parents and guardians of students in the Lyceum, expressing their satisfaction at the present system of instruction, and at the alterations which have been made since the appointment of the present Director of Education.

2. I also enclose a report by the Director of Education on the subject.

3. The petition appears to me to afford an additional reason, if one was needed, for declining to take any retrograde step in the matter of education.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. BORTON,
Governor.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 8.

ADDRESS TO DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION.

SIR,

Valletta, November 30, 1883.

IN forwarding for your favourable consideration the enclosed address respecting the recent changes in the system of instruction at the Lyceum and University, we beg to submit the following observations :—

1st. That it was not dictated by any political feeling, but only by the interest which parents naturally feel in the welfare of their sons.

2nd. That only the signatures of the intelligent portion of parents and guardians have been obtained, that we may not be charged with influencing the opinion of persons who, through want of education, cannot fully comprehend the importance of the question.

3rd. That for obvious reasons many of the employés have not been asked to sign, but the fact that they have placed their sons in the Lyceum to be taught in accordance with the present regime is an unmistakable proof that the method now in force has met with their approbation.

The same observation applies to the Professors of the University, and the Teachers of the Lyceum and the Primary Schools, many of whom have sons that are being educated in the University and the Lyceum, but who were not asked to sign the address.

We have, &c.

(Signed) D. FRANCESCO ADAMI.
E. CIANTAR.
D. F. GRECH.
P. PARIUS ENGLAND.

The Hon. S. Savona,
Director of Education,
&c. &c. &c.

* Nos. 4 and 7.

SIR, Valletta, November 7, 1883.

WE, the undersigned parents, relatives, or friends, of students attending the University and Lyceum of Valletta, feel it our duty to express ourselves fully satisfied with the improvements effected in the University and Lyceum since your appointment to the Directorship of Education; more particularly as regards the greater facilities afforded to the students attending those institutions for the study of the language, history, and literature of England, not only by employing English teachers to give instruction in the English language, but also by causing other subjects to be taught in English.

And in requesting you to express to his Excellency the Governor our best thanks for the improvements effected, we beg to assure his Excellency that, whatever may be done to encourage and diffuse the study of the English language, history, and literature among the inhabitants of these islands, will at all times meet with the approval of all Her Majesty's faithful and loyal Maltese subjects.

(Signed) E. CIANTAR,
ED. GATT,
ANGELO VELLAZARB,
FELICE GRECH, M.D.
PASQUE. MIFSUD,
and 125 others.

To the Hon. S. Savona, Esq.,
Director of Education,
Member of the Legislative and Executive Council,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 2 in No. 8.

The DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION to the CHIEF SECRETARY.

SIR, Education Office, Valletta, December 4, 1883.

I HAVE the honour to request that you will be pleased to lay before his Excellency the Governor the enclosed address signed by 130 parents, relatives or friends of pupils attending the University and Lyceum, expressing their approval of the improvements recently effected in those institutions, more particularly with reference to the increased facilities afforded for the study of the English language, history, and literature, and assuring his Excellency of their support in all that may be done to encourage and diffuse the study of the language, history, and literature of England among the inhabitants of these islands.

The total number of pupils attending the Lyceum amounts to 433, of whom, as the Principal and Secretary informs me, 78 attend the drawing school only, 12 are foreigners, principally Italians, 27 are the sons of public employés, 13 of teachers and other employés in the Education Department, whilst 35 reside in distant villages. I have been assured by the promoters of the address that it was not presented for signature to the parents or guardians of any of these 165 pupils, and of the remaining 268, the parents or guardians of 155 signed the address, most of the remaining 113 being either illiterate or persons whose opinions on such a subject could not carry much weight with it.

Though the parents or guardians of the pupils attending the Lyceum had already expressed their approval of the system of instruction adopted in the Lyceum, by sending their sons to that institution, whilst the number of boys seeking admission increased from 125 in 1881 to 227 in 1883, I submit that the decided opinion so clearly expressed by so large a number of intelligent and most respectable persons in favour of the measures adopted by Government to encourage the study of the English language in the public schools deserves to be taken into serious consideration.

I have, &c.

(Signed) S. SAVONA,
Director of Education.

The Hon. W. Hely-Hutchinson, C.M.G.,
Chief Secretary to Government,
&c. &c. &c.

C. M. MUSCAT AND OTHERS TO COLONIAL OFFICE.
(Received December 10, 1883.)

MY LORD,

Malta; December 3, 1883.

1. WE deem it our duty to call your Lordship's attention to the state of the local administration of Government, and to the effects which it may bear on public opinion, with a view of enabling your Lordship to judge of, and provide for, the real needs and wishes of the community, and of preventing that they may be, as we think they are, misrepresented to the Colonial Office.

2. Her Majesty's Letters Patent of the 8th March 1883, and especially your Lordship's covering letter* thereto annexed, whilst granting a reform of the Council much different from, and far less liberal than that which the Maltese are entitled to claim from England, had the good effect of raising a hope that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had finally decided to regard the opinion of the elected members of Council on all local questions, namely, on those which did not impair the interests of the empire. Only by that hope electors were induced to credit the constitution and send serious representatives to the Council. And the plain assurance given to us by the Hon. Mr. Ashley, on his visit to the island, that it was neither the intention nor the desire of the Imperial Government to substitute, against the will of the natives, direct taxation to the corn duty, and the English to the Italian language, seemed to imply a security that the deplorable questions of useless theory would be put a stop to by Government. Such a reasonable anticipation was finally strengthened by the emphatic terms in which the Hon. Chief Secretary to Government, both in his own name and of the local Government, confirmed that it was not possible, and it was not proposed, to abolish the Italian language from the Council, the schools, and the courts of law. Your Lordship will find that statement in its original wording in the annexed return of the first sitting of the Council.

3. We regret, however, to say that the persons to whom the local administration of Government is entrusted are not inclined to respect the opinion, although unanimous, of the elected members, unless it be favourable to those reforms, which are a purely local question, and which Government solemnly promised not to carry out.

4. At the last sitting of the Council of Government, which was held on the 28th November, the official bench refused to agree to the motion of one of the undersigned that the discussion on some ordinances be carried on in the Italian language. That motion was supported by reason and the law. It was prompted by the insufficient knowledge, nay, the total ignorance, of the English language on the part of some of the elected members, and it is but equitable and reasonable that whilst by the constitution of 1849 it has been enacted that the Italian should be the text of ordinances, the discussion thereof be held in that language which Her Majesty considered suitable for the publication of law. Besides, it has been customary to discuss ordinances in Italian since the constitution of the Council.

5. But we consider it still more unconstitutional and unjustifiable that Government should have objected to the Crown Advocate complying with the request made to him by one of us to explain, out of courtesy, in Italian the remarks he had made in English on some ordinances. Your Lordship will be pleased to consider that the mover of that petition to the Crown Advocate pleaded ignorance of the English language, and consequently of what he would be called to vote upon.

6. Such uncourteous and arbitrary behaviour of the local government to the elected members, and the suggestion made by the Hon. Director of Public Education in his last report, printed in October 1883, that lessons on all matters except the study of the Italian language in the Lyceum, and lectures on all sciences except some parts of the law in the University, should be given in English, are enough to show that the Government have decided to abolish the Italian language from the Council and the public schools, and to prepare the way to its abolition even from the courts of law, and that the Government are consequently prepared not to respect, according to the present constitution, the unanimous opinion of the elected members in a question which is purely local.

7. This plain disclosure of such unexpected intentions of the local government, implying the highest disregard of the elective part of the Legislative Council of the island,

* No. 7 in [C. 3524] March 1883.

must undoubtedly shake public opinion and the confidence which your Lordship's Despatch above referred to had inspired. We are at a loss to understand how the unanimous opinion of elected members is to be respected if they are not to be allowed to understand the discussions which are held in Council. Local authorities ought to know that the question of the language is not mooted by a general preference to one language over another, but that it is a question of need for the community. The Italian language is the tradition of our first civilisation, it is a part of our political existence, nay the most reasonable basis of our autonomy. Wherefore the attempt to abolish the Italian language, despite of the impossibility of a success, may induce and has induced people to believe that it is intended to prevent elected members from having a control on the administration or to compel them to give their resignation, we being against the threatened reforms.

8. Such an abusive treatment is not justified. The Maltese have been always conspicuous for their sincere loyalty. No one of them ever dreamt to encourage sentiments or institutions unfriendly to England. Only a party, or more verily a few individuals, shammed for the sake of their own interests and irredentist party in Malta. But we in our official capacity can assure your Lordship that such a party does not exist nor ever existed in Malta, and we beg to protest against the untrue misrepresentation.

9. It was by the admission of those same individuals to the trust of the Government, and by the Imperial authorities upholding the reforms, that the demonstration of the 5th May 1878 took place, that the election of ridiculous men to the Council became possible, and that in less than two years so much excitement and disorder has been allowed to prevail in the island as was never before experienced in 90 years of English government. Now those same individuals are prevailing on Government here, and they will try to induce also your Lordship to resume the opposition to the wishes of the community.

10. But the plan if adopted might prove fatal; it would be highly deplorable that for the sake of useless questions of principles, or even perhaps to prevent dangers which never existed, the general opinion of a free people and their traditions should be trampled upon, so much as finally to raise, perhaps, disaffection.

My Lord,—Our aim is simply to fulfil the sacred duty of consulting Government out of our experience of the island. We consider that the welfare of the Maltese solely depend on the good understanding between Government and the people.

We have, &c.

(Signed) CARLO MARIA MUSCAT.
CAN. PENIT. PAOLO AGIUS.
DR. Z. RONCALLI.
DR. AGOSTINO NAUDI.
ARTURO BARBARO.
C. KIRTON.
DR. FORTUNATO MIZZI.

LECTURES ON INTERNATIONAL LAW in the ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

Observations.

Dr. MIZZI: Per memoria di quelli che talvolta non si ricordano dei termini della mia mozione, credo espediente rileggerla. Essa corre così: "In caso che l'onor. Direttore della Pubblica Istruzione dichiarerà essere intenzione del Professore di fare le sue letture in lingua inglese, il sottoscritto richiamerà l'attenzione del Consiglio sulla ingiustizia ed inespedita di fare alcuna innovazione nella lingua delle scuole e particolarmente delle letture di Dittro Internazionale." Non sono che pochi giorni che parecchi membri elettivi, fra cui io, abbiamo avuto l'onore di un abboccamento coll'onorevole sotto-Segretario di Stato per le Colonie, e ci ha molto sorpreso il sentirlo dire che egli non era informato degli sforzi che qui si fanno dal Governo per sostituire la lingua inglese alla italiana. Dico che ci ha recato grande sorpresa di sentire questo, perchè, dopo i rapporti dei Commissionarj, che furono qui mandati, e dopo i vari fatti che successero e che tutt'ora succedono in Malta, noi non possiamo ritenere che il Governo di Sua Maestà non sappia essere questa l'intenzione del Governo locale, di giungere, cioè, a questo risultato. Accagiono di ciò il Governo locale perchè non posso non prestar fede a ciò che disse l'onor. Sotto Segretario di Stato che il Governo Imperiale non sappia niente di tutto ciò; e devo perciò ritenere che il Governo locale è quello che intende venire a questo risultato. Peraltro non potevamo non sorprenderci che dei documenti esistenti su ciò

fosse totalmente ignaro il Sotto-Segretario di Stato per le Colonie, il quale cercò di assicurarci non esservi alcuna intenzione di fare questa sostituzione. Nonostante queste assicurazioni però noi vediamo continuamente succedere passi per giungere a questo risultato della sostituzione dell' inglese all' italiano nelle scuole, nel Foro e anche nel Consiglio. Nel Consiglio lo abbiamo veduto ultimamente, quando il Governo ha preteso che i Membri elettivi dovessero scrivergli in lingua inglese; e nelle scuole, lezioni che altrevolte si solevano dare in italiano, senza una giusta ragione, si danno oggi in lingua inglese. Oggi abbiamo avuto un' altra interpellanza sullo stesso proposito fatta dall' on. Muscat perchè il Governo non si è curato di fare traduzioni di atti legislativi che altrevolte si traducevano per informazione di tutti. Ed abbiamo anche quest'altra mozione relativa alla innovazione, che si intende fare nella scuola di dritto internazionale, cioè che il Professore faccia le sue spiegazioni in lingua inglese. Subito che si videro due atti di questa natura da parte del Governo, quasi simultanei, era naturale che si pensasse che il Governo volesse vedere messa in esecuzione una promessa fatta da parecchi dei membri elettivi di dimettersi in caso che qualche innovazione si facesse rispetto la lingua: ed era naturale ancora che si pensasse che il Governo, non contento del risultato della ultima elezione, volesse tentar di rovesciarla per mezzo di atti che presto o tardi dovessero portare a questo risultato. Noi certamente non spingeremo tanto oltre il nostro agire se non quando fossimo costretti a farlo; e se tutti i membri elettivi—come spero, anzi sono certo—concorreranno nella mia opinione, voglio sperare che il Governo non farà la innovazione nelle letture di Diritto Internazionale, che dichiarò di voler fare, e che cercherà di impedire risultati molto dispiacevoli e conseguenze molto serie, siccome noi intendiamo eseguire alla lettera la promessa fatta ai nostri elettori. Voglio sperare in conseguenza che se il Governo vedrà che tutti i membri elettivi sono di opinione che non si debba fare innovazione alcuna sul proposito, egli vorrà avere la prudenza di non farla. Spero che i miei colleghi esterneranno le loro opinioni e che questa saranno conformi alle mie.

The DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION: The measure to which the hon. member has referred can hardly be said to be an innovation; and it is not any proof that either the local or the Imperial authorities have any intention of substituting the English language for the Italian. The Professor of International Law last year lectured on the British Constitution in the English language, and it was in compliance with the request made by the students attending his class that Professor Rapinet received instructions to lecture in that language; and, as he lectured in English last year, it was thought that it would be to the advantage of the students to have, in the same language, the lectures on International Law. I shall read to the Council the application made by the students to Professor Rapinet in August, 1882.

SIR,

ACTING on your repeated recommendations to acquire a thorough knowledge of the English language, and wishing that those amongst us who will be successful in the forthcoming examinations may have the benefit of at least one set of English lectures during the academical course of jurisprudence, we venture to request you to use that language in giving your lectures on the British Constitution.

This letter was forwarded to me by Professor Rapinet, and, after due consideration, I recommended the proposal to the Government for adoption. The reasons which induced me to recommend this application were the following. So long as the language of the courts remains the Italian it will be impossible to change the language of instruction, as far as the lectures on law are concerned. But as no question connected with the British Constitution is likely to come before the courts of law, and as the students were desirous of having these lectures in English, there appeared to be no reason why their request should not be complied with. It was also considered that in the Vice Admiralty Court no other language is used except the English, although all the officers of that Court, Judge, Registrar, Marshal, Counsel, and Proctors, are Maltese—and it would therefore be a great advantage for these students to be exercised in the English language, as it would enable them to plead in that Court. For these reasons their request was complied with. After these young men were admitted into the course of law, five of them, in a letter addressed to me, stated that they had signed the letter addressed to Professor Rapinet, because they had been given to understand that, unless they signed that letter, the examiners would not have admitted them to the course of law. This last expression was thought so offensive, that the Special Council of the Arts Faculty requested the students to give their reasons for making that

statement. Nothing whatever was said in explanation, except that one of the students themselves had done his best to persuade the others of the advantage of having the lectures on the British Constitution delivered in English. No evidence whatever was brought forward to show that any person connected with the University had brought any pressure whatever to bear upon these students to induce them to sign that letter. As no evil is likely to result, and as I think it most advantageous that these students should be exercised in the English language, I hope there will be no objection to allow these lectures to be given in the English language. This is not at all an indication that either the local or the Imperial authorities intend to substitute the English for the Italian language. The lectures on Law will continue to be delivered in Italian, with the exception of those on International Law and on the British Constitution, which will be delivered in the English language and out of English text-books. It was in my opinion a great anomaly to have the British Constitution explained in Italian and out of an Italian text-book; and the knowledge acquired by former students of the British Constitution was not very satisfactory. But things are greatly changed since the new Professor has been appointed.

Dr. NAUDI: Debbo confessare che rimasi molto sorpreso all'udire l'onor. Direttore della Pubblica Istruzione rispondere alla mozione dell'onor. membro pel Gozo che le lezioni di dritto internazionale sarebbero state date in lingua Inglese: onde attesi con ansietà le rimarche che l'onor. Direttore della Pubblica Istruzione avrebbe fatto in proposito. Ciò non ostante, io non ho sentito la ragione per la quale quest' anno si è creduto d'adoptare la lingua Inglese nelle lezioni di dritto internazionale. Ho sentito varie cose che non portano alla questione; e secondo la mia umile opinione, l'onor. Direttore della Pubblica Istruzione ha schivato la vera questione. Ci ha detto in primo luogo perchè nell'anno passato le lezioni sulla Costituzione sono state date in lingua Inglese, vale a dire perchè gli allievi avevano scritto una petizione, domandando che quelle lezioni fossero loro date in Inglese: questa sarebbe una questione a parte che potrebbe essere considerata più tardi. Oggi si tratta delle spieghie di dritto internazionale che vengono date agli studenti di legge. Vi ha un interesse d'insegnare più a questi la lingua Inglese, e forse in pregiudizio dell' Italiana? L'onor. membro pel Gozo ha fatto allusione al discorso tenuto dai membri elettivi col Sotto Segretario di Stato per le Colonie: in seguito a quel discorso io ho avuto un lungo abboccamento col Sotto Segretario di Stato da per me solo, e devo dire che quel signore ha dovuto confessarmi di vedere la impossibilità di adottare la lingua Inglese per linguaggio delle Corti di Giustizia. Ora il dritto internazionale si insegna agli studenti di legge; e se gli studenti non possono fare uso nelle Corti della lingua Inglese, non vedo perchè si voglia fare per loro quest' anno un' eccezione, spiegando loro il dritto internazionale in Inglese. La sostituzione della lingua Inglese all' Italiana si riguarda da tutta la popolazione come una questione vitale de essere da noi con ogni mezzo opposta, e quindi, per quel che riguarda questa questione, noi abbiamo limitato il nostro mandato. Si è fatto allusione alla Corte di Ammiragliato: ma che cosa ha che fare quella Corte col dritto internazionale? Quella è una Corte speciale, una Corte marittima che prende in considerazione certi casi — casi di abordaggio, di salary di marinari, di cambio marittimo ec., nei quali nè la Costituzione Britannica, nè il Dritto internazionale c'entrano per ombra.

Mr. BARBARO: Io sono della medesima opinione dello on. Membro pel Gozo.

Dr. RONCALI: Col permesso del Consiglio, sebbene non sia necessario di aggiungere a ciò che si è detto da questo lato, credo sia il caso di fare qualche ulteriore osservazione sulla risposta data dall'onor. Direttore delle scuole. L'onor. signore principò per dire che non vi è nessuna innovazione; che le lezioni di dritto internazionale si faranno in inglese, perchè furono alcuni allievi, che dimandarono per via di petizione che le letture sulla Costituzione si facessero in inglese. Da ciò l'onor. Direttore della scuole induce che se si continua, con un passo più innanzi, a dare anche le letture di dritto internazionale in lingua inglese, non v'è innovazione. Io credo che questo non sia il caso: questi giovani, che, o spontaneamente, o in qualunque altra maniera, hanno domandato che le letture sulla Costituzione Britannica sieno date in lingua inglese, non potevano obbligare che sè medesimi; chè si vi è un regolamento universitario che dice essere la lingua italiana la lingua dell' Università, coll' aver quegli allievi domandato che le lezioni sulla Costituzione Britannica fossero spiegate in inglese, non siegue che d'oggi innanzi si dovessero alcune materie spiegare sempre in lingua inglese. Ma, come diceva benissimo l'onor. mio amico (Dr. Naudi) quella petizione non riguardava il dritto internazionale, ma la Costituzione Britannica. Oggi si tratta del dritto internazionale. E in tutti i casi, se anche si volesse ritenere, che quei giovani avessero obbligato non solo sè stessi, ma

anche i loro successori, questo non potrebbe riguardare altro, che le letture sulla Costituzione Britannica e non già quelle sul dritto internazionale. È perciò inesatto il dire che nel dare in lingua inglese le letture di dritto internazionale non vi è innovazione. L'innovazione ci è, ed è immensa. L'onor. Direttore delle scuole disse ancora che quei giovani hanno fatto tale domanda, perchè sentivano il proprio vantaggio nell' avere le spieghe in inglese; ma vi sono altri mezzi per acquistare esercizio nella lingua inglese, senza sentire letture scolastiche in quella lingua. Coll'imparare il linguaggio tecnico delle scuole non si acquista una lingua per gli usi giornalieri, domestici, sociali, commerciali; per cui questa non è una buona ragione, perchè così di subito il Governo sia stato tanto generoso, da accondiscendere alla domanda di pochi giovani.

Dr. MIZZI: Minori di età.....

Dr. RONCALI: Minori di età, e che non potevano riflettere a quali conseguenze portava la loro domanda. Non parlerò affatto dell' allusione alla pressione fatta su quei giovani per presentare la petizione, o della protesta, che fecero in acguito: dico soltanto che ciò, che è stato detto dall'altra parte, si ritiene per non ammesso e nè anche contraddetto. Finalmente noterò che l'onor. Direttore delle scuole qualificò come anomalia l'esservi un testo sulla Costituzione in inglese e le spiegazioni in italiano. Questa anomalia io non la vedo affatto, e non so se alcuno ce la possa trovare. Ci troverei piuttosto un' altra nel fatto che, mentre nell'Università e nel Liceo tutte le materie si insegnano in italiano, si voglia da poco tempo a questa parte introdurre l'uso di insegnare alcune materie in lingua inglese ed altre in lingua italiana. È un'anomalia questa non solo in apparenza, ma in realtà; perchè, se a base dell'insegnamento debba stare nel nostro paese la lingua nostra, scritta e parlata da noi e dai padri nostri da tempo immemorabile, non vedo ragione, perchè si debba introdurre questa nuova miscela per confondere le menti dei discenti, insegnando loro in lingue diverse. Si dirà forse che ciò si fa per vantaggio dei discenti medesimi, onde dar loro l'agio di esercitarsi nella lingua inglese; ma essi avranno occasione di esercitarsi altrove nella lingua inglese. Nelle scuole non si apprende, se non la teoria delle lingue, e per apprendere la parte teorica della lingua inglese bastano i tre precettori ed il professore di inglese. La pratica di una lingua si apprende coll'esercizio; e chi avrà interesse—come molti, o quasi tutti gli allievi avranno—di acquistare la pratica e l'esercizio della lingua, troverà i mezzi, che ognuno conosce, di farlo da sè, senza la necessità di fargli subire l'incubo di due lingue tecniche, ciò che conduce a molte e dannose conseguenze, di cui non è tempo ora di parlare, perchè la questione non è innanzi al Consiglio. In un'altra occasione mi cadrà forse in acconcio di dimostrare come gran parte dei guai, riguardo al poco profitto fatto dai giovani nell'istruzione, sia dovuta a questa infausta dualità della lingua nell'insegnamento.

Mr. MUSCAT: Dopo le ragionevoli spiegazioni date dai miei onor. colleghi, non posso aggiungere altro che sono in perfetto accordo colle loro opinioni. La lingua italiana è la lingua del nostro paese, e, come l'onor. Direttore della Istruzione ha detto che le spieghe delle altre materie si danno in italiano, non vedo ragione alcuna perchè si debba fare questa eccezione.

The CHIEF SECRETARY: Sir, I had regarded this matter rather as a departmental question and, on that ground, did not intend to interfere in the debate; but as my hon. friend the member for Gozo, and those who have followed him, have made some allusions to the general policy of the Government, perhaps it is as well that I should say a few words on the subject. I may say in the first place that although it is possible, though not probable, that Mr. Ashley may, as my hon. friend opposite (Dr. Mizzi) suggests, have been misinformed of the true intentions of the local Government, I claim to be informed of those intentions, and that I wish to state from this place that there is no intention whatever to force the English language, or any other language, upon the people of Malta. I believe, sir, that hon. members on the other side agree with me that it will be for the advantage of the people of Malta that they should have, as a body, a competent acquaintance with the English language. As to forcing the English language upon the courts of law, why should we do it? what good would it do to the people? Out of the 150,000 inhabitants of these islands there are hardly 14,000 that understand Italian, the language of the courts, and, as far as popular rights go, we should be in no better position than we are at present were we to substitute English for Italian in the courts. Nay, I believe that the number of people that understand English is, perhaps, less than that of those who understand Italian. I wish therefore hon. members opposite to dismiss altogether from their minds the notion that there is any intention to force the English language upon the courts. Of course I know that at the time of the last elections there has been much said about the intentions of the

Government to force the English language, and so forth, and I am glad to have an opportunity of saying that there is no intention whatever to force on the Maltese the substitution of the English language for the Italian. As to the point brought forward by the hon. member for Gozo, it is matter of educational detail, and should be discussed as such and not as a question of policy. In that point of view I propose to discuss it now. A good deal has been said as to whether this is an innovation or not. My hon. friend the Director of Education says that it is not an innovation; my hon. friends on the elected bench say that it is, because lectures on International Law used to be delivered in Italian. Well, sir, that, I believe, is the case, but at the same time I am given to understand that lectures on International Law used to be delivered by a professor of law, whilst now for Political Economy, Constitutional and International Law, there is a new and separate professorship.

Dr. NAUDI: Il dritto internazionale si spiegava sempre.

The CHIEF SECRETARY: But it is now lectured upon by a different professor.

Dr. NAUDI: Il numero dei Professori differisce, ma le materie sono le stesse.

The CHIEF SECRETARY: I admit that the lectures on International Law now are delivered in English; but I understand that the *gravamen* of the charge is this, that the delivering of these lectures in the English language displays an intention on the part of the Government to force the language on the courts of law. That there is no such intention hon. members opposite have already been assured. My hon. friend (Dr. Naudi) stated that international law is of no use at all in the Courts of Admiralty and that there was therefore no occasion to teach international law in English. At first, I confess, I thought that there was a great deal in what he said, but I have now come to reflect that questions of international law do not arise in the ordinary courts any more than in the Admiralty Court. International law is, in fact, a mere detail in the general education of our lawyers; and I think that, without sacrificing any great principle, hon. members may well assist us in encouraging the English language and in exercising in it young students, by having the lectures on International Law delivered in that language. My hon. friend (Dr. Roncali) stated that he saw great objections to the teaching in our schools being carried on in two languages and argued that this was an anomaly. And so it is. But in Malta we are in an anomalous position, and the anomaly pointed out is only the consequence of our position; the fact is that the language of the country—and here I regret I must differ from my hon. friends opposite—is the Maltese. I believe there are some 15,000 or 16,000 people who can speak Italian; and the rest—the other 130,000 or 135,000—can speak nothing but Maltese. I have noticed moreover that amongst the educated classes here it is not as in Russia, for instance, where the educated classes speak nothing but French to the exclusion of their own language, the educated classes in Malta speak Maltese among themselves. I have had to notice this from personal experience. It has often happened to me, whilst in conversation with persons belonging to the educated class, that in the middle of a conversation which was progressing, so far as I was concerned, successfully in English or with moderate success in Italian, I have been suddenly surprised by a Maltese phrase, which has put me entirely out of the running. I know that in Malta, as a general rule, people of the highest education, who speak Italian beautifully, use nothing but Maltese in their own homes and in their ordinary intercourse with their friends. However, as I was saying, in Malta we are in an anomalous position; to teach in two languages is an anomaly; but knowing the desire and the need that young men have to learn the English language properly, I say that this is an extremely good opportunity of teaching it to them. Hearing a language spoken and speaking it continually is the best way to learn it—but I must make a distinction as to the means of acquiring a language in this manner. If you send a young man to Paris and leave him there for some time to pick up French in society, he will come back with a smattering of French; but if you send him to a college in France, or say, to the Liege University in Belgium, where education is carried on in the French language, he will become a perfect French scholar. From hearing the language spoken in society, and speaking it in society, he will be able to say a few common-place phrases, and manage to get on in conversation at the expense of many mistakes in grammar—but by hearing lectures and having to pursue a regular course of studies conducted in a foreign language he will get a grasp of that language and will come in time to speak it like a native. Under the circumstances, it is not clear to me why hon. members opposite should attach so much importance to these lectures being delivered in the Italian language. Anxious as they are that the people of Malta should have a competent acquaintance with the English language, the delivery of these lectures

n English seems to be a good opportunity for giving effect to their wishes without infringing the principle that Italian should be the language of the courts of law—and I do not think that sufficient reason has been shown for discontinuing the delivery of these lectures in the English language.

Can. AGIUS: Perchè il mio silenzio non dia a sospettare che io differisca da ciò che si è detto dai miei onorevoli colleghi, devo dichiarare che condivido pienamente le mie colle loro opinioni; anzi devo sottomettere che, spiegando il dritto internazionale in inglese, si verrebbe a creare una confusione in mente agli studenti di legge, perchè nello stesso frattempo essi dovrebbero sentire spieghe in italiano e spieghe in inglese—in italiano dal Professore di Dritto, il Sig. Crescimanno; ed in inglese dal Professore Rapinet.

Dr. MIZZI: Prego soltanto permesso di dire una parola di spiegazione. L'on. Princ. Segretario diceva che se è vero essere desiderio dei membri elettivi di incoraggiare la lingua inglese essi dovrebbero permettere che le lezioni di dritto internazionale fossero date in Inglese. Voglio da questo istante far capire al Governo che noi desideriamo l'incoraggiamento della lingua Inglese, e, in qualunque modo questo incoraggiamento sarà dato, non avrà mai la nostra opposizione—purchè non un passo, per quanto piccolo, sia dato per una futura sostituzione della lingua Inglese alla Italiana. Il fare letture in Inglese di una scienza, che per centinaia d'anni è stata insegnata in Italiano, è una parziale sostituzione della lingua Inglese alla Italiana ed un passo per una sostituzione completa, in un tempo più o meno remoto. Si adoperi qualunque mezzo per incoraggiare lo studio della lingua inglese—si nominino professori, precettori, maestri, maestre,—si fondino ginnasi, incontri, associazioni, pubbliche letture, si spendano le somme necessarie, a tutto diremo si—ma ci opporremo a qualunque passo, per quanto sia passo di tartaruga, perchè un giorno la lingua inglese sia sostituita alla italiana.

The CHIEF SECRETARY: Before we adjourn hon. members will, perhaps, allow me to indicate what is the business proposed to be brought forward next meeting. The hon. member for Gozo will, I understand, call attention to the franchise question. I have laid on the table to-day the supplementary estimates; and, with the permission of the Council, I propose at the next meeting to move a committee on them, and to take that opportunity to make a statement—which is usually called here a financial statement—which will include subjects of general interest. In the meanwhile I hope that before next meeting we shall have the general estimates printed and distributed to members, and I am in hopes that at the meeting after next we may be able to take them in hand.

No. 10.

CAPTAIN C. KIRTON to COLONIAL OFFICE.

(Received December 10, 1883.)

MY LORD,

Valletta, Malta, December 3, 1883.

I BELIEVE it is the purpose of my colleagues to address your Lordship a general letter upon the present state of affairs in the Legislative Council, but as the only English elected member I feel it my duty, in addition to signing a general letter, to state a few facts which largely concern Imperial interests.

The vexed question at present exercising the minds of the Maltese is one of language. As an Englishman, I am of course, to a certain extent, in favour of my own language, but I regret to have to state that measures framed ostensibly for its advancement have been pushed forward in such a manner as to impede instead of assisting its progress. These measures have made it a political question, and—worse than all—a religious question, and rendered it an object of suspicion and distrust. The people feel that, in spite of all the promises of the Imperial Government, in spite of all the solemn assurances of the

Chief Secretary, the English language will be forced upon them, and the Italian language abolished. They therefore ask, what ulterior object can the British Government have in thus forcing the English language? the answer, both politically and religiously, being adverse. Had it remained simply an educational question, objections might have been met and doubts dispelled, but now forces have been put in motion all the more dangerous because concealed.

The cause of all this bad feeling is the programme of the Director of Education, and if his programme be forced (he having stated himself prepared to carry out his plans in spite of all the elected members of Council) the result will be a dead-lock in legislation. Mr. Savona's idea is to abolish Italian altogether, substituting English. The people are agreeable to let the two languages run side by side, and the elected members are prepared to vote any sums required for such a purpose, but this concession will not satisfy Mr. Savona. It therefore rests with your Lordship to decide whether the opinions of Mr. Savona, or the wishes of the Maltese people, are to prevail.

Regarding the progress of the English language, speaking after a residence of nearly a quarter of a century, I consider that it has made enormous strides, and that it does not need forcing, as all classes are willingly learning it for the sake of the advantages secured by its acquisition.

Regarding the value of the Italian language, there can be no doubt of its paramount importance. It is the language of our nearest neighbour, it is spoken over the whole of the Mediterranean, and it is the small change of this place. Italy stands first in the value of our imports and second in the number of her vessels sent us—in fact she is our closest neighbour and best supplier.

In conclusion, I can assert with confidence that the whole of the elected members are animated with but one desire—that of assisting the Imperial Government in carrying out any measures necessary for the good of the empire, and the permanent benefit of these islands.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) C. KIRTON.

No. 11.

GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY. (Received December 15, 1883.)

MY LORD,

Palace, Valletta, December 7, 1883.

THE accompanying letter,* signed by all the elected members of Council (except Mr. Bugeja, who is absent from the island), the original of which I understand was sent direct to your Lordship by the last mail, has just been placed in my hands.

2. Having fully informed your Lordship in several recent communications on the subject of the present political situation in Malta, I shall deal with the elected members' letter as briefly as possible.

3. With regard to the second paragraph of that letter, I desire to point out that Mr. Ashley's declaration, if correctly reported by Dr. Mizzi in his account of the interview, referred only to the courts of law, whilst the Chief Secretary's declaration was to the effect that it was not the intention of the Government to force the English language, or any other language, on the Maltese.

* No. 9.

4. The allegation in the third paragraph cannot, I think, be substantiated. The Government has pushed conciliation to its utmost bounds in dealing with the elected members, and no definite decision has yet been given on the point of the language.

5. As regards the fourth paragraph of the letter, I may be permitted to observe that no motion was made, nor division called for, as to the use of Italian by the official members. As already reported, a request was made by Mr. Barbaro, supported by Drs. Mizzi and Roncali, that the Crown Advocate should speak in Italian, but no formal motion was made. The Chief Secretary declined to discuss the question, and the debate was adjourned. This matter has already been referred to your Lordship in my Despatch of 29th ultimo.*

6. As regards the proposal that the Crown Advocate should repeat his remarks in Italian, referred to in the fifth paragraph of the letter, I may observe that I hesitated to comply with a request which would have involved a virtual admission of the novel claim, advanced by the elected members, and still under consideration, to have all documents laid before Council (including your Lordship's Despatches) translated into Italian.

7. As to the allegation in the sixth paragraph of the letter that the arbitrary conduct of Government and the report of the Director of Education show that it is the intention of the Government to abolish the Italian language in the Council and the public schools, your Lordship has seen the Director of Education's recommendations, and will, I trust, agree with me that they do not amount to a recommendation to abolish Italian. They provide, it is true, for a substantial encouragement of English; but even the suggestions, much more the alterations which have actually been made, fall far short of the recommendations of Sir Patrick Keenan, which have, in the main, been approved by your Lordship. I believe that there are very few of Mr. Savona's suggestions that would not have met with the approval of the majority of the elected members of the last Council, and the Government cannot fairly be accused of arbitrary conduct if it hesitates to recede from a position which it has deliberately taken up after full inquiry (with the implied approval, I may observe, of the head of the Catholic Church in Malta, as evidenced by the Bishop's letter to Sir Patrick Keenan of 8th November 1878), because the present elected bench happen to differ in opinion from the majority of the members of the last Council on the subject of the English language.

8. The assertion in the seventh paragraph that the Italian language is "the tradition of our first civilisation, a part of our political existence, and the most reasonable basis of our autonomy" is not supported by any argument—it is a mere assertion, and I might content myself with a simple denial of its correctness. I may, however, be permitted to observe that although the Italian language may have been a part of the political existence of the Knights of St. John, and even of their predecessors, the Viceroys of Sicily, it remains to be proved that it was a part of the political existence of Malta itself. As regards civilisation, it is not necessary now to enter further into details than to observe that abundant records, historical and archaeological, exist, which sufficiently attest the civilisation of Malta during centuries before the arrival, in 1090, of Roger the Norman, who may perhaps be said to have been the first to introduce the Italian language (and, if so, only to a small extent) into the island. Even 440 years after the landing of Roger the Norman and the expulsion of the Saracens, when the Knights of St. John first took possession of the island, Grandmaster Lisle Adam's Auditor, in writing a description of Malta, stated that the island was inhabited by a race who spoke an African language, not differing essentially from the ancient language inscribed on the monuments in the island, similar to the Carthaginian language, and containing Syro-Chaldaic words which are to be found in the Gospels—and this 200 years after the alleged colonisation of Malta by Italians. That Semitic language and no other is spoken to this day by at least 130,000 out of the 150,000 inhabitants of this island, and the remainder who know (many of them but slightly) Italian or English, or both, speak Maltese in their families, and to a great extent (almost without exception) amongst themselves. This is the language we are teaching in the primary schools, the language which the elected members call a dialect (Dr. Mizzi went so far as to suggest that it was a dialect of Italian), the language which, as they somewhat inconsistently propose, should be relegated to the shelves of a library as a philological curiosity. If by the period of our first civilisation the elected members mean the period of the arrival of the

* No. 4.

Knights of St. John, or of Roger the Norman, there may be some truth in their assertion, but the fallacy which underlies the statement is that the period of the arrival of the Knights of St. John or even of Roger the Norman was not, by many hundred years, the era of the first civilisation of Malta. What is meant by the "reasonable basis of our "autonomy" I do not clearly understand, but if it is meant that the use of the Italian language, as distinguished from the English, confers a right of Government different from that which the use of Maltese or English would confer, the argument would appear to lead to the conclusion that the natural government of Malta would be Italian. I am unwilling, however, to suppose that the elected members desire to convey any such impression to your Lordship's mind—the phrase appears to be merely one of those phrases of ambiguous import which have from time to time been made use of by some of the elected members and some of their organs; phrases which have unfortunately caused their political opponents to assail them with the charges of disloyalty and irredentism which they so warmly and so satisfactorily resent.

9. As regards the first portion of the concluding paragraph, your Lordship will probably observe that to an ordinary reader it appears to convey a threat, that in the event of the demands of the elected members not being conceded, results will follow which will amount to disturbance and perhaps to disaffection. I am reluctant to believe that it is the intention of the elected members to threaten your Lordship, but I may in any case observe that my experience of Malta during the last five and a half years enables me to record my belief that if the motives and actions of the Government are not wilfully misrepresented, there is no fear of the occurrence of disturbances, much less of disaffection.

10. I have only to add that in the matter of the use of English by the official members, and the use of English in documents laid before Council, the Government has not initiated any novel practice. Official members of Council have with scarcely any exception used the English language in addressing the Council during the time that I have presided over it, and during the last session many of the elected members spoke English in debate. No such claim was then advanced as that now put forward by the elected members (except, indeed, by Dr. Mizzi, who then stood alone), that Italian was the natural written language of Malta, nor was any request preferred (except by Dr. Mizzi) that speeches should be delivered in, or documents translated into, Italian.

11. The elected members are now anxious that the Government should take a retrograde step, and abandon a position which was taken up with the tacit approval of their predecessors. A demand of this nature appears to me very different from a demand that no further steps shall be taken of which they disapprove, and in coming to a decision on the whole subject your Lordship will doubtless bear this fact in mind.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. BORTON,
Governor.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 12.

GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY. (Received December 15, 1883.)

MY LORD,

Palace, Valletta, December 8, 1883.

SINCE writing my Despatch of yesterday's date,* I have received from Captain Kirton the accompanying copy of a separate letter † which I now understand was sent by him to your Lordship direct by the last mail.

* No. 11.

† No. 10.

2. I have the fullest belief in Captain Kirton's *bonâ fides*, but I believe him to have been misled. I have already said that nothing has been done which can be construed into an abolition of Italian; and even if all the recommendations of the Director of Education were to be carried into effect, the Italian language would be far from being abolished in Malta. That Italian is useful here in commercial pursuits is beyond a doubt; but that is no reason why it should remain (as it used to be before the recent alterations of the educational system) the fundamental educational language of a British Colony.

3. As regards the statement in the second paragraph of Captain Kirton's letter, that the question has become a religious one, this is the first time I have seen that statement openly made by one of the elected bench. I am aware that the majority of the present elected members owe their success in a great measure to the industrious dissemination of an absurd report that the object of the Government in encouraging the English language was to protestantise the Maltese, but I am loth to think that the clergy, as a body, should have been misled by any such statements. A word from the Bishop would be sufficient to put an end to any agitation on this point, but unfortunately the Bishop's age and infirmities are such that I cannot count on any active assistance on his part.

4. Your Lordship will not fail to observe that Captain Kirton gives expression to a sentiment which, as I have already informed your Lordship, underlies in a great measure the existing agitation on the subject of language—the personal dislike in which Mr. Savona, the Director of Education, is held by a large number of his countrymen. I fear that there may be much truth in what Captain Kirton says, that the question in the mind of many people here is merely this personal one, “Are we to have our way, or is Mr. Savona to have his?” Mr. Savona is regarded as the personification of the English movement; and his warm sympathy with England, and preference for English ideas, have no doubt contributed in no small degree to the dislike with which he is regarded by those who wish (I make no suggestion of disloyalty) to retain Italian as the dominant language, and Italian ideas and sympathies as the guide of the public conduct.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) A. BORTON,
Governor.

P.S.—Captain Kirton's statement that Italy stands first in the list of our imports should not be allowed to pass unchallenged. Sir P. Keenan was at some trouble to ascertain the real facts on this point, and it appears from his report (pp. 94, 95), that as to imports and exports Italy stands third; and that as regards the entrepôt trade the value of the goods passing to Italy is in the ratio of about one to 164 compared with the total trade, and about one to 110 compared with the trade to the United Kingdom.

A. B.

No. 13.

GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY. (Received December 15, 1883.)

MY LORD,

Palace, Valletta, December 10, 1883.

WITH reference to my Despatch of the 8th instant,* I have given Mr. Savona an opportunity of answering that portion of Captain Kirton's letter which applies to himself personally, and I forward herewith a report by Mr. Savona on the subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. BORTON,
Governor.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

* No. 12.

Enclosure in No. 13.

Education Office, Valletta,
December 10, 1883.

SIR,

HAVING just seen the letter addressed by the Honourable Mr. C. Kirton to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with reference to the language question, I have the honour to request that you will be pleased to move his Excellency the Governor to forward to his Lordship the following observations in answer to some of the statements made in that letter, and which, I regret to point out, are in direct contradiction with the real facts of the case.

2. Captain Kirton says that "the people feel that, in spite of all the promises of the Imperial Government, in spite of all the solemn assurances of the Chief Secretary, "the English language will be forced upon them and the Italian language abolished." No facts and no reasons are stated to prove the alleged existence of this feeling. Far from there being any intention to abolish the Italian language, my official report clearly proves that, far from there being any intention to abolish the Italian language, the Government have amply provided for the study of that language in the primary schools, the Lyceum and the University. Italian is taught in two out of four classes in the primary schools, for the reasons stated in that report. Italian has been made obligatory in every class of every department in the Lyceum. Italian is the language of instruction in most of the schools of that institution. Italian is obligatory for the matriculation examination. A three years' course of Italian literature is obligatory in the Arts' Faculty, in which Italian is the language of instruction in all the schools except that of English literature. Italian literature is one of the obligatory subjects at the entrance examination to the Faculties of Theology, Law, and Medicine; and Italian is the language of instruction in the three faculties, except in the school of Public Law, the lectures on which are delivered in English. If any such feeling exists, it has been caused by the false statements artfully circulated during the late elections. I am not aware of "the forces that have been put in motion" and which are said to be "all the more dangerous, because concealed."

3. Mr. Kirton says that "the cause of all this bad feeling is the programme of the Director of Education." I beg to submit that I have not published any programme; that all I have done has been done with the sanction of both the local and the Imperial authorities. I have most substantially modified the proposals made by Sir P. Keenan, who suggested that the study of Italian should be all but excluded for the primary schools; that it should be left optional in the Lyceum, and that the language of instruction should be the English in all the classes of the latter (suggestion XI.), and in all the faculties of the University, except the Theological (suggestion XIII.), adding that professors or masters in the University and Lyceum, not proficient in the English language, should be removed. How little of all this has been done is detailed in my report, and if Mr. Kirton or his informants had read that report, they would have seen how utterly unfounded is the statement that the Government intend to abolish the Italian language. I beg most emphatically to repel the assertion that I ever stated "that I was prepared "to carry out my plans in spite of all the elected members of Council;" and I challenge Mr. Kirton or any other member to prove that I ever did make such a statement. That it is not true that my "idea is to abolish Italian altogether, substituting English," is evident from my report, and I am amazed that a gentleman of Mr. Kirton's age and standing should deliberately make such a statement, in writing, to the Secretary of State.

4. Mr. Kirton asks "whether the opinions of Mr. Savona or the wishes of the Maltese people are to prevail." I shall only repeat that my views are those which have been endorsed by Her Majesty's Government; that though the Secretary of State directed that Sir P. Keenan's suggestions should be carried out, I have considerably modified the Commissioner's suggestions with regard to the language question; that Mr. Debesare, one of the elected members in the Council of 1875 and of 1880, publicly declared that Sir P. Keenan's report should be carried out in its entirety; that the last Council voted the general estimates without making one single observation with reference to the changes introduced in the Education Department; and an increase of

nearly 4,000*l.* a year to the salaries of the professors and teachers was voted without any of these changes having been impugned. It is, therefore, evident that the changes introduced, in conformity with the views of Her Majesty's Government, have been approved by the Legislature, and the question to be decided by the Secretary of State is not whether my opinions or the wishes of the Maltese people are to prevail, but whether the beneficial changes introduced in the Education Department, in conformity with the instructions of the Secretary of State and approved by the members of the late Legislature, and quite recently by a considerable number of the parents of the boys attending the University and Lyceum should be destroyed to please the anti-reformers, among whom I am sorry to see Mr. Kirton.

5. As to the concluding portion of Mr. Kirton's letter, relative to the value of the Italian language, I beg to call attention to the 54th chapter on language in Sir P. Keenan's report, particularly to paragraphs XLI. and XLII.

I have, &c.

(Signed) S. SAVONA.

The Hon. the Chief Secretary to Government.

Director of Education.

&c.

&c.

&c.

No. 14.

GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY. (Received December 15, 1883.)

MY LORD,

Palace, Valletta, December 10, 1883.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram of 7th instant,* instructing me to wait until I have received a reply to my Despatch of the 29th ultimo,† and to the third paragraph of that Despatch in which I stated that I should adjourn the Council until I had received a reply to that Despatch, I have the honour to report that the position of affairs having somewhat changed I this day consulted the members of the Executive Council as to the advisability of deferring any further the adjournment of the Council.

2. The elected members having addressed your Lordship on the language question the decision has been taken out of my hands; and if the question is raised, I shall be in a position to decline any discussion of it on that ground.

3. In the meanwhile none of the salaries for 1884 have yet been voted, and as your Lordship has now a mass of correspondence on the subject of the language before you, and it is therefore improbable that I shall receive a definite reply for some days, the Executive Council agree with me in thinking that we may as well attempt to proceed with the estimates, postponing the discussion of the educational votes until after your Lordship's decision has been received.

4. The Council will therefore meet on Wednesday next, 12th instant, unless I receive instructions from your Lordship to the contrary in reply to a telegram which I have just forwarded.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. BORTON,
Governor.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

* No. 5.

† No. 4.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY to GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON,
G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

SIR, Downing Street, December 18, 1883.

I HAVE had before me your Despatches* respecting public affairs in Malta. I have also received a letter dated the 3rd instant† signed by seven of the elected members, and a separate letter from Captain Kirton‡ respecting the proceedings in the Council on the 28th ultimo, and the policy of the Government with regard to the position of the English language in Malta.

2. With reference to the incident which was the immediate cause of the appeal which the elected members have made to me, I have to observe that as Mr. Barbaro is unfortunately ignorant of English, I shall not object, if the elected members are prepared to vote the necessary expenditure, to his being allowed the services of an interpreter. I regret, however, that the elected members should have thought it necessary to demand that for the future the discussions of the Council should be conducted in Italian. They must be well aware that for many years the official members of the Council have almost invariably spoken in English, and that the language has also been used by more than one of their predecessors on the elective side, and looking to the circumstances of Malta, where Italian and English are both foreign languages, and that the latter is almost as widely understood as the former, their request does not appear to me to be a reasonable one.

3. It is of course of the utmost importance that the members of the Council of Government should be able to comprehend the scope and object of any measure brought forward by the Government, and especially that they should be in a position to readily avail themselves of the information submitted to them with regard to the expenditure which they are invited to sanction, and as the elected members are of opinion that it would facilitate their examination of the estimates if the practice of printing the estimates in Italian as well as English, which was discontinued in 1879 on grounds of economy, should be resumed, and that papers laid on the Council table should also in future be printed in both languages, I shall offer no objection to this course. The question is indeed almost entirely a financial one, and it is for them to decide whether they are justified in urging the Government to incur the expenditure involved in carrying out their wishes.

4. These matters, however, do not involve any important principle, and the object which the elected members have principally in view is to reverse the reform recently effected in the educational system, and especially to assign a preferential position to the Italian language.

Before 1880 that language was almost the sole medium of instruction even in the primary schools, and, as might have been anticipated, the results attained were extremely unsatisfactory, the vast majority of students, in the opinion of Sir P. Keenan, leaving school entirely uneducated.

5. In substituting the language of the people of Malta as the basis of instruction, the Government proceeded on the principle which universal experience has proved to be the only means of securing an efficient education, and I cannot doubt that on full consideration of the question, the members of Council will agree with me that unless the money voted for education is to be wasted, the position assigned to Maltese in the reorganised system must be strictly maintained.

6. In assigning to English the first position in the primary schools after Maltese, Her Majesty's Government, after full consideration of the circumstances of the island, adopted that decision which they had every reason to believe to be the best in the interests of the children attending these schools. Apart from the consideration that with a view to the good government of a British possession the English language should have precedence in it before any other foreign language, the position of Malta as a great fortress and naval establishment, and a great centre of English trade, furnished a strong reason for endeavouring, in the interests of the inhabitants, to diffuse as widely as possible a knowledge of the English language. The superior advantages of English over Italian, as regards the extent of the field for employment which it opens to the Maltese, have been fully discussed in the reports of the Commissioners, and Her Majesty's Government were satisfied of the correctness of their conclusions. There were also grounds for supposing that this was recognised by the people of Malta, as no remonstrance was, so

* Nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8.

† No. 9.

‡ No. 10.

far as they are aware, made in the late Council, and the introduction of the change was followed by a large increase in the number of children attending the primary schools, which, after having been stationary for some years, rose from 9,086 in 1880 to 10,282 in 1882. In the case of the Lyceum their increase was even more marked, as the number of applicants for admission rose from 125 in 1881 to 227 in 1883, and the address recently presented by the parents of the children attending that institution to the Director of Education, declares in unmistakeable terms their satisfaction at the changes introduced in the curriculum.

7. These facts are strong evidence that the change was favourably received by that part of the population whose children frequent the Government schools, and the opinion of Her Majesty's Government was confirmed by the results of the census of 1881, which showed that in spite of the difficulties in the way of acquiring a knowledge of English, and the special facilities for learning Italian, the number of people able to speak, read, and write English had doubled in 20 years, while the number able to speak, read, and write Italian had only increased by one third in the same period.

8. Her Majesty's Government have consequently learned with surprise and regret that the elected members, with one exception, and the majority of those who took part in the recent election, are opposed to the policy which apparently had proved so satisfactory to the people most concerned, namely, those whose children attend the Government schools and the Lyceum. Only a small number of this class exercised their right to the franchise at the last election, and indeed only a fourth of the total number of electors voted; and in these circumstances Her Majesty's Government feel much doubt whether they would be justified as regards the reforms already introduced in accepting to any extent the proposals of the elected members of the Council.

They cannot now consent to restore Italian to its former position of precedence over Maltese as well as English in the elementary schools, as the position now occupied by Maltese must in any case be maintained. Nor are they prepared to withdraw from the people of Malta the advantages which have been brought within their reach by the recent arrangements for facilitating the study of English. They are, however, willing to consider whether it may not be practicable to provide that, in future, English and Italian shall occupy the same position in the primary schools, receiving as far as possible the same amount of time and attention. I fear that this may involve a diminution of the time to be assigned to some other subjects; but the knowledge of languages is of special value to the inhabitants of Malta, and I am of opinion that a strong effort should be made to promote the study of Italian without materially interfering with the study of English as at present conducted. In the Lyceum Italian still occupies a more favourable position than English, and also in the University, and in these institutions Her Majesty's Government are willing that, as a general rule, the professors should be at liberty to choose the language in which they will communicate instruction. I trust that these concessions, which are the utmost that Her Majesty's Government are prepared to make as regards the educational system, will at least satisfy the elected members that there is no desire to impede or exclude the study of the Italian language, but that on the contrary Her Majesty's Government have given due weight to the opinions of the representatives of the people even in a question which, like the present, to a large extent affects Imperial interests.

I have, &c.

Sir A. Borton.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 16.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY to GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON,
G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

SIR,

Downing Street, December 22, 1883.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 7th instant,* forwarding a copy of a letter from the elected members of the Council, the original of which, as I have informed you in my Despatch of the 18th instant, † I had already received.

The questions raised in this letter are dealt with in my Despatch † referred to, which I have instructed you to lay upon the table of the Council, and I request that you will refer the elected members to it.

I have, &c.

Sir A. Borton.

(Signed) DERBY.

* No. 11.

† No. 15.

No. 17.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY to GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON,
G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

SIR,

Downing Street, December 24, 1883.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatches of the 8th and 10th of December,* respecting the letter addressed to me by Captain Cooper Kirton.

With regard to the language question you will refer Captain Kirton to my Despatch of the 18th instant,† which is to be laid before the Council of Government, and which contains my decision on this matter.

I have to add that I am surprised that Captain Kirton should have attributed to the Government, and to the Director of Education in particular, projects which, if he had carefully read Mr. Savona's report, he would have seen that they do not entertain; and that he should have, doubtless on incorrect information, accused Mr. Savona of making a statement which that gentleman positively disclaims having made.

Sir A. Borton.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

No. 18.

GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF
DERBY. (Received December 26, 1883).

MY LORD,

Palace, Valletta, December 20, 1883.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that at the meeting of Council yesterday Dr. Roncali, speaking on behalf of the elected members, objected to the passing of any votes for education unless the demands of the elected members, that Italian should be made the fundamental language of education in Malta, and the teaching of Maltese as a language abolished, were conceded.

2. The vote for rent of schools was accordingly postponed, as also the votes for supply of stationery, and for transport, for the education department, on the understanding, however, that until the language question was settled the Government would be justified in defraying the current expenses of the service.

3. In the course of the discussion Dr. Roncali went so far as to say that the elected members would not vote one penny for education unless their demands were conceded, and that if their demands were not conceded they would prefer that all the educational institutions of Malta should be closed.

4. When Dr. Roncali raised this question the Chief Secretary pointed out that the local government were not in a position to discuss it, as the elected members, in submitting the matter to your Lordship, had virtually taken its decision out of the hands of the local government. Dr. Roncali, however, qualified the Chief Secretary's statement by saying that the elected members had not submitted the question to anybody for decision, that they had merely made a representation (*mosso un reclamo*), and that as regards the point in dispute, "we will what it is our right to will" ("*noi vogliamo quello che abbiamo il dritto di nolere*").

5. Mr. Bugeja, who arrived in Malta yesterday morning, was not present at the meeting of Council, but all the other Maltese elected members endorsed what Dr. Roncali said. Captain Kirton was called upon by his colleagues to make a statement, but contented himself with remarking that he would prefer the question to be dropped, and suggested that the Council should proceed with the next of the estimates.

6. Your Lordship will observe that the position taken up by Dr. Roncali, and endorsed by his colleagues, amounts to an assertion of the right of the elected members to have full control over the administration of the educational department in Malta, and the assertion is backed up by a formal threat that if that control is denied them they will stop supplies for education.

7. To concede this demand would necessitate the concession of similar demands in all the departments of the Government. I need not point out to your Lordship that such a concession would at least be of doubtful benefit to the Maltese community.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. BORTON,
Governor.

* Nos. 12 and 13.

† No. 15.

No. 19.

GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY. (Received December 26, 1883.)

MY LORD,

Palace, Valetta, December 21, 1883.

I HAVE the honour to forward a letter signed by five of the elected members of the Council of Government, praying for a reform of the constitution and of the electoral franchise.

2. The gentlemen who have signed the letter do not suggest any definite proposals for a reform of the constitution, nor do they clearly specify the manner in which the electoral franchise is proposed to be altered, but your Lordship will perceive that they in effect express their intention to resign their seats and to procure the return of "ridiculous" candidates, if their demands do not meet with a favourable response from Her Majesty's Government.

3. It is no part of my duty to express any opinion on the course adopted by the signatories of this letter in virtually threatening your Lordship with an attempt to bring the Council of Government into disrepute if the demands of a portion of the elected bench are not conceded, but your Lordship will probably desire that I should place you in possession of the views which my experience of Malta has enabled me to form on the subject of these demands.

4. As regards the reform of the constitution, no definite scheme is propounded, but from the first paragraph of the letter I gather that what is demanded is, "such a form of constitution as will give the representatives a more valid control on the administration of local affairs, and a larger and more effective power over the legislation of Malta."

5. It appears to me that in making this demand the petitioners have, whilst ignoring the fact that many concessions have from time to time been made in response to the representations of the un-official section of the Council, lost sight of the *raison d'être* of the Council of Government of Malta and have misapprehended the reason for which the right of representation was conferred upon a portion of the inhabitants of these islands.

6. As I understand it, the Council of Government was established in order to provide, primarily, a local check on the actions of Government, a means of obtaining full publicity for all those actions, of bringing to the notice of the public and of the Secretary of State whatever abuses might creep in, abuses which under the former system of government it would have been in the power of those responsible for them to conceal. A nominee council was accordingly formed in 1835. Those residents of influence and respectability were selected by the Crown to sit in the Council, with the right of freedom of speech and voting. To these gentlemen was intrusted the duty of eliciting from the Government full information on matters of public concern; and full opportunity was given for the discovery and remedy of any abuses which may have existed in the Administration, whilst the occurrence of others was doubtless prevented.

7. To the Council was committed the control of the public funds, and, with the exception of certain salaries and other items reserved on the civil list no expenditure can legally be incurred without the sanction of Council.

8. Subject to the reservation of the right of the Queen in Council to legislate for Malta, all matters of local legislation were committed to the members of the Council of Government, and, so far as I have been able to ascertain, the local right of legislation has never been interfered with except in the case of the Criminal Code, and the alteration, rendered necessary by the recent extension of the franchise, in one of the minor provisions of the local electoral law. On this point I may further say that in almost all points of legislation, the wishes of the unofficial members have been respected. In those cases in which the official majority was used, such as in the passing of some of the clauses in the present Sanitary Ordinance, the action of the local government was, in all cases except one, approved by the Secretary of State, and in the one case in which it was disapproved the objectionable clause has since been amended.

In 1849 the right of nomination of the unofficial members of Council was transferred, by letters patent, from the Queen to a Maltese constituency, which until recently numbered about 2,000 persons, and the number of unofficial members was increased

from three to eight. In the present year the constituency was extended to about 10,600, of whom about 7,000 are illiterate. At the recent elections, about 2,500 persons voted, and the gentlemen who have signed this letter represent, probably, not more than 1,400 of those who exercised the franchise.

There is no doubt that since the establishment of the partially elected Council in 1849, the elected members have in practice been allowed more control over administrative matters than was at first intended. Concessions have been made from time to time in response to urgent representations made by members of the elected bench. But none of these concessions have availed to satisfy the elected members, nor will they rest satisfied, it may safely be said, unless their control over the administration in local affairs be rendered as effective, for all practical purposes, as the control of the House of Commons over the administration in England.

In discussing the question whether any increased control over the local administration should be granted to the elected bench, two points arise for consideration, first, whether the persons on whose behalf that increased control is sought are likely to be fit to undertake the grave responsibility involved; and secondly, whether, their fitness being admitted, there are any other valid arguments against such power being placed in their hands.

As regard the question of fitness, it is not necessary, under the circumstances, that I should express an opinion on the point. But I may safely endorse the statement in Sir G. le Marchant's Despatch of 30th January 1864,* paragraph 5, that there is not in this island a sufficiently numerous class of well informed men disposed to serve in the Council and possessed of sufficient means to enable them to devote their time to the management of public affairs. Assuming, however, for the sake of argument, that the generality of elected members are not likely to be actuated by personal motives, would it be for the interests of the population in general that, having regard to the proportion of the constituency which takes an interest in elections, the unofficial element of Council should be entrusted with a more effectual control over the local administration than they now possess.

The elected bench as a body now represent about 2,500 electors. At least 8,000 therefore, of whom 7,000 are illiterate, of those on whom the franchise has recently been conferred are unrepresented, and until education has made vast strides, these illiterate electors will remain unrepresented. To the Government are entrusted the interests of these 7,000 heads of families, and of the still larger numbers of those beyond the pale of the recent extension. Whilst the wishes of those who are represented should doubtless be consulted (as they are now consulted) in matters of administration, so far as is reasonably possible, and whilst the Government may be justified in refraining from forcing legislative measures, such as the abolition of the grain tax, in the interests of the unrepresented majority against the unanimous desire of the elected bench, it should not, I submit, be in the power of the representatives, certainly not of a majority of them, to override the action of Government, taken, it may be, after deliberate consideration, in the interest of the community in general.

In my Despatch of 23rd November,† I have already clearly expressed my opinion to your Lordship on this subject, and it is only necessary that I should now add, that in forming that opinion I have not had regard to the military and naval interests of England. If these interests are to be taken into consideration, a still stronger argument is afforded against the demands of the gentlemen who have signed the accompanying letter.

As regards the second demand advanced, that the electoral franchise should be reformed, the petitioners say that "the electoral franchise might be extended to thousands of the higher classes, whereas in the new list of electors many priests, lawyers, physicians, merchants, Government employés were excluded, and individuals of the lowest classes made eligible." On this point I beg to refer your Lordship to my Despatch above quoted.‡ The statement that the franchise might be extended to "thousands" is doubtless an exaggeration, but I am not prepared to say that it might not be extended laterally to a considerable extent, without serious inconvenience; provided always that the interests of the class in whose favour the extension will be made are not allowed to have an undue preponderance in the administration of public affairs.

As regards the minor points in the letter, I believe by "corruptive policy" the gentlemen who have signed the letter desire to refer to the practice which has obtained here ever since the establishment of the Council, of giving posts under Government, occasionally, to members of the elected bench; but if, as the phrase suggests, the purity of

* No. 2 in [H.C. 243] April 1864.

† No. 3.

motive of the elected bench is to depend on the abstention of the Government from conferring appointments, occasionally, on such of its members as may be competent and willing to discharge official duties, it may safely be said that the letter contains in itself a strong argument against conferring on the elected bench a more absolute control over the administration.

As I have already reported to your Lordship in my Despatch* above referred to, there is no doubt that the recent changes did not satisfy any political party here. I agree entirely with the statement made in the letter on this head.

As to the statement that the present constitution of Malta is not of any real value, there can be no doubt that if the Council be regarded as a representative institution in the ordinary sense of the term, its value as such is small; but rightly used, the Council may be of great value to Malta. It is a check on—and a prevention of—abuses, a means of obtaining publicity for all the acts of Government, a control on the public expenditure, a means of public consultation on all matters of finance and legislation between the Government and the educated inhabitants of the island. More than this it ought not to be. It is of necessity imperfect, nothing short of responsible government would be a theoretically perfect representative institution. To confer administrative powers, however, on the elected members without responsibility would manifestly be injurious—to confer the responsibility impossible. On this point I beg to refer your Lordship to Sir Gaspard Le Marchant's Despatches of 31st January 1864,† and especially to the second paragraph of a memorandum, enclosed in the former Despatch, signed by four elected members of undoubted independence and respectability.

If the demand now advanced amounts to anything, it amounts to a demand for the bestowal of administrative powers on the elected members of Council. I believe that to grant such a demand would be contrary to the true interests of the Maltese; and it would evidently be unjust to the large majority whose interests are, and must long remain, unrepresented, and are therefore entrusted to the guardianship of the local Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. BORTON,
Governor.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 19.

MY LORD,

IT is since many years that the inhabitants of Malta have been praying, through petitions and addresses, through the press and public meetings, and through correspondence on the part of their representatives and private citizens, Her Majesty's Imperial Government for such a form of constitution as to give their representatives a more valid control on the administration of local affairs, and a larger and more effective power over the legislation of their country. And, if the Maltese have so far been led constantly to renew their prayers, it was merely because they were actuated by the hope of future concession; but unfortunately Her Majesty's Imperial Government have not been pleased, up to the present, to accede to their reasonable wishes. Such has been the case for a considerable number of years, and if public indignation had not reached its highest pitch on account of the scandalous transactions which took place in 1880, and which have thrown an utter disgrace on the Council (a disgrace which compelled the Maltese solemnly to protest against those transactions by the only means in their power, namely, the elections of the 23rd June and 14th November 1882), probably the same line of conduct on the part of the Government would have been persisted in much longer.

The "Anti-Reformist Papers," which had suggested that line of conduct, did clearly explain to the electors the reasons which induced them to adopt that course, and the reasons were the following:—

To condemn the inefficiency of the constitution of the Council;

To protest against the corruptive policy of the Government.

Nor had any "Anti-Reformist" or "Reformist" paper ever stated before those elections that they were meant for any personal *snub* whatsoever, as one of the members of the House of Commons endeavoured, shortly after the second election, to insinuate.

In consequence of those occurrences Her Majesty's Imperial Government deemed it expedient to modify the form of the Council, and while repealing the authority which had shortly before been granted to the local legislative body, namely, to establish them—

* No. 3.

† Nos. 1 and 2 in [H.C. 243] April 1864.

selves the way in which the electoral franchise was to be extended, contrary to the general expectations that franchise was extended by Her Majesty's Imperial Government itself to a vast number of illiterate people, excluding therefrom thousands of individuals belonging to the better classes of society.

But we regret to say such changes, far from satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the Maltese people, have contributed much towards intensifying their dissatisfaction.

We beg to remark by the way that the official bench is composed of the heads of Civil Departments, who, owing to their tenure of office, are always bound to uphold all Government views, so that they do not express in Council their own personal opinions, but vote in accordance with Government instructions, and are therefore always unanimous on every question.

On the contrary, the elected members, as frequently happens with such bodies, cannot easily agree amongst themselves on every question, and, therefore, they have the disadvantage of being outvoted by the official bench. Moreover, absences on the part of the elected members cannot but be frequent for many legitimate reasons, such as sickness, urgent professional duties, and so forth, whereas the official members have no other duties to perform besides those inherent to their own offices, and for which they are paid by Government. Under these circumstances all the seats on the official bench are always occupied, inasmuch as when any of them cannot attend to the sittings his place is filled up by another official.

And as the opinions of the elected members in local matters cannot prevail unless they be unanimous, the Government, by requiring that unanimity, expects what is always impossible, because the constitution, as has been reformed, is in no way better than the previous one, which, although defective and frequently violated, was comparatively based on a fairer and more equitable principle, *i.e.*, that of the majority and not the unanimity of the elected members.

Under such circumstances many of the electors were of opinion that even on the occasion of the recent election, the weapon of ridicule should have been resorted to, thinking that it would be more advantageous for the Maltese to lay on the Government all the responsibility of its acts, and to proclaim to the world that they are ruled by an absolute Government, than to have a share of that responsibility without effectually participating in the administration of local affairs.

We, the undersigned, on presenting ourselves to the suffrage of the electors, proposed to them to lay aside, but for once more, the medium of ridicule, and to appeal again to the liberality of Her Majesty's Imperial Government for a fair reform in the constitution of the Council and in the electoral franchise.

With this understanding, we have ventured to address to your Lordship the present letter, of which we have beforehand published a draft, and in the event of our efforts, after a well-conducted correspondence, proving abortive, to send in our resignation.

It is, therefore, under these special circumstances that we respectfully beg to request that your Lordship be pleased to listen to the prayers of the Maltese people, and to obtain for them at the hands of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen the long wished for reform in the constitution of Government and in the electoral franchise.

The Maltese people, both for their faithfulness and loyalty, are entitled to have a part in the government of their island, whereas the actual constitution does not afford them any such right but "nominally," popular representation being, as it is, devoid of any real value.

On the other hand, the electoral franchise might be extended to thousands of the higher classes, whereas in the new list of electors many priests, lawyers, physicians, merchants, and Government employes were excluded, and individuals of the lowest classes made eligible.

We feel confident that your Lordship, after having taken into consideration the conditions under which we have been returned to represent the people of Malta, will deign to acknowledge that the real and only wish of this community is, that a new era of welfare and prosperity may be open to their island by a reform in the constitution of Government and in the electoral franchise, and that your Lordship will be pleased to intercede with Her Majesty, our august Sovereign, your Lordship's most valuable support for the attainment of the reforms above mentioned.

Meanwhile we beg to annex herewith our electoral address.

We have, &c.
 (Signed) CARLO MARIA MUSCAT.
 Can. Penit. PAOLO AGIUS.
 Dr. Z. RONCALI.
 Dr. FORTUNATO MIZZI.
 ARTURO BARBARO.

To his Lordship the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
 &c. &c. &c.

To the ELECTORS of MALTA and GOZO.

Valletta, Malta, September 29, 1883.

The deplorable condition to which the Council of Government has sunk, owing to the scandalous transactions with which the Legislature of 1876-1880 was closed, and the overwhelming policy which since then has excited public indignation to its highest pitch, have compelled you to overthrow the constitution of the Council and energetically to express your thorough dissatisfaction, and most decidedly you have done so by sending to represent you in Council first a Chiappara and then a Baldacchino.

You thought that England would at last have listened to your claims, and it was probable that she would, had not individuals, eager to wield the sway of power, striven to represent to the Secretary of State that the elections of Chiappara and Baldacchino were originated from a ridiculous vengeance and still more ridiculous personal spitefulness, and had not an ill-omened project for the reform of the constitution, published by Mr. Charles Casolani, M.D., furnished to Her Majesty's Imperial Government the means by which they could frustrate your hopes.

We were, therefore, disappointed in the result of your patriotic demonstration, as Her Majesty's Imperial Government only granted a reform with which the principle laid down in Mr. Cardwell's Ministerial Despatch, *i.e.*, "that in local questions the opinions of the majority of the elected bench should prevail," was annulled; and, instead, they established that regard should only be had to the wish of the population, when the elected members of Council were unanimous in their decision.

And is there any one among you that does not see that Government, by exacting that unanimity, causes popular representation to become a mere mockery in the constitution?

What is to be done when the elected members do not agree among themselves on important questions? What is to be done when any of them, either through sickness or other legitimate causes, cannot attend to the sittings?

And if Government should succeed to corrupt by allurements of employment even one of them, what could the other seven elected members do? And why should only one of them, upholding the views of Government, have greater power than his other seven colleagues upholding the rights of the people?

Do not, therefore, ever believe that the reform granted to you is sufficient to give the elected bench the necessary control over the administration of local matters. Surely no man of common sense can maintain that that reform has not curtailed the influence of the representatives of the country. I should, therefore, be in open contradiction with my declared principles should I not concur with those who are determined to have again recourse to the weapon of ridicule by sending to the Council eight men of the capacity of a Baldacchino, if not worse, and this is reasonable inasmuch as a general protest would not be sufficient to make head against the irregular proceeding of the 16 individuals who were so bold as to render thanks to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the name of the whole population, for the late reform of the Council and the extension of the electoral franchise.

But bear in mind, electors, that your enemies are as artful as they are destitute of all loyalty and uprightness, and they have endeavoured to persuade the Secretary of State that the election of Chiappara and Baldacchino was not resorted to for the object of obtaining a reform in the constitution and of protesting against the oppressive policy of corruption, but was intended for a personal "snub"; in the like manner they will, on this occasion, strive to find the means of deluding your patriotic efforts in the event of your adopting again the weapon of ridicule without first making known to Her Majesty's Imperial Government the reason which compels you to have recourse to such a policy.

There is, however, but one remedy to the evil, and that is that the candidates should publicly promise to insist on obtaining from the Secretary of State a reform in the constitution of the Council, and a fairer and more reasonable distribution of the electoral franchise; and to send in their resignation should their request not be within a reasonable time acceded to.

In this manner the election of those candidates that shall have presented themselves to the electors under these conditions will be the clearest expression of the determined wish of the electors.

And if, by not having obtained the privileges referred to, the candidates should find themselves under the necessity of sending in their resignation, and the electors of returning to the Council ridiculous individuals, then both England and Europe would know the true reason which had induced the country to grasp that weapon, nor could anyone

give a contrary version to your political conduct when no other course was believed in the Maltese to be sufficient to protect their political rights.

Without such means it is not to be hoped that you can obtain any real good at the hands of Her Majesty's Imperial Government; the more so as there exist at Malta a few selfish individuals unwilling to lose the ascendancy which, by furthering the views of the Colonial Office, they have gained over it.

With such views, and with such a clear and definite programme which admits of no ambiguity, and which, if not carried out, cannot but expose the proposer of it to a merited general execration, I have succeeded to find four candidates for Malta who, both with respect to their past public life and to the free and open private manifestation of their opinions, are well known to me. I can guarantee that they will accept my proposal and my programme, and, if elected, will literally carry them out. My candidates are:—

For Malta—

The Right Rev. Canon Penitentiary Don Paolo Agius ;

Noble Arturo Barbaro, di S. Giorgio ;

Mr. Carlo Maria Muscat, Merchant ;

Mr. Zaccaria Roncali, LL.D. ; and

Dr. Agostino Naudi and I for Gozo.

And while we come forward to ask your suffrage precisely under these conditions, we present ourselves to you and solemnly promise that if you elect us as your representatives, our first duty will be to forward to the Secretary of State the letter, the draft of which we publish in another column, and to continue to insist during the first session of the Council on the grant of a real reform in the constitution of our Government and in the electoral franchise.

We do also promise and engage not to take part in the second session if we shall have not obtained such reforms, but simultaneously to send in our resignations not later than the day before the beginning of the second session, in order to afford you the means of having again resort to the election of ridiculous members, if such be your wish.

You will remark that I am addressing you in plural, because (and it is needful that I should repeat it once again) I am more than certain that my candidates, being actuated by the same sentiments of patriotism, bind themselves most willingly to the above conditions.

In this manner you will not lose the opportunity of overthrowing this valueless constitution, nor that of entering a solemn protest against Dr. Casolani's address of thanks to the Secretary of State, and of publicly disapproving the actual policy.

You will only defer all that for about a twelvemonth, and this in order to try first by legitimate and constitutional means to induce the Secretary of State to do us justice, and, should he prove reluctant, to render public the reason why we have had, and will have, recourse to ridiculous elections, in order that your real and patriotic intentions should not be misinterpreted.

Nor should you think that because we are only five candidates that make you such a promise, our object would not be fully attained. No, not at all.

The other candidates that will be elected must either accept our programme, and then they will send in their resignations along with ours, or refuse it, and in that case it will be your duty to oblige them to send in their resignations, by returning to the Council ridiculous men to sit there in their company.

Electors, do not think that because some three, two, or even one "reformist" candidate should be returned to the Council, Government can force those reforms which have not still been put into execution. In that case (if we be elected), we promise you that if the questions on the introduction of new taxes, on the restriction of Government employments, and on the compulsory substitution of the English to the Italian language, should be brought before us in Council, and if Government should force any of those measures, we shall not permit that those questions be compromised by any voting, because in that case we shall send in our resignations to enable you to overthrow the Council.

I think I cannot tender you a better guarantee of my sincere intentions and those of my candidates, and I hope that our programme will meet with your approval.

With respect to our political views, it is almost useless that I should repeat them.

We style ourselves "Anti-reformist Candidates" in order to show that we are thoroughly adverse to the ill-omened reforms suggested by Sir P. Julyan, Mr. Rowsell, and Mr. Keenan, but not so against any fair and equitable reform that may be intro-

duced in the administration of Government. It is, however, well that we should explain our opinions on the subject more explicitly:—

1. We are not at all adverse to the diffusion of the knowledge of the English language, but we shall always oppose the “ compulsory substitution ” of that language to the Italian.
2. We shall be opposed to any new taxes that may be proposed by Government.
3. We claim that fair economy should be made, such as by the disallowance of the “ drawbacks ” to the military authorities for the consumption of commodities subject to duty, and the like, but we do not want the restrictions of Government employments.
4. We shall insist on a mitigation of the severe and excessively stringent sanitary laws. Sanitary laws are necessary everywhere ; we shall not be hostile to those which are reasonable, but such amongst them as are draconian, and them especially, shall we most strenuously oppose.
5. We shall do all in our power to mitigate the rigour of the law on licenses for selling wines and spirits, and procure that justice should be done to shopkeepers.
6. We shall oppose the annual forwarding to England of any “ surplus ” that may result in the Public Chest, and the investment thereof in English Consols, and we shall insist that such money should instead be employed in works of public utility, such as in the erection of a poorhouse, promised by Government ever since the construction of the Theatre Royal ; in the alteration of the three roads, “ Crocifisso, Marina, and Marsamuscelso,” the urgent necessity of which has been acknowledged by the Government themselves ; in the repair of some of the roads in the three cities ; in the illumination of Sliema, Hamrun, S. Guiseppe, Misida, and the country ; in the water supply to, and erection of, fountains in the country districts, where their necessity is most felt ; and so forth.
7. We shall insist upon an equitable increase in the salaries of the Police Physicians, and of some other unfortunate employés, whose salaries were not included in the last increase ; and we shall oppose at the same time any reduction in the number of Police Physicians.
8. We shall coöperate to procure for the sister island all such advantages as are necessary.
9. And, as since some time the snares against our Holy Catholic Religion on the part of those interested in that question are daily increasing, we shall with all our might defend the sacred deposit of that Faith which was bestowed upon us by the Apostle Paul.

Such is, electors, our programme.

No doubt our programme will be impugned by those few individuals who fear to lose their ill-acquired power in the country, but we feel confident that all good men will approve of and uphold it. On our side we promise that not a single word of it shall ever be violated.

Electors,

Reflect well on the importance of the policy I am conjuring you to pursue ; but I leave it in your hands to chose the way which you believe to be the most advantageous to your interests.

(Signed) Dr. FORTUNATO MIZZI.

No. 20.

GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY. (Received January 2, 1884.)

MY LORD,

Palace, Valletta, December 28, 1883.

AFTER perusing the Despatches which I have recently addressed to your Lordship on the subject of the language question in Malta, I am inclined to think that I may not have placed before your Lordship with sufficient prominence the demand which the

majority of the elected members make for the discontinuance of the teaching of Maltese in the primary schools.

2. This demand is one on which the advocates of the Italian language lay great stress; and in declaring to the Council the policy, with regard to education, which the Government decides to adopt, it is necessary that I should be in a position to inform the elected members whether this demand will be granted or refused.

3. The demand, as your Lordship will at once perceive, strikes at the root of the whole system of primary education in Malta as now established, and to concede it would necessitate a complete revision of the curriculum of the primary schools.

4. In dealing with the demand, moreover, no middle course can be adopted. Leaving the rival merits of Italian and English out of the question, it is necessary for the Government to consider whether the children in the primary schools are first to be taught to read and write their native language, or whether, speaking and understanding nothing but Maltese, they are to be taught English or Italian, as the case may be, by word of mouth, in accordance with the practice in vogue here previous to the recent reforms in the educational system, English or Italian being subsequently used as the educational language in teaching arithmetic and geography. The subject has been so fully and ably discussed by Sir Patrick Keenan that I might content myself with expressing my entire agreement with the recommendations, on which the present practice of teaching the children to read and write Maltese is based; but whilst referring your Lordship for detailed (and as they seem to me conclusive) arguments in favour of the present system, I should like to draw especial attention to the following points.

5. During the 40 years preceding the establishment of the present system, it was attempted to treat Maltese in the manner now suggested by the "anti-reformist" members, and the result was a conspicuous failure. The use of Maltese as the ordinary language of communication in the islands was in no way diminished; and the bulk of the children in the schools profited but little by the time and trouble spent on their education. The proof of this statement is to be found in Sir P. Keenan's report.

6. The teaching of children to read Maltese in the primary schools will by degrees prove of benefit to their uneducated parents. The children will be able to read to their parents in the only language which the vast majority of them understand; and some improvement may thus be effected in the intellectual condition of those who are now suffering from the insufficiency of the means of education provided in former years. Cases are known in which school children are so employed by their parents; and the number of such cases will doubtless steadily increase. If the practice of teaching children to read and write Maltese is discontinued, this advantage—and it is one of considerable importance to the intellectual improvement of the people—will be lost.

7. I have sufficiently discussed, in former Despatches, the subject of the extent to which the wishes of the elected members should be allowed to prevail in questions which immediately affect the interests of the uneducated and unrepresented majority; and I need not at present do more than point out to your Lordship that the question as to whether Maltese is or is not to be taught in the primary schools is one which directly affects the interests of the uneducated majority; and cannot be said to affect, except perhaps in an indirect manner, the interests of the educated minority, who alone are represented by the elected portion of the Council of Government.

8. It is, however, fair to those of the elected members who advocate the discontinuance of the teaching of Maltese, that I should place before your Lordship the arguments which they advance in favour of their demands.

9. I have already in my Despatch of the 7th instant,* stated to your Lordship what I may describe as the ethnico-philological arguments, such as that the Maltese are an Italian race, that Maltese is a dialect, and Italian the natural language of Malta, that Italian blood and language were introduced in Malta by an Italian Colony imported in the thirteenth century. Arguments such as these may serve for electioneering addresses, or for the purpose of stirring up political feeling, but they cannot bear the light of calm and dispassionate inquiry. There is no doubt whatever that whether the Maltese trace their language from the Arabians, or direct from the Phoenicians, they are a Semitic race, that the so called Italian Colony consisted of the most of 2,000 persons, and that there is every reason to believe that the majority of the colonists returned to Italy, that even if the majority remained in Malta, there is now no trace, so far as type of feature and use of language goes, of their existence, that Maltese is the universal language of con-

* No. 11.

versation in Malta, amongst the highest as well as amongst the lowest classes, that not more than 16,000 out of the 150,000 inhabitants of these islands can even pretend to speak Italian, whilst, amongst the lower classes, those who speak English are at least as numerous as those who speak Italian.

10. Two other arguments I have heard advanced: one is, that the primary literary necessity of a Maltese agriculturist is to be able to read and understand the words of an Italian contract of lease; and the other, that lads who go from primary schools to the Lyceum, where a knowledge of Italian is obligatory, would have a better chance of success if, instead of wasting a year or two in teaching them to read in a language which is useless to them in the Lyceum, they were at once to be taught, by word of mouth, the language which the advocates of Italian consider should be the fundamental language of education in that establishment.

11. As regards the first argument, Italian has, no doubt, for better or worse, been established as the language of the courts of law in Malta. But to urge that on that account the Maltese are not to be taught to read their native tongue; and that we should revert to a system of education which after 40 years of trial has proved a conspicuous failure, is rather an argument for changing the language of the courts than for allowing the Italianist minority to force on the people a language which is foreign to them, and to attempt to stamp out their native language, a language which, although unwritten until the end of the last century, has been handed down from father to son for generations; and is still, in spite of all discouragement, the conversational language of all—and the sole language of nine-tenths—of the inhabitants of Malta. To convey to your Lordship some impression of the universal use of the Maltese language in Malta, I may state that during the recent services of the Rosary held at the request of his Holiness the Pope during the month of October last, the Rosary was recited in every church in Malta and Gozo, St. John's Pro-cathedral Church in Valletta included, in the Maltese language.

12. As regards the second argument it is in the first place to be observed that only a small proportion of the primary school children go on to the Lyceum; and that those who do, remain at the primary schools until they are at least 12 years of age. Taking six as the average age of entrance into the primary schools, and allowing two years for the acquirement of reading and writing Maltese, an interval of four years is allowed for the acquirement of Italian or English. This interval is, for all practical purposes, sufficient.

13. I have already pointed out to your Lordship, in previous despatches, the evils which are likely to arise from allowing the elected bench to interfere in matters of administration; and it is only necessary for me now to say, that if their demands on this point are conceded, it will be difficult to prevent such interference in the details of administration of all the departments of Government.

14. I have now fully placed before your Lordship the demands of the elected members on the subject of language; and it may be convenient that I should recapitulate the points on which your Lordship's decision is desired. These points are as follows:—

- (1.) Whether the official members are to be allowed, or compelled, to use the Italian language in Council.
- (2.) Whether documents laid before Council are or are not to be translated into Italian.
- (3.) Whether the present arrangements for the encouragement of English in the educational institutions are to be maintained; or whether concessions are to be made to the desire of the majority of the elected bench that Italian should be established as the fundamental language of education in the schools, and if so, to what extent.
- (4.) Whether the lectures on international law are to be delivered in English, as is now the practice, or in Italian.
- (5.) Whether the children in the primary schools are still to be taught to read and write Maltese, or whether that practice is to be abandoned.
- (6.) Whether the General Council of Education, recommended by Sir Patrick Keenan, is or is not to be established.

15. The Council of Government has passed all the votes on the estimates with the exception of the educational votes and one or two votes of small importance which have

been postponed for further inquiry. The next sitting is fixed for the 9th proximo, when it will be necessary to discuss the educational votes, and to make a declaration of policy on the subject of education.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. BORTON,
Governor.

No. 21.

GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY. (Received January 2, 1884.)

MY LORD,

Palace, Valletta, December 28, 1883.

IN connexion with the subject of the language question in Malta, I forward, for your Lordship's perusal, copies of articles which have recently appeared in three of the local papers on the subject.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. BORTON,
Governor.

Enclosure 1 in No. 21.

The "MALTA TIMES AND UNITED SERVICE GAZETTE."

Saturday, December 22, 1883.

THE party that have publicly declared the Maltese to be Italians, that the language of the Maltese is the Italian, that the Maltese are an Italian people not united to its nation, are beginning to show their cards; and the little that has been shown fully confirms the views we have expressed as to the motives by which they appear to have been actuated, when they sought, by means which we have fearlessly expressed, to be elected to represent this loyal and peaceable population.

Questions of the highest public practical importance are awaiting discussion, but in such questions the newly elected do not evince any appreciable amount of interest. Large votes are passed with hardly one pertinent remark, certainly without any enquiry. For the whole attention of the anti-reformist members, whose organ is the *Diritto di Malta*, is engrossed by the question which to them appears to be the all in all, which they declare to be the *sine qua non*, the question of permanently establishing that the Italian language is to be supreme, to the exclusion of every other, their own Maltese language included, in the courts of law, in the Council of Government, and in the public schools. We will not repeat what we and our most influential colleagues have but recently stated to prove that the Maltese are not Italians; that the language spoken and understood by at least nine-tenths of the Maltese is not the Italian but the Maltese; that Italian is as foreign to the immense majority of the Maltese as French or German is to the immense majority of Englishmen; that whatever priority the Italian language may have acquired, when these islands were under Neapolitan, Sicilian, or other foreign dominions, it has no right to any manner of supremacy under the Government of Great Britain, that power which the ancestors of the Maltese with great wisdom and enlightened foresight selected to protect and defend these islands from all aggression; and that in the true and permanent interests of the Maltese people it is necessary that the English language should be encouraged and diffused all over the country.

But the attitude which Dr. Roncali, the actual leader of the anti-reformist members, has assumed in connexion with the language question, an attitude to which most of the other members, among whom we regret to notice Dr. A. Naudi, Canon Agius, and Mr. Kirton, appear to give their approval, has raised another question which we shall endeavour to consider as briefly as its nature admits.

Unless Italian is made the basis of instruction in the University, the Lyceum, and the primary schools, to the exclusion not only of the English language from the Lyceum and the University, but also of the Maltese from the primary schools, we, the elected members of the Council of Government, said Dr. Roncali at the meeting of Council held on the 19th instant, are determined not to vote one penny that has the remotest connexion with the Education Department. Close the University, close the Lyceum, close the primary schools, if you dare; but unless you do our bidding, unless you teach what we order, and teach it as we order, we will stop all supplies for the Education Department. That is the attitude assumed by the party whose organ has declared the Maltese to be an Italian people not united to its nation. The determination so boldly asserted in the Council of Government has, of course, no connexion whatever with any intention of promoting and facilitating the desired union of a people that has so long been held asunder from its nation by the British Government, by the "savages of the north," as the Hon. Dr. Mizzi is pleased to designate the people of England, but it is nevertheless the will of the newly elected anti-reformist members to relegate the English language to the class rooms where that language is taught for one hour a day; to make it penal for any teacher or student to utter one word of English out of the English lessons; to oblige every teacher and every student to use no other language than the Italian, either in the University or the Lyceum, in teaching or learning any branch of knowledge: whilst in the primary schools Maltese children, the children of parents who do not speak or understand, whose ancestors have not spoken or understood for centuries, any other language than the Maltese; the children who in their churches, in their houses, in their streets, hear no other language than the Maltese, are to be taught Italian, through the Italian, it being made penal to teach the Maltese, the only language which they are ever likely to learn thoroughly, the only language through which it is possible to instruct and educate the overwhelming majority of the rising generation, *i.e.*, more than 11,000 out of the 12,000 children now attending school, the only language through which these children are instructing and perhaps also educating their illiterate parents, relatives, and friends. This is the programme of Dr. Roncali and Co. This is the manifesto which Mr. Kirton, Mr. Muscat, and even Canon Agius (we hope not with the approval of his ecclesiastical superiors), appear to be determined to impose on the people and the Government of Malta, with which they intend to threaten the British Government, that must in the end be held responsible for the good government of this Crown Colony.

We cannot but admire the excellent temper, the wisdom, and the prudence displayed by his Excellency the Governor and his chief adviser under such provoking circumstances. The elected members appear to have forgotten that Malta has not yet attained to responsible government; and that consequently it is impossible that any one astute member or any number of such members should have the power of bringing legislation to a dead lock. In Colonies where responsible government exists, where the policy of the Ministers in office is disapproved by a majority in the Legislature, a vote of censure is proposed and carried, the Ministers resign, and the leaders of the opposition are called upon to form another Ministry, and to carry on the Government on their own responsibility and in accordance with their own views. We do not believe that any of the present elected members would be sorry to exchange places with one or another of the official members. But as the "Risorgimento," of the 20th instant, very properly and very naturally observes, responsible government is *politically* impossible in Malta, and the power of stopping supplies cannot possibly be granted to the majority, or even to the totality, of the elected members. All the employés on the fixed establishment under the Government of Malta, from the Chief Justice to the messenger or policeman, are permanently appointed by the authority of the Executive Authority; and so long as they perform the duties appertaining to their respective offices, they have a right to the salaries, increments, allowances, &c., &c., which, at the time of their appointment, were attached to the situations which they were called upon to occupy; and whatever may be the opinion of any number of elected members, they have an absolute right to their salaries, allowances, &c., which they can claim in any court of justice. Those salaries must, therefore, be paid; and if the elected members will not vote them, the official members will most certainly perform that very necessary, and far from disagreeable duty, not so much in their own interest as in that of thousands of poor families whom their own representatives might not scruple to throw upon the streets to starve.

It is true that the Government might easily prevent all this misery by simply placing themselves at the disposal of the elected members; and we are sure the Government

would be most happy to do almost anything to please and to conciliate even their most bitter and most irreconcilable opponents. We are afraid, however, that Her Majesty's Government are not quite prepared to relinquish all share and all responsibility in the good government of the people of Malta, and in the maintenance of the fortress and harbours of Malta, in strengthening and enlarging which they have expended hundreds of thousands of pounds. If the present demands of the elected members were acceded to, who knows what they might ask next? Who knows what claims other *irredentist* or *irredenti* members might put forward? If the right to stop the supplies for the Education Department were conceded, unless Italian is made supreme in the public schools, to the exclusion of English and Maltese, who will guarantee the Government that these or other elected members will not stop the supplies of the judicial or the police departments unless some other whim or evil design of theirs is complied with or accomplished. The loyal aspirations of the "Diritto di Malta," the avowed organ of the anti-reformists, are well known; and our readers will find in another column another specimen of the feelings entertained by the "Diritto" towards the English residents, who have been most wantonly insulted. If Italian is to rule supreme in the public schools, why not in the Council of Government, why not in the Governor's palace, why not in the Chief Secretary's office and the other public departments? Why should not the Italian, instead of the British flag, float over the palaces and the forts?

Should the "Diritto," or any other authority recognised by the anti-reformist members, issue any such order, it must be obeyed; nothing can be easier than to propose any such measure in Council, and if it be not obeyed forthwith, what can be easier than stopping the supplies for the Governor's establishment, the Chief Secretary's, or any other department?

But we will not pursue the subject any further. The question is a most serious one, and it deserves to be most seriously considered. We do not, we cannot, believe that the views expressed by Dr. Roncali and his partners are entertained by any considerable portion of the inhabitants of these islands; and even if they were, it would be out of the question, in fact utterly impossible, for the British Government to abandon the destinies of this important dependency and impregnable fortress to the tender mercies of any three or four persons who might, by means fair or foul, succeed in cajoling a few hundred of ignorant or deluded electors to return them to the Council of Government. Moreover, at the time of the election, the only question in connexion with the Italian language was the forced substitution of English for Italian, which, as the anti-reformists falsely asserted, the Government intended to carry out. Nothing was said in Dr. Mizzi's pretty *manifesto* as to the exclusion of the Maltese language from the primary schools, or of the English language from the few schools in the Lyceum and University, in which it had been adopted as the language of instruction. It would appear that, before any decision is finally arrived at, the whole question should be fully and calmly discussed in the Council of Government, when we are sure a great many mis-statements and misrepresentations will be rectified and many fallacies cleared up. When the whole question is fully placed before the electors, before the whole population, and before the Government, both local and Imperial, should the anti-reformists persist in their erroneous and pernicious views, it will be for the supreme authority to decide whether the Council should not be dissolved, with the view of proceeding to a new election, or of taking such other measures as may be deemed necessary in order to prevent the beneficial action of the Government, in the interest of all classes of the community, from being hampered and nullified by the mistaken, and if not disloyal, certainly pernicious, schemes of the anti-reformist members.

Enclosure 2 in No. 21.

"RISORGIMENTO DIARIO POLITICO COMMERCIALE."

ATTUALITÀ

(Seguito al No 2182.)

Malta, December 20, 1883.

Noi ripetiamo la domanda, se le ultime elezioni generali hanno per significato l'espressione della volontà di tutta la popolazione maltese, od almeno della gran maggioranza della stessa; o non invece il risultato dell'intrigo di un partito, il quale, per piccolo che fosse, avrebbe indotto in errore la maggior parte degli elettori, i quali avrebbero votato

per i candidati dello stesso, per evitare un male immaginario che fu loro dato ad intendere sarebbe accaduto ove avessero votato per i candidati di opinioni e tendenze diverse. Ci facciamo anche la domanda; se, preso in considerazione il grado d'istruzione attuale della gran massa del popolo e, se si voglia, anche della sola massa degli elettori, e la condizione politica attuale del paese, qualunque fosse per essere la risposta ai primi due quesiti, il Governo sarebbe mai giustificato nel lasciare totalmente nelle mani di otto individui, senza alcuna solida responsabilità, le sorti di un popolo ancora nello stato d'infanzia, politicamente parlando; per cui, come i pupilli, avrebbe bisogno ancora dei tutori responsabili e seri per tutelare i suoi interessi, morali, politici ed economici. Domandiamo noi, se, prendendo tale stato di cose in seria considerazione, il Governo non commetterebbe, non diciamo un errore grandissimo, ma un delitto politico enorme, lasciando gli interessi del popolo in balia di tali individui senza usare di quella autorità sovrana di cui è investito il rappresentante della Regina, da cui dipende unicamente lo allargamento o la restrizione dei privilegi politici nelle Colonie così chiamate della Corona — e Malta viene classata tra queste — per salvarlo il popolo ad esso affidato dalle conseguenze fatali della condotta folle di teste riscaldate o di macchinazioni segrete degli émissarij di qualche partito o Governo estero.

La risposta ai primi due quesiti ci sembra evidentissima. Lo stato attuale d'ignoranza predominante nel paese, ove appena dieci per cento dell'intera popolazione sanno leggere o scrivere, è tale da lasciar luogo ad alcun dubbio che la gran massa del popolo maltese sia totalmente estranea al risultato delle ultime elezioni. Tale massa è così ignara del valore politico non solo, ma non titubiamo a dire perfino della esistenza della franchigia elettorale; che quella elezione non essere giammai considerata come la espressione della gran massa del popolo maltese, e quindi i nuovi eletti non possono rappresentare le idee, la opinione o la volontà della popolazione in generale.

Dei due mila elettori circa, che votarono per i nuovi eletti, i quali con gran fracasso si fanno chiamare antiriformisti, appena dieci per cento comprendono quel che leggono e sono in istato di poter formarsi un'idea esatta dello stato attuale delle cose a Malta — Di questi dieci per cento, che ascenderebbero a sole circa due cento persone, bisogna mettere a parte coloro, particolarmente tra gli impiegati di Governo che riceverono, o scacco o pregiudizio qualunque, o danni inevitabili, conseguentemente a qualunque cambiamento di regime, dalle riforme raccomandate dai commissionarii d'inchiesta come rimedio ai mali dei quali ci lagnarono per tanti anni i Maltesi, per cui hanno interesse che lo stato antico di cose sia rimesso. Facendo tale deduzione, la cifra rappresentante gli elettori che erano nel caso di poter ben ponderare il valore del loro voto in favore degli eletti, si riduce a ben poca cosa. E poi quanto tra questi furono tratti, per la loro troppa buona fede nel credere tutto ciò che a loro si dice, in errore, votando per chi a loro si presentava come salvatore non solo della patria, ma, come si espressero, anche di ciò che i Maltesi hanno di più caro, cioè la loro Religione? Quando distinti ecclesiastici, verso i quali nutriamo il massimo rispetto e le nostre più forti simpatie, noti per talenti non comuni, e per capacità superiori, si lasciarono abbindolare da tali dicerie, o, ci si perdoni la durezza della espressione, che non ne troviamo una più mite per esporla nel suo vero significato, menzogne infami, il risultato di tali elezioni non può essere giammai considerato dal Governo come la espressione della vera opinione delle idee, o della volontà della popolazione, od anche della massa degli elettori.

Al governo pertanto incombe imperiosamente il sacro dovere di tutelare gl'interessi morali e materiali della popolazione, quale si addice ad un padre verso i propri figli minorenni; e quindi a far fronte efficacemente e risolutamente alle tendenze nocive alla popolazione dei nuovi eletti. Che il Governo si pieghi ai desideri degli eletti ove tendono tangibilmente al pubblico bene, ma, per dinci, non si lasci disarmare là ove la sua autorità è essenzialmente necessaria per salvare il popolo dalle proposte o dalle opposizioni letali, tendenti piuttosto a servire gli interessi, o a dar sfogo alle passioni, di un partito, che a migliorare la sorte del paese.

Si ha un bel dire che in affari puramente locali i membri elettivi dovrebbero avere la supremazia sui membri ufficiali, e lasciare a loro la decisione di qualunque questione locale. Tali diritti e privilegi si accordano come bene avevano scritto al Ministro delle Colonie, gli ex-membri elettivi, Scieluna, Grungore Randon, unitamente all'attuale onor. Bugeja, in quella famosa carta chiamata "dei Dolenti," redatta dal più profondo dei politici maltesi, Sir A. Dingli — a rappresentante del popolo pronti ad assumere la responsabilità della direzione del Governo, ove questo subisse una sconfitta nelle votazioni importanti. Tali privilegi e prerogative sono accordati alle Colonie ove si hanno camere rappresentative, come il Canada, South Australia Victoria, New South Wales, Queens-

land, Nuova Zelanda, Tasmania, il Capo di B. Speranza e simili. In quelle Colonie le assemblee legislative sono tutte elettive, vale a dire composte di soli membri eletti dal popolo; e per conseguenza l'amministrazione del Governo è affidata ai capi del partito che ha con se la maggioranza della Camera. Là, chi fa opposizione al Governo, vale a dire il partito dell'opposizione, assume la responsabilità, nel caso che abbattesse ministero, di accettare, per mezzo dei suoi capi, l'amministrazione. Ma a Malta, ove un' assemblea legislativa totalmente elettiva è politicamente impossibile, come si può mai aspettare che i membri elettivi, i quali non formano nemmeno la metà del numero totale dei membri del Consiglio legislativo, debbano decidere tutte le questioni a modo loro?

Noi non neghiamo i talenti non comuni, e le capacità letterarie di alcuni degli attuali membri elettivi, sia come poeti, come scrittori di articoli di giornali, e, se si voglia, anche come oratori forensi ed altro. Ma in Consiglio si ha bisogno di capacità politiche; di persone che abbiano esperienza, accorgimento ed abilità nel trattare gli affari pubblici; imperocchè il deputato non va al parlamento per comporre o declamare versi, o a fare orazioni pompose a pro di santi o di accusati, sibbene a ponderare bene le questioni che vi si portano innanzi, a promuovere i veri interessi del popolo, a cercare insomma di aiutare il Governo nelle utili proposte; ed opporsi a quelle che evidentemente potrebbe essere di pregiudizio alla popolazione.

Ora domandiamo noi, ha alcuno degli attuali membri elettivi dato saggio di alcuna abilità politica in Consiglio o altrove, da meritare il plauso della popolazione da un lato, e l'attenzione ed il rispetto del Governo dall'altro?

Le scene vergognose che hanno avuto luogo nel Consiglio nelle prime tre sedute di questa sessione, sono prova più che convincente che gli attuali membri elettivi, per la loro incapacità politica, stanno facendo più male che bene al paese. Imperocchè colle loro frivole e passionate proposte da un lato, e le loro ingiuste ed assurde opposizioni dall'altro, stanno alienandoci le simpatie di tutti quegli inglesi; influenti ed autorevoli i quali lavoravano per procacciarsi ulteriori privilegi e prerogative. Colla loro folle condotta i nuovi eletti hanno già mal disposto l'attuale Principal Segretario di Governo, il quale era tutto pronto a fare ogni concessione possibile per contentare i membri elettivi, e mostrarsi più cortese e liberale verso di loro di quel che non era il suo predecessore. Così essi hanno dato ragione a chi prima usava trattare duramente il banco elettivo. Colla loro condotta essi hanno offerto un'arma potentissima a chi sconsigliava l'attuale Ministro delle Colonie di estendere i privilegi dei membri elettivi, per indurlo a ritirare ciò che ha inconsultamente concesso, e a seguire verso il banco elettivo la politica adottata, dietro insinuazioni dell' *ax-Advvocato* della Corona, da Lord Carnarvon, il quale aveva sanzionato l'aumento del salario di costui fino a £ 800 all'anno; da Sir M. Hicks-Beach, e da Lord Kimberley.

Enclosure 3 in No. 21.

“ RISORGIMENTO DIARIO POLITICO COMMERCIALE.”

ATTUALITÀ.

(Seguito al No. 2194.)

Malta, Dicembre 21, 1883.

Si vede chiaro dalla condotta degli attuali membri elettivi che essi non andarono in Consiglio coll'idea e colla volontà di dedicarsi unicamente ai veri interessi della popolazione maltese; ma bensì collo scopo palese di combattere un uomo verso il quale nutrono un odio implacabile. Dai loro atti emerge chiaro che essi cercarono con mezzi disonesti di entrare in Consiglio coll'unico scopo di combattere, vilipendere ed annichilire, ove lo potessero, l'onor. Savona.

La questione della lingua italiana ossia inglese, è il loro primo cavallo di battaglia contro Savona, siccome fu Savona il primo a sostenere nei giornali da lui diretti, poi più autorevolmente in lettere pubbliche e private, la necessità della diffusione della lingua inglese tra' maltesi. Fu egli il primo ad illuminare il Ministro delle Colonie sulla necessità che tra due lingue ugualmente straniere ai Maltesi la inglese dovesse aver il primato nelle scuole e negli uffici del Governo.

Ai nemici personali di Savona conveniva dunque di agitare il paese con tante maliziose invenzioni riguardo la lingua, e dar ad intendere al popolo credulo ed ignorante che il Governo voleva forzare la lingua inglese e bandire la italiana per protestantizzare i Maltesi. Riusciti in questo primo piano di battaglia; essi spingono le loro manovre in Consiglio per dare ad intendere al Governo imperiale che i Maltesi non vogliono la supremazia della lingua inglese sull'italiana—e così screditare Savona presso il Ministro, e dar ragione a Sir A. Dingli dal quale diversi di loro usavano ricevere le loro ispirazioni, quando egli era il Governatore di fatto di Malta, il quale aveva detto e scritto che i Maltesi non vogliono la sostituzione della lingua inglese alla italiana—e che ove ciò si avrebbero dispiacevoli conseguenze.

E di fatti la maggior parte degli attuali membri elettivi è composta di quelle stesse persone che avevano promosso, incoraggiato e sostenuto, sebbene sotto mano, le dimostrazioni contro il signor Rowsell e Savona—gli altri sono loro adepti, con qualche eccezione.

La proposta ridicola di obbligare l'Avvocato della Corona di parlare in italiano perchè uno dei membri elettivi non capiva l'inglese, o che si facessero delle traduzioni dei discorsi tenuti in inglese per comodo di quei membri elettivi che non parlavano quella lingua, mostra da qual sentimento sono mossi i sedicenti rappresentanti del popolo. E di fatti, proposte simili non furono mai udite quando in Consiglio siedevano persone serie, come un Can. Amato, un Mons. Casolani, un Can. Rossignaud, un Mons. Fiteni ed altri sommi: sebbene i membri ufficiali inglesi parlassero l'inglese, e diversi di costoro non lo capissero.

Cosa infatti si sarebbe detto nel parlamento piemontese quando vi siedevano dei deputati della Savoia che non parlavano e non capivano che la sola lingua francese, ove avessero preteso che fosse loro fatta traduzione in francese di tutti i discorsi che nella Camera si facevano in Italiano che era la lingua del Governo?

Le ultime elezioni, sotto le circostanze in cui hanno avuto luogo, non possono avere altro risultato che di indurre il Ministro delle Colonie a restringere le facoltà ed i privilegi accordati ai membri elettivi. Tale conseguenza è inevitabile, imperocchè il Governo locale mancherebbe ai suoi primi doveri ove non esponesse al Governo imperiale il danno immenso che sarebbe cagionato alla popolazione in generale ove si lasciasse ai soli membri elettivi il decidere qualunque questione locale che si portasse avanti il Consiglio. I rendiconti fedeli delle sedute tenute insin dell'apertura del nuovo Consiglio non possono mancare di produrre una dispiacevole impressione sul ministro delle Colonie, da indurlo ad ammettere di aver commesso un atto sbagliato nel concedere più che le circostanze particolari locali permettevano ai membri elettivi.

Quando il paese non è bastantemente maturo per certe concessioni politiche il danno che ne risulterebbe dalla concessione intempestiva, sarebbe immenso. Appunto come il pericolo che si corre affidando nelle mani di un ragazzo inesperto un rasojo ben affilato.

Che il Governo, quindi, si risvegli una buona volta, e non si lasci intimorire da minacce puerili e ridicole nel medesimo tempo per salvare la popolazione da un male serio di cui viene minacciata dalla condotta folle dei nuovi eletti. Imperocchè se gli attuali membri elettivi si dimettono, ciò che titubiamo a credere—che del resto in ciò fare avrebbero reso un gran servizio al paese—vi si troverebbero altri candidati più onesti e seri che accetterebbero il mandato popolare—in vece loro. Il pericolo di mandare in Consiglio persone illetterate e ridicole è rimosso tanto dai recenti provvedimenti delle ultime Lettere Patenti di Sua Maestà, come anche dalla interpretazione data alle precedenti Lettere Patenti, le quali non comportano che, nel concedere ai Maltesi un Consiglio in parte rappresentativo, si rendesse frustaneo il loro oggetto, colla elezione di persone ridicole ed illetterate. Qualunque elezione simile deve essere considerata nulla ipso jure, e quindi devono essere considerati eletti quei tra' candidati che avessero ottenuto il maggior numero di voti.

Il movimento che si osserva da qualche tempo a Malta verso l'Italia, sia da parte di italiani qui stabiliti, sia da parte di alcuni maltesi che hanno più simpatie per il Governo italiano che verso l'inglese, specie la condotta equivoca del Console italiano, il quale in un paese ove c'è un principio di movimento, per insificante che fosse, unionista o irredentista, dovrebbero mettere il nostro Governo in guardia, ed indurlo ad agire energicamente e risolutamente, senza alcuna titubazione. I pochi che stanno facendo tanto chiasso riguardo la lingua cesseranno dalle loro rodомontate donchisciottesche subito che vedranno il Governo agire risoluto. Essi stanno prendendo coraggio attualmente, s'insuperbiscono e si fanno audaci appunto perchè osservano la debolezza del Governo, sia locale od imperiale, nel far loro troppe curezze, e concessioni che non meritano.

Comprenda il Governo una buona volta che noi non siamo italiani, ma maltesi, sebbene diverse famiglie italiane accasatesi con famiglie maltesi fossero divenute anche maltesi—e che i nostri padri, avendo trovato essere interesse dei Maltesi di divenire sudditi britannici, ed essendoci dati in tale nostro interesse al Governo inglese, noi non possiamo fruire tutti i vantaggi che tale sudditanza ci offre se non conosciamo la lingua inglese. Per cui è interesse del popolo, dopo la lingua maltese vedere diffusa per tutta l'isola e presso tutte le famiglie la lingua inglese—per mezzo della quale nelle innumerevoli colonie britanniche, e gli opifici ed i Consolati inglesi sparsi per tutto il mondo, i maltesi potrebbero trovare quel pane e quella felicità che non possono trovare in paese, essendo l'aumento della popolazione spaventevolmente sproorzionato alla estensione dell'isola ed alle risorse che essa offre.

O voi, avversari della lingua inglese, ed odiatori del Governo che ci domina, fatevi avanti e togliete la maschera dal viso. Dichiarate apertamente se volete che Malta appartenga all'Italia o all'Inghilterra. Non usate più finzioni ed ipocrisie. Non c'è che scegliere, una delle due. O sudditi inglesi, o sudditi italiani. Se volete che Malta rimanga sotto la Gran Bretagna, nello interesse dei maltesi in generale, dovete secondare le buone tendenze del Governo nel volere generalizzata la lingua inglese. Se volete essere sudditi italiani, abbiate il coraggio di dichiararlo apertamente, affinchè il popolo possa giudicare meglio le vostre intenzioni e dire se voi lo rappresentiate veramente nel volere tal cosa. Ma se il popolo non è con voi—e non lo può essere—perchè il popolo trova il suo miglior tornaconto nel rimanere sotto il Governo inglese—e voi volete essere sudditi italiani, prendete una buona volta la sudditanza italiana, andatevene in Italia, e lasciateci in santa pace.

I membri antiriformisti non sanno quel che stanno facendo. Sono divenuti proprio pazzi. E di fatti è applicabile al caso loro il "Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat." Pertanto essi stessi offrono al Governo uno dei mezzi più potenti per metter loro la museruola onde non poter abbajare più con quelle libertà di cui fecero tanto abuso durante e dopo le elezioni. Essi, ciecamente ed imprudentemente, domandano che la legge della stampa, che accordava ai Maltesi privilegi e libertà non goduti nemmeno in Inghilterra o nelle altre colonie britanniche, sia alterata, o, come dicono, emendata. Ebbene; che il Governo emendi tale legge, ma non solo nella parte che vogliono loro; cioè nella parte che li riguarda per poter mettersi in salvo contro gli attacchi nella loro gestione semipubblica; bensì anche nella parte che riguarda il Governo, cioè nella parte che tocca le relazioni tra il Governo ed i governati. La legge, come è attualmente, non garantisce bastantemente il Governo contro scritti stampati tendenti ad eccitare l'odio della popolazione contro il Governo e la Corona. Essa non protegge il Governo contro insinuazioni malevoli e maliziose tendenti ad alienare la lealtà e l'affezione del popolo verso la nostra Sovrana ed il di lei Governo. Si emendi dunque la legge—o meglio si abolisca in toto l'attuale legge della stampa; e ci si dia la stessa legge sulla libertà della stampa che si ha nel Regno Unito—ed allora i commenti ed i precedenti pubblicati su quella legge serviranno di guida ai nostri tribunali per la interpretazione ed applicazione della stessa. Ci si accordi, come in Inghilterra, che l'azione civile per i danni, sia unita a quella criminale nelle cause di libello. Onde chi osasse muovere maliziosamente e senza ragione alcuna una causa di libello, sia nel medesimo giudizio condannato, ove soccombente, risarcire in una data somma i danni dovuti all'accusato, dichiarato non reo.

Enclosure 4 in No. 21.

"MALTA GAZZETTA QUOTIDIANA POLITICA E COMMERCIALE."
AL "RISORGIMENTO."

Malta, Sabato, Dicembre 22, 1883.

GIUDICATI coll'altissimo criterio del Magnifico Signor Notaro Salvatore Galea Balzan, gli Elettori tutti sono una mandra di montoni. Grazie dei complimenti squisiti del Primo Genio di Malta! Noi proponiamo agli elettori, per ogni futura elezione, di guardarsi bene dal votare senza il parere e consenso del Magnifico Signor Notaro sopra lodato, per non rendersi meritevoli dei calci di quello scrittore e politicante. Eleggendo i Consiglieri secondo il tipico criterio di lui, Malta avrà il vantaggio di formare, in cinque

anni, altri otto Direttori della Pubblica Istruzione, e allora,—vedete inaudita felicità—in altri tre anni tutti i maltesi diventeranno ultradottissimi, e tutti impareranno a parlare il puro purissimo maltese. O tempi beati! noi li vediamo soltanto in fantasia, perchè bersagliati come siamo dalla tremenda penna del magnifico Signor Notaro, non possiamo sperar di vivere altri otto anni, tempo minimo assolutamente necessario, per la redenzione dell'isola. Ma, come Mosè salutò da lontano la terra promessa, che non gli era concesso toccar col piede, così noi, rapiti in ispirito, salutiamo l'anno di grazia e di redenzione, il felicissimo 1891, ed esultiamo pensando che allora i nostri figli saranno l'invidia di Europa, anzi del mondo, e di altri siti ancora! E da oggi presentiamo i nostri più sinceri ringraziamenti al Magnifico signor Notaro Salvatore Galea Balzan ed ai suoi nove Direttori della Pubblica Istruzione (cioè l'uno già fatto e gli altri otto da venire), per la redenzione della patria!!!

Ma, non potendo noi godere di questa futura beatitudine, permetteteci, o lettori gentilissimi, di compiacerci così in fantasia dell'opera del nostro Magnifico signor Notaro. È un divertimento innocentissimo il nostro—anzi eminentemente patriottico.

La vita politica del magnifico Notaro cominciò, se non andiamo errati, colla formazione del Comitato Promotore della Petizione del 1879—con quel Comitato cioè, per mezzo del quale il presente Direttore della Pubblica Istruzione (primo nella lista dei nove) raggiunse in pari tempo cinquecento lire di entrata, e l'onorabilità perpetua. Allora voi, o lettori, e voi o elettori, eravate dotti, bravi, patrioti: e solo da quel tempo a questa parte siete divenuti (secondo il Magnifico) tanti imbecilli.

Noi ci ricordiamo ancora del famoso meeting del 1879 in cui l'agitatore Savona per primo cercava di ispirare nel pubblico l'indignazione e la rabbia per la cattiva amministrazione del Governo d'allora. Ci ricordiamo bene come i più fra i Maltesi, che si interessano delle cose patrie, erano arroventati contro quella amministrazione: ed avevano le loro buone ragioni di arrabbiarsi.

Ebbene—dopo che più oratori avevano cercato di eccitare gli animi alla guerra politica—e quando tutto il popolo fremeva—(ci par di vederlo ancora)—un coso lungo lungo sorge dalla sedia ad arringare il popolo: era il nostro Magnifico Notaro, che leggeva un discorso preparato per quel giorno di comune Esultanza!!!

“È bello e dolce l'amore della patria, dicevano con entusiasmo gli antichi;—è bello e dolce l'amore della patria, ripetevano con pari ardore i loro posteri;—è bello e dolce l'amore della patria, soggiungiamo ancor noi colla massima esultanza in questo solenne “e memorando giorno” e così di filato, il nostro oratore, passando di troppo in troppo, e di figura in figura, conchiuse . . . che cosa? Conchiuse che era necessario che l'Inghilterra riformasse la nostra costituzione, e che ci desse un Consiglio in cui le marionette del banco ufficiale, non avessero preponderanza sui rappresentanti del popolo!

Sì, niente meno che questo!! Ma in allora fra i rappresentanti del popolo vi era Savona, capite o lettori;—vi era un uomo secondo il cuor del Magnifico signor Notaro: ed il Magnifico signor Notaro è sempre pronto a tornare ad agitare il popolo contro il Governo, ad invocare il bello e dolce amor di patria per la riforma del Consiglio, ognorchè voi, o elettori maltesi, vi obbligate a scegliere per vostri rappresentanti altri otto consiglieri dei sentimenti e taglio dell'onorevole Direttore della Pubblica Istruzione.

Ma per ora—per ora che siedono in Consiglio dei membri malvisi al Magnifico Signor Notaro, per ora tutt'altro che riforma alla costituzione desidera il bello e dolce amor di Patria del Magnifico Signor Notaro. Sentite un poco che cosa desidera: “Le ultime elezioni, sotto le circostanze in cui hanno avuto luogo, non possono avere altro risultato che di indurre il ministro delle Colonie a restringere le facoltà ed i privilegi accordati ai membri elettivi. Tale conseguenza è inevitabile, imperocchè il Governo locale mancherebbe ai suoi primi doveri ove non esponesse al Governo Imperiale il danno immenso che sarebbe cagionato alla popolazione in generale, ove si lasciasse ai soli membri elettivi di decidere qualunque quistione locale, che si portasse avanti il “Consiglio.”

Evviva! dunque lo scrittore di questo brano di articolo comparso nel Risorgimento di jeri, vuole niente meno che la restrizione dei poteri dei rappresentanti del popolo—vuole che a questi non sia concesso di decidere tutte le quistioni locali—vuole l'assoluto governo dei ministri delle colonie!! E siccome l'articolo è editoriale, e la direzione del Risorgimento è presso il Magnifico signor Notaro Galea Balzan (come tutti dicono ed egli non ha mai smentito), così noi abbiamo diritto di rivolgerci a quel genio politico, e domandangli—che razza di bello e dolce amor di patria è mai cotesto?

Ma senza attendere la sua risposta, noi lasciamo che risponda per lui il sig. Francesco Saverio De Cesare, il quale, in una corrispondenza da Londra pubblicata nel Risorgimento, ci aveva già avvertiti che alcuni Nemici stavano inducendo il ministro a rovesciare i privilegi del popolo. Dunque, il caro signor Risorgimento, il caro signor Notaro infiammato di bello e dolce amor di patria, è Nemico della patria, perchè suggerisce al ministro di guidare l' isola coll' assolutismo dello Czar.

E dunque abbiamo ragione noi di sostenere, che una buona parte di quelli che promossero il meeting del 1879 e la susseguente Petizione popolare erano traditori, che volevano far servire alle proprie mire particolari lo scontento pubblico. Dunque è verissimo, che quelli stessi i quali insistevano per la riforma del Consiglio quando non erano al potere, —oggi, che sono al potere, non vogliono riforme, che anzi vorrebbero distrutti quei pochissimi privilegi insignificanti che gode il popolo! Dunque è verissimo che i Riformisti han voluto ringraziare il Ministro delle Colonie per avere imposto la condizione della Unanimità, sperando che tale unanimità dovesse essere una condizione impossibile poichè adesso, che i rappresentanti del popolo si legarono con sacro vincolo a tutelare i diritti della patria, questi signori riformisti vogliono che il Ministro dispregzi le decisioni del banco elettivo anche quando questo è unanime!! Ah! vigliacchi, traditori!! Giù dunque la brutta maschera: fatevi riconoscere per quello che veramente siete!

È in verità curiosa la pretensione di questi messeri, i quali, quando nel banco elettivo siedono persone del loro parere, vogliono tutte le più ampie facoltà e diritti—e quando gli elettori, aprendo gli occhi, mandano a rappresentarli persone veramente patriotte oneste e disinteressate, allora gridano al ministro inculcandogli di restringere le franchigie! Insomma, questi messeri vogliono essere essi il popolo, essi il banco ufficiale, essi il banco elettivo, essi il Governo, essi i ministri, e perfino essi l'Inghilterra. E infatti, provatevi ad attaccare Savona, ed essi vi accuseranno di aver attaccato tutto il Regno Unito, di essere irredentista, fedifrago, spergiuro, cospiratore, al soldo del Governo Italiano.

Savona!!!

Questo nome ci riporta ad un' altra parte dell' articolo intitolato Attualità comparso nel Risorgimento di jeri.

Ivi è detto che gli attuali rappresentanti del popolo non hanno altro scopo che di combattere Savona.

I membri elettivi combattono Savona, perchè da lui emanano tutti i guai della Isola: combattono Savona come causa. Se il Governo si risolve finalmente ad imporre a Savona, di non tenere questa agitazione in paese—se le quistioni suscitate da quell'unico individuo saranno dal Governo sedate a seconda dei desideri dei Maltesi—il nome di Savona cade nel dimenticatojo: l' agitazione finisce: la tranquillità pubblica ritorna.

E ci dica un poco il Magnifico sig. Notaro Galea Balzan: quando Savona scrittore del "Public Opinion," quando Savona rappresentante del popolo, non faceva altro che saettare Sir A. Dingli e Sir V. Houlton, faceva egli bene o male? Se faceva bene, allora noi abbiamo il diritto di far su lui ciò che egli faceva su altri, perchè egli è assai più tiranno dell' Isola che non erano quei due—e per di più egli è sporco degli atti politici più schifosi, avendo carpito il potere coi mezzi che tutti sanno.

Poi, ci dica il Notaro Magnifico, se il nostro linguaggio contro Savona sia tanto violento e scurrile quanto quello dei memici di Sir A. Dingli?

L'egoismo del Magnifico e Compagnia è veramente unico nella storia del mondo: essi soli hanno il guidizio dritto, essi soli hanno senso politico, essi soli san guidare l'isola, e, quando tutti i maltesi la pensano differentemente da essi, la sola loro volontà deve prevalere. Se fossero nati sul trono, degraderebbero qualsiasi tiranno.

E' vera infamia? Cappert!
 Se infamia non è questa,
 Anche il Neron di Tacito
 Può sollevar la testa,
 E i mani di Caligola
 Si posson consolar!

Il Magnifico Notaro, facendosi Consigliere di Governo a dispetto del Popolo, suggerisce al Governo di agire energicamente contro gli oppositori della lingua inglese,

che egli chiama irredentisti, e per indurre il Governo a fare ciò, si arroga di assicurare che i pretesi irredentisti indietreggeranno innanzi ad una azione energica.

Bei pareri da dare ad un Governo per opprimere i sudditi! Ma sappia il Magnifico che quelli, che si oppongono alla sostituzione della lingua inglese alla italiana, sono intimamente compresi della giustizia della loro causa, e non indietreggeranno mai, mai, mai, innanzi qualsiasi azione energica del Governo. Essi non fanno che sostenere i diritti di nazionalità—e sostenerli con mezzi legali e costituzionali: quindi nulla temono, nulla possono temere. Il Governo è forte, e la nostra patria è debole: la forza può schiacciare: ma piegarci giammai.

Ma il Governo continuerà egli a prestare orecchio alle insinuazioni interessate di quei pochissimi, che hanno tanto fatto per indurlo ad imprendere una politica di oppressione?

Noi lo proclamiamo altamente: nella quistione della lingua il torto maggiore non è del Governo, ma dei pochi Maltesi che han trovato la via di insinuarsi presso lo stesso. Non già che noi togliamo qualsiasi responsabilità al Governo Imperiale: no: esso ha il torto di essersi lasciato accarezzare in quei sentimenti appunto che sono il suo debole: ma senza le insinuazioni di quei pochi, il Governo non si sarebbe mai indotto a imporre la propria lingua ad una popolazione, che per ben ottanta anni è rimasta fedele anche adoperando la lingua propria. Le cose avrebbero continuato a camminare, pel fatto della lingua, come camminavano: l'inglese vrebbe continuato a fare progressi. L'unica cosa che il Governo doveva fare, per la quale avrebbe trovato adesione dappertutto, si è di istituire migliori scuole, e di cambiare certi Maestri d'inglese per portarne migliori. Ecco tutto. È vero che la lingua inglese non era prima abbastanza insegnata, e bisognava che si insegnasse meglio: ma l'idea della sostituzione della lingua è idea infernale, che ha fatto nascere e crescere il malcontento, che da tre anni trabocca.

In contrapposizione ai pareri che il Risorgimento di jeri dà al Governo, noi siamo in dovere di consigliare il Governo a non urtare i sentimenti del popolo, particolarmente in questa quistione della lingua, che in nessun modo lede la grandezza britannica. Giorni sono abbiamo in proposito pubblicato un articolo del Sig. Francesco Saverio De Cesare, e quell'articolo—tolti certi attacchi ingiusti contro l'onestà politica del compianto Dr. R. Sciortino, è assennatissimo. Esso smentisce tutte le accuse di italianismo lanciate dal Casolani ai sostenitori della avita lingua italiana. Se il Governo vuol vedere ritornata la calma in paese, chiuda le orecchie ai consigli di chi è stato la causa prima di tanto scombussolamento. Ma possibile che ciò non si capisca una buona volta dal Governo?

E il magnifico signor Notaro finisce countterpellarci a diciarci quale Governo desideriamo, se l'inglese o l'italiano: ed eccoci ad appagarlo.

Noi siamo leali al Governo inglese, assai più che non lo è Savona. Questi volto le spalle al popolo, e mostrò di essere capace di violare un giuramento: se un giorno violò il giuramento fatto al popolo, quò quandochessia far lo stesso giuoco al Governo: e se, per ipotesi, il vessillo italiano dovesse approssimarsi a questo scoglio, chi sa chi sarebbe il primo a salutarlo?

Noi non abbiain dato prova alcuna di essere capaci di violare il giuramento di fedeltà spontaneamente prestato—e in conseguenza è calunniatore chiunque ci chiama irredentisti.

Ma per essere fedeli e leali non occorre essere schiavi: e noi difendiamo i dritti nostri contro l'usurpazione del Governo—usurpazione, aime! consigliatagli da quattro Maltesi!

Il Governo inglese nulla ha mai fatto per meritarsi l'affetto del popolo: ha sempre fatto prevalere gl'interessi dell'Impero sui dritti della patria nostra.

Quindi, i maltesi gli sono leali, ma non affezionati.

Sta al Governo di cattivarsi l'affezione del popolo, rispettandone i dritti.

Quando esso chiuderà gli orecchi ai suoi falsi consiglieri:—quando si deciderà di promuovere gli interessi del popolo:—allora, oltre all'essere leali e lealissimi, saremo anche affezionati e grati. Per esso saremo capaci di spargere fino alla ultima stilla del sangue nostro—ma, intendiamoci bene, quando egli si metterà in capo di reggerci come uomini liberi, non già quando ci sferza come schiavi.

“È bello e dolce l'amor della patria, dicevano con entusiasmo gli antichi;—è bello e dolce l'amore della patria, ripetevano con pari ardore i loro posteri; è bello e dolce..... che cosa, Signor Magnifico?”

E' bello e dolce l'amore delle cinquecento lire, della onorabilità perpetua, del potere, delle decorazioni britanne, soggiunge il Signor Savona, soggiungono colla massima esultanza, i satelliti del nuovo tiranno...che gridano oggi per mettere i ceppi all'isola, quando nel 1879 fingevano di lavorare per renderla libera e grande!

No. 22.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY to GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON,
G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

SIR,

Downing Street, January 3, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 20th of December*, reporting that, at the meeting of the Council of Government on the 19th of December, Dr. Roncali, speaking on behalf of the elected members, objected to the passing of any votes for education unless the demands of those members, that Italian should be made the fundamental language of education, and the teaching of Maltese as a language should be abolished, were conceded; and that all the elected members except Mr. Bugeja, who was not present, endorsed what Dr. Roncali had said.

2. I hope that on learning the views of Her Majesty's Government as communicated to you in my Despatch of the 18th ultimo†, the elected members will perceive that their views and wishes have received the fullest consideration, and have been met so far as is possible, and that they will not persist in their opposition to the educational votes.

3. Should they, however, unfortunately unanimously oppose the votes you will, if necessary, pass them by your casting vote. In taking that course you will be acting in accordance with the instruction conveyed to you in my Despatch of the 8th of March last.‡

4. It is to be remembered that the effect of the rejection of these votes would be to close the schools throughout the Island, and to deprive the school teachers and other officers of the Government employed in the education department of their salaries; and Her Majesty's Government cannot permit the elected members to cause such serious evils to the Island.

5. It is, moreover, manifestly a matter of the highest Imperial interest that the inhabitants of an important military station like Malta should not, by the sudden withdrawal of the provision for education, have brought upon them a social revolution entailing much distress and injury. They must have secured to them the means of acquiring a knowledge not only of their own language, but also of English and Italian, and there can be no doubt that if the votes in question were rejected "the public interests and credit" would be seriously affected.

Sir A. Borton.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

* No. 18.

† No. 15.

‡ No. 8 of [C.—3524] of March 1883.

No. 23.

GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY. (Received January 17, 1884.)

MY LORD,

Palace, Valletta, January 12, 1884.

I CAUSED your Lordship's Despatch, of the 18th December,* to be laid on the table of the Council on the 9th instant; and at the same meeting of Council the Chief Secretary delivered a speech on the language question.

2. I enclose a report of the Chief Secretary's speech.

3. The elected members asked for an adjournment in order to deliberate as to what course they should adopt, and after disposing of routine business I adjourned the Council till yesterday.

4. At the meeting of Council yesterday the elected members, with the exception of Mr. Bugeja, handed in their resignation.

5. With the consent of Mr. Bugeja the ordinary educational votes were then passed, thus completing all the routine votes of the general estimates for 1884.

6. The Council has been adjourned *pro formâ* till Wednesday next, 16th instant, but it is my intention to adjourn it *sine die* before that day arrives.

7. I cannot but express my opinion that Mr. Bugeja has behaved with great firmness and good sense under very trying circumstances, and has shown that he is neither to be intimidated nor cajoled into adopting a course which he conscientiously regards as detrimental to the interests of the Colony.

8. I am glad to be able to inform your Lordship that everything passed off quietly. Notwithstanding the issue of the accompanying notice, and the efforts which were made by the friends of the elected members to obtain a demonstration in their favour, not more than 300 persons assembled in the Palace Square to receive them on leaving the Council.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. BORTON,
Governor.

Enclosure 1 in No. 23.

THE LANGUAGE QUESTION.

At the meeting held yesterday of the Council of Government the Chief Secretary made an important speech, which we publish.

The CHIEF SECRETARY—Sir, in moving that the President leave the chair to go into Committee of Supply, honourable members will doubtless desire that I should take the opportunity of stating the intentions of the Government on the subject of education. The votes for education have been postponed with the consent of honourable members opposite, some of whom have expressed their intention of not consenting to any of the votes for education unless certain of their demands are conceded. I may observe, in passing, that it is at least matter for argument whether the refusal of a vote of this nature, for salaries and ordinary expenses of Government, is an altogether constitutional method of expressing the disapprobation of the Council of an act of Government in its executive capacity. I trust, however, that there will be no necessity to argue that question; and I am, at all events, glad of the opportunity which is now afforded me of making the intentions of the Government clear, and dispelling the misconceptions and misunderstanding which surround this question of education. The demands of hon. members who have

* No. 15.

opposed these votes amount, as I understand them, to this, that the teaching of Maltese in our primary schools be discontinued, and that Italian be made, to all intents and purposes, the fundamental language of education, as it was before the arrival here of Sir Patrick Keenan, in all our educational institutions. Special requests have been made on minor educational points, but they are practically included in the demands I have just enumerated, and in connexion with the demands for the Italianization of our teaching apparatus, requests have been made that in Council all explanations of ordinances be delivered in Italian, that such official members of Council as are able to speak in Italian should be caused to address the Council in that language, and that all documents laid before Council be accompanied by Italian translations. With the permission of the Council I propose to take first the requests which affect our proceedings. With regard to the first two requests which amount to a request that our proceedings should be, as a general rule, conducted in Italian, I need scarcely remind hon. members that English is and has always been the language of the Government. It is true that in the early days of the Council, when the English language was less generally understood in Malta than it is at present, official members of Council who were able to speak in Italian generally used that language; but for many years almost all the official members have addressed the Council in English; and during the last and previous sessions of Council that language was used by more than one of the members on the elected side. Here, in Malta, where English and Italian are both foreign languages, English is now nearly as generally known as Italian; and one of the elected members has, if I am not mistaken, but a moderate acquaintance with Italian. Under all the circumstances of the case the request advanced by hon. members opposite does not appear to be reasonable, and we do not, therefore, feel justified in granting it. We cannot undertake to make any change in the language of the Council, nor accede to the demand that explanations of ordinances should be delivered in Italian, nor can we comply with the suggestion that official members should speak Italian. The Secretary of State has however given permission for the employment of an interpreter, should the elected member who stated he did not understand English desire it, to explain to him the substance of the speeches delivered by the official members of Council—subject, of course to the pay of the interpreter being voted by the Council, and I trust that hon. members opposite will find this concession, for all practical purposes, sufficient. As regards the request that documents laid on the Council table should be accompanied by translations into Italian, this practice was discontinued in 1879 on grounds of economy; and to resume it will cost money. We are ready, however, to facilitate the examination of documents laid on the Council table by every means in our power; and should hon. members opposite conceive that it is necessary, under the circumstances, that such translations should be made, and be prepared to vote the necessary expense, we are ready to meet their wishes in the matter. I now come to the demands on the subject of education. Honourable members will recollect that at our first meeting I made a declaration on behalf of the Government that it was not the intention of the Government to force the English language, or any other language, upon the people of Malta. It seems to me, nay it is clear, from what hon. members on the other side have said, that the object of those who have put forward these demands is to abolish the Maltese language, and practically to substitute for it, as the language of the people of Malta, the Italian language. It is now my duty to reiterate the declaration I have already made, and to express the clear intention of the Government not to allow Italian thus to be forced on the people of Malta. For this reason, if for no other, we cannot consent to allow the teaching of Maltese in the primary schools to be discontinued, nor Italian to be made the fundamental language of education in the schools. I have no wish to enter into any ethnological or philological discussions. The assertions put forward that the Maltese are Italians, that Maltese is a corrupt dialect and not a language, are mere assertions. They have not been, and I think cannot be, supported by any proofs, and do not require from me more than a simple and unqualified denial. Nor is it any part of my duty to suggest to the hon. members opposite who have put forward these arguments, sentiments of attachment to a language which was the first they ever spoke—their native language—the sole language of six-sevenths of their countrymen—a language which, through centuries of foreign occupation,—Greek, Roman, Saracenic, Norman, Spanish, through the rule of the Knights of St. John, and during the 70 years which have elapsed since Malta became at her own desire, once and for all, an integral part of the British Empire, has preserved, although until within comparatively recent times unwritten, its universality, its vitality, and its characteristic vigour; a language which, although it has incorporated in itself many words which are derived from the various languages with which it has been brought

in contact, has clothed these words in a Maltese dress, has compelled them to accept its inflexions and does not offer a single instance, as far as I am aware, of one of its own forms—phonetic, etymological, or idiomatic,—having been corrupted by association with its competitors. Can hon. members point to a similar instance in the philological history of the world? Apart, however, from questions of nationality and purity of language, this very vitality of Maltese would in itself be sufficient to frustrate any attempt to carry into effect the aspirations of hon. members opposite. Has not the experiment been tried for 40 years? And has not the result been a most miserable failure? At this day, after 40 years of attempts to discourage Maltese, at least 130,000 out of 150,000 of the inhabitants of these islands speak that language and no other; and the sole result of ignoring Maltese in the primary schools has been that the children of the poor have, as a body, grown up with their minds uncultivated, and untouched by the refining influences of education. Any man who has visited one of our primary schools since the establishment of the existing system, and has paid attention to the methods of education now in force, will not have failed to mark the difference between the use of Maltese and the use of Italian or English, as the vehicle of instruction. The Italian lesson, the English lesson, may be well performed, the reading be articulate, the grammar correct, but the children seem dull and uninterested. At a word of Maltese, the native language, the child's countenance brightens, intelligence leaps into the eyes, the mind is awakened and prepares itself to receive and to develop the ideas which are conveyed to it from the mind of the teacher. I am not now discussing the rival merits of English and Italian, nor am I referring to the system of education in the Lyceum or the University, or even in the highest classes of the primary schools. I am dealing with the education of the mass of the children in the primary schools, who stay not more than two years at school, and seldom, if ever, get beyond the lower classes. It is in the interest of these children, the bulk of the children of the poor, that the teaching of Maltese in the lower classes of the primary schools has been commenced; and in their interests we are resolved to maintain it. I now come to the question, whether English or Italian should be allowed to have, after Maltese, the precedence in our primary schools; and whether any modification should be allowed in the arrangements which have recently been made for the encouragement of English in the Lyceum and the University. It is scarcely necessary for me to repeat, that in what has been done, there has been no intention on the part of the Government to discourage the study of the Italian language. The importance of Italian is fully recognised by the Government especially from a social and commercial point of view, and I have already stated that we have no intention to force the English language on the Courts of Law. Italian can be thoroughly learnt in the primary schools, and in the Lyceum and the University, although English receives, as it ought, more encouragement than formerly, by far the greater number of subjects are taught in Italian. As regards the primary schools the slight preponderance which has been given to English in the second class of these schools has been given after due reflection and on what appear to be solid grounds. First, that if an attempt were made to teach both English and Italian in the second class of the primary schools, too heavy a call would be made on the intellectual faculties of children eight or nine years old; and secondly that as it is therefore necessary to choose which of the two languages Italian or English is to have the precedence in this class of the primary schools, it is evident that to the class of children who do not get beyond the lower classes of the primary schools, a knowledge of English is of more value than a knowledge of Italian. Both these propositions appear to me to be self evident; but as the latter has been disputed, it may be worth while to discuss it a little. Children of the class to which I have referred (and they represent the bulk of the children of the labouring classes), if they live and remain in the country and engage in agricultural pursuits, require no language but Maltese. If they seek employment in town a knowledge of Italian will put them in no better position than if they knew only Maltese, whereas if they know English the field of English employment is opened to them. A good knowledge of English will be of assistance in obtaining for them employment and advancement in the service of the dockyard and of the engineers; and if they intend to engage as domestic servants, will enable them to earn better wages than if they were unacquainted with English. I think it may safely be said that almost every employer of labour in Malta who speaks Italian and does not understand English, speaks and understands Maltese, whereas of those employers of labour here who understand English, and do not understand Italian, scarcely any understand Maltese. From the point of view therefore of a man who intends to support himself by labour or domestic service in Malta, a knowledge of Italian is, although no doubt an evidence of education, and so far valuable, for all practical purposes a super-

fluous accomplishment. As regards emigration, I do not suppose hon. members regard Italy as a favourable field for the energies of the Maltese labourer. That country is, I believe, overstocked with labour already, and many Italian and Sicilian labourers annually emigrate. As regards the coast of Africa, the language which is most useful to the Maltese emigrant of the labouring class is the Maltese. A man who knows Maltese can understand and make himself understood by any man who talks and understands Arabic. I may be told that Italian is the commercial language of Malta; so, no doubt, it is to a great extent, and, I am also told that Italian is generally used in some ports on the coast of the Mediterranean. I know not what truth there may be in this. But we are dealing now with children who are likely to become labourers, artizans, and domestic servants, not with the class of children who are likely to embark in mercantile pursuits either here or abroad. Italian is, as I have said, thoroughly taught in the primary schools; and any boy whose parents can spare him for a time sufficiently long to enable him to fit himself for commercial pursuits, can thoroughly learn that language before he goes to the Lyceum. To our labouring classes Italian cannot be said to be a necessity (although no doubt it may be of some use) in the matter of emigration. With English, the question is different. I do not say that emigration is a necessity. I do not wish to bind the Government at present to any opinion that emigration should be encouraged or otherwise, but, if it be, as some assert, a sovereign remedy for our ills, there can be no question that the best field for it is in Australia. At Sydney a man who works with a pick and shovel, an ordinary unskilled labourer, could earn when I was there seven years ago, 5s. a day in eight hours work. And I see from Mr. De Cesare's report that such a man can now earn from 7s. to 9s.; skilled labour is of course more highly paid. A carpenter can earn 10s. or 11s., a mason 12s. a day, and other wages are in proportion. As to food, mutton is 3*d.* and beef 4*d.* a pound, and other articles of food at least as cheap or cheaper than they are here. House rent and wages are the only things that are dear. As to climate, a man can suit himself in Australasia. In New South Wales and Victoria it is like here in Malta, bright and bracing in winter, bright and hot in summer, and as healthy as it is possible for a climate to be. But I must not inflict on hon. members a disquisition on the advantages of Australasia as a field for emigration. They will find full particulars of these advantages in the valuable reports which have been supplied by Mr. De Cesare and laid on the table of the Council. Suffice it is to say that Australia is a paradise for a working man, provided he be steady, hard-working, and have a knowledge of English. The two first qualifications the Maltese labourer possesses in an eminent degree. It is the object of the Government to add the third to the list. I trust hon. members will consider that I have sufficiently justified the action of the Government in giving a preference to English in the second class of the primary schools. That these measures have met with the approval of the persons principally interested is suggested by the fact that the number of children in these schools, which had been stationary for some years, increased by 1,200 between 1880 and 1882; and the Government being still of opinion that the encouragement which is given to the English language in the primary schools is justified, are not prepared to withdraw the advantages which have been brought within the reach of the people by these arrangements. In deference, however, to the wishes of hon. members opposite, should they, after hearing the explanations which have been made, still desire it, we are ready, should hon. members think it necessary to give further encouragement to Italian, to consider if by any means such encouragement can be given, without interfering materially with the study of English, and of course of Maltese; so as to make the two languages run in appearance, as well as, as at present they do, in fact, hand in hand in the primary schools; and we shall be ready to receive and to give due consideration to any reasonable suggestions which may be made to us on this subject. As regards the Lyceum and the University, Italian, in these institutions, occupies a more favourable position than English, and in the Lyceum the recent arrangements for the encouragement of English have received the expressed and written approval of the majority of the parents and guardians of the scholars, whilst the number of applications for admission has increased from 125 in 1881 to 224 in 1883. It cannot be seriously argued that, Malta being an integral part of the British Empire, too much encouragement is being given to English; nor can it be said that the teaching of Italian is in any way discouraged in the Lyceum or the University: and we cannot undertake to withdraw the advantages which have been offered by the recent arrangements for the encouragement of English. The Secretary of State has, however, authorised the Government to grant permission for the professors and teachers, as a general rule, to choose the language, Italian or English, in

which they will deliver their lectures; and we shall be ready to consider any reasonable applications which we may receive from professors and teachers on the subject. I trust that the concessions which I have announced, which are the utmost the Government feel justified in making, will be sufficient to convince hon. gentlemen not only that we have no intention of placing difficulties in the way of the study of Italian, but that we are willing that the two languages should run side by side, throughout our educational system. If anything Italian has the best of it. The two languages are practically on equal terms in the primary schools, and in the Lyceum and University Italian is in a better position than English. It only remains for me to lay on the table, for the information of hon. members, the Despatch we have received from the Secretary of State on the subject of the language question. The statement I have made embodies the decisions at which the Secretary of State has arrived; and I venture to express the hope that hon. members will accept the concessions we are ready to make in the spirit in which they are offered, and will unite with the Government in its efforts for the intellectual and material welfare of the people of Malta.

The hon. member concluded by moving that the President leave the chair.

Enclosure 2 in No. 23.

I sottoscritti, altri dei membri elettivi del Consiglio di Governo, in conseguenza del dispaccio del Segretario di Stato per le Colonie del 18 Dicembre 1883, edopo la discussione tenuta oggi in proposito nel detto Consiglio, si dimettano dalla carica di membri elettivi dello stesso Consiglio.

A di 11 di Gennajo 1884.

(Signed) CARLO MARIA MUSCAT.
CAN. PEN. PAOLO AGIUS.
DR. Z. RONCALLI.
ARTURO BARBARO.
C. KIRTON.
DR. FORTUNATO MIZZI.

Enclosure 3 in No. 23.

TRANSLATION.

MALTESE,

IN consequence of the late Despatch from the Colonial Minister, insulting the Maltese and their representatives, and giving a kick to our constitution, our representatives have, with one exception, decided on tendering their resignations. The electors and all citizens are therefore invited to assemble on St. George's Square, to-day at 3 P.M., to receive, after the sitting of Council, those honest men, who, faithful to their pledges, are determined to show in deed that they went to the Council to further not their interests but our own.

No. 24.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY to GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON,
G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

SIR,

Downing Street, January 23, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 12th of January* transmitting a copy of the speech on the language question delivered by the Chief Secretary at the meeting of the Council on the 9th instant, and reporting that the elected members, with the exception of Mr. Bugeja, had resigned.

* No. 23.

I request you to convey to Mr. Hely-Hutchinson my approval of his clear and able speech, and I share your appreciation of the firmness and good sense displayed by Mr. Bugeja under circumstances of some difficulty.

I have, &c.

Sir A. Borton.

(Signed) DERBY.

No. 25.

GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY. (Received February 16, 1884.)

MY LORD,

Palace, Valletta, February 11, 1884.

I HAVE received from the Director of Education a communication, of which a copy is enclosed, requesting me to have published, as an appendix to the proceedings of Council on the 11th of January last, the accompanying letter which Mr. Savona has addressed to Captain Kirton, Agent of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, and published in the "Malta Times."

2. I have not felt justified in acceding to Mr. Savona's request, as I conceive that the actual proceedings of Council should alone be published in the report of the debates.

3. At the same time, inasmuch as Captain Kirton saw fit to make what cannot but be regarded as a personal attack on Mr. Savona in a letter addressed to your Lordship, and chose, moreover, to read that letter in Council, I think it is only fair to Mr. Savona that equal publicity should be given to the letter which he has addressed to Captain Kirton in reply to that attack. I therefore forward the letter to your Lordship with a request that in case the attack upon Mr. Savona is made public in England equal publicity may be given to his reply.

4. I may mention that I have received from Captain Kirton a communication referring me to section 79 of the Colonial Regulations, and inquiring whether Mr. Savona published his letter in a local newspaper with my authorisation. I informed Captain Kirton that no authorisation was either asked for or given. Captain Kirton has not, so far, replied to Mr. Savona's letter.

5. I do not think that Mr. Savona can be blamed for having replied in this public manner to the charges which Captain Kirton has thought fit to bring against him. The attack was a personal one, and was publicly made; and Captain Kirton, by imitating the other elected members in their sudden and wholesale secession, deprived Mr. Savona of an opportunity of replying to him in Council.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) A. BORTON,
Governor.

Enclosure 1 in No. 25.

The DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION to the CHIEF SECRETARY.

SIR,

Education Office, Valletta, February 6, 1884.

I HAVE the honour to enclose a copy of the "Malta Times" of the 26th ultimo, containing a letter which I addressed to Mr. C. Kirton, late member of the Council of Government, and to request that the letter referred to may be printed as an appendix to the stenographer's report of the sitting of Council held on the 11th of January.

You are aware that on that day the elected members, after having delivered a series of set speeches, containing several misstatements and misrepresentations concerning the action of both the local and the Imperial Government with reference to the language question, hastily left the Council Chamber without affording any of the official members an opportunity of explaining or justifying the Government policy. On that occasion Mr. Kirton read a letter which he had addressed to the Earl of Derby on the 3rd December, and which contained a violent personal attack against me, based on palpably erroneous or grossly exaggerated statements; and as Mr. Kirton left the Chamber with his colleagues I felt it my duty to reply to some of the statements made by him and by

his colleagues, in order to repel the groundless charges which he had thought fit to address to the Secretary of State against me in my capacity of Director of Education.

As that letter simply contains the substance of what I would have said to Mr. Kirton from my place in Council, if, after making the attack against me, he had waited to listen to my defence, and as it contains a vindication of my conduct and of the policy pursued by the local Government, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, I trust that his Excellency the Governor will be pleased to authorise its publication as an appendix to the stenographer's report, in order that an official record may be preserved of the answer made by the head of the Education Department to the groundless and erroneous assertions made by the elected members of Council on the 11th January last.

The Hon. W. Hely Hutchison, C.M.G.,
Chief Secretary to Government.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) S. SAVONA,
Director of Education.

Enclosure 2 in No. 25.

EXTRACT from the "MALTA TIMES," Saturday, January 26, 1884.

To Captain COOPER KIRTON, Agent of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, late Member of the Council of Government of Malta, &c.

SIR,

ON the 3rd December 1883, you addressed to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies a letter concerning the policy of the Government with regard to the position of the English language in Malta. On the 11th instant you thought it your duty to read that letter in the Council of Government, omitting, however, that portion thereof which contained what I consider a violent personal attack against me; and though, in compliance with my request, you were good enough to read to the Council the whole of your production, you then followed the example of your late colleagues on the elected bench and left the Council Chamber, without affording me and the other official members an opportunity of replying to the statements made by your colleagues, or to the personal attack which you had thought fit to address to the Secretary of State against me as Director of Education. As most of the statements contained in that letter are in direct and manifest contradiction with the real facts, as recorded in a public report which had been laid before you, and which you had read, whilst others are without any foundation whatever, I trust you will permit me to point out the misstatements and misrepresentations contained in that letter, and to express a hope that, should I succeed in convincing you that the statements contained therein were made before you had time to examine calmly and dispassionately the true bearings of the language question, and were consequently erroneous, you will not hesitate, as a gentleman and a Christian, to withdraw them.

2. You charge me with having declared "that I was prepared to carry out my plans "in spite of all the elected members of Council." I beg most emphatically to deny that statement, and I invite you—I invite any of your colleagues—to prove *when, to whom, and under what circumstances* that statement was reported to you to have been made.

3. You assert, without attempting to prove anything, "that the people feel that "in spite of all the promises of the Imperial Government, in spite of all the "solemn assurances of the Chief Secretary, the English language will be forced "upon them and the Italian language abolished;" that "the cause of all this bad "feeling is the programme of the Director of Education;" that my "idea is to abolish "Italian altogether, substituting English;" and you go on to ask "whether the "opinions of Mr. Savona or the wishes of the Maltese people are to prevail." In substance you assert that having decided to abolish the Italian language altogether, and to substitute the English in its stead, I had determined to carry out my plans in spite of all the elected members of Council, in spite of the promises of the Imperial Government, in spite of all the solemn assurances of the Chief Secretary, in spite of the wishes of the Maltese people.

4. Sir, I must confess that when I first read your letter I was amazed on finding that a gentleman of your age, your standing, and your experience, should have made such statements in a public document, addressed to Her Majesty's Government, on a most important question; for I am sorry to have to add not only that there is no foundation

whatever for any of those statements, but that the official documents which were laid before you as a member of Council and which, I presume, you read before making those statements, contain unimpeachable evidence of the erroneousness of those statements.

5. And, first of all, as to my "idea of abolishing the Italian language altogether." You have not considered it necessary to produce any reason for attributing to me so absurd, nay so impossible, an idea. The report which I had the honour to present to his Excellency the Governor on the 8th of February 1883, long before there was any probability of your being elected a member of Council, and which was laid on the Council table on the 31st October last, more than a month before you wrote the letter in question, contains very full explanations as to the position of the Italian language in the primary schools, the Lyceum, and the University, in accordance, not with my programme but with the instructions of both the local and the Imperial authorities; for I think it hardly necessary, in addressing a person of your standing, your ability, and your experience, to add that I have no power and no authority to do anything whatever without the sanction and the approval of my superiors.

6. If you or your informants had taken the trouble to examine carefully the report referred to, as you were bound to do before bringing forward such serious charges against the chief of an important public department, you would have found that the Italian language is taught in the two higher classes of the primary schools (Appendix G, pages 65 and 66; that an examination in Italian reading and dictation is obligatory on all pupils seeking admission into the Lyceum, (page 74, Appendix L., paragraph 10; that the Italian language is obligatory in every class of each of the three departments attended by the boys on the roll of the Lyceum, and that instruction in that language is given during one hour every day (page 74, Appendix L., paragraphs 1, 2, 3, and 4, and pages 83, 84, and 85, Appendix N. O. and P.); that an examination in the language and history of Italy is obligatory on all students seeking admission into the University (page 86, Appendix Q., paragraph 4, and page 87, Appendix R., paragraphs 1 and 2); that a three years' course of Italian literature is obligatory on all students attending the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, where students aspiring to enter the Faculties of Theology, Law or Medicine, pursue the studies required for admission into the several academical courses (page 86, Appendix Q., Article 1), each student being obliged to undergo an examination in Italian literature at the end of each of the three years, on the subjects detailed in the syllabi published at the beginning of each course, in conformity with Article 2 of Appendix Q. quoted above; that an examination on a three years' course of Italian literature is obligatory on all students seeking admission into any of the Faculties of Theology, Law or Medicine (Article 7 of Appendix Q.) you would have found that Italian is the language of instruction in all the Schools of the Arts' Faculty, with the exception of that of English literature, and in all the schools of all the other three Faculties of Theology, Law and Medicine, with the exception of that of public law, in the Faculty of Law.

7. And, with all these facts before you, the truth of which might have been verified by visiting the primary schools, the Lyceum, and the University, you, the representative in Malta of one of the naval and mercantile glories of England, the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, in your capacity of representative of the people of Malta,—you, sir, had the courage deliberately to sit down and to inform Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies that "Mr. Savona's idea is to abolish the Italian language altogether." But this is not all. In the same letter you proceed to state that "the people are agreeable to let the two languages run side by side, and the elected members are prepared to vote any sums required for such a purpose, *but this concession will not satisfy Mr. Savona.* It therefore rests with your Lordship to decide whether the opinion of Mr. Savona or the wishes of the Maltese people are to prevail." I have proved to you, by the unanswerable logic of facts, that it is not true that I ever had any idea of abolishing the Italian language; that far from my entertaining so absurd an idea I succeeded in placing the Italian language on an equal footing with the English, in the Lyceum and in the University; fully provided for the adequate teaching of the elements of the Italian language in the primary schools; and all this in opposition to the suggestions made by Sir P. Keenan in his Report, which was approved by Her Majesty's Government.

8. In fact, Sir P. Keenan, in the summary of recommendations at page 105 of his Report proposed that "English, and English only, taught through the medium of the

Maltese, to be the future language of the schools. But the pupils to be at liberty, on reaching the third or fourth class, to take up, as an extra branch before or after the ordinary school hours the study of Italian (Article V.) Notice to be given that these new regulations will be introduced at once into any school the teacher of which is qualified to give instruction in English; and that from some appointed date, say the 1st of January 1881, they will be made obligatory in every case. Teachers found incompetent to carry them out to be superseded on pension (Article IX.) All future pupils of the Lyceum to be taught their lessons through the medium of English; and Italian, if they choose to learn it, to be studied as an extra branch (Article XI.) In the University the language of instruction to be changed to English in every faculty, except the theological, in which, in reliance upon the rule which his Grace the Archbishop has laid down that all "aspirants to the ecclesiastical office shall pass an examination in English before they are promoted to holy orders," the question of language is to be an open one, the professors, however, being relieved from the obligation of the statute requiring them to use Italian (Article XIII.) Should it become necessary to remove any of the professors or masters of the University or Lyceum, owing to their want of proficiency in the English language, the Government to award them as liberal pensions as possible (Article XVI.)"

9. The above are some of the suggestions made by Sir P. Keenan with regard to the languages to be taught in the public schools. Even if all this had been acted upon or carried out, it would have been Sir P. Keenan's programme and not mine. But these suggestions were not acted upon, because I thought many of them impracticable. Sir P. Keenan virtually excluded Italian from the primary schools: I recommended that it should be taught in the third and fourth classes, because I thought it was required principally by those who wished to continue their studies in the Lyceum, the University, or other schools. The changes introduced have been made gradually, and no teachers have been dismissed or superannuated merely because they were not able to carry out the new regulations on the 1st January 1881 or 1882. Sir P. Keenan proposed that Italian should be excluded from the curriculum of the Lyceum and left to be studied as an extra branch: I made the study of Italian obligatory in all the schools of the Lyceum. Sir P. Keenan proposed that all future pupils of the Lyceum should be taught their lessons through the medium of English, and that in the University the language of instruction should be changed to English, in all the faculties except the theological: on my recommendation the language of instruction has continued to be the Italian in all the faculties, and English has been introduced in only a few schools of the Lyceum, viz., in those of arithmetic and mathematics, geography, book-keeping, and physical science. All this is fully explained in the report alluded to. If you have read that report, you must have seen that all the changes effected in the University and Lyceum were first submitted to a special commission, appointed by his Excellency the Governor, and after they had been discussed and approved by that commission, the schemes for re-organising the Lyceum and the Arts' Faculty of the University were sanctioned by his Excellency on the 18th April 1881, and laid on the Council table a few days after. From April 1881 to the 19th April 1882, those schemes remained on the Council table, and when, on the latter date, I brought forward the education votes for 15,453*l.*, neither Dr. Mizzi nor Dr. Naudi, who were both members of Council, nor any other elected member, uttered one word of criticism or disapproval of any of the changes that had been introduced in the Education Department. And all this notwithstanding, you, sir, have thought fit to address the Secretary of State, in the name of the people of Malta, and to accuse me of having caused by my programme all the bad feeling that, as you allege, exists in the island. I do not know to what extent any such bad feeling exists; but, if it does exist, it has been caused by the misrepresentations and the mis-statements which were artfully circulated all over the island during the late general election. One would have thought that, before endorsing views as absurd and mischievous as those which attribute to me the idea of abolishing the Italian language altogether and of forcing or substituting the English, you would have deemed it necessary to examine whether they were true or not. If you had done so, you would never have made in official correspondence statements which are not only untrue, but are in direct opposition to the real facts of the case.

10. But not satisfied with attributing to me the idea of abolishing the Italian language altogether, you have added thereto my intention of substituting English. You do not appear to have reflected, whilst attributing to me such preposterous designs, that I had no power and no authority to carry out any such measures; and, consequently, even if

there had been any such idea or intention, the responsibility would fall not on me but on either the local or the Imperial authorities, with whom alone it rests to sanction any such changes. But is there any truth in the statement so deliberately made? Is it true that the English language is to be forced upon the people and the Italian language abolished? Both the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Chief Secretary to Government have publicly declared that there is no intention to substitute the English for the Italian language in the law courts. As to the public schools, there has been no forcing and no substitution of English for Italian. The little that has been done to encourage and diffuse the study of the English language in the public schools has been in perfect accordance with the patriotic and enlightened views expressed by the Archbishop Bishop of Malta in the letter which his Grace addressed to Sir P. Keenan on the 8th November 1878. "It has been intimated to us," said his Grace, "that you are most anxious to have a more prominent place given to the study of the English language in the curriculum of the public schools in order to make it more widely known and more generally practised. This is a most laudable desire on your part; and we are of opinion that no measure is better calculated to draw closer the ties that firmly bind these islands to the largest empire the world ever beheld, as a distinguished English prelate called it on a recent occasion; and no project could be more beneficial than a more extensive teaching of the English language which, by rendering its use as general as possible, conduces to create a permanent feeling between us and the invincible nation whose subjects we are proud to be and whose language we are ready to adopt." In what has been done for the encouragement of the English language, the Government, whilst adopting the sentiments expressed by his Grace, have acted in conformity with the desire which, ever since the beginning of the present century, has been manifested by the intelligent classes of the community. The schools most numerously attended by the Maltese have always been those in which English was the language of instruction, such as those established by Messrs. Dalzel, Maturin, Horne, Howard, Dunbar, Lawson, Wilson, Butler, Hoskins, &c. Mr. Watson's infant and juvenile school, where nothing but English was taught by English teachers, was for many years attended by a large number of children of both sexes, many of them belonging to the better class. In more recent times Mr. Twelves's, Mr. Gavin's, the institution under my direction and that under Mr. Flores, though the fees charged were 10 and even 20 times higher than those paid for the Lyceum, were also, and some of them are still, very numerously attended. But perhaps the strongest and most recent proof given by the Maltese of their marked preference for schools where English is the basis of instruction, that is where all subjects are taught in English, is to be had in the origin and progress of St. Ignatius College founded at St. Julian's five or six years ago by English Jesuit Fathers. Mr. Muscat, till a few days ago the leader of the elected bench, and Dr. P. Mifsud, one of the most distinguished members of the late Council, were the promoters of that college; and though all the teachers are English, except those of Italian — though Greek, Latin, mathematics, history, geography, and every other subject, except Italian, are taught through the medium of English,—though English is the language which the students are obliged to speak even out of school hours—that college is attended by almost every Maltese boy whose parents are able to pay 40% or 50% a year for his education, and among others by the son of Dr. Naudi, another of your late colleagues. And if the intelligent and well-to-do classes have for a long and uninterrupted series of years shown so marked a preference for those schools in which alone the English language can be thoroughly mastered, because it is the language of instruction, why should you and your colleagues, who are supposed to represent the views and to protect the interests of the people, so violently oppose the introduction of English as the language of instruction in only a few of the schools of the Lyceum? Why should you make any opposition, even if English were to form the basis of instruction in all the classes, as it is in St. Ignatius College? Why should you so vehemently insist on securing the supremacy of the Italian language? As to the bad feeling which is said to prevail, I can see no evidence of it among the persons most deeply interested in the question—the parents of the children attending the public schools. Not only is the number of pupils attending the elementary schools on the increase, but in some thickly populated towns, such as Cospicua, the children of most respectable parents,—physicians, advocates, land-surveyors, clerks, merchants,—have abandoned the private schools, to be admitted into the Government elementary schools. No later than September last, after the changes introduced in the Lyceum had been most violently denounced for several months, no less than 227 boys presented themselves for admission to the Lyceum, of whom only 69 could be admitted for want of space.

11. Whatever you and your political friends may think on the subject, you may rest assured that all that has been done in the public schools, with the view of promoting the diffusion of the English language in Malta, since my appointment to the Directorship of Education, has been done for the benefit of all classes of the population.

As to the primary schools, "the great majority of the children attending these schools in the rural districts, either remain in their native village, gaining their livelihood as artisans or labourers, or seek employment in Valletta and the other towns. If they remain in their native village they require no other language than their own, and the Italian can be of very little, if any, use to them. In the towns, whilst the Italian would be comparatively useless, owing to the very few Italian speaking residents, a knowledge of English has become indispensable to all classes of the working population. Whether they earn their living on the shores of the harbours, as sailors, firemen, coalheavers, boatmen or porters, as policemen, artillerymen, domestic servants, messengers in Government offices, tradesmen, or shop-keepers, as labourers or artisans under the Royal Engineer or Commissariat Department, in the Hydraulic Dock or the Royal Dockyard, a knowledge of the English language will prove of great benefit and assistance to them, infinitely more so than a knowledge of Italian. As to those children who may be desirous to pursue their studies in intermediate schools and in the University, they and all the children that remain long enough at school may study the Italian language in the third and fourth classes." (See my Report, page 6, paragraph 22.)

12. As I have already proved the Italian language continues to be as well taught as it had ever been in every class of the Lyceum; and besides the Italian language the history of Italy is also taught. English instead of Italian is used as the language of instruction in a few schools in the Lyceum, because, as stated at page 20, paragraph 78 of the Report above quoted—

"The study of the English language, history and literature will enable the Maltese to become better acquainted with the laws and institutions of England, as well as with the qualities that have raised Englishmen to the proud position which they occupy in the comity of nations. The mastery of those subjects will also contribute to the solution of a problem which has for many years engaged the attention of both the Government and the people of these islands. I allude to the position of the hundreds of young men belonging to the middle and even the higher class, who, after completing their education, are unable to find employment. A thorough knowledge of English would enable these young men to enjoy, in the United Kingdom and in the British Colonies, the privileges which appertain to them as British subjects, such a knowledge would enable them to compete successfully for the numerous honourable and lucrative situations which are open to all Her Majesty's subjects in the Civil Service, in the British Army and Navy, as well as in the Indian Empire, more especially if Her Majesty's Government will accede to the proposal embodied in an address to Her Majesty which I had the honour to move in the Council of Government on the 1st May 1878, praying that examinations for the situations above mentioned should be held in Malta. That proposal was recommended by Sir Charles Straubenzee, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, and the Earl of Kimberley, as well as by your Excellency, and the Earl of Derby would confer on this country an inestimable boon, if his Lordship were to succeed in persuading Her Majesty's Government to grant to the Maltese the concession which they have so long been asking for. Such being my convictions, I shall do whatever lies in my power to promote and encourage the study of the language, history and literature of England, than which no measure, in the words of the Archbishop Bishop of Malta, 'is better calculated to draw closer the ties that firmly bind these islands to the largest empire the world ever beheld.'"

13. As to the value and importance of a thorough knowledge of English to the students of Law and Medicine in the University. I have already pointed out that—

"Many most honourable and most lucrative careers would be open to Maltese barristers possessing a thorough knowledge of the English language, in the British Consular Courts in the East, on the northern shores of Africa and in Egypt, either as judges, (like Dr. F. Arpa), as legal vice-consuls, or as pleaders. There is no disguising the fact that both the legal and the medical professions in Malta are overstocked, and no means should therefore be neglected that are likely to open an outlet to the intelligent and enterprising members of these professions. The English language, as opening a wide field, not only in the countries mentioned above, but in India and in all the British Colonies and possessions, should be thoroughly mastered by all those whose legitimate and laudable ambition need not be confined within the limits of these

small and over populated islands. The example of the late lamented Dr. Parnis, of Dr. Arpa, Dr. L. Ullò, Dr. A. Mattei, and, quite recently, of Drs. C. Ghio, H. Mifsud, and V. Tabone, will, I sincerely trust, inspire the rising members of both the legal and the medical professions with the determination to go and do likewise to gain honour for themselves and their country and also for their Alma Mater, through the length and breadth of the British Empire. The key to this wide field for fame and fortune is a thorough knowledge of the English language." (Page 46, paragraph 146).

14. These are some of the reasons which have induced me, with the sanction and approval of both the local and the Imperial authorities, to provide for the better teaching of the English language, history and literature, and to promote and encourage the study of English in the primary schools, the Lyceum and the University, making, at the same time, ample provision for the thorough study of the Italian language. A great deal was said by your colleagues on the elected bench, which had no doubt been said to you before and which may have induced you to write the letter of the 3rd December, with reference to the forced substitution of the English language for the Italian, which, as they assert, is the language of the Maltese. The same statements had been made for some time in the papers calling themselves anti-reformists. I am sure that, whatever may be the number of persons making any statement, you will admit the necessity of inquiring into its soundness and truth before endorsing and proclaiming it; for if a statement is false it cannot become true, though it may be believed in and repeated by millions. Though both the local and the Imperial authorities have repeatedly declared that there is no intention of substituting the English for the Italian language in the courts of law; though such a substitution could not be effected except by an Ordinance to be passed through all its stages by the Council of Government; the party which you have joined continue to assert that it is the intention of the Government to force the English language upon the law courts. Is that honest? Do you approve of such conduct?

15. Because, for educational purposes, to assist the students in obtaining a colloquial knowledge of the English language, arithmetic, geography, mathematics, book-keeping, and physical science in the Lyceum, and public law in the University, are taught through the medium of English, your party assert that the British Government are determined to force the English language and to abolish Italian altogether from the public schools. I regret being obliged to add that, whatever may be the number of persons who have repeated this statement, whatever may be their position, this statement is not true. In the Arts' Faculty in the University the following subjects are taught:—English, Italian, and Latin literature, mathematics, intellectual and moral philosophy, natural philosophy, political economy, botany, zoology, geology, and inorganic chemistry. Of all these branches, only one, English literature, is taught in English, and mathematics was also taught in English last year, because it had been taught in English in the Lyceum. Is there any indication of a forced substitution of English for Italian in the Arts' Faculty?—In the Faculty of Theology where lectures are given daily, during four years, on dogmatic theology and moral theology, Italian is the language of instruction, though in almost every continental university all lectures in this faculty are given in Latin. Does this show any intention of abolishing the Italian language altogether, and of substituting English in its stead?—Civil, natural, and canon law; criminal, commercial, and maritime law; civil, commercial, and criminal procedure, are taught in Italian in the course of law, extending over four years; public law alone is taught in English. Where is the forced substitution complained of? Lectures on organic and practical chemistry, descriptive anatomy, histology, pathological anatomy, materia medica, physiology, general pathology, surgery, midwifery, hygiene, and public health, forensic medicine and other subjects are taught in Italian in the Faculty of Medicine. Does that mean substitution of English for Italian? Does that mean forcing the English language? It is true I have proposed that, when the next course begins, English should be the language of instruction in all the classes of the School of Medicine. But why? For the benefit of the Imperial Government? For the benefit of the Local Government? No; but entirely for the benefit of the Malta Medical School, for the benefit of the students themselves. It had been endeavoured for many years past to open the army and navy to our physicians and surgeons. During my visit to London in July 1881, I put myself in communication with the President of the General Medical Council and with the Registrar of the Royal College of Physicians, as well as with the Lord President of the Council. On my return to Malta I proposed and carried out, with the concurrence of the special Council of the Faculty and of the Government, several important modifications in the course of studies and in the examinations of this Faculty; and, as stated in my Report, page 44, paragraph 140.

“I have reason to believe that the course of study and the examinations now laid down for the School of Medicine in our University will amply satisfy the Royal College of Physicians and the other licensing bodies in the United Kingdom, and that the graduates from Malta will find no difficulty in obtaining from one of those bodies the license to practice required for registration by the General Medical Council. *But in order that our physicians may be able to compete successfully for surgeonships in the army and navy as well as for the other medical situations open to all Her Majesty's subjects in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, it is necessary that they should be thorough masters of the English language.*”

And as all the text books used in the Faculty of Medicine are by British authors, I recommended that all lectures in the School of Medicine should be delivered in English; and I am sure that even you, sir, will admit that the proposal, if adopted, will open a new field to the talent, skill, and ability of Maltese physicians and surgeons.

16. But the Government are accused of another most nefarious design. They are accused of purposely wasting the time of the children attending the primary schools in teaching them their own native Maltese, instead of teaching them the Italian language, which has been proclaimed to be the language of the Maltese. This question has been so ably and so fully treated by the Chief Secretary to Government, that I do not think it necessary for me to add anything to what has already been so well and so clearly said. But as the authority of the Chief Secretary may not be thought decisive on such a question, you will, I hope, permit me to quote one or two authorities that will not be suspected of being biased in favour of the views of Sir P. Keenan or of the Imperial Government, and that, for the simple reason that they wrote many years before the question which has now become a party cry had been mooted by the Government. Mr. Francis Vella, a Maltese, published at Leghorn, in 1831, a Maltese grammar, in the preface to which I find the following:—

“Those nations which, in different epochs, successively ruled over the Island of Malta, coincided, it seems, in one opinion, namely, in keeping in the state of barbarism the language of the indigenus. They pretended that the Maltese were to come to the knowledge of a foreign tongue by no other means than by the oral communication of those who mastered them. Of the different languages which the Maltese were obliged to adopt, that of neighbouring Italy prevailed, and consequently, it was used by the local authorities, preferably to any other, as a common vehicle for transmitting their orders. *But this adopted language far from becoming universal in the island is now spoken by the limited number of such individuals only as can afford the means to study it, and by the few who learn it by practice in their commercial connexions and intercourse with Italy.*”

17. In 1837, Mr. C. F. Schlienz, writing to Mr. C. H. Bracebridge, a gentleman well known for the interest he took in the cause of education in the Mediterranean countries, said:—

“It is well enough known to anyone acquainted with Malta, that the mother tongue of its natives is the language universally spoken by high and low, the inhabitants of the towns as well as of the villages. . . . The Italian was introduced into these Islands during the existence of the Sicilian Government, and has, ever since, been in use chiefly among the upper, but partly also among the middle classes of the inhabitants of the towns, in addition to their native tongue. A general use has also been made of this language for conducting the affairs of Government, for the proceedings in the Courts of Justice and law proceedings generally for ecclesiastical matters, for the transaction of commercial business, and for the purposes of education. *But up to the present moment the mother tongue of the people, namely the Maltese language, has continued in use throughout the country and at Gozo, and also among the poorer classes in the towns, who, in reality, form the majority of the people, and to whom it has been, and still is, their only organ of communication, whilst, by the upper classes, it continues to be chiefly used in the common affairs of social life. . . . It is chiefly, almost solely, used in the most endearing relations of life. Its influence upon the mind is, therefore, the most extensive and profound. It is par excellence the language of the Maltese; and the Italian is still, after all the labour they may bestow upon it, but a foreign language, and is treated as such.*”

18. Another authority I will quote, with reference to the position which the Maltese and Italian languages should occupy in Malta: I mean that of the Very Rev. Canon Dr. D. Salvatore Cumbo, for many years Professor of Latin and Italian Literature and latterly of Theology, in the University, and Vicar General of the Diocese, and Secretary to the late Monsignor Pace Forno, Archbishop Bishop of Malta. After the well deserved

eulogy of the deceased distinguished prelate made by Dr. F. Mizzi at the last meeting of Council, his authority, will not, I trust, be disputed. Though the extracts from the *Filologo Maltese* are rather long, I do not think any apology required for reproducing them, as they answer, much better than anything that might be written or said by any living persons, most of the objections that have been raised against the teaching of the Maltese language, and the use that is being made of it in the primary schools, whilst the position of the Italian language in Malta is very clearly defined. The first extract is taken from the fourth number of *Il Filologo* of the 3rd November 1839, page 16; and you will observe that the writer could not have been influenced by the programme of the Director of Education :—

“ We are persuaded that if the earliest education were given in the Maltese language, as it is spoken at present ; if this, regularly written, were employed as a means to teach other languages, the acquisition of the latter and the diffusion of instruction would be easier.... We observe that many other Maltese are of the same opinion and that Mr. Francesco Vella, induced by this opinion, has laudably compiled books in the native language for the mutual instruction of the Maltese.”...

“ We are treating of primary education, which does not succeed except in that language which has been acquired from nature.... *We are speaking of a language which has nothing in common with the Italian, of a language which, far from owing its origin to the Italian, is derived (è figlia) entirely from a great Oriental language.*”

“ The object of that education which should necessarily be and which usually is given to the people, is not the cultivation of languages ; but rather to enable the children of the people to manage their own affairs in that sphere of life to which they will have to devote themselves,—to acquire the knowledge required to improve the trades which they will have to follow,—to communicate to their friends, when absent, their own wants and feelings by means of letters, to obtain moral culture by reading useful books. Now if this end can be gained without fail by means of the native language, and much better speaking of the generality, than by means of any other foreign language, why should the native language be banished from primary education? But in any other part of the world people would laugh if any one were to dispute that the language of the country should be used in primary education. If it were a question concerning superior and scientific education, everyone would say that the matter might, to a certain extent, be doubted ; but in dealing with primary education, in dealing with an education which is usually diffused among the people, whatever may be their rank, capacity, or condition, even among those who from their earliest years, in all the days of their life, are obliged to earn their bread by the work of their own hands even among those who have no leisure and no time to turn over vocabularies to read and study grammars ; it is unbearable that anyone should hesitate to decide whether the language of the country should be adopted. And as, if it were employed orally, as some pretend, it would not be sufficient to give a true, identical, and sound understanding of the Italian language, it is necessary that it should be written. We only await the moment to see our language written and adopted in primary education. And let us boldly add that *until the Government decide to adopt it, all the efforts, all the money expended on primary instruction will be wasted.* (30 March 1841) . . .

“ Among the things which a nation usually holds dearest is its language. This is the compendium of a people’s history. This is which gives a people a character of nationality. But should that language happen to be of ancient origin, allied to other most interesting languages, then it becomes an inestimable treasure. Such is our language. It boasts of an antiquity which all the other modern languages of Europe have not ; it opens the way to a profound knowledge of all the Oriental languages. And yet there are some who have thought of depriving us of our language, without reflecting how difficult it is to succeed in such an attempt. And yet our language is banished from the education of the people, losing sight of the fact that the people have no other means of acquiring useful knowledge than the language which Mother Nature has given them. Well! Messrs. Francesco Vella and Pulis, animated by most patriotic feelings, cry out that it is necessary to adopt the popular language for the education of the people. And we have proved the same thing by endless arguments, in many numbers.” (November 4, 1841) . . .

“ It is a principle now universally adopted that all instruction should be given in the native language, because the way to it is easier and shorter. This is known among us also ; but misled by an error, instead of introducing our language we have thought that Italian should be universally adopted. . . . So that thou, O! child of the people!

canst not hope to obtain any sort of instruction ; thou shalt not be able to learn how to improve the cultivation of thy fields, in order that they may yield a more abundant return for thy labour ; thou shalt not learn how to bring to perfection the several trades, or which of them it is more profitable to follow ; thou shalt not make sure of thy interests ; finally thou shalt not know thy rights and thy duties, unless thou hast passed many years in learning *a language that thou hast never heard thy parents speak*. And if thou art naturally dull ; if thy poverty should compel thee to go to work early ; if, tired of pursuing the irksome study of a *language which is not thine own*, thou shouldst stop half-way, as is often the case, thou shalt be compelled to remain for ever in the dark. But in the meantime those whose duty it should have been to instruct thee, through whose fault thou wilt have been deprived of a suitable education, will bear all the blame of thy misfortune, and will have to render an account to Him who created thee to be enlightened. But what evil am I forseeing ? Heaven is smiling more propitiously on thee. For if hitherto they have vainly attempted to instruct thee through languages that are not thine own, now all the attention of those who are bound to superintend thy instruction is turned to have thee educated, instructed and enlightened, through the very medium which Nature has provided for thee." . . .

"The earliest instruction has generally for its object to teach children reading and writing, to which is here added the teaching of the Italian and English languages. But here we must, first of all, point out an error which prevails in our schools. Instead of leading our children to the knowledge and cultivation of the native language, it is endeavoured, from the beginning, to make them read the Italian language. Whence it happens that those children, after having spent much time in learning to read correctly, find themselves always at the beginning, as they do not understand the words which they have learned to read. But this way of teaching, from the beginning, to read Italian, would be suitable to the schools of Italy, where that language, with some slight differences owing to the various dialects is commonly the language of the people, the native language. *But in Malta, where the vernacular is of a character entirely different from the Italian language, where the native idiom is diametrically opposed to that of Italy*, can such a system of instruction be adapted to the capacity of our children ? What would be said if in France or in England primary instruction were to be imparted in Italian ? And yet the language of the French and of the English is not so remote from the Italian as ours is. If, therefore, such a system would, in those countries, appear to be contrary to success in teaching, how is it possible to pronounce a different opinion as to its results in Malta ? But we unfortunately experience its evil effects. Because, in spite of the many efforts on the part of both pupils and teachers, notwithstanding all the endeavours made by the Government for the success of the primary schools, no one has yet left those schools able to take some notes of daily expenses, to make the accounts necessary to manage his own interests, to write a receipt to a debtor or to demand it from his creditors. No one has yet left furnished with the notions required for a good education, with the knowledge of his duties and his rights, and with the means required to improve the exercise of such artistic callings as he may wish to follow. Besides, there are several who tired of mumbling for so long a time in a language which they do not understand at all, turn their back upon those schools which they had first entered in the hope of therefrom deriving some utility for social life." . . .

"We known that some are of opinion that the Maltese language is not to be cultivated, because no books are written in it. But this matters but little ; what does not exist might and should be done. Why is it endeavoured everywhere, even in Malta, to generalize primary instruction ? Of course to promote general utility, that is to improve the condition of the people. But of what use will it be to the latter to be able to read a language which they do not understand ? The generality of the people derive some benefit from instruction when, by means of it, they are enabled to improve the cultivation of their fields, to bring the arts to perfection, to improve even their small dealings, to make sure of their interests. But can the mere reading of a foreign language lead to this ? We cannot here sufficiently praise the noble mind and great patriotism of two Maltese merchants, Pulis and Vella, who have resolved to cause the Maltese language to be cultivated among the Maltese, and more especially of the latter who with great labour has compiled a book for mutual instruction in the vernacular and a grammar of the same language. But we should wish, at the same time, that the great interest evinced in this matter by these illustrious citizens may be crowned with success ; we should wish to see the directors of primary schools availing themselves of the studies pursued by those gentlemen and adopting this language that is so necessary. Then the

primary schools would become useful to the generality of the people and prepare for higher studies those who might desire to pursue them." (27th December 1840.)

19. So firmly convinced was Professor Cumbo of the necessity of cultivating the Maltese language, with the view of employing it as a medium in educating the Maltese, that he went so far as to insist on its being adopted, not only in the primary schools, but also in the Lyceum and the University, as will appear from the following remarks published on the 7th January 1841:—

"But which languages should we consider necessary for scientific studies? Elsewhere it would be said that for such a purpose the most necessary is that language to which the native dialect belongs. So that a Genoese, a Lombard, a Neapolitan, or Sicilian would say that for his countrymen the Italian language is the most necessary. All those who inhabit Great Britain would consider the English language as such. Now, applying these observations to ourselves, which language ought to be considered more necessary to us than any other? We should have no difficulty to say that it is the one which nature has insinuated to us, the Maltese language, because if this were cultivated and the teaching of sciences were imparted through it, the latter would be more easily understood and our education and instruction would be less obstructed. Young men studying sciences, instead of busying themselves too much to understand the language used in the books they study, would be entirely emancipated from them, would more easily abandon themselves to reflection, to the flights of intellect." (7th January 1841.)

20. These were Professor Cumbo's views concerning the use that ought to be made of the Maltese language which your political friends would, if possible, banish entirely, not only from the elementary schools, but from both islands, to force upon a Maltese speaking population of 150,000 souls a language which, in the opinion of so eminent and undisputed an authority, is diametrically opposed to the native idiom. It is because the Government, acting upon the excellent principles advocated by M. A. Vassali, Francesco Vella, Pulis, Cumbo, and more recently by Sir P. Keenan, have decided to use the Maltese language as the medium for instructing and educating the children of the people of Malta, for whom alone the elementary schools are supported at the public expense; it is because the Government have determined, in the interest of the great majority of the population, to follow the only rational and practicable method of promoting popular education,—that you and your colleagues threatened to withhold the necessary supplies for the primary schools, even to close them altogether; it is because Her Majesty's Government, convinced of the reasonableness and the justice of the system adopted, declined to reverse what had been done for the good of the people, after the most careful deliberation, that you and your anti-reformist colleagues have thought fit to resign your seats in the Council of Government. And yet that great and good and learned prelate, whom Dr. Mizzi so justly praised at the last meeting of Council, most warmly thanked the Government more than 40 years ago, because there was then some prospect that the Maltese language would be introduced in the primary schools. "We must rejoice exceedingly," wrote Professor Cumbo in December 1841, "and show our gratitude towards the free Government that rules us, for having listened to our reasonable complaints and complied with our reasonable wishes. Behold our native language reinstated in its right of citizenship and admitted, or at least about to be admitted, in the schools of primary popular instruction. And who can ever sufficiently explain the immense advantages that our countrymen will derive from this measure."

21. I have not forgotten that, with reference to the position of the Italian language in Malta, one of your colleagues quoted a passage from a lecture which I gave nearly 19 years ago, on the 4th March 1865. That lecture was delivered before the Maltese Literary and Scientific Society, to which I had the honour to belong, together with Dr. Z. Roncali, Mr. R. Barbaro, the late Dr. P. Manara, and others. I should be extremely sorry if, during that long period, I had learned nothing. I admit that some of the views expressed in that lecture have undergone some modification, after the experience I had gained in teaching, and after more maturely considering the social and political condition of these islands. But the passage read by Dr. Mizzi at the last meeting of Council was mutilated and did not express the whole of my views; and if you and your colleagues had not hurried out of the room, without giving me an opportunity of replying, I would have read out to you the whole passage which runs thus:—

"In my opinion, the proposal of abolishing the Maltese language from the primary schools, with the view of introducing either Italian or English, is equally absurd. The

only rational plan appears to me to be this. The Maltese having spontaneously placed themselves under the protection of the British Crown, it is the duty of the latter so to govern them that they shall participate, to the highest possible degree, in the blessings secured to all British subjects by the British Constitution. It is the duty of the British Government to assimilate, as much as possible, the laws and institutions of the Maltese to those of England. And as nothing can be done before the majority of the people become conversant with the English language, it is incumbent upon the local authorities to encourage, as much as in them lies, the study and progress of the English language among all classes of the population. But, in order that this may have some probability of success, it is necessary to look a little more closely into the question, with the view of ascertaining, first of all, its practicability, without, at the same time, neglecting the interests of the people themselves. Now, as the Maltese language is not a written language, and as the natives, in order to carry on their business, must learn some other language, it is evident that they must first of all be taught that language which is more strictly and indispensably necessary to them. That language is without a doubt the Italian. Merchants and traders, great or small, keep their books in that language, their correspondence is principally carried on in that language, Italian is the language of the Courts of Law and of the Council."

22. For reasons which it is not difficult to penetrate Dr. Mizzi omitted the whole of the passage printed in italics, and without which the sense of what he read was incomplete. You will see that the necessity of encouraging the study and progress of the English language among all classes of the population is distinctly enunciated; and my views on the subject so far back as 1865 will be better understood from the following passage in the same lecture which it did not suit Dr. Mizzi to quote:—

"The next question to be settled, after the qualifications of candidates for admissions (to the Lyceum) is the language which, for want of a better term, I have already called the language of communication, the language, I mean, in which the several masters should give instruction. *Did I see any possibility of its being adopted I should certainly pronounce in favour of the English language, because I am firmly convinced that very few things could confer more lasting benefits on my countrymen than the spread of the English language among them.* But as it would be entirely out of the question to find masters for the several branches possessing a full knowledge of English, the Government can have no choice left; Italian must, for the present at least, be the language of communication." . . . In order to forward the progress of English, the teachers of that language should speak nothing but English to their pupils; and it would be well "if some other branches of learning, such as history and geography or arithmetic, could be taught by Englishmen, or by teachers possessing a good knowledge of the language." And referring to an Education Ordinance I said:—"But the principle feature of this law should be an ample provision for the efficient teaching of the language, history and literature of the mother country, which branch of knowledge might well be made obligatory on all those who wish to complete their education. It is certainly deserving of the most serious consideration on the part of the English Government, that the history and literature, as well as the language of England, are so little known among the Maltese, who have now so long been governed by British rulers. Even among professional men, among the educated classes, though the English are admired as a great naval and military power, as a great and wealthy commercial nation, the literature of England is held in very low estimation. The literature that can boast of the works of a Shakespeare, and a Milton, a Dryden, and a Pope; the language in which Hume and Gibbon, Robertson and Macaulay wrote their immortal histories; the language of the Cowpers, the Byrons, the Shelleys, and the Tennyson is looked down upon in a country which has been, so to speak, annexed to Great Britain ever since the beginning of this century . . . Strange as the assertion may appear, nothing is being done to promote the study of the literature of England, and of the many master works of British genius, and is it to be wondered at that young men who are familiar with the writings of the great Italian authors should have so low an opinion of the literature of England of which they know little or nothing? It is high time that so unsatisfactory a state of affairs should seriously engage the attention of the head of the Government; and there is only one remedy for the deficiency I have pointed out. Englishmen must be appointed to teach the English language, not only in the University and the Lyceum, but also in the primary schools; and if Englishmen are not to be had, young Maltese must be sent to England with as little delay as possible, to become thoroughly acquainted with the English language. . . . Care should also be taken to institute a regular and complete

“ course of English literature, including literary history ; and before the history of any other country is taught that of England should be as fully studied as boys can study “ anything.”

23. The above extracts from the lecture which Dr. Mizzi has done me the honour to deliver, clearly show what my opinions were in 1865, concerning the necessity of encouraging and diffusing a knowledge of the language, history, and literature of England among all classes of the population. Even then I was of opinion that the language of instruction in the Lyceum should be the English ; because I was firmly convinced that very few things could confer more lasting benefits on my countrymen than the spread of the English language among them ; and I did not recommend it, not because it would have been depriving the Maltese of their language, not because it would have been imposing or forcing the English language upon the Maltese, but only because it was then out of the question to find masters for the several branches possessing a full knowledge of English. Repeating in substance what the Royal Commissioners had said in 1837, I then proceed to say that the Maltese not being a written language, merchants and traders kept their books in Italian, that their correspondence was principally carried on in that language, that Italian was the language of the Courts of Law and of the Council, and that consequently Italian was indispensably necessary to them. That was the state of affairs in 1865 ; but is it so now ? It has been proved that the Maltese language can be written. At page 90 of Sir P. Keenan's Report, you will find a list of eighteen works, of from 36 to 496 pages, printed in the Maltese language, of which at least 53,000 copies have been sold, besides several other books not included in Sir P. Keenan's list. Since January 1882, 6,000 copies of Mr. Ferris' Maltese Reading Book, and 6,000 of the first English Course, in English and Maltese, by the same author, have been sold, and other editions of the same works are in preparation, besides an edition of 12,000 of the first Maltese Reading Book, for which a ready sale is anticipated. There are also two newspapers in the Maltese language. So that it can no longer be said that the Maltese is not a written language. As to Italian, is it as necessary now as it was in 1865, and is it in the interests of the great majority of the population that it should occupy the first place in the primary schools, that it should be taught before English ? For it should be borne in mind that no one has proposed to abolish Italian either from the primary schools, from the Lyceum, or from the University, as has been falsely asserted. Italian continues to be taught in all the public schools, as I have already proved. The question is whether English or Italian is the more useful language to the classes attending the primary schools, whether English should not be taught before Italian.

24. You say that “ Italy stands first in value of imports and second in the number of her vessels sent us, in fact she is our closest neighbour and best supplier.” No facts are given in support of your statements ; but Sir P. Keenan who has very carefully studied the question has come to very different conclusions based on reliable statistical information. The following are those conclusions :—

“ (1.) The value of the cargoes imported into, and actually landed at Malta in 1877 amounted to 729,536*l.*, of which so much as 628,682*l.*, was obtained from four principal sources, viz. :—

	£
Russia - - - - -	193,065
Northern Africa - - - - -	187,610
Italy - - - - -	174,911
United Kingdom - - - - -	73,096

(2.) The total value of exports from portions of cargoes actually landed at Malta in 1877 was 146,442*l.* of which sum the value of the exports—

	£
To Northern Africa represents - - -	77,111
„ the United Kingdom - - -	53,661
„ Italy - - - - -	6,364
„ various other States - - -	9,306

(3.) In 1877 the total value of the exports of whole cargoes which merely touched at Malta and then proceeded in the same bottoms was 6,162,407*l.*, of which sum the value of the exports to—

	£
The United Kingdom was - - -	4,043,801
France, Belgium, and Holland - - -	1,384,493
Italy - - - - -	37,717
Various other States - - -	696,396

(4.) Of 83,523 who constituted the crews of the ships entered at Malta in 1877, the nationality of 59,549 say, in round numbers, three-fourths was British; of 12,747 or only a seventh, Italian; of 2,676, Maltese; of 2,457, Greek; of 1,514, French; of 973, Turkish, of 691, Northern African and others; of 63 Russian, &c.

“Malta” concludes Sir P. Keenan at page 95 of his Report, “is the great centre of the navigation of the Mediterranean; and the figures which I have quoted, whether appertaining to the trade of Malta or to the nationality of the crews who frequent its harbours, show I think, that the mastery of the maritime service of Malta is undoubtedly British, and that if a selection of language have to be made in the maritime interest of Malta, the English has paramount claims over the Italian.”

25. But, independently of all ethnological, philological, historical or commercial considerations, what is the actual position of the Italian language in Malta? It is asserted that ever since the expulsion of the Saracens from Malta by Count Roger, Italian has been the written language of the Maltese; that it has been used for conducting the affairs of Government, for law proceedings generally, for ecclesiastical matters, for the transaction of commercial business, not only during the existence of the Sicilian Government, but also under the Knights of St. John, and to a considerable extent also under the British Government. In the primary schools, in the Lyceum, in the University, it has been the basis of instruction, to the exclusion, not only of the English, but even of the native Maltese language, spoken and understood by all classes of the population, of that language of which Canon S. P. F. Agius de Soldanis, writing in 1750, said that, being the only one which the Maltese acquire from their parents, it had been preserved for centuries; and expressed a hope that it might be perpetuated in these islands and among their inhabitants. And what is the status of the Italian language in Malta, as revealed by the census taken on the 3rd April 1881, after it had been treated with such especial favour for so many centuries? How many Maltese possess what may be called a fair knowledge of the Italian language? Premising that the declarations made to the census enumerators, as to the knowledge of English or Italian possessed by those who make such declarations, cannot be entirely depended upon, and that many who declare their ability to read, speak, or write Italian may be very imperfectly acquainted with that language, it appears (page 15 of explanatory notes to Census Tables) that only 873 persons said that they were able to speak Italian, and 1,084 to speak both English and Italian; 2,881 were able to read Italian, and 718 to read both English and Italian; 425 could speak and read Italian, and 220 could speak and read both languages; whilst 7,379 could speak, read, and write Italian, and 7,416 could speak, read, and write both, a total of 20,996 who have some sort of acquaintance with the Italian language. From this number, however, the 3,599 who declared that they could only read, without being able to speak or to write, either English or Italian, should, in all reason, be deducted, leaving only 17,397, out of an enumerated population of 149,782, or less than 12 per cent. who can be said to know some Italian. With these facts before us, can it be said in any sense that Italian is the language of the Maltese, all of whom, without any distinction whatever, speak and understand their native Maltese language? Would it be just to exclude the Maltese language from the primary schools attended by children who speak and understand no other language, in order to substitute in its stead the Italian language, which is known to only 12 out of every 100, not one of which 12 perhaps attends the primary schools? Can it be said, with any show of reason, that, even if English were substituted for Italian, as the language of instruction in the Lyceum, which has not been done, the Maltese would be deprived of their language in order that the English might be forced upon them?

26. There is one other statement in your letter to which you will permit me to allude before concluding. You say that “forces have been put in motion which are all the more dangerous, because concealed.” I do not pretend to understand what is meant by this sibylline phrase. But if you allude to the statement that was most widely circulated during the late elections, to the effect that the British Government or any persons connected with the Government are encouraging the diffusion of the English language or the cultivation of the Maltese, with the view of *Protestantizing* the Maltese, or of tampering in any way with the religion professed by them ever since the coming of the Apostle of the Gentiles to these shores, I can only assure you that there is no truth whatever in that statement; that those who spread it about know that it is not true; and no Christian, no gentleman, no honest man, whatever his religion or his calling may be, can be excused for repeating or propagating so infamous a calumny. The same remarks

apply to the statement that the Government intend to abolish the Faculty of Theology from the University, or that they have done anything to discourage ecclesiastical students from pursuing their studies either in the University or the Lyceum. I give all such statements the most emphatic and the most unqualified denial.

27. I am very sorry that I am unable, owing to want of space, to reply to several other erroneous statements made in Council at the meeting held on the 11th instant; but I trust I have said enough to convince you that there is no foundation whatever for the feeling which, according to your statement, exists among the people, "that in spite of all the promises of the Imperial Government, in spite of all the solemn assurances of the Chief Secretary, the English language will be forced upon them and the Italian language abolished;" that it is not true that "the cause of all this bad feeling is the programme of the Director of Education;" that it is not true that Mr. Savona's idea is to "abolish Italian altogether, substituting English;" that it is not true that I ever stated "that I was prepared to carry out my plans in spite of all the elected members of Council;" that it is not true that though "the people are agreeable to let the two languages run side by side, and the elected members are prepared to vote any sums required for such a purpose, this concession will not satisfy Mr. Savona." The elected members have declared in your presence that unless the Italian language is made the basis of instruction in the primary schools, the Lyceum, and the University, they would not vote one penny for the Education Department, and would prefer to see all the schools closed. This declaration was made by Dr. Z. Roncali and adhered to by all the other members, yourself included. Does this mean that the elected members were prepared to vote any sums required to have the two languages run side by side?

28. I am willing to believe that when you wrote to the Earl of Derby on the 3rd December, and when you read that letter from your place in Council, you were under the impression that it contained a truthful representation of what had occurred with reference to the language question. But now that those statements have been proved to be groundless, whilst some of them are in direct and manifest contradiction with the real facts, I am sure you will admit that the least you can do in the matter is to withdraw them in as public and as solemn a manner as that in which you thought fit to make them, that is by declaring to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies that you are now satisfied that there was no foundation whatever for the statements which you were prevailed upon to make in the letter referred to. This reparation I am entitled to demand from you, and I am sure you will not refuse it.

Valletta, 21st January 1884.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) S. SAVONA,
Director of Education.

No. 26.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY to GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON,
G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

SIR,

Downing Street, February 19, 1884.

I HAVE had before me your Despatch of the 21st of December,* forwarding a letter addressed to me by five of the gentlemen who were returned to the Council of Government at the recent election, and also a copy of the address issued by them to their electors at the time of that election.

2. As these gentlemen have since resigned their seats in the Council it is no longer necessary for me to reply in detail to the statements and demands put forward in these documents. I cannot however pass over the assertion that Her Majesty's Government in effecting the extension of the franchise by Order in Council recalled the authority which my predecessor had given to the Council to decide the manner in which the franchise should be extended. The authority referred to is, I presume, my predecessor's Despatch of the 20th of May 1882,† in which he stated that he would not come to any final conclusion on the subject of the extension of the franchise until after the Council

* No. 19.

† Not printed.

had had an opportunity of considering it. Before that promise could be fulfilled, the elections of Messrs Chiappara and Baldacchino, and the resignation of all the other elected members, took place.

It became therefore impossible to carry into effect my predecessor's intention of consulting the Council as to the extension of the franchise without proceeding to hold a general election which, judging from the then recent partial elections, might have been expected to result in the return of persons entirely unqualified for legislative duties, and it was therefore decided to take immediate steps for preventing such a contingency by establishing a qualification for members of the Council and giving effect to the conclusions which had been arrived at after correspondence with you as to the extension of the franchise. It was thus entirely due to the action of the elected members of the late Council and of the electors under the unreformed franchise that there was no opportunity of further consulting the Council of Government, as to the extension of the franchise.

The reasons which determined the nature of that extension have been fully explained in the correspondence which passed between you and my predecessor, and it is unnecessary to discuss them further at present.

3. I proceed therefore to consider the demand put forward in the letter under reply for a further amendment of the constitution. As you have pointed out in your Despatch the exact nature of the change which would satisfy the gentlemen who have signed the letter is not very clearly indicated. I gather however that they desire that every question in which Imperial interests are not directly concerned should be determined solely by the votes of the majority of the elected bench, the votes of the official members being altogether disregarded.

4. Even if the people of Malta were capable of self-government to the extent involved in this proposal the peculiar circumstances of the Island as an Imperial fortress would render it impossible for Her Majesty's Government to relinquish all control over public affairs. The present constitution appears to me to secure to the people of Malta as large an amount of power and influence in administrative matters as could be accorded to them with a due regard for Imperial interests. The measures of the Government are fully considered by the Executive Council, half of the members of which are Maltese, before being introduced into the Council of Government, and the great majority of the official members are also natives of Malta, whose experience and abilities qualify them in a high degree to advise in the interests of their fellow-countrymen. Mr. Cardwell's Despatch, to which Dr. Mizzi and his friends appeal, declared that the votes of the majority of the elected members should prevail in the case of money votes in which the public interest or credit were not seriously at stake, but not in all questions; and the concession so made has not been withdrawn but supplemented by my Despatch of the 8th of March last,* which directs that the local Government shall not overrule the unanimous wish of the elected members without the express authority of the Secretary of State.

5. I need not discuss the policy embodied in the manifesto which accompanies the letter. The refusal of the gentlemen who are responsible for it to consent to the people of Malta being taught to read and write their own language is a sufficient proof that they are not alive to the interests of the great bulk of the inhabitants. I must express my surprise, however, that a gentleman of Dr. Mizzi's position should lend any countenance to the insinuation that the Government entertain any designs against the religion of the people. Such a charge obviously requires no denial on the part of the Government.

6. I cannot conclude without expressing my regret that the gentlemen who have signed the letter now before me should appear to contemplate, under any circumstances, the election for a second time of persons deliberately selected with a view to degrading the Council of Government. Such a policy can only bring discredit on its promoters, and serve to furnish arguments to those who urge that the people of Malta are unfit to be trusted with any control, however limited, over their own affairs. It certainly is not calculated to induce Her Majesty's Government to feel that they can prudently surrender to the elected members a further share in the good Government of the responsibility for the Island.

Sir A. Borton.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

* No. 8 in [C.—3524], March 1883.

No. 27.

GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., to the RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY. (Received February 28, 1884.)

MY LORD,

Palace, Valletta, February 23, 1884.

WITH reference to your Lordship's Despatch of 18th December,* on the subject of the language question in Malta, I have the honour to forward a report by the Director of Education on the suggestion in the 8th paragraph of your Despatch with regard to the further promotion of the study of Italian without materially interfering with the study of English in the primary schools.

2. It will be seen that the difficulties in the way of modifying the existing arrangements, so as to allow English and Italian to be taught in the second classes of all the primary schools, instead of teaching, as at present, English in the second classes and Italian in the third and fourth classes of these schools, may be regarded as insuperable.

3. I do not feel justified in recommending the course to which Mr. Savona refers, of substituting Italian for English in some of the country schools, leaving the schools in and near Valletta under the existing system. Such a concession would not satisfy those who are agitating in favour of Italian; whilst it could not be defended on any grounds save those of expediency, and expediency would not be served thereby.

4. The course for the Government to adopt, in my opinion, is to adhere steadily to the declaration it has made with regard to the language question; and to trust to time and experience to disabuse the minds of those who take an interest in elections of the misrepresentations which have been made by the leaders of the present agitation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. BORTON,
Governor.The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 27.

The DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION to the CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT.

SIR,

Education Office, Valletta, February 5, 1884.

IN compliance with his Excellency the Governor's request that I should report as to the best means of carrying out the alteration in the curriculum of the primary schools, suggested in the 8th paragraph of Lord Derby's Despatch of the 18th December last, with the view of providing that "in future English and Italian shall occupy the same position in the primary schools, receiving, as far as possible, the same amount of time and attention," I have the honour to state, for the information of his Excellency the Governor, that as much is being done in the primary schools to promote the study of Italian, as it is possible to do, without materially interfering with the study of English, as at present conducted.

2. In those town schools, where infant schools are established, children are admitted to the first class at the age of seven years and, in the other schools, at five or six and even earlier. In that class they are taught to read Maltese, and as a rule at the end of the first year they learn to read with tolerable accuracy the elementary Maltese reading books provided for them, and acquire a fair knowledge of the other elementary notions

* No. 15.

laid down in the programme (*see* paragraph 2 of my Circular of the 14th November 1882, at page 65 of my Report).

3. At eight years of age most of the children are now promoted to the second class, in which they are introduced to the English language, which is entirely foreign to them.

The very letters of the alphabet have not only different sounds, but also different names; they must learn not only the conventional sounds assigned to new combinations of letters, such as sh, ch, ough, and others, but also what is much more difficult for children of such tender age, the meaning of the words they read, which are entirely different from their own native Maltese, and which very few of them, if any, especially in the country districts, have any opportunity of hearing spoken or even read in their homes.

4. With the experience gained in teaching during more than 25 years, I beg to submit that the teaching of one foreign language, such as the English, to Maltese children, is of itself too hard a strain on children between eight and nine years of age; it is a strain which is not, I apprehend, attempted in any country in the world, and which, but for the absolute necessity imposed upon us by special local requirements, I should be the first to condemn. At the same time I am glad to be able to report that, notwithstanding the irregular attendance of the children, notwithstanding the imperfect knowledge of English possessed by many of the teachers and their assistants, very fair progress is generally being made in the English language, principally owing to the facilities afforded by the method adopted by teaching English directly through the Maltese vernacular instead of through the Italian, as formerly practised.

5. In accordance with the programme which is now being followed, as soon as the children are promoted from the second to the third class, when they are, as a rule, between nine and ten years old, they begin the study of another—to them—foreign language, the Italian. This is too much for the generality of the children. I do not believe that in any country in the world are the children attending the elementary schools taught two foreign languages, besides their own native language, at so early an age. On this subject Sir P. Keenan, after a most careful study of the whole question, makes the following remarks, to which I request his Excellency's attention:—

“The primary school system which professes to aim at the acquisition of both English and Italian, that is of imposing two foreign languages upon the children, will, I trust, be abandoned, as an act of mercy towards the children, if not as a stern necessity of philosophy. . . . Even the imposition of one foreign language is a tremendous tax upon the intellectual powers of the children.”

6. I trust I have shown that too much is already being done in the matter of teaching foreign languages in the primary schools, at which attendance is entirely voluntary on the part of the children, whose parents, even when they appreciate the value of education, take them away from school as soon as they are able to add even one penny to the family income. The only change that could be attempted, in the direction suggested in Lord Derby's Despatch, would be to begin the teaching of English and Italian in the second class.

This change I cannot recommend, nay I feel bound most strongly to oppose it, for if we attempt to teach children between seven and eight years old, who have not yet mastered the difficulties of Maltese reading, to read English and Italian at the same time, the necessary and inevitable result must be to produce a confusion in their little heads, a confusion that is sure to be increased a hundred fold as soon as any attempt is made to teach them the meaning of words in three different languages. Such an attempt, if made, must end in complete failure.

It will be observed that Sir P. Keenan recommended that “English, and English only, taught through the medium of the Maltese, should be the language taught until the pupils reach the third or fourth class when, if their intellects are equal to the acquisition of another language, which I very much doubt, they might, if it be deemed desirable, take up, *as an extra branch*, taught before or after the ordinary school hours, the study of the Italian language.” (Page 98, paragraph XLVIII.)

With the view of facilitating as much as possible the study of Italian, instead of leaving it as an extra branch to be taken up if deemed desirable, and to be taught before or after the ordinary school hours, Italian is given a permanent position in the curriculum I proposed, and is regularly and systematically taught in the third and fourth classes in which those who wish to study that language have ample opportunities of learning it.

7. In my opinion it is impossible for the English and Italian languages to occupy the same position in the primary schools, because it is impossible to begin teaching two foreign languages at the same time, to children between seven and eight years of age. The only change possible would be to revert to the system formerly prevailing, viz., to begin Italian in the second class, and English in the third class, which, I understand, is not the intention of Her Majesty's Government, as such a course would greatly interfere with the study of English, as at present conducted.

The only steps that might be taken, though I do not recommend it, would be to begin English in the second class in the schools of Valletta, the three cities, Floriana, Sliema, Samra, Birchir, Cora, Lia, Curmi, Zeitun, Zabbar, and other thickly peopled centres, and to postpone the study of English till the children reach the third class in the other localities. But I deem it a far better course to continue the present system which is more likely than any other to lead to that knowledge of languages which, as the Secretary of State very justly remarks, is of special value to the inhabitants of Malta.

The relative position of the two languages in the present curriculum is fully explained in paragraphs 8, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24 of my Report of the Educational Institutions of Malta and Gozo.

8. Whilst upon this subject I shall take the liberty to request that his Excellency may be pleased to request the attention of the Secretary of State to the irregularities that are sure to follow from leaving it to the professors to choose the language in which they will communicate instruction.

In the Faculty of Medicine, for instance, it would not be advisable to have some professors lecturing in English and others in Italian. In the Faculty of Law, so long as Italian continues to be the language of the Courts it would be impossible to permit any of the professors to lecture in English, except in the School of Public Law, for the reasons stated in paragraph 145 of the same Report. In the Lyceum the inconvenience would be greater. There are three classes of mathematics (algebra and geometry) in the classical and modern department under three different teachers. If two, or even one, were to prefer to give instruction in Italian, and the other or others in English, boys who may have learned the first two books of Euclid or algebra to simple equations in Italian in the third class, might be called upon to continue the study of geometry and algebra in English on promotion to the second class, which would not, I submit, promote either the study of languages or of mathematics.

The same remarks might be made with reference to other subjects of instruction. For these reasons I would recommend that it would be a sufficient concession to the ill-founded opposition of some of the elected members, if a promise were made that no further change in the language of instruction will be made without the consent of a majority of the unofficial members.

The Hon. W. Hely-Hutchinson, C.M.G.,
Chief Secretary to Government,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(Signed) S. SAVONA,
Director of Education.

No. 28.

The RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY to GOVERNOR SIR A. BORTON,
G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

SIR,

Downing Street, March 18, 1884.

I HAVE had under my consideration your Despatch, of the 23rd ultimo*, forwarding a Report by the Director of Education on the subject of the suggestions as to the curriculum of the educational institutions contained in my Despatch of the 18th of December.†

* No. 27.

† No. 15.

I have considered with attention Mr. Savona's able letter, and I am of opinion that the practical difficulties which, as he has shewn, stand in the way of teaching both English and Italian in the second classes of the schools are very considerable.

Whether, and how far, these difficulties could be overcome is a question which I should have wished your Government to consider with the elected members, if those gentlemen had been willing to discuss the educational arrangements in the Council of Government; but as they declined to do so, and, after abruptly terminating the debate, resigned their seats, without hearing the explanations of the Director of Education, there will be no advantage in entering into any consideration of possible changes at the present time.

Sir A. Borton.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DERBY.

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