

VOLUME TWO

CONTENTS

VOLUME ONE

Page No.

Contents		3
Acknowledgements		4
Abstract		5
Prologue		7
Chapter 1	Changing Contexts, Values and Norms	23
Chapter 2	Environmental and Ethnic Factors	59
Chapter 3	Economic and Political Influences	105
Chapter 4	Religion and Language	169
Chapter 5	Education 1704-1972: A System Born and Re-Born	218
Chapter 6	Education 1972-2000: Gibraltar Takes Control	265

VOLUME TWO

Chapter 7	Informal Cultural Influences: the Royal Calpe Hunt, The Royal Gibraltar Yacht Club and the Rowing Clubs	300
Chapter 8	Further Informal Influences: Scouts, Guides, Boys' Brigades, Major and Minor Games, the Cinema and the Media	325
Epilogue		364
Bibliography		395
Notes		406
Appendices		

Chapter 7

INFORMAL CULTURAL INFLUENCES:

Hunt, Yacht Club and Rowing Clubs

Gibraltar's formal institutions – law, government and education – are firmly based on models exported from Britain. Much the same is true of the police, the post office and the Gibraltar Regiment. To a large extent these were imposed on the Gibraltarians, although they were more than willingly accepted. It was not a matter of a threatened indigenous culture being displaced by another. In these very direct ways, as discussed in preceding chapters, the Gibraltarian way of life has been shaped by British ideas and practices and by the diffusion of these ideas and practices.

Yet there is much more to a community than its formal institutions. As Anthony Kirk-Greene argues, frequently the most formative of the influences are not so much the official as the informal ones⁴¹⁹, affecting the wider community and the everyday lives of individuals. Roughly speaking, the informal influences take two forms. Firstly they are all-pervading, unavoidable and incidental to many matters which affect the people. They arise from the very way in which life is organized and controlled and they make their impact through a complex of

signs, symbols and ritual. Secondly, they take a more organized form through a network of situations designed to provide opportunities for social interaction and cultural exchange. In Gibraltar, as elsewhere in the Empire, these consist of an assortment of clubs, voluntary groups and societies, many of them having existed for a century and more in the colony. The majority were set up to sustain hobbies, pastimes, sports and games, as well as artistic, musical, dramatic and literary pursuits.

In contrast to the formal structures which have been there for all, involvement in these social and cultural activities, for Briton and Gibraltarian alike, has been a matter of choice by individuals seeking to satisfy a variety of different perceived needs – for comradeship, relaxation, fitness, intellectual development or social advancement. Significantly, these activities did more than that. They were mechanisms for transmitting a range of preferred values and attitudes. They were usually activities initiated by the British themselves and, in the instances to be discussed, this was certainly so in Gibraltar. They were characteristic of the British abroad at leisure and at play, while in effect teaching others to do likewise.

In the sense that informal background influences can make their mark, the mere presence of the British has had a powerful effect, providing a context for everything else. At every turn the British have been highly visible to the

Gibraltarians. Officers and other military personnel from the resident battalions, with their distinctive uniforms and insignia, became well-known. In addition, many sailors were brought to the colony by the large harbour, and the development of the dockyard in the 1890s. This influx reached its peak in the mid-twentieth century when the Home Fleet joined the Mediterranean Fleet each year for spring exercises. Up to one hundred ships would be anchored in the bay and harbour – battleships, aircraft carriers, cruisers, destroyers, submarines, minesweepers and support ships⁴²⁰. From the 1930s, and particularly after 1940, significant numbers of Royal Air Force personnel joined the soldiers and sailors. In the evenings the shops, “pubs”, cafes and restaurants would be filled with servicemen, through to the end of the Cold War and the run-down of the base. The armed forces, therefore, were everywhere. Moreover, some of the public services before 1939 were controlled by the military, under the Governor as Commander-in-Chief, bringing them closer to the civilian population. On the streets, senior officers, especially in earlier years, walked cane in hand, expecting others to step aside, uniformed or civilian. The image conveyed to all was that of military power, hierarchy, status and order.

Similarly, the many military and public buildings have been constantly in the public eye, also conveying clear signals of British and imperial authority and control. The prime example is the Convent, as Government House is called. His Excellency the Governor has lived there since the late eighteenth-century,

from time to time entertaining kings and queens and other important dignitaries. Although private and secure, the building is situated on Main Street for all to see. Flags fly from the balcony where “H.E.” takes the salute on special occasions⁴²¹. Today a single guard is mounted in daylight hours. In former times the Guardhouse opposite was always well-manned.

Around Gibraltar, the old fortifications, gun batteries, barracks and former barracks convey similar British messages, as do civil buildings such as the Garrison Library, the Court House, the Anglican Cathedral and the Naval Hospital⁴²². Everywhere the English place names, dating from the 1870s, confirm the British presence – Engineer Lane, Governors Parade, Tank Ramp, Cannon Lane, Town Range, Prince Edwards Road, and so on. These and many more sights have been constant reminders of military, political and imperial power. They have given the Gibraltarians both confidence in the British and the aspiration in some sense to share in the notion of being British themselves.

Military ceremonial, also very much part of the ambience, has had a similar effect. “We even turned out in large numbers for military funerals”, one Gibraltarian recalls⁴²³. Less now than hitherto, various rituals continue to cast a spell. Once a week the Changing of the Guard at the Convent, with the participation of a regimental band⁴²⁴ and the Governor taking the salute at the march-past, still takes place. Periodically, the Ceremony of the Keys, which is

now played out in the re-furbished Casemates Square, continues to attract large crowds, a number of invited guests among them. The occasion has become a tourist attraction, of course, particularly in recent decades. Its origin is to be found in the events of the Great Siege (1779-1783) when the Port Sergeant locked various gates as the Sunset Gun was fired. The Governor at the time, the Scot, General George Augustus Eliot, wore the Keys in his belt constantly. The Keys have come to be regarded as the seals of office of the Governor and they are handed from one Governor to the next⁴²⁵. They are a symbol of the possession of Gibraltar by the British – an “ownership” which delights most native Gibraltarians. In trying to turn this symbol to their own advantage, in 2002 the Gibraltarians fashioned their own replica Key as they argue that the door to self-determination should never be locked against them.

An annual event of special significance in Gibraltar is, of course, Trafalgar Day, October 21st. Arguably, Nelson could not have fought this battle without Gibraltar. After the battle Nelson’s body was brought to Gibraltar before being taken on to Britain. The victory continues to be celebrated each year in the Trafalgar Cemetery, with the Governor, the Chief Minister and other personages present. A congratulatory despatch, sent after the battle, is read. There are traditional hymns and a prayer composed by Nelson on the morning of Trafalgar. Over the years prominent members of Gibraltarian society have been

increasingly involved in this and other ceremonies. To be included in an invitation list for such events became important to Gibraltarians⁴²⁶.

Another major ceremonial occasion has been 24th May, Empire Day. This tradition in Gibraltar was one of the first such to be established, during times of “colonial overrule” and at a time when the Empire Day Movement initiated by Lord Meath was gathering momentum. In November 1903, the Governor, Lt.General Sir George White, received permission from London to celebrate this day “in commemoration of Her late Majesty, Queen Victoria”, provided the business community at the time agreed. Everyone did. The schools were soon involved through the literature sent out by the Empire Day Movement. Celebrations grew into what for a while became Empire Week, with a fair and other entertainments. These included an “Open Air Patriotic Concert and Parade of School Children” as many as two thousand participating, with a regimental band and the Governor taking the salute at a march-past. Children from different schools sang such items as, *The British Flag; At the Thought of Britain’s Glory; When Britons in Noble Anger; The Empress of the Wave; The Flag of Britain;* and *Oh. England. Oh. My Country*⁴²⁷. For a number of years there were special ferries between Algeciras and Gibraltar, connecting with trains on the Bobadilla railway, so that Spaniards could attend the “Feria y Festijos en Gibraltar : Conmemoración del Día del Imperio Británico”. In 1912 a Spanish military band, the Música del Regimiento Covadonga, took part,

indicating times when there were better relations with Spain. Celebrations continued to be held in some style after the 1914-18 war, and as late as the 1930s.

It is against this inescapable background of the British colonial presence, therefore, that all sorts of other informal influences have helped to create the 'cultural bond' between the Gibraltarians and the British⁴²⁸ As already made clear, these involved various *clubs* and associations. Among the *clubs*, those concerned with riding, sailing and rowing have possessed important common denominators; more than anything they have reflected imperial notions of control, status, class and privilege which have evidently made their mark on some levels of Gibraltarian society. As Gordon Fergusson⁴²⁹ argues in his detailed account of the Hunt, they have been important in the creation and consolidation of the Gibraltarian "nobility". Although no longer in existence, the Royal Calpe Hunt⁴³⁰, above all, represents these values. Fergusson sees the Calpe Hunt primarily as having been significant for the British officer-class. It helped to bind them together as a body of men serving a thousand miles from home. In Fergusson's own words, the Calpe Hunt was "an institution – the institution of Gibraltar. Few officers who served on the Rock when the Calpe Hunt existed would ever think of the place again without calling to mind the Hunt and all the sport and comradeship it provided". Yet it went beyond that:

“It existed for services, civilians and visitors alike”, Fergusson states, thereby contributing to the process of cultural bonding..

Although having a broad social appeal, the origins and history of the Hunt have been much involved with military values and with the military. It fell to them to convey a system of British sporting beliefs and practices. In fact, the Hunt was established inside the territory in 1813 by the Rev.Dr.Mackereth, at a time when the “hunting clergy” were to the fore in England. Evidently hunting was advocated for clergymen because of the moral qualities it fostered⁴³¹. Perhaps the original objective was to rid the colony of rampaging foxes although the Hunt soon moved to Spain under British military supervision. British support for Spain during the wars with Napoleon is usually cited as the reason why the British were so readily allowed to hunt in the Campo area of Andalucía⁴³². The first Master of the Hunt was Rear Admiral the Hon.C.Elphinstone Fleeming, from Scotland. Thus, the Scottish connection was again evident as it has been throughout the centuries of British rule.

Apparently most officers were eager to participate in this uniquely British pastime of foxhunting. Foreign visitors were surprised to see so many infantrymen who could ride. Naval officers also participated and naval ships were used, from time to time, to transport hounds from the United Kingdom, horses from North Africa and huntsmen to and from the meets across the Strait.

Master, Huntsman and Whippers In were officers for most of the life of the Hunt. The terrain in the Spanish hinterland where they hunted was rugged, demanding and dangerous. Hunting as an activity was perceived as requiring not only “simple courage” but also “manliness”, including the “virtues of hardiness, temperance, coolness and clear-headedness”⁴³³. The conditions for the development of these qualities were certainly present in the Campo area ⁴³⁴ where the Hunt met and Fergusson firmly endorses the argument that hunting provided good training for officers, which could account for the great amount of time that was devoted to it. John M. Mackenzie⁴³⁵ traces this notion back to ancient times when “with the emergence of the Greek aristocracy the Hunt became the perquisite of the elite”. Appeals to the military lessons of history made by Xenophon, in defence of the values of hunting, have been repeated over the many centuries since, as they were in Gibraltar.

The status of the Hunt and the upper-class nature of the membership were also attractive to aspiring Britons and Gibraltarians; “By 1797 foxhunting was to have a fashionable and social cachet it was never to lose”, writes Itkowitz⁴³⁶. In fact, many members, particularly the senior officers, either arrived in Gibraltar with a distinguished military record, and a noteworthy imperial pedigree, or they went on to acquire this later. Fergusson makes a point of recording the details, underlining Gibraltar’s place on the map of Empire and Commonwealth. The Victoria Cross was held by a number of members or former members,

including Lord Gifford who fought in the Ashanti Wars and who became Colonial Secretary in Gibraltar. Military honours possessed by members included service in campaigns in India, Egypt, the Sudan, North America, the Gold Coast, Crimea, South Africa, Turkey, Cyprus, and so on, as well as in Europe and overseas during the two world wars. The image presented by the Royal Calpe Hunt was military, imperial and élitest, and this was further enhanced by the royal connection. No other hunt, apart from the Royal Caledonian, has been called "Royal". Members of the Royal Family had hunted in Gibraltar since the middle of the 19th century. Then, in 1906, King Edward VII agreed to become patron, jointly with King Alfonso XIII of Spain. In fact, various members of the Spanish royal family have taken an interest; in 1915 for example, the Queen of Spain attended in a mule chaise. Yet royal patronage has been far from nominal, various members of the British Royal Family having taken a practical interest from time to time. One particular instance was in 1934 when King George V was keen that an internal dispute involving the Marqués de Marzales be settled amicably, in the interests of good relations between Britain and Spain. Thus, hunting has played its part in placing Gibraltar on a royal and aristocratic agenda, and the ambitious Gibraltarian would readily wish to be a part of it.

On a day-to-day basis, however, it was not the king but the king's representative in Gibraltar who took the lead. "Cultural impositions need cultural agents",

states Kirk-Greene on analysing the role of Governors in empire, especially in terms of their sporting image. Successive Governors in Gibraltar, almost without exception, have played a key role in the affairs of the Hunt. They have been men of high rank and status, often Generals or Field-Marsals, and usually with impeccable family and class provenance. They could exert power and influence when the Hunt was in need. This also extended to Spain. When relations were good, securing the approval and even the participation, of Spanish military Governors and Spanish aristocrats was critical to hunting. As recently as 1937, only one year into the Spanish Civil War, Governor Harington sought and obtained Franco's tacit permission for the Hunt to resume. The personal contacts which the Governors have had in the United Kingdom have also been important to the Hunt in a variety of ways. In addition, the occupants of the Convent, often hunting themselves, brought significant numbers of visitors to Gibraltar, the chase usually being the attraction. In one case, the Duke of Beaufort, when visiting Gibraltar in 1861 to convalesce, stayed with the Governor, having been made an Honorary Member⁴³⁷. He brought the Badminton pack of hounds with him.

Some Governors took the Hunt more seriously than others. The story is told of Governor Lt.General Sir H.Miles who, on the first day in his office, could find none of the senior officers he wished to consult. They were all out with the Hunt. After a while he settled into the same pattern and joined them, becoming

an enthusiastic supporter. "The Hunt", as MacKenzie puts it, "in short constituted propaganda: it showed emperor, king or lord exhibiting power, enjoying the privilege that went with it, asserting prestige within widespread territorial bands"⁴³⁸. While the last cannot apply, Gibraltar can usually be seen as possessing all the qualities of larger territories in microcosm.

Social activities associated with hunting were not unimportant and again it was usually His Excellency the Governor who led the way. Many who did not hunt followed the proceedings on donkey or on foot. Often there were picnics in the cork-woods afterwards or on other occasions. A special event was the Hunt Ball which took place either in the Convent in Gibraltar or, after 1902 in Algeciras when the Hotel Reina Cristina had been built. It was an event of social importance, as it was in Britain. Sometimes the Master of the Tangier Hunt was invited, among others, and from time to time the Larios family⁴³⁹ would host a post-Ball breakfast at their home in Spain. On other occasions members would meet socially or formally in the Garrison Library or in the Jockey Club. British, Gibraltarians, Spaniards and others would mix and mingle, something which the "acceptable" Gibraltarians valued greatly.

The acceptance of Gibraltarians as members of the Hunt was slow and restricted to an emerging "upper-class". D.C.Itkowitz explains that all classes could mix at the Hunt but only in accordance with strict if unwritten rules about status and

behaviour. “While hunting people boasted of the openness of the hunting field, there is no question that the values fostered were conservative and aristocratic”⁴⁴⁰. Gradually “middle-class new comers” were admitted in Britain while in Gibraltar only a few select civilians were directly involved. Among those specifically mentioned by Fergusson was an Irishman, Richard Holmes, who became chairman of the Gibraltar Gas Company. Then there was Francis Francia, a name in the ship repair business which goes back to the early 18th century in Gibraltar. In 1868 Marcus Bland, the son of the founder of the Bland Shipping Line was elected. Alexander (later Sir Alexander) Mosley became a member in 1873. In 1918 Master Frank Imossi was blooded; the Gibraltar Imossi family made their wealth in shipping. Jaime Russo and the Hon.A.Carrara K.C., representing other influential families, also hunted. These were all men. In England women were at first excluded, certainly discouraged, usually on the grounds that hunting was too dangerous and quite unsuitable for the gentler sex. Gradually, as social aspects grew in importance, women, especially those of “social pre-eminence”, began to be admitted. This applied in Gibraltar too. Mrs.Emily Wilson, daughter of Benjamin Carver, a prosperous cotton importer, hunted. Also in 1918, Mabel Andrew-Speed was blooded. When she grew up she married George (later Sir George) Gaggero, the founder of Gibraltar Airways. In 1924, John Mackintosh, one of Gibraltar’s greatest benefactors, was made a Life Member. All these Gibraltarians belonged to an

emerging social élite which has played an influential part in the history of the colony.

In common with hunting, sailing and rowing have done much to convey notions of class and status to the local population. Since the sea is always close at hand in Gibraltar and water-related activities, not surprisingly, have occupied an important place in the recreational life of the colony. The associated clubs have followed British traditions and practices which the local population has been more than willing to adopt.

This is particularly true of the Royal Gibraltar Yacht Club⁴⁴¹ whose past is decidedly naval and upper-class. The club was founded in 1829 and thereby is the eighth oldest in the world. It was the first to be established outside the British Isles, which makes it the oldest in the Colonies and Dominions. From the beginning, of course, the main objective was sailing. At the same time, other matters have always been important. While members had to have boats and to be willing to sail, they also had to be acceptable socially. Initially this made it difficult for locals to join. By 1896 there were about 70 members, 22 being non-garrison and only half-a-dozen of them appeared to be Gibraltarians.

The links with the navy and with the well-to-do are apparent in the Visitors Books although only the later ones survive. The Distinguished Visitors Book, of

course, contains the signature of the Yacht Club's Admiral, the Duke of Edinburgh. One finds *Philip* in the pages for 1955 and 1996. Other signatures are those of Edward Heath, Angus Ogilvie, Francis Chichester, Robin Knox-Johnston, Prince Andrew, Queen Salote of Tonga, Leslie Williams, and so on.

The much larger and only surviving Visitors Book dates from 1979. It is along similar lines, but with many more signatures, often quite illegible. Many indicate membership of other yacht clubs, mostly by initials only, including the R.T.Y.C., Britannia Y.C., Royal Cape Y.C. and others⁴⁴². Many signatures record the presence of officers on visiting Royal Navy ships – HMS London, HMS Bulwark, HMS Berwick, HMS Sovereign, HMS Minerva, HMS Exeter, HMS Rhyl, and many more. The three-hundred or so ships' crests displayed on the walls, mostly of ships of the Mediterranean Fleet, constitute further evidence of these visits.

In 1933 King George V granted a Royal charter to the club and the Queen is Patron today. As noted, Prince Philip is the club's Admiral and by tradition, H.E. the Governor has become Vice-Patron. The naval and social characteristics of the R.G.Y.C. are further illustrated in the lists of Commodores, Vice-Commodores and Rear-Commodores. Sometimes the Governor was elected Commodore which for him was largely ceremonial. The list of Commodores⁴⁴³ in the late 1990s was mostly made up of Vice-Admirals and Rear-Admirals.

The first Gibraltarian Commodore, and therefore the first civilian, does not appear until 1941. He was P.G.Russo (later Sir Peter), a wealthy businessman.

The election of Vice-Commodores and Rear-Commodores has followed a similar pattern, Gibraltarian civilian incumbents appearing on the lists somewhat sooner.

There are no detailed records of membership from earlier times although it is known that it was navy dominated for the first one-hundred and fifty years.

There are membership books dating from the 1970s and by then members were rather more Gibraltarian than expatriate British. Some three-hundred and ninety

families were identified in the membership lists. Those from Britain were mostly officers or civilian equivalents. They came with their wives on tours or

contracts in the colony⁴⁴⁴. Of the two-hundred and twenty or so Gibraltarian entries, almost everyone listed was from a wealthy or very wealthy background.

Most of Gibraltar's "millionaires"⁴⁴⁵ were included, along with many other representatives of Gibraltar's upper or middle class. A good number were

related, as one might expect in a small community where the well-to-do would naturally seek well-off wives or husbands. Some thirteen members had been

knighted, Britons and Gibraltarians. There were MBEs, OBEs and CBEs.

Senior military ranks were represented along with others, including one Brigadier, Lt.Colonels, Captains RN, Majors and a former Air Officer

Commanding Gibraltar. Some of the military were Gibraltarian but the majority were from the United Kingdom.

Among the civilian Gibraltarians, the professions were well represented, notably law and medicine. Among other Gibraltarian members were senior civil servants, colonial and local, including the Mayor of Gibraltar at the time. Local membership was business-dominated and naturally it was there that Gibraltar's wealth was held. The various family histories of members, if told, would probably encompass the economic history of Gibraltar over the previous century or more. The business activities of these members included banking and finance, insurance, shipping, import-export, construction, and the retail trade. As noted previously, among these families were the ones who had chosen to send their sons and daughters to public schools in England.

Admission to the Yacht Club has always been strictly controlled ; two black balls excluded and they still do. Strict control has continued both as regards membership and behaviour. In 1975 the committee discussed the issue of the unsatisfactory dress of some visitors. In the same year a former Commodore, a Gibraltarian, was involved in an incident when some bottles were broken. Two years later another member used "insulting and abusive language to the displeasure of the Protest Committee and to the annoyance of all present". While this pattern of control was designed to defend exclusiveness and high

standards of behaviour, it should also be remembered that all clubs in Gibraltar were controlled through Rules and Regulations established under the Summary Conviction Ordinance of 1885. Section 22 controlled the setting up and operation of clubs, much as had been the case in Britain.

While sailing has underpinned the existence of the Club, social aspects have been important. As one long-standing member put it, in the earlier days, “when the Club was Royal Navy-dominated, there was a lot of drinking, socialising and cocktail parties”. More formally, receptions were held for visiting dignitaries and for departing Governors. The Annual Dinner, when trophies were presented, had long been the highlight of the social calendar and, on occasions, this was held in the Governor’s residence, the Convent, perhaps coinciding with the presence of the Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Fleet and other senior officers.

It is apparent from the surviving minute books that there were happier times in the relations with Spain. The season might have opened with a sail to Algeciras and lunch in the Hotel Reina Cristina. Gibraltar and Spanish boats sailed in competition in each other’s waters. In the 1950s a member of the Larios family teamed up with a prominent Gibraltar yachtsman. They sailed the yacht representing Spain in a race held in Brazil and they won. As recently as August 1978 there were visits from three Spanish clubs, La Línea, Algeciras and

Sevilla. Some links remain, out of the public gaze. One or two wealthy Gibraltarians are said to have boats in Spain as well as in Gibraltar.

The Royal Gibraltar Yacht Club survives more or less as it has been in the past but without the glamour of the earlier days when the naval base was fully operational. Today the ethos is somewhat more open and more democratic. Yet membership continues to convey a degree of social status, something of which also extends to the rowing clubs.

Like sailing, *rowing* has been a serious sporting activity in Gibraltar for over one hundred years. From a modest beginning, with no premises and one or two heavy boats, the sport made steady progress over the decades. In the twenty-first century the two rowing clubs, the Calpe R.C. and the Mediterranean R.C., each possesses a modern clubhouse with excellent sporting and social facilities, both completed in the 1990s. As with the Royal Gibraltar Yacht Club, although to a lesser extent, being a member of one of the rowing clubs, perhaps one rather than the other, has been perceived as having achieved a certain social standing.

The precise origins of the clubs remains unclear. At first, in 1873, there was a Boat Club which was reorganized and re-named the Gibraltar Rowing Club later that year. It is likely that British expatriates played an important part in the

initiative as well as in later developments. Neil Wigglesworth⁴⁴⁶ notes that “the spread of amateur rowing as an organized sport throughout the world was brought about in large part by expatriate British oarsmen on colonial duty”, sometimes “with the help of resident British businessmen”, which almost certainly happened in Gibraltar and perhaps in neighbouring places. Other rowing clubs existed in the area, at Sevilla, Cádiz, Puerto de Santa María, Málaga and possibly at Tangier. These may well have been the result of British influence, with Gibraltar following a similar pattern. There seem to have been early contacts at least between individuals from these clubs. Links with these other clubs certainly developed later as did Gibraltar’s involvement in all manner of local and international events. Affiliation to the Amateur Rowing Association (A.R.A.) and then to the Fédération Internationale des Sociétés d’Aviron (F.I.S.A.) provided the basis for this.

The first club to emerge from the less ambitious ventures three years earlier was the Calpe Rowing Club in 1876. Sixteen people were listed as founder members. All were civilians and most seem to have been Gibraltarians. Businessmen were in the majority including the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce and one who was eventually to hold that post. The U.S. Vice-Consul’s name was there. He, like several others who rowed, was also a member of the Calpe Hunt. The President was William Glassford and the Vice-President was John Porral who ran a photographer’s business. Therefore the

membership profile overall was Gibraltarian, representing those who were both commercially or professionally successful, and who were serious about the sport of rowing. Numbers reached seventy by 1896 and they remained at about that level until the 1930s, when junior members were first admitted. In 1898 the Governor gave official recognition to the club, affording it “the same local privileges as are enjoyed by the members of the Gibraltar Yacht Club so long as the Rowing Club shall be conducted on its present basis”. Somewhat belatedly, in 1918 a letter was sent to the Colonial Secretary asking what these privileges were. As far as is known, no reply was received.

Pablo Larios, later the Marqués de Marzales, and member of a Gibraltar family with strong Spanish aristocratic connections, was the Master of the Calpe Hunt for many years. He was also President of the Calpe Rowing Club from 1896-1925 after which he became Vice-Patron. In 1908, the Duke of Connaught when visiting Gibraltar, agreed to become Patron of the Club. In 1909, the Governor, Sir Frederick Forestier-Walker, inaugurated a new clubhouse and boathouse. In ways indicative of the “characteristic British link between Government House, patronage and sport”⁴⁴⁷, both he and the Duke of Connaught presented challenge cups bearing their names and these are still competed for today. The lists of Presidents and Captains between 1876 and 1976 shows them to have been predominantly middle-class or upper-class. Some of the same names appear on the register of Calpe Hunt and Gibraltar Yacht Club members.

There was an explosion in Calpe Rowing Club membership after the Second World War. The roll in 1976 included eighteen Honorary Members, mostly the rich and the famous, including the prominent Gibraltarians Sir George Gaggero, Sir Peter Russo and Sir Joseph Patron. There were some three-hundred Proprietors, sixty-one Subscribers and thirty-five Juniors. Most of the well-known Gibraltarian names seemed to be there; politics, local government, business and the professions were all well-represented. Clearly, people of importance sought membership of the Calpe Rowing Club.

In 1899 the Mediterranean Rowing Club was created, partly as a break-away from the Calpe Rowing Club. Some say that this arose out of a need to inject a competitive spirit into the rowing scene and this does appear to have happened. Others explain the split differently, saying that the Calpe Rowing Club was rejecting people on social grounds. Something lingers today of the class-based notion that the Calpe Rowing Club was for the “snobs” and the Mediterranean for “the poor”.

It would be an error to exaggerate the differences. The two clubs have shared a similar culture from the outset. The Mediterranean R.C., like the Calpe R.C., arose out of the endeavours of a few enthusiasts. British influences were in some respects crucial although the initiative was largely Gibraltarian. In any

case, there was a civilians-only rule which excluded the garrison; a services rowing club did operate for a time.

There is uncertainty as to exactly who the founder members of the Medierranean R.C. were. One was a J.Bruzon. He wrote to a C.W.Savignon whose descendants today hold posts in the field of financial services. These two called a meeting and some forty people joined up. They were probably mostly businessmen and members of the professions although this is not known with certainty. Some of the names appearing in the early records suggest that they were from the United Kindgdom, including some employed by the Eastern Telegraph Company (later Cable & Wireless). A number of expatriates remained members for some time and a few are still remembered for their oarsmanship, notably one G.G.Farrant. It seems that some had rowed before they came to Gibraltar.

Membership was never open. The same controls applied at both rowing clubs. Everyone was vetted and two black balls excluded. In conformity with Amateur Rowing Association rules, "tradesmen" were not admitted until the late 1950s. Only since 1990 have women and children been allowed in as both clubs try to make their premises more family-friendly. In rowing the principle of amateurism has been scrupulously observed by the two clubs. Labour has been employed only for support services, never for training or rowing. The

sport began for gentlemen and for the sake of rowing itself and, although Gibraltar has seen the presence of boats of every kind over the centuries, rowing did not emerge in any way from commercial practice. Yet, the ancestral significance of boating and seafaring in many families may have led naturally to sailing and rowing as recreational pursuits. More immediately, oral evidence suggests that members were attracted to the sport initially because of the physical fitness which it promoted and as an escape from the cramped living and working conditions on the Rock. The obvious social advantages to be gained probably came later.

This concern with the innate qualities of the sport, and with the standards which were to be observed, extended to the rules about dress. Blazers, hats, badges and shirts were prescribed, covering social and rowing wear. Expectations were high and the rules were strictly enforced by both clubs. Both attracted the patronage of Governors and officials and members were always at pains to defend the image which had been cultivated from the outset. Furthermore, the social standing of the Gibraltar Yacht Club was something that the rowing clubs wished to emulate. Down to today's more relaxed times all three have remained relatively exclusive and, with around four-hundred members each in the early 2000s, they represent a significant part of Gibraltar's upper and middle class social fabric.

Over the longer time-span, therefore, the Royal Calpe Hunt between the mid-1800s and the 1930s, and the Royal Gibraltar Yacht Club and the two rowing clubs, have occupied important and influential places in Gibraltar's social life. In a community dominated for long periods by naval and military requirements and routines, and against a background of drills, parades and ceremonies, all four have substantially reinforced British ideas of class and status. They have also furthered British values and attitudes evident across the wider recreational, sporting and cultural scene.

Chapter 8

FURTHER INFORMAL INFLUENCES:

Scouts, Guides, Boys Brigade, Major and Minor Games, Cinema, the Media and the Arts

Many other clubs and organizations have their place alongside riding, sailing and rowing in Gibraltar's cultural history. Most are typical of British social and recreational activities in the United Kingdom and overseas. Each has had its own history, sometimes going back a long way. Some have been exclusively for the military and the expatriate community generally although they may have prompted the formation of Gibraltarian equivalents. Some of the others, while beginning as a result of British initiatives, have evolved into largely local bodies as sailing and rowing have done. A rich and varied list was published annually in the Gibraltar Directory⁴⁴⁸ and entries changed little, for example, during the years from 1910 to 1960. One or two societies disappeared and others took their place. Additions since 1944 have tended to be intellectual in nature rather than sporting, reflecting the influence of the British Council in Gibraltar. Overall the changes during the twentieth century indicated an increasing attention to the needs of the resident population as a whole, not merely the garrison and its families. Furthermore, attending to those needs was seen as contributing to the preservation of a stable and ordered society.

This was undoubtedly the case where the interests of younger age-groups were involved. The *voluntary uniformed groups* appear to have been particularly successful – Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, “the two youth movements which seem to spring most obviously out of an imperial frame of mind”⁴⁴⁹. Scouting came early to Gibraltar, under its first Scoutmaster, J.E.Bramble. Baden-Powell launched the Boy Scout movement in the United Kingdom in 1908 and, a few months later, the Gibraltar Troop (the first outside Britain) made a modest but solid start.

The hugely influential Scouting For Boys was soon available. Scouting prospered and grew to form several groups, eventually including Sea Scouts and Air Scouts, with a total enrolment of over four-hundred at its peak. In 1909 the Scouts were joined by the Boys Brigade, two of a number of organizations set up “as a defence against the perceived threats to the old order and to social stability”⁴⁵⁰. By 1911 there were some two-hundred and fifty members on the Rock. The two organizations were closely linked and sometimes run by the same people. After some years the Boys Brigade contingent was disbanded although its members and their band were absorbed by the Scouts.

A few years later the Guides were formed. On 28th August 1914 a letter was received by the Colonial Secretary, as follows:-

“I have the honour to inform you that I have organized a Troop of Miss Agnes Baden-Powell’s Girl Guides on the same system as in England and that all members of the Troop are quite ready and willing to render any service towards the Nation as they may be called upon to do.”⁴⁵¹

It was signed by Agnes M. Baker and in the letter she asked if the Governor would become “the Patron of our small body of well-doers”. The Governor declined. Later, as the Guides established themselves in Gibraltar, it was the successive Governors’ wives, and wives of other prominent officials, who gave their support and patronage. Enrolment grew and at times numbers exceeded three-hundred. It appears that Guides were accepted as satisfying educational and social needs as in Britain. However, there was not quite the same official support as for the Scouts. Thus, while the annual reports on education in the Colony sometimes gave the figures for Scout membership, regularly exhorting more to join, Girl Guides were never mentioned.

Who were the prime movers as regards Scouting, the Boys Brigade and Guiding? Clearly, they were people who were sympathetic to the spiritual, imperial and social thinking of William Alexander Smith, the founder of the Boys’ Brigade, and Baden-Powell. Official support came from the governing élite in Gibraltar, from the Governor, the Colonial Secretary, the Inspectors and

Directors of Education, the clergy and so on. Some of those more directly involved were also of the upper social echelons. During the early years of the movement they were usually British and probably from the military establishment. In 1912 a combined managing body was formed – the Local Association For Gibraltar Boy Scouts and Boys Brigade Organizations.⁴⁵² It had twenty-two members. Major R.P.Norman of Head Quarters Staff headed the list and four other officers were named, along with a Chaplain to the Forces and a Rev.Murphy. Others appear to have been expatriates on contracts in senior posts in the Colony. The six or so Gibraltarian members were successful businessmen in town. Some were included because they were officials of either the Scouts or the Boys Brigade. The two Scoutmasters, W.A.Adams (later to become Commissioner) and J.E.Bramble⁴⁵³ were members, both probably British expatriates. Clearly, the organizations were inspired and driven from the top, fully endorsed by the colonial authorities.

However, the real strength of the groups has rested with the Commissioners, the Scoutmasters, the Leaders and the Officers. There has almost always been a shortage of volunteers for these roles, for “suitable gentlemen willing to act as officers”, as a Boys Brigade report in Gibraltar put it. The prime movers were usually expatriates from the United Kingdom as was clearly so in the case of the 2nd Troop of Scouts which was formed in 1910 by employees of the Eastern Telegraph Company (later Cable & Wireless) for their sons. Similarly, the 3rd

Troop, once known as the “Queens”, was formed for sons of soldiers of the 3rd Battalion, the Queens Regiment. More recently, in 1952, the Air Scouts were formed at North Front beside the airfield and to begin with the unit was for the children of R.A.F. personnel. In all groups of Scouts and Guides, Gibraltarian involvement gradually increased until leaders were wholly local. Oral evidence suggests that leadership has remained middle-class, semi-professional or professional, English-speaking and Gibraltarian.

As regards the membership, the youngsters themselves, the indications are that they came from mixed backgrounds. Certainly, in the early years, efforts were made to satisfy the needs of children of the poorer classes, not just the more comfortably off. For example, the bulk-buying of boots was advocated in a Boys Brigade document dated 1911. This was for the benefit of both those boys who did not join and “the very badly shod” ones who did. The provision of free medical treatment and free medicines for the boys was also advocated, if funds could be found. It was added in the report that Scouts might benefit too. This suggests a genuine concern for the well-being of the young people themselves. An imperialist ideology by no means excluded a sense of social responsibility.

One related social problem affecting recruitment in those years was the tendency for the poorer boys in particular “to quit to work in Gibraltar and generally their hours of work preclude their belonging to either organization”.

Poverty was a problem at the time and it is interesting to note that the voluntary uniformed bodies saw that they had a role to play. This gives further credence to the view that the movement was for all social classes, not just the middle class. In general both Scouts and Guides do seem to have recruited from a broad social spectrum in Gibraltar; only the extremes of the very wealthy and the very poor were excluded. This is very much in accord with Warren's view that Scouts and Guides were in a real sense "popular", support and membership coming differentially from all levels of society.⁴⁵⁴

The three organizations have followed the same principles and practices as in the United Kingdom. This was so during both an earlier more imperialist phase and a later phase from the 1930s when the movement became more liberal and international rather than narrowly patriotic. Scouting activities have been full and varied, and to some extent determined by the characteristics of each group. The 2nd Group, with its links with the Eastern Telegraph Company, laid much store by signalling – they were signallers and runners during the First World War. They also had a reputation for engaging in dangerous activities such as rock climbing, abseiling, caving and canoeing. The Sea Scouts obviously devoted much of their time to activities on the water while the Air Scouts looked to the airfield. All manner of scouting activities were on the agenda – tracking, stalking, attack/defence, shooting, signalling in morse and semaphore, first aid, photography etc. The annual Scouts Sports used to be a highlight of the year,

no doubt much encouraged by a sporting British establishment and with full press coverage.

Among the various activities camping has held pride of place, both for its intrinsic value and for the individual development and character training which was thought to be involved. Full use has been made of local opportunities for overnight camping. For example, there is a record in 1911 of Commissioner Major Pedley asking permission to take one-hundred and fifty Boys Brigade and Scout members “to my home, the Villa Concepción in Campamento”. By no means a one-off event, they travelled in two steam launches from Waterport, enjoying sea-bathing as part of the programme⁴⁵⁵. Another camp was held regularly at El Cobre, near to Algeciras, “where exercising in Signalling, Ambulance, Bridge Building, Scouting Games” took place. There was also camping within Gibraltar, at Governor’s Lookout in the south of the peninsula, and Catalan Bay on the eastern side of the Rock. There have also been overseas camps, including regular participation in an international camp at Blair Atholl in Scotland. Warren notes that Scouting For Boys devotes most space “not to imperial symbolism or patriotic instruction but to the world and how it might be enjoyed and used”. He concludes that it was “the camp, not the Empire, which remained for both Scouts and Guides the most enduring symbol and metaphor of their ideals in the sphere of the training of the young”. The camp has been important to both organizations in Gibraltar and it continues to be so.

One other activity ought to be mentioned, namely music-making, which has been especially important to the scouting movement in Gibraltar. The 2nd Group at one time had a classical orchestra and many Gibraltarians who later became musicians received their musical grounding there. More traditionally, the 1st/4th Group, the Marquis of Milford Haven's Own, developed a Drum and Bugle Band which confirmed its high reputation in 1982 when it played at the Royal Tournament in London. In addition, the 5th Group has had its Pipe Band for many years. The scouts' musical achievements have helped to sustain both their involvement in public ceremonies and the cultural life of the community generally.

As already stated the Boys Brigade existed in parallel with Scouts for a number of years, a Major Pedley having been involved with both. Although there is little documentary evidence, it appears to have been somewhat more socially orientated, while not excluding some of the activities associated with scouting. This accords with Springhall's view that the Boys Brigade abroad was "widely promoted as an experiment in religious welfare work"⁴⁵⁶. A major concern was with getting the boys off Gibraltar's streets in the evening. In the few reports⁴⁵⁷ that survive the Boys Brigade in Gibraltar is given credit for an improvement in manners, cleanliness, bearing and sportsmanship during the early 1900s. There was also an emphasis on learning English and time was spent on the skills of

shooting, ambulance work and knotting. There were the annual camps and treats and regular entertainments and recreational facilities were also provided. The religious dimension was not over-emphasized and all faiths were welcomed. For a short time, therefore, the Boys Brigade, reflecting the values and principles of the organization's British origins, made its contribution to the process of cultural bonding.

Girl Guide activities have also been along stereotypical British lines. Badges have been won in skill-areas relating to the home – cookery, sewing, knitting, first aid, child care. Team games and swimming have also been popular encouraging a love of nature through outdoor excursions within Gibraltar and further afield in Spain. Sometimes these trips have involved the skills of camping, reflecting Baden-Powell's remark made in 1921, that, "It is through the camp that Guiding gains the greatest hold and its greatest educational effect on girls". Flag-flying, the singing of patriotic songs and national songs from other countries, and participation in church parades on special days, have all played their part. The movement remains popular in the 2000s, if somewhat changed and modernised, as has occurred in Britain.

In line with Baden-Powell's later and more internationalist thinking, links with others outside Gibraltar have been a feature, especially for Scouts. Baden-Powell visited the Rock in 1933 and he said subsequently, "They were a smart

and efficient lot under Major Pedley. They work in touch with Spanish scouts in La Línea, Málaga, Ceuta and Tangier so Gibraltar becomes rather an international meeting place on occasions".⁴⁵⁸ Baden-Powell's vision was of harmonious relations between nations within and beyond the Empire and he saw Gibraltar as playing its part.

Participation in overseas camps and jamborees by Gibraltarian scouts and guides have been important in this respect. Visits by overseas scouts to Gibraltar have been equally important, including parties of handicapped scouts from the United Kingdom. In fact, there has been much coming and going between Gibraltar and Britain. There were even occasions when scouts returned home on Royal Navy warships. Scout Leaders too have made regular trips to Britain, usually for training courses designed to supplement training carried out in Gibraltar. Gibraltar's smallness and isolation has made all these links and contacts essential. For all involved these links have also enhanced a Gibraltarian sense of belonging to the wider British and Commonwealth scene.

Since the first decades of the last century, many hundreds of Gibraltarians have benefited from experience in the Scouts, Boys' Brigade or Guides. Today they regularly comment on how much they enjoyed the activities and on how valuable these have been to them. In addition, the organizations have made their impact on society generally and it has been in ceremonials and rituals that

they have been most in the public eye. Members of all the organizations have participated with full official approval and encouragement, often with bands playing and regularly on parade alongside military units and contingents. The St. George's Day parade on April 23rd comes first to mind, St. George being the Patron Saint of Scouts and Guides worldwide and the date coinciding, as it does, with that of England's National Day. Large crowds have always attended. In pre-war years before 1936, when crowds were at their largest, "Spanish Scouts (Los Exploradores de España) from La Línea were present to help celebrate St. George's Day, Empire Day and other ceremonials".

Another highlight has been Empire Day. Prior to 1927, this was also Thinking Day or Renewal Day when the Guide Promise was renewed. Before the First World War it was an occasion of great ceremonial importance, involving virtually the whole of the garrison and the town in a pro-imperial demonstration. Scouts and Guides played their part. Later, when the outlook became more liberal and international, the Guides moved Thinking Day to "the more neutral joint birthday of Baden-Powell and his wife" thus confirming a change of emphasis. This was February 22nd which became the important day of celebration for Guides and Scouts in Gibraltar.

Another annual event in which they participated was Corpus Christi Day, with its special significance to a Roman Catholic population. There have also been

particular occasions, notably visits by important personages, when Scouts and Guides have taken part in parades and ceremonies. These have sometimes been Royal visits, including that by the Queen in 1954, when all young people in Gibraltar were in some way involved. Then there have been the visits by Baden-Powell⁴⁵⁹ himself and by Lord Rowallan when he was Chief Scout, and subsequently by various Commonwealth Scout Commissioners. These visits have been the occasion for all manner of events – presentations, inspections, camp-fires, award-ceremonies, parades, demonstrations and Scout Shows. Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, therefore, are significant British organizations, conveying British attitudes and values, which Gibraltarians have willingly accepted and made their own.

Similarly, in addition to hunting, sailing and rowing as discussed in Chapter 7, traditional *land-based sports and games* have played their part in creating a Gibraltarian community along British lines. As is now widely acknowledged, “The British passion for sport, and in particular for sport associated with ethical standards so vigorously promoted by the leading public schools, was part and parcel of the expansion of the Empire”⁴⁶⁰. Gibraltar was by no means excluded from such influences. During almost three-hundred years of occupation most sporting activities existed at one time or another, as far as geography has allowed. These extend from the more “élitest” such as rugby, golf, tennis and cricket, through a middle group, including swimming and athletics, to more

popular activities, notably association football and boxing. As with riding, sailing and rowing, these began because of the presence of an often large garrison, and a civilian body of expatriate administrators and businessmen, all with substantial recreational needs.

Of the more select sports, rugby⁴⁶¹ has been at a disadvantage because of the lack of suitable playing surfaces. Yet it did have a place and it no doubt helped further the virtue of “playing by the rules” with which the British are regularly associated. Rugby appeared in the colony around 1920, if not earlier and the game was played at North Front beside the race-course. Occasionally matches were played across the Strait in Tangier, fixtures sometimes being against French sides. With the building of the airfield, local pitches were lost and playing possibilities across the frontier were exploited. In the 2000s there is a Gibraltar team playing in Spain under the name of the “John Smith Rugby Club” to avoid recriminatory action by the Spanish authorities. In recent years players have been largely Gibraltar and products of British public schools or universities.

Interestingly, Spanish rugby seems to have been pioneered in Andalucía in the south of Spain, where there has been a great deal of British influence, sometimes coming from Gibraltar. In the same way, golf has had to rely on courses in Spain. There has been a Gibraltar Golf Club since 1920 at least.

Strong expatriate interest in the game has continued and expansion in recent years has been the result of a growth of facilities in southern Spain. Also the preserve of the better-off, tennis in a sense has a longer history in Gibraltar. As early as the late 18th century records show that a goldsmith and property-owner, one Henry Cowper, paid rent for a tennis court. However, in an organized sense, the sport came into its own after 1918. It remained largely a sport for the officer-class and for better-off Gibraltarians and their families, the latter now having taken over the game as their own. Because of the historically elite nature of the game, tennis has remained symbolic of Gibraltar's middle-class.

Cricket should be considered in more detail because "of all the mass spectator-sports exported to the Empire, it was cricket that became most intimately entwined with the imperial ideal"⁴⁶². It is strongly associated with the English, if not all the British, and in Gibraltar there is considerable enthusiasm for the game. In a discussion of the "Representations of Cricket" Jack Williams⁴⁶³ shows how cricket remained "a metaphor for England" into the 1930s and beyond, reflecting a series of assumed spiritual and moral values. The way that people wrote and talked about the game "suggests that cricket was a myth by which the English lived and imagined themselves". Williams also accepts that "cricket was very much a sport of the British Empire" and "often seen as helping to strengthen imperial feeling, the moral regard for the Empire added to the perception of cricket as an expression of English moral worth".

Cricket appeared at an early date in Gibraltar⁴⁶⁴. Thomas Finlayson⁴⁶⁵ believes that the first game was played soon after the Great Siege of 1779-1783 and there is press mention in 1800 of “the cricket ground”. Rowland Bowen⁴⁶⁶ reports that the “Gibraltar cricket club played for the first time” in 1822 although it was not put on a firm footing until later. In 1884 there was a reference in the press to a good pitch “on what was formerly half wilderness and half marsh”, which must have been at North Front, towards the frontier with Spain. It seems certain that the game began among members of the British garrison and community and a strong expatriate influence has continued throughout. The view generally taken is that cricket came to most corners of the Empire through British soldiers, administrators and settlers, and on a small scale this has been true of Gibraltar.

“Cricket, that great imperial link”⁴⁶⁷ was doing well in Gibraltar by the late decades of the 19th century. All sorts of ad hoc teams appeared, some associated with particular workplaces like the dockyard, the civil service, the Eastern Telegraph Company, the Kings Chapel and so on. The game remained very healthy into the early decades of the 20th century and by the 1920s there were three well-established civilian teams, Gibraltar Cricket Club, Line Wall College Cricket Club and the Wanderers Cricket Club with fixture lists of 50 matches and more. A letter which appeared in the Gibraltar Chronicle on 16th October

1913 provides a picture of a number of sporting activities in progress, as follows:-

“Dear Sir,

May I call your attention to the most interesting and gay state of affairs to be seen on the North Front yesterday about 5.30 p.m. The officers of the Navy and Army were playing a Cricket match watched by many beautiful ladies and enlivened by the band of the Royal Artillery, whose officers were dispensing general hospitality. Close at hand a Rugby Football match was in progress, so close that the football occasionally seemed to interfere with the cricketers. A little further off, the hounds could be seen exercising, while several racehorses were doing their evening gallop round the track. To complete the variety, both Sun and Moon smiled together on the scene. Cricket, Football, Music, refreshments, Hound, Horses, Sun and Moon, and beautiful ladies, all at the same moment – well, what’s the matter with Gibraltar?”

Undoubtedly, the expatriate influence has been strong. Individuals arrived with enthusiasm for the game which others then took up. Something of a wider expatriate network was involved. For example, several Gibraltarians who were keen players, had spent time working at Huelva with the British owned Río Tinto Mining Company, where tennis and cricket were played. There are also suggestions of links with cricket in Lisbon and Oporto, and in Tangier.

A major stimulus to the game in Gibraltar has come from cricket visits and tours. The most publicised was the game played with Australian Test players in 1890 when their ship had to stay for repairs. Bowen⁴⁶⁸ reports the first tour to Gibraltar in 1927 of the Cryptics Cricket Club. A visit in 1935 invites special mention: a team called the Yorkshire Gentlemen played in the colony and one

of their team was the cricketing enthusiast Governor Tim Harington, who usually spent his holidays in the United Kingdom playing cricket. No doubt Harington's love of the game had a beneficial effect on cricket in Gibraltar, as happened regularly with other Governors in the Empire. In contrast, as Bowen points out, when official interest was missing, as in West Africa, cricket was less likely to break through to the native population. Tours to Gibraltar continued regularly, especially after 1969. These tours and visits have been important to the establishment of "the English game" there.

Cricket has also helped to put Gibraltar on the international map. The emergence of several teams in the post-war years led to the creation of the Gibraltar Cricket Association in 1960. A few years later, in 1969, the G.C.A. was accepted as an associate member of the International Cricket Council (I.C.C.). This development permitted entry into the I.C.C. World Cup Trophy competitions, with tours to the United Kingdom, Holland, Kenya and Malaysia. Some small successes were achieved, including victories over Singapore, Israel and Italy. In 1996 Gibraltar lost to Scotland in Denmark and in 2000 the Gibraltar team beat all comers at a tournament in Glasgow. Thus participation in international events, including the Island Games, has greatly reinforced the Gibraltarians' sense of nationhood. The brochures for these events refer regularly to the participants as "ambassadors for our native land" including

those going overseas to play cricket, the game of the “Mother Land”. Any participation on an international stage readily receives government support,

It would be a serious omission not to devote some attention to the more popular end of the sporting and recreational spectrum, particularly to association football or *soccer*, whose values are seen as primarily working class. Football, like some other games, is now so universal that its origins may have become obscured. Yet the spread of the game had much to do with the British. Perhaps it reached Spain through Gibraltar and certainly it was very popular with the services on the Rock from an early date. The civilian Gibraltar Football Association dates from the late nineteenth century and among services personnel some time before that. By the twentieth century not only were there army teams and leagues but the crews of ships of the fleet also made full use of the facilities. Older Gibraltarians remember the times before 1939 when the turn-out of the navy teams was immaculate, each battleship having its own football strip. Whole ships’ companies would be present as spectators.

This mass following of football by the services, often with highly skilled players taking part, whetted the appetites of young Gibraltarians. Civilian teams prospered increasingly and local leagues existed alongside the services’ leagues. Services versus civilians fixtures became regular events and the rivalry at times was intense. The important matches were attended by H.E. the

Governor and other prominent people. This still happens today when, for example, the Gibraltar “national” team, drawn from the 30 or so local teams, plays against a visiting English league side which happens from time to time. Gibraltar’s application for membership of the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) has been thwarted several times by Spain.

Influences direct from the United Kingdom are also apparent. One local team is called Manchester United. There is considerable local interest in British football and there are keen armchair supporters of clubs like Manchester United and Liverpool⁴⁶⁹. In addition, the exploits of the English national team are followed with much interest. A new local club was founded in 1966 when England won the World Cup. English victories over Spain are special occasions for celebration in Gibraltar although this does not prevent the existence of a strong Barcelona supporters’ club. The formation of a Real Madrid supporters’ club, however, seems much less likely. Alongside this, the resident expatriates display their own sporting loyalties. For evidence of interest in Scottish football it is necessary to go to a local bar⁴⁷⁰, which calls itself the “Scottish Embassy”, where the Scottish owners and a substantially Scottish clientele proclaim the virtues of Celtic F.C. from Glasgow. Supporters of other clubs are not excluded.

Although soccer often steals the headlines, all manner of sports and games have a high profile in Gibraltar in the early 2000s. Almost every kind of sporting and

recreational activity seems to be catered for, from archery and athletics to volleyball and windsurfing. Given the geographical and financial constraints, the facilities are good. Major activities focus on the large Victoria Stadium⁴⁷¹ complex, supplemented by sports facilities at seven educational establishments. About thirty-six private facilities, and twelve under the control of the Ministry of Defence, are also available. Some of these are substantial e.g. a fifty-yard salt water swimming pool. Some forty-five organizations exist to administer the particular sports and these bodies are recognised by the Gibraltar Government Sports Department. From the 1990s this was headed by the Minister For Sport, with some involvement by the Minister For Education. A Sports Development Officer was appointed and Sports Department expenditure for 1996/97 was £518,000.

Quite clearly, the richness of the provision and the range of offerings is largely a legacy of the British presence. Public taste and demand in the territory reflect British preferences and pre-occupations. In addition, Gibraltar's place in Empire and Commonwealth, through the British connection, has led to participation in international events abroad and at home, notably in the Commonwealth Games, in European and World championships, and in the Special Olympic Games. Participation in the Island Games⁴⁷², including hosting them in 1995, has done much to stimulate an interest in various activities. Thus, as a British Overseas Territory, Gibraltar has achieved a "national" status and

this facilitates admission to international sporting arenas. A further factor is Gibraltar's location, its congenial climate and an attractive way of life. Access to and from London, and on from there, is easy by air. Sporting individuals and teams from the United Kingdom and elsewhere are pleased to visit Gibraltar, especially when the wind blows cold in the north.

As regards the opportunity to join clubs and societies, therefore, Gibraltar can be considered as simply a piece of Britain abroad. British influences have operated with little hindrance. This has also been true of another set of informal cultural influences, namely those conveyed by the cinema and radio. During the inter-war years and subsequently these have also been important in the formation of the Gibraltarian people. As Jeffrey Richards⁴⁷³ remarks, "the movies and the wireless" were powerful influences on society. Furthermore, they "were tightly controlled and programmed to middle class values". Quoting George Orwell, he summarises these values as "patriotism, religion, the Empire, the family, the sanctity of marriage, the old school tie, birth, breeding, honour and discipline". He adds that the movies, with their large audiences, were "one of the most potent means for propagating such values". In Gibraltar the provision was often for the garrison and expatriates but native Gibraltarians were always welcomed. The recollections of some older Gibraltarians indicate that they were enthusiastic cinema-goers and that they mostly enjoyed the same films as those in Britain.

No figures are available regarding cinema attendance and a precise assessment of the ideological influence on Gibraltarian society is not possible. However, the existence of numbers of cinemas indicates that they would have made an impact. The influence was not always English; to some extent it was Spanish. For example, one small cinema⁴⁷⁴ existed in Engineers Lane, perhaps from the early 1920s. It was a “Ciné de Barrios”⁴⁷⁵, catering mainly for patrons from the immediate neighbourhood. The films shown were Spanish and sometimes British or American. They were silent, with piano accompaniment. We can surmise that lower working class Gibraltarians attended. As Richards⁴⁷⁶ puts it, “the truly popular culture tended to be controlled by the middle class but consumed by middle and working classes alike”. This cinema closed when “talkies” appeared.

One of the earliest cinemas was the Empire Cinema, erected around 1914 by the army at the bottom of Red Sands Road. It was a timber construction and it was demolished at the end of the war in 1918. Several other cinemas existed during the period of silent films. There was one called the Salon Lumière on Line Wall Road and it too closed after a short time. A much larger venue was the Royal Naval Cinema, established in the early 1920s. It was a converted seaplane hangar, from the final years of the First World War when seaplanes patrolled the Strait. Although intended for navy personnel it was open to all the services

and civilians. During the days of the silent film, a small orchestra provided musical accompaniment. This cinema adapted easily to the arrival of sound. There was a change of programme there every 3 or 4 days. The films shown were always British or American. As well as the main film, there was usually a short film, a Pathé Pictorial⁴⁷⁷ and an edition of the British Movietone News. The cinema survived until the late 1940s when it was burnt down and eventually replaced by the Regal Cinema.

Various other cinemas existed, including one in the Recreation Rooms attached to the N.A.A.F.I.⁴⁷⁸. The films were always “talkies” and in English. Civilians attended, as well as services personnel. This was also true of the Rialto Cinema in Turnbull’s Lane. Occasionally a Spanish language film was shown there and on Sundays there were special performances for children. The Theatre Royal was also used as a cinema. There were some temporary cinemas too. One, in the 1930s, was operated by the Royal Navy from January to March during the Spring Cruise when many ships of the fleet were in Gibraltar and for some years there were also outdoor cinemas set up for summertime use. The Second World War saw an increase in the provision in order to satisfy the needs of the large garrison. The new outlets included the Globe Cinema, the RAF Cinema and others in remote locations where troops were billeted. Most of these closed at the end of the war. Some civilian cinemas continued to prosper, for example The Prince of Wales Cinema which was built after the closure of the frontier by

Franco in 1969. Only the purpose-built Queens Cinema survives in the 2000s, television having taken its toll.

All the cinemas in Gibraltar showed mostly English-language films. Civilians were usually admitted and there was an open invitation to attend. All age-groups and all classes attended. The films shown were those on circuit in Britain and so Gibraltarians were subjected to the same influences as “at home” in the United Kingdom. Films about crime, romance and comedy were popular as were adventure films. These were regularly located in outposts of Empire and films like “Gunga Din” and “The Four Feathers” are among the films remembered today. Such films, while appealing to a common interest in danger, excitement and heroic deeds, clearly conveyed British middle class values to receptive Gibraltarian audiences.

The story of the “wireless” and broadcasting on the Rock indicates a parallel set of influences. Writing in 1988, Ken Anthony⁴⁷⁹ looked back over some sixty years of development. During those years the Gibraltar Broadcasting Corporation(G.B.C.) “has grown from a low-cost organization into a fully mature, fully professional body, whose standards are equal to any similar sized station in the world”. “Gibraltar Television and Radio is now an integral part of our community” wrote Anthony.

As elsewhere, radio began modestly in Gibraltar in the 1920s. Initially there was only one licensed supplier of equipment, the shop called “The Red House”, owned by the Serfaty family in Main Street. Reception could be poor, using relatively primitive receivers powered by accumulators which had to be re-charged after a short while. Few people had receivers and an annual licence fee of five shillings had to be paid to the Gibraltar government.

The broadcasts were from Britain. Transmissions were on long-wave and the first National Programme could be received in the evenings. The output was limited and “the programmes heard on the Rock were mainly talks and light music”. By 1926 J.C.W.Reith had taken over as Director-General of the B.B.C. In 1932, initially somewhat against Reith’s inclinations, a special service for overseas consumption was inaugurated on a small scale – the Empire Service as it was then. Its broadcasts were heard in Gibraltar although its short-wave transmissions were of poor quality.

One Gibraltarian, more or less accurately, recalls radio in the 1930s as follows:-

“At that time we did not have a Broadcasting Station so we had to rely on Spain, Italy and the BBC. My favourite stations were the Dutch Station, Eindhoven, later to become Hilversum (The Happy Station), Radio Luxembourg and the BBC. For the programmes we could buy a magazine called “World Radio” and this gave us all the programmes of the various transmitting Stations.

In the beginning, the few people that had a radio set would only tune in to the Spanish Stations which could in the medium wave produce a better reception – with the BBC in short-wave, fading would often occur. But as time went on both the broadcasting and the receiving was perfected and one could tune in to more stations with improved receptions. For the young people the most popular programmes were those of Dance Music and Radio Plays – for the older, Operas and Classical Music were preferred”.⁴⁸⁰

Although there was to be no local station as such for some time, in 1935 there were the early beginnings of a radio distribution network. A few years later, during the war, this was taken over by the military and greatly extended, linking every possible barracks, billet and house. The resulting network became very important for news and entertainment, as well as for radio links with the families of servicemen in the United Kingdom. Also to satisfy the needs of wartime, a radio transmitter was installed. Transmissions included news in Spanish and Arabic which local Gibraltarians helped to produce. These broadcasts were widely received in southern Spain and Morocco.

During the war Gibraltar attracted numbers of visiting stars who came to entertain the troops. They appeared in live shows as well as in radio broadcasts. The visitors included Noel Coward, Vivien Leigh, Leslie Henson, Dorothy Carless and Geraldo and his orchestra. These appearances are still remembered by older Gibraltarian males who remained on the Rock. They also recall the broadcast of the 1945 Oxford and Cambridge Boat Race . This was enjoyed by everyone, services and civilians.

After the war, Radio Gibraltar began to be placed on a commercial footing. Input from the B.B.C. subscription service increased. There was also Spanish material, including “soap operas” from Cuba. Live broadcasts – music, talks, quizzes – played an important part and they were very popular. In a literal sense, broadcasting from the Rock has had a strong local dimension from the start.

The 1960s saw the inevitable arrival of television and for some 15 years Thomson TV International ran the service in Gibraltar. Help from that source was considerable, especially in the provision of equipment when this was not easily obtained. In addition, numbers of Gibraltarians attended courses at the Thomson Foundation Television Training Centre at Newton Mearns, near to Glasgow in Scotland. Courses lasted about ten weeks and they were free. People attended from all over the developing world and they returned home usually to take up key posts in television in their own countries.

In 1964 a Gibraltar government ordinance was enacted, setting up the Gibraltar Broadcasting Corporation(G.B.C.) whose purpose was “to maintain a sound and television broadcasting service as a means of information, education and entertainment and to develop the service to the best advantage and interest of Gibraltar”. Five years later, when Franco closed the frontier, Gibraltar was to

have great need of G.B.C. As Anthony puts it⁴⁸¹, “The Gibraltarian was forced to look towards homespun entertainment, and radio and television became of great importance, not only as a source of information and pleasure but also as a morale booster”. As regards entertainment, the practice whereby there was a good proportion of live material in the broadcasts applied to television as it had to radio. It was cheaper. More than that, it provided opportunities for local talent to develop. Among the more ambitious ventures were several full-length musicals in which there were memorable performances by Gibraltarian singers. During those days of “siege”, broadcasting certainly played its part in a process which brought the people even closer together.

Today the control and operation of G.B.C. is wholly Gibraltarian. In 1978 the contract with Thomson television International was terminated and G.B.C. became fully autonomous and dependent on local finance – through licence fees, income from advertising and a Gibraltar government grant. G.B.C. thrives in the 2000s alongside the many choices available to the people. Several Spanish television channels and radio stations can easily be received, as well as one or two in Arabic or French from North Africa. Furthermore, most Gibraltarians have access to satellite television with its international offerings, often in English. Thus, in terms of both news and entertainment, Gibraltar is very much part of today’s global society. Nevertheless, Radio Gibraltar broadcasts throughout the day, using a lot of British material, and Gibraltar

television is on the air for a few hours daily. Similarly, British material is very popular, including such programmes as live coverage of the Queen Mother's funeral in 2001 and the Queen's Golden Jubilee and the Manchester Commonwealth Games a year later. Local participation secures a large local audience, none more so than when politics and elections are involved. In media terms, perhaps this goes back to those days when the massive coverage of the parliamentary elections first became popular in Gibraltar, just as much as in Britain itself. Initially the opportunity and the impetus came from the United Kingdom but quite quickly the ownership became Gibraltarian. From those beginnings local broadcasting, radio and television, developed to occupy an important place in the life of the community. Gibraltar has its own small share in the media world and the people value that.

There is a similar story regarding the *press* in Gibraltar. This has been substantial, powerful and influential, and strongly linked with the affairs of Britain and the Empire and Commonwealth. What survives in the 2000s, like radio and television, is healthy and reasonably secure. Ownership in all senses is Gibraltarian and, as far as the Gibraltar Chronicle is concerned, close to "el ser Gibraltareño", literally, "the Gibraltarian's being", as one Spanish commentator argues.⁴⁸²

Any analysis of the thirty-five or so local publications which Gibraltar has known is likely to begin by referring to the Gibraltar Chronicle.⁴⁸³ It is a remarkable English-language newspaper, established in 1801 which makes it the second-oldest in the world after The Times of London. From the beginning the Chronicle was administered by the Garrison Library⁴⁸⁴ which was rather more than its name suggests. Certainly it was and is a library, with some fifty-thousand books housed in a splendid purpose-built building, completed in 1804 for an educated and cultured officer-class in the fortress as well as visiting naval officers. A minute of 4th February 1799 expressed the view that it should be seen as “no trivial testimony of the liberal spirit of the nation”. As already described, it became something of a select club for officers and gentlemen and even today ownership lies with a trust on behalf of officers of the garrison. Accordingly, admission was strictly controlled and for a long time membership was denied to many who felt that they should be allowed to join. Wives and women holding senior civil posts were admitted as honorary members. Gibraltarians were usually barred, except for a privileged few. Like the Yacht Club and the Hunt, the Garrison Library was synonymous with the upper stratum of a class society which prevailed in Britain, and which was perpetuated and to some extent replicated in the colonies.

The Garrison Library initiated, owned and ran the Chronicle, officers of the garrison making up the management committee. Some have drawn the

conclusion that this meant that the newspaper was the mouthpiece of authority on the Rock. This was not wholly true although officialdom kept a close watch on the press for most of the nineteenth century⁴⁸⁵. Relations with the Governor were sometimes uneasy and there were threats of closure over questions of censorship, among other things. This did not occur and in fact the policy of the newspaper was never radical and always mindful of what would be seen as “appropriate”.

The Chronicle graduated from a modest publication providing coverage of key newsworthy events to something with all the ingredients of a modern newspaper. Throughout its life, British or world news items have had priority. So have government notices and announcements. Social events, especially those affecting the garrison, easily claimed space over the decades. So did reports of national and local celebrations such as St. George’s Day, Empire Day, Trafalgar Day and Corpus Christi. Photographs were used as soon as the technology was in place, to illustrate the parades and the visits of dignitaries. Commercial matters, often relating to shipping schedules or to tenders and contracts have also been vitally important to the Chronicle from the very beginning, as its earlier name, The Gibraltar Chronicle and Commercial Intelligencer implied. The inclusion of these matters was no doubt of interest to businessmen in the Campo area too if they could read English.

From time to time ethical issues arose for a troubled editor and staff. That a strict moral code was enforced was illustrated in the Garrison Library itself where particular books were banned and burned. This happened after long deliberations and protests by those expectant readers whose names were still on the waiting lists. On the other hand, religious leaders who wanted their sermons printed in full in the Chronicle were resisted by the editor. Two other matters caused an outcry: reports on bullfighting were deplored by some of the British living on the Rock. So were accounts of social events in Spain on Sundays when these were clearly breaking the Sunday observance rule. Some of those who protested were alleged to have attended the events in question.

After 1945, and increasingly after 1980, the Chronicle quickly assumed the character it possesses today. At first, with a large garrison still in Gibraltar, plenty of space was devoted to matters of interest to the services, especially to sport at home in Britain. As this need lessened, local events and local matters generally could begin to dominate. The first Gibraltar-born editor was appointed in 1992 to a newspaper which was by then expected to be self-supporting and no longer linked to the Garrison Library.

While the Chronicle has always been highly regarded, and readily claimed as part of Gibraltar's heritage, it should be remembered that not everyone has been able to read it. Even today, two-hundred years on, there are some Gibraltarians

who do not possess the necessary facility with English to be able to read it or other newspapers. As discussed in chapter 4, the two-language situation has perpetuated something of an underclass of people who have had little or no command of English and only poor Spanish. There is no accurate measure of literacy in Gibraltar over a long period but the figures for 1975 show that 75% could speak simple English. Some of these would not necessarily be able to read well and the other 25% perhaps not at all. Therefore, although the Chronicle has had a considerable impact on society, there must have been many for whom only the photographs would have had meaning. Presumably this would have been equally true for newspapers published in Spanish.

Apart from a short column here and there, nothing Spanish remains in the Gibraltar press today. Yet in former times the Spanish component was sizeable, including the three publications, El Calpense (1868), Gibraltar Guardian(1872) and El Anunciador(1885). The last two were Gibraltarian owned and managed and they were relatively short-lived. The appearance of El Calpense⁴⁸⁶ was at first vigorously resisted by the Governors who feared disruption in the fortress and trouble with Spain. This publication was Spanish in almost every sense, being owned and run by Spaniards for a readership not only in Gibraltar but in Spain, in the Campo. Describing itself as a “Diario político, mercantil y de anuncios” (a political daily with commercial information and news), its content was similar to that of the Chronicle. It differed in that it contained reviews of

the Spanish press in Madrid as well as the British. Nor did it cater in any way specifically for the troops. News coverage was similar and space was devoted to commercial intelligence, notably ship arrivals and departures and their cargoes, as well as product advertisements, including the latest medical cures. The number of copies printed reached three-thousand daily and this was increased dramatically to twenty-thousand copies during the Spanish civil war (1936-1939) when, according to Francisco Tornay⁴⁸⁷, editorial sympathies lay with the Republican cause. Numbers remained at this level during the Second World War when the newspaper's support for the Allies was total. Smuggling copies of El Calpense into Spain during the years of the Franco régime by Spanish day-workers in Gibraltar, for example, brought dangers, sometimes fatal. Tornay speaks of the paper as at times "a beacon and herald of democracy and liberty".⁴⁸⁸ In that respect at least, El Calpense has made its contribution to the Gibraltarians' self-image as inhabitants of a small state where freedom has been sought and always prized and defended.

A number of other newspapers have not been mentioned, at least eight in Spanish, and another twenty or so in English. Some came and went quickly, as in the case of the Radio Times Gibraltar. Others had political affiliations, as Gibraltar became more politically conscious, and usually they did not last long. Twenty-four were established after 1945 and they were Gibraltarian creations. A few survived and they thrive today, including The New People and

Panorama. In general, therefore, the nature and development of the Gibraltar press during the past two centuries shows it to have been a significant instrument of British influence. Some Spanish influences have been present too. All these are now part of Gibraltar's heritage. Out of the past an English-language but fully Gibraltarian press has emerged, to take its place alongside the United Kingdom tabloids and broadsheets which have also been available in Gibraltar since the reading rooms of the Garrison Library were first opened to members. Subsequently, of course, these have become readily available each day for purchase in the various newsagents' shops on the Rock, arriving by air. The press today is very much as you would find it in any British territory, catering for its readers through a strong local English-language press, supplemented by newspapers from the United Kingdom.

One other area of influence, regularly reported by the press, is that of the creative arts in general, that is culture in the artistic sense. In Gibraltar's case this has meant mostly music, drama and painting which are relevant in two respects: firstly, as a source of influence on the Gibraltarian people and secondly as a measure of achievement by Gibraltarians whose efforts are always publicly acclaimed.

Culture in this sense has drawn on mixed sources – Italian, British and Spanish. Spanish influences were greater in earlier times and they continued while the

Spanish language dominated. One thinks of the popularity of the Zarzuela, combining drama and music, then of flamenco and guitar, these having been long enjoyed by some Gibraltarians at least. Performances in the Theatre Royal from the mid-1800s reflected this taste, with the regular appearance of Spanish actors and musicians. Similarly the annual Fair in Gibraltar, through to the post-war years, had a strong Spanish flavour. Residents of La Línea, Algeciras and Gibraltar attended each other's fairs and other events. Gibraltarian interest in things Spanish was also apparent in the entertainments which people arranged sometimes for themselves and sometimes for public performance when evacuated to Madeira, Jamaica and London.⁴⁸⁹

In fact, it is in the spheres of music and the visual arts that Gibraltarian cultural achievements have been greatest. In music tastes have varied widely. At the popular and light end of the spectrum there has been a regular flow of local performers – guitarists, singers, pianists and other instrumentalists, often self-taught. As individuals or in groups they have performed on whatever stage was available. Some of the more able and more adventurous have sought recognition in the United Kingdom and elsewhere, with a degree of success, including William Gomez⁴⁹⁰ and Alfred Hammond⁴⁹¹.

The wholly classical vogue is also well-represented. Opera has long attracted a following, perhaps reflecting the Italian roots of the people and no doubt the

Theatre Royal was built in the light of that. It was opened in 1847 with a performance of Verdi's "Nabucodonosor". Throughout many years, although beset with various difficulties⁴⁹², the Theatre Royal has played an important part in the musical life of Gibraltar. It saw regular vocal and instrumental concerts, as well as masked balls for the military and the establishment. In 1946 Beniamino Gigli sang in the theatre. Symphony orchestras have performed there too, including Gibraltar's own classical orchestra which existed for several years. There have also been a number of very successful local classical musicians who have won international success. There has certainly been an audience for such music, among Gibraltarians and expatriates. Sir Malcolm Sargent conducted the Madrid Symphony Orchestra during the Gibraltar Music festival of 1949 as did Clarence Raybold the following year. On those occasions an RAF hangar was used to accommodate the large audience. The Mackintosh Hall, the Ballroom of the Convent and the spectacular St. Michael's Cave⁴⁹³ are other venues that have been regularly in use for musical events and drama, as they still are.

Of course, Gibraltar cannot claim ownership of all this musical tradition. Britain has played a part in facilitating performances and in aiding individuals. Significantly, the bands of resident and visiting regiments have contributed much to Gibraltar's musical life in military, light and classical music. Yet there has always been considerable local involvement and talent. In the case of

military music, the Royal Gibraltar Regiment has inherited the musical tradition of British regiments and today its musicians perform creditably on public occasions exactly as British regimental bands did in the past.⁴⁹⁴

It would be an error to exaggerate the musical accomplishments of Gibraltarians but they do seem noteworthy for a population of some thirty-thousand. Furthermore, the record for the visual arts approaches that for music. Gibraltarians can readily list the names of local artists – Bacarisas (“our most distinguished painter”, as commonly asserted), Jacobo Azugury, Benito Caetano, Jane Langdon, Albert Sciacaluga, Mario Finlayson, Bathsheba Peralta and others. In contrast to the musicians, their work seems hardly affected by British influences. While “the British visual arts were unquestionably stimulated by imperial rule”⁴⁹⁵, this made no impression on Gibraltarian artists whose work in any case came later. Scenes of Gibraltar’s dramatic military history and life were painted either far away or by accomplished expatriate amateurs on military or colonial service. Gibraltar’s artists, apparently, have not been stimulated by empire. It is difficult to say that there is a Gibraltar school of painting. Very vivid colours do seem to be favoured, “because of the Mediterranean light”, as one artist puts it. The same person also explained Gibraltarian achievements saying that “Gibraltar is culturally productive because of the melting pot”, adding that “the mix is like the U.S.A.”, meaning a mix of people and races from various places, seeking escape from repression or poverty⁴⁹⁶. It should be

added that perhaps the best-known Gibraltarian in the art world is not a painter but the dress-designer John Galliano, first of the House of Givenchy, then of Christian Dior. Galliano is proud to be British and Gibraltarian and in 1998 he designed a set of Gibraltar postage stamps in expression of this. In contrast to music and the arts, Gibraltarians seem to do less well in the literary sphere. There are few writers of repute, suggesting that the Gibraltarians may feel less secure with the written word.

To conclude, the hunt, sailing, rowing, youth organizations, cricket and other sports, as well as the media and the arts – all of these and more have their place in Gibraltar's cultural history and in the formation of the Gibraltarian community. The influences which they brought have often been unintentional rather than intentional, indirect rather than direct, informal rather than formal, sometimes accidental and usually incidental⁴⁹⁷. All have left an imprint. Many have been everyday influences – what the people see, hear and read. Others have had a structure and an organization. Most have had a British component, the participants following British practice and imitating British social behaviour, speech, dress and so on. Yet, as the population has evolved from its Genoese and mixed origins, it has accepted and modified the British influences and made them their own. Certainly, most of the social, sporting, cultural and media matters described in these chapters, while British in concept, have either left their mark on the people or become integral to modern Gibraltarian society.

EPILOGUE

In the course of this study it has been shown how *environmental, ethnic, economic, political, religious, linguistic, educational* and *informal* influences have played their part in helping to mould the Gibraltarian people. In addition, affecting each of these factors in turn, there has been the all-embracing British imperial presence.

Questions arose as to why empire came to Gibraltar and what form it took. The reasons for empire were complex. One writer groups them under three headings: firstly economic, “the drive to trade”; secondly strategic, “the need to protect imperial routes” and thirdly the “dutiful and the religious”, “to bring (them) the good news of the Christian Gospel”. All three applied to Gibraltar, particularly economic gain and, of course, military advantage over opponents. Pertinently, Martin Kitchen also states that “the driving force behind this type of imperialism was a curious mixture of nationalism, Christian missionary zeal, the search for profit and the career objectives of Britain’s civil and military officials”.⁴⁹⁸ Although British commitment to Gibraltar has been dominated by military priorities, trade and other matters have had their place.

With regard to the nature of the imperialism itself, several characteristics seem most prominent. In the first place imperialism entails some degree of political domination, usually backed up or enforced by military power. If and when

armies withdraw and a political overlordship ends, autonomy and independence are gained or re-gained, although a significant imperial heritage may remain. Domination implies power and control of whatever aspects of life need to be controlled so as to ensure the survival of the imperial system. In Gibraltar this has meant total control by the British; control of government, of the civil and military infrastructure, of rights and privileges, and of access to people, places and institutions. Furthermore, within this framework of control, military considerations have always come first in a colony whose essential value has been that of a fortress. Although exercised locally, control has emanated from the metropole, the “Mother Land”, where the source of imperial power lay.

A second characteristic of imperialism is its operation through agencies and agents, with or without a significant military presence, to exercise the control and influence. In Gibraltar these have been the Governors and Commanders in Chief, with their military officers and colonial officials. Supported by a mostly protestant and loyal body of traders and social and community leaders, the Governors have been the principal holders of power while carrying out the wishes of Secretaries of State in London. In exercising power and influence the main concern has always been to maintain control and to see that the status quo was not threatened. Nevertheless, there have been times of change and progress, sometimes prompted by thinking in Britain. Sometimes the Governors themselves have been the change agents, encouraging local development and

expression, occasionally to the dismay of the Colonial Office or the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London.

Thirdly, and less easy to gauge but certainly influential, are the more subtle socializing processes for which the imperial controlling agencies have been responsible. As already referred to, this socialization is described by J.A.Mangan as "...tuition, formal and informal, planned and unplanned, explicit and implicit, involved in the adoption of appropriate political perceptions, the acquisition of associated cultural perceptions, the acquisition of associated cultural beliefs and the learning of related social attitudes".⁴⁹⁹ This "tuition" has permeated Gibraltar's history being apparent in all the dimensions which have been addressed.

In addition, there is a fourth element, namely the complex ideology of imperialism itself which underpins the socialization process. The main ingredient has been a belief in the superiority of the moral and other values being conveyed; a "primitive" society was to be improved by a civilized one. This was less than a step away from the assertion of racial superiority. As Kitchen puts it, "The ideology of Empire became that of a white, Protestant master race, whose right to rule resided in its respect for the rule of law, its superior moral vision, its devotion to duty, and its gentlemanly virtues".⁵⁰⁰ Most of these sentiments have to some extent been entertained in Gibraltar both

by the imperial masters and, through acculturation, by the local people themselves.

The various factors which have helped in the formation of the Gibraltarian people have been considered in the context of British imperialism. At a fundamental level there were the influences resulting from the nature of the physical *environment* and *climate*: to some extent a community is what it is because of where the people reside. Gibraltarians have always lived physically close to one another and close to the expatriate British, the signs and symbols of empire always evident. They are a Mediterranean people, living in cramped conditions in a restricted and clearly-defined and threatened geographical area of unusual characteristics. These matters have deeply affected the mentality and outlook and loyalty of the people.

The British were also attracted to Gibraltar by its physical attributes –its location and its defensible qualities. It has been described as “probably the most fought over and most densely fortified place in Europe, and probably, therefore, in the world.”⁵⁰¹ It was as a fortress that Gibraltar was most useful to the British Empire, when the Royal Navy was internationally dominant and it is this image of Gibraltar that lives in the British national consciousness. Gibraltarians share those perceptions and many older inhabitants identify the

comings and goings of the Mediterranean and Home Fleets as evocative symbols of British power.

Clearly, environmental factors have played their part in shaping the Gibraltarian community. Where the people came from has mattered too. Gibraltarians do not represent any single *ethnic* group. Almost all were new arrivals after the conquest of 1704, coming from a variety of places at different times and with different racial origins. Gibraltarians now see this ethnic diversity as central to their distinctiveness. While they were initially separate, over the centuries they have combined to form a homogeneous native population. Seeking opportunities for work was the principal reason for immigration and, since the available work often served the needs of the garrison, it was the British who controlled the ethnic mix. They decided who was to be admitted. Rights of residence and regulations governing what constitutes a Gibraltarian have been zealously applied. Despite the requirements of the Treaty of Utrecht that it should be otherwise, Jews were admitted because of their vital trading connections in Morocco. Others came because of British links and preferences. People came from Britain in the interests of imperial trade and because of the need to have a core population of loyal protestants. Minorcans gained access because of naval links between Gibraltar and Mahon; the Portuguese gained entry also through historical connections with Britain; the Maltese similarly. A Spanish element emerged out of local needs and contacts and because of an

overspill of population into La Línea and the Campo. Indian traders came in small numbers because of the Empire, sometimes already holding British passports. Moroccans replaced Spanish workers during the Fifteenth Siege, but only with temporary residence permits.

The nature of the *economy* and the resulting work patterns available to the Gibraltarians have also helped to mould the community. In this respect the British were crucial until recent decades, and for a long time the economy was almost entirely a function of their presence. In fact, much effort was devoted to supplying the needs of the garrison, especially when there was war at sea. The growth of the naval dockyard, its role as a major employer and its eventual closure is a prime illustration of Gibraltar's dependence on the British. In addition, British trading preferences, in tobacco, textiles and other British manufactured goods, regularly brought benefits. In this a small but influential merchant class from Britain played an important role.

The major presence of the dockyard also reveals how work patterns have affected social structures in Gibraltar. The reliance, there and elsewhere in the colony, on a foreign manual labour force, Spanish or Moroccan, for the lesser jobs, has clearly reinforced the middle-class nature of the indigenous population, with its aversion to manual work. Instead, perhaps because of the uncertainty of a fragile economy, an opportunistic trading and money-making

culture has prevailed. One perceptive visitor from the United States of America recently described Gibraltarians as “like Levantine businessmen”. This image is particularly visible today in new economic circumstances, in which the people must rely mostly on their own resources, skills and ingenuity unsupported by Britain.

Sir William Jackson takes the view that Gibraltar would have attained full independence in the 1960s or 1970s but for the actions of Spain.⁵⁰² If that had happened, or if it were to happen, survival could only be on the basis of a “new economy”. Various consultancy reports compiled during the last decades of the twentieth century stressed the importance of a privatized dockyard, tourism from Spain and by sea and air, and financial services as essential to a changed economic future. Gibraltar’s highly educated population has also emerged as important in this scenario. It is a vital asset to Gibraltar and, potentially, to the larger area.

Just as the economy has grown to be less dependent on Britain, so have *political affairs* become more a matter for the Gibraltarians themselves. The acquisition of a degree of political autonomy took a long time. Even with the granting of a Legislative Council in 1950, in the eyes of the authorities the Gibraltarians were still serving their apprenticeship. Suspicions remained that they were not up to it and various colonial officials were loath to see control relinquished. Before that

the power of the Governor had been supreme, subject to the requirements of Whitehall. Always from an impeccable social background, and usually possessing excellent personal qualities, successive Governors had exercised their civil role conservatively as elsewhere in the Empire⁵⁰³. They spoke for King/Queen and Emperor and they regularly conveyed their thoughts on morality, religion and the British Empire in speeches and public pronouncements. They were the main agents of imperialism and at the heart of the socialization process.

Yet there was a place for the more liberal, reforming but no less loyal Governor. This was especially the case after the Second World War, when the end of empire was in sight and when attitudes in London were more amenable to thoughts of local political development. The war itself, through the evacuation, had made a great impact on the Gibraltarian people. The Association for the Advancement of Civil Rights (A.A.C.R.) was encouraged in its activities, setting in train the sequence of events which had led to the Referendum of 1967, which rejected totally the idea of any association with Spain, and to the constitution of 1969, with its historic preamble on sovereignty.⁵⁰⁴ Trade unions flourished and party-politics became established, but none of these developments was anti-British in a militant sense. Local politics became complicated, with individuals sometimes to the fore, then parties and alliances, these breaking down after a while. Burton Benedict notes that it is “a

commonplace in anthropological studies of small communities that economic, political, religious, and kinship systems are very often coincident or nearly so".⁵⁰⁵ As a consequence, "The same individuals are brought into contact over and over again in various activities", leading to "the intense factionalism of small communities, especially in politics".⁵⁰⁶ This rings true of Gibraltar. However, the proneness to infighting and disagreement seems not to have undermined the strong feelings of identity and common purpose among the body politic. Nor have individual leaders necessarily been held back by the easily aroused jealousies and personal disputes. Some have enhanced their stature considerably, Joshua Hassan prominent among them. Furthermore, his and other reputations have been consolidated on an international stage – at the United Nations in debates on de-colonization, in Brussels similarly, and in London and elsewhere. To that extent political activities have been by no means restricted to local, internal affairs. Most Gibraltarians believe that they have shown that they are "up to it" not only in running their own affairs but also in presenting their case internationally. What was and is being demanded is self-determination for the Gibraltarian people.

Legally however, British domination continued. The Constitution of 1969⁵⁰⁷ gave the Governor, as representative of the Queen, extensive reserve powers. His actual powers were described in terms of his "direct responsibility for all matters primarily concerned with external affairs, defence and internal security,

including the police”⁵⁰⁸ leaving the elected government with wide areas of responsibility relating to what were termed “defined domestic matters”. These were listed as Municipal Services, Social Services including Education, Tourism, Trade and Commerce, and so on. The House of Assembly was empowered to publish bills on any of these matters, always requiring the Governor’s assent which in principle he could withhold. He might also draw up bills on his own accord. In addition, the Governor could consult the Gibraltar Council, a nominated body⁵⁰⁹, and he might also consult the Council of Ministers. However, it has become present practice for the Governor not to interfere but he could do so in the event of a major crisis.

Therefore, in reality there had been considerable political progress, in close association with Britain and British ideas. Matched by a *legal system* based closely on that in England, the form of government that has been won has been very much along British parliamentary lines – “the export of British constitutional practices” has been part of the story of empire.⁵¹⁰ Since 1969 there has been a continuing shift towards leaving more matters to the Gibraltarians themselves. The Constitution has become outdated and 2001 saw the start of a new round of consultations on the drawing up of a new one, always subject to the approval of the United Kingdom parliament. Therefore, in economics and politics, although no longer so closely tied to Britain, a significant legacy from the days of colonial control seems likely to continue.

In contrast to the economic and political dimensions, influences arising from *religion* and language have had substantial non-British as well as British elements. Thus, the English language, though always the official language, was not easily able to supplant Spanish as the first language of the majority of Gibraltarians. During the second half of the twentieth century particularly, English made considerable progress. As regards religion, while a variety of faiths have been represented, Roman Catholicism, as in much of southern Europe, has been predominant as the religion of the people. Its influence, through the Bishop and his parish priests, has extended to most aspects of the life of the community. In education, the Christian Brothers and the Loreto Nuns providing the core of the teaching force for a century and more, the Roman Catholic Church was particularly influential, until recent post-war years. Even today the Roman Catholic Bishop does not accept that Gibraltarian society is in any sense a secular society.

Yet there have been Anglican influences too. Anglicanism's success has been described as due to the "knitting (of) the church into the fabric of the state"⁵¹¹. The effects of this were carried to the Empire, partly by the military, and one might have expected to find the Anglican Church at the centre of things in Gibraltar. For long periods this was so but only for the garrison; in the territory the Church of England was unequivocally the church of the armed services and

the British establishment. The Catholic Church and the non-conformist churches were not favoured. In fact, they were much discriminated against and initially compulsory worship for services personnel meant church parades to Church of England services only. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the various churches had won a degree of official acceptance although all along the religious messages from Governors and other officials, in various public pronouncements, were underpinned by the authority of England's established church. The native population merely looked on and a few became members.

The casual visitor to the territory today might quickly learn that Catholicism, as in Spain, is important to the community. Yet it would be wrong to infer that this in any way brings Gibraltar closer to its neighbours. There are no formal ecclesiastical links with Spain and few informal ones. Similar false inferences might be drawn about *language*. The argument that Gibraltarians speak Spanish, therefore they must be Spanish, is even weaker than the argument that English-speaking Australians must be English. Nor does speaking English, as many do in Gibraltar's bi-lingual community, make *them* English. Language and national identity are not necessarily related.

But language does contribute to the identity of Gibraltarians. They are often bi-lingual or, in a sense, even tri-lingual; their Spanish has its own qualities; and dual-coding and Yanito are uniquely theirs. Furthermore, they speak English in

a phonologically distinct manner and regularly without any accent at all⁵¹². Language in all these respects confirms a Gibraltarian uniqueness based on diversity.

In addition, language illustrates the effects of British rule. The British brought English with them and to some extent imposed it on the colony. The native population accepted it, modified it and built upon it. The wartime evacuation (1940-1943/4), the Fifteenth Siege (1969-1985) and subsequent extensive educational links with Britain further established the English language in the lives of the people.

The pattern of language usage has also had bearing on Gibraltar's class structure which can be said to be a consequence of British rule. Certainly, a middle-class was created in Gibraltar long before it existed elsewhere in the area. A command of the prestige language, English, was usually a pre-requisite for access to higher social circles. Ultimately it was the British who controlled the access for the establishment and for Gibraltar's upper-class "nobility". The opposite was also true: a small linguistically deprived and excluded underclass emerged from an educational system which until recently failed to come to terms with the language problem.

It is self-evident that *education* is a powerful formative influence. States of all political colours, autocratic and democratic, use the educational system to convey political requirements or exhortations to its citizens in the making. Gibraltar now has its own “state” system, largely freed from religious and political strings, but modelled very much along British lines. There is a policy-making body in the elected House of Assembly, in the form of a Chief Minister and a Council of Ministers. Among the Ministers is one whose portfolio is Education⁵¹³. The Minister for Education works closely with the Director of Education. Financial and administrative control also lie wholly in Gibraltarian hands as does inspection of the system. No longer do the Governor or the Foreign and Commonwealth Office have a role in educational affairs.

Policy-makers and officials used the educational system as a means of imperial socialization. In addition the British influenced the system itself in three ways: firstly, through British ideas and examples, and reports based on them; secondly, through the provision of know-how and expertise; and thirdly, through direct contact with the United Kingdom system. With regard to the first, in almost every respect Gibraltar’s educational system has drawn on what was happening in Britain at the time, the initiatives taken by the different religious denominations included. Thus, during the first century or so, when there was educational provision in place, this was mostly either military or due to the entrepreneurial efforts of some British teachers. Later, from the middle

1850s the activities of religious groups and Christian Societies mirrored those in Britain. Later, the 1880 and 1892 Education Codes were virtually the same as for England & Wales and the early 1900s saw the appearance of influential reports by experts sent by the British government. Then, during the 1940s every possible step was taken to match the 1944 Education Act. Twenty years later, doubts about the tripartite system of schooling were inspired by social thinking in Britain and Gibraltar's comprehensive system was modelled on one from Leicestershire. Examinations taken in Gibraltar were never colonial and changes reflected the same sequence as in England – the Cambridge School Certificate, the General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.), then the Certificate of Secondary Education (C.S.E.), the General Certificate of Secondary Education (G.C.S.E.), and National Vocational Qualifications (N.V.Qs). Subsequently, in 1988, the National Curriculum was accepted, with local modifications. By then the decision-making was wholly Gibraltarian uninfluenced by British officials.

A parallel sequence is evident in the various educational reports written since 1943. At first these were written by colonial officials from the United Kingdom or Gibraltar. In some of them the tone was as if Gibraltar was really just an extension of the United Kingdom, ready for full integration. Matters gradually began to change as local involvement increased. The Secondary Education Commission of 1965 was composed entirely of Gibraltarians. Similarly, whereas the Education Ordinance of 1950 was drafted by colonial officials that

of 1974 was based on the deliberations of a local Commission , reporting to the House of Assembly. At the same time, the Commission's remit was a British one: "to make recommendations for a new Education Ordinance based on the principles of the United Kingdom Education Acts, taking into account any other legislation enacted here or in the United Kingdom which affects Education". Subsequent documentation has been locally written and the re-emergence in 2000 of the important Annual Reports on Education, from the pen of the Director of Education, is a wholly Gibraltarian practice.

Secondly, Gibraltar has depended on British educational expertise. In earlier decades this was essential, no more so than in 1943 when Gibraltar lacked an adequate teaching force and services personnel and other expatriates were vital to Gibraltar's classrooms. Leaders of the system, the Directors of Education and, for a while until the 1980s, Advisers, were United Kingdom appointees funded under technical cooperation initiatives. Some of the earlier inservice training programmes were staffed by invited United Kingdom experts. Special relationships with Essex Education Committee and with Hull University were significant in all these arrangements and as regards the latter they are still maintained. In 1998 a team from Hull surveyed special educational provision in the system. A key difference is that the expertise is now bought in and paid for by the Gibraltar government.

Thirdly, the regular presence of large numbers of Gibraltarians in Britain has had a cumulative effect – for holidays, visits to family, for medical treatment⁵¹⁴ – but mainly for educational purposes. For those who could afford it, attendance at prestigious Roman Catholic boarding schools such as Stonyhurst, Downside, Worth and New Hall has been common practice. Although numbers have been relatively small, the impact of this practice has been quite considerable. The children concerned have come from wealthy and influential Gibraltarian families. They have acquired the social skills and linguistic idiosyncrasies associated with products of British public schools and their class credentials have been thereby reinforced. Some argue that this link with the private sector in Britain is one which ought to be maintained, through a scholarship scheme if necessary.

However, far more significant and in no sense in decline, has been the take-up of higher education in the United Kingdom, currently by almost 50% of school-leavers from the two comprehensive schools. This proportion was reached by stages after 1945, teacher-training being a priority for a long period. More and more subject-specialisms and more and more institutions have become involved over time, some 600 students being on courses in any one session during the 1990s. This has resulted in a well-qualified British-educated workforce. Those who can and wish to return to Gibraltar for employment or marriage do so. Others must take up work in Britain or elsewhere.

Educational developments in Gibraltar therefore have usually been little more than extensions of British practice or copies of British examples. The related and no less powerful *informal* cultural processes provide other instances of the British influence. All are suggestive of David Cannadine's view of the heyday of the British Empire 1850-1950. He describes empire as "the extension of British social structures and the setting for the projection of British social perceptions to the ends of the world – and back again". If ever there *was* "a unified, coherent British enterprise" it must have been, says Cannadine – to tie "the entire interactive system" of Britain and its empire together "in the vernacular image of the domestic, ranked, social hierarchy" which was perceived to prevail in the metropole. While there can be said to be two visions of empire, both hierarchical, one based on colour and race, the other on social class, it is, in Cannadine's view, the second which best explains the empire where Britain held the reins.⁵¹⁵

In Gibraltar, of course, race had little or no explicit place in the order of things whereas status certainly has. Pervading all the informal influences which have been reviewed in this thesis has been the importance of status to all who wished to participate. Thus, in the case of the Garrison Library, set up primarily for the officer-class, having military rank or the equivalent was the obvious prerequisite. Officers' wives and some others were granted associate

membership. Gibraltarians found entry extremely difficult and for a while commissioned officers of the Gibraltar Regiment were excluded because they were not proper soldiers.

The Royal Calpe Hunt more than any organization depended on notions of status and class. Royal patronage linked the Hunt to the pinnacle of hierarchy. Membership whose core was made up of high-ranking services personnel, further reflected an aristocratic if not royal pedigree, Gibraltar's successive Governors playing a key role in the Hunt's affairs. Gibraltarians aspired to membership of, or association with, the Hunt and those who achieved acceptability did so initially on the basis of wealth or service to the colony. In this way the growth of Gibraltar's own "nobility" was furthered. Their daughters sometimes found partners from the officer-class Hunt members, perhaps with good family connections⁵¹⁶. Similarly, the marriage of Gibraltarian women to officers was usually acceptable. Somewhat lower-status Gibraltarians might have married non-commissioned officers, but marriage to personnel from the ranks was not thought appropriate for any girl.

Social events such as Hunt picnics and the Hunt Ball endorsed the status of those who took part. This has also been true of the still-surviving Royal Gibraltar Yacht Club (R.G.Y.C.) with its high-profile social occasions. In this case the naval establishment had ownership of the organization, always with the

patronage of His Excellency the Governor. At first Gibraltarian membership increased only slowly, in step with the growth of an upper- and middle-class. In recent decades, as the Royal Navy influence disappeared, Gibraltarian membership began to dominate, but with traditional controls on access. To be a member of the R.G.Y.C., if only for social or family reasons, continues to be perceived as a status symbol. This also applies to the two rowing clubs which have tended to view the Yacht Club as a model to follow. Undoubtedly the British also brought rowing to the area and throughout their existence the rowing clubs have been run along British and strictly amateur lines. Particularly as regards the Calpe Rowing Club, perhaps, notions of class have prevailed; membership at the upper levels of the hierarchy has regularly been common to the Royal Gibraltar Yacht Club and the Calpe Rowing Club.

Other land-based sports and games have long been established in Gibraltar, due in the first instance to the British “who taught the world to play”, as it is commonly said. Cricket, rugby, tennis, golf, association football, boxing and hockey have all prospered. Following the example of expatriates, Gibraltarians took up these games with enthusiasm. In so doing they acknowledged underlying British values, notably in team games, and they took them as their own. Cricket was the prime example: with keen support from Governors and others an influential cricket-playing elite emerged. This included Sir Howard Davis, the first Gibraltarian Financial Secretary, then Deputy Governor. Playing

cricket offered social advantages to the participants and, along with various other competitive sports and games, it has helped to consolidate Gibraltar's place in the Commonwealth and internationally.

In effect, a set of values and qualities has been conveyed by these activities. This was apparent in riding – racing, hunting and polo – which among other things required courage and leadership. In other sports notions of teamwork and fairplay have been involved. Gibraltarians have openly voiced their approval of these attributes which the British have strongly advocated.

Another aspect of British society that has been replicated, has been that of the voluntary uniformed groups, Scouts and Guides. With their dual educational and social function these groups have exerted an important influence. One effect has been to underline the middle-class idea of service to the community while the purposes have been exactly those of the Baden-Powells, focusing on outdoor skills and character training, on physical and moral fitness, therefore. In addition, there has always been an important place for bands, parades and ceremonies in the activities of those organisations, often with a patriotic and imperial flavour.

This participation in pageantry and ceremony was part of a programme of imperial propaganda and indoctrination, supplementing what went on in

schools. Also part of the larger cultural scene which promoted a British way of life and British middle-class values were the cinema, radio, television, the press and the arts. The cinema came early to Gibraltar as an amenity for the armed services. Although presenting some films in Spanish for a while, it became very much as it was for mass audiences in Britain. Stories of empire featured regularly in the performances. Similarly radio, beginning with the pioneering but poorly-received Empire Service, improved greatly after the late 1930s. Wartime years strengthened both the news and entertainment aspects considerably to satisfy the needs of the large garrison, including Gibraltarian males. Transmissions originating in Britain became popular and this trend continued after 1945. The development of Radio Gibraltar also moved ahead. It had the dual effect of advancing British culture on the one hand and strengthening a Gibraltarian identity through the creation of its own broadcasting service on the other. Television took the same route from the 1960s and today local transmissions survive in a world of globalisation and satellite television. World-wide programmes, because of the international significance of English, tend to reinforce the use of that language on the Rock, although access to Spanish programmes has also been enhanced. The radio and television pages in local newspapers indicate a wide choice for listeners and viewers.

The press has also played a part in the formation of the Gibraltarian community, mainly through the Gibraltar Chronicle. This unique publication has been supplemented by British newspapers and local weekly and monthly publications. Commercial notices in the Chronicle have obviously been of prime importance. However, over time the coverage has broadened to include more news of Britain and world affairs, leading eventually to the present-day focus on the needs of local readers. The bi-centenary celebrations in 2001 of the Gibraltar Chronicle were largely a matter of Gibraltarians celebrating the long life of its own newspaper with the congratulations of the British Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, and other public figures.

Other formative influences have been associated with the arts, traditional Spanish music and drama included. British contributions have also been evident in music, through the presence of skilled musicians in the regiments. Local talent readily took advantage of the opportunities and musically Gibraltar prospered. Gibraltarian painting also thrived and the people are proud of the various artistic achievements and the comparatively rich cultural life which has resulted. The arts, therefore, have played their part in the developing self-confidence of the inhabitants.

These, then, are some of the main ingredients of Gibraltar's common culture which is necessary for the existence of the nation and which contributes to, in

A.D.Smith's words, "a set of common understandings and aspirations, sentiments and ideas, that bind the population together in their homeland". Further, "The task of ensuring a common, public, mass culture has been handed over to the agencies of popular socialization, notably the public system of education and the mass media"⁵¹⁷. Gibraltar's comprehensive system of educational provision, from pre-school to higher education in the United Kingdom, contributes to that process. The Gibraltar Broadcasting Corporation (GBC), with teams of able staff, in radio and television, plays its part too, as does a healthy local press, led by the long-established Gibraltar Chronicle.

The cumulative effect of all these influences has been to make Gibraltar a distinctive place and Gibraltarians a distinctive people. In 1990 William Jackson⁵¹⁸ described it as "the home of some thirty thousand people who are neither English nor Spanish. They are British Gibraltarians who have lived, bred and prospered on The Rock for almost three centuries, longer than the United States has existed". About forty years earlier, another Governor, General Sir Kenneth A.N.Anderson, in his foreword to a study of the ethnic origins of the people by H.W.Howes⁵¹⁹, argued that the Gibraltarian "has naturally developed characteristics of his own derived from his forebears and it is not too much to say that the Gibraltarian race is unique and very proud of its British citizenship". The evidence from this study confirms that the

Gibraltarians share important characteristics with others who are British and that they have a claim to a clear and separate identity.

The need for identity is compelling. Two facets may be identified: there is a need to find a social identity, an honoured place in the social order, while at the same time maintaining a personal identity in the sense of a biographical uniqueness⁵²⁰. Both can be accounted for in Gibraltar. Individual identity is perhaps of lesser concern; there is no reason why Gibraltarians should not easily find their personal “*raisons d’être*”⁵²¹. Nor should social identity necessarily pose special problems; who the Gibraltarians are as a people, as reiterated continually in this thesis, seems quite assured.

Nevertheless, perhaps because of feelings of isolation and vulnerability, the Gibraltarian people are always keen to publicly affirm their identity, especially each year on September 10th, Gibraltar’s National Day⁵²². It is difficult to imagine an event when popular fervour is greater. The programme begins early with fancy dress competitions and a grand parade through town to a square where thousands of people can gather to join in the singing of the Gibraltar national anthem and other national and popular songs⁵²³ and to listen to speeches by local politicians, British M.P.s and sympathizers, and representatives of nationalist movements in Europe and elsewhere. Many placards and banners are on display, with headings such as “Self-determination

Is Democracy” and so on. Hundreds of red and white balloons soar into the sky. The Gibraltar flag is everywhere, and many display the union jack – or a combination of the two. Everyone seems to be dressed in red and white, young and old, even the dogs. Very few people are not caught up in what is a total demonstration of “a consciousness of belonging to the nation, together with sentiments and aspirations for its security and prosperity”⁵²⁴.

When demonstrating their identity the Gibraltarians also seem to be claiming that they are a nation. How strong can such a claim be? The first issue to arise is that of size. Some, notably those taking a traditional Marxist view, would reject the idea of a small territory like Gibraltar as a nation or state on theoretical grounds; the population and territory would have to be large enough to support a modern capitalist economy⁵²⁵. Others would take it as self-evident that Gibraltar’s smallness disqualifies it from consideration as a nation. On the other hand, many Gibraltarians, of course, have no doubts about their rights alongside other states in Europe and they can find theoretical support for that view. There are academics who accept the concept of the small state and Smith suggests that “size and scale have become much less important in the moral economy of nations in the contemporary world, whereas political independence has remained an important intrinsic value and goal of ethnic communities in every continent”⁵²⁶. International conferences in 1967⁵²⁷ and 1987⁵²⁸ looked at the issues, recognising that all sorts and sizes of small states, often following

de-colonization, had gained independence since 1945. One contributor asked, "Will they be followed by an independent St.Helena or an independent Gibraltar?" In these and other studies the emphasis has been on the problems⁵²⁹ being faced by small states, those of security, economic viability, political and administrative know-how, and inertia being the prominent ones. While there might be security issues and questions of economic viability for an independent Gibraltar, given the good will of Britain, the Commonwealth and the European Union, and in the light of the Gibraltarians' personal skills and resources, these problems would not be insurmountable. Furthermore, as also been shown, Gibraltar does not lack political and administrative expertise. Many small nation-states exist and that Gibraltar's claim in this connection cannot be rejected out of hand.

Size apart, can the community be said to constitute a nation? Gibraltar meets the criteria for nationhood if Bernard Crick's low-key definition is accepted. "Perhaps the minimum definition (of a nation) is a group who think they have the same general characteristics", he writes⁵³⁰. Added to that, in the words of Hugh Kearney, "the concept of 'nation' has powerful emotional overtones which make detachment difficult".⁵³¹ In Gibraltar's case the almost exaggerated celebrations on National Day and on other occasions certainly raise the emotional level. Rather more elaborately A.D. Smith writes, "A nation can be defined as a named human population, sharing an historic territory, common

myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members”⁵³². Most of these features have been shown to be valid for Gibraltar although more should be said about history and public culture. Clearly, there is some ambivalence about a shared history, although not about pre-British days: Moorish and Spanish times are mostly seen as of academic interest only. Thereafter there is the question of British history. A few Gibraltarians relegate this to second place, emphasizing their own story on the Rock since 1704. Others accept British history enthusiastically as theirs. Of course, school syllabuses and history textbooks have stressed British and imperial affairs perhaps with a passing mention of Gibraltar’s role in the scheme of things; to that extent British history and Gibraltarian history have been integrated.

On the other hand some prominent aspects of a distinctive Gibraltarian social history do have a place in the public consciousness; the perceived remarkable harmony among the different churches is one. Gibraltar’s record in helping their poor and the oppressed is another. In times of poverty no one has starved and Jewish refugees from Morocco and Spaniards and others fleeing from persecution have been helped at various times in history. The Rock and the Statue of Liberty are sometimes linked by Gibraltarians as symbols of freedom. The generosity of Gibraltarians on flag days adds to this common perception of themselves as a caring community. More powerfully perhaps is the saga of the

evacuation and the suffering and shared memories of all concerned. There is a ballad ⁵³³ to commemorate this, the main line of which is “Llévame donde nací”, (Take me home to where I was born). The unveiling sixty years afterwards of the evacuation sculpture⁵³⁴ in 2000 was a highly emotional event. In one way or another all these matters are part of a shared Gibraltarian past. One may speculate that they are already beginning to assume the characteristics of myths relating to Gibraltar’s “imagined community”. In describing nations as “imagined communities”, Benedict Anderson explains that this is because “even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, or hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion”⁵³⁵. Gibraltar can be no exception to this, although many people do tend to have knowledge of many others.

“Who and what are the Gibraltarian people?” was the question posed at the beginning of this study. It has been demonstrated that they are a distinctive and unique community. Furthermore, if size is not seen as an obstacle - and small-nation status is internationally acceptable today - Gibraltarians, therefore, can with some justification claim to be a nation. If we go further and ask if Gibraltar is a state the answer should probably be negative, although in principle it could be otherwise. The idea of the state entails sovereignty and Gibraltar possesses this in less than a complete sense; while internally self-governing it remains a United Kingdom Overseas Territory. In the last resort

sovereignty rests with the British. Yet, because Gibraltar has kept so close to British institutions, and because institutional practices in law, government and education are in a sense integrated with those of the United Kingdom, arguably Gibraltar, though not a state, is a reflection of if not part of, the British state. Undoubtedly most Gibraltarians would claim that they are Gibraltarian *and* British despite some expressed uncertainty as to what being British means. If it is as Kearney states, only “a convenient shorthand to apply to the inhabitants of Great Britain and Northern Ireland” Gibraltar might have to be excluded.⁵³⁶ Kearney also states that “British” is a political and legal concept best applied to the United Kingdom state, to common citizenship and common political arrangements and perhaps this is nearer to permitting the inclusion of Gibraltar. After all Gibraltarians are holders of full British passports which is further testimony to their one-ness with Britain. In any case, Britain, or the United Kingdom, is a multi-national state composed of English, Scottish, Welsh, Ulstermen, Manx and Channel-Islanders. Thus Gibraltarians might well see themselves as being included, largely on the basis of reality but with a measure of aspiration. Although the stuff of the Gibraltarian is by no means wholly British, history shows that imperial and domestic Britain has had a great deal to do with the moulding of Gibraltarian society as it now exists.

This is confirmed by informed public opinion today. When asked about projected celebrations in 2004, marking 300 years of British sovereignty (in

contrast to the 242 years when Gibraltar was Spanish), Leader of the Opposition and former Chief Minister Joe Bossano⁵³⁷, compared Gibraltar with the English colonies on the east coast of the United States. He said, “To the extent that the Americans owe a very important part of their culture and their value system and their character and their personality to the English settlers....we owe a big chunk of our identity as a people to the English capture of Gibraltar and therefore what we are celebrating, and what we need to be celebrating, is a recognition of how important has been the British influence in Gibraltar and on us as a people, and how we are a people, a Mediterranean people shaped in a particular way by importing from the United Kingdom a way of life and a value system which we then have adapted and given it a flavour of our own and it is that which makes us Gibraltarians”.

Gibraltar is easily labelled ‘offspring of Empire’ and in a number of respects ‘offspring of Britain’ too.

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Gibraltar Government Archive (G.G.A.) Material

A Note on the Archive

The G.G.A. is housed in buildings at the rear of the Convent. In 2002 it occupies several rooms on two floors. The material is mostly located in box files and, to a lesser extent, in bound volumes.

Several rooms contain materials organized by subject alphabetically with such generic titles as ADMIRALTY, ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OPINIONS, BLUE BOOKS, CROWN LANDS, DISPATCHES, EDUCATION and so on. As one might expect, some of these take up numbers of box files or several shelves.

This arrangement by subject is supplemented by various series of special files and year files, especially for the period from 1920-1943. Other shelves are taken up by bound volumes of the Gibraltar Chronicle and other press publications; by census material, including the most recent; by material on the evacuation, and so on.

G.G.A. items consulted for the purposes of this study include selected box files relating to the following:-

- Air Navigation
- Alameda Gardens
- Catalan Bay
- Circulars
- Convict Department
- Education (many boxes)
- Governors: Appointments
- IRA Inquest
- Military Picnics into Spain
- Ordinances
- Sanitary Commission
- Theatre Royal
- Tobacco Trade and Smuggling
- United Nations and Gibraltar.

Special Files consulted include the following:-

1. Taverns and Wine Houses 1890-1920
- 8B. Clubs Recognised and Dissolved.
10. Consuls
11. Membership of the Garrison Library
21. Dancing and Music Licences
24. Empire Theatre
27. Education Publications 1907-1914; 1915-1919
27. Education Reports 1912-1920
27. Government-Aided Schools 1908-1920
27. League of the Empire 1905-1920
27. Infant & Industrial School 1856-1910
36. Governors
37. Empire Day Celebrations
47. Churches
78. Re-patriation of Maltese 1901-1922
102. Visit of George V and Queen Mary 1912
103. Gibraltar Yacht Club
226. Economic Development of Colonies and Protectorates 1920
318. Exchange Committee 1895-1923
- 20/1921 Honours conferred on Gentlemen in Gibraltar
- 40/1921 H.E.'s New Year Speech
- 64/1921 Indian Passport Rules
- 822/1921 Imperial Education Conferences
- 661/1923 Appointments to Board of Education
- 21/1925 Cricket Club
- 329/1926 Gibraltar Annual Fairs 1927-1957
- 526/1927 Sir A. Cobham/s Flight Around Africa
- 20/1929 Baden Powell Visit
- 163/1929 Scouts International Jamboree
- 467/1929 Marriage Legislation
- 301/1930 Centenary of Gibraltar Police
- 492/1930 Rialto Cinema
- 197/1931 Gibraltar and Empire
- 319/1931 Re-union of Church of Scotland and United Free Church of Scotland
- 498/1931 Governor's Broadcast Christmas Message
- 324/1932 British Indians: Permits of Residence
- 133/1933 Honours Awards
- 220/1933 "British Empire" term in Tarriff Legislation
- 321/1933 Royal Charter for the Yacht Club
- 323/1933 The English Language in Gibraltar
- 359/1933 Khalifa of Morocco makes farewell visit to the Governor

444/1933	Precedence at functions of the heads of the several churches in Gibraltar
311/1934	Economic Survey of Colonial Empire
321/1934	HQ for Gibraltar Boy Scouts
98/1935	Gibraltar Workers Union
65/1936	Plumes on Governor's Helmet
140/1936	Registration of Agrupación Artística Calpense
237/1936	Anglican Cathedral
226/1937	Camping Site for Scouts
26/1939	Gibraltar Defence Force
63/1939	Corporal Punishment and Juvenile Delinquency
369/1939	Textbooks for use in Colonial Schools
44/1940	Educational Adviser to the Secretary of State Appointed
67/1941	Presentation of Spitfire by Mrs. John Mackintosh
92/1942	US Naval Liaison Office Gibraltar
369/1942	Association for the Advancement of Civil Rights

Sources in the Public Record Office (PRO)

While some material is available in both the PRO and the GGA, the PRO contains very many more items. Prominent among the PRO files are the following:

CO91	Original Correspondence	545 vols.
CO92	Entry Books	33 vols.
CO93	Acts (Legislation)	16 vols.
CO94	Government Gazettes	182 vols.
CO95	Blue Book of Statistics (1804-1947)	130 vols.
CO832	Sessional Papers	35 vols.
CO926	Correspondence 1945-61	
WO284	Garrison Orders	
WO376	Garrison Records	
FO227	Maritime Jurisdiction	

Some items from the above were sampled in order to gauge the general import of what was available. CO91 was especially useful in this respect and CO95 was consulted regularly.

Particular files consulted included the following:

CO926/54	The Ingrams Report 1952
CO91/85	Aliens and Immigration Legislation
CO926/167	Hebrew Headteacher Case 1954

CO926/207 US Interests in the future of Gibraltar 1954
CO926/217 Military Town Plan
CO926/353 Emigration of Gibraltarians to Australia
CO926/377 Spanish Cabaret Artistes in Gibraltar
CO926/472 Indian Traders
CO926/572 Emigration of Jews from Morocco to Israel via Gibraltar
CO91/522/1 Hayek Report on Economic Problems in Gibraltar 1945

NOTES

¹ From Documentos sobre Gibraltar presentados a las Cortes Españolas por el Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores. Madrid 1965. Rather more fully Franco's words were as follows:-

“...Los llanitos son españoles en su casi totalidad, aunque se aprovechen de la ciudadanía inglesa, y el resto, judíos y extranjeros, que lo mismo pueden vivir bajo una bandera que baja otra. La verdadera población de Gibraltar está legal, en San Roque, y la real, con sus 60,000 habitantes, en La Línea de la Concepción, en la raya de la frontera.” (The Gibraltarians are almost entirely Spanish, although they enjoy British citizenship. The rest are Jews and foreigners and they can live under one flag as much as under another. The true people of Gibraltar are found legally in San Roque, and in effect at the line of the frontier in La Línea de la Concepción, with its 60,000 inhabitants.) Quoted in Tornay F. (1997), Gibraltar y Su Prensa p.88.

² Stewart, John D. (1967), Gibraltar The Keystone

³ Barker, Ernest (1927), National Character and the Factors in its Formation.

⁴ As discussed at several points in the study, on the British conquest the territory was vacated by the Spanish inhabitants.

⁵ See Abernethy, D.B. (2000), The Global Dynamics of Global Dominance, especially chapter 10 “The Institutional Basis for the Triple Assault”.

⁶ Barker, Ernest *ibid*, pages 3-4.

⁷ Throughout this study “British” is preferred as inclusive of influences from different parts of Britain.

⁸ Hyam, Ronald (1993), Britain's Imperial Century 1815-1914.

⁹ Teall, G.H. (1934), A Short History of Gibraltar Garrison Library.

¹⁰ Mascarenhas, A. and Searle, D. (Eds), Bicentary 1801-2001. Gibraltar Chronicle Publications.

- ¹¹ The Hunting Map of the Country Near Gibraltar in Gordon Fergusson's book, Hounds Are Home (1979) shows this to have extended in a broad sweep north of Algeciras and La Línea for about ten miles.
- ¹² Mangan, J.A. (1998), The Games Ethic and Imperialism, p.153
- ¹³ See, for example, Mangan J.A. and Dacosta, Lamartine P. (eds.) (2000) Sport in Latin American Society: Past and Present.
- ¹⁴ Green, Muriel M. (1980), A Gibraltar Bibliography and (1981), A Supplement. These are now considerably out of date.
- ¹⁵ Jackson, Sir William (1987), The Rock of the Gibraltarians.
- ¹⁶ Archer, E.G. and Traverso A.A.(forthcoming), Education in Gibraltar 1704–2000.
- ¹⁷ Various photographic items from the Gibraltar Chronicle appear in the appendices.
- ¹⁸ The only complete set of copies of this newspaper to survive is held by the Marrache family, one-time owners of the publication. The Gibraltar Government Archive holds copies of a few issues.
- ¹⁹ See Appendix 1 for details of oral evidence and a list of people consulted and interviewed.
- ²⁰ See Thompson, Andrew S. (2000), Imperial Britain: The Empire in British Politics. While focusing on British politics, Thompson engages in an illuminating study of “the implications of Britain’s empire for its own ‘domestic history’”.
- ²¹ See Guibernau, Montserrat and Hutchinson, John (eds), (2001), Understanding Nationalism, esp.chap.11, Globalization and the Nation-State.
- ²² Pagden, Anthony (1995), Lords Of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c.1500-1800.
- ²³ Pagden, Anthony (1995), *ibid.*, p.1.

- 24 Abernethy, D.B. (2000), The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires 1415-1980, p.9.
- 25 Abernethy, D.B. (2000), *ibid.*, p.6.
- 26 Abernethy, D.B. (2000), The Dynamics of Global Dominance, p.3-45.
- 27 Abernethy, D.B. (2000), *ibid.*, p.9.
- 28 British-held territories in 1704 included parts of Canada, colonies in America, the Bahamas, Belize, Jamaica and other disputed or part-British lands in the Caribbean.
- 29 From the inside back cover of The Cambridge Illustrated History of The British Empire, (1996).
- 30 Jackson, W.G.F. (1990), The Rock of the Gibraltarians.
- 31 Jackson, W.G.F. (1990), *ibid.*, p.149.
- 32 Harvey, Maurice (1996), Gibraltar. Harvey was a naval officer and the foreword to the book was written by a former Governor, Field Marshal Sir John Chapple.
- 33 Ayala, Ignacio Lopez de (1782), Historia de Gibraltar, p.373. In the original Spanish there are far fewer accents than there would be today.
- 34 Montero, D. Francisco Maria (1860), Historia de Gibraltar Y Su Campo, p.438 and 439.
- 35 Anon, (1900) Gibraltar and its Sieges, p.121-122.
- 36 Extract from The Gibraltar Directory and Guide for 1953, p.67 and 68.
- 37 Finlayson, T.J. The Fortress Came First, p.227.
- 38 Barker, Ernest (2nd ed.) (1950), The Ideas and Ideals of the British Empire, Chap.1.
- 39 Eldridge, C.C. (1978), Victorian Imperialism.
- 40 Mangan, J.A. (ed.) (1990), Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialization and British Imperialism, p.1.

- 41 MacKenzie wrote these words in the foreword to, Mangan, J.A.(1988),
Benefits Bestowed: Education and British Imperialism.
- 42 Quoted in Abernethy, D.B. (2000), p.17.
- 43 Abernethy, D.B. (2000) *ibid*, Chapter 16, p.363.
- 44 Abernethy, D.B. (2000) *ibid*, p.365.
- 45 Abernethy, D.B. (2000) *ibid* p.366.
- 46 Abernethy, D.B. (2000), *ibid.*, p.8.
- 47 Abernethy, D.B. (2000), *ibid.*, p.363.
- 48 Akintoye, S.A. (1976), Emergent African States: Topics in Twentieth
Century History.
- 49 Abernethy, D.B. (2000), *ibid.*, p.12.
- 50 Abernethy, D.B. (2000), *ibid.*, p.363.
- 51 Abernethy, D.B. (2000), *ibid.*, p.12.
- 52 Hedetoft, Ulf (1985), British Colonialism and Modern Identity.
- 53 Suffering and mutual support during major epidemics, in which hundreds
died, is also quickly to mind. Similarly the way the people stuck together
during times of poverty and economic hardship is often remembered.
However, the years of difficulty during the wartime evacuation, especially
for those who lived through the London Blitz, are most often quoted.
These were experiences shared with the British population at home. In
1982 the Gibraltar dockyard workers pulled out all the stops in preparing
ships for the war in the Falklands.
- 54 Tidrick, K. (1990), Empire and the English Character, p.3.
- 55 Tidrick, K. (1990), *ibid* p.3.
- 56 Tidrick, K. (1990), *ibid* p.4.
- 57 Hedetoft, Ulf (1985), *ibid* p.25.

- 58 Hedetoft, Ulf (1985), *ibid.*, p.298.
- 59 Mangan, J.A.(1988),Benefits Bestowed, p.8.
- 60 Horn, Pamela (1988), “English Elementary Education and the Growth of the Imperial Ideal 1880-1914” in Mangan, J.A. (ed) (1988), Benefits Bestowed: Education and British Imperialism, Chapter 2, p.39.
- 61 Mangan, J.A. and Hickey, Colm (2000), Athleticism in the Service of the Proletariat: Preparation for the English Elementary School and the Extension of Middle-Class Manliness. *European Sports History Review*, Vol. 2.
- 62 Porter, B. (1975).The Lion’s Share:A Short History of British Imperialism 1850-1983 p.199-200.
- 63 See, for example John M. MacKenzie in his foreword to Richards, Jeffrey (ed.) (1989), Imperialism and Juvenile Literature.
- 64 Mangan, J.A. (ed.) (1992), Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society.
- 65 Perkins, Harold (1992), “Teaching the Nations How to Play: Sport and Society in the British Empire and Commonwealth”, in Mangan, J.A. (ed) The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire and Society, p.211.
- 66 Mangan, J.A. (ed) (1992),Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire,Society p.4.
- 67 James, L. (1994), The Rise and Fall of the British Empire, p.xv.
- 68 Sporting heroines were few and far between.
- 69 Perkins, Harold (1992), *ibid.*
- 70 Guibernau, M. and Hutchinson, J. (eds.) (2001) Understanding Nationalism.
- 71 Guibernau, M. (2001), *ibid.* p.23. See also Smith, A.D. (1991), National Identity, especially chapters 1 and 4.
- 72 Hutchinson, J. (2001), Nations and Culture, in Guibernau, M. and Hutchinson, J. *ibid.*, ch.4.

- 73 Breuilly, J. (2001), The State and Nationalism in Guibernau, M. and Hutchinson, J. *ibid*, ch.2, p.32-52.
- 74 Connor, Walker (2001), Homelands in a World of States in Guibernau, M. and Hutchinson, J. *ibid*, ch.3, p.53-73.
- 75 Guibernau, M. and Hutchinson, J. (2001), *ibid*, p.3.
- 76 Grosby, S. (2001), Nationality and Religion in Guibernau, M. and Hutchinson, J. *ibid*, ch.4, p.74-96.
- 77 Smith, Anthony D. (1995), Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era, p.27.
- 78 Smith, Anthony D (1995), *ibid*, p.27.
- 79 The proceedings were reported in Benedict, B. (ed.) (1967), Problems of Smaller Territories.
- 80 Papers were published in Clark, C. and Payne, T. (eds.) (1987), Politics, Security and Development in Small States.
- 81 Wood, D.P.J. The Smaller Territories: Some Political Considerations, in Benedict, B.(1967) *ibid* p.23.
- 82 Selwyn, P. (ed.) (1975) Development Policy in Small Countries.
- 83 Cohen, Robin (ed.) (1983), African Islands and Enclaves.
- 84 Cohen, Robin (1983), *ibid.*, p.11.
- 85 Guibernau, M. and Hutchinson, J. (2001), *ibid*.
- 86 Held, D. et al (1999), Global Transformations.
- 87 Hirst, P. and Thompson, G. (2nd ed.) (1999), Globalization in Question: The International Economy and the Possibilities of Governance.
- 88 Held, D., McGrew, A., Goldblatt, D. and Perraton, J. (1999) Global Transformations.
- 89 Featherstone, M. (ed.) (1990), Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization And Modernity.

- ⁹⁰ Featherstone, M. (ed.) (1990), *ibid.*
- ⁹¹ Finlayson, J.C. (1997), The Strait of Gibraltar: Geographical Template and Catalyst of Historical Revolutions. Paper read at *Calpe 97* conference.
- ⁹² Finlayson, J.C. (1997), *ibid.* Finlayson, a geographer and ornithologist, is Curator of Gibraltar Museum which is a focus for a continuing programme of archaeological excavation and research.
- ⁹³ The main Moslem invasion of Spain occurred in April 711 when an army from Ceuta in North Africa landed at Algeciras, across the bay from Gibraltar. The Moorish leader was Tarik-ibn-Zeyad who “sufficiently appreciated the strategical significance of the Rock that he sent an occupying force.”(Howes, H.W. (1946), The Story of Gibraltar). It is traditionally held that the Rock was called Gebel Tarik (Hill of Tarik) after him although this is disputed by Tito Vallejo. See Vallejo, Tito, Djebel Tarik, in the Gibraltar Heritage Journal No.7, 2000.
- ⁹⁴ See Appendix 2 for an illustration of Gibraltar’s unofficial National Anthem. The words of the Evacuation Hymn are as follows:

Llévame Donde Naci
 Llévame donde naci,
 A su lado quiero estar.
 No hay un sitio para mi
 Como mi buen Gibraltar.
 Solo donde vi la luz
 Tengo puesta mi illusion.
 Llévame, quieto volver junto aquel, para mi,
 Gran peñón

La Linea y Campamento,
 Algeciras y mucho más,
 Los domina por su altura
 El Peñon de Gibraltar.

Aunque América es muy grande,
 Y tiene mucho que ver,
 Yo quiero mi peñoncito
 Aquel que me vió nacer.

In translation:

Take me to where I was born,

At your side I wish to be.
There is no other place for me
Than my good Gibraltar.

La Linea and Campamento
Algecira's and much more.
Are overshadowed by the height of
The Rock of Gibraltar.

Although America is vast in size
And offers many things to see,
I love my little mountain Rock
That which witnessed my birth.

⁹⁵ The levanter is a strong easterly wind characteristic of the Mediterranean, as described in chapter 2.

⁹⁶ Archer, E.G., Vallejo, E.P., Benady, T (2001), History of Catalan Bay.

⁹⁷ Archer, E.G., Vallejo, E.P., Benady, T.(2001), *ibid*, especially chapter 3.

⁹⁸ Elderly inhabitants recall that Gibraltarian children living in the south area spoke better English because they had more contact with native speakers.

⁹⁹ Archer, E.G. and Mays, J, Sq.Ldr (forthcoming), History of Gibraltar Airfield.

¹⁰⁰ Plans for the airport were considered by Britain during the early years after the re-opening of the frontier when Britain was keen to establish better relations with Spain. Similar circumstances prevail in 2002 when the British prime minister seeks the support of Spain in his European ambitions. An account of events in the late-1980s is contained in, Jackson, Sir William and Cantos, Francis (1995), From Fortress to Democracy: The Political Biography of Sir Joshua Hassan. Especially pages 264-267.

¹⁰¹ Benady, S. (1994), Civil Hospital and Epidemics in Gibraltar, pages 67-99.

¹⁰² Finlayson, T.J. (1990), The Fortress Came First. An authoritative account of the evacuation of the civilian population to the United Kingdom and elsewhere.

¹⁰³ Sawchuk, L. (1997), In Time of Cholera: Insight Into the Local History of Gibraltar, Unpublished paper read at the *Calpe 97* conference in Gibraltar.

- ¹⁰⁴ Archer, E.G. and Mays, J. Flying From The Rock: History of Gibraltar Airfield (forthcoming publication) will give an account of Operation Torch, drawing on a variety of sources.
- ¹⁰⁵ See in particular Rosenbaum, M.S. and Rose, E.P.F. (1994), The Tunnels of Gibraltar, published by the Gibraltar Museum. E.P. Vallejo's undated and unpublished publication, also entitled The Tunnels of Gibraltar is richly illustrated.
- ¹⁰⁶ See Naylor, John (1997), Gibraltar and the Mediterranean Development Axis. Unpublished paper delivered at the *Calpe 97* conference in Gibraltar.
- ¹⁰⁷ See García, R.J.M. and Proud, R. (1998), The Postal History of Gibraltar, which throws light on various aspects of communication.
- ¹⁰⁸ Howes, H.W. (2nd ed.) (1982), The Gibraltarian: The Origin and Development of the Population of Gibraltar from 1704.
- ¹⁰⁹ Chapter 6 discusses the qualities of Gibraltar's Directors of Education, particularly the expatriate appointees. See also Archer, E.G., and Traverso, A.A., (2003) Education in Gibraltar 1704-2000, especially the final chapter.
- ¹¹⁰ Over 20 lists or censuses survive, the most recent one in the public domain being that for 1991.
- ¹¹¹ All the individual family names contained in the 1995 Register of Electors are listed in Appendix 3.
- ¹¹² Namely, one Louis Pereira. He researches and compiles family trees for a fee.
- ¹¹³ Notably P.H.Reaney's, The Dictionary of British Surnames, (2nd ed.) (1976).
- ¹¹⁴ From correspondence with Carlo Bitossi, then a city archivist from Genoa, now associate professor of Modern History in the University of Ferrara. On 3rd December 2001 he wrote: "Everybody knows about Genoese merchants and bankers at the court of los Austrias. Nobody knows about nor likes to recall the lives of many Genoese (and Ligurian) fishermen, artisans, sailors who settled in "the Iberian peninsula" and spent there obscure, hard-working and sometimes successful lives. Thank you for that".

- 115 From conversations with historian Tito Benady.
- 116 Archer, E.G., Vallejo, E.P. and Benady, T, (2001), *ibid*.
- 117 Toso, F. (2nd edit 1997), Storia Linguistica Della Liguria. The author also exchanged correspondence with Professor Toso on the question of Genoese family names.
- 118 Toso, Fiorenzo ,L'Onomastica d'Origine Ligure a Gibilterra in *Estudis Romànics* Volum XXII, 2000,Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona.
- 119 Three principal works are, Serfaty, A.B.M. (1933), The Jews of Gibraltar Under British Rule; Benady, T.M. (1939), The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar 1704 – 1783; and Hassan, Sir Joshua (1963), The Treaty of Utrecht and the Jews of Gibraltar. A more recent paper of great interest appeared in 1998: Kamen, H. The Mediterranean and the Expulsion of Spanish Jews in 1492, published in *Past & Present* No.119, May 1998. Henry Kamen shows that the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492 and from Portugal in 1497 was by no means as immediate nor as wholesale as had been supposed. Many stayed and converted to Christianity and many returned later. That some were exiled to North Africa is not disputed but “the Hispanic immigrants or *megorashim* found it difficult to get on with the Arab-speaking or *toshabim* Jews and many returned to the peninsula”. However, Kamen also argues that the more sophisticated *megorashim* succeeded in imposing aspects of their culture on the Maghreb.
- 120 Kamen, H. (1998), *ibid*.
- 121 Jackson, Sir W. and Cantos, F. (1995), From Fortress to Democracy.
- 122 Serfaty, A.B.M. (1933) The Jews of Gibraltar Under British Rule.
- 123 Montero, G.M. (1860 transl), Historia de Gibraltar.
- 124 In private conversations with Mrs.J.Stagnetto, J.P.
- 125 Wasserstein, B (1996), Vanishing Diaspora: Jews in Europe Since 1945.
- 126 Serfaty, A.B.M. (1993), *ibid*.
- 127 Benzaquen, I.S. in the introduction to Marrache, Joshua (2000),The Flemish Synagogue of Gibraltar.

- 128 One exceptional example was that of an individual who like the author served in a special unit based in Gibraltar. Nominally only with the rank of Sergeant he married locally. Later he moved into the Diplomatic Corps, eventually reaching Ambassadorial level and a Knighthood.
- 129 A reference to Ballantine's grandfather was found in Glasgow's Mitchell Library.
- 130 Benady, T. (1992), The Jews of Gibraltar, Menorca and Malta in Mechoulam, H. The Jews of Spain : The History of a Diaspora.
- 131 By chance a Gibraltarian lady, Maria Carmen Abrines, when hospitalised in London encountered a member of staff with the same name. She came from Kilmacolm in Renfrewshire. Out of interest her relatives were contacted but no family details were available at the time.
- 132 Namely Jon Searle, former editor of the Gibraltar Chronicle.
- 133 MacMillan, Allister (ed.), Malta and Gibraltar Illustrated, containing "Historical and Descriptive Commercial and Industrial Facts, Figures & Resources".
- 134 Published in the local Hindu English-language annual publication "Namaste", 1995.
- 135 Jackson, Sir W. (1990), The Rock of the Gibraltarians, chapter 17.
- 136 From an interview with Mr. Haresh Budhrani, Chairman of the Hindu Merchants' Association in 1998.
- 137 The Gibraltar Chronicle, 2nd February 1993.
- 138 Before 1939 and for some years after 1945, while the strength of the British garrison was considerable, there was a daily ferry service between Gibraltar and Tangier. There were also regular flights using de Havilland Dragonfly aircraft and later the Vickers Viscount.
- 139 Cohen, A.P. (1985), The Symbolic Construction of Community, page 20.
- 140 Appendix 4 contains illustrations of National Day in Gibraltar.
- 141 The Mearns forms the area inland from a line drawn from Stonehaven to St. Cyrus on the east coast of Scotland. A harsh climate produced what Lewis

Grassic Gibbon in his novels depicted as a dour, inward-looking farming people.

¹⁴² Govan, on the south bank of the River Clyde in Glasgow, was a tenement-living, close community largely reliant on shipbuilding. Conditions were often overcrowded and unhealthy.

¹⁴³ Whalsay is one of the group of islands making up Shetland to the north of the mainland of Scotland. See Cohen, A.P. The Symbolic Construction of Community.

¹⁴⁴ There was no economic history of Gibraltar as such published before 2000.

¹⁴⁵ Preston, R.A. (1946), Gibraltar, Colony & Fortress, Canadian Historical Review, p.402-423.

¹⁴⁶ Howes, H.W. (1951), The Gibraltarian.

¹⁴⁷ Howes, H.W. *ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ Jackson, W.G.F. (1990) The Rock of the Gibraltarians, p.113,114.

¹⁴⁹ Howes, H.W. *ibid.*, p.11.

¹⁵⁰ See Mantero, J. (1997), Gibraltar y las relaciones con su entorno. Paper read at the conference *Calpe 97*.

¹⁵¹ See various issues of the Gibraltar Chronicle before and during December 1811.

¹⁵² Archer, E.G. et al (2001) Catalan Bay, Chapter 3.

¹⁵³ Benady, Tito (1992) The Royal Navy at Gibraltar, p.73.

¹⁵⁴ Howes, H.W. (1951), *ibid.*, p.52.

¹⁵⁵ Don made a considerable impact on the social and commercial well-being of Gibraltar. See Jackson, W.G.F. (1990), *ibid.*, pp.226-232.

¹⁵⁶ Howes, H.W. (1951), *ibid.*, p.119.

¹⁵⁷ Mantero, *ibid* writes, ... La mayor parte de los que trabajaban en la Roca tenían que salir cuando terminado su jornada laboral. La necesidad de

pernoctar cerca de la línea de la frontera para volver les llevo a construir sus casas cerca de las fortificaciones destruídas. Así nacio La Línea de la Concepción, una población que fue creciendo un tanto anarquicamente y que fué cobrando importancia con el paso de tiempo.

- ¹⁵⁸ Howes, H.W. (1951), *ibid.*, p.119.
- ¹⁵⁹ Howes, H.W. (1951), *ibid.*, See also Mantero *ibid* for a Spanish view.
- ¹⁶⁰ Anon (1856), How to Capture and Govern Gibraltar.
- ¹⁶¹ Sayer, F. Capt. (1865) The History of Gibraltar.
- ¹⁶² Gilbard, G.J. (1882) A Popular History of Gibraltar.
- ¹⁶³ See Redford, A. (1934) Manchester Merchants and Foreign Trade 1794-1858, p.90
- ¹⁶⁴ A Gibraltarian descendant of his became M.P. for Newcastle-on-Tyne . Various family and business details were confirmed in correspondence with Field Marshal Lord Carver in June 1998. Unfortunately only minimal records of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce survive, there being no copies of letters to and from Gibraltar.
- ¹⁶⁵ Ratcliffe, B.M. Commerce and Empire: Manchester Merchants and West Africa, 1873-1895, in the *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol.6 (1978-79), p.293-339.
- ¹⁶⁶ O'Brien, Patrick, K. The Costs and Benefits of British Imperialism 1846-1914, in *Past & Present*, No.12, August 1988, page 191.
- ¹⁶⁷ All others were deemed aliens and they could not enter Gibraltar without a permit, unless exempted by the Aliens Order Extension Order in Council of 1900.
- ¹⁶⁸ Jackson, William G.F. (1987) The Rock of the Gibraltarians, p.246.
- ¹⁶⁹ See Gonzalez, A. Capt. (c.1920) History of the Gibraltar Dockyard, and Benady, Tito (1993), The Royal Navy at Gibraltar, esp. Chapter 8..
- ¹⁷⁰ Archer, E.G., Vallejo, T., Benady, T. (2001), Catalan Bay.

- ¹⁷¹ One example is that of the grandfather of a prominent citizen, Joseph Ballantine, who came from Ayr to work on the building programme in the dockyard. A search in the Glasgow Archive at the Mitchell Library confirmed his ancestry.
- ¹⁷² See Mantero, R.S. (1997), *ibid.*
- ¹⁷³ For example, returning US sailors when calling in at Gibraltar as the war was ending are said to have spent extremely freely, sometimes even purchasing cars for transportation home.
- ¹⁷⁴ Archer, E.G. and Mays, J. (forthcoming), Flying From the Rock: The History of Gibraltar Airfield.
- ¹⁷⁵ See Appendix 5 for illustrations showing the area before the airfield was built.
- ¹⁷⁶ See Ramsey, W.G. (ed.) (1978) After the Battle Number 21: Gibraltar. Scot Alan (Later Sir Alan) Smith of Kinross, in an interview, described his involvement in Operation Torch. With many others he travelled by sea to Gibraltar, his crated Spitfire in the hold of the ship. After about two weeks on the Rock he took off for Algiers to support the invasion.
- ¹⁷⁷ GB Airways, based in London, operates on a number of European routes. It is the successor company to Gibraltar Airways founded by members of the Gaggero family. GB Airways provides services on behalf of British Airways. See Archer, E.G. and Mays, Jon Flying from the Rock, forthcoming publication.
- ¹⁷⁸ During the early 2000s Monarch Airlines operates its services out of London Luton while others use Heathrow or Gatwick.
- ¹⁷⁹ Hayek, F.A. Some Economic Problems of Gibraltar. In PRO file CO91/522.
- ¹⁸⁰ Beloff, M. "Empire Reconsidered", in JCIH, Vol.27, No.2, 1999, page 13.
- ¹⁸¹ This is the term used by Gordon Fergusson, former aide-de-camp to a governor. He married a daughter of Sir George Gaggero, one of the 'nobility'.
- ¹⁸² "The high import duties in Spain meant that the Spanish workers bought a considerable quantity of goods in Gibraltar and took them out with them –

goods such as tobacco, soap and clothing. Well-to-do Spaniards from as far north as Madrid (it is said) used to travel to Gibraltar to buy clothing and other British goods. The development of the Costa del Sol meant that people visited Gibraltar to use its banking and postal services and to buy goods in its shops and supermarkets, as did Americans at the base at Rota. French nationals in Morocco travelled through Gibraltar and used the shopping facilities". From a research study by Maxwell Stamp Associates Ltd. and Iberian S.A., (1976) Gibraltar, British or Spanish?, Wilton House Publications, London.

¹⁸³ Maxwell Stamp Associates (1976), *ibid.*, 5.2

¹⁸⁴ Maxwell Stamp Associates (1976), *ibid.*, 5.2

¹⁸⁵ The United Kingdom Defence Programme: The Way Forward, 1981 Cmnd 8288, p.12.

¹⁸⁶ The Royal Dockyards: A Framework for the Future, 1980.

¹⁸⁷ Namely, Devonport, Portsmouth, Chatham, Rosyth and Gibraltar.

¹⁸⁸ See the PEIDA report mentioned below, 5.1.1, page 39.

¹⁸⁹ PEIDA, based in Edinburgh, were the main contributors, with specialist inputs from YARD Ltd. of Glasgow and Wallace Evans & Partners of Penarth. Four reports were submitted, amounting to over 300 detailed and closely-argued pages. Copies of the reports were obtained through the kind help of PEIDA's successor company, DTZ PIEDA. These will be placed in the Garrison Library on completion of this study.

¹⁹⁰ PEIDA, October 1981, Gibraltar Dockyard Study.

¹⁹¹ This is explained as follows: "An input-output model begins with a form of accounting in which all the sales and purchases made between the various sectors of an economy are identified". PEIDA *ibid* 4.3.2, page 23. The model and data used were from a 1979 study of the Gibraltar economy by the Institute of Economic Research at the University College of North Wales.

¹⁹² PEIDA report (1981), *ibid.*, Section 2.2.5, page 10.

¹⁹³ Scamp, J. (1975) The Scamp Report.

- ¹⁹⁴ See particularly pages 168-170 of the main PEIDA report.
- ¹⁹⁵ Benady, T. (1993) The Royal Navy at Gibraltar, p.31.
- ¹⁹⁶ The Gibraltar Chronicle, 5th February 1997. Events continued to hit the press headlines for some time. Some periodicals issued special editions. The text of the telephone conversations minus the expletives was published in full.
- ¹⁹⁷ In this connection the vulnerability of Gibraltar's economy was apparent after the terrorist attacks on the United States on 11th September 2001. Cruising world-wide, previously very popular among American citizens, came almost to a complete standstill, with serious consequences for Gibraltar.
- ¹⁹⁸ Almost 15,000 coaches entered Gibraltar during 2000. The Minister for Tourism commented: "These figures reflect the increasing popularity of Gibraltar as a day visit destination for both tourist and shopping purposes. They are an indicator of the increasing importance of such tourism to Gibraltar's growing economy."
- ¹⁹⁹ See Touche Ross & Co. (1995) Investment Inward for Gibraltar: Strategic Review of Opportunities Prepared for Gibraltar Government Department of Trade & Industry.
- ²⁰⁰ These include the PEIDA Report of c.1980, the Touche Ross Report of 1995 on inward investment and the 1996 Deloitte & Touche Report on the effects of reduced Ministry of Defence spending.
- ²⁰¹ The ability to adapt to change is very well exemplified in the case of what was in 1865 M.H.Bland & Co. Its first interests were in coastal shipping. From modest beginnings the company succeeded in the face of strong competition. The Gaggero family succeeded the Bland family as business diversified into tug work and salvage as well as transporting people and goods. When the end of sailing occurred the company profited from coaling activities. Similarly, with the introduction of oil-powered ships, it profited from oil bunkering. In the 1930s the family were among the first to see the significance of transport by air. As a consequence the Gaggeros established Gibraltar Airways, now the thriving GB Airways with numbers of aircraft serving several important routes, not only Gibraltar.
- ²⁰² MacMillan, A. (1915) Malta and Gibraltar Illustrated, p.466-504.

- 203 See Appendix 6 for lists of consular representatives in the 1880s and the 1930s. See also Special File 10 (GGA).
- 204 Sloma, D. Gibraltar's Historic Links with the City of London, Gibraltar Magazine, November 1997, p.21.
- 205 See the Gibraltar Chamber of Commerce 1882-1982 Centenary Publication.
- 206 However, as references drawn on for this chapter will confirm, only more recently, since 1943, have social and political affairs received proper attention.
- 207 Stewart, J.D. (1967) Gibraltar: The Keystone.
- 208 Kirk-Greene, A.H.M. (1999), *ibid*.
- 209 The historian Tito Benady published two series of articles, the first in the "Gibraltar Chronicle" during 1975, the second in the "Calpe News" during the summer and autumn of 1978. These are a substantial source, indeed the only source, solely on the early Governors of the Rock. There have been some doubts about dates and the times served in office and in 1994 Benady published the definitive list in the "Gibraltar Heritage Journal" 1994, Vol.2. In writing this chapter "Who Was Who" and "Who's Who" have been particularly important, especially as regards the Governors of the 20th Century.
- 210 Kirk-Greene, A.H.M. (1999), *ibid*. Although Gibraltar is tiny in size and population notions of Empire do seem to apply there as elsewhere.
- 211 It is interesting to note that, at about this time, when the Maltese were much further down the road to independence, the British authorities there were accused of 'wanting to reduce Malta to another Gibraltar'. See Frenco, H. (1991) Party Politics in a Fortress Colony: the Maltese Experience.
- 212 See Appendix 7 for examples of documents relating to a Governor's arrival and swearing-in.
- 213 The United Kingdom Overseas Territories are:
Anguilla
Ascension and St. Helena
British Antarctic Territory
British Indian Ocean Territory
British Virgin Islands

Cayman Islands
Falkland Islands
Gibraltar
Montserrat
Pitcairn Islands
South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands
Turks and Caicos Islands

²¹⁴ Preston, R.A., *ibid.*, p.402-423.

²¹⁵ Roy Hattersley was Minister of State at the Foreign Office. His two days in Gibraltar in 1975 were described by Jackson and Cantos (see below) as 'epoch making'. Although the anti-integration views which he expressed were said to be his own, they were seen as reflecting government policy.

²¹⁶ "The Channel Islands are part of the British Islands but neither parts of the United Kingdom nor colonies thereof ... They are possessed by the Crown." See Walker, David M. The Oxford Companion to Law, pages 204-205.

²¹⁷ Jackson, W.G.F.(1990) The Rock of the Gibraltarians, Chapter 8.

²¹⁸ Jackson, W.G.F (1990), *ibid.* p.142.

²¹⁹ Jackson, W.G.F (1990), *ibid.*, p.226.

²²⁰ The Governor at the time was the father of Queen Victoria, the Duke of Kent (1802-1820). He had been appointed to deal with problems of ill-discipline and drunkenness in the garrison. He seems to have been successful in that task although in London he was seen as too repressive and he was recalled but not replaced, Don the Lieutenant-Governor being left in charge.

²²¹ Benady, Tito (1999) The Place of the Garrison Library in Gibraltarian Society, Gibraltar Heritage Journal, No.6, 1999.

²²² Also in 1830, the Gibraltar Police Force was founded. One hundred and fifty years later, in 1980, the Chief Minister, Sir Joshua Hassan wrote: "The creation of the Gibraltar Police Force 150 years ago was a great landmark in the development of civil authority in Gibraltar. It is of immense historical significance that our Police came into being so soon after Sir Robert Peel had established the Metropolitan Police in London,

and therefore it is a matter of record and pride that we are the second oldest Police Force in the Commonwealth”.

²²³ Jackson W.G.F (1990), *ibid.*, p.226-232.

²²⁴ Benady, Tito (1999), *ibid.*

²²⁵ Martens, J., Gibraltar and the Gibraltarians: the social construction of ethnic and gender identities in Gibraltar (1986), Ph.D. Thesis, University of London.

²²⁶ See unpublished paper by Gibraltar’s Chief Justice, Sir Roger Bacon, in 1951 and supplementary papers by Sir John Spry in 1977.

²²⁷ Rocca, C.M. (Undated, c.1995) On Trial: The Criminal Jury System in Gibraltar, LLB. Hons. Dissertation, University of Essex.

²²⁸ The language question loomed large in Malta during the time of British rule. Political parties differed strongly according to their views on language – Italian, English, Maltese. The primacy of Italian in legal processes was well-established and to many the use of English was seen as an imposition. Others feared the influence of Italian as diminishing their national identity as Malta risked becoming just another Italian state. Increasingly the demand for Maltese in the law courts alongside English grew.

²²⁹ Quoted by Garcia, J.J. (1994) in Gibraltar, the Making of a People.

²³⁰ Jackson W.G.F. (1990), *ibid.*, p.241.

²³¹ The Sanitary Order for Gibraltar was promulgated in 1865.

²³² Garcia, J.J. (1994), *ibid.* p.10.

²³³ Finlayson, T.J., Gibraltar’s First Election, Gibraltar Heritage Journal 1996, Vol.3.

²³⁴ Gibraltar Chronicle, 1st January 1921.

²³⁵ Finlayson, T.J. (1996), *ibid.*

²³⁶ Garcia, J.J. (1994), *ibid.*, p.11.

- 237 Benady, Tito (1999), *ibid.*
- 238 See Jackson, W.G.F. & Cantos, F.J. (1995) *ibid.*, p.39-41
- 239 Privately educated, Clifford saw varied overseas experience.
- 240 Clifford was Col. Secretary 1942-1944 and Stanley from 1944-47.
- 241 See Finlayson, T.J. (1996) The Fortress Came First. This is the definitive work on the wartime evacuation of Gibraltarian civilians.
- 242 Garcia, J.J. (1994), *ibid.*, p.20.
- 243 Garcia, J.J. (1994), *ibid.*, p.34.
- 244 Garcia, J.J. (1994), *ibid.*, p.50. Eastwood seems to be the only recent Governor who managed to antagonise both Whitehall and the Gibraltarians.
- 245 The Referendum offered a choice as follows to the people of Gibraltar:-
- A. To pass under Spanish sovereignty in accordance with the terms proposed by the Spanish Government to Her Majesty's Government on 18th May 1966, or
- B. Voluntarily retain their link with Britain, with democratic local institutions and with Britain retaining its present responsibilities.
- 246 See Appendix 4 for papers illustrating the annual celebrations on Gibraltar's National Day, 10th September.
- 247 The preamble to the 1969 Constitution contains the following: "... Her Majesty's Government will never enter into arrangements under which the people of Gibraltar would pass under the sovereignty of another state against their freely and democratically expressed wishes".
- 248 Consideration of the decolonization of Gibraltar at the United Nations is outlined in Appendix 36.
- 249 The I.W.B.P. has its beginnings in the Pro-Integration Movement (P.I.M.), which Bossano initiated in 1965 and whose interests he furthered during some years spent in the United Kingdom as a university lecturer. In order to test public support for integration, the PIM was transformed into a political party with some success at the 1969 Assembly elections.

- 250 The Brussels Talks are outlined in Appendix 37.
- 251 Garcia, J.J. (1994), *ibid.*, p.39.
- 252 Smith, A.D. (1991), National Identity, Introduction, p.viii.
- 253 Martens, J. (1986) Gibraltar and the Gibraltarians: The Social Construction of Ethnic and Gender Identities in Gibraltar, Ph.D. University of London.
- 254 This point was put very strongly by Joe Bossano and it was central to his argument for parity.
- 255 Jackson, W.G.F. and Cantos, J.F. (1996) From Fortress to Democracy, p.71 and p.97 which adds that, "No political party has succeeded in Gibraltar unless it was seen as left of centre."
- 256 Jackson, W.G.F. & Cantos, J.F. (1996) *ibid.*, p.143-148.
- 257 Today church services are conducted mostly in English although Spanish is used on some occasions in some parishes.
- See Claydon, Tony and MacBride, Ian (eds.) (1998) Protestantism and National Identity : Britain and Ireland 1650-1850, esp. pages 3-29.
- 259 Article X of the Treaty of Utrecht of 13th July 1713 includes these words:-
"Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain does further promise, that the free exercise of their religion shall be indulged to the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the aforesaid town..."
- 260 Robbins, Keith (1982) Religion and Identity in Modern British History, in Mews S (ed.) Religion and National Identity, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- 261 Claydon, Tony (1998) *ibid*, page 26.
- 262 Barker, E National Character, (1939), Chapter VII, page 180.
- 263 San Roque is a hill-top village in Spain some six miles from the frontier. After the occupation of the Rock in 1704 the population, numbering about 6,000, left and settled at San Roque and the nearby villages. A sign outside San Roque states that here are the "inhabitants of Gibraltar residing at San Roque".

- 264 Caruana, C (1989), The Rock Under a Cloud, page 5.
- 265 See anon, The King's Chapel, Gibraltar: A Brief History , undated booklet.
- 266 Caruana (1989), *ibid.*
- 267 Caruana (1989), *ibid.*, p.22-23.
- 268 Caruana (1989), *ibid.*, p.28-29.
- 269 Lannon, F., (1982) Modern Spain: The Project of a National Catholicism in
Mews, S. (ed) Religion and National Identity, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- 270 The earlier Bishops were given various titles and it was not until 1910 that the Right Reverend Henry Thompson OSB was installed as the first named Bishop of Gibraltar. Several of the more recent Bishops have been from the British Isles. Their command of Spanish has varied as has their ability to cope with the "idiosyncrasies of the latin temperament", as Caruana puts it. Most have been concerned with more than the souls of the people, being active in the pursuit of educational or other goals. One, Bishop Gonzalo Canilla, even became involved with workers' rights when there were disputes and strikes. Reference is made elsewhere to the process of 'localization' whereby senior positions of all kinds have gradually been taken over by Gibraltarians. With the appointment of Bishop Caruana it can be said that this has now happened in the Roman Catholic Church in Gibraltar.
- 271 Caruana (1989), *ibid.*, p.V.
- 272 Archer, E.G. and Traverso, A.A., History of Education in Gibraltar, forthcoming.
- 273 Caruana, C. (1989), *ibid.* p.15.
- 274 Caruana, C. (1989), *ibid.*, p.15.
- 275 Caruana (1989), *ibid.*, p.15.
- 276 Caruana (1989), *ibid.*, p.67.
- 277 Joseph L.Ballantine O.B.E. provides a good example of the Scottish connection. His grandfather came from Ayr in the 1890s to join workers building the new dockyard. Grandfather married a local girl and the family

subsequently became Roman Catholics. Joseph was successful in business and as a sailor, reaching the rank of Commander, latterly captaining HMS Calpe. He was Commissioner of Scouts for many years and an Hon. Aide-de-Camp to the Governor.

278 See Appendix 8 for an illustration of the interior of the synagogue.

279 “By an edict of Isabella and Ferdinand, the Jews of Spain, the ancestors of the Jews of Gibraltar, the *Sephardim*, were banished from the land where their forefathers had lived for fifteen centuries, long before the coming of the Visigoths”. (Serfaty 1933, page 7)

280 A prime example of recent years is that of Sir Joshua Hassan who became Gibraltar’s popular first Chief Minister. Although having fierce political rivals he enjoyed considerable support for many years. He also enjoyed good relations with London and he was most successful in presenting Gibraltar’s case to the U.N. See, Jackson, William G.F. and Canto, Francis J. From Fortress to Democracy, the Political Biography of Sir Joshua Hassan.

281 Serfaty, A.B.M. (1933), The Jews of Gibraltar under British Rule, page 26.

282 In a press interview in April 1998, Tito Benady, a prominent local historian, stated that he understood the conflicting viewpoints. “I see the cycle repeating itself. I see what happened between 1815 and 1890, with the community moving within itself, repeating itself. I can see this movement being reversed in 30 to 40 years in the other direction”. Gibraltar Chronicle, April 30th, 1998.

283 The term “nobility” in a relative sense was first used in an interview with Gordon Fergusson, Aide de Camp to the Governor in the 1950s and author of “Hounds Are Home”. The reference was to a group of wealthy Gibraltarians who were well-connected with upper-class society in the U.K. and with the upper echelons of the military in Gibraltar.

284 Appendix 10 contains an illustration of the King’s Chapel.

285 Anon, The King’s Chapel, Gibraltar: A Brief History. Undated booklet.

286 Sometimes called “the father of modern Gibraltar”, General George Don, when Lt.Governor from 1814 – 1831, was keenly interested in matters of public concern. He actively supported the building of the new church but he

did not quite live to see its completion. He died in Gibraltar and was the first Governor to be buried in Holy Trinity.

- 287 Simpson, D.H. (1948), "The History of Holy Trinity Cathedral". Unpublished. See Appendix 9 for illustrations of the Cathedral.
- 288 The S.P.C.K. was founded in 1698 "to promote and encourage the erection of charity schools in all parts of England and Wales; to disperse, both at home and abroad, Bibles and tracts of religion; and in general to advance the honour of God and the good of mankind, by promoting Christian knowledge both at home and in other parts of the world by the best methods that should offer".
- 289 Simpson, D.H. (1948), *ibid.*
- 290 Eventually the Diocese of Gibraltar extended over considerable areas. It came to include Malta and Morocco to the Sahara, and eventually northwards to the Arctic Circle and as far east as Vladivostock.
- 291 See Fortress Orders 3rd June 1769
- 292 Sgt. Major Ince was a Cornishman, with knowledge of mining, and a member of the Military Artificers. He achieved fame during Great Siege of 1779-1783 by suggesting and then excavating tunnels which provided excellent positions for guns to be fired down onto attacking Spanish Soldiers.
- 293 Simpson, D.H. (1948), *ibid.*
- 294 Susan Jackson (see below) states that the authors were B.D. Crofts, A.K. Stanley, P. Jefferies and K.R. Jerreries, adding: "I believe that most of it was actually done by Pat Jefferies – certainly she did the final write-up and I think most of the research. Her husband was the Methodist Minister in Gibraltar at the time".
- 295 The author is grateful to Susan Jackson, daughter of a former Methodist Minister in Gibraltar, for long telephone conversations and correspondence. In the late 1990s she was engaged in new research into the history of Methodism in Gibraltar.
- 296 Archer, E.G. & Traverso, A A, The History of Education in Gibraltar, forthcoming.

- 297 Rule, W., (1854), "Memoirs of a Mission to Gibraltar and Spain".
- 298 Dr.Rule appears to have visited Spain regularly. He was active and influential there and eventually he was declared *persona non grata* by the Spanish authorities.
- 299 Archer, E.G. and Traverso, A.A. (forthcoming), *ibid.*
- 300 Scottish regiments stationed in Gibraltar are listed in Appendix 11.
- 301 Appendix 12 contains illustrations of the St.Andrews Church buildings.
- 302 See the Gibraltar Chronicle 7th October 1852.
- 303 Philip, Rev.D.S., (1988) A History of St.Andrew's Church of Scotland in Gibraltar.
- 304 Copies of documents relating to Presbyterian marriages are contained in Appendix 13.
- 305 Of course, not all Scots in Gibraltar have been presbyterians ; there were and are Roman Catholic Scots in the territory. See also page 345, lines 15-18.
- 306 Edwards, John, (1985) "Language, Society and Identity" Blackwell.
- 307 Kamen, H. (1998) The Mediterranean and the Expulsion of Spanish Jews in 1492. Past & Present, Number 119, May 1998, pp.30-55.
- 308 Cavilla, M.,(2nd ed) (1990), "Diccionario Yanito". Cavilla includes a few words of Hebrew origin e.g. *jaiznear*, to notice.
- 309 Derivations from Arabic noted by Cavilla include *el chama*, from 'alchama', meaning 'pesquería' (fishing) and *el jara* meaning 'porquería', (trivial thing)
- 310 Howes, H.W. (1950), The Gibraltarian.
- 311 Correspondence with Prof. Toso from Genoa was generally useful in considering the issues. His history of the Ligurian language was to hand. Toso,Fiorenzo Storia Linguistica Della Liguria Vol.1. Dalle origini al 1528. 1995, Genova.

- 312 Kramer, J., (1986), English and Spanish in Gibraltar.
- 313 See Archer, E.G., Vallejo, T., Benady, T., (2001), History of Catalan Bay, which shows that the Genoese influence, through fishing and ship-repairing, came first to Catalan Bay where it also lasted longest. Other Genoese, including some Merchants, established themselves in town, as they did in Spanish towns, notably Cádiz.
- 314 Hull, G. (1993) The Malta Language Question: A Case Study of Cultural Imperialism., page 367.
- 315 Hull, G. (1993), *ibid.*
- 316 The definitive work on the evacuation is, Finlayson, T.J., The Fortress Came First. 1996.
- 317 Jackson, W.G.F. (1990) The Rock of the Gibraltarians, chapter 17.
- 318 Kramer, J. (1986) *ibid.*, p.93-95.
- 319 Ballesta Gomez, J.L., La Línea de la Concepción: Guía Crítica.
- 320 Moyer, Melissa G., (1992), Analysis of Code-Switching in Gibraltar. Tesis doctoral, Departament de Filologia Anglesa I de Germanística, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
- 321 A column in Yanito appears each week in the newspaper, "Panorama".
- 322 Cavilla, M. (1990) *ibid.*
- 323 Vallejo, Tito, (2001) The Yanito Dictionary of Words, Phrases and Place Names,
- 324 Moyer, M. G. (1992) *ibid.*
- 325 Moyer, M.G. (1992) *ibid.*, p.85.
- 326 Martens, J., (1986), Gibraltar and the Gibraltarians : the Social Construction of Ethnic and Gender Identities in Gibraltar. Ph.D, Thesis, Univ. of London
- 327 This remark was made during discussions in the Convent of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, at Bray in Eire, in January 2002.

- 328 These readers were in use during the early 1900s. See Appendix 14 which contains extracts from Reader 2.
- 329 From a letter signed VERMIS in El Calpense, 29th May 1919. This letter was in response to trade union criticisms that the schools were spending too much time on religious instruction and not enough on English. The blame lay elsewhere, the correspondent argued. “The children hear English spoken in the schools only. At home, in the street, in business houses, at church, in the theatre, in all pastimes, the children hear, read and speak only Spanish. With their parents and friends, with outsiders, among themselves, in fact with everyone, Spanish is the only language spoken. Even in the classroom, except with the teachers or in their presence, the children speak only Spanish”.
- 330 Hull, G. (1993), *ibid.*, page 354.
- 331 Hull, G. (1993), p.386.
- 332 The inclusive terms ‘Britain’ and ‘British’ are used throughout this thesis although models followed may at first have come from England and Wales or Scotland.
- 333 Archer, Margaret S., (1984), The Social Origins of Educational Systems, p.1.
- 334 Archer, Margaret S., (1984), *ibid.*, page 19.
- 335 The two principal historians were López de Ayala who wrote some time after 1704, and Francisco María Montero of more modern times. Neither refers to schooling in 17th century Gibraltar.
- 336 Cornwell, G.F., (1905) The System of Education in Gibraltar in The Board of Education Special Reports on Educational Subjects, Vol.12, Part I.
- 337 See Traverso, Albert Austin (1980), A History of Education in British Gibraltar 1704-1945. An unpublished dissertation submitted for the degree of M.A.(Ed.), University of Southampton. This work will be the basis of Part I of a forthcoming publication: Archer, E.G. and Traverso, A.A., (2003) Education in Gibraltar 1704-2000.
- 338 Traverso reports that General G.A. Elliott, Commander in Chief during the Great Siege, subsequently sent Brand and Richmond, boy heroes of the

Siege, to the Geddes' Academy in recognition of their bravery and dedication to duty. Traverso, A.A. (1980) *ibid.*, p.2.

339 Williams, St.John, N.T. (1971) Tommy Atkins' Children: The Story of the Education of the Army's Children 1675-1970, p.3.

340 War Office Library. General Order and Circular Letter Collection 1811-1833. Folio 592. Letter dated 14th November 1811. Quoted by St.John Williams(1971) *Ibid* p.34.

341 See Williams, St. John, N.T. (1971), *ibid.*, p.31.

342 Before 1939 the education of children of the military was conducted on a regimental basis in Garrison Schools with their own Masters and Mistresses. For example, as shown in Appendix 15, in 1902 there were six Army Infant Schools and four schools for 'Elder Children', with a total of 524 pupils. The four senior schools and an eleventh school also provided education for soldiers. For a more detailed account see Archer E.G. and Traverso A.A. (2003), Education in Gibraltar 1704-2000, Chapter 14, "Systems Alongside", forthcoming publication.

343 Traverso, A.A., (1980) *ibid.*, p.2.

344 Traverso, A.A. (1980) *ibid.*

345 Traverso, A.A. (1980) *ibid.*

346 A chapter in Archer, E.G. and Traverso, A.A. (2003) History of Education In Gibraltar 1704-2000 is entitled Systems Alongside. It outlines the history of army and services' schools which formed a parallel system.

347 See Caruana, Charles (1989),The Rock Under a Cloud, Chapter 2. The Brothers' ill-health was also a factor leading to their early departure.

348 Traverso, A.A. (1980) *ibid.*, p.28.

349 The Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, with its Loretto Nuns, or 'English Ladies' was founded by Mary Ward in 1609 to provide for the education of girls as the Jesuits did for boys. The spelling was changed eventually to 'Loreto'. The Sisters have been teaching in Gibraltar for well over 150 years and they have had a great influence on education. They provided the teachers for poor schools for girls for most of that time. They also

contributed a great deal to girls' private school education, which they continue to do.

For an account of the Institute, see Wright, Mary (1997), Mary Ward's Institute: the Struggle For Identity.

³⁵⁰ Margaret Archer describes a stage in some countries where, before the emergence of a State Educational System, education was "owned" and controlled by one institution only, usually the Church.

³⁵¹ Initially an Anglican and anti-Jacobite foundation dating from 1698, one of the S.P.C.K.'s main aims was, through public subscription, to establish charity schools to give a sound secular and religious education to the children of the poor.

³⁵² Appendix 16 contains a copy of the 1884 Gibraltar Regulations for Colonial Government Grants and Examination Standards.

³⁵³ Traverso, A.A. (1980), *ibid.*, Chapter 4.

³⁵⁴ Traverso, A.A., (1980) *ibid.*

³⁵⁵ See Appendix 17 for Christian Brothers Day College advertisement.

³⁵⁶ Cornwell, G.F., The System of Education in Gibraltar. A report written by the Colonial Inspector of Schools in 1902.

³⁵⁷ Traverso, A.A. (1980) *ibid.*, page 72.

³⁵⁸ See Cowper, H.E., (1980) British Education, Public and Private, and the British Empire. Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University.

³⁵⁹ See list of Gibraltar Government Archive files included in the Bibliography.

³⁶⁰ Appendix 18 contains a copy of the 1913 Imperial Education Conference Paper relating to Gibraltar.

³⁶¹ See Box 27, Gibraltar Government Archive. The League of Empire 1905-1920.

³⁶² The Gibraltar Chronicle, April 14th, 1920.

³⁶³ See Appendix 19 for an item on the 1909 Empire Day Celebration in Gibraltar.

- 364 The most recent was the Elementary Code of 1904. “The New Code incorporated changes following the Balfour Act of 1902, concerning the computation and payment of grant, intended to liberalize the elementary school” Maclure, J.Stuart, Educational Documents:England & Wales 1816-1963.
- 365 Haycroft, T.W., Inspector of Schools’ Report for 1913.
- 366 See Finlayson, T.J.(1996), The Fortress Came First
- 367 A copy of the ability survey report is contained in Appendix 20.
- 368 Miles Clifford, later Sir Miles, was public-school educated with a subsequent military and colonial career.
- 369 See PRO file BW 33/1.
- 370 The members of the Committee were: Miles Clifford, chairman, C.D. Todd, A.R. Isola, G. Gaggero and A. Risso.
- 371 Government of Gibraltar (1944), A New Educational System for Gibraltar.
- 372 Although Miles Clifford described the Director as a ‘queer sort of egg’, undoubtedly Howes was a professional of high calibre. He administered the system well. He also wrote two books on the history of Gibraltar. Among many other things he gave series of public lectures on education and these were extensively reported in the press. At classroom level, he produced an “Outline Course in Civics” for teachers, including topics for each of the three terms in the year. In it he noted that “a citizen of the City of Gibraltar is also a citizen of the British Empire”. For Term 3 he wrote that, “The whole of this term should be devoted to Government, both Colonial and Imperial”. Clifford and Howes may have differed in some respects but they were at one as regards the promulgation of British and Imperial values.
- 373 In a letter dated 10th July 1944 from Colonial Secretary Miles Clifford to Sir Angus Gillan, Director of the Empire Division of the British Council. See PRO file BW 33/1.
- 374 The Gibraltar Chronicle, 23 September, 1944.
- 375 Public Record Office file CO91/522/12.

- 376 Clearly Howes was answerable to London for what was a colonial system of education.
- 377 The Mackintosh Trust Fund was set up in memory of John Mackintosh, a wealthy Gibraltarian businessman, and his wife Victoria..
- 378 “This Act was the result of prolonged negotiations with interested bodies of all kinds, including the churches, in which Mr.R.A.Butler (Conservative) and Mr.J.Chuter Ede (Labour) then respectively President of the Board of Education and Parliamentary Secretary in the wartime coalition government succeeded in achieving a large measure of agreement”writes J.Stuart Maclure in Educational Documents,England and Wales 1816-1963, page 223.
- 379 Two pre-war apprentices were interviewed and they testified to the high standards achieved. Both had done well, one becoming an architect.
- 380 Not a great deal of material on the British Council in Gibraltar has survived. Files in the PRO were consulted, notably BW33/2 and 33/3, also WO199 and FO371.
- 381 No.13 of 1950, An Ordinance to Amend the Law relating to Education.
- 382 Public Record Office file CO/926/54.
- 383 Public Record Office file CO91/541/2.
- 384 Some who remember Howes say that he thought that he himself was not properly recognised for his efforts and achievements.
- 385 There were in fact two appointments, of Miss Kent and Miss Doyle. The Colonial Report for1950-51 states as follows: “The appointment of two Women Education Officers as Organising Head teachers who are responsible for the supervision of the infant and junior schools has resulted in increased efficiency...they have responsibility for the day-to-day local training of the unqualified and student teachers.”
- 386 Brother Foley also, when Acting Director, transformed the Girls’ Secondary Modern School which had lacked a sense of direction. He was instrumental in putting a structured curriculum in place while a new head was being trained. Clearly, Brother Foley had his own views on what Gibraltar’s needs were and he expected them to adhered to. While

impressions vary, in retrospect many today refer to him as having been too authoritarian.

387 The Gibraltar Chronicle, 8th July 1976.

388 Government of Gibraltar, Compulsory Education Ordinance (No.7 of 1917). The Ordinance is reproduced in Appendix 21.

389 See the 1965 Colonial Report on Gibraltar, page 35, Technical and Vocational Education. HMSO publication.

390 In some parts of the United Kingdom, notably in Scotland, later in London, non-selective secondary schools had been operating for ten years or more, particularly where the Labour Party controlled local authorities.

391 The chairman was Victor Dumas, a local businessman, another being George, later Sir George Gaggero, also a prominent businessman. One other member was Rev. Dr. B. Linares who later left the priesthood to become a teacher, then headteacher of the Boys' Comprehensive School and in 1996 he became Minister for Education in a newly-elected administration. The others were O.G. Requena and E.H. Valerga. The secretary was I. Benyunes.

392 A Colonial Office Adviser, R.F.J. Brown, was sent to Gibraltar to make his own assessment of the problems.

393 Members were particularly impressed by the arrangements in Leicestershire.

394 Sister Aoife Hynes was interviewed in Dublin in 2001 along with other retired Loreto Nuns with Gibraltar connections.

395 Martens, J. (1986) op.cit.

396 Comment made by O.D.A. Adviser W.A. Dodd.

397 Report of the Collister Working Party, July 1974. Price 30p.

398 This link with the N.U.T. was replaced in 1998 by one with the N.A.S.

399 Gibraltar Chronicle, 20 March 1973.

400 Gibraltar Chronicle, 5th April 1978.

401 This was in part due to Mrs. Hart's role in announcing the decision regarding the 1967 Referendum. See Garcia, J.J., (1994) Gibraltar: The Making of a People, Medsun, pp 47,48.

402 Several attempts were made to contact Dr. Lawlor but he did not reply.

403 Government of Gibraltar, Education Ordinance 1974, No. 11 of 1974.

404 Education Ordinance 1974, *ibid.*, Part II, Section 14.4.

405 Mellor was active musically, as organist and choir master, and he served as adjudicator at festivals of drama and dance. He was involved in the life of the community more than some others.

406 Approaches were made to the Essex authority in 2000 and again in 2001, with a letter of authorisation from the Minister for Education, but unfortunately no reply was received.

407 Chapter VII of the Gibraltar Constitution Order 1969 gives the Governor "power to constitute offices and to make appointments". Teachers being in the public service were included in the arrangements. To assist the Governor in these matters a five-man Public Services Commission was to be established to offer advice on "any question that relates to the appointment, promotion, transfer, or termination of appointment, dismissal or other disciplinary control of public officers and any other question that, in his opinion, affects the public service".

408 See Education Ordinance: Education (National Curriculum) Regulations 1991 as published in the Gibraltar Gazette, No. 2,636 of Thursday 31st October 1991, Legal Notice No.201 of 1991.

409 The Committee in the 1950s, for example, included Lady MacMillan, the wife of the Governor,, Dorothy Elliott (a prominent Gibraltarian lady) as secretary, the Acting Director of Education, ten prominent ladies of the town, businessmen Messrs. Imossi, Fernandez and King, and Col. Ball, the army ophthalmologist.

410 Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Handicapped Children and Young People (1978), Special Educational Needs ("The Warnock Report").

411 Only a four page summary of R.F.J. Brown's recommendations is to hand, in unpublished form.

- 412 Unfortunately, copies of key reports and documents were not always preserved, as in this case.
- 413 Victory had been an Education Officer with Julio Alcántara who became Director. It is said that the loser's reward was to be made principal of the college.
- 414 Unfortunately this engraved trophy seems to have been lost in the various moves which the college has made.
- 415 Traverso, A.A. (1980) *ibid*.
- 416 Figures given are approximate. Some school records had been lost or were incomplete.
- 417 Bossano explains why he had long vowed to abolish the points system if he came into power. During his days as a T&GWU official he encountered a worker called Fa whose son had obtained a university place but who did not have sufficient points to gain a scholarship. Fa scraped and saved to pay his son's fees and fellow workers gave him as many opportunities to do overtime as they could. The boy took a good honours degree in science, proceeded to a doctorate and he eventually gained a professorship in a Mexican university. "So much for scraping the bottom of the barrel.", says Bossano.
- 418 Archer, Margaret S. (1984), *ibid*.
- 419 Kirk-Greene, A., Badge of Office : Sport and His Excellency in the British Empire, in Mangan, J.A. (ed.), (19??), The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire and Society.
- 420 An illustration of the fleets at anchor can be found in Appendix 23.
- 421 Appendix 24 contains a photograph of the Governor taking the salute there.
- 422 See Appendix 25 for illustrations of some of Gibraltar's public buildings.
- 423 During an interview with octogenarian L.J. Gomez who has extensive knowledge of the British in Gibraltar, especially as regards naval matters.
- 424 Since 1991 there has been no resident regiment and since then ceremonial duties have been carried out by the Royal Gibraltar Regiment.

- 425 Appendix 26 contains illustrations of the Ceremony of the Keys.
- 426 See Appendix 27 for illustrations of the Trafalgar Day ceremony.
- 427 See Appendix 28 for illustrations relating to Empire Day.
- 428 See Mangan J.A., (ed.), (1992), The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire and Society.
- 429 In Hounds are Home (1979), Gordon Fergusson provides a comprehensive history of the Royal Calpe Hunt from its founding in 1813. Racing and polo also played an important part in the story. As a soldier, formerly Aide-de-Camp to one of the Governors, and who married the daughter of a wealthy Gibraltarian, his viewpoint is unmistakably that of an insider, close to the centres of power and influence. He gives a fascinating account of relevant places, people and events.
- 430 The Royal Calpe Hunt and associated organizations ceased to exist after the war of 1939/45. There have been no horses in Gibraltar since then. What is left of former Gibraltarian involvement in equestrian activities survives in Spain and only to a very limited extent. A few Gibraltarians have horses there for riding or polo. Yet the story of horse-related activities is interesting and the Jockey Club, the Polo Club and the Hunt were important for well over a hundred years. They made their mark on society and something of their influence remains.
- 431 Itkowitz, D.C. (1977), Peculiar Privilege: A Social History of English Foxhunting 1753-1885
- 432 A hunting map of the Campo de Gibraltar is contained in Appendix 29.
- 433 Itkowitz, D.C. (1977), *ibid.*
- 434 The Campo de Gibraltar is the area immediately next to Gibraltar extending for several miles into Spain.
- 435 MacKenzie, J.M. (1988), The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism.
- 436 Itkowitz, D.C. (1977), *ibid.*

- 437 Honorary membership when bestowed was a device for further enlisting support and a means of expressing gratitude for help given. At the same time, the recipients would have seen membership as desirable. Hon Members included the Duke of Beaufort, the Duke of Alba and Berwick, the Duque de Medinacelli, the Marqués de Viana, the Hon. S. Getty and so on.
- 438 MacKenzie, J.M. (1988) *ibid*, page 10.
- 439 Members of an aristocratic Spanish-Gibraltarian family, the Larios's played an influential part in the history of the Royal Calpe Hunt. One branch had strong roots both in Gibraltar and in Spain, as well as a Scottish connection through marriage. They provide an unusual perspective on issues relating to a sense of Gibraltarian identity. There is a Larios family vault in the Gibraltar cemetery. Among those born in Gibraltar was Pablo Larios whose father had been prominent in local politics and business in the Colony. Pablo, who later became the Marqués de Marzales, was master of the Hunt for 45 years. He lived most of his life in Spain on the family estate near to Algeciras although he was interred in Gibraltar. His contribution to the well-being of the Hunt, financially and in terms of relationships with the inhabitants of the Campo areas, and in many other ways, was substantial and, at times, critical.
- 440 Itkowitz, D.C. (1977), *ibid*.
- 441 The author was granted access to the surviving records of the R.G.Y.C. These were found with many other books and papers, locked away and apparently untouched for years.
- 442 Others were: R.C.I.Y.C., R.D.Y.C., R.S.Y.C., R.T.Y.C., R.V.Y.C., R.F.Y.C., R.N.Y.C., R.A.F.Y.C.
- 443 Appendix 30 contains the list of Commodores and Vice Commodores.
- 444 Yacht Club membership is analysed in Appendix 31.
- 445 From Jackson, W.G.F. and Cantos, F (1995), From Fortress to Democracy p.6.
- 446 Wigglesworth, N., (1992), The Social History of English Rowing.
- 447 Kirk-Greene, Anthony (1999), On Crown Service

- 448 The "Gibraltar Directory" was published from around 1876. Copies of most issues are held in the Garrison Library.
- 449 Warren, A., The Girl Guides Association in Britain, in MacKenzie, J.M., (1986), Imperialism and Popular Culture.
- 450 Judd, Denis, (1996), Empire: The British Imperial Presence From 1765 to the Present., Harper Collins. See especially chapter 16, "Scouting for Boys 1908", page 201.
- 451 Gibraltar Government Archive, Special File No.87
- 452 Reported in the "Gibraltar Chronicle", 9th March 1912.
- 453 There are Brambles alive in Gibraltar today but they did not reply to postal requests for information.
- 454 Warren, A., *ibid.*
- 455 Gibraltar Government Archive, Special File No.14
- 456 Springhall, J., (1983) (ed.) Sure and Stedfast: The Boys Brigade, p.73.
- 457 See Gibraltar Boys Brigade Special File in the Gibraltar Government Archive..
- 458 See Boy Scouts Special File in the Gibraltar Government Archive.
- 459 Appendix 33 includes photographs of Baden-Powell and others in Gibraltar.
- 460 Judd, D. (1996), *ibid.*, page 299.
- 461 Illustrations of rugby in Gibraltar are included in Appendix 34.
- 462 Judd, D. (1996), *ibid.*, page 301.
- 463 Williams, J., (1999), Cricket and England: A Cultural and Social History of the Inter-war Years.
- 464 Appendix 35 contains early photographs of cricket in Gibraltar.

- 465 Thomas J. Finlayson was the Gibraltar Government Archivist from the 1980s to the early 2000s. He took an active part in cricket in Gibraltar as a player and administrator. In 1990 he wrote a brief history of cricket in the territory for inclusion in the Gibraltar Souvenir Brochure for the International Cricket Conference Trophy tournament in the Netherlands that year.
- 466 Bowen, R., (1970), Cricket: A History of its Growth and Development Throughout the World.
- 467 Moore, Katharine, The Pan-Britannic Festival: A Tangible but Forlorn Expression of Imperial Unity, page 148 in Mangan, J.A., (ed) (1988), Pleasure Profit, Proselytism: British Culture at Home and Abroad 1700-1914.
- 468 Bowen, R. (1970), *ibid.*
- 469 One retired lady interviewee, Luisa Parody, hastened away from the interview so as not to miss the televised Liverpool game. It is said that her house is liberally decorated with relevant insignia.
- 470 "The Three Roses", in Governor's Street leased from the 1990s by Dermot Colgan from Glasgow. Dermot's wife and a friend are the proprietors of a small restaurant called "The Barbary Ape". They are typical of a small group of entrepreneurial U.K. British residents.
- 471 Named in memory of the Gibraltarian benefactress, Victoria Mackintosh.
- 472 Although Gibraltar is not an island as such it became a member of the Island Games Association. In 1997 the members were Aaland, Alderney, Anglesey, the Falklands, the Faroe Islands, Froya, Gibraltar, Gotland, Greenland, Guernsey, Iceland, Jersey, Malta, Orkney, Rhodes, Shetland, Isle of Man, Isle of Wight, Prince Edward Island, Saaremaa, Sark and St. Helena. The Games were held in Gibraltar in 1995. Some 12-16 different sports make up the games.
- 473 Richards, J., (ed.), (1986) Imperialism and Juvenile Literature.
- 474 The sources on early cinema and broadcasting in Gibraltar are largely oral, from several people born in the 1920s.
- 475 The Spanish words 'los barrios' mean the outskirts of a place.

- 476 Richards, J., *ibid.*
- 477 A screen magazine covering recent news and matters of general interest.
- 478 The Navy, Army and Air Force Institute, providing canteen facilities for the armed services.
- 479 Anthony, K., (1988), Broadcasting on the Rock 1925-1988. Cyclostyled.
- 480 Written comment by a Gibraltarian, L.J.Gomez who was born in Gibraltar in 1920.
- 481 Anthony, K. (1988), *ibid.*
- 482 Alberto Sanz Trelles, *ibid.*
- 483 For an account of the very different style of the Chronicle in its early years, see Sloma D. in Gibraltar Heritage Journal, No.2, 1994, p.30-36.
- 484 Teall, G.H., (1934), A Short History of the Garrison Library.
- 485 See Finlayson, T.J., The Press in Gibraltar in the Nineteenth Century in the Gibraltar heritage Journal No.4, 1997.
- 486 The Gibraltar Government Archive contains some issues of "El Calpense" but by no means all. In the 1960s the business was purchased by the Marrache family. They are believed to have copies of most of the issues but these are not easily available to the general public.
- 487 Tornay, F. (1997), *ibid.*
- 488 Tornay, F. (1997), *ibid.*
- 489 In a lighter vein, until quite recently there were other Spanish performers in town, namely the cabaret artists who appeared nightly in the bars in Main Street. The Spanish girls, often quite talented, came from various parts of Spain. Their 'work' sometimes continued after closing time. They were there mainly for the entertainment of the troops, although some local men took advantage of the opportunity. During the siege of 1969-1985, Franco withdrew the artists' passes and up to 50 girls were granted temporary residence permits.

- 490 William “Willie” Gomez, music teacher and guitarist, died in September 2000 aged 61. While remaining mostly in Gibraltar (he was persona non grata in Spain) he earned a reputation well beyond the colony as a soloist and with the group “Vibrations”. An inspirational teacher, his death was much lamented by the people. An emotional tribute was paid to him at a charity concert by soloist Andrea Martin on the eve of her departure for New York to continue her career in opera in February 2001.
- 491 Hammond won a world reputation as a performer and composer. He has continued to reside mostly in Britain. Among his songs is, “You Are Simply the Best”, made famous by Tina Turner. It is sung every year on National Day. By chance it is also a song popular with fans of Rangers Football Club.
- 492 See Finlayson, T.J. (1996), Stories From the Rock.
- 493 This large natural cave inside the Rock, with its amphitheatre-like shape, can seat around 300 people. It is good acoustically and it lends itself well to all sorts of lighting effects. It is to be completely re-furbished in 2001-2 at considerable expense.
- 494 A recent example was Gibraltar Day in the City of London on 21st October 2002, Trafalgar Day, when the bands of The Royal Gibraltar Regiment and the Royal Irish Regiment participated, including Beating the Retreat at H.M. Tower of London.
- 495 Mackenzie, J.M. (1996), “Art and Empire” in Marshall P.J (ed), Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire, Chapter 11.
- 496 These were the words of the artist Bathsheba. Her views were given in an informal interview at a public showing of her work in a Gibraltar gallery.
- 497 See Mangan, J.A. (1990), Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism.
- 498 Kitchen, M. (1996) The British Empire and Commonwealth, p.17.
- 499 Mangan, J.A. (1990), *ibid.*
- 500 Kitchen, M. (1996) *ibid.*, p.18.

- 501 Field Marshal Sir John Chapple in the introduction to, “Strong As The Rock of Gibraltar” (1995) by Quentin Hughes and Athanassios Migos. Exchange Publications, Gibraltar.
- 502 Jackson, Sir W.G.F. (1990), *ibid*, page ix.
- 503 Lieutenant Governors and Colonial Secretaries can be described similarly, Don being an outstanding example of the first. Colonial Secretary Miles (later Sir Miles) Clifford occupied this key post at the end of the war, when Gibraltar’s educational system was reconstructed.
- 504 The preamble reads to the 1969 Constitution contains the following: “... Her Majesty’s Government will never enter into arrangements under which the people of Gibraltar would pass under the sovereignty of another state against their freely and democratically expressed wishes”.
- 505 Benedict, B., (ed.) (1967), “Problems of Smaller Territories” p.49.
- 506 See also Clark, C., and Payne, T., (eds.) (1987), “Politics, Security and Development in Small States”, p.xi.
- 507 The Gibraltar Constitution Order 1969 (1984 Edition).
- 508 Despatch to the Governor, Admiral of the Fleet Sir Varyl Begg, 23rd May 1969, signed by Michael Stewart at the Foreign & Commonwealth Office.
- 509 This was made up of the Deputy Governor, the Deputy Fortress Commander, the Attorney-General, the Financial & Development Secretary and the Chief Minister and such sour other Ministers as may for the time being be designate in that behalf by the Governor, acting after consultation with the Chief Minister, Attorney General and the Financial & Development Secretary and the Chief Minister and such four other Ministers as may for the time being be designated in that behalf by the Governor, acting after consultation with the Chief Minister.
- 510 Cannadine, D. (2001), *ibid.*, p.xiv.
- 511 See Paxman, J., (1999), The English: A Portrait of a People, esp. chap. 6, “The Parish of the Senses.”
- 512 This is most apparent in the thirty-two audiotaped interviews and other recordings.

- ⁵¹³ Usually Ministers have more than one area of responsibility. In 2000- Education Culture and Health were combined.
- ⁵¹⁴ Gibraltar's medical facilities are supplemented from time to time by visits from United Kingdom-based consultants. Patients go to Britain for specialist surgery.
- ⁵¹⁵ Cannadine, D. (2001), Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire
- ⁵¹⁶ As already mentioned, Gordon Fergusson was a very good example. He came from a family with a large estate in Cheshire. He was Aide-de-Camp to the Governor and he married a daughter of Sir George Gaggero.
- ⁵¹⁷ Smith, A.D. (1991), *ibid.*, p.11.
- ⁵¹⁸ Jackson, W.G.F. (1990), The Rock of the Gibraltarians, p.328.
- ⁵¹⁹ Howes, H.W., (1950), The Gibraltarian, p. (iii)
- ⁵²⁰ Murray, (1989) Get reference.
- ⁵²¹ See Mearns, D., Thorne, B. (2000), Person-Centred Therapy.
- ⁵²² This is the date of the vital Referendum of 1967 when Gibraltarians overwhelmingly declared their wish not to be in any way associated with Spain. The brief account of National Day celebrations given here is supplemented by various photographs included in Appendix 4.
- ⁵²³ The words of the unofficial national anthem are given in Appendix 2.
- ⁵²⁴ Smith, Anthony D. (1991), National Identity, p.72.
- ⁵²⁵ "For Marx and Hobsbawm, nationalism historically presupposed a nation that had an economic 'threshold' i.e. it could play host to a modern capitalist economy, because it possessed a population and territorial scale sufficient for economic viability as well as political independence". Smith Anthony D (1995), Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era, p.27, Polity Press.
- ⁵²⁶ Smith, Anthony D. (1995), *ibid.* , p.27.
- ⁵²⁷ Reported in, Benedict, B., (1967) (ed) , "Problems of Smaller territories".

- 528 Reported in Clarke, C. and Payne, T. (eds) (1987), Politics, Security and Development in Small States.
- 529 See also Cohen, R. (ed) (1983), African Islands and Enclaves.
- 530 Crick, B. (ed) (1991) National Identities: The Constitution of the United Kingdom, p. 91.
- 531 Kearney, H., Four Nations Or One, p.3, in Crick, B., *ibid*.
- 532 Smith Anthony D. (1991), "National Identity" p.14.
- 533 This was written in London where most Gibraltarian evacuees stayed.
- 534 A photograph of the monument to the evacuation can be found in Appendix 36.
- 535 Anderson, B. (1983), Imagined Communties, p.15.
- 536 Kearney, H. (1991), *ibid*. in Crick, B. (ed) (1991).
- 537 Joseph Bossano was interviewed a third time in December 2001 when he was Leader of the Opposition..

APPENDICES

LIST OF APPENDICES

	Page No
1. Oral Evidence: List of People Consulted and Interviewed.	3
2. Unofficial Gibraltar National Anthem.	7
3. List of Family Names which appear in the 1995 Register of Electors.	8
4. 10 th September National Day Celebrations.	14
5. The Race Course area before the airfield was built.	18
6. List of Consular Representatives in Gibraltar in the Late 19 th Century.	19
7. The Arrival of H.E. the Governor.	21
8. The Interior of the Nefusokl Yehudah Synagogue.	23
9. Interior Views of Holy Trinity Cathedral.	24
10. Interior View of King's Chapel.	27
11. List of Scottish Regiments Stationed in Gibraltar.	28
12. St. Andrew's Church of Scotland.	29
13. Documents Relating to Presbyterian Marriages.	31
14. Christian Brothers Bilingual Readers: Sample Pages.	32
15. Army Schools in Gibraltar in 1902.	33
16. The 1884 Regulations for Colonial Grants.	34
17. Christian Brothers' Day College Advertisement.	43
18. Imperial Education Conference Paper on the Educational System in Gibraltar in 1913.	44
19. Empire Day Celebrations in Gibraltar in 1909.	66

20.	Ability Survey of Gibraltar Children in 1944.	69
21.	The Gibraltar Compulsory Education Ordinance No.7 of 1917.	74
22.	Gibraltar's Directors of Education.	85
23.	The Home and Mediterranean Fleets at Anchor in Gibraltar in 1938.	99
24.	The Governor Taking the Salute at the Convent.	103
25.	Civilian Buildings in Gibraltar.	104
26.	The Ceremony of the Keys.	110
27.	Trafalgar Day.	115
28.	Empire Day.	119
29.	Hunting Map of the Campo de Gibraltar.	123
30.	Yacht Club Commodores and Vice Commodores.	124
31.	Profile of Yacht Club Membership.	125
32.	Baden-Powell Visits Gibraltar in 1938.	129
33.	Rugby in Gibraltar.	131
34.	Early Photographs of Cricket.	133
35.	The Evacuation Monument.	134
36.	A Note on Gibraltar and the United Nations.	135
37.	Gibraltar and the Brussels Talks.	136

Appendix 1

Oral Evidence: List of People Consulted and Interviewed

	Abrines, L.E.	Retired Businessman and devout Roman Catholic.
i	Alcantara, John	Mayor of Gibraltar and Judge.
ti	Alcantara, Julio	Former Director of Education.
	Anne-Marie, Sister	Headteacher, New Hall School.
i	Anwyl, P.A.	Director of Admissions, Stonyhurst College.
i	Baldachino, C. Mrs.	Activist for Women's Rights.
i	Ballantine, J.L., MBE	Former Chief Commissioner of Scouts and Captain of HMS Calpe.
i	Ballester, F.	Local Businessman.
	Beiso, D.	Assistant Government Archivist.
	Benady, T.M., MBE	Historian and Publisher.
c	Bitossi, Carlo, Prof.	Professor of Modern History, University of Ferrara, Genoese historian.
	Bonfiglio, M.	Principal Teacher of Physics, Westside Girls Comprehensive School.
ti	Bossano, J.	Leader of Opposition and Former Chief Minister.
	Britto, J.	Education Adviser.
i	Budhrani, H.K.	President, Hindu Merchants' Association.
i	Campello, Otilia	Former commercial teacher.
i	Canepa, A.	Former teacher and politician.
i	Canessa, Eric	Gibraltar Inhabitant.
i	Cantos, F.	Director of Public Relations, Gibraltar Government and one-time Editor of the Gibraltar Chronicle.
i	Carr, D.J.	Former Lecturer in Gibraltar College of Further Education.
	Carreras, C.	Former Student of Dockyard and Technical School.
i	Cartwright, R.	Broadcaster and Musician.
i	Caruana, C. Bishop	Roman Catholic Bishop of Gibraltar.
tel	Carver, R.M.P.	Field Marshal, Lord. Member of family with historical and commercial connections with Gibraltar.
	Castree, A.	Gibraltar Commissioner of Police.
ti	Chiappe, M. Mrs.	Former Minister for Education.
i	Chincotta, J.	Former Headteacher of the Hebrew School.
i	Coombe, M.T., Rev.	Port Chaplain.
ti	Cortes, A.	Headteacher, Bayside Comprehensive School.
	Cruz, C.	Former Pupil of Worth School, now a successful Gibraltarian businessman with businesses in Spain.
i	Dalmedo, M. Mrs.	Commissioner of Guides.

ti	Davies, Howard, Sir	Former Deputy Governor and the first Gibraltarian to hold this post.
	Diggle, N. Lt.	ADC to H.E. the Governor.
ti	Dobinson, Inmaculada	Former Deputy Head of Governor's Meadow First School.
i	Doolin, Paula, Sr.	Archivist, Archive of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Dublin.
i	Duarte, Derek	Local Artist and resident of Catalan Bay.
i	Elwood, S. Dr.	Assistant to the Governor of Gibraltar 1994-1999.
	Escuadra, Alfonso	Spanish Journalist, Writer and Local Politician from La Línea.
ti	Fahy, Berna, Sr.	Loreto Nun and former commercial teacher.
i	Fava, A. Mrs.	Teacher and former pupil of Loreto Convent School.
i	Featherstone, M.	Former Minister for Education.
i	Fergusson, G.	Author of "Hounds Are Home", resident in Cheshire.
i	Fergusson, Gordon	Former Aide-de-Camp to the Governor.
	Finlayson, J.C., Dr.	Curator, Gibraltar Museum.
	Finlayson, T.J., MBE	Government Archivist.
i	Flower, S.	Deputy Head, St. Christopher's Services School, Europa.
	Francis, E.	Manager and Owner of the Queen's Hotel.
i	Gabay, Joshua	Former Headmaster and Local Politician.
i	Gaetto, P.	Last Headman of Catalan Bay Village.
	Garcia, George	Teacher
ti	Garcia, Joseph, Dr.	Author and leader of the Gibraltar Liberal Party.
	Garcia, R.J.M.	Local Historian and Government Official.
	Gareze, Colonel	Elderly Inhabitant and Local Historian.
ti	Gomez, L.J.	Local Historian.
i	Gomez, Lionel	Hon.President, The Mediterranean Rowing Club.
i	Gomez, William	Musician and Teacher.
i	Goncalves, J.	Director, Airport Terminal Services.
i	Gonzalez, A.J.	Warden of Our Lady of Sorrows Church, Catalan Bay.
i	Gonzalez, Otilia	Keeper of Catalan Bay Church Records.
ti	Gordon, Gloria, Mrs.	Former Pupil of Loreto High School.
i	Grech, M.	Messenger, Mayor's Parlour.
i	Hassan, J.A., Sir	Former Chief Minister.
i	Henrich, A.	Headteacher, Sacred Heart Middle School.
	Hoare, Marjorie	Former broadcaster; conservationist and poet.
i	Holliday, Joseph	Former pupil of Prior Park College.

ti	Hynes, Aoife, Sr.	Loreto Nun and former headteacher of Westside Comprehensive School.
i	Imossi, E.A., Dr.	Former Chairman of action group on behalf of handicapped children.
i	Isola, Antonia	Elderly Inhabitant, once of Rio tinto, Huelva.
i	Isola, Charles	Representative of Old Stonyhurstians.
	Jamison, C., Fr.	Headmaster, Worth School.
	Labrador, R.	Health and Safety Officer, Ministry of Defence.
i	Lamti, Mustapha	Member of the Moroccan Community.
	Latin, Vincent	Former Education Officer.
i	Lavarello, Edgar	Former pupil of Prior Park College.
ti	Lester, L.	Director of Education.
i	Leyhan, M.	Member of the Moroccan Community.
ti	Linares, B., Hon. Dr.	Minister for Education.
	Llambias, John	Secretary, St. Vincent de Paul Society
ti	Loddo, Christine	Former Head of Governor's Meadow First School.
i	Lombard, Anthony	Former pupil of Prior Park College.
i	Lyon, Paul	Education Adviser
ti	Macarri, Stephen	Former Teacher and nonogenarian.
i	Martin, Andrea	Music Student and Singer from Catalan Bay.
i	Mathews, Denis	Former Secretary of the G.T.A.
i	Mays, J., Sq.Ldr.	Officer at H.Q. British Forces, Gibraltar.
ti	McCorry, Paula, Sr.	Loreto Nun and former teacher in Gibraltar.
i	Mellor, brian	Director of Education 1978-1983.
i	Montegriffo, Marie	Former Government Minister.
i	Montegriffo, Peter	Minister for Trade and Industry.
i	Montegriffo, P.C.	Deputy Chief Minister.
	Morgan, U. Mrs.	Regular Visitor from the USA and Linguist.
i	Morillo, I. Mrs.	Former Manager, St. Bernadette's School for the Handicapped.
i	Munford, M. Mrs.	Prominent member of the Anglican Community.
	Murray, C.	Air Traffic Controller.
	Napoli, Mrs.	Head of Loreto Convent private school.
i	Page, Rev.	Minister, St. Andrew's Church of Scotland.
i	Pardo, Arthur, MBE	Former Deputy Registrar.
i	Pardo, John, Fr.	Priest and Historian.
ti	Parody, L., Miss	Former Teacher in Madeira and Catalan Bay.
i	Patterson, R.	Former Principal of College of Further Education.
i	Pereira, L.	Genealogist.
ti	Pinna, Elizabeth, Mrs.	Former Head of First School.
ti	Prescott, Aida, Mrs.	Former Head of Infant and First Schools
i	Prescott, E. Mrs.	Retired headteacher.
	Prescott, I.	President, Chamber of Commerce.

i	Prescott, O.E.	Notary Public.
tel,c	Prior, Dorothy	Retired teacher.
ti	Reyes, J.A.	Principal, Gibraltar College of Further Education.
i	Reyes, Denis	Secretary at the House of Assembly.
i	Riley, Inspector	Director of the Police Museum.
	Rojas, Alonso	Mayor of Los Barrios.
	Rosado, J.	Tour Guide and Local Historian.
i	Sacramento, P., Mrs.	Adviser in Special Education.
	Sawchuck, L., Dr.	Canadian Anthropologist and Researcher.
i	Sciacaluga, J.	Former Teacher.
i	Scott, P., Mrs.	Senior Education Adviser.
i	Searle, J.	Secretary, Gibraltar Garrison Library, former Editor of the Gibraltar Chronicle.
	Sloma, D., Dr.	Historian and U.K.-born resident.
	Stagnetto, J.	Former Commodore of the R.G.Y.C.
ti	Stella, Sister	Superio, Loreto Convent.
i	Swift, Lorna	Former Head of Library Services, Ministry of Defence, now Director of the Garrison Library.
i	Traverso, A.A.	Teacher and Historian of Education.
i	Triay, Louis	Former Commodore, RGYC and international yachtsman.
i	Vallejo, Albert	Manager involved with aspects of the privatisation of H.M. Dockyard.
i	Vallejo, E.P.	Tour Guide and Local Historian.
	Vaughan, Pepe	Former Director of Tourism.
i	Victory, O.	Former Principal of Gibraltar College of Further Education.
i	Wheatcroft, E.	Former Lecturer, Gibraltar College of Further Education.
i	Wyatt, David	Secretary, Royal Gibraltar Yacht Club.
i	Xeni, C. Mrs.	Former remedial teacher.
ti	Zammit, L., Dr.	Headteacher, Bayside Comprehensive School.

i = interview
ti = taped interview
c = correspondence
tel = telephone contact

Appendix 2

List of Fan Unofficial Gibraltar National Anthem



Appendix 3

List of Family Names Appearing in the 1995 Register of Electors

Abad, Abas, Abblett, Abdou, Abecasis, Abela, Abeles, Abensur, Abergel, Ablitt, Abrines, Abudarham, Acolina, Acris, Adamberry, Adambery, Adamson, Adcock, Adnett, Advani, Afzan, Agius, Aguilera, Ahumada, Aidasani, Ainsworth, Aird, Aitassaien, Aitchison, Akdi, Alami, Alcaide, Alcantara, Aldana, Aldorino, Aldridge, Alecio, Aleman, Alguet, Ali, Allan, allard, Allen, Alman, Almeda, Almeida, Almohano, Aloy, Alsina, Alvarez, Alvez, Alwani, Amar, Ambrosio, Amin, Amor, Anahory, Anderson, Andlaw, Andrades, Andres, Andresen, Andrew, Andrews, Anes, Ansaldo, Anthony, Antoniou, Aonso, Aouhar, Apap, Appleton, Aquilina, Argyle, Arias, Armon, Armstrong, Armstrong-Emery, Arnao, Arnold, Arroud, Arrowsmith, Arroyo, Artesani, Ashby, Ashton, Asquez, Aston-Fox, Aswani, Attard, Attias, Avellano, Ayling, Azopardi, Azzopardi, Bacarese, Bacarese-Hamilton, Bacarisa, Bacarisas, Bado, Badran, Baeza, Baglietto, Bagu, Bailey, Bain, Baines-Knapp, Baker, Bakhru, Balban, Balboa, Balbuena, Baldacchino, Baldachino, Baldorino, Baldwin, Balensi, Balestrino, Ballantine, Ballester, Ballestero, Ballinger, Balloqui, Banda, Bankowski, banks, Baptista, Barabich, Baraclough, Barba, Barbara, Barbour, Barca, Barcelo, Barcio, Barden, Barea, Barker, Barnard, Barnes, Barnett, Barratt, Barrett, Bartholomew, Bartolo, Barton, Basantani, Basiletti, Basilisco, Bass, Bassadone, Bassett, Batchelor, Bateman, Bates, Batiste, Batty, Bau, Bautista, Bautista-Smith, Baw, Beale, Beanland, Bear, Beaty, Bebeagua, Bebee, Becerra, Bedford, Benady, Benaim, Benamor, Benarroch, Benatar, Benbunan, Benchikh-Aharre, Benfield, Benggio, Benichluch, Beniso, Benitez, Bennett, Benoliel, Benrimoj, Bensadon, Benson, Bensusan, Bentata, Benteolo, Bentley, Benvenuto, Benyoussef, Benyunes, Benzaquen, Benzecry, Benzimra, Bergdahl, Bergel, Berini, Beriro, Berllique, Bernal, Berridge, Berto, Besura, Beswick, Bettridge, Bewley, Bezsina, Bhambhwani, Bhavnani, Bhojwani, Bickerstaff, Bickley, Bicknell, Biddle, Biddlecombe, Biesty, Bing, Birch, Bird, Birkett, Birkinshaw, Bishop, Bisset, Bitton, Blackburn, Blackburn-Gittings, Blacksaw, Blagden, Blagg, Blainey, Blakeley, Blanca, Blount, Bocarisa, Bocio, Bolanos, Bonavia, Bond, Bonfante, Bonfiglio, Bonich, Bonifacio, Bonitch, Bonnici, Bonz, Borastero, Borda, Borg, Borge, Borges, Borge-Yeates, Borrell, Borsman, Bosano, Bosco, Boselli, Bosio, Bossano, |Bossino, Botawala, Bottaro, Bottino, Bouacha, Boucher, Boujelajel, Boulaich, Boulaiche, Boulton, Bourne, Bousselham, Bowden, Bowling, Boydon, Boyes, Boylan, Brabin, Bradbury, Bradley, Bramble, Brancato, Brancatto, Bras, Bray, Breedon, Brennan, Brew, Bridges, Brier, Briggs, Bright, Brincat, Brincatt, Brittain, Brittenden, Britto, Broadfoot, Brooke, Brookes, Brooking, Brooks, Brophy, Brosco, Broton, Brown, Brownbridge, Bruce, Brufal De Melgarejo, Brugada, Bruzon, Buckley, Budhrani, Bueno, Bugeja, Buhagiar, Bula, Bullock, Burchett, Burdett, Burgod, Burke, Burnett, Burns, Burrell, Burrows, Burton, Bush, Busson, Busto, Busuttil,

Butler, Butron, Buttigieg, Button, Buxton, Buzaglo, Byers, Byrne, Byrne-Jaques, Caballero, Cabedo, Cabezutto, Cabrera, Cabutto, Cadd, Caetano, Calamaro, Calderon, Callaghan, Calvente, Calvert, Camilleri, Camisuli, Campbell, Campello, Candeas, Canepa, Canessa, Canilla, Cano, Cantos, Capps, Capurro, Carballo, Carboni, Cardona, Cardoso, Carlin, Carneiro, Carrara, Carraras, Carreras, Carrigan, Carroll, Carseni, Carson, Carter, Cartwright, Caruana, Cary, Casaretto, Casciaro, Casey, Cassaglia, Cassano, Cassar, Castano, Castiel, Castillero, Castle, Castrey, Castro, Catania, Caulfield, Cavaco, Cavilla, Caws, Cazes, Celecia, Cerisola, Ceruela, Cervan, Chablani, Chacon, Chamberland, Chang, Chant, Chapman, Chappell, Chappory, Charlton, Charuy, Charvetto, Cheeswright, Chellaram, Chenu, Cheshire, Chevasco, Chiappe, Chiappe-Campbell, Chiara, Chichon, Chidgey, Chincotta, Chini, Chipol, Chipolina, Chipulina, Chrayeh, Christie, Chugani, Chulani, Cid, Cid De La Paz, Cisarego, Cisarello, Civicchioni, Clancy, Clara, Clark, Clarke, Cleall-Harding, Cleverly, Cliff, Clifton, Clifton-Tucker, Clinton, Cload, Coates, Cocker, Cockerton, Cocklan, Codali, Coelho, Coggin, Cohen, Coitino, Coleing, Coll, Collado, Collinson, Colombo, Colton, Comber, Comley, Compson, Conde, Connor, Conroy, Consigliero, Constant, Conway, Cook, Cooke, Coom, Coombes, Cooper, Copello, Coram, Corbacho, Corby, Cordon, Cornelio, Corrales, Correa, Corres-Dalli, Correia, Cortes, Cosquieri, Costa, Cotterill, Cottrell, Coumbe, Counter, Couper, Courtenay, Cowles, Cox, Craig, Crawford, Crew, Crewe, Criado, Cripps, Crisp, Crome, Cronin, Cross, Crow, Cruz, Cruz-Seruya, Cruz-Vaughan, Cuadra, Cuby, Cuff, Culatto, Culleton, Cullis, Cumbo, Cumming, Cummings, Cummins, Cunningham, Curran, Curtis, Curton, Czasch, Da Costa, Dain, Dalia, Dalli, Dalmedo, Dalton, D'amato, Danan, Daniell, Danino, Darby, Darham, Darlington, Daryanani, Daswani, Davidson, Davies, Davis, Davitt, Dawes, Dawson, Day, Dayaram-Tirathdas, De Barr, De Haro, De Jesus, De La Chica, De La Cruz, De La Paz, De La rosa, De Las Heras, De Los Santos, De Oliveira Pereira, De Santos, De Soto, De Souza, De Torres, De Veras, Dean, De'ath, Debenham, Debono, Deceno, Deeley, Defferary, Del Agua, Del Mar, Del Rio, Delagua, Delaney, Delgado, Dellipiani, Delmar, Denham, Dent-Cabedo, Desoisa, Desoiza, Devincenzi, Devlin, Dewar, Dewfall, Dialdas, Diani, Diaz, Dickie, Dickinson, Dignam, Dilcock, Dine, Dissanayake, Dixon, Dobinson, Dobson, Doherty, Dolding, Dolling, Dominguez, Donaldson, Dorsey, Dos Reis, Dos Santos, Dotto, Douhlani, Doyle, Drago, Drake, Drew, Drimmie, Drury, Duarte, Duarte-Pisarello, Duboulay, Dudley, Duffy, Dumas, Dumoulin, Dungey, Dunham, Dunn, Duo, Dupuch, Duran, Durante, Durell, Durham, Durlac, Durnall, Durrant, Dyer, Dyke, Eadie, Eagle, Eames, Earle, Easter, Easton, Eddings, Edery, Edinburgh, Edmonds, Edmondson, Edwards, Efigenio, Eggleton, El Bakali, El Habali, El Helimi, El Meallem, Ellis, Ellui, Ellui-Hammond, Elmer, Elston, Ely Emerson, Emery, Emmett, Enrile, Enriles, Erskine, Escalona, Escumalha, Espinosa, Estella, Etherington, Evans, Evaristo, Ever, Everett, Fa, Fabre, Facio, Facio-Beanland, Fagan, Falero, Faller,

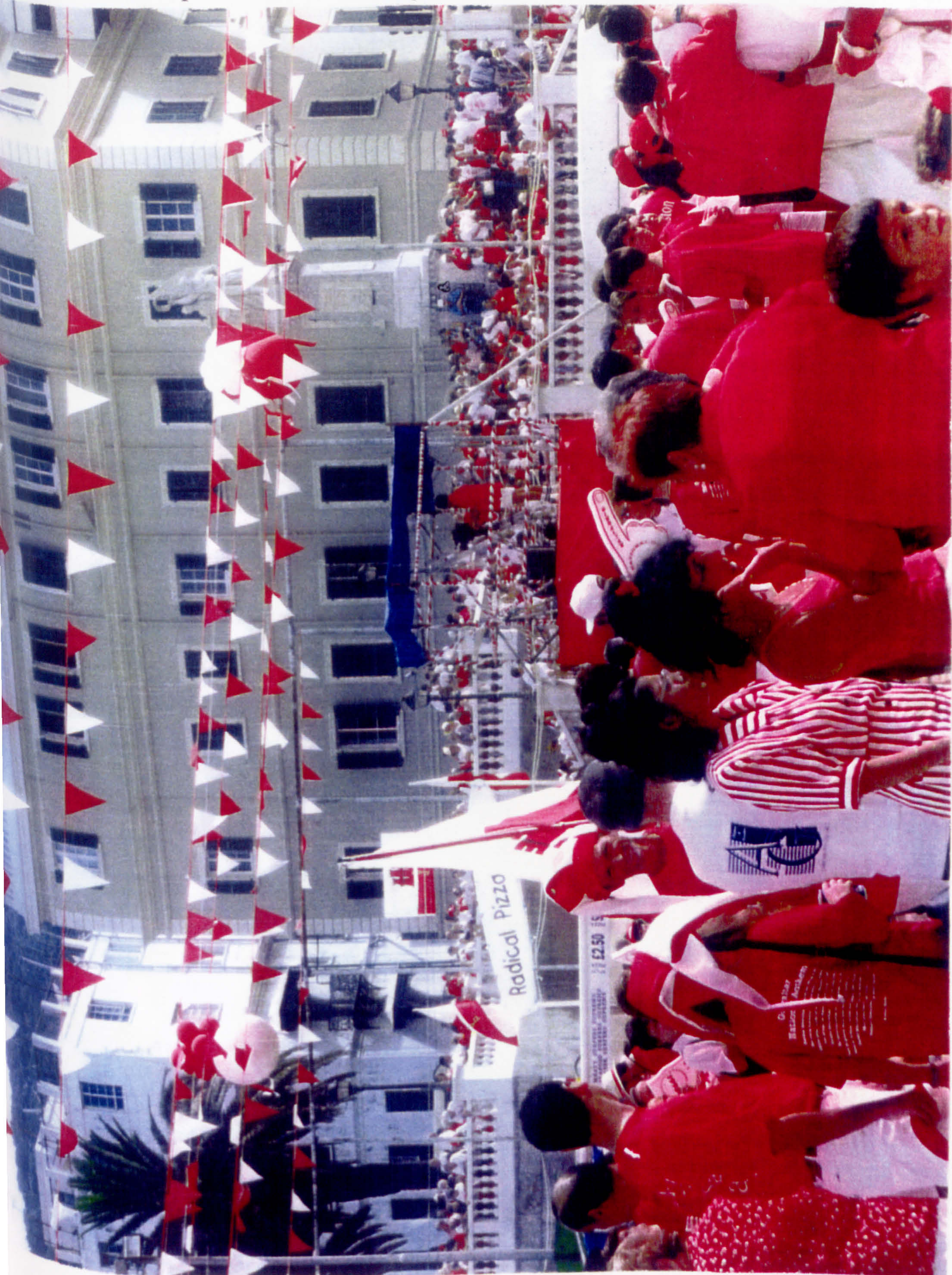
Falquero, Falzun, Faria, Farrell, Farrow, Farrugia, Fava, Fawden, Featherstone, Federico, Feetham, Felice, Felices, Felipes, Fennelly, Fernandez, Fernandez Seixal, Fernandez Sola, Ferrar, Ferrari, Ferrary, Ferrer, Ferro, Field, Figueras, Figueredo, Finch, Finlayson, Finlayson-Napilo, Fiol, Firme, Firmes, Fish, Fisher, Fitzgerald, Fitzpatrick, Fletcher, Flores, Flower, Foley, Forbes, Ford, Formica, Formica-Corsi, Forrestal, Forrester, Fortuna, Fortunato, Fothergill, Fountain, Fox, Foyston, Fraine, Francis, Franco, Frater, Freeth, Frendo, Freyone, Frolic, Fromow, Frood, Frost, Fuller, Gabay, Gache, Gadd, Gaduzo, Gaettp. Gafan, Gaggero, Gaiviso, Gaivizo, Galan, Galdes, Galdez, Gale, Galea, Galia, Gallardo, Galliano, Galligan, Galloway, Galton, Galvez, Games, Garbarino, Garcia, Garesse, Gareze, Garro, Garson, Gaskin, Gathercole, Gatt, Gauci, Gavira, Gavito, Gee Gegg, Gellatly, George, Gerada, Ghio, Gibson, Gil, Gilbert, Gilchrist, Giles-Holmes, Gill, Gillingwater, Gilson, Gimenez, Gingell, Giraldi, Gladstone, Glassborow, Glover, Glynn, Gmiterek, Golding, Goldwin, Golt, Gomer, Gomes De Faria, Gomez, Gomez-Mannon, Gomila, Goncalves, Gonsalves, Gonzales, Gonzalez, Gonzalez-Mclaren, Gonzalez-Grima, Gonzalez-Maclaren, Goodchild, Goodman, Goodwin, Goodyear, Goonawardana, Gordillo, Gordon, Gormley, Goscombe, Gosnay, Goutaland, Gracia, Gracis-Reyes, Graffione, Graham, Graham-Linares, Grambow, Grant, Grao, Gravett, Gray, Grech, Grech-Beiso, Green, Greenslade, Greenwood, Greig, Greygoose, Griffin, Griffiths, Grigg, Grima, Grindley, Grinstead, Griscti-Soler, Gross, Guelchi, Guelchy, Guerreiro, Guerrero, Guest, Guilling, Guillem, Guilliano, Guinness, Gulrajani, Gustafson, Gustavino, Guthrie, Gutierrez, Guy, Guyatt, Guzman, Haldane, Hall, Halliday, Hamilton, Hamm, Hammerton, Hammond, Hand, Hanglin, Hankin, Hanmer, Hanson, Hard, Harding, Hardy, Hargreaves, Harman, Harnamji, Harper, Harrington, Harris, Harrison, Hart, Hassan, Hassan-Levy, Hassan-Weisfogel, Hassell, Hastings, Hathaway, Haveland, Hawke, Hawkins, Hayden, Hayes, Hayward, Haywood, Hazell, Head, Heard, Heathorn, Hedges, Heeps, Helliwell, Hemmi, Hendrick, Hendy, Henrich, Henshaw, Henwood, Herbert, Hermida, Hernandez, Hesketh, Herste Hewitt, Hilderly, Hildreth, Hill, Hirani, Hitchcock, Hoare, Hodgson, Hodgkinson, Holbourne, Holgado, Holland, Hollands, Holliday, Hollins, Holman, Holmes, Holt, Homewood, Honeyman, Hook, Hooper, Hope, Hopwood, Horgan, Horlock, Horn, Horne, Horriolo, Horton, Hosken, Hossack, House, Howard, Howe, Howes, Howson, Huart, Hudson, Hughes, Hulett, Hull, Hully, Humberstone, Humphries, Humpish, Hunt, Hunter, Hurtado, Hutchings, Ibgui, Iche, Iglesias, Ignacio, Imlach, Imossi, Infante, Ireland, Irving, Isola, Israel, Ives, Jackson, Jagtiani, James, Jaques, Jardim, Jarmain, Jarvis, Jaswani, Jeffreys, Jeffries, Jennings, Jensen, Jessop, Jesty, Jevon, Jimenez, Joaquin, Johnson, Jolly, Jones, Jose, Joyce, Jurado, Kainth, Karnani, Karnani-Santos, Kassam, Kavanagh, Kay, Kaylor, Kearns, Keating, Keenan, Kehoe, Keighley, Kelleher, Kellner, Kelly, Kennard, Kennedy, Kennett, Kenny, Kenyon, Keohane, Ketchell, Kewalram, Kewalramani, Key Khamoura, Khemlani,

Khiani, Khiany, Kiely, Kinder, King, Kirkby, Kitchen, Kleinot, Knapp, Knox, Kocaoglu, Krishna-Kumari, Kundomal, Kwan, Labrador, Lad, Ladislaus, Ladyman, Lafferty, Lagares, Laghdas, Lago, Lagomassino, Laguea, Lahouiri, Laing, Lakhlia, Lamb, Lambert, Lancaster, Lane, Langdon, Langston, Langtry, Lanigan, Lara, Larcombe, Laredo, Larkham, Latin, Latter, Lauderdale, Lavagna, Lavarello, Lavelle, Lavender, Lavery, Lawrence, Lawson, Le Geyt, Leal, Leanse, Lee-Dalrymple, Lees, Leighton, Lengui, Lennane, Leon, Leppard, Lequich, Lester, Leto, Lett, Levy, Lewis, Lezano, L'felly, Lia, Licudi, Liddicoat, Lightbody, Lima, Limacher, Lima-Smart, Linale, Linares, Lindsay, Link, Liu, Llamas, Llambias, Llanelo, Llufrio, Loddo, Lomax, Lombard, Lopez, Lorente, Lougher, Louise, Love, Loveless, Loxham, Lucas, Lugaro, Lugnani, Luise, Lukas, Lunn, Luque, Lutkin, Lutwyche, Lynch Lynk, Lyon, Lyons, Macano, Macarri, Macdonald, Macedo, Macgillivray, Machado, Machiavello, Machin, Macias, Mackinnon, Macmahon, Macmichael, Macnab, Maderia, Maginnis, Magrath, Mahboobani, Mahbubani, Mahtani, Maia E Silva, Mainwood, Makey, Malik, Mamo, Manasco, Mancilla, Mandleberg, Manito, Manning, Mannion, Manser, Mansfield, Marfe, Marin, Marks, Marlow, Marquez, Marr, Marrache, Marsden, Marsh, Marshall, Martin, Martinez, Martins, Martos, Marven, Marzan, Mascarenhas, Mascari, Maskill, Mason, Massa, Massetti, Massey, Massias, Mather, Mathewman, Mattana, Matthews, Matto, Mauger, Mauricio, Mauro, Maynrd, Mcauliffe, Mcbride, Mccarthy, Mccloy, Mccolgan, Mccomb, Mccrea, Mcdonald, Cmelwee, Mcewen, Mcgill, Mcgrail, Mcguire, Mcintosh, Mckay, Mckenna, Mcknight, Mclaren, Mcleod, Mcloughlin, Mcmahon, Mcmahon-Walsh, Mcnamara, Mcneice, Mcwilliam, Mcwilliams, Meades, Meakel, Meakin, Medici, Medina, Melbourne, Melching, Melia, Mellin, Melvani, Mena, Mendez, Mendoza, Menez, Mercer, Mercieca, Merkell, Merrell, Mesilio, Metcalfe, Mezquita, Micallef-Eynaud, Michael, Michel, Midgley, Miel, Mifsud, Migge, Milan, Milanta, Milburn, Miles, Millan, Miller, Mills, Minchin, Mir, Mistry, Mitchell, Moberley, Mockett, Molinari, Molinary, Moncur, Monk, Montado, Montegriffo, Montero, Monteverde, Montiel, Montovio, Moody, Moore, Mor, Mora, Morello, Moreno, Morgan, Morillo, Morley, Morodo, Morphey, Morris, Morrison, Morro, Morton, Mosquera, Moss, Moth, Moxham, Moya, Moyse, Moyser, M'saouri, Muckart, Mughal, Muirhead, Munford, Munoz, Munoz Sedgwick, Munton, Muratory, Murchison, Murién, Murphy, Murray, Murray-White, Murto, Muscat, Musgrave, Musgrove, Myers, Nacimiento, Nagrani, Nahon, Naisbett-Jones, Naldrett, Nankani, Nanwani, Napoli, Naranjo, Nash, Naughton-Rumbo, Navarro, Navarta, Navas, Neale, Negrette, Negron, Neish, Nelson, Nerney, Nettleton, Netto, Newstead, Nicholas, Nicholls, Nicholson, Noble, Noguera, Noon, Norris, North, Norton, Norton-Gill, Nunez, Nute Nuza, O'brien, O'brien-Clark, O'camp, Ocana, Ochello, O'connor, Odo, O'donoghue, Offredi, O'garra, O'hanlon, Okes-Voysey, O'leary, Oliva, Olivares, Oliveira, Olivera, Olivera-Ferrary, Olivero, Omari, Orcese, Orchard, Orciel, Orda, Orfila, Origo, Ormond,

Orrell, Ors, Ortega, Ortiz, Osborne, O'shea, O'sullivan, Otero, Oton, Otton, Ouadrassi, Ouaknin, Pace, Pacheco, Padina, Padmore, Page, Palao, Pallas, Palma, Palmer, Palmero, Palmier, Panayotti, Pardo, Parker, Parnell, Parody, Parra, Parrado, Parral, Parro, Parry, Parsons, Passano, Paterson, Paton, Patrick, Patron, Patterson, Pau, Paxton, Payas, Payne, Peach, Peacock, Pearce, Pecino, Peire, Peliza, Penalver, Penfold, Perales, Peralta, Perea, Pereira, Perera, Perera-Galea, Perez, Perry, Peto, Pettigrew, Philips, Phillips, Picardo, Piccone, Pickup, Pietrangeli, Pike, Pilcher, Pilkington, Pilley, Pincho, Piner, Pinero, Pinggera, Pinna, Pipo, Piri, Piris, Pisani, Pisarello, Pisarello-Mccarthy, Pisharello, Pitaluga, Pitaluga-Bacarese, Pitchford, Pitman, Pitt, Pitto, Pizarro, Pizarro-Malin, Pizzarello, Planello, Plows, Plummer, Pocock, Podesta, Poggio, Polson, Polston, Ponce, Ponce De Leon, Pons, Porral, Porro, Porro-Doyle, Portainer, Porter, Posso, Potter, Pou, Pou-Davies, Poveda, Povedano, Power, Pozo, Pozzo, Pratts, Prescott, Prescott, Prior, Pritchard, Procter, Proctor, Proetta, Provasoli, Pryor, Psaila, Puche, Puertas, Pugh, Puig, Pulham, Pullen, Punjabi, Punter, Punton, Purswani, Pusey, Puyol, Pym, Quarrie, Quelcutti, Quigley, Quinn, Quiros, Rabinowitz, Radcliffe, Rae, Raffo, Ragel, Raggio, Raine, Raineri, Ramagge, Ramchandani, Ramirez, Ramognin, Ramos, Randall, Rapallo, Rapley, Ratcliffe, Rawlinson, Rayner, Read, Reading, Ready, Rebora, Recagno, Redman, Redondo, Reed, Reeder, Reeve, Reeves, Reguera, Reid-Buckle, Relwani, Remorino Reoch, Requena, Ressa, Restano, Revagliatte, Reyes, Rhodes, Rhodes-Malin, Ribeiro, Richards, Richardson, Richardson-Jones, Richman, Riddell, Ridgway, Riley, Rios, Risso, Ritchie, Riuz, Rivas, Rivero, Robateau, Robb, Robba, Roberts, Robertson, Robinson, Robles, Robson, Roca, Rocca, Roche, Rodgers, Rodker, Rodriguez, Rogers, Rojas, Rolls, Roman, Romero, Romo, Ronco, Roper, Rosado, Rosado-Darham, Rose, Roslyn, ross, Rothwell, Rovegno, Rowbottom, Rowe, Rowell, Rowland, Rowley, Rubio, Rudder, Rudge, Rugeroni, Ruiz, Rumbado, Rumbo, Rumford, Runde, Russell, Russo, Rutherford, Rutter, Ryan, Ryan-Wallace, Ryman, Saber, Sabhnani, Sacarello, Saccone, Sacramento, Sacristan, Sadhwani, Sadler, Saez, Saldiva, Salgado, Saliva, Salkind, Salmon, Salmon-Suarez, Salt, Saltariche, Sampere. Sananes, Sanchez, Sander, Sanders, Sanguinetti, Sanjuan, Sant, Santana, Santiago, Santini, Santos, Sanudo-Lara, Sanz, Sarantos, Sardena, Sargeant, Sarmiento, Sarniche, Sauer, Saunders, Savignon, Saville, Sawyer, Saxby, Sayell, Sayer, Sayers, Scaniglia, Schafter, Schembri, Schleppehorst, Schoolar, Schotten, Sciacaluga, Scicluna, Sciortino, Scott, Scovasco, Scrase, Scriven, Scruton, Scullard, Searle, Sears, Seatory, Sebtaoui, Seden, Sedgwick, Segovia, Segui, Selfridge-Benchikh, Selig, Sellors, Sene, Senior, Senouni, Sercombe, Serfaty, Seromenho, Serra, Serrano, Serruya, Seruya, Setter, Sevilla, Shacaluga, Shackleton, Shapland, Sharif, Sharp, Sharpe, Sharrock, Shaw, Shawcross, Shaw-Perera, Sheehan, Sheldon, Shephard, Sheppard-Capurro, Sheriff, Sheriff Mears, Shimidzu, Shipley, Shipton, Shishtani, Shivdasani, Shoemith, Short, Shreeve, Shrimpton, Silva, Simmonds, Simmons, Simony, Simpson, Sinclair,

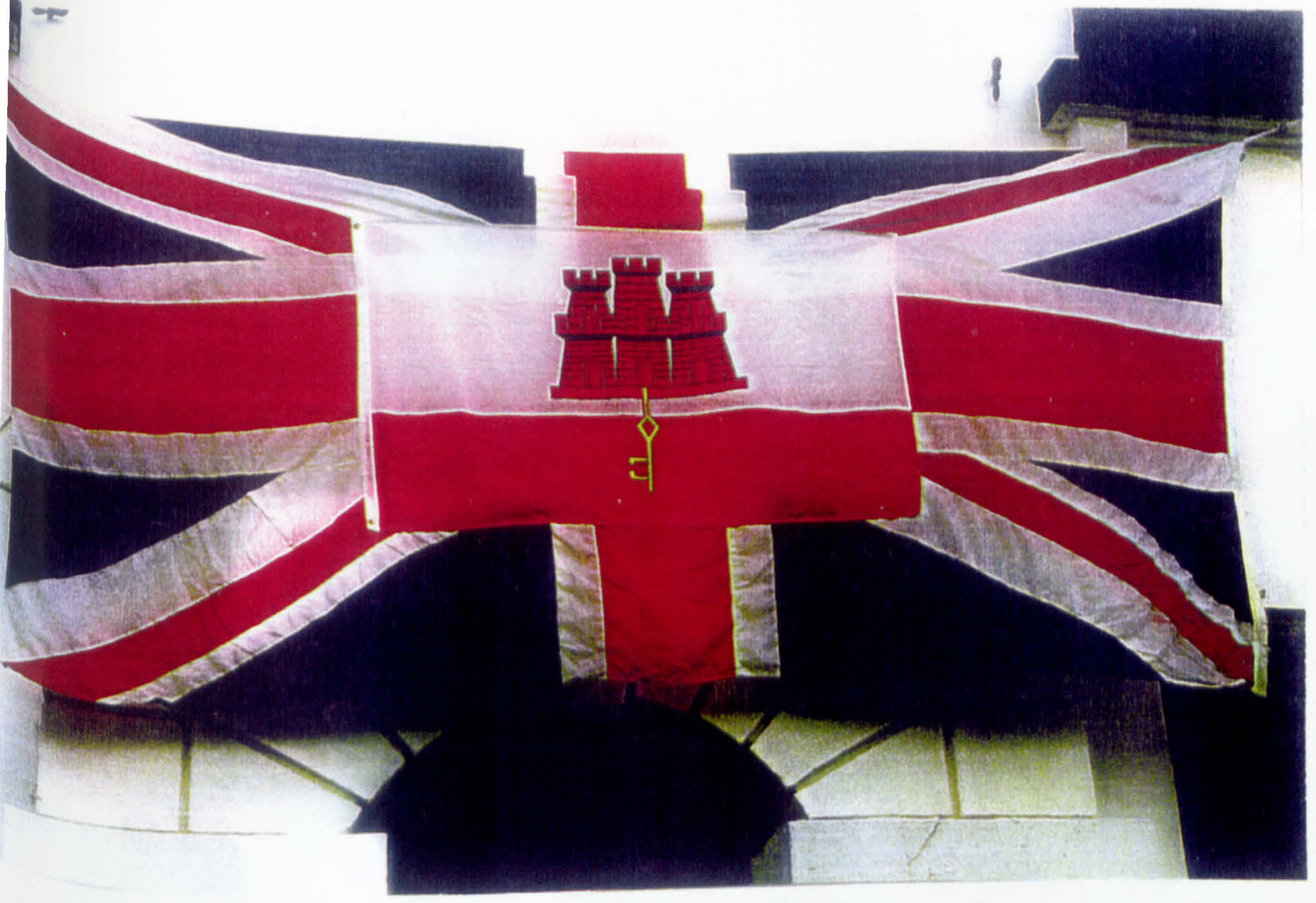
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Appendix 4
10th September National Day Celebrations: various illustrations





Gibraltar's flag and the union flag appear separately and sometimes they are combined as shown overleaf.



The Race Course and the new Gibraltar was built



On National Day Leader of the Opposition and Chief Minister are happy to share the same platform. Here the Hon. Joe Bossano and the Hon. Peter Caruana are seen acknowledging the cheers of the crowd.

With them traditionally are various guests from the United Kingdom and elsewhere. In 1996 the M.P.s attending included Douglas Hoyle, Roy Beggs, Charles Kennedy, Ian Twinn, Terry Dicks, Robert Banks, John Austin Walker, Eddie O'Hara and Nigel Evans.

Appendix 5
The Race Course area before the airfield was built



Appendix 6
List of Consular Representatives in Gibraltar
in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries.

RETURN OF CONSULS of Foreign Countries residing in Gibraltar.

Names of Consuls.	Name of the Country, which he represents.	If confirmed, state the date of his Exequatur.	If not con- firmed, state the reason why.
L. F. Imossi	Argentine	10 February, 1863.	
H. Schott	Austria . . . .	. . . .
(Vacant)	Belgium . . . .	. . . .
F. Mulle (absent)	Bolivia	22 March, 1871.	
J. Garese (in charge). . . .	Do. . . .	. . . .
J. Benso	Brazil	14 January, 1875.	
J. Abrines	Chili	31 October, 1882.	
F. Gonzalez	Columbia	27 January, 1877.	
A. Carara	Costa Rica	30 September, 1876.	
N. C. Mathiasen	Denmark	5 March, 1851.	
A. Gomez	Dominica	25 August, 1879.	
D. E. Neuville	France	28 September, 1833.	
F. Schott	Germany	28 July, 1871.	
M. J. Coll	Greece	22 September, 1871.	
H. Cavanna	Guatemala	23 June, 1873.	
H. Schott	Hawaii . . . .	. . . .
A. Carara	Hayti	12 October, 1874.	
L. T. Power	Holland	25 April, 1866.	
L. M. O. Power (V. Consul)	Do. . . .	. . . .
G. Tesi	Italy	3 February, 1879.	
J. Garese	Liberia	15 November, 1871.	
Hadj Said Guesus	Morocco	31 December, 1863.	
S. Lasry	Nicaragua	13 March, 1876.	
(Vacant)	Ottoman . . . .	. . . .
J. Pons	Paraguay	2 February, 1872.	
L. F. Imossi	Peru	6 December, 1866.	
J. Benso	Portugal	31 August, 1844.	
J. Requena (V. Consul)	Do. . . .	. . . .
L. T. Power	Russia	5 September, 1856.	
L. M. O. Power (V. Consul)	Do. . . .	. . . .
J. da Costa Freire	Salvador	22 October, 1880.	
C. Flores	Spain . . . .	. . . .
M. de la Cueva (V. Consul)	Do. . . .	. . . .
B. Culatto	Sweden and Norway	4 April, 1831.	
H. J. Sprague	U.S. of America	4 August, 1848.	
J. L. Sprague (V. Consul)	Do. . . .	. . . .
A. Corsi	Uruguay	3 November, 1870.	
S. Levy (absent)	Venezuela	11 May, 1869.	

Alphabetical List of Countries represented.	Name of Consul.	If confirmed, state the date of his Exequatur.	If not confirmed, state the reason.
Argentine ...	A. J. Rugeroni (Vice-Consul) ...	25th October, 1937	
Belgium ...	F. J. W. Porral, J.P. (Consul) ...	4th May, 1929	
Bolivia ...	L. A. Carrara (Vice-Consul) ...	15th January, 1920	
Colombia ...	J. Carrara (Consul) ...	4th September, 1908	
Costa Rica...	W. D. Piccone (Consul) ...	16th September, 1938	
Denmark ...	J. Mackintosh (Consul) ...	10th December, 1910	
Do. ...	C. W. Savignon (Vice-Consul) ...	14th September, 1921	
Esthonia ...	L. A. Carrara (Vice-Consul) ...	23rd February, 1923	
Finland ...	A. H. S. Capurro (Vice-Consul) ...	29th September, 1921	
France and Morocco.	René Neuville (Consul) ...		
Germany ...	G. F. Imossi (Consul) ...	12th December, 1924	
Greece ...	L. J. Imossi (Consul) ...	10th December, 1925	
Holland ...	W. J. J. Thomson (Consul) ...	17th July, 1922	
Do. ...	W. S. Roscoe (Vice-Consul) ...	17th July, 1922	
Honduras ...	A. Bossano (Consul) ...	—	Exequatur not yet received.
Italy ...	Manfredo Chiostrì (Consul-General) ...	31st December, 1932	
Do. ...	L. A. Carrara (Vice-Consul) ...	15th October, 1924	
Japan ...	W. H. Smith, O.B.E., J.P. (Consul) ..	30th March, 1921	
Latvia ...	A. E. Imossi (Vice-Consul) ...	26th August, 1926	
Liberia ...	H. F. Cardona, J.P. (Consul) ...	29th May, 1930	
Norway ...	J. G. Douglas (Consul) ...	—	Exequatur not yet received.
Do. ...	C. W. Savignon (Vice-Consul) ..	5th May, 1921	
Peru ..	George Imossi (Consul) ..	30th March, 1921	
Portugal ...	M. J. F. dos Santos (Consul) ...	31st December, 1928	
Do. ...	A. Nascimento (Vice-Consul) ...	—	Exequatur not yet received.
Roumania ...	H. J. King, O.B.E., J.P. (Consul) ...	25th April, 1922	
Siam ...	H. J. King, O.B.E., J.P. (Consul) ..	20th November, 1913	
Do. ...	F. J. W. Porral, J.P. (Vice-Consul) ...	9th November, 1921	
Spain ...	Fernando Gonzalez Arnao y Norzagaray (Consul-General) ...	25th April, 1938	
Sweden ...	J. Andrews-Speed, C.B.E., J.P. (Consul)	1st November, 1919	
Switzerland ...	Ernest Buser (Consular Agent) ...	—	
U. S. of America ...	W. E. Chapman (Consul) ...	6th May, 1938	
Do. ...	W. B. Douglass Jr. (Vice-Consul) ...	—	Exequatur not yet received.
Uruguay ...	E. Güetta (Consul) ...	7th October, 1936	
Venezuela ...	A. S. Marrache (Consul)...	5th February, 1932	

Appendix 7

The Arrival of H.E. the Governor

Arrival of H.E. General Sir Horace SMITH - DORRIEN, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., D.S.O.

General Sir Horace L. Smith-Dorrien, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., D.S.O., appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over this City and Garrison, is expected to arrive at 6.30 p.m. on 6th instant.

1. Guards of Honour.

(a) A guard of honour of 100 rank and file and drums, as laid down in para 1795, King's Regulations, will be detailed by the 1st G.B. The Cheshire Regiment, to parade at the Governor's Landing Place, Ragged Staff, at 6 p.m.

(b) A similar guard of honour, with band, will be furnished by the Royal Garrison Artillery, to parade opposite the entrance to Government House at 6.15 p.m.

2. Staff.

His Excellency will be received on landing by

- (1) H.E. the Acting Governor, the Personal Staff, the A.A. and Q.M.G., the General Staff Officer, and D.A.A. and Q.M.G.;
- (2) The Senior Naval Officer and his Staff;
- (3) The Officer Commanding Group Royal Air Force.
- (4) His Honour The Chief Justice, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney General, and the Treasurer.

3. Salute.

A salute of 17 guns will be fired by the Royal Artillery as General Sir Horace L. Smith-Dorrien steps ashore from the launch.

4. Lining the Route.

The route from the Governor's Landing Place, Ragged Staff Wharf, to Government House, will be lined as detailed below.

Troops will be in position by 6 p.m.

Two Markers from each Unit will report to the Garrison Adjutant at the Southern end of their Sections at 5.45 p.m.

No. 1 Section.—Under command of Major E. Matthews, 1st G.B. The Cheshire Regiment.

1st G.B. The Cheshire Regt...	..	280 rank & file	}	From the flank of the Guard of Honour at the Governor's Landing Place to the West side of Ragged Staff Gate.
-------------------------------	----	-----------------	---	--

No. 2 Section.—Under command of Capt. R. S. Bacon, 1st G.B. Royal Welsh Fusiliers.

1st G.B. Royal Welsh Fusiliers..	..	380 rank & file	}	From the East side of Ragged Staff Gate to Convent Ramp, exclusive.
----------------------------------	----	-----------------	---	---

No. 3 Section.—Under command of Major R. M. Keate, R.G.A.

Royal Garrison Artillery	..	180 rank & file	}	From the last named point to the flank of the Guard of Honour at Government House.
--------------------------	----	-----------------	---	--

Colonel A. J. Arnold, D.S.O., 1st G.B. Royal Welsh Fusiliers, will be in command of the Troops, and will appoint his own Staff Officer.

Officers Commanding Units will detail a suitable proportion of Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers to accompany their Detachments.

Each company will line both sides of the road space allotted to it at one pace interval, and will *present arms* as General Sir Horace L. Smith-Dorrien approaches, returning to the *order* when he has passed.

Officers Commanding Sections, Companies, and Platoons will be on the inner flank of their Commands on the off side of the road, and Warrant Officers and Sergeants on the near side, looking in the direction in which the procession is moving—(Manual of Ceremonial, Sec. 126).

Qs.C. Platoons will be in line with their Platoons.

Qs.C. Companies, half-pace in front of their Companies.

Sergeants will fix bayonets and *present arms* with the men.

All troops, including the Guard of Honour at the Governor's Landing Place, Ragged Staff, will march home five minutes after Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien has passed. The Guard of Honour at Government House will await the orders of His Excellency.

5. Dress.

Drill order (khaki) with caps. Staff and mounted officers, other than those of Infantry units, will wear Swords.

6. Administration of Oaths.

The Ceremony of Administering the Oaths of Office will take place at Government House on the following day.

Instructions regarding this Ceremony will be issued later.

N.B.—All the above-mentioned hours have been fixed on the assumption that General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien will land at 6.30 p.m. on 6th inst. Should any alteration be required due notice will be published with regard to the hour of landing. The officers, guards of honour and troops will then be in position half-an-hour before the time notified.

S. C. F. JACKSON, Colonel
A.A. & Q.M.G.

Gibraltar,
3rd September, 1913.

The Swearing-in by the Lord Chief Justice of the current Governor, the Hon David Durie, in 1999. David Durie, with a background in diplomatic service, followed Lord Luce to become only the second non-military person to hold the office.



Appendix 8 The Interior of the Nefusokl Yehudah Synagogue



‘The *Nefusot Yehudah* synagogue, or the Flemish synagogue as it is popularly known in Gibraltar’, was built where the late 18th century building stood ‘in the street which had been the site of the first synagogue in the Iberian Peninsula after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492’.

‘Our synagogue is an expression of faith in the Lord, faith in ourselves and faith in our commitment to Gibraltar. It is a place where tears of joy are shed, where emotions cry out and where we gather to fast in memory of a tremendous past recalled. But our synagogue is more than a house of prayer. It has long been the centre of communal life. Its rooms frequently double as study halls, schoolrooms, rabbinical courtrooms and communal meeting halls’

Appendix 9
Interior Views of Holy Trinity Cathedral







Appendix 10
List of Interior View of King's Chapel



Appendix 11

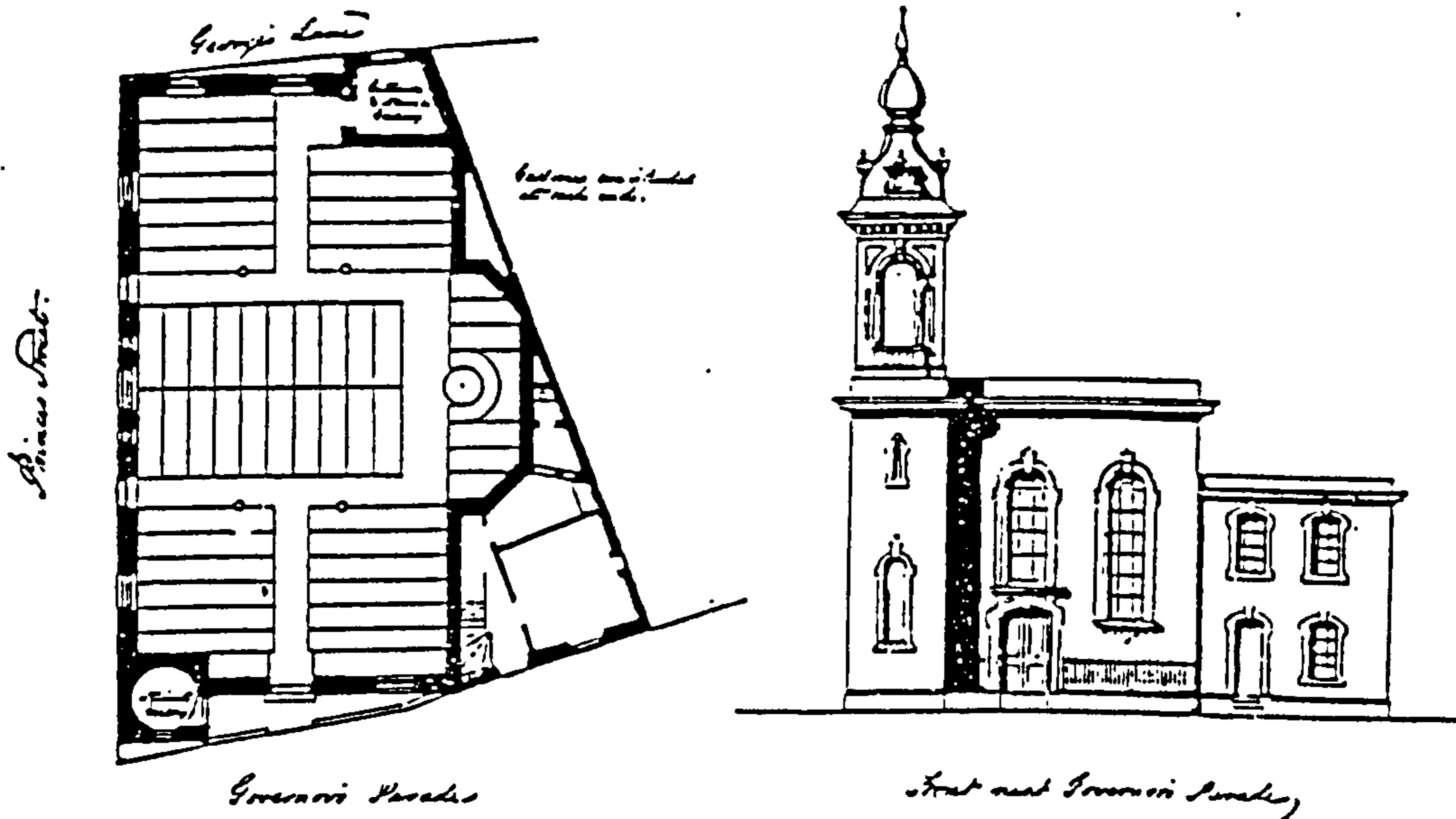
List of Scottish Regiments Stationed in Gibraltar

The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles) . . .	Feb. 1727—Jun. 1738
The Royal Scots Fusiliers	1751—1759
The Highland Light Infantry	1780—1783
The King's Own Scottish Borderers	Oct. 1782—Mar. 1792
The Gordon Highlanders	Sep. 1794—Jun. 1795
The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles)	May 1796—Jun. 1800
The Black Watch	May 1796—Oct. 1800
The Gordon Highlanders	Oct. 1796—Mar. 1798
The King's Own Scottish Borderers	Nov. 1801—Jun. 1803
The Royal Scots (The Royal Regt.)	Dec. 1801—1803
The Seaforth Highlanders	1805—1806
The Black Watch	Nov. 1805—Jul. 1808
The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles)	Jun. 1812—Sep. 1822
The Gordon Highlanders	Sep. 1821—Dec. 1823
The Black Watch (42nd)	Oct. 1825—Feb. 1832
The Black Watch (73rd)	Sep. 1827—Dec. 1829
The Gordon Highlanders	Mar. 1834—Jan. 1836
The Royal Scots (The Royal Regt.)	Nov. 1839—Feb. 1846
The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders	Jan. 1841—Jun. 1848
The Seaforth Highlanders	Dec. 1844—Feb. 1848
The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles)	Mar. 1850—Apr. 1853
The Gordon Highlanders	Apr. 1853—Aug. 1855
The Gordon Highlanders	Jun. 1856—Jan. 1858
The King's Own Scottish Borderers	Jan. 1858—Jun. 1862
The Seaforth Highlanders	Aug. 1865—Jul. 1867
The Gordon Highlanders	Apr. 1867—Oct. 1868
The Highland Light Infantry (74th)	Feb. 1868—Feb. 1872
The Highland Light Infantry (71st)	Oct. 1868—Apr. 1873
The Black Watch	Nov. 1878—Jun. 1879
The Highland Light Infantry	Dec. 1878—Mar. 1880
The Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders	Jan. 1879—Mar. 1881
The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders	Jun. 1879—Aug. 1882
The King's Own Scottish Borderers	Feb. 1886—Jun. 1886
The Black Watch	Aug. 1889—Jan. 1893
The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders	Feb. 1895—Oct. 1897
The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders	Oct. 1899—May 1902
The Royal Scots Fusiliers	Jan. 1914 Sep. 1914
The Gordon Highlanders	Oct. 1934—Mar. 1937
The Black Watch	Jul. 1940—Dec. 1942
The Royal Scots (The Royal Regt.)	Apr. 1943—Jul. 1944
The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles)	Feb. 1945—Nov. 1948
The Liverpool Scottish (T.A.)	Dec. 1945—Feb. 1947
The Seaforth Highlanders	Aug. 1955—1957
The Royal Highland Fusiliers	1968
The Black Watch	1970

Occasionally detachments of Scottish Regiments and Scottish Territorial Regiments have served in Gibraltar for short periods.

Appendix 12
 St. Andrew's Church of Scotland

*Plan and Elevation of a plan
 of public worship proposed to be erected
 at the South side of Governor's Parade*



*Approved
 Robert Stevenson*

*1841
 Oct 7/52*

Facsimile of original plans.



Appendix 13
Documents Relating to Presbyterian Marriages

To: Lt.Gen.Sir Robert Gardner.

Downing Street
5th June 1852

Sir: I transmit to you a copy of a memorandum which has been sent to me by Mr.Edward Ellis relative to the difficulty which occurs in Gibraltar in the solemnisation of the marriage of presbyterians. By a recent decision of the Queen v Miller it seems to have been established that presbyterian marriages are not valid by common law in England and as that law is held to prevail in Gibraltar as far as it is applicable to the circumstances of the Garrison it must be inferred that presbyterian marriages there are invalid unless there is some local law authorising them of which I am not aware.

I am of the opinion that this is an evil which ought to be remedied but before any steps are taken for altering the law I should be glad to be furnished with a report from you on the subject.

*I have the Honour to be your Obedient Servant
John S... ..ton.*

MEMORANDUM

Presbyterian Marriages in Gibraltar

There has been a presbyterian congregation in Gibraltar for the last 14 or 15 years. Since the year 1843 the clergymen who have supplied the charge have belonged to the Free Church of Scotland but the congregation is composed indiscriminately of members of the various presbyterian denominations to be found in Great Britain and Ireland. At present there are not fewer than 700 souls attached to this body in Gibraltar. They complain as both a vexatious annoyance and a positive injustice that marriages solemnized by their own clergymen are understood and declared to have no legal validity, and in consequence of this, parties wishing to be married are compelled to have recourse to the services of the clergymen of the English or Roman Catholic churches. Within a few years Acts of Parliament have been procured legalising marriages solemnized by other communions in Australia, in New Zealand and in the territories of the East India Company and it is earnestly hoped that Her Majesty's Government will not refuse to remedy the same grievance in the Colony of Gibraltar.

*Sgd. Rev.Adam Querns (?)
Free Church of Scotland, May 24th 1852*

Appendix 14

Christian Brothers Bilingual Readers: Sample Pages

PREFACE.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
The Rose	4	Dear Angel Ever at my Side	62
The Goods of This Life and of the Next ...	6	The Honest Sweep	66
The Lark	10	On Stealing	68
The Skylark	12	Truth	70
Night	14	On Calling Names	74
Tea	18	Sweet, Holy Child	78
Little Things	20	Does the Sun Set?	80
The Boy and the Kitten.	22	The Wolf and the Fox...	84
The Creation.....	26	The Traveller and the Lion	88
The Sun and Moon	28	The Child's First Grief...	92
The Kittens	32	A Talk about a Kettle...	96
The Boy and the Horse..	34	A Talk about Trains...	100
Our Lord Blessing Children	38	The Careless Boy	104
The Boy and the Wolf..	42	The Sailor and the Monkeys	108
What is my Name?.....	44	Try Again	112
The Wolf and the Lamb.	48	The Camel	114
The Presence of God ...	50	The Fox and the Stork..	118
Great Truths	54	Whales	122
The Wild Cat and the Fox	56	Chalk	126
On Lies.....	58	Francis' Flower	130

THE object of this series of bi-lingual Readers is to enable Spanish-speaking children to acquire a facility in reading and translating the English language. For this purpose the English lesson has its equivalent in Spanish on the opposite page, the translation being as nearly literal as possible.

The more difficult words in the English lesson are placed at the head of each lesson and their equivalents on the opposite page. There are also a few questions given at the foot of each lesson, both in English and Spanish, on the subject matter of the lesson. The advantages of such a series of bi-lingual Readers will be readily admitted by anyone having practical experience of education in a country where two languages are in general use.

Many years' experience in teaching children in Gibraltar has convinced the Christian Brothers of the necessity and utility of such a series of Readers for a Colony where the vast majority of the children rarely, if ever, hear English spoken in the domestic circle.

Suggestions for using the bi-lingual Readers.

- (1) The words in the columns at the beginning of each lesson should be read aloud, each word to be pronounced slowly and distinctly by the Teacher, the pupils repeating the words simultaneously after him.
- (2) The English lesson should then be read slowly and distinctly (1) by the Teacher and (2) by the pupils simultaneously. If necessary, the lesson should be repeated two or more times till the children have mastered any difficulty that may present itself in the lesson.
- (3) The lesson in Spanish should be read aloud by the Teacher in order to direct the attention of the pupils to the subject matter of the lesson.
- (4) Finally, the pupils should be examined on the subject of the lesson to see if they understand the meaning of what they read.

A TALK ABOUT A KETTLE.



1. FRED.—Look, papa, how the lid of that kettle keeps jumping up and down, as if there was something alive inside!

2. FATHER.—Yes, my boy, it is very strange. Do you see that fine smoke coming out of the spout?

3. FRED.—Yes; but what has that to do with the lid jumping up and down? Smoke cannot do that, papa, can it?

4. FATHER.—That does it all, my boy. That which you call smoke is not at all like the smoke that goes up from the fire into the chimney; in fact, it is not smoke at all.

UNA CONVERSACIÓN SOBRE UNA CALDERA.

ket-tle	cal-de-ra	in-side	den-tro
to look	mi-rar	smoke	hu-mo
spout	ca-ño	lid	ta-pa-do-ra
chim-ney	chi-mo-nea	to boil	her-vir
to be gin	em-pe-zar	to puz-zle	por-ple-jar
to ex-plain	ox-pli-car	no-thing	na-da
to fill	lle-nar	first	prin-ci-pio
quite	en-to-ra-mou-to	to keep	se-guir
enough	has-tan-te	puz-zle	per-ple-ji-dad

1. FEDERICO.—Mira V. papá, como la tapadera de aquella caldera sigue subiendo y bajando, como si hubiera alguna cosa viva dentro!

2. PADRE.—Sí, hijo mío, es cosa muy de admirar. ¿Ves aquel humo fino que sale por el caño.

3. FEDERICO.—Sí, ¿pero que tiene que ver esto con el subir y bajar de la tapadera? El humo no puede hacer esto, ¿lo puede? papá.

4. PADRE.—Ése lo hace todo, hijo mío. Aquello que tú llamas humo, no es igual al humo que sube del fuego en la chimenea; en efecto no es de ninguna manera humo.

Appendix 15

Army Schools in Gibraltar in 1902

STATEMENT REGARDING THE ARMY SCHOOLS AND TEACHING STAFF AT GIBRALTAR.

No. of Schools.	Place.	Infants or Children.	Corps.	Attended by Boys or Girls.	Average daily Attendance of Children.	No. of		Subjects Taught.	
						Masters.	Misses.		
11 (Eleven)	(1) Europa ...	...	R. G. Art'y., S. Section ...	Both ...	53	—	—	Reading Spelling Arithmetic Writing Dictation Object Lessons
	(2) Buena Vista ...	...	2nd Bn. Cam, Highlanders...	Do. ...	45	—	—	Natural History Note Singing Song Singing Kindergarten Tables Scripture History
	(3) South Barracks ...	...	1st Bn. Royal Berks Regt....	Do. ...	41	281	—	—
	(4) Prince Edward's Rd	Royal Engineers ...	Do. ...	48		—	—	—
	(5) Castle Road ...	...	R. G. Art'y., N. Section ...	Do. ...	47	—	—	—
	(6) Casemate Barracks ...	...	2nd Bn. Royal (Irr. Regt....	Do. ...	44	—	—	—
	(7) Europa	Europa ...	Both ...	46	243	1	—	Reading Arithmetic Writing Composition Object Lessons Note Singing History Geography
	(8) Buena Vista	B. Vista and South Barracks	Do. ...	64		3	—	Needlework (Girls) Algebra (Boys) Metric System Rapid Addition Tables National Flag
	(9) Castle Road	North District ...	Boys only	74		2	—	—
	(10) Casemates	Do. ...	(girls only)	59		—	3	—
The Schools marked (7) to (10) are also attended by soldiers three hours daily under the six masters after the Children's school hours. Subjects as at North Front.									
(11) North Front ...	...	Soldiers	Troops at N. Front ...	—	—	1	—	Reading History Writing Geography and certain extra subjects. Arithmetic Dictation
					Total ...	7	9		

(a) The Masters and Mistresses are paid from Army Funds. (b) The Mistresses' pay ranges from 2s. 2d. to 3s. 6d. daily, with quarters, &c., or allowances in lieu. They qualify for pensions after 21 years' service, or 10 years if invalided, 10d. to 2s. 6d. daily, according to service. (c) The Masters are enlisted as soldiers—pay 4s. to 7s. daily. Pensions 3s. 6d. to 5s. They are also eligible for appointment as Inspectors of Army Schools. (d) Some of the elder girls are employed as Monitors and Pupil Teachers—rates of pay £4 to £18 yearly; increased yearly rates depend on good conduct and result of yearly examinations.

Appendix 16
The 1884 Regulations for Colonial Grants

GIBRALTAR,

1884.

REGULATIONS

FOR

COLONIAL GOVERNMENT GRANTS

IN AID OF

EDUCATION

AND

FOR THE AWARD OF PRIZES TO

SCHOLARS IN

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

GENERAL REGULATIONS.

1. Annual Grants by the Colonial Government in aid of the maintenance of Elementary Schools for the education of the Poor shall be dependent upon the Schools fulfilling such conditions as shall be determined from time to time by H. E. the Governor with the approval of the Secretary of State.

Conditions to be fulfilled by a School to render it eligible for any Grant or Prize.

2. No School shall be eligible for any Grant until the Governor has been satisfied by the report of a duly appointed Inspector or otherwise, that :

I. It is an Elementary School for the education of the Poor or one in which elementary education in English reading, writing, and arithmetic forms the principal part of the instruction given to children under 14 years of age, whose parents or guardians are employed in manual labour, or in receipt of daily or weekly wages, or otherwise in receipt of an income of less than 3750 Pesetas a year.

II. It has at least one thoroughly efficient or trained and certificated teacher [see note a.]

III. It is open to inspection or examination as hereafter more particularly regulated, and that every facility be given for inspection and examination.

IV. It has suitable premises for the purpose.

V. It is open to any child applying for admission, and that no child is refused admission except on grounds allowed by the Inspector to be reasonable or sanctioned by the Governor.

VI. It has a Managing Board with a President, a Secretary and Treasurer; or that it is under the management of some established Body or Society with a responsible and accredited local agent: the Secretary or Agent to be the correspondent of the School with the Colonial Secretary and other authorities.

VII. There be kept regularly posted up a General Register of all scholars admitted to the School, a Register of Attendance, and a Diary or Log Book.

VIII. The School shall have met 400 times morning and afternoon, or for not less than an average of 4 hours instruction on each of at least 200 days in the year; or in the case of an Infant School, not less than an average of 3 hours on each of 200 days in the year, or if a Night School for not less than an average of 1½ hours for at least 40 nights in the year [see note b.]

IX. Half the time in School be devoted to secular instruction in the English language.

X. In Girls' Schools satisfactory provision is made for instruction in plain needle-work.

XI. Infant and Industrial School provide instruction suitable to the age of the Scholars in sewing, or other industrial work of a useful kind.

XII. That one class is presented for examination in a Standard not lower than Standard II., except in the case of Infant Schools.

Note a.—The Master, Mistress or Head Teacher in a School in 1882 was accepted as "thoroughly efficient," but it is expected that the place of one leaving will be filled by a trained and certificated or otherwise equally well qualified teacher, approved by the Inspector.

Note b.—This allows for holidays 7 days at *Easter*, 23 days at *Midsummer*, 13 days at *Xmas*, 1 on *Ascension Day*, 2 *Whitsuntide*, 1 *Queen's birthday*, also 12 days for various other causes, also Saturdays and Sundays, a total of 23 weeks and 4 days.

General basis of Grants.

3. The amount of the annual grants to any one School shall be dependent on the regularity of the attendance of its scholars, and on their proficiency, tested by an annual examination in the subjects laid down in the accompanying Table of Standards.

The Grants may be withheld or reduced on account of a general want of efficiency or discipline in the School.

4. No grant shall be made in respect of any instruction in religious subjects.

Deduction from Grants earned.

5. A. For every scholar who is either himself or whose parents or guardians are in receipt of a larger income than Pesetas 3,750 a year, and who shall be allowed to receive his education in an Elementary Public School for the education of the poor, a deduction may be made from any grant earned by the Managers of the School, or by the Scholar himself.

This deduction shall be fixed after full enquiry into each case by the Governor on the recommendation of the Inspector.

B. Except in the case of Infant Schools, when no class is presented for examination in any Standard higher than Standard II., a deduction of one tenth from the total earnings of the School will be made.

Inspector to be appointed.

6. An officer shall be appointed to verify the fulfilment of the conditions on which grants are to be made to collect information—to examine into the attendance and proficiency of scholars—and to report annually on all such subjects as well as on the efficiency of each School in organization, discipline and instruction, for the information of the Governor. This officer to be called The Colonial Inspector of Schools—to be nominated by the Governor and confirmed by the Secretary of State.

7. An Inspector will not examine any scholar in any religious subject or otherwise interfere with the religious instruction, discipline, or management of the Schools.

8. The Inspector may visit a School at any time for purposes of inspection without notice.

Annual Examination.

9. The Inspector will make an annual examination of the scholars to test their proficiency. This examination will be made early in May, unless due notice is given of any change. The Inspector will arrange with the School Managers the precise dates of examination of the different classes. The Inspector will not proceed to examine scholars for any grant until he has first ascertained that the School has fulfilled all the conditions required of it before it can be considered eligible for a grant.

Reckoning of a year for annual grants.

10. For the purpose of computing annual grants the year is to be reckoned as ending with the last day of the month preceding that fixed for the Inspector's examination.

Examination

11. The Standards under which the children in each class are presented for examination shall be determined by the Managers of the School; and every scholar for whom grants dependent upon examination are claimed must satisfy the Inspector according to the Standards in which he is presented.

12. No scholar who has been presented and has passed the Inspector's examination may be presented a second time for examination under the same or a lower Standard, except it be the highest Standard, viz., Standard VI. (This does not apply to Night Schools). No scholar may be presented more than twice in the same Standard.

13. The examinations will be in part by means of written questions and answers and in part oral or viva voce according to the Standards given in the accompanying Table of Standards. To pass in a Standard, half marks in each subject must be gained.

14. In making the necessary examination of the scholars and registers of attendance,

the Inspector shall be assisted by the Managers of the Schools, and such other examiners as the Governor may sanction and approve.

15. The examinations must be carried out strictly in accordance with the Rules that may be from time to time issued.

16. The examination in Drill will be conducted by a Regimental Sergeant-Major of Infantry, under the supervision of an Officer.

17. In the examination of the needlework and other such like work the assistance of ladies will be invited.

18. The Grants and Prizes being derived from Her Majesty's Revenue shall be awarded on the responsibility of the Inspector alone with the approval of the Governor.

19. In each School a General Register shall be kept which shall shew the name and age of each scholar, dates of admission and leaving school, the address of the scholar, the trade or occupation of the scholars' parents or guardian, and a record of the examinations and of the prizes gained.

General Register.

20. A Register of Attendance shall be kept, and it shall shew the presence or absence of each scholar at each meeting of the School, and also all payments made by the scholars. This book must be posted neatly in ink within the first $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour after the hour fixed for the School to open, otherwise the attendance at that meeting will not count towards any Grant.

Register of Attendance.

21. The attendance of any scholar who enters later than 30 minutes after the hour fixed for the School to open shall not be allowed to count towards any Grant, and the scholar must be noted as "absent" in the Register of Attendance. For an attendance to count at Night School the lesson must be of at least $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours' duration.

Attendance more than 30 minutes late not to reckon.

22. The principal Master or Teacher of each School shall keep a Diary or Log Book. This book shall contain the Time Table of the School, and a record of any changes in the Time Table. He will daily make in it entries very briefly specifying the ordinary progress or whatever other fact concerning the School or its teachers (such as the dates of withdrawals, commencements of duties, cautions, illness, &c.), that may deserve to be recorded for reference.

Diary or Log Book.

23. Great importance will be attached to the accuracy and trustworthiness of the Registers and Diary, and all entries *must be certified by the Master*. These books must be produced and examined and certified by the visitor, at every visit of the Inspector, or of a School Manager or Member of School Committee. The Managers or Members of School Committee are required frequently to visit the Schools, so that they may be able annually to certify the correctness of the Registers.

24. Attendance at drill under a competent instructor for not less than half an hour at a time and not more than two hours a week may be reckoned as a school attendance, *and must be specially recorded in the Register of Attendance*.

Attendance at Drill to count as School attendance.

25. The average number of scholars in attendance for any period is found by adding together the attendances of all the scholars for the same period, and dividing the sum by the number of times the school has met within the same period, the quotient is the average number of Attendances.

How to calculate average number of attendance.

GRANTS TO MANAGERS of SCHOOLS.

26. In Schools which have complied with the conditions laid down in Rule 2 the following sums may be claimed for attendances, viz :—

Grants to Managers of Schools for attendance.

Day School	}	(a)—15.00 Pesetas per scholar according to the average number in attendance for the year preceding the Examination.
and		
Infant School...	}	(b)—1.25 Pesetas per scholar according to the average number in attendance in addition if the School is reported to be thoroughly efficient and well conducted.
Night School...		}

Grants to Managers of Schools dependent on Examination.

27. In Schools which have complied with the conditions laid down in Rule 2 Grants may be claimed on the result of the Examination, for each scholar present on the day of examination according to the following table;—

Each scholar, in a Day School who has made not less than 250 attendances, or in a Night School not less than 25 attendances.	}	5.00 Pesetas for a pass in Reading.
		2.50 " " Arithmetic.
		2.50 " " Writing.
		5.00 " " Dictation.

Grants to Managers of Schools dependent on examination in subjects more advanced than those comprised by Standard VI.

28. If the Time Table of the School in use throughout the year has provided for one or more specific subjects of secular instruction beyond those comprised by Standard VI., a grant of 5.00 Pesetas per subject may be made for every day scholar presented at Standards IV. and V. or VI. who passes a satisfactory examination in any extra subject.

Grants for Drill.

29. The Managers of a School which has complied with Rule 2, and in which instruction in Drill has been given weekly for not less than one or more than two hours per week, and so that no drill exceeds one hour in duration, may claim a grant of 50.00 Pesetas for each squad of not less than twenty that passes a satisfactory examination in Drill, and a further grant of 100 Pesetas for every four such squads that can drill together to the satisfaction of the Inspector.

Grants to Managers of Schools for Singing Classes.

30. For each class of not less than twenty scholars taught singing, of which the Inspector reports well, the sum of 100.00 Pesetas may be granted.

GRANTS OF PRIZES TO SCHOLARS.

31. Prizes may be awarded to Scholars for

(a) Regularity of Attendance.

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| } | Reading. |
| | Writing with Dictation and Spelling. |
| | Arithmetic. |
| | Geography. |
| | Grammar. |
| | Squad Drill. |
| | Needle and other Hand work. |

(b) Proficiency in

Singing when singing is regularly well taught.

(c) In Infant Schools for...

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| } | Conduct. |
| | Neatness of Person. |

32. The prizes may consist of a card, with or without a sum of money, or a book.

33. The total value of prizes to be awarded to any one School shall not exceed in amount the sums regulated by the following table:—

IN A DAY SCHOOL.

Average Number of Scholars attending.	Attendance.	Proficiency in Standards.	Proficiency in Needle-work, according to the number instructed and not by average of attendance.	Conduct.	Neatness.	Singing.
20 to 39			15-00			39-00
40 to 69	38-00	32-00	32-00			69-00
70 to 99	50-00	41-00	57-00			99-00
100 to 149	69-00	57-00	75-00			140-00
150 to 199	82-00	62-00	100-00			
200 and upwards.	100-00	75-00				

Under 15 years of age.

IN A NIGHT SCHOOL.

20 to 69	38-00	25-00				69-00
70 to 79	63-00	50-00				79-00
100 and upwards.	100-00	75-00				150-00

Over 10 years of age.

IN AN INFANT SCHOOL.

Not over 7 years age.	More than 50	19-00	At least 10 Scholars must be presented for examination after regular tuition.	By average attendance and subject to there being at least Twenty Scholars instructed.	10-00	13-00
	Less than 50	13-00					10-00

34. The Grants for Prizes in each School will be considered and awarded by the Inspector on the basis of the preceding Table, having regard to the circumstances of the School and the various classes or Standards under which the Scholars are presented and passed.

35. No School shall be eligible for a Prize, except by a special order of H. E. the Governor, unless the average number of Scholars attending shall reach the numbers given in the following Table:—

DAY SCHOOL.	NIGHT SCHOOL.
30 Scholars under 15 years of age.	20 Scholars over 10 years of age.

36. In the case of a School comprising classes of Infants and of Scholars over 7 years of age, the School shall be rated as two Schools for the purposes of award of Prizes, the Infant portion being dealt with under the Rules for Infant Schools, and the remainder being treated as a Day School.

37. In the case of Infant and Industrial Schools no one Scholar shall be awarded more than three prizes.

Limitations in granting Prizes with regard to age.

38. No scholar will be eligible for a prize who is in a Day School more than 15 years of age; in a Night School under 10 years of age.

ATTENDANCE PRIZES.

Attendance Prizes, limitations.

39. Prizes for attendances will be granted subject on the following limitations:—

- | | | |
|----------------------|---|---|
| In a Day School..... | { | a—The scholar shall have made at least 350 attendances, except under exceptional circumstances, duly explained and allowed. |
| | | b—That a scholar may be disqualified by misconduct, slovenliness, or want of cleanliness. |
| | | c—No scholar may receive a prize in the same Class more than twice. |
| | | d—That the number of scholars must not be less than 12 per class, making an average of 2,400 attendances, or in the VI. Class not less than 6 scholars, making an average of 1,500 attendances. |
| In a Night School... | { | e—That the scholar has made at least 30 attendances, and that half the average number of scholars attending has made 20 attendances. |
| | | f—That no scholar shall receive an attendance prize more than three times. |
| In an Infant School. | { | g—That half the average number of scholars attending have made at least 200 attendances. |

40. When scholars have an equal score of attendances the attendance prize will be awarded by their comparative progress in Proficiency. If a scholar who has made the greatest number of attendances is otherwise disqualified the Prize will be awarded to the next on the list.

PRIZES FOR PROFICIENCY.

Prizes for Proficiency, limitation.

41. Prizes for proficiency will be given, subject to the following limitations, viz.:—

A. The scholar must gain at least half the marks assigned to each subject in the Standard in which the scholar is presented for examination.

B. The scholar will not be granted a prize in the same class or Standard more than once, or in an infant School more than twice.

C. That the scholar shall have made at least 200 attendances.

D. A Prize will not be given in any particular class or Standard unless there be

6 Scholars passed in the VI. Class or Standard.

9 " " " V. Standard

15 " " " IV. "

18 " " " III. or II. Standard.

DRILL PRIZE.

42. A Prize of 25 Pesetas shall be given to any School, in which Drill is regularly taught, for the best squad in the school of not less than 20 boys, with 1.25 Pesetas added for each boy in the squad in excess of that number.

Prize to best squad in a School.

43. An additional Prize of similar amount shall be given for that squad which shall be adjudged the best of all squads out of all the Schools; to be disposed of by the Managers of the School to which the squad belongs. At least three Schools to compete for this Prize.

Prize to best squad in all the Schools.

44. The same squad shall not be allowed to take the Drill Prize twice. A squad shall be considered the same squad if there are 10 boys in it who were in it at either of the previous yearly examinations.

GRANT TO MANAGERS OF SCHOOLS FOR BENEFIT OF MASTERS.

45. At the time of awarding the Prizes a grant may be made to the Master and Teachers of each School, with the permission of the Governor, not exceeding 7 per cent. upon the earnings of School, in the form of grants to Managers.

S. BUCKLE, Captain, R.E.

Colonial Inspector of Schools.

Approved by The Secretary of State's despatch No. 332 of May 1st, 1884.

By command,

GIFFORD,

Colonial Secretary.

Gibraltar, 5th May, 1884.

STANDARDS OF EXAMINATION.

	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	STANDARD I.	STANDARD II.	STANDARD III.	STANDARD IV.	STANDARD V.	STANDARD VI.
READING	Words and sounds of two or more words.	Monosyllables.	One of the narratives next in order after monosyllables in an elementary reading book used in the School.	A short paragraph from an elementary reading book.	A short paragraph from a more advanced reading book.	A few lines of poetry or prose.	A short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper or other modern narrative.	To read with fluency and expression.
WRITING	Copy the strokes and characters on the blackboard.	Write the letters from dictation. Copy a line written on the blackboard.	Copy in manuscript character a line of print and write from dictation a few common words.	A sentence from the same book slowly read once and then dictated in single words.	A sentence slowly dictated once, a few words at a time, from the same book.	A sentence slowly dictated once, a few words at a time, from a reading book used in the first class of the School.	Another short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper or other modern narrative, slowly dictated once by a few words at a time.	A short theme or letter, or an easy paraphrase.
ARITHMETIC	Counting and notation.	Simple addition and subtraction of single numbers.	Simple addition and subtraction of numbers of not more than four figures, and the multiplication table to multiplication by six.	The multiplication table and any simple rule as far as division.	Compound rules (money).	Compound rules (common weights and measures).	Practice or Bills of Parcels, with mental arithmetic.	Proportion and vulgar or decimal fractions. Mental arithmetic.
GEOGRAPHY	Not obligatory for qualification for a Grant to the Managers of a School.							
GRAMMAR								

S. BUCKLE, Captain, R.E.,
Colonial Inspector of Schools.

Appendix 17
Christian Brothers' Day College Advertisement

1898

GIBRALTAR DIRECTORY ADVERTISER.

109

Christian Brothers' Day College,
LINE WALL ROAD.

Occupies a central position and commands a magnificent prospect of the Bay and surrounding scenery.

CLASS ROOMS LARGE.

LIGHT AND VENTILATION EXCEPTIONALLY GOOD.

The course of instruction is

Preparatory, Commercial, Classical and Scientific.

English, French, Spanish and Latin Languages,

**Mathematics, Shorthand, Drawing & Water-
Colour Painting;**

AND FOR SCIENCE TEACHING

The College is provided with very superior Physical Apparatus.

MUSICAL DRILL

WITH INDIAN CLUBS, BARS AND DUMB BELLS,

is taught by an experienced Military Instructor.

NO EXTRAS.

For Prospectus, apply

AT THE COLLEGE.

Gibraltar, January, 1898.

Appendix 18
Imperial Education Conference Paper
on the Educational System in Gibraltar in 1913

IMPERIAL EDUCATION CONFERENCE PAPERS.

III.—Educational Systems of the Chief Colonies not
possessing Responsible Government.

GIBRALTAR.



LONDON:
PRINTED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF HIS MAJESTY'S
STATIONERY OFFICE

BY EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE, LTD., EAST HARDING STREET, E.C.,
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the United States of America, the Continent of Europe and Abroad of
T. FISHER UNWIN, LONDON, W.C.

1913.

Price Threepence.

PREFATORY NOTE.

At the Imperial Education Conference held in 1911, resolutions were passed with regard to the preparation of papers dealing with certain special aspects of the educational systems of the various parts of the Empire. The most convenient method of treating these different aspects of the several systems, so far as the Self-Governing Dominions were concerned, appeared to be the publication of separate papers on each selected subject by the governments of the States, Provinces and Dominions in question. When, however, the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports came to consider how effect might best be given to the various resolutions of the Conference as they affected the Colonies not possessing responsible government, it appeared to them that in the case of many of these Colonies the educational systems were not sufficiently extensive or sufficiently developed to provide material for separate papers devoted to each of the special points suggested by the Conference for treatment. They were accordingly led to the conclusion that in the case of these Colonies, the most practicable method of giving the information which the Conference desired, would be by means of general accounts, which, while dealing with each Colony's system as a whole, would include such mention as was possible of the special aspects of education in which the Conference had expressed interest.

General accounts of "the educational systems of the chief " Crown Colonies and possessions of the British Empire " had been published in 1905, in Volumes 12, 13, and 14 of the Board's Special Reports on Educational Subjects, but they had necessarily become out of date, and had, in many respects, ceased to be accurate descriptions of the conditions which prevail at the present day. It was decided by the Board, with the approval of the Advisory Committee for the Imperial Education Conference, that if arrangements could be made for replacing the obsolete reports by a fresh series drawn up by writers of equal authority, this would be the most simple and satisfactory method of dealing with the proposal which the Conference had made, so far as it concerned the Colonies not possessing responsible government. The Board accordingly approached the Colonial Office, explaining the reasons which made the compilation of a fresh series of reports desirable, and giving a sketch of the lines on which it seemed to them that the series might most usefully be drawn up. The Colonial Office agreed to the Board's suggestions and communicated with the Administrations of the Colonies concerned, asking that reports on the lines indicated by the Board might be prepared; it was, however, made clear that there was no desire to limit or restrict the writers in any way, and that the Board were anxious for the reports to bear, so

far as possible, the impress of living interest. With this in view it was suggested that a certain amount of latitude should be allowed to the persons entrusted with the drawing up of the reports, which should then be published in each case over the signature of the author.

The Board would like to take this opportunity of expressing their cordial thanks to the authors for the trouble which they have taken in the preparation of the reports.

Office of Special Inquiries and Reports,
Board of Education,
Whitehall, London, S.W.,
December 1913.

THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN GIBRALTAR.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
I. AREA AND POPULATION	1
II. LOCAL HISTORY OF EDUCATION	2
III. THE RELATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND THE SCHOOLS:	
Grants-in-aid	3
Inspection	3
Committees of Management	4
IV. ELEMENTARY EDUCATION:	
The Standards	4
Special Difficulties	4
Extra Subjects	5
Examinations	6
Extent to which Education reaches the People	6
V. THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS:	
Public Schools	7
Qualifications of Teachers	8
Salaries	8
Figures relating to Public Elementary Schools	9
Receipts and Expenditure	9
The Grant	9
School Pence	9
Non-aided Schools	9
VI. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN GOVERNMENT-AIDED SCHOOLS	11
VII. SECONDARY EDUCATION	11
VIII. TECHNICAL EDUCATION	12
IX. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES	13

APPENDIX.

THE EDUCATION CODE.

THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN GIBRALTAR.

I.—AREA AND POPULATION.

Area.—The City and Territory of Gibraltar contain about $1\frac{7}{8}$ square miles, of which 1 square mile is more or less available for habitation. Most of the Civil population are to be found in the City and the South District, which cover about $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ square mile respectively.

In this report the soldiers who occupy the Rock, not as a permanent population but as a military garrison, are not considered except incidentally. They have a complete system of educational institutions which have no relation to the Civil Government.

Population.—The civil population when the Census was taken last year amounted to 19,120, of whom 17,021 were British subjects and 2,099 aliens.

Roman Catholics numbered	-	-	15,395
Church of England	-	-	2,223
Other Protestants	-	-	261
Hebrews	-	-	1,123
Moslems, Hindus and others	-	-	118

There were 3,402 children between the ages of 5 and 15, and if we add 19 from the Port and Harbour, 3,421 in all.

When Gibraltar was taken in 1704, the Spaniards for the most part deserted the town and their place was gradually filled by Italian immigrants, mostly Genoese, who were invited by the Government to settle there in order to reconstitute a civil population. Italian names and types survive, and there are fishermen of Catalan Bay, a village on the East side of the Rock, who still speak a dialect of Italian among themselves. But the Spanish language and to a considerable extent Spanish blood have filtered back into the City and Territory, so that we have now a mixed type showing characteristics of the English, Italian and Spanish peoples, with Spanish as the prevailing language. In the native population we find the English type noticeable, but not predominant, and here and there fair haired children answering to such names as Smith and Brown, and speaking the Gibraltar dialect of Andalusian Spanish as their mother tongue. If the population is taken as a whole, it may be considered to form a distinct variety not to be confounded with either of the elements from which it sprang. It is strongly conscious of its British nationality, bristles with Boy Scouts, is religious, law abiding and peaceable, not enamoured of continuous manual labour but distinctly intelligent. So well inclined are the people to education that they send most of their children to school, not only without compulsion but even with payment of school pence when they can afford it. It cannot be

maintained that all or nearly all the children receive a regular elementary education, but it is no exaggeration to say that a desire for some sort of education is the prevailing tone, and that parents are generally willing to put themselves to some pains about the matter. Anyone visiting the schools of Gibraltar will be struck with the general air of keenness and conviction shown by the children, their amenability to discipline and order and the cleanliness of their dress and persons. It must be remembered, in regard to cleanliness, that in Gibraltar water has to be paid for.

II.—LOCAL HISTORY OF EDUCATION.

The history of Education in Gibraltar was dealt with in a Report published in 1905 in Volume 12, Part I., of the "Special Reports on Educational Subjects," issued by the Board of Education. The late Inspector of Schools, who was an old inhabitant, gives in that report some details of the history of education in Gibraltar, and to attempt to improve on his report in this particular would be an antiquarian labour not likely to yield much fruit. A few notes taken from that document will recall its chief features. The Wesleyans were prominent as pioneers in the effort to provide systematic education for the poor, and from 1832, when they first opened a school until 1893 when their schools were finally closed, they did good work. They received children of all creeds. The Church of England appears to have devoted its energies, so far as the keeping of church schools was concerned, to providing for the wants of the military and official population. The Church of England school was, however, closed in 1889, and at the present time there is a complete system of elementary education under the control of the military authorities. At the same time that the Wesleyans were at work in starting education on their own lines, there was a movement among other persons interested in education of all religious denominations, to found a school in which no particular religious influence should predominate. This resulted in the opening of a school in 1832, which is still in existence and known as the Public School. It was non-sectarian, and was supported by voluntary contributions. The Infant and Industrial School was founded in the same way in 1845. The Hebrews, who are a prominent and comparatively wealthy body in Gibraltar, opened their school in 1875. The Roman Catholics, who form the bulk of the civil population, seem to have taken up the question of systematic elementary education as a consequence of finding their children falling into the hands of non-Catholic teachers, and with the aid of the Government opened two schools in 1840. The Sisters of Loretto founded a school which is now a prominent educational establishment for girls of the wealthier class.

St. Bernard's College for secondary education was founded in 1856 and flourished for over 20 years; it was closed at the end of the year (1878) in which the Christian Brothers first

took up that educational work in Gibraltar, which they have conducted and still conduct with so much success. They opened a secondary school which is now known as Line Wall College, and subsequently the Schools of the Sacred Heart in 1886, Rosia in 1889, and Our Lady of Lourdes in 1897 for the elementary education of boys. The two elementary girls' schools of St. Mary in the City and St. Joseph in the South District, conducted by the Sisters of Loretto, were opened, the former in 1895 and the latter some years earlier.

The elementary school for boys and girls in Catalan Bay had been a small church school for many years when in 1902 it first received a Government grant.

III.—THE RELATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND THE SCHOOLS.

Grants-in-aid.—There is no Education Department. The Colonial Government concerns itself with elementary education by making grants towards the expenses of approved schools based on average attendance, and requires as conditions of these grants :—

(i) That the school shall be a public elementary school open to all children of British nationality of the poor and labouring classes, and managed by some responsible body in the public interest and not for profit. (Alien children, children of a wealthier class, and children over 15 years of age may be admitted if there is room for them after those for whom the school is mainly intended have been provided for.)

(ii) That the children shall have at least one efficient or trained teacher, approved by the Inspector.

(iii) That the school shall be open to inspection and examination.

(iv) That proper registers of attendances, school fees, and accounts shall be kept.

(v) That the school shall be opened for teaching for a prescribed minimum number of attendances in the year, $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours of each attendance being devoted to secular instruction in the English language.

(vi) That the school shall be efficient as regards management, teaching, and discipline.

(vii) That in girls' and infant schools suitable instruction in plain needlework shall be provided.

Inspection.—For the purpose of ascertaining that the required conditions are fulfilled, the Government appoints an Inspector of Schools, and it is his duty to report annually on these matters. This officer is also the person through whom communications pass between the Government and the managers of aided schools. He has no authority outside the Public Elementary

Schools receiving Government grants, and has nothing to do with secondary education, which is left entirely to private enterprise.

Committees of Management.—The Public Elementary Schools are directly controlled by voluntary Committees of Management. The Public School and the Infant and Industrial School are controlled by secular committees; the Hebrew School by a committee appointed by the Hebrew community; the Catholic Schools by a committee of which the Roman Catholic Bishop of Gibraltar is chairman, assisted by three lay members and two parochial priests, and by the Rector of the Christian Brothers as secretary.

The organisation is thus very simple. The Government by means of its grants-in-aid controls, within limits prescribed by the Education Code and by the agency of an inspector, nine schools which are managed by four committees. In so small a place as Gibraltar, where the Government is so accessible and communication between all the parties so easy, there is no need of any municipal or other representative body, which, did it exist, would probably only retard the educational machinery by adding complexity to the system.

IV.—ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

The Standards.—An answer to the question: “How is “elementary education defined by the Government of the “Colony?” is best answered by a reference to the standards of examination prescribed by the Code and printed in the Appendix, page 19. These deal with five subjects, viz., reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and grammar, which are all required to be taught in the English language. For the sixth or final standard the following is prescribed:—

Reading: the reading of English with fluency and expression.

Writing: easy composition or paraphrase in English.

Arithmetic: to proportion and vulgar or decimal fractions, and mental arithmetic.

Geography: the geography of the Continents as well as of the British Isles and Colonies.

Grammar: a knowledge of the parts of speech and their relations in a sentence and analysis of a sentence.

Special difficulties.—This modest curriculum presents more difficulty than appears upon the surface, because of the peculiar circumstances in which the children of Gibraltar are placed. This difficulty arises from two causes: (a) the necessity of conducting education in the English language, and (b) the isolation of the inhabitants, whose life is in general limited to the few streets in which they move.

(a) *Teaching in English.*—Anyone who has regretted the failure which often attends the effort to teach French in

English schools, will realise how difficult it is to conduct elementary education in a language which is not generally used by the children outside the schools. If Spanish were not allowed as a medium for the explanation of English terms, especially in the lower standards, the task would be one beyond the power of the teachers to carry out with any kind of success.

(b) *Restricted mental horizon.*—Further, Gibraltar is, for the general populace, so cut off from the rest of the world, that the mental horizon of the children is peculiarly restricted. The average child knows nothing, for instance, of the country, and very little of animals or plants. At the same time he has few of the varied experiences of a child in an ordinary English town. So few things come within the range of vision of Gibraltar children that when questioning them on the meaning of the passages which they read so fluently you find that they have, except perhaps in the higher standards, no notion of very many things that are of common knowledge to other children.

That these children should learn as much as they do, be so keen and pass tests in their simple standards, speaks well for their intelligence and the zeal of the teachers. Before leaving the language difficulty, I should mention that in dealing with it the use of the bi-lingual reading books in English and Spanish introduced by the Christian Brothers has proved of great assistance. A child taught by this method will often give the Spanish equivalent of an English word even when he has only a dim notion of the thing which the word represents. Moreover, the use of the bi-lingual books teaches the children incidentally to read Spanish, and the Christian Brothers do actually devote some time to reading in that language. No doubt more could be taught if English were not required as the medium of instruction, but, on the whole, the existing system is not a bad one. The Gibraltar child does undergo a definite intellectual discipline. He has to apply himself to something which requires close attention. Those who reach the higher standards learn to read and write English, which is to them a foreign language, moderately well. If a boy on leaving school becomes a clerk, or obtains other employment which requires a knowledge of English, or if he emigrates to one of the Americas, as some do, this attainment is invaluable to him. In other cases he may forget his English little by little, but he has had the chance of pushing his fortune if he chooses to avail himself of it.

Extra subjects.—It need not be presumed that the curriculum required as a minimum contains all that a child may learn at a Public Elementary School. In the boys' schools of the Christian Brothers, arithmetic is extended to mensuration, and some algebra is taught. Other subjects taught are: drawing, elementary science, typewriting, shorthand, book-keeping, and hygiene. In the two girls' schools of the Sisters of Loretto drawing is taught to a certain number and Kindergarten methods are employed in teaching the very small children. In

St. Joseph's School, physical drill is taught but there is not sufficient space at St. Mary's School.

All these are regarded as extra subjects, and do not count for the purpose of the grant-in-aid. The ground systematically covered by the schools is that marked out by the standards. See Appendix, page 19.

Examinations.—Efficiency in teaching is tested by the Inspector of Schools in accordance with the eight standards 0, $\frac{1}{2}$, 1 to 6, set out in the Education Code, see Appendix, p. 19. He holds written examinations in the four higher standards in arithmetic, in dictation and in composition. In other subjects contained in the Code, and in all subjects in the lower standards, he tests the work by listening to the teaching of classes by the teachers, or by asking questions, but follows no fixed practice or routine.

Extent to which education reaches the people.—It is not easy to determine accurately to what extent education reaches the people. One thing, however, seems clear, and that is, that nearly all the children receive some education at some time.

The number of children of the Civil population between 5 and 15 years of age, according to the Census of last year, which cannot differ much from the present number, is 3,421.

The number of children between 5 and 15 on the books of all the schools is 3,389, made up as follows:—

Children in Government-aided schools	-	-	2,547
Children in non-aided schools	-	-	372
Children of Civilian parents in Military Schools	-		192
Children between 5 and 15 in Secondary Schools	-		278
			<hr/>
Total	-	-	3,389
			<hr/>

It would thus appear that the total number of children on the rolls of all the schools during the year, was only 32 less than the whole number of children of the same age in Gibraltar.

These figures are, however, misleading. The same child often attends more than one school during the year, so that we find a much larger number registered in the books than actually attend.

The average child in the Public Elementary Schools of 12 years of age is in the 4th Standard. He is examined in reading, simple dictation, ordinary sums in money and weights and measures, Geography of the World, Europe and the British Isles. He also learns to indicate the parts of speech in a sentence.

After attaining to the 4th Standard most of the children do not continue to attend school. At the last examination, 43 boys and 15 girls in all were examined in the 6th Standard.

With the exception of a few boys intending to compete for Dockyard apprenticeships, children destined for manual labour would not go through the whole course. A boy who reaches the

6th Standard considers himself to belong to the educated class, and will not follow manual labour. Unless, therefore, something can be found for him which is not unsuited to what he conceives to be his station in life, he is doomed to perpetual poverty and discontent. It is a question, therefore, whether, in a place which offers little scope in the way of employment for persons of the educated class, it would be profitable to turn out a larger number of 6th Standard boys every year. The general result of a complete preliminary education in Gibraltar appears to be to produce clerks and superior shop assistants; and, good of their kind though these products are, it must be remembered that there is room for only a limited number on the Rock. Before leaving this question, which, moreover, crops up again when we have to consider technical education, it should be mentioned that the "clerkly" education is really good. The children of the 6th Standard do their written work with a uniform neatness, cleanliness and style which is quite excellent.

V.—THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

Public Schools.—Elementary Education is mainly provided by the Public Elementary Schools, which comprise (i) schools under Secular management, (ii) schools under Catholic management, and (iii) the Hebrew School.

(i) *Schools under Secular management.*—Under this category fall the Public School and the Infant and Industrial School. The former teaches infant boys and girls in all standards. The staff consists of a Head Mistress, seven Assistants and four Monitresses. It has sufficient accommodation. The latter teaches infant boys and girls up to and including the fourth standard. The staff consists of a Head Mistress, three Assistants and five Pupil-Teachers. It has just sufficient accommodation. Both these schools are in good situations, and the teaching in them is thorough.

The whole of the education of boys, except at the infant stage, is in the hands of the Christian Brothers and the Hebrews.

(ii) *Schools under Roman Catholic management.*—The Christian Brothers have three good boys' schools, those of the Sacred Heart and Our Lady of Lourdes in the City, and a school known as Rosia, above Rosia Bay. The Catholic Committee looks after the business side of the schools, but the Brothers, under their Rector, control the education of the boys. Fourteen brothers with five Lay Assistants and 12 Pupil-Teachers form the teaching staff of these three schools. The buildings and accommodation are good, and the teaching and discipline excellent. There can be no doubt that the population of Gibraltar owe a debt of gratitude to these gentlemen, whose influence, not only in the matter of education but also in the way of good order and discipline, is attested by

those who have had an extended knowledge of the modern history of Gibraltar.

The Catholic Girls' Schools are St. Mary's in the City and St. Joseph's in the South District. St. Mary's consists of two departments, one being an infant school. The whole school is taught by two sisters of Loretto, with six assistants and four Pupil-Teachers. St. Joseph's School has two Loretto Sisters, four assistants and two Pupil-Teachers.

It is difficult to compare the girls' school of the Loretto Sisters with those under secular management. In all four the ladies responsible do their duty thoroughly well, and their results are much the same. St. Joseph's School has good accommodation and is beautifully situated. St. Mary's is shut within the city, and the accommodation is deplorably insufficient. The grant might have been refused on this account, but the result would have been to turn away so many girls into the streets, that it could not be contemplated. It is a thoroughly efficient school, and the discipline and order admirable, in fact were this not so it would be impossible to teach so many children so closely packed together. The condition of things is aggravated by the presence of little girls too young to learn much more than good behaviour. Their presence, however, often enables elder sisters to attend school, and it seems better to allow this than to turn them out into the narrow streets. There is so little room for children in the City that it is almost inevitable that the school should be used to some extent as a crèche. An earnest effort is being made to find means of increasing the accommodation of the school. It is very difficult in Gibraltar to find room, and very expensive, but it is to be hoped that the present state of things will be remedied before long.

The School of Catalan Bay provides for the boys and girls of that small village. It is superintended by the Parish Priest of Gibraltar, aided by one male assistant and three Pupil-Teachers. It is a small school teaching children up to, and including, the fourth standard. Children whose parents wish them to advance beyond the fourth standard are promoted to one of the Catholic schools in the City.

(iii) *Hebrew School*.—The Hebrew school teaches boys and girls in all standards. They are taught separately under one head master with five assistants and two Pupil-Teachers. The Hebrew children are very intelligent, and the work is good.

Qualification of Teachers.—The efficiency of teachers is not gauged by the possession of Diplomas but by results, as shown by what the children acquire from them in learning and discipline, and by the tone of the school. The Hebrews have a trained and certificated teacher. The religious associations of the Sisters of Loretto and the Christian Brothers have their own systems of training teachers.

Salaries.—The schools under secular management pay their head mistresses in pesetas, and their salaries work out at some-

thing under 100*l.* a year for the Public School, and 60*l.* for the Infant and Industrial School, with quarters in both cases.

For the purpose of presenting their accounts the religious associations assign salaries to their teaching members. The Rector of the Christian Brothers states that the Brothers are engaged at a nominal salary of 70*l.* each, but that the amount assigned as salaries works out at about 39*l.* each. To the Loretto Sisters are assigned salaries of from 50*l.* to 30*l.* each. The amounts assigned to the members of the religious associations go in fact to the maintenance of their institutions. The Head Master of the Hebrew School receives a salary of 135*l.* with quarters. Assistant teachers receive salaries varying from 66*l.* to as little as 7*l.* a year. Pupil-Teachers receive from 12*l.* to 4*l.* No rule is to be deduced from the last two sets of figures.

Figures relating to Public Elementary Schools.—The table given on page 10 shows the numbers of children and the cost of education in the Public Elementary Schools, also the receipts and how they are made up; for the sake of completeness, it repeats the staff of teachers in each school.

Receipts and Expenditure.—The discrepancies between receipts and expenditure are unimportant. A particular school may have a balance one year and a deficit another year. A deficit has of course to be met by a special effort to raise subscriptions. The expenses of all the Catholic Schools are lumped together because their business affairs are managed by one committee.

The Grant.—The Government Grant is 1*l.* 5*s.* per head calculated on the average attendance of the school in question. An average attendance is arrived at by adding together all the attendances of all the children for the year and dividing by the number of times the school has met within the same period. Of the number of children upon the rolls, about 86 per cent. attend regularly. Of the total receipts it will be observed that the Government provides over five-sevenths, and that "school pence" account for rather more, and private contributions for rather less, than one-seventh each.

School Pence.—School pence vary from 1*d.* to 10*d.* per week, according to the means of the parents. Parents who cannot afford to pay anything are excused, and the Government makes up the school pence by an addition to the Grant at the end of the school year. This sum is worked out on the number of attendances and comes to a little over 1*d.* per week.

Non-aided Schools.—There are three Catholic religious institutions which do not receive grants and are not under Government supervision. In two of them, Gavino's Asylum for girls and St. John of God's Orphan Home for boys, the children are boarded. The Conference School of St. Vincent de Paul is a day school for girls. There are also some other schools which are not aided by Government and not inspected.

Names of Schools	Teaching Staffs.	Number of Children on Books, 1911-12.	Salaries.	Receipts and Expenditure for Year ending 31st April 1912.				
				Total Expenditure.	Donations and Subscriptions.	School Pence collected.	Government Grant.	Total Receipts.
Public School for girls and infant boys.	1 Head Mistress - 7 Assistants.	317	£ s. d. 248 17 6	£ s. d. 309 0 0	£ s. d. 32 0 0	£ s. d. 65 0 0	£ s. d. 312 18 0	£ s. d. 409 18 0
Infant and Industrial Schools for girls up to 4th standard and infant boys.	1 Head Mistress - - 3 Assistants. 5 Pupil-Teachers.	165	128 11 6	174 16 6	—	22 14 11	136 5 0	158 19 11
Hebrew School for boys and girls	1 Head Master - 5 Assistants. 2 Pupil-Teachers.	111	303 6 0	582 10 9	168 3 9	107 18 5	148 9 0	414 11 2
Catholic Schools for Boys :- The Sacred Heart . . . Our Lady of Lourdes . . . Rosia School . . .	14 Christian Brothers - 5 Lay Assistants - 12 Pupil-Teachers	623 533 167	1,029 13 0	2,450 9 8	207 11 1	332 11 10	1,913 4 0	2,453 5 11
Catholic Schools for Girls :- St. Mary's . . .	2 Loretto Sisters - 6 Assistants. 4 Pupil-Teachers. 2 Loretto Sisters - 4 Assistants. 3 Pupil-Teachers. Superintendent by the Parish Priest of Gibraltar. 1 Teacher. 3 Pupil-Teachers.	357 209 65	251 12 6 134 9 7 67 18 6					
St. Joseph's . . .								
Catalan Bay School for boys and girls up to and including 4th standard.								
Totals		2,547	2,164 8 7	3,516 16 11	397 14 10	528 5 2	2,510 16 0	3,437 7 1

At the present moment the numbers of children between 5 and 15 taught in Elementary Schools not aided by Government are :—

Gavino's Asylum, 31 girls, all in regular attendance.

St. John of God's Orphan Home, 25 boys in regular attendance.

The Conference School, 48 girls.

Other Elementary Schools account for about 268.

VI.—RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN GOVERNMENT-AIDED SCHOOLS.

In the Catholic Schools Catholic religious teaching is given for half an hour each day. In the Hebrew School religious education is amply provided for. In the Public School the Catholic children receive instruction from a priest who visits the school daily, and the Protestant children are instructed by an Anglican clergyman or a lay assistant. In the Infant and Industrial School there is regular Catholic teaching. No Protestant girls at present attend that school, but did they do so there is no doubt that they would receive regular religious teaching of a suitable kind.

Where a want is felt is in the Catholic Schools, where there is no religious teaching for Protestant children. These are not obliged to attend the Catholic religious teaching, and the result is that they get no regular religious teaching at all. The Catholics are precluded by their religious constitution from inviting Protestant clergy to attend their schools, and there is no Protestant boys' school in Gibraltar.

VII.—SECONDARY EDUCATION.

The Secondary Schools are not under Government inspection, and have no connection with the Public Elementary School system. They provide for children of a wealthier class what is considered to be an upper class education, including elementary education. The most important secondary schools are those kept by the Christian Brothers and the Sisters of Loretto.

The Christian Brothers have a Secondary School for boys in the Line Wall Road. The number of day pupils on the rolls is 169, and there is an average attendance of 153. There are 20 boarders.

The Loretto Convent in the City has 53 girls, and the Loretto Convent in the Europa Road 63 girls.

These three schools are affiliated to the Royal College of Preceptors, and have a high reputation in Gibraltar.

There are two useful private schools, one for girls, kept by Miss Evans, attended by 47 day scholars, and one for boys, lately opened by Mr. Martin, late Head Master of the Hebrew School, and already attended by 50 boys.

VIII.—TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

Though the Christian Brothers in their schools teach some technical subjects, such as drawing, typewriting, shorthand, and book-keeping, there are no technical schools, in the ordinary use of the term, for the civil population.

The Dockyard is really the Technical School of Gibraltar. A certain number of boys pass into that department every year, chiefly from the schools of the Christian Brothers. After a period of apprenticeship they become qualified workmen. During their apprenticeship the boys attend technical classes in the Dockyard in the subjects required by their particular trades.

It is a question whether further technical education would be successful here. The 6th standard boy is not willing to follow any manual trade unless he can get into the Dockyard with the prospect of becoming some day a foreman either there or in some establishment abroad; if he does not do this he becomes a clerk or an assistant in a good shop. A technical education as a preparation for a manual trade in a small way has no attraction for him. A strong democratic instinct seems here to go hand in hand with an extreme sensibility as to what kind of work may or may not be done without loss of self respect. If a boy is to be employed in manual labour he must be taken young, and the Gibraltar boys do not much favour technical trades. This is not altogether a matter for surprise. Gibraltar is isolated from Spain, no railway or road connecting it with any other town except Linea, which is just outside the lines and provides Spanish workmen for Gibraltar. Spaniards come to Gibraltar daily to work at wages which do not tempt the Gibraltarians, while, at the same time, Gibraltarians are not inclined to seek work in Spain. Those native boys who have been taken from school before they have acquired an aversion to manual labour, drift into the non-technical occupations which provide a living for the bulk of the people. The only opening for a boy with a technical education would seem to lie in emigration to some part of America, and a technical education would of course make him a better emigrant. But emigration is not generally regarded by the people as a thing to be desired. They are exceedingly attached to the Rock and do not leave if they can help it.

On the other hand, however, Mr. Joseph A. Patron, C.M.G., who has a great experience of the civil life of Gibraltar, believes in the advisability of establishing a technical school, provided that it could be done in a really practical manner so as to turn out boys able to work at technical trades. He thinks that two things are desirable (a) to encourage emigration by turning out boys able to get a living abroad and likely to be tempted to do so by the prospect of good wages, and (b) to create out of the unskilled mass a class of technical workmen who would render Gibraltar independent of

Spain for that sort of labour. His opinion is based on his experience as manager of the Orphan's Asylum of St. John of God. That institution adopts orphan boys who are British subjects of from five to seven years old. They are educated in the reading and writing of English, and at the age of twelve years are employed as boy assistants in the workshops of the Sanitary Commissioners, though remaining under the care and control of the Asylum. In the workshops they learn turnery, moulding, wiring and other technical work, and when they become competent workmen, they, for the most part, emigrate to the Argentine Republic. Their passages are paid, and they are received abroad by a person who makes it his duty to find them employment. Mr. Patron believes in the practicability of working a technical school, notwithstanding that the boys of St. John of God, whom he has in mind, are under the control of an association which can direct their energies for their welfare, whereas the boys whom he would attract to a technical school would not be under any similar directing control.

It should perhaps here be mentioned that the needlework of the girls' schools is particularly good. Several ladies have taken an interest in this, and have visited the schools during the hours of work, to the encouragement of the girls, who thus have an opportunity of showing what neat work they can do.

IX.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

In requesting the Crown Colony Administrations to undertake the compilation of these reports, the Colonial Office enclosed for their guidance a paper which had been prepared by the Board of Education giving suggestions as to the points which the series of reports might attempt to deal with. This section gives short notes on those of the points mentioned in the Board's paper of suggestions which are not specifically touched upon elsewhere.

Elementary Schools.

Extent to which elementary instruction is provided in the lower classes of Secondary Schools.—Those schools which are here called "Secondary" cover the same ground as elementary schools, but they teach in addition other subjects and do not observe the same age limit. They provide for children of a wealthier class.

Teaching of morals.—There are no regulations for the teaching of morals as apart from religion or civics.

Pensions.—There are no pensions provided for teachers.

Ages of children in each standard.—There is no rule as to the ages of children in particular standards. In the lower standards they vary more than in the upper. In the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th standards the average ages are about 11½, 12, 13 and 14.

Promotions.—Children are expected to rise one standard a year, and they do so if they are fit for promotion. From the 3rd to the 6th standard this works fairly regularly.

Leaving Certificate.—There is no leaving certificate.

Boarding in connection with Elementary Schools.—There are no boarders in the Public Elementary Schools.

Proportion of pupils who have gone through the Elementary Curriculum passing on to more advanced and general instruction.—In the Public Elementary School no further instruction is provided for the same class of children. The schools called "Secondary" provide for a different class.

Collegiate Education.—There is no collegiate education.

Training of Teachers.—There is no system for the training of teachers. Pupil-Teachers are simply those older pupils who receive a fee for helping in the teaching of the smaller children. They get no higher training than the elementary school itself affords.

School attendance.—School attendance is not compulsory, and no special measures are resorted to for the purpose of encouraging attendance at school.

Special arrangements.—The only section of the community for which special educational provision is made is the Military Garrison of Gibraltar. The children of soldiers go to schools which are under the control of the Military Authorities, and with which the Civil Government has nothing to do.

Text-Books.—No Government authority concerns itself with the text-books used in the schools.

15th November 1912.

THOS. W. HAYCRAFT,
Inspector of Schools.

APPENDIX.

GIBRALTAR.

EDUCATION CODE AND RULES FOR GRANTS-IN-AID OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS. REVISED 1892, 1893, AND 1899.

Approved by the Secretary of State in Despatches No. 30 of 17th of February 1892, No. 63 of 13th May 1893, and No. 11 of 9th February 1899.

Gibraltar,
10th March 1899.

By Command,
H. M. JACKSON,
Colonial Secretary.

CODE.

1. *General Condition of Grants.*—The Grants from Public Revenue to be made in aid of Elementary Schools for the Education of the Poor of Gibraltar will as heretofore be dependent upon the Schools fulfilling the conditions laid down in this Code, and upon such other conditions as may be determined from time to time by H.E. the Governor with the approval of the Secretary of State.

2. *Inspector of Schools and his duties.*—An Inspector of Schools shall be appointed to verify the fulfilment of the conditions on which the grants are to be made—to examine into the attendance and proficiency of scholars—and to report annually, or from time to time, on all such subjects as well as on the efficiency of each School in respect of organisation, discipline, and instruction—and annually to assess all grants-in-aid under this Code with the approval of the Governor. In case of vacancy of the Inspectorship this officer is to be nominated by H.E. the Governor, subject to confirmation by the Secretary of State.

3. In making the necessary examinations of the Scholars and Registers of attendance the Inspector shall be assisted by the Managers of the Schools, and by such other temporary assistant examiners as the Governor may approve.

4. The Inspector shall be at liberty to visit a School at any time without notice, and to call for and examine any Registers or School Books or Accounts ordered by these Rules to be kept and submitted for inspection.

5. *Religious Instruction.*—The Inspector will not examine any Scholar in any religious subject, nor will he in any way interfere with the religious instruction. No grant or credit shall be given in respect of any instruction in religious subjects.

6. *Secular Instruction.*—The Inspector will require and satisfy himself that at least 1½ hours of each attendance, counting towards a Grant, are devoted to secular instruction given in the English language. The necessity for the use of Spanish in teaching English, especially in the lower Standards, is fully recognised, and it must not in any way be considered as precluded or discouraged by this Rule.

7. No School shall be eligible for any grant until the Governor has been satisfied by the Report of the Inspector:—

- (a) That suitable premises, approved by the Inspector, are provided.
- (b) That it is a Public Elementary School for the primary education of the children of the poor of Gibraltar.

- (c) That the School is managed by some responsible person, Board, or Committee—solely in the public interest and not for any gain or profit direct or indirect. This or these persons to be called the Managers—and in the case of a Board or Committee the Managers will correspond with the Inspector of Schools through their own appointed Secretary.
- (d) That it has at least one efficient or trained teacher approved by the Inspector.
- (e) That it is open to inspection and examination, for which every facility must be given by the Managers.
- (f) That Aliens are excluded until all British children shall have been provided for—that children be admitted by priority of application—that no child is refused admission except on grounds allowed by the Inspector or sanctioned by the Governor.
- (g) That children who have attained 15 years are not retained in the School, this rule remaining in force until the dearth of School places shall have been made good.
- (h) That the following books, in approved form, are regularly kept and posted up and submitted for the examination of the Inspector, whenever required, viz. :—

A General Admission Register.

The necessary Class Registers with Summary; also a Register of Payments by the Scholars.

The Account of detailed receipts and detailed expenditure of the Manager or Treasurer.

The Capital Account of the Manager or Treasurer.

The School Log Book.

- (j) That under ordinary circumstances the School shall have been opened 400 times in the School year, or shall have met 200 times morning and afternoon for at least three hours of secular instruction in English.
That in the case of a Night School it shall have been opened 40 times in the year for not less than 1½ hours' secular instruction in English.
- (k) That in Girls' and Infant Schools suitable instruction in plain needlework has been provided.
- (l) That the finances of the Schools receiving Government grants are kept quite separately from those of any unaided Schools, even though the latter may be under the same Manager.

8. An attendance to count for a grant shall be from 10 a.m. to 12 noon, and from 12.30 p.m. to 2.30 p.m. The roll must be called at 10 a.m. and at 12.30 p.m., and the Registers marked forthwith. Any child absent at roll call must be returned as "absent" on the Register, and any child leaving school or removed from school before the close of the meeting must be subsequently marked on the Register as "absent." The Master or Principal Teacher will be held responsible that this rule is followed.

9. The average number of scholars in attendance for any period is found by adding together the attendances of all the scholars for the period and dividing the sum by the number of times the school has met within the same period, the quotient being the average number in attendance, and it should be taken at the nearest whole number.

10. Whenever the Governor shall be of opinion that the preservation of Public Health or other urgent cause demands the closing of the public schools, the Managers of every aided school shall comply with all instructions from the Governor as to closing and reopening the school.

11. The Managers of Schools should bear in mind that aid is given to their schools on the understanding that the schools are devoted to the education of the children of the poor and of the labouring classes. The Managers should,

by personal inquiry based on frequent examination of the General Admission Register, satisfy themselves that the children received are only those whose parents or guardians are employed in manual labour, or in receipt of daily or weekly wages or otherwise in receipt of an income of less than £80 a year. It must be clearly understood that children of parents having an income of between £80 and £125 a year can only be admitted to the schools if and when there is accommodation for them after meeting the declared wants of the children of poorer parents.

12. For testing the proficiency of the Scholars the Inspector shall be at liberty to examine the Scholars individually or in class, and by *vivá voce* or by written tests; and the Inspector may arrange a special annual visit for this purpose, of which he will give notice, and on this occasion the School Managers are requested also to visit the School.

13. Great importance will be attached to the accuracy and trustworthy character of all Registers, records, returns and certificates—and as grants of money from Public Revenue depend upon these records and certificates the Teachers or Managers signing and attesting such documents will be held responsible that they only sign after full, careful and adequate personal inquiry.

14. The amount of the annual grant to each School will be assessed and settled by the Inspector with the approval of the Governor, according to the general scale hereinafter provided.

15. The grants may be withheld or reduced on account of neglect in management, of non-conformity with the Code, of general inefficiency or want of discipline, or on account of any other specific defect of the School which the Inspector may bring to the notice of the Governor.

16. The Table of Standards hereinafter given is intended as a guide to the managers for classifying the children under instruction and examination. The Managers shall classify the children and record each child's progress through the Standards. As a general rule, a child will be expected to rise one Standard each year.

17. School-pence shall be regularly collected and brought to account, and shall be in weekly payments not less than 10 centimos and not exceeding 100 centimos, according to the Manager's view of the means of the parents or guardians. In the case of any child, whose parents or guardians declare to the Managers their inability to pay ten centimos a week, a special grant will be allowed by the Inspector, not exceeding 5s., to the Managers for such child, but the Inspector will require a certificate recording the circumstances of each case, prepared by the Managers and endorsed by the Chief of Police or a Minister of Religion, after personal inquiry by them. Printed forms for these certificates will be furnished by the Government.

18. In order to prevent overcrowding of the Schools, the Inspector will, from time to time, fix a number for each School, beyond which the average number in attendance shall not be allowed to pass. For this purpose the Inspector will take measurements and have regard to all the circumstances of the buildings in each case.

19. In any poor school where trades or crafts shall be taught to the boys, or where thrift, house management and cooking shall be taught to girls, to the satisfaction of the Inspector, such School shall be eligible for a grant, even though its management may not be conducted in other respects according to the preceding sections of this Code. The Inspector will assess such grants having regard to all the circumstances of the School.

GIBRALTAR EDUCATION CODE. REVISED, 1899.

GENERAL SCALE OR TABLE OF GRANTS

That may be made to Poor-Schools in aid of annual maintenance.

In a Day School.

	£	s.	d.
(¹) In an efficient School, either for boys, or girls, or infants, or a mixed school, per child in average attendance	-	1	5 0

In a Night School.

For each scholar who shall have made 40 attendances in the year	0	6	0
For each scholar in average attendance	-	0	15 0

N.B.—The rule as to age limit does not affect the scholars in a night school.

(¹) Increased to 25s. from 20s. under authority of the Secretary of State's Despatch, No. 74, of 13th September 1909.

Empire Day Celebration.

—1909—

Organized by the Exchange Committee

GIBRALTAR.

Under the distinguished Patronage of

H. E. Gen. Sir FREDERICK W. E. F. FORESTIER WALKER, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.



Open Air Patriotic Concert

AND PARADE

OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

AT 6 P.M. ON THE COMMERCIAL SQUARE.

PROGRAMME

1. National Anthem.....Band Norfolk Regiment.
(on arrival of H.E. the Governor.)
2. The British Flag.....Hebrew Public School.
3. At the thought of Britain's glory.....Gibraltar Public School.
4. When Britons in Noble Anger...Gibraltar Infant & Industrial School.
5. Let the hills resound.....Loretto Public School.
6. Selection.....Band Norfolk Regiment.
7. The Empress of the Wave.....Orphan Boys Asylum (San Juan de Dios).
8. The Flag of Britain.....Combined Military Schools.
9. Oh! England, Oh! my Country.....Sacred Heart and Lourdes Schools.
10. Address by H. E. the Governor.
11. National Anthem.....Combined Schools.
12. March Past.....By all the Schools.

➤ VIVAT REX ➤

507

Hebrew Public School.

THE BRITISH FLAG.

With eager sounds of glee and loyalty
 The British flag we hail
 The waving emblem bright, of matchless might.
 It floats upon the gale
 It tells of free-lom for the slave
 It claims the conquest of the wave
 And while our hearts are true and brave
 Its fame can never fail.

A flying fiery star it flames afar
 On battlefields renowned
 But with a beam benign, will sparkling shive
 When Commerce, Peace has crowned.
 The proudest nations on the earth
 Salute the flag and own its worth
 A hundred tribes of distant birth
 In homage throng around.

In the Pacific Isles "Mid Nature's" smiles,
 Our flag you may behold
 As on the far-off plains, where silence reigns
 And rivers run with gold.
 New Zealand chiefs of savage race,
 Hindoos with mild and pensive face
 All find a safe abiding place
 Beneath its Ample fold.

Upon the burning sands of eastern lands
 And o'er the southern sea
 And where the tempests sweep the icy deep
 Its empire still shall be.
 And wheresoe'er that flag is seen
 On snowy heights or valleys green
 Tis now as it has ever been
 The banner of the free.

Gibraltar Public School.

ALL THE THOUGHT OF BRITAINS GLORY.

At the thought of Britain's glory
 And her old historic fame
 Ev'ry heart shall glow
 Ev'ry tongue shall bestow
 A blessing on her noble name.
 And the grand traditions hoary
 Of the long and mighty past
 Like a trumpet call, on the ear shall fall,
 Inspiring us to hold them fast,
 Faith and truth with us shall ever dwell;
 Mercy sorrow shall dispel,
 Honour with its panoply of gold,
 Shall fidelity up-hold.
 We will carry on the story,
 In the by-gone ages told,
 And the world shall see
 That the sons of the free
 For liberty are still enrolled.

Firmly founded
 On a rock no stormy wind can ever shake,
 Sea surrounded,
 Shielded by a wall the foe can never break
 Britain smiles in her security.
 Freedom guarding in its purity,
 Heroes and sages,
 Combine her strength to make,
 At the thought of Britain's glory
 And her old historie fame
 Ev'ry heart shall glow
 Ev'ry tongue shall bestow
 A blessing on her noble name
 And the grand traditions hoary
 Of the long and mighty past,
 Like a trumpet call on the ear shall fall
 Inspiring us to hold them fast
 To hold them fast
 To hold them fast.

Infant Industrial School.

WHEN BRITONS IN NOBLE ANGER.

When Britons in noble anger
 Resolv'd on slavery's fall
 And battled with stern oppression,
 At Freedom's sacred call,
 There yet was a mighty tyrant,
 Left seated on his throne,
 For Drink in our midst is reigning
 And crowds his rule still own.

His yoke is a yoke of iron,
 And bitter to be borne,
 And all who are brought beneath it,
 Their bondage have to mourn,
 And such is the galling pressure.
 So crushing is the weight,
 That few who have had to wear it,
 Could long endure their fate.

His Kingdom is dark and dreary,
 There gloom and sorrow reign,
 The widow's and orphans' wailing
 With fell disease and pain.
 Oh, well will it be for England,
 And well for all the world,
 When he who is chief of tyrants
 Shall from his throne be hurled.

CHORUS:—

Down with drinkdom! may all its slaves be free
 And swell the song of liberty, singing
 Rule, Britannia, Britannia rule the waves
 For Britons never will be slaves.

St. Mary's School.

LET THE HILLS RESOUND.

Let the hills resound with song
 As we proudly march along
 For as of old our sires were bold
 Stout hearts have we
 While Cambrias mountains stand
 Like the ram-parts of the land
 Unfettered as the winds are her children free.

1ST VERSE.

War we wage
 For freedoms heritage
 Our cause is true that urges to the conflicts close
 And peace shall crown the warriors bright renown
 The fame of him who bore him well in front of foes.

2ND VERSE.

Land of my home
 Tender thoughts will come
 When thy happy valleys in dreams I see
 And thy hearth fires rise
 And blue as skies
 Eyes of the dear ones are turned on me
 Fair flow thy streams
 And in sunlit gleams
 Bleak upon the stoues of a milk white strand
 And as soft haze fills the range of hills
 Fond prayers arise for my own dear land.

Asylum of the Orphan Boys of Gibraltar.

THE EMPRESS OF THE WAVE.

1st Verse.

The sea is England's glory
The bounding waves her throne
For ages bright in story
The Ocean is her own
In war the first the fearless
Her Standard leads the brave
In peace she reigns so peerless
The Empress of the wave
The Empress of the wave
The Empress of the wave
In peace she reigns so peerless
The Empress of the wave.

2nd Verse.

The sea is England's splendour
Her wealth the mighty main
She is the world's de-fender
The humble to sustain
Her gallant sons in story
Stand bravest of the brave
Oh, England's strength and glory
Are on her Ocean wave
Are on her Ocean wave
Oh, England's strength and glory
Are on her Ocean wave.

3rd Verse.

Thou loveliest land of beauty
Where dwells domestic worth
Where loyalty and duty
Entwine each hart and hearth
Thy rock is freedom's pillow
The rampart of the brave
Oh, long as rolls the billow
Shall England rule the wave
Shall England rule the wave
Shall England rule the wave
Oh, long as rolls the billow
Shall England rule the wave.

Military Schools.

THE FLAG OF BRITAIN.

Flag of Britain, proudly waving
Over many distant seas
Flag of Britain, boldly braving
Blinding fog and adverse breeze
We salute thee, and we pray
Bless, O'God, our land to-day.

Flag of Britain, wheresoever
Thy bright colours are outspread
Slavery must cease for ever
Light and freedom reign instead
We salute thee, and we pray
Bless, O'God, our land to-day.

Flag of Britain, mid the nations
May it ever speak of peace
And proclaim, to farthest stations,
All unworthy strife must cease
We salute it, and we pray
Bless, O'God, our land to-day.

But if duty sternly need it,
Freely let it be unfurled
Winds of Heaven then may speed it
To each quarter of the world
We salute it, and we pray
Bless, O'God, our land to-day.

Love of it, across the waters
Passing, with electric thrill,
Binds our distant sons and daughters
Heart to heart with Britain still
We salute it, and we pray
Bless, O'God, our land to-day.

Regions East and West united,
All our Empire knit in one;
By right loyal hearts defended
Let it wave beneath the sun
We salute it, and we pray
Bless, O'God, our land to-day.

Sacred Heart & Lourdes.

O ENGLAND. O MY COUNTRY.

A. J. FOXWELL,
KEY G.

(Sung in two voices).

O England O my Country
A favoured lot is thine
And radiant rays of heavenly light
And radiant rays of heavenly light
In glory round thee shine
O'er ev'ry lofty summit.
The flashing splendours play
O'er verdant plain and sheltered vale
Is spread the glowing day
O'er verdant plain and sheltered vale
Is spread the glowing day.

CHORUS.

O England, O my Country
The joy by thee possessed
May oft with passing tremors thrill
May oft with passing tremors thrill
The patriotic breast
For by its contemplation
The thought is still inspired
That where so much has been bestowed
There much will be required
That where so much has been bestowed
There much will be required.

CHORUS.

O England, O my Country,
Resolve to wield aright.
Thy power and influence for good
Thy power and influence for good.
Thy heaven entrusted might,
Let virtue be thy safe guard
And goodness mark each deed
That all the blessings of the past
Thy future may exceed.
That all the blessings of the past
Thy future may exceed.

CHORUS.

Oh England, My Country I will love thee
Thy Praise I'll loudly sing
My Empire, My Nation I proclaim thee
One Flag, One Throne, One King.



Appendix 20

Ability Survey of Gibraltar Children in 1944

During week commencing Monday, 16th October, 1944, and as previously authorised by D.D.M.S., I visited various schools as requested by Dr. W.H. Howes (Director of Education), where a total of 346 children from 11+ years to 14+ years were submitted to a test of intelligence (Progressive Matrices) and one of Arithmetical standard.

Before dealing with results and analysis of these results it would be advisable to give a brief description of Raven's Progressive Matrices Test as used by the Army's Personnel Selection Staff. This is a 1938 revised copy of a previous test used extensively with children and it was so revised to make it more applicable for adults - to give a better differentiation at the upper end.

The Matrix Test commends itself for use in schools by virtue of the extremely simple instructions needed, which are intelligible even to illiterates; the test holds the interest of the subject; it is short (only 20 minutes being required); it can be given to groups of varying size and it can be marked rapidly by means of a stencil key.

Ability to succeed in this test depends on neither scholastic knowledge nor acquired skill, but on eductive mental ability at the time of the test. Low scores are obtained from emotionally unstable maladjusted individuals and they can also result from anxiety, carelessness, distraction or malingering, but high scores, however, can be obtained only from men (or schoolchildren) of adequate mental ability. A vocabulary test, which is usually highly reliable, is a valuable complement to a test of the matrix type, but it was decided not to apply such a test to these children on account of difficulty and lack of knowledge of the English language.

The norms standardised for use in the Army have been retained because, although these may be a little too high for this much younger group of testees, they are scientifically accurate, having been established after testing thousands of soldiers, whereas this sample of approx. 350 schoolchildren would not allow keen discrimination and I could not vouch for the correctness of such norms as a consequence. There will be a resultant tendency to underestimate the majority of the children and the impression gained after a cursory scrutiny of the results will be worse than is actually the case. This, of course, equally applies in the Arithmetic Test too.

Table I (see below) illustrates this state of affairs by making a comparison of the actual results with the hypothetical distribution of the Gaussian Curve. In the latter, the frequency of a particular score diminishes symmetrically as to the difference of this score from a central score increases.

Table I.
Comparison between Children's Matrix Results and Gaussian
Distribution Curve.

	<u>Grade 1.</u>	<u>Grade 2.</u>	<u>Selective Grades</u>		<u>Grade 4.</u>	<u>Grade 5.</u>
			<u>Grade 3+.</u>	<u>Grade 3-.</u>		
Schoolchildren's Matrix results	12	42	58	67	94	73
	3.4%	12.1%	16.7%	19.3%	27.1%	21.0%
Gaussian Distribution Curve	10.0%	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	10.0%

The Selective Grades used by the Army have been converted into Intelligence Quotients (the latter are figures obtained from surveys of schoolchildren carried out by the London County Council and the National Institute of Industrial Psychology in 1926). As shown in Table II hereunder, coincidence of S.Gs. and I.Qs. is clearly indicated: -

Table II.
Selective Grades and Intelligence Quotient Equivalents.

<u>S.G.</u>	<u>I.Q.</u>	<u>Remarks.</u>
1.	120 and over.	Superior.
2.	111 to 119.	Bright normal.
3+ } 3- }	91 to 110.	Average.
4.	80 to 90.	Dull normal.
5.	79 and under.	Backward.

FROM THE DISTRIBUTION AS SHOWN IN TABLE I, IT WILL BE SEEN THAT A DEFINITE (SKWENESS) OCCURS THROUGHOUT ALL THE GRADES - THERE BEING TOO FEW ABOVE-AVERAGE INTELLIGENT CHILDREN AND TOO MANY BELOW-AVERAGE INTELLIGENT CHILDREN. THIS IS, PARTIALLY DISCOUNTED DUE TO OVER-WEIGHTED ADULT NORMS BEING USED. THE CHRONOLOGICAL DIVISION OF THE 346 CHILDREN ALSO HAS A MARKED EFFECT - 29.1% WERE 11+ YEARS; 31.5% WERE 12+ YEARS; 28.9% WERE 13+ YEARS; AND 10.4% WERE 14+ YEARS. SUCH EFFECT IS BORNE OUT BY EVIDENCE CONTAINED IN TABLE III BELOW: -

Table III.

Effect of Age on Distribution of Intelligence (both sexes).

Age	Total	Grade 1.	Grade 2.	Selective Grades.		Grade 4.	Grade 5.
				Grade 3+.	Grade 3-.		
11+	101	1	6	5	17	31	41
		1%	6%	5%	17%	31%	41%
12+	109	2	12	22	23	31	19
		1.8%	11%	20.1%	21.1%	28.4%	17.4%
13+	100	6	17	21	19	26	11
		6%	17%	21%	19%	26%	11%
14+	36	3	7	10	8	6	2
		8.4%	19.4%	27.7%	22.2%	16.8%	5.6%

A directly proportionate relationship between age and intelligence is revealed here, for from 12% above-average intellect for 11+ years this gradually increases to 55.5% for 14+ years while the distribution of the 14 year olds is particularly close to that of the Gaussian Curve. In other words, it is not until 14 year old schoolchildren are tested that a fair comparison can be made with a sample of the British Army's personnel.

After dealing with the chronological effect, some reference should be paid to any difference in the standard of intelligence as between the two sexes. Table IV shows that of 204 males and 142 females tested, the former have a slight advantage over the latter in this connection: -

Table IV.
Distribution of Intelligence according to Sex.

Sex.	Total	Grade 1.	Grade 2.	Selective Grades.		Grade 4.	Grade 5.
				Grade 3+.	Grade 3-.		
Male.	204	8	29	34	41	52	40
		(3.9%)	14.2%	16.7%	(20.0%)	25.4%	19.6%
		34.8% Above-average.		65.0% Below-average.			
Female.	142	4	13	24	26	42	33
		(2.8%)	9.1%	16.9%	(18.0%)	29.4%	23.2%
		28.8% Above-average.		70.6% Below-average.			

A similar position is found between A.T.S. and soldiers - the statistics I have in mind are not available, but I recollect that the men proved to be, on testing, a margin more intelligent than the women.

For the information of the headmasters/mistresses of each school, I give below the Matrix Test Results of the children under their control: -

Table V.
Distribution of Intelligence in each School.

School	Total	Grade 1.	Grade 2.	Selective Grades.		Grade 4.	Grade 5.
				Grade 3+.	Grade 3-.		
Sacred Heart.	160	4	17	23	34	44	38
		2.5%	10.6%	14.3%	21.2%	27.5%	23.7%
Line Wall.	99	-	4	13	21	32	29
		-	4%	13.2%	21.3%	32.5%	29.0%
Plata Villa. (Boys)	44	4	12	11	7	8	2
		9.9%	27.5%	25.0%	15.9%	18.2%	4.5%
Plata Villa.	43	4	9	11	5	10	4
		9.2%	20.9%	25.9%	11.3%	22.6%	9.2%

During a conversation with Dr. Howes, mention was made of the desirability of a Secondary School being established, and hereunder are a few remarks I wish to make on the subject. -

There would appear to be potential material available from the three schools visited. It will, no doubt, be a most difficult thing to decide what has to be the line of demarcation that will preclude certain children from enjoying a secondary education. From a purely psychological angle, it would be unwise to admit any child with a Matrix Grading of below 3+ or an I.Q. of 98. The number of children who qualify on this basis, of both sexes, total 112 and a very small percentage are of 11+ years. Full details are given in Table VI below: -

Table VI.
Number and Age of children suitable for Secondary Training.

School	Age				Total.
	11+	12+	13+	14+	
Sacred Heart.	5	15	18	6	44
Line Wall.	2	7	7	1	17
Plata Villa. (Boys)	-	9	12	6	27
Plata Villa. (Girls)	5	5	7	7	24
	12	36	44	20	112
	10.7%	32.1%	39.2%	17.8%	

-o-o-o-

As indicated at the beginning of this report, the Arithmetic test is also constructed for the testing of adults and the first part - 40 simple problems involving elementary addition, multiplication, subtraction and division should cause no anxiety to the youngest child tested, but the second part is much too advanced (it involves the knowledge of logarithms etc.) and would be unintelligible to the majority of the 346 children.

Table VII shows the distribution of the Arithmetic results and a worse analysis is found when a comparison is made with Table I: -

Table VII.
Distribution of Arithmetical Standard.

Total	Selective Grades.					
	Grade 1.	Grade 2.	Grade 3+.	Grade 3-.	Grade 4.	Grade 5.
346	2	30	34	61	117	102
	5%	8.6%	9.8%	17.6%	33.8%	29.4%

Bearing in mind that 32% of the children are of above-average intelligence, and only 19% have gained a Grade 3+ score and over, it would appear that the best use has not been made of the available intelligence. Two reasons immediately are suggested - 1st, that Gibraltar children are not mathematically minded, and in point of fact, the opposite is reckoned to be the case, especially so far as girls are concerned, or 2nd, that educational facilities afforded up to the present time have been incapable of developing the juvenile propensity for "sums".

Reference has been made in the preceding paragraph to the arithmetical prowess of the female sex but this belief is completely discredited by Table VIII below: -

Table VIII.
Distribution of Arithmetical Standard according to Sex.

Sex	Total	Grade 1.	Grade 2.	Grade 3+.	Grade 3-.	Grade 4.	Grade 5.
Male.	204	2	21	22	39	62	58
		22.5% Above-average.			77.5% Below-average.		
Female.	142	-	9	12	22	55	44
		14.7% Above-average.			85.2% Below-average.		

When the results of the Arithmetic Test for both sexes are scrutinised (see Table IX), however the capacity for learning is very pronounced (and as a "fair" sample must be 14+ years and above for comparison with military personnel) it is feasible that a sufficient number of children over 14 years and adolescents would produce better results than an identical number of British youngsters. Table IX, in support of this theory, shows only 3% of 11+ years were above-average, 10% of 12+ years, 30% of 13+ years and 61% of 14+ years.

Table IX.
Effect of Age on Distribution of Arithmetical Standard (both sexes).

Age	Total	Selective Grades.					
		Grade 1.	Grade 2.	Grade 3+.	Grade 3-.	Grade 4.	Grade 5.
11+	101	-	2	1	16	38	44
		-	2%	1%	16%	37.5%	43.5%
12+	109	-	5	6	21	43	34
		-	4.6%	5.5%	19.2%	39.4%	31.2%
13+	100	2	11	17	19	33	18
		2%	11%	17%	19%	33%	18%
14+	36	-	12	10	5	3	6
		-	33.3%	27.7%	13.8%	8.3%	16.7%

When the Arithmetical standard of each school is revealed, the details can only be regarded as most disturbing and this is seemingly a problem of magnitude. Table X gives full particulars; -

Table X.
Distribution of Arithmetical Standard in each School.

School	Total	Selective Grades.					
		Grade 1.	Grade 2.	Grade 3+.	Grade 3-.	Grade 4.	Grade 5.
Sacred Heart.	160	1	12	14	31	51	51
		.6%	7.5%	8.7%	19.3%	31.8%	31.8%
Line Wall.	99	-	-	8	14	41	36
		-	-	8%	14%	41%	36%
Plata Villa. (Boys)	44	1	9	8	8	11	7
		2.2%	20.4%	18.1%	18.1%	25%	16%
Plata Villa. (Girls)	43	-	9	4	8	14	8
		-	20.9%	9.3%	18.1%	32.5%	18.1%

A comparison of above-average intelligent children and those who have gained an above-median score on Arithmetic is as follows: -

Table XI.
Comparison of above-median results in Intelligence and Arithmetic Standards.

School.	Matrix.	Arithmetic.
Sacred Heart	27%	17%
Line Wall	17%	8%
Plata Villa (Boys)	62%	40%
Plata Villa (Girls)	48%	30%

This confirms the contents of the paragraph below Table VII and the inference reached after looking at the Mathematical ability of the children is that all ages are suffering to the same degree of retardation in this subject.

With reference to those observations earlier in this report in regard to the necessity for a Secondary School in Gibraltar, the results of the Arithmetic test also show an amount of latent talent in the schools visited. The minimum standard to be expected of candidates for a scholarship or entrance examination for the Secondary School is 3 minus and this qualification permits 126 children being considered for possible vacancies. The distribution according to age groups remains proportionate with the percentages recorded in Table VI, yet apparently 14% is the maximum number of 11 year olds whose ability justifies their recommendation for further education. Table XII shows distribution of Secondary nominees amongst the three schools named: -

Table XII.
Number and Age of children suitable for Secondary Training.

School	Age				Total
	11+	12+	13+	14+	
Sacred Heart	12	16	22	8	58
Line Wall	3	8	8	3	22
Plata Villa (Boys)	1	7	12	6	26

CONCLUSIONS:

1. Based on appropriate schoolchildren norms, it is safe to say that, on the aggregate, this sample of 346 Gibraltarian children, between 11 and 15 years of age; is at least as intelligent as a comparable group of British schoolchildren.
2. There are more dullards and backward children than there should be - to an excess of approx. 10/15%.
3. The gradation from 11+ to 14½ in their ability to absorb what is taught is indicative of acute mental alertness.
4. Having regard to Arithmetic Test results, there is need for considerable leeway to be recovered by these children.

J. Anderson
Sergeant.
Personnel-Selection Staff.

K.G.V. Hospital,
Gibraltar.
10th November, 1944.

See report (10.11.44)

*Messrs. W. & A. R. & Co.
Physicians.*

D/E.

From 5. For comment.

MC. 17/41

C.S.
I shall watch closely the situation. Arithmetical problems are particularly acute in a bi-lingual area, & a better knowledge of English will help. The fact that examination flying hours etc. have interfered with education is reflected in the number of backward children. It is all a case for more accommodation when available & smaller classes.

W.A.
18/41

Appendix 21
The Gibraltar Compulsory Education Ordinance No.7 of 1917

Compulsory Education Ordinance, 1917.

[No. 7 of 1917]

L8



G I B R A L T A R .

No. 7 of 1917.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY SIR HERBERT SCOTT GOULD MILES,
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES,
KNIGHT GRAND CROSS OF THE MOST HONOURABLE
ORDER OF THE BATH, KNIGHT GRAND CROSS OF
THE MOST DISTINGUISHED ORDER OF SAINT MICHAEL
AND SAINT GEORGE, COMMANDER OF THE ROYAL
VICTORIAN ORDER, GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER-IN-
CHIEF OF THE CITY AND GARRISON OF GIBRALTAR,
&c., &c., &c.

H. G. MILES.

[30th May, 1917]

*An ORDINANCE for making the Elementary
Education of Children compulsory upon their
parents and guardians and for making grants
in aid of Elementary Schools.*

BE it enacted by His Excellency the Governor of the City
and Garrison of Gibraltar as follows:—

1. This Ordinance may be cited as "The Compulsory Education Ordinance, 1917." Short title.

Interpretation.

2. In this Ordinance the following words shall have the meaning attached to them as follows:—

“Child” shall mean any child above the age of five years and below the age of fourteen years.

“Parent” shall, in addition to its ordinary meaning, include any person having the care and custody of a child.

“Employ” and “Employment” shall mean employ and employment respectively in labour exercised by way of trade or for the purposes of gain.

“Employer” shall include a parent employing within the meaning of the foregoing definition.

“Inspector of Schools” and “Inspector” shall mean the officer nominated by the Governor to supervise the carrying out of the provisions of this Ordinance and the Code set out in the Schedule thereto.

“Regular attendance” shall mean attendance on every occasion on which the school is open.

Duty of parent to educate child.

39 & 40 Vic. c. 79
Sec. 4.

3. It shall be the duty of the parent of every child to cause such child to receive sufficient elementary instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic; and if such parent fail to perform such duty, he shall be liable to such orders and penalties as are provided by this Ordinance.

When attendance order may be made.

4. If either:—

(1) the parent of any child habitually and without reasonable excuse neglects to provide either elementary instruction for his child at a local school certified by the Inspector of Schools as efficient, or efficient elementary instruction elsewhere, the proof of which latter shall lie upon the parent; or

(2) any child is found habitually wandering or not under proper control, or in company of rogues, vagabonds, disorderly persons, or reputed criminals,

it shall be the duty of the Chief of Police, after due warning conveyed to the parent of the child, to complain to the Police Magistrate, who may order that the child do attend some school certified by the Inspector of Schools as efficient, which is willing to receive him, and named in the order; such school shall be either such as the parent may select, or, if he

(2)

do not select any, then such public elementary school as the Police Magistrate may think expedient; and the child shall make regular attendance at such school. Such order is in this Ordinance referred to as an attendance order.

It shall be a reasonable excuse under this Ordinance that the absence of the child from school has been caused by sickness or any unavoidable cause.

5. Where an attendance order is not complied with without reasonable excuse, the Police Magistrate may, on complaint made by the Chief of Police,

Penalties for non-compliance with attendance order.

(1) in the first case of non-compliance, if the parent of the child does not appear, or appears and fails to satisfy the Court that he has used all reasonable efforts to enforce compliance with the order, impose upon the parent a fine not exceeding ten shillings, and

(2) in the second or any subsequent case of non-compliance under the same circumstances, impose upon the parent a fine not exceeding two pounds.

Provided always that if the Police Magistrate is satisfied that the parent has used all reasonable efforts to enforce upon the child compliance with the order, he may, in either of the said cases, order the child, if a male, to be whipped, with not more than six strokes of a birch rod; if the parent appears and desires to be present, such whipping shall be inflicted in his presence.

6. (1) No person shall employ any child under the age of ten years.

Employment of children.

(2) No person shall employ any child above the age of ten years who has not obtained a certificate of his proficiency in reading, writing and elementary arithmetic (which proficiency shall in no case be less than that required in Standard IV of the Code) given either by the Inspector of Schools or a person in charge of some certified or public elementary school, unless the employer shall have been supplied with a certificate from such a person that the child is in regular attendance at some such school, or from the Inspector of Schools that from enquiries made, he is satisfied that the child is in regular attendance at some efficient school outside

(3)

Gibraltar. Whenever a certificate as to regular attendance has been given by a person in charge of a school, and the child in respect of whose attendance the certificate has been given, ceases to be in regular attendance, such person shall forthwith notify the Inspector of Schools of the non-attendance of the said child.

Provided that no child shall be employed before the hour of 1 p.m. on Saturdays and the hour of 3 p.m. on other week days.

(3) Where a child has been taken into employment on a certificate that he is in regular attendance at some school in accordance with the preceding sub-section, and the employer receives notice from the Inspector of Schools or the Chief of Police that the child has ceased to be in regular attendance at such school without having obtained a certificate of proficiency as required, and no certificate is supplied to him that the child is in regular attendance at some other such school, he shall immediately discharge such child from his employ, and he shall not be liable for damages or any other penalty for so doing.

(4) An employer contravening the provisions of this section shall be liable on summary conviction to a penalty not exceeding two pounds.

Power to exempt children over 12 years of age undergoing training in an art or craft.

7. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in this Ordinance, children over the age of twelve years may be exempted from the attendance prescribed by this Ordinance if they are receiving training in an art or craft to the satisfaction of the Governor, and in addition such elementary education as shall be required by the Governor.

In each case in which an exemption has been granted under this section, the Inspector of Schools shall be forthwith notified of such exemption, and it shall be his duty to report annually or from time to time, for the information of the Governor as to the elementary education provided in accordance with this section, and as to the proficiency of the children so exempted.

Complaints how heard.

8. All complaints and informations under this Ordinance shall be heard and determined under the provisions of the Justices Ordinance, 1890.

(4)

Provided always that the Police Magistrate may, if he shall think fit, hear and decide any case under Section 4 or 5 of this Ordinance in his private room.

9. The Governor may make annual grants from the Public Revenue of the Colony, in aid of the Elementary Schools for the education of the Poor of Gibraltar subject to the conditions and according to the scale set forth in the Education Code in force in this Colony.

Grants in aid of
Elementary
Schools.

10. The Code set out in the Schedule to this Ordinance shall be the Education Code in force in this Colony, and it shall be lawful for the Governor from time to time to make rules, amending or repealing the said Code or any part thereof.

Education Code set
out in Schedule.

11. This Ordinance shall come into operation upon a date to be appointed by the Governor by notice in the *Official Gazette*.

Ordinance when
to come into
operation.

Passed, 30th May, 1917.

By Command,

FRED. EVANS,
Acting Colonial Secretary.

SCHEDULE.

CODE.

PART I.

General Condition
of Grants.

1. The Grants from Public Revenue to be made in aid of Elementary Schools for the Education of the Poor of Gibraltar will be dependent upon the Schools fulfilling the conditions laid down in this Code, and upon such other conditions as may be determined from time to time by His Excellency the Governor with the approval of the Secretary of State.

Inspector of
Schools and his
duties.

2. An Inspector of Schools shall be appointed by the Governor with the approval of the Secretary of State to verify the fulfilment of the conditions on which the grants are to be made—to examine into the attendance and proficiency of Scholars—and to report annually, or from time to time, on all such subjects as well as on the efficiency of each School in respect of organisation, discipline, and instruction—and annually to assess all grants in aid under this Code with the approval of the Governor. The Inspector of Schools shall be the medium of communication between the Managers of the Schools and the Governor in matters relating to the working of this Ordinance and Code.

3. In making the necessary examinations of the Scholars and Registers of attendance the Inspector shall be assisted by the Managers of the Schools, and by such other temporary assistant examiners as the Governor may approve.

4. The Inspector shall be at liberty to visit a School at any time without notice, and to call for and examine any Registers or School Books or Accounts ordered by these Rules to be kept and submitted for inspection.

Religious
Instruction

5. The Inspector will not examine any Scholar in any religious subject, nor will he in any way interfere with the religious instruction. No grant or credit shall be given in respect of any instruction in religious subjects.

Secular
Instruction.

6. The Inspector will require and satisfy himself that at least $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours of each attendance, counting towards a Grant, are devoted to secular instruction given in the English language. The necessity for the use of Spanish in teaching English, especially in the lower Standards, is fully recognised, and it must not in any way be considered as precluded or discouraged by this Rule.

7. No School shall be eligible for any grant until the Governor has been satisfied by the Report of the Inspector:—

- a. That suitable premises, approved by the Inspector, are provided.
- b. That it is a Public Elementary School for the primary education of the children of the poor of Gibraltar.
- c. That the School is managed by some responsible person, Board, or Committee—solely in the public

(6)

interest and not for any gain or profit direct or indirect. This or these persons to be called the Managers. In the case of a Board or Committee the Managers will correspond with the Inspector of Schools through their own appointed Secretary.

- d. That it has at least one efficient or trained teacher approved by the Inspector.
- e. That it is open to inspection and examination, for which every facility must be given by the Managers.
- f. That aliens are excluded until all British children shall have been provided for—that children be admitted by priority of application—that no child is refused admission except on grounds allowed by the Inspector or sanctioned by the Governor.
- g. That the following books; in approved form, are regularly kept and posted up and submitted for the examination of the Inspector, whenever required, viz.:—

A General Admission Register.

The necessary Class Registers with Summary ;
also a Register of Payments by the Scholars.

The Account of detailed receipts and detailed expenditure of the Manager or Treasurer.

The Capital Account of the Manager or Treasurer.

The School Log Book.

- h. That under ordinary circumstances the School shall have been opened 400 times in the School year, or shall have met 200 times morning and afternoon for at least three hours of secular instruction in English.

That in the case of a Night School it shall have been opened 40 times in the year for not less than 1½ hours secular instruction in English.

- j. That in Girls and Infant Schools suitable instruction in plain needlework has been provided.
- k. That the finances of the Schools receiving Government grants are kept quite separately from those of any unaided Schools, even though the latter may be under the same Manager.

8. An attendance to count for a grant shall be from 10 a.m. to 12 noon, and from 12.30 p.m. to 2.30 p.m. The roll must be called at 10 a.m. and at 12.30 p.m., and the Registers marked forthwith. Any child absent at roll call must be returned as "absent" on the Register, and any child leaving school or

removed from school before the close of the meeting must be subsequently marked on the Register as "absent." The Master or Principal Teacher will be held responsible that this rule is followed.

9. The average number of Scholars in attendance for any period is found by adding together the attendances of all the Scholars for the period and dividing the sum by the number of times the school has met within the same period, the quotient being the average number in attendance, and it should be taken at the nearest whole number.

10. Whenever the Governor shall be of opinion that the preservation of Public Health or other urgent cause demands the closing of the public schools, the Managers of every aided school shall comply with all instructions from the Governor as to closing and reopening the school.

11. For testing the proficiency of the Scholars the Inspector shall be at liberty to examine the Scholars individually or in class, and by *viva voce* or by written tests; and the Inspector may arrange a special annual visit for this purpose, of which he will give notice, and on this occasion the School Managers are requested also to visit the School.

12. Great importance will be attached to the accuracy and trustworthy characters of all Registers, records, returns and certificates—and as grants of money from Public Revenue depend upon these records and certificates the Teachers or Managers signing and attesting such documents will be held responsible that they only sign after full, careful and adequate personal enquiry.

13. The amount of the annual grant to each School will be assessed and settled by the Inspector with the approval of the Governor, according to the general scale hereinafter provided.

14. The grants may be withheld or reduced on account of neglect in management, of non-conformity with the Code, of general inefficiency or want of discipline, or on account of any other specific defect of the School which the Inspector may bring to the notice of the Governor.

15. The Table of Standards hereinafter given is intended as a guide to the Managers for classifying the children under instruction and examination. The Managers shall classify the children and record each child's progress through the Standards. As a general rule, a child will be expected to rise one Standard each year.

16. School-pence shall be regularly collected and brought to account, and shall be in weekly payments not less than one penny and not exceeding ten pence, according to the Managers' view of the means of the parents or guardians. In the case of any child, whose parents or guardians declare to the Managers their inability to pay one penny a week, a

(8)

special grant will be allowed by the Inspector not exceeding five shillings to the Managers for such child, but the Inspector will require a certificate recording the circumstances of each case, prepared by the Managers and endorsed by the Chief of Police or a Minister of Religion, after personal enquiry by them. Printed forms for these certificates will be furnished by the Government.

17. In order to prevent overcrowding of the Schools, the Inspector will, from time to time, fix a number for each School, beyond which the average number in attendance shall not be allowed to pass. For this purpose the Inspector will take measurements and have regard to all the circumstances of the buildings in each case.

18. In any poor school where trades or crafts shall be taught to the boys, or where thrift, house management and cooking shall be taught to girls, to the satisfaction of the Inspector, such School shall be eligible for a grant, even though its management may not be conducted in other respects according to the preceding sections of this Code. The Inspector will assess such grants having regard to all the circumstances of the School.

PART II.

GENERAL SCALE OR TABLE OF GRANTS THAT
MAY BE MADE TO POOR SCHOOLS IN AID
OF ANNUAL ATTENDANCE.

IN A DAY SCHOOL.

	£	s.	d.
In an efficient School, either for Boys, or Girls, or Infants or a mixed School, per Scholar under the age of sixteen years in average attendance	1	5	0

IN A NIGHT SCHOOL.

For each Scholar who shall have made 40 attendances in the year	0	6	0
For each Scholar in average attendance	0	15	0

N.B.—The rule as to age limit does not affect the Scholars in a night-school.

(9)

PART III.
STANDARDS OF EXAMINATION.

	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	Standard I.	Standard II.	Standard III.	Standard IV.	Standard V.	Standard VI.	Standard VII.
READING	The Alphabet, words, and sounds of two or three letters.	Monosyllables.	One of the narratives next in order after monosyllables in an elementary reading book used in the School.	A short paragraph from an elementary reading book.	A short paragraph from a more advanced reading book.	A few lines of poetry or prose.	A short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper or other modern narrative.	To read with fluency and expression.	To read fluently from some standard author.
WRITING	Copy the strokes and characters on the blackboard.	Write the letters from dictation. Copy a line written on the blackboard.	Copy in manuscript character a line of print and write from dictation a few common words.	A sentence from the same book slowly read once and then dictated in single words.	A sentence slowly dictated once, a few words at a time, from a reading book.	A sentence slowly dictated once, a few words at a time, from a reading book used in the School.	Another short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper or other modern narrative, slowly dictated once by a few words at a time.	A short theme or letter, or an easy paraphrase.	Composition (a choice of three subjects being allowed).
ARITHMETIC...	Counting up to 100.	Simple addition and subtraction of single numbers.	Simple addition and subtraction of numbers of not more than four figures, the addition to be of not more than 4 addends, and the multiplication table to multiplication by six.	The multiplication table and any simple rule as far as division.	Compound rules (money).	Compound rules (weights and measures).	Practice or Bills of Parcels, with mental arithmetic.	Proportion. Vulgar & decimal fractions. Simple Interest. Mental arithmetic.	Averages, and Percentages. Compound Interest.

GEOGRAPHY...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	General Elementary Geography of the World. Europe, British Isles.	Geography of Europe and of the other Continents, except the one selected by Standard V., as well as of the British Isles and Colonies.	General Geography of the world, and of the British Isles, and Colonies in detail.
GRAMMAR...	—	—	—	—	—	—	To point out the parts of speech in a simple sentence.	The parts of speech with their relations in a sentence and Analysis of a simple sentence.	Parsing and analysis of complex and compound sentences.	

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Appendix 22 Gibraltar's Directors of Education

Directors of Education are one category of official, among a number, who were British initially, later to be replaced by Gibraltarians. There was no Department of Education and, therefore, no Director of Education as such until after World War II. Before then, the administration of education, as far as it existed, was in the hands of the Colonial Government and the Governor. Much of the provision was organized by or through the churches, especially the Roman Catholic Church.

The Clifford Report of 1943 advocated that there should be a Director of Education appointed and no time was lost in doing so. However, as we shall see, uncertainties surfaced from time to time regarding the title and responsibilities of the post. The full list as displayed in the Education Department is as follows:-

H.W.HOWES	1944 – 49
W.A.GRACE	1950 – 54
H.BELSHAW	1955 – 58
T.R.ROWELL	1959 – 62
M.CAMPBELL	1962 – 66
J.H.HARRINGTON	1966 – 69
C.J.M.WALLACE	1970 – 71
W.HENDERSON	1972 – 74
A.W.JOHNS	1974 – 78
B.MELLOR	1978 – 83
J.J.ALCANTARA	1983 – 95
L.LESTER	1995 –

The impressions of those who remember some of the Directors are consistently the same: the quality of the incumbents varied considerably, from the excellent to the inexcusably poor. The view was expressed more than once that one or two came to Gibraltar to escape from problems left behind. Certainly, one had a serious alcohol problem which he had when he came and which led to his subsequent downfall. The story has it that, within weeks of arrival, and refreshed by drink, he pinched a lady's bottom in a bar in Catalan Bay, from which he escaped in a hurry. On his first school visit he encountered the lady again - as she was teaching a class! Another, allegedly, had considerable financial problems and he was in serious trouble with the bank! Yet another, it is said, arrived with his 'wife' only to be confronted in the Education Department some months later by another claiming to be his real wife!

The appointment of sometimes inadequate Directors by the Colonial Office or the Ministry of defence should not obscure the fact that some were first-class, including the first, **Dr.H.W.Howes** (1886 – 1978). We see that he came with very good credentials from the announcement in the Gibraltar Chronicle in 1943. Evidence from Norwich College confirms Howes' high standing. He was Principal of Norwich College from 1936 – 44 where he was 'undoubtedly the most dynamic of all the college's Principals'..... 'a Norwich man whose brothers established a renowned firm of chartered surveyors which is still in

business. He seems to have taken the educational life of the city by storm, lecturing and writing prolifically, and locking horns in public debate with all and sundry.... It is probably no coincidence that the splendid series of press clippings files, which the college still maintains, began with his arrival. After spells in the merchant Navy, as a journalist with the Norwich Mercury, and then in the Royal Marines, from which he was discharged as disabled in 1917, Howes had gone to the University of Wales, graduating in 1921.

He then won an exhibition in education and a travelling scholarship in anthropology, which took him to Spain, and was awarded his M.Sc. and PhD by the University of London. After various teaching posts he came to the College as Principal in 1936, and almost immediately gave a much-publicised address on “Technical Education and Culture”, which reflected his omnivorous enthusiasm for combining scholarship with vocational study. He lectured endlessly on aspects of European civilisation, as well as education, personally led parties of students on trips abroad, and never lost an opportunity to promote tourism and travel as a subject worthy of serious study (becoming Chief Examiner for the Institute of Travel Agents). He even managed to pick up another degree on the way – a London M.A. – for a thesis on “The problems, political, religious, economic, social and industrial, arising from the application of modern education among European groups living in isolation and at a comparatively low level of culture”.

It was during his time that ambitious new plans were made for expanding the college even further on a new site, but he did not stay to see it, moving on to become Director of Education for Gibraltar and, after only a year, taking on additional responsibilities as Public Relations Officer. From there he became Director of Education for Ceylon, spent some time working for UNESCO in the Caribbean, served as Director of Education in British Honduras, and then took a number of advisory posts. He was awarded the OBE in 1948, became a CMG in 1951 and received honours from the governments of Spain, Belgium and France...He died of a heart attack two days before his 82nd birthday in 1978, characteristically while on holiday in Spain'.ⁱ

Howes was Director of Education at a critical time. Gibraltar was preparing for a fresh start and Howes must have been aware of the debate in education that went on in the United Kingdom for most of the wartime years. He saw Gibraltar's post-war system up and running and he accomplished a very great deal. He seems to have been a good administrator and his public lectures on education confirmed that he had the ideas which underpinned the Clifford report and more. From the evidence of Catalan Bay teacher, Stephen Macarri when aged 92, Howes was a man who talked to teachers and who was respected and admired by them. Apart from education, his two books on the history and people of Gibraltar have been extremely influentialⁱⁱ. Colonial Secretary Miles

Clifford thought Howes a 'queer fellow'. No doubt he did not conform to the stereotype of the Colonial civil servant. There is a belief in some quarters that Howes felt himself undervalued and not properly rewarded for the service he gave.

Rather less can be written about some of the Directors who followed Howes. In some cases the details are not known. Howes was obviously a difficult person to follow. His immediate successor was **William A. Grace** (1909 – 1981) for whom the system was, in the words of Colonial Office Education Adviser Freda Gwilliam, 'sufficiently established administratively and accepted by the public generally for the second Director of Education to be able to devote his time and skill to the development of the professional side and to increasing harmonious relations between all those concerned with education'. As a very experienced teacher, with some knowledge of local administration in the United Kingdom, Grace was well-equipped to do that.

He was a Roman Catholic, born in Glasgow, a graduate in English of Glasgow University, trained at Jordanhill College of Education and he taught from 1931 to the outbreak of war. He served as an Education Officer in the R.A.F., leaving with the rank of Ag.Squadron Leader. He returned to teaching after the war but he soon obtained a post as Education Officer in Dorset, from where he went to Gibraltar. After four years in Gibraltar, and one year in the White Fathers'

Mission in West Africa, Grace returned to London where he became Headmaster of St.Francis' Secondary School in Peckham. In 1974 he was awarded the Papal medal Bene Merenti for services to education.

Grace saw the system through an important period of consolidation and he seems to have done that competently. He was also responsible for several annual reports which provide a valuable record of education in Gibraltar over many years.

When Grace resigned in 1954 there was the first of one or two periods of uncertainty regarding appointments. In this case it was mostly due to the 'considerable difficulty encountered in filling the vacancy...In the face of that difficulty, arrangements were made ...for the **Rev.Brother W.D.Foley**, who had until then been headmaster of the Gibraltar Grammar School, to assume duty as Educational Adviser to the Government of Gibraltar'. Elsewhere Bro.Foley speaks of himself as being Director of Education without administrative responsibilities, although he is not listed officially as occupying that post. A letter from Colonial Office Education Adviser, Freda Gwilliam, introduces the name of Olga Giraldi at this time: '..the point is that Miss Giraldi has been allowed to hold the post of Director of Education (Acting) for nearly two years while Mr.Grace was on leave and since his departure (4.1.55)...I suggest a new title for her...Administrative Secretary for Education...salary

£900 - £1,000..'iii. Anyway, Bro.Foley was in post for about 18 months and he produced some valuable reports, designed to modify the selection process in ways which suited Gibraltar.

When Bro.Foley left in 1955, a Director was appointed and he was to take up his duties in October. He was **Henry Belshaw**. He had had 24 years school experience, mostly as headmaster. For a further 11 years he had been H.M.I. in Westmoreland and Buckinghamshire. For a period he was Deputy Director of the British Families Education Service in occupied Germany. Belshaw came on a salary of £1,400 per annum, + 10% (pensionable), less 10% for quarters and 3% of the value of the furniture! Not a great deal is known about Belshaw who must have come out of retirement to take the post. He appears to have done the job efficiently and he is remembered by one retired teacher, John Sciacaluga, as 'straightforward...a gentleman...people liked him..'.

Belshaw was succeeded in 1959 by **T.R.Rowell** about whom little has been discovered. His background was probably Colonial.

At about this time the title of the post was changed to Inspector of Schools and Planning Officer, confirming the uncertainty about the appointment. That was the title taken by Rowell's successor, **M.Campbell**, who took over in 1962. Little is known about Campbell also. He is thought to have been a Prisoner of

War in Burma for some years and he may not have enjoyed the best of health. When he left Gibraltar he went to a post in the University of Reading, perhaps in the bursar's office. By 1965 the post was carried the title of Chief Education Officer.

Under the next incumbent, **J.H.Harrington**, who was appointed in 1966, the title of the post continued to be Chief Education Officer. Again, little is known about Harrington but he is believed to have been a teacher of Modern languages. With that background he appears to have lacked credibility among the staff.

Harrington left in 1969 and in a report issued that year^{iv} it is stated that, under the 1969 Constitution, the Minister of Education was responsible for education.

The report continues:-

The Chief Education Officer is the principal executive of the Department of Education with special responsibilities for advising the Minister of Education. He is responsible for the inspection of schools and he is assisted by the Education Officer. The Education Officer is responsible for developing English Language teaching and for curricula, syllabuses and audio-visual and programmed learning projects. Evening classes and cultural activities also come within the schedule of duties of this officer.

On Harrington's departure there was a further period of uncertainty. The idea at first was not to make an appointment and, at least for a trial period of three months, the Education Officer and the Administrative Officer would share what

had been the Director of Education's role. Harrington was asked to suggest a division of labour between the two, which he did while making it clear that he thought the idea a bad one. The D/E post was advertised later and there were five local candidates, including J.L.Romero who became a headteacher. None was seen as suitable.

The next person to be appointed was **C.J.Wallace** about whom almost nothing is known. The vacancy was advertised by the Ministry of Overseas Development in the "Times Educational Supplement" of 30th January 1970 and the "Observer" of 1st February 1970. The post was named as that of Chief Education Officer and the requirements were given as follows:-

"Candidates, men only, must be qualified teachers, preferably with a degree and wide experience in teaching and educational administration. Experience of comprehensive and technical education is also most desirable. The appointment will either be on secondment or contract terms with the Government of Gibraltar for one tour of three years in the first instance. Basic salary £2,100 plus a tax free inducement allowance. Terminal gratuity. Free passages. Generous leave and allowances. Candidates should be citizens of and permanently resident in the United Kingdom".

Almost nothing is known about Wallace. He stayed for a very short time and there is a suggestion that he might have suffered from a serious illness.

Wallace was succeeded by **Walter Henderson**, Deputy Director of Education for Berwickshire, in Scotland. As the Gibraltar Chronicle of 12th January 1972

shows, the title Director of Education had been re-instated. Henderson, the son of a miner, attended Buckhaven High School in Fife. He graduated M.A.(Hons) in history from Edinburgh University. He became a teacher the Principal Teacher of History in Sutherland, in the north of Scotland. From there he joined the Directorate in Berwickshire where he was ‘...likeable and popular’... ‘He had a sharp mind’ ... ‘and he brought much of value to the office’. He spent two years in Nigeria on a Scottish Education Department contract, working in teacher training.

Henderson resigned after two years in Gibraltar ‘for personal reasons’. He had ‘steered Gibraltar into comprehensive education after having to take over when things were in rather a state of flux’. The Administrative Secretary, Mr.J.L.Pitaluga, from the Colonial Secretariat was appointed Acting Director of Education, not someone already in education.

The next and second-last expatriate Director of Education was Alan W.Johns CMG, OBE,SQA. Born in Hampshire, Johns was educated at Farnborough Grammar School and, after completing national Service with the Royal Artillery (Field), he trained as a teacher at King Alfred’s College, Winchester, subsequently obtaining an honours degree in economics from London University, through external studies.

Alan Johns spent seventeen years abroad, firstly as Education Officer in St.Helena, where he was a member of the Island's Executive and Legislative Councils. From 1961 – 1974 he was Director of Education in the Seychelles. In 1973 he was awarded the OBE for services to the Seychelles community.

During his years in Gibraltar from 1974 to 1978 Alan Johns became very fond of the place and its people. He was widely respected and he is remembered as 'one of the best Directors of Education'.

On returning to the United Kingdom he joined the Royal Commonwealth Society for the Blind, subsequently known as Sight Savers International, firstly as Sir John Wilson's deputy for overseas programming, then succeeding him as Executive Director in 1984. His work in this field extended to kindred bodies and organizations. Alan Johns contracted Motor Neurone Disease and he died in 1995.

The Director of Education from 1978 to 1983, the last from the United Kingdom, was **Brian Mellor (1939 -)**. He was a career Education Officer seconded from Essex local education authority with which Gibraltar has had strong traditional links.

Mellor was educated at Doncaster Grammar School. He gained an honours degree in geography at Sheffield University. From there he went to King's College, Durham, to do the Post-Graduate Certificate in Education where he also gained a Diploma in Physical Education. He then took an appointment as Education Officer at Bida in Northern Nigeria where he combined administration with teaching. He returned to Britain for a short while to take a temporary post as Head of Geography in a school in Sussex. Another overseas post followed, at Teso College in Uganda where he became Acting Principal. With the rise of Amin he returned to U.K. and he took a post with Essex LEA, the largest authority in the country. He gained rapid promotion there.

He was asked by the Chief Education Officer to consider the vacancy for a Director of Education in Gibraltar. He said he would provided that he could go on secondment. He stayed longer than expected, under pressure from the Foreign Office, when the political climate with Spain was bad. He returned to Essex in 1983 and in the re-organized authority he became Area Education Officer. He retired from that post in 1995 and he became an educational consultant, doing work for various authorities.

Mellor seems to have been a competent and well-liked Director. He and his family were active in the life of the community, especially in the field of music and drama. One of his daughters completed A-Levels at Westside School for

Girls. Brian Mellor provided a good model for others and he was very pleased to know that his successor would be the first Gibraltarian to hold the post on a permanent basis.

Julio J. Alcantara (1939 -) was the man who became the first locally-appointed Director of Education for Gibraltar, amid some controversy. The Gibraltar Teachers' Association, in which Julio had himself been active for many years, protested that the appointment had been 'mishandled by the Establishment Division of the Gibraltar Government'. The argument was that a number of teachers in senior posts had been debarred from applying. There was no objection to Julio personally and the appointment was confirmed.

Of Portuguese origins, the Alcantaras were well established in Gibraltar. Julio was born and educated there. After schooling at Gibraltar Grammar School he became a pupil teacher before going to St.Mary's College, Strawberry Hill, for teacher-training. After many years as a classroom teacher he became Head of Department at Lourdes Secondary Modern School and then Assistant Head at Bayside Boys' Comprehensive School. For a period he was Warden of the Teachers' Centre and he wrote a successful school textbook on Medieval Gibraltar'. After completing a Diploma Course in Educational Management he was appointed Education Officer in 1977. Some five years later in 1983 he took up the post as Director of Education.

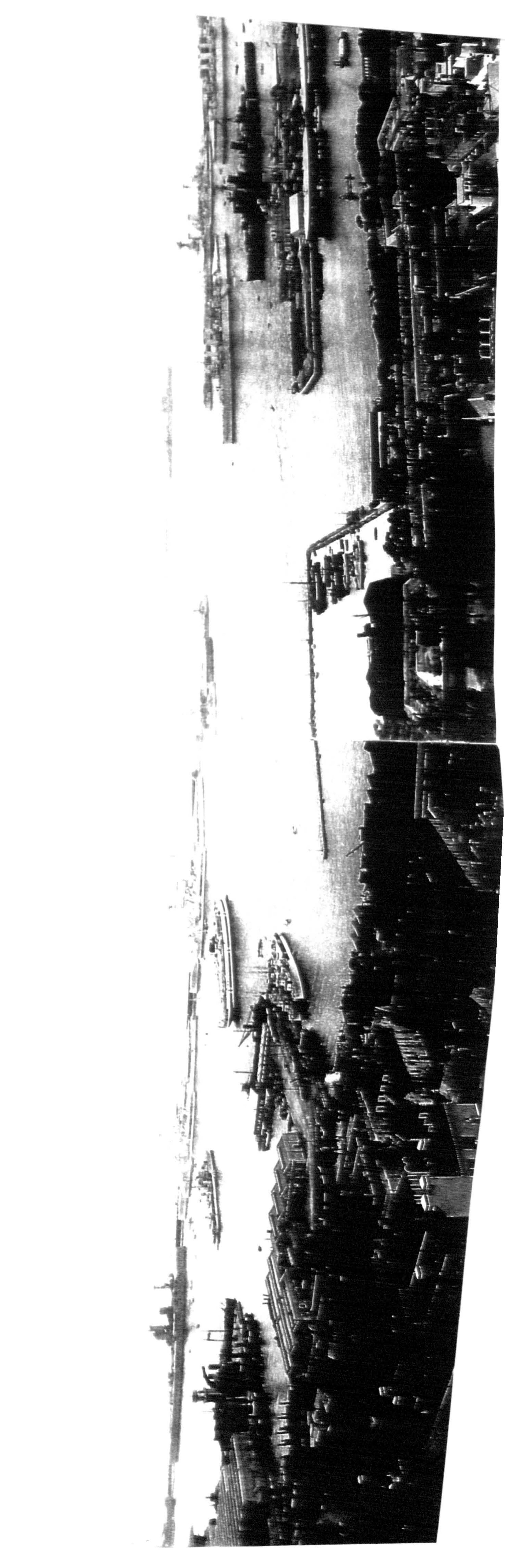
Leslie Lester (19--) succeeded Julio Alcantara on 6th November 1995. Born and brought up in Gibraltar, he enjoyed a very successful career in education. In 1969 he was awarded a government scholarship and he proceeded to Hull University where he completed a B.Sc. degree in physics followed by a Post-graduate Certificate in Education. He became a teacher at Bayside Comprehensive School and in 1974 he gained promotion as Head of Department. In 1976 he became Science Coordinator in the school and he was Ag. Deputy Head for about a year. In 1980 he returned to Hull University to complete an M.A. in Education Management. On his return he took up one of the two Senior Teacher's posts, in Curriculum Development, while Dr. B.Linares held the other, Senior Teacher(Pastoral). There had been no adviser for a year or so, due to the reluctance of the government to pay the appropriate salary now that the post had been 'localised', but in September 1993 the General Education Adviser post was created. Leslie Lester was selected from five or six applicants and he began in that post when Julio Alcantara became Director. His duties included overall supervision of the Teachers' Centre.

NOTES

- i Information about Howes' past was obtained from Dr.G.A.Metters, City College, Norwich.
- ii Howes, H.W. (1946), The Story of Gibraltar and Howes, H.W. (1950), The Gibraltarian: The Origin and Development of the Population of Gibraltar from 1704. Howes' Outline Course in Civics was no doubt of considerable use during the early post-war years.
- iii See File CO926/160 in the Public Record Office.
- iv The Colonial Annual report for 1969 published by HMSO.
- v Alcantara, J.J. (1979), Medieval Gibraltar.

Appendix 23
The Home and Mediterranean Fleets at Anchor in Gibraltar in 1938





5 March 37

COMBINED FLEETS AT GIBRALTAR

Gathering After Manoeuvres

On the completion of the exercises in the Atlantic the Home Fleet, under the command of Admiral Sir Roger Backhouse and the Mediterranean Fleet, commanded by Admiral Sir A. Dudley Pound, will return to Gibraltar to-morrow. The following vessels are expected in port:

MEDITERRANEAN FLEET

Queen Elizabeth: Flying the flag of the Commander-in-Chief, Mediterranean Fleet, Admiral Sir A. Dudley Pound, K.C.B., Chief of Staff Rear-Admiral G.F.B. Edward Coloins, R.N.

Barham: Flagship of Rear-Admiral T.H. Binney, C.B., D.S.O.

BATTLE CRUISER SQUADRON

HOOD: Flagship of Rear-Admiral Commanding First Cruiser Squadron, Vice-Admiral G. Blake, C.B., D.S.O.

REPULSE: Captain J.H. Godfrey, P.N.

FIRST CRUISER SQUADRON

DEVONSHIRE: Flagship of Rear-Admiral Commanding First Cruiser Squadron, Rear-Admiral C.E. Kennedy-Purvis, C.B.

LONDON: Captain H. Pott, M.V.O.

THIRD CRUISER SQUADRON

ARETHUSA: Flagship of Rear-Admiral Commanding Third Cruiser Squadron, Rear-Admiral G.H. D'O.Lyon, C.B.

PENELOPE: Captain F.E.P. Hutton R.N.

DESPATCH: Captain W.L. Jackson, D.S.O.

AIRCRAFT CARRIER

GLORIOUS: Captain B.A. Fraser, O.B.E., D.S.O. H.M.S. COMET

DESTROYER FLOTILLAS

GALATEA: Flagship of Rear-Admiral (D) Commanding Destroyer Flotillas Mediterranean Fleet, Rear-Admiral J.F. Somerville, C.B., D.S.O.

FIRST DESTROYER FLOTILLA

GREENVILLE: (Captain D) Captain C.M. Blackman, D.S.O., GLOWWORM, GRAFTON, GRENADE, GRIFFIN, GREYHOUND, GARLAND, GIPSY, GALLANT.

SECOND DESTROYER FLOTILLA

HARDY: (Captain D), Captain D.W. Boyd, D.S.C., HASTY, HAVOCK, HOTSPUR, HUNTER, HYPERION, HOSTILE, HERO.

THIRD DESTROYER FLOTILLA

CODRINGTON: Captain D), Captain G.J.A. Miles, ACTIVE, ANTELOPE, WORCHESTER.

H.M.S. RELIANT. Supply ship

HOME FLEET

SECOND BATTLE SQUADRON

NELSON: Flying the flag of the Commander-in-Chief Home Fleet, Admiral Sir Roger Backhouse, K.B.B., C.M.G., Chief of Staff Commodore H.F. Moore, D.S.O.

RODNEY: Captain R.H.C. Hallifax R.N.

ROYAL OAK: Flagship of Rear-Admiral Commanding 2nd Battle Squadron, Rear-Admiral C.G. Ramsey C.B.

RAMILLIES: Captain P.W. Oldham, O.B.E.

RESOLUTION: Captain Sir Lionel Sturdee, Bart.

SECOND CRUISER SQUADRON

ORION: Flagship of Rear-Admiral Commanding 2nd Cruiser Squadron, Rear-Admiral T.F.P. Calvert, C.B., C.V.O., D.S.O. Flag Captain E.J. P. Brind R.N.

NETPUNE:

DESTROYER FLOTILLAS

CAIRO:

FOURTH DESTROYER FLOTILLAS

CAMPBELL: BEAGLE, BRAZEN, BLANCHE, BOADICEA, BORNAS, BRILLIANT, BULLDOG, BASILISK arrived on Thursday.

fifth destroyer FLOTILLA

EXMOUTH, EXPRESS, ELECTRA ESK ESCORT.

SIXTH DESTROYER FLOTILLA

FULMOR: FEARLESS, FOXHOUND, FAME, FOXFIGHT, FURY, FORTUNE, FORESTER, FIFEDRAKE.

AIRCRAFT CARRIER

COURAGEOUS: H.M.S. CRUSADER.

ALGERIRAS BOMBED FROM THE AIR 7 April 37

Algeriras was rudely awakened about 8 a.m. yesterday when Government planes carried out an air raid.

There are said to have been two bombers and two chasers but they were flying so high as to be almost indistinguishable.

A number of bombs were dropped variously estimated from seven upwards, which appeared to be heavy as the detonations were heard all over Gibraltar, and window rattled.

The bombs fell in a wheat field, north of the Tarifa road, opposite the cork factory outside the town. No loss of life and little or no damage to property was occasioned.

10 April 37

BOMBING OF H.M.S. "GALLANT"

The insurgent military governor of Majorca apologised on Thursday for the attacks by Spanish insurgent aircraft on the British destroyer Garrant.

Instructions have been issued to General Franco's airmen to exercise very great care in future in examining the identity marks of warships in Spanish waters.

23 April 37

RAF SQUADRON

No 210 Squadron of the Royal Air Force consisting of four flying-boats arrived at Gibraltar at about noon on Thursday from Bougie, Algeria.

The Squadron is expected to remain in Gibraltar for four days when it will leave for England via Lisbon.

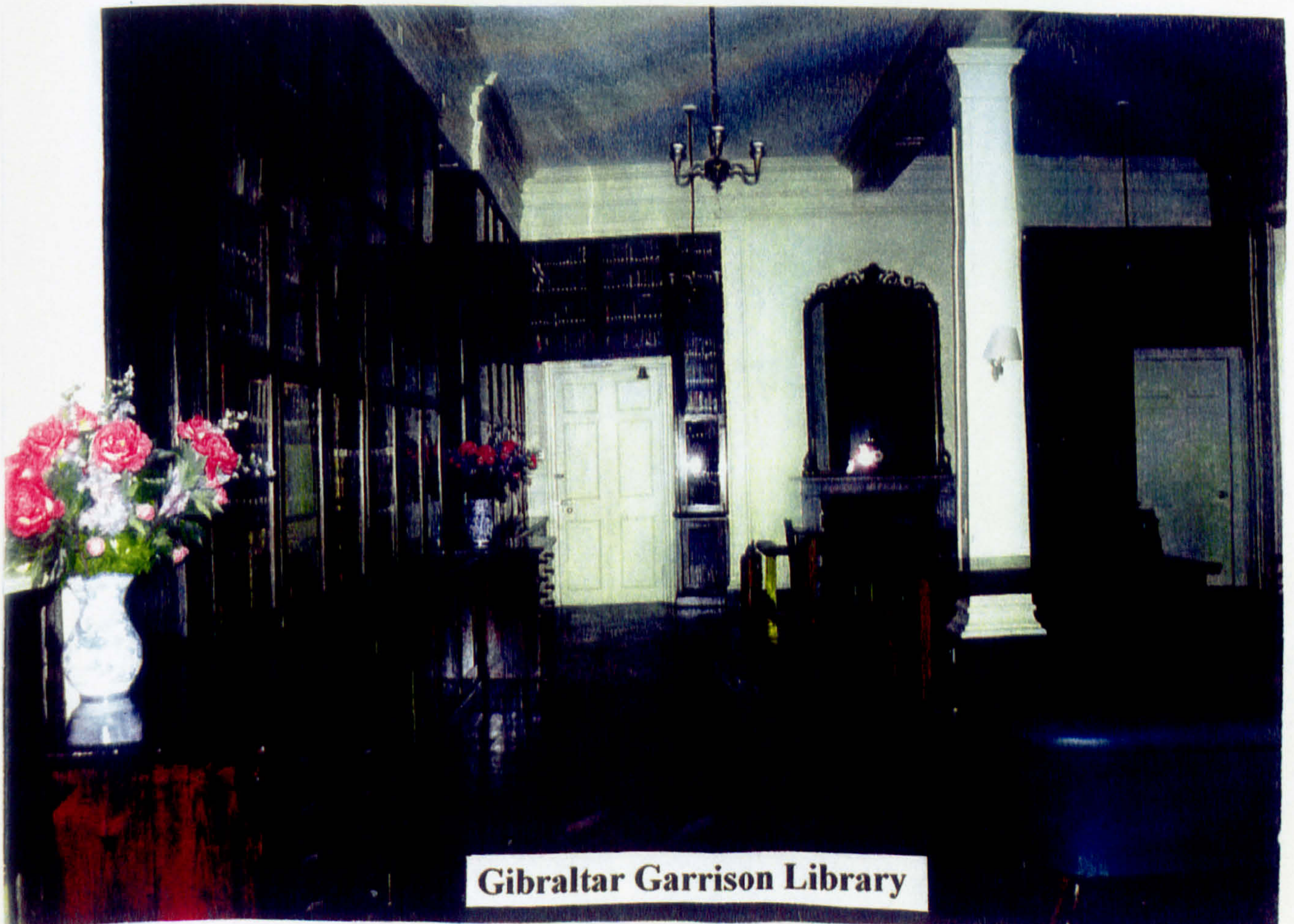
Appendix 24
The Governor Taking the Salute at the Convent



Appendix 25
Civilian Buildings in Gibraltar



Gibraltar Government Archive



Gibraltar Garrison Library

The densely populated upper town areas are characterized by narrow sloping streets, ramps and steps.





The Royal Gibraltar Yacht Club



Modern Waterside Developments



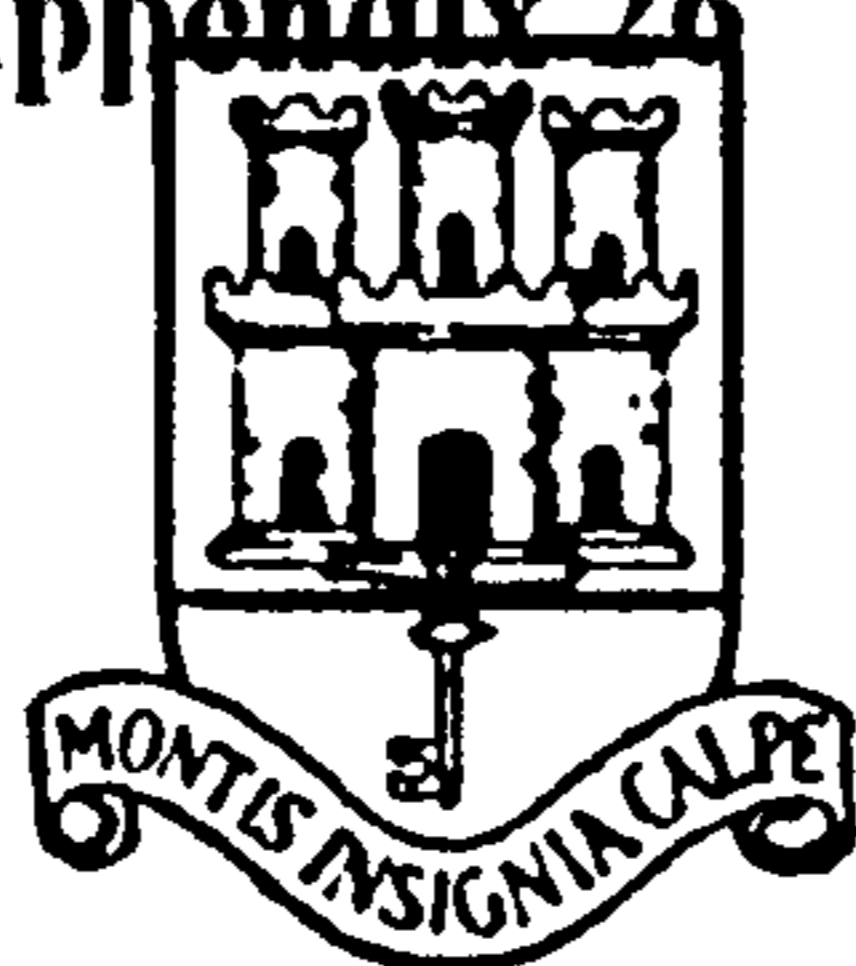


The Tower: Headquarters British Forces Gibraltar with naval ships.

The famous Rock Hotel on a day when the Levanter was blowing.



Appendix 26



THE CEREMONY

OF

THE KEYS

PERFORMED BY

THE GIBRALTAR REGIMENT

WITH

**THE BAND OF HER MAJESTY'S ROYAL MARINES
COMMANDO TRAINING CENTRE ROYAL MARINES**

in the presence of

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR

and

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

FIELD MARSHAL SIR JOHN CHAPPLE GCB CBE

19th October, 1995

Parade Personalities

GIBRALTAR REGIMENT

Outpost Platoon Commander	-	Capt M. G. Sanguinetti
Outpost Platoon Sergeant	-	Sgt M. Prescott
Company Sergeant Major	-	WO2 B. Catania
Port Sergeant	-	C.Sgt J. Moss
Escort Commander	-	C.Sgt M. Mauro
Saluting Battery Commander	-	C.Sgt M. Celecia

THE BAND OF HER MAJESTY'S ROYAL MARINES COMMANDO TRAINING CENTRE ROYAL MARINES

Director of Music	-	Lt. A. D. Henderson, LRAM, RM
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**TEXT BOUND INTO
THE SPINE**

HISTORY OF THE CEREMONY

Since the capture of the Rock in 1704, the Keys of Gibraltar have symbolised the possession of the Fortress by Great Britain. The Keys have come to be regarded as the seals of office of the Governor and as such are handed over from one Governor to the next.

During the Great Siege (1779-1783) the Governor (General Elliot, later created Baron Heathfield of Gibraltar for his heroic defence of the Rock), wore the Keys at his belt constantly except when he handed them to the Port Sergeant. As the Sunset Gun was fired, the Port Sergeant, accompanied by an armed escort, would lock the gates in the North Wall at Landport, Waterport and Chatham Wicket. The keys would be returned to the Governor. The following morning the Port Sergeant would collect

the keys again, reopen the gates and hand back the keys to the Governor for safe keeping.

After peace was restored in 1783, drums and fifes accompanied the Port Sergeant and his escort to warn aliens to leave the Rock before the gates were closed. This procedure was carried out each evening without interruption for approximately 140 years until discontinued some time after the First World War. The event was then revived as a ceremony in 1933.

The Ceremony is now performed twice each year by the Gibraltar Regiment.

FORM OF TODAY'S PARADE

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- 1. The Outpost Platoon and the Band march onto Grand Casemates Square.
- 2. The Parade forms up and awaits the arrival of His Excellency the Governor.
- 3. His Excellency The Governor arrives.
- 4. His Excellency The Governor inspects the Parade.
- 5. The Band then march and play until 'Sunset' at 5.30 p.m.
- 6. At exactly 5.30 p.m. the Sunset Gun is fired from Princess Caroline's Battery above Casemates Square by the Gibraltar Regiment and Retreat is sounded. During Retreat Union and Gibraltar Flags are lowered.
- 7. The Outpost Platoon advances in Review order and gives a Royal Salute to His Excellency The Governor.
- 8. The Platoon then marches past and off parade through Landport Gates in representation of taking post at North Front.
- 9. The Port Sergeant reports to His Excellency The Governor to receive the Keys with which he locks the Landport Gate.
- 10. After the Gate has been locked a Royal Salute is given to the Keys.
- 11. The Keys are returned to His Excellency The Governor by the Port Sergeant who reports "The Fortress is secure and all is well."
- 12. His Excellency The Governor departs from the Parade.
- 13. The Band and Escort to The Keys now leave the Parade, and march towards Grand Casemates Gates.

MUSIC

- On the Quarterdeck*
- The Tunderer*
Aranjuez
- Fanfare - Dignified*
National Anthem (6 Bars)
- March and Air*
Scipio
- Per Mare Per Terram*
Top Gun
Cavalry of the Steppes
- Sunset*
- British Grenadiers*
National Anthem (6 Bars)
- British Grenadiers*
Army of the Nile
- National Anthem (Full)*
- National Anthem (6 Bars)*
- British Grenadiers*
Life on the Ocean Waves

ACTION BY SPECTATORS

Spectators should stand. Officers in uniform should salute and gentlemen in plain clothes should remove their hats. Spectators should sit after the completion of the Royal Salute.

When Sunset is played spectators should stand. Officers in uniform salute (according to Service or Regimental Custom), and gentlemen in plain clothes should remove their hats. Spectators should sit at the end of Retreat.

Spectators should stand. Officers in uniform should salute and gentlemen in plain clothes should remove their hats. They should sit after the completion of the Royal Salute.

Spectators should stand during the March Past as the Platoon passes them. They should then sit.

Spectators should stand. Officers in uniform should salute and gentlemen in plain clothes should remove their hats. They should sit after the completion of the Royal Salute.

Spectators should stand. Officers in uniform should salute and gentlemen in plain clothes should remove their hats. They should sit after the completion of the Royal Salute.



The GIBRALTAR

Magazine



Dining & Leisure Guides
Finance & Business
Around Town
Information

Appendix
Trafalgar

AN ACT OF

Parliament



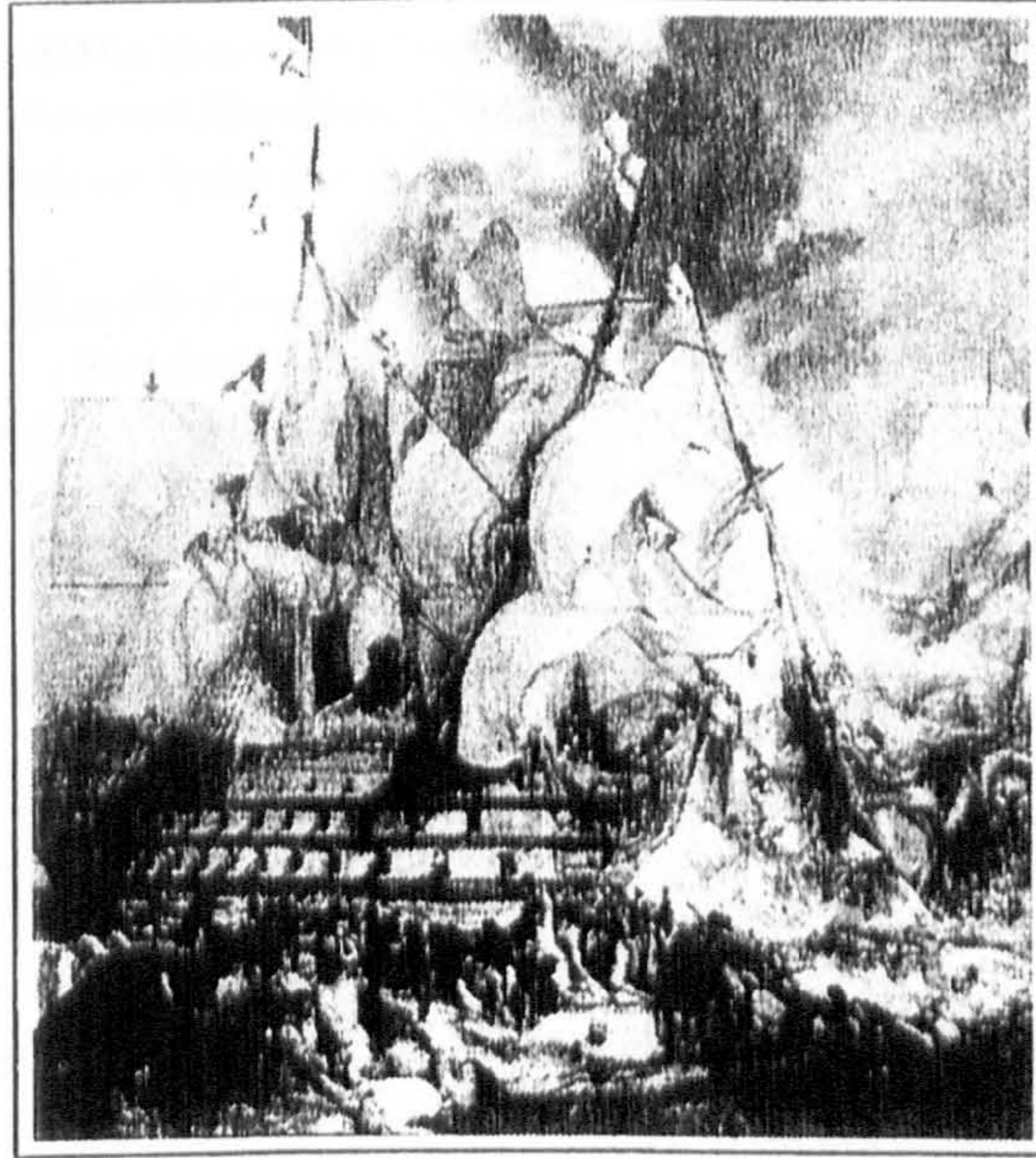
Yesterday's Battle was fought by the British Navy. Our loss has been greater than that of any other nation in the world. The British Navy is the only one that has ever been defeated. The British Navy is the only one that has ever been defeated. The British Navy is the only one that has ever been defeated.



For the Glory of God and the Honour of the British and Commonwealth

*AN ACT OF
Remembrance*

*to be held within the
Trafalgar Cemetery
at Gibraltar,
on October 19th, 1997,
at 12.00 p.m.*



The Company having assembled at 12.00. His Excellency the Governor and Commander-in-Chief The Right Honourable Sir Richard Luce DL, will read the despatch sent to the Governor of Gibraltar by Admiral Collingwood, announcing the victory.

EURYALUS, At Sea, October 22nd, 1805.

*To His Excellency the Right Hon.
The Honourable General H. E. Fox, &c., &c., at Gibraltar.*

Sir,

Yesterday a Battle was fought by His Majesty's Fleet, and a Victory gained, which will stand recorded as one of the most brilliant and decisive, that ever distinguished the British Navy....Our loss has been great in Men; but what is irreparable, and the cause of Universal Lamentation is the death of the Noble Commander-in-Chief who died in the arms of Victory; I have not yet any reports from the ships....

I have to congratulate you on the Great Event, and have the honour to be, your obedient servant.

Signed, C. COLLINGWOOD.

Then shall the Chief Minister of Gibraltar, The Honourable P. R. Caruana read the preamble.

For over two centuries the Fleets of the Royal Navy have gathered at Gibraltar for training and exercise in time of Peace. Here in time of War, the ships have assembled before sailing to face the dangers of the seas, and the violence of the enemy. Here, time and again, they have returned to land their wounded, and repair their damage. Accordingly, in October of the year 1805, H.M.S. Victory came to Gibraltar bearing the body of Admiral Lord Nelson. Other ships, also, of his Victorious Fleet came to effect repairs and to land their wounded. For some of these, it was their Last Voyage and their remains lie buried in this ground. They fought and died in the Cause of Freedom, and today - in this Remembrance Service - it is meet and right that we should perpetuate their memory, praying that we, in our time and generation may be given grace ever to strive for the Glory of God and the Honour of this Realm and Commonwealth.

Then shall there be a fanfare in tribute to those who fought at Trafalgar.
Then shall the Commander British Forces Gibraltar, Commodore
A. J. S. Taylor, read the following extract from the Gibraltar Chronicle.

'October 24th, 1805: " LORD NELSON in the Victory engaged the Enemy most closely; during the heat of the action, his Lordship was severely wounded with a grape shot in the side and was obliged to be carried below. Immediately on his wound being dressed he insisted upon being brought on deck, when afterwards he received a shot through the body: he survived however, until the evening: long enough to be informed...of the extent of the Glorious Victory he had gained...his last words were "Thank God! I have outlived this day, and now I die content!'"

Then shall follow the Commander British Forces Gibraltar address.

On completion, caps are to be removed following the movements of the Commander British Forces Gibraltar who shall read the prayer written by Lord Nelson in the Great Cabin of H.M.S. VICTORY on the morning of 21st October 1805.

'About eleven o'clock Lieutenant Pasco, signal lieutenant of the Victory, went on a matter of business to Nelson's Cabin. He came in quietly and found the Admiral on his knees-writing. He withdrew at once, but afterwards they found the paper just as the Admiral had left it:

"May the Great God whom I worship, grant to my Country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory and may no misconduct in anyone tarnish it, and may humanity after victory be the predominant feature in the British fleet.

*For myself individually. I commit my life to Him that made me, and may his blessing alight on my endeavours for serving my country faithfully, to Him I resign myself...and the great cause which is entrusted to me to defend.
Amen, Amen, Amen."*

Then shall the whole Company sing the Hymn.

*ETERNAL Father, strong to save,
Whose arm doth bind the restless wave,
Who bidd'st the mighty ocean deep
Its own appointed limits keep;
O hear us when we cry to Thee
For those in peril on the sea.*



*O TRINITY of love and power,
Our brethren shield in danger's hour.
From rock and tempest, fire and foe
Protect them whereso'er they go,
And ever let there rise to Thee;
Glad hymns of praise from land and sea.*

Then shall the officiating Roman Catholic Services Chaplain, the Rev. Danny Hernandez, read the Naval Prayer which has been in use in the Royal Navy for 300 years. Then shall the Lord's Prayer be said and the Staff Chaplain, the Rev. Charles Howard, Royal Navy, pronounce the Blessing. On completion of the Blessing, following the movements of the Commander British Forces Gibraltar caps are to be replaced. Then the Band shall play:

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

His Excellency the Governor, the Chief Minister, and the Commander British Forces Gibraltar depart followed by invited dignitaries. The Assembled company is requested to remain in place until all dignitaries have left the Cemetery.

NOTE: Wreaths have been placed on the Battle of Trafalgar Graves.





Empire Day Celebration

TUESDAY, 24TH MAY 1921

Organized by the "Exchange Committee,"

== GIBRALTAR ==

UNDER THE DISTINGUISHED PATRONAGE OF

His Excellency the Governor

SIR H. L. SMITH-DORRIEN, C.C.B., C.C.M.G., D.S.O.,

— AND —

REAR-ADMIRAL H. B. PELLY, C.B., M.V.O., R.N.,

SENIOR NAVAL OFFICER, I/C



Programme

Saluting the Flag at 8 a.m., on the Alameda Parade,

BY THE BOY SCOUTS,

AND INSPECTION, BY

REAR-ADMIRAL H. B. PELLY, C.B., M.V.O., R.N.,

— SENIOR NAVAL OFFICER I/C. —

Open Air Patriotic Concert and Parade

OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

AT 6-30 P.M. ON THE ALAMEDA PARADE

1. National Anthem.....Royal Artillery Band.
(On arrival of H. E. the acting Governor)
2. Three cheers for the Red, White, and Blue }
3. Boys of the old Brigade..... } By the combined
4. God bless the Prince of Wales..... } Schools.
5. Address by H. E. the acting Governor Major C. W. J. ORR, C.M.G.
6. Rule Britannia }
7. God Save the King..... } By the combined Schools.
8. March Past.....By all Schools.

☼ VIVAT REX ☼

GIBRALTAR CHRONICLE

25th MAY, 1933

As it is customary every year the Gibraltar Boy Scouts, Girl Guides and Wolf Cubs held an Empire Day Rally yesterday morning at the Alameda Parade Ground. The Rally was drawn up in horse shoe formation facing the Governor's Pavilion.

Shortly before 8 a.m. the Inspecting Officer, Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. A.E. Beattie, arrived and was received with the salute and on the stroke on 8 a.m. the Union Jack was hoisted at the truck of the Parade Flagstaff and the Rally sang the National Anthem.

Colonel Beattie, who was accompanied by Major O.H. Pedley, Commissionery and Deputy Camp Chief and Mr. H.J. King, Vice-President of the Association, then inspected the Rally after which Group Scoutmaster N.M. Olivero was presented by Colonel Beattie with the Bar to the Medal of Merit for continued good service to the Scout Movement. Later Colonel Beattie addressed the parade as follows:-

Colonial Secretary's Speech

Boy Scouts, Girl Guides and Wolf Cubs:-

It has been my privilege to address you as so many previous Empire Days that really I find it difficult to discover anything new to say to you. I feel sure that by now you all know what Empire Day means, so I will not dwell upon that point, except to emphasize that the word Empire means British Empire. We are assembled at this early hour this morning to pay tribute to that wonderful flag which flew over practically one quarter of the whole land surface of the globe. This fact is worthy of consideration. Of the 52 million square miles of the world's land surface our dear old Union Jack flies over 12 million square miles.

Gibraltar may be one of the smallest parts of that great Empire but I am satisfied, and I know that you will agree with me, that what it may lack in size it makes up for in loyalty and patriotism.

Now I should like to address a few remarks to the Gibraltar Scouts in particular. When times have permitted I have wandered round places such as Willis's Road and Flat Bastion Road. In one of Britain's oldest Colonies one would expect to hear the English language. In my wanderings I have not

heard a word of it. I might as well have been in La Linea.

Only last week, it gave me great pleasure to visit two camps of Gibraltar Scouts who had encamped near Algeciras. They were excellent camps in every way, except that I found the boys talking to one another in a foreign tongue. The only newspapers I saw in those camps were Spanish.

Gibraltarians, you are extremely fortunate in certain respects to be bi-lingual but let me appeal to you to give first place to the language of the Empire to which you are proud to belong. Unfortunately on many occasions I have been greatly concerned to find that there are people born and bred in Gibraltar who cannot read, write or understand English. I will tell you why I am concerned and that is because I am convinced after many years experience of different Colonies that the language one talks, the language one reads, the language one writes, has a great deal to do with the mentality one cultivates - if you talk, read and write Chinese you will undoubtedly absorb Chinese ideas.

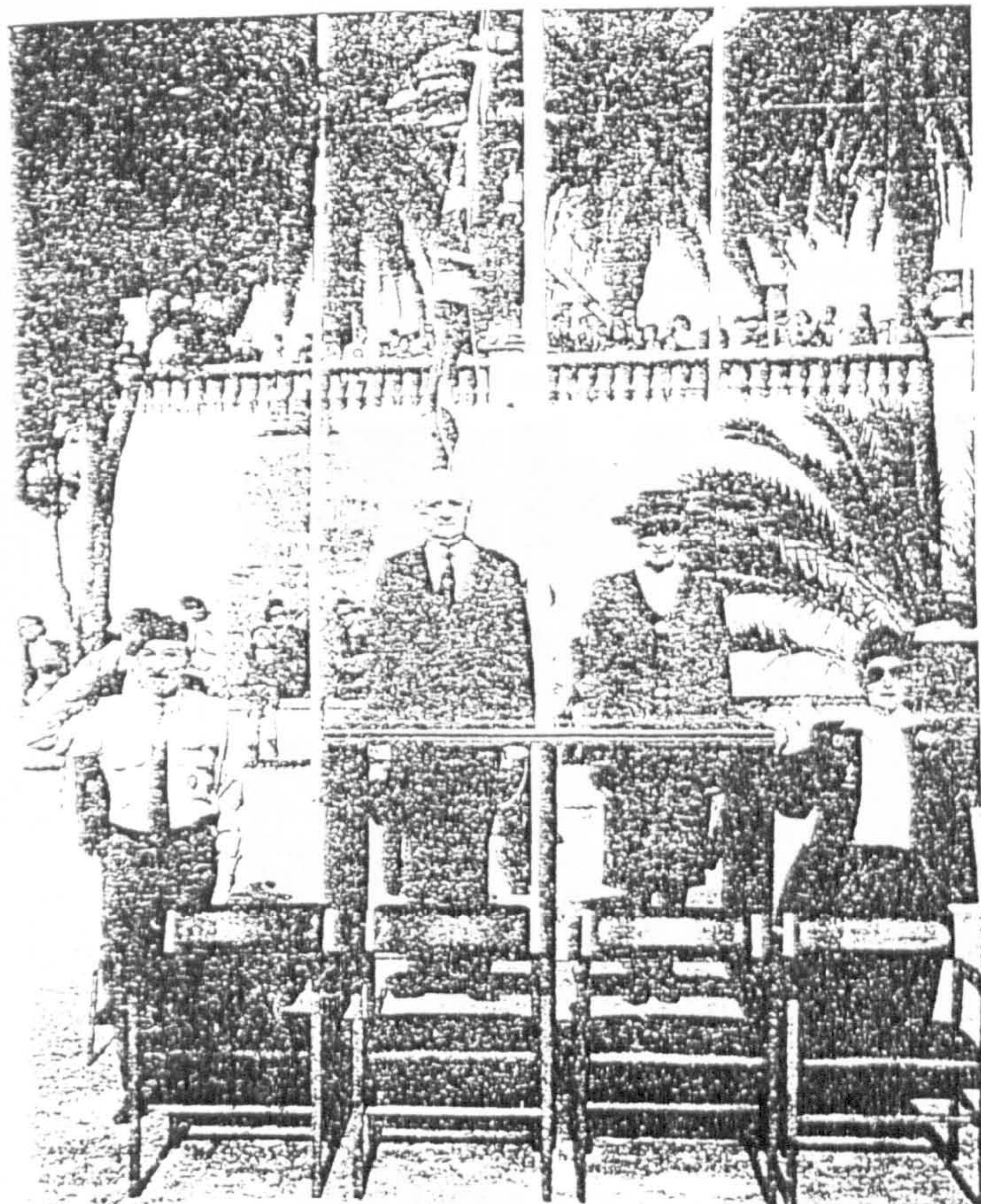
The Gibraltar Scouts can do a great deal towards seeing that British ideas are absorbed in Gibraltar, and I ask them to assist in seeing that this is done. (applause)

Major Pedley then read Lord Jellicoe's Empire Day message after which Colonel Beattie called for three cheers for their Majesties the King and Queen which were enthusiastically given.

Major Pedley then called for three cheers for His Excellency the Governor and Lady Godley and Mr. J.E. Griffin, the Assistant Commissioner, called for another three for Colonel Beattie, all of which were heartily responded to.

The Rally then sang "God Save the King" and finally marched past the saluting officer and proceeded to the Café Universal where they were hospitably entertained at breakfast by Messrs. D'Amato.

ST GEORGE'S DAY PARADE



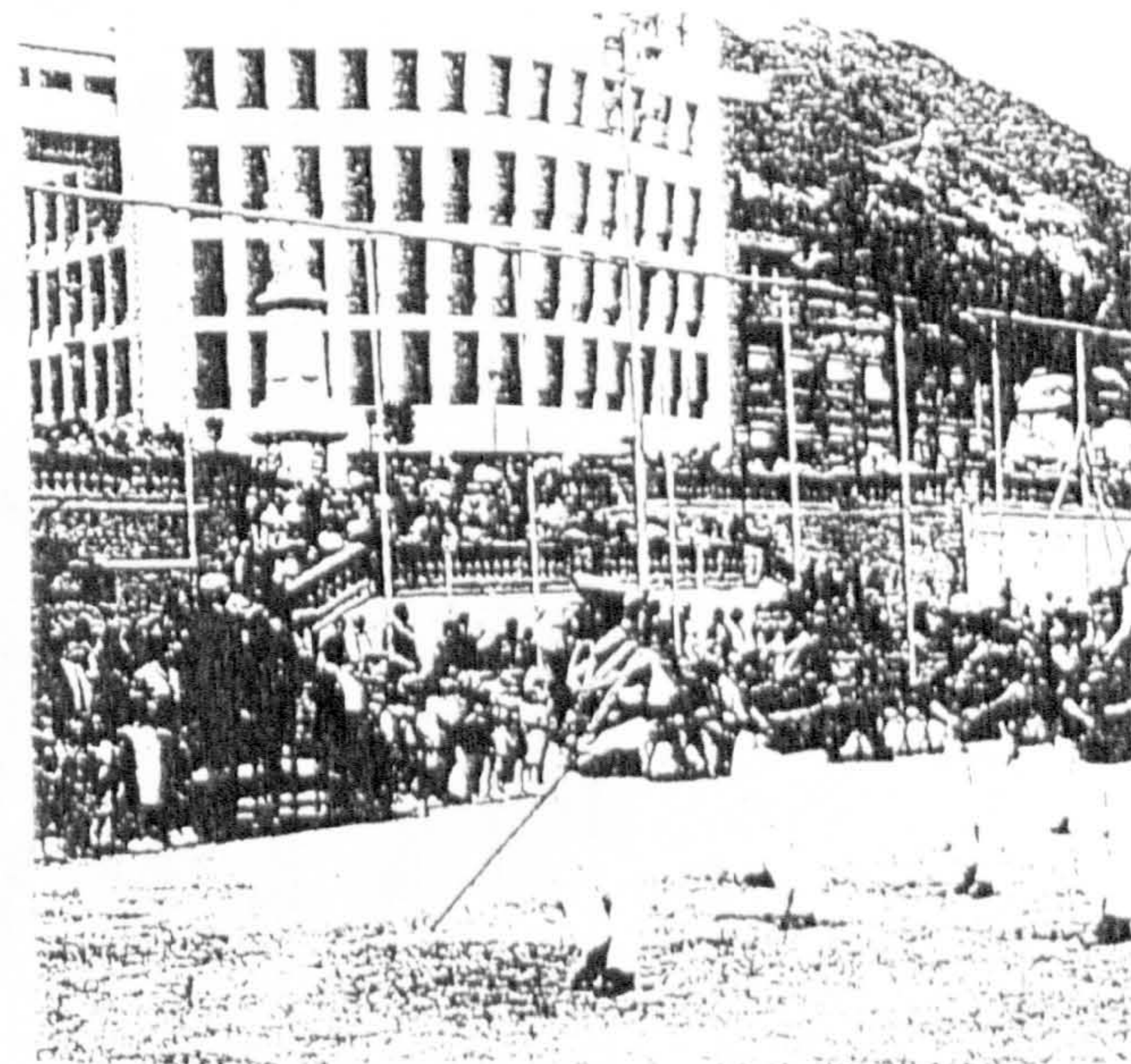
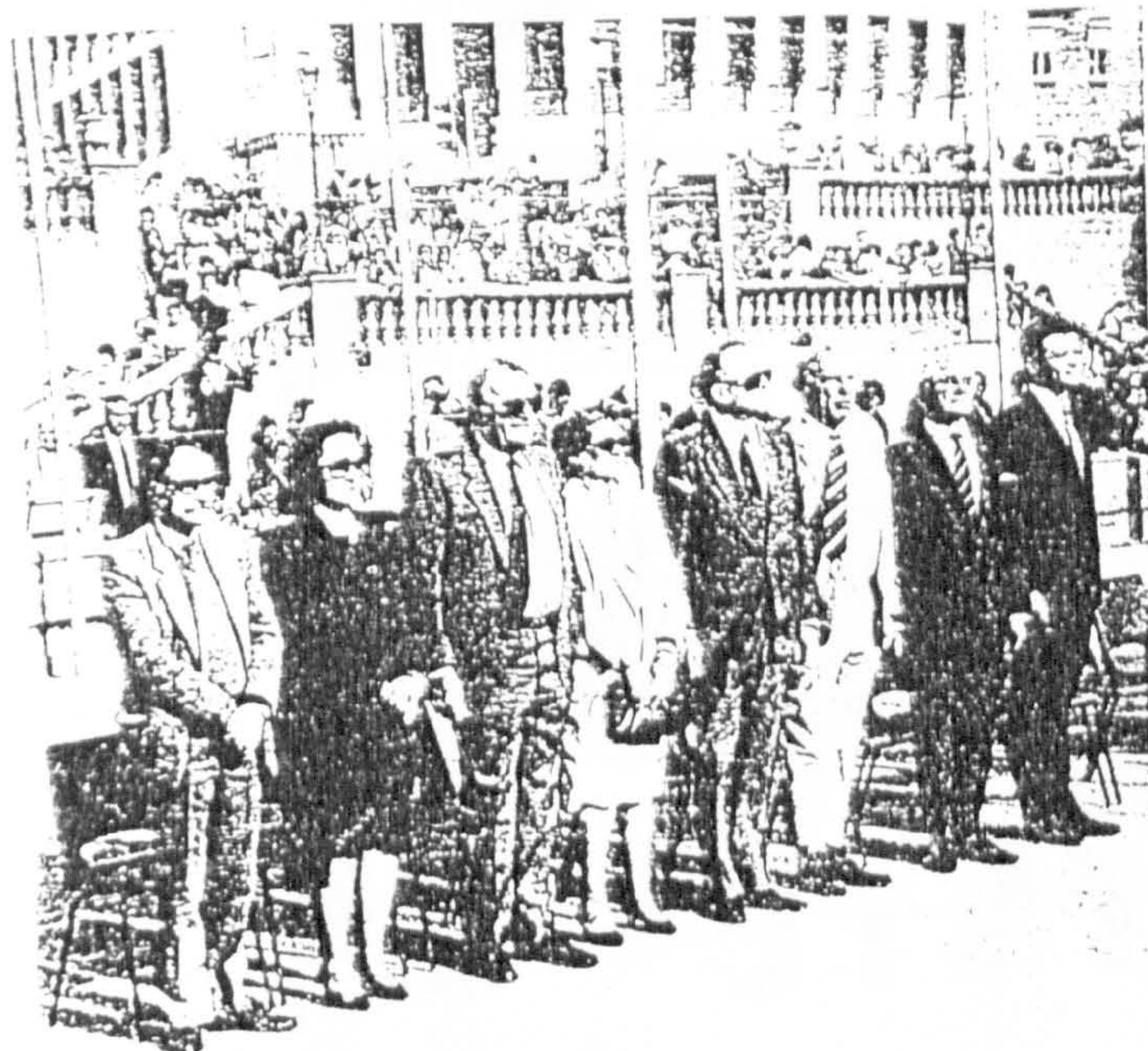
Governor Sir John Chapple takes the salute. With him is Lady Chapple, Scouts Commissioner Joe Ballantine and Guides Commissioner Moira Dalmedo.



The Governor inspects



The Air Scouts





Scouts and Guides of Gibraltar celebrated St George's Day last weekend with a parade and rally held at the Naval Ground No. 1 on Friday. The parade assembled at Casemates Square and then marched up Main Street towards the Naval Ground where the rally is the renewal of the Scout and Guides promises. H.E. the Governor, Field Marshal Sir John Chapple and Lady Chapple attended the rally, the Sea Scout Band marching down Main Street.



Rainbow Guides proudly pass the Governor.



Cub Scouts and Sea Scouts

Appendix 29 Hunting Map of the Campo de Gibraltar



PLACES OF MEETING OF THE CALPE HUNT		
KENNELS - NORTH FRONT - GIBRALTAR.		
1	GRANGE GROVE	4
2	SAN ROQUE	5
3	ROTTON ROW	6
4	FIRST PINE WOOD	Via Western Beach
5	MALAGA GARDENS	7
6	SAN ROQUE STATION FORD	Via Beach
7	GURDAGORTE LODGE	Via Captain Hill
8	2ND TOWER, EASTERN BEACH	Via New Bridge
9	DURE OF KENT'S FARM	Via First River Ferry
10	PALMOS BRIDGE	8
11	SECOND PINE WOOD	9
12	SECONDO VENTA	10
13	ALMORAIMA STATION	Via Beach & Second Venta
14	LOS BARRIOS	11
15	QUADRANT VILLAGE	Via Eastern Beach
16	LONG STABLES	Via Second Venta
17	MONTE DE LA TORRE	Via Pine Woods
18	CASTELLAR STATION	Via Los Barrios Station

REFERENCE.		
Erraya	Stream	
Barranco	Ravine, Gully	
Cala	Bay, Inlet	
Cerro	Hill, Summit	
Casita de Camineros	Wood-wagon's Cottage	
Cas. Cartago	Farm	
Cas. Garesnia	Gorge, Ravine	
Hacienda	Estate	
Molino	Mill	
Puerto	Gulf, Bay, Strait	
Torre	Tower	
Via, Vuelta	Road, Wayside Inn	

Main & well frequented roads indicated by thick lines and tracks. Other roads indicated by thin lines. HUNTING MEETS SHEWN THUS

B A Y
O F
G I B R A L T A R

Scale - 1/4 or 1/2 Inches to 1 English Mile.
Scale of Kilometres.

ROYAL GIBALTAR YACHT CLUBFLAG OFFICERS SINCE 1894

COMMODORES

1894	Captain Atwell PM Lake RN	1939	Rear-Admiral A. E. Evans
1896	Captain F.A.T. Bruce RN	1940	Vice-Admiral Sir Dudley North
1899	Captain Drury RN	1941	P. G. Russo Esq.
1901	Captain W. H. Pigott RN	1944	Captain S. Boucher RN
1904	Rear-Admiral Sir W. Dyke Acland, Bart	1945	Vice-Admiral Sir V. Crutchley V. C.
1905	Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Chichester, Bart	1947	Vice-Admiral E. R. Archer
1908	No Commodore for that year	1948	Commander K. S. D'Arcy
1909	Rear-Admiral Sir James Goodrich	1949	Brigadier E. P. Dangerfield
1910	Rear-Admiral F. S. Pelham	1950	P. G. Russo esq.
1913	Vice-Admiral F. E. E. Brock	1951	L. T. I. Tyson Esq.
1919	Vice-Admiral Sir Heathcoat S. Grant	1952	Commander D. Lampon
1920	Rear-Admiral Sir Reg. Y. Tyrwhitt. Bart.	1953	D. B. Davies Esq.
1921	Rear-Admiral H. B. Pelly	1954	P. G. Russo Esq.
1923	Rear-Admiral W. M. Ellerton	1955	Brigadier A.L. Matthews
1925	Rear-Admiral R.G.A.W. Stapleton-Cotton	1956	P. G. Russo Esq.
1926	Captain The Hon. M.H. Anderson RN	1960	P. G. Russo Esq.
1930	Rear-Admiral Berwick-Curtis	1960	Major J. Patron
1932	Rear-Admiral T.N. James	1961	Major Sir. J. Patron
1933	H.E. Sir Alexander Godley	1963	H.E. Sir Dudley Ward
1934	Rear-Admiral F. M. Austin	1964	Frank Imossi Esq.
1935	H.E. Sir Charles Harington	1965	W.J. Smith Esq.

Appendix 30

Yacht Club Commodores

1968	L. M. Stagnetto Esq.
1971	Brigadier A. D. Firth
1973	L. M. Stagnetto Esq.
1975	L. W. Triay Esq.
1978	C.A. Cruz Esq.
1981	J. P. Galliano Esq.
1984	A. V. Stagnetto Esq.
1986	J. C. Risso Esq
1989	J. J. Bassadone Esq.
1990	J. P. Galliano
1991	M.J. Sheppard-Capurro Esq
1994	J.A.H. Stagnetto Esq

Appendix 31
Profile of Yacht Club Membership
Non-Garrison Members 1896

Dr. Abrines

A.J.P. Carrara J.P. (Committee Member)

S.A.Koszelski

Dr.J.Errington Ker (Committee Member)

C.Mathiasen

I.Meiklereid

N.P.Mosley

F.W.Newton

N.Newman

E. ? Parodi

N. Parodi

A. ? Porral

J.A.Patron

G.O.Spratt (Committee Member)

W.J.Smith

W.Stevens

Dr. Turner

R.C.Williams

S.N.Gatty, Chief Justice.

G.S.Hannan

H.A.Read

Lord O'Hagan

? Ardie

Total Membership at the time was 70. Those believed to be Gibraltarian are underlined.

GIBRALTAR YACHT CLUB : MEMBERSHIP

1920	80 members	23 yachts
1924	90	
1932	155	
1933	199	and 200+ visitors
1936	286	and 28 Juniors
1939	277	(incl.77 civilians and 68 ladies)
1909	First lady member accepted.	

Some Gibraltarian Members Approved

1896	A.J.P.Carrara
1923	Mr.Pascual, T.J.Imossi, L.Imossi
1924	Hon.G.Gaggero, F.J.W.Porrall, W.D.Piccone R.M.S.Capurro, Hon.A.C.Carrara
1926	N.Caetano, Miss M.Caetano, F.Imossi J.P.Russo, Miss C.Imossi
1927	Charles Bassadone, N.Olivero, Bartholomew Sacarello
1928	S.Benady, S.J.Cuby, J.V.Cazes, C.Danino
1929	O.F.Mifsud, A.Savignon, A.Verano, C.E.Prescott
1930	R.M.Sheppard-Capurro
1936	Mr.A.J.Russo, Miss C.Isola, Miss P.Danino, Miss Cochrane Miss O.Giraldi, Miss M.Moharado, Mr.S.J.Canilla Cazallo, Miss D.Banasco, Miss Polly Rodriguez, Miss Imossi, Mr.H.C.Triay, Mrs.C.W.Savignon

ROYAL GIBRALTAR YACHT CLUB

Family Membership in the Late 1970s

SHOP OWNERS	24
AGENCIES	15
SHIPPING	9
BANKING/FINANCE	19
BUSINESS	77
LAW	15
GOVERNMENT/CIVIL SERVICE	16
MEDICAL/DENTAL	14
OTHER GIBRALTARIAN	31
SERVICES/M.O.D. GIBN.	16
SERVICES U.K.	13
OTHER U.K.	32
Total	281
Total Individuals	390

Including:-

Lady Thomson

Sir Paul Makins

Sir Fred Bennett

Sir Edward Chilton

Sir Alfred Vasquez

Sir John Spry

Sir Peter Russo

Sir Albert McQuarrie

Sir Edward Cottrell

Sir George Gaggero

Sir Joshua Hassan

Sir Edgar Unsworth

Royal Gibraltar Yacht Club

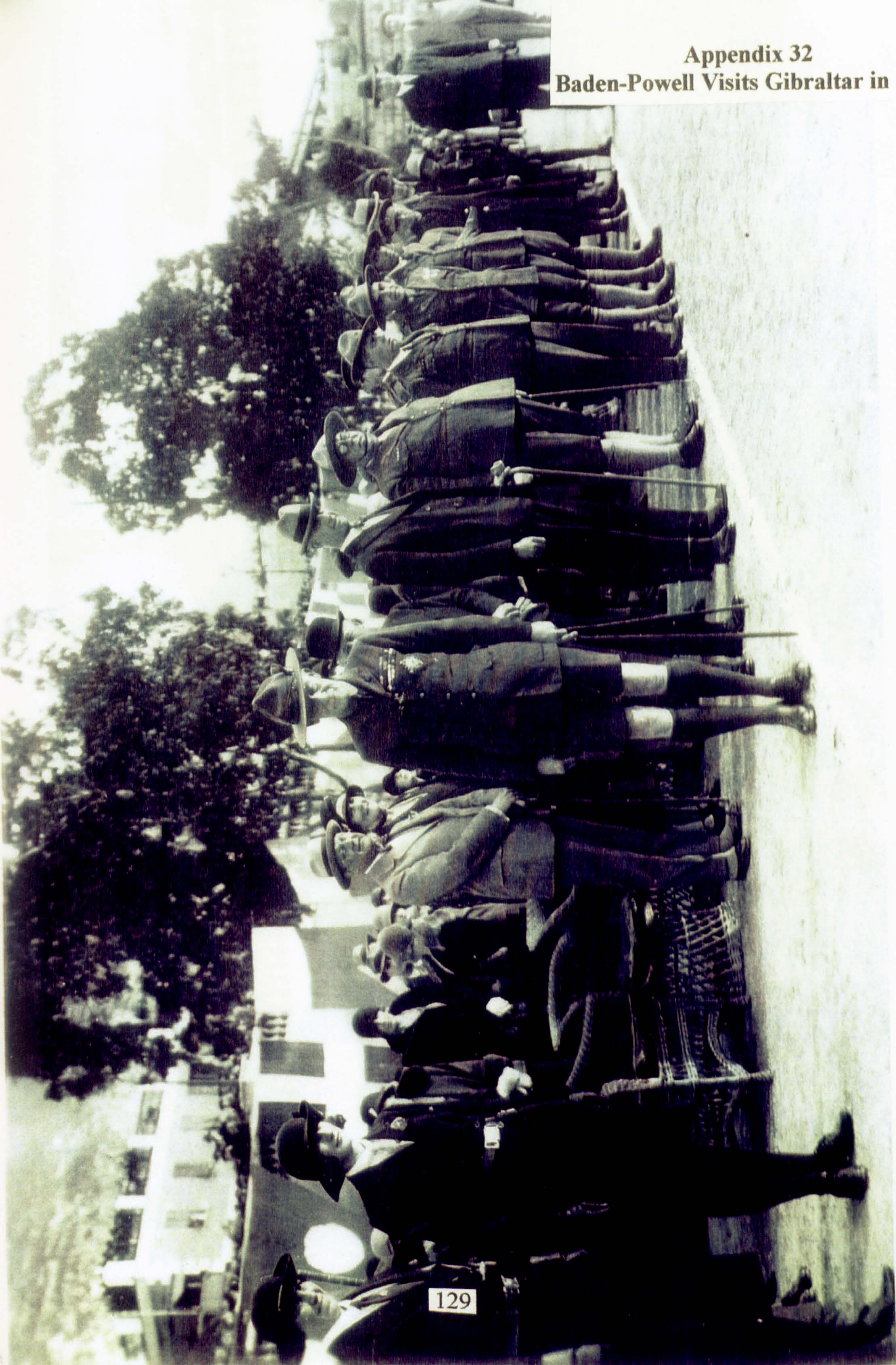
Analysis of Membership¹ in the 1970s

SHOP OWNERS	24
SHIPPING	9
AGENCIES	15
BANKING & FINANCE	19
BUSINESS	77
LAW	15
GOVERNMENT /CIVIL SERVICE	16
MEDICAL/DENTAL	14
OTHER GIBRALTARIAN	31
SERVICES & M.O.D. GIBRALTAR	16
SERVICES UK DOMICILED	13
OTHER UK DOMICILED	32
Total	281

Knights listed included:-

- Sir William Thomson
- Sir Peter Russo
- Sir Paul Makins
- Sir Albert McQuarrie
- Sir Fred Bennett
- Sir Edward Cottrell
- Sir Edward Chilton
- Sir George Gaggero
- Sir Joshua Hassan
- Sir John Spry
- Sir Alfred Vasquez
- Sir Edgar Unsworth

¹ Husbands/wives/children are treated as one. The total number of individual memberships exceeded 400.





Appendix 33
Rugby in Gibraltar





Appendix 34
Early Photographs of Cricket



BIRBALYN CRICKET CLUB 1937



CORONATION MATCH G.C.C.V. C.R.C. 1937

Appendix 35

A Note The Evacuation Monument

The first half of the 1960s were momentous and challenging years for the Gibraltarians, who found themselves at the mercy of an unbalanced triangle of political forces. There was the United Nations' pressure for decolonization of all



politically, economically and militarily. The speed with which such a small as protectorate would advance to self-government would vary considerably since it would depend on the abilities and wishes of its people.

Jackson, W and Cairns, F (1975), *From Protectorate to Democracy*, p.104.

Appendix 36

A Note on Gibraltar and the United Nations

The first half of the 1960s were momentous and challenging years for the Gibraltarians , who found themselves at the mercy of an unbalanced triangle of political forces. There was the United Nations' pressure for decolonization of all dependent territories administered by the old colonial powers, and two grossly divergent British and Spanish interpretations of the meaning of the word 'decolonization'. And in the background hovered the shadow of the Treaty of Utrecht, barring Gibraltar's road to the full independence intended by the founding fathers of the United Nations. In the last months of the Second World War, Britain had fully supported the principle of post-war decolonization. Spain had had no hand in drafting the United Nations Charter because she had been outlawed as a military dictatorship and close associate of the defeated Axis powers. In accepting the decolonization provisions of the Charter, Britain had laid down for herself certain rules which she intended to follow in the emancipation of her own dependent territories. No territory would be rushed prematurely towards independence to please the anti-colonialist Americans or Nehru's non-alligned Afro-Asian bloc. She would give her colonies their freedom when they were ready and able, in her view, to stand squarely on their own feet politically, economically and militarily. The speed with which each colony or protectorate would advance to self-government would vary enormously since it would depend on the abilities and wishes of its people.

Jackson, W and Cantos, F (1995), From Fortress to Democracy p.92-93.

Appendix 37

The Brussels Agreement

27th November 1984

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, the Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Howe, and the Spanish Foreign Minister, His Excellency Sr Don Fernando Moran Lopez, held a meeting in Brussels on 27th November 1984 during which they agreed on the way in which the Spanish and British governments will apply by not later than 15th February 1985 the Lisbon Declaration of 10th April 1980 in all its parts. This will involve simultaneously:

- a) The provision of equality and reciprocity of rights for Spaniards in Gibraltar and Gibraltarians in Spain. This will be implemented through the mutual concession of the rights which citizens of EC countries enjoy, taking into account the transitional periods and negotiations agreed between Spain and the EC. The necessary legislative proposals to achieve this will be introduced in Spain and Gibraltar. As concerns paid employment, and recalling the general principle of community preference, this carries the implication that during the transitional period each side will be favourably disposed to each other's citizens when granting work permits.**
- b) The establishment of the free movement of persons, vehicles and goods between Gibraltar and the neighbouring territory.**
- c) The establishment of a negotiating process aimed at overcoming all the differences between them over Gibraltar and at promoting cooperation on a mutually beneficial basis on economic, cultural, touristic, aviation, military and environmental matters. Both sides accept that the issues of sovereignty will be discussed in that process. The British Government will fully maintain its commitment to honour the wishes of the people of Gibraltar as set out in the preamble to the 1969 Constitution.**

Insofar as the airspace in the region of Gibraltar is concerned, the Spanish Government undertakes to take the early actions necessary to allow safe and effective air communications.

There will be meetings of working groups which will be reviewed periodically in meetings for this purpose between the British and Spanish Foreign Ministers.