

GIBRALTAR, IDENTITY AND IMPERIALISM

A Study of an Evolving Gibraltar Community

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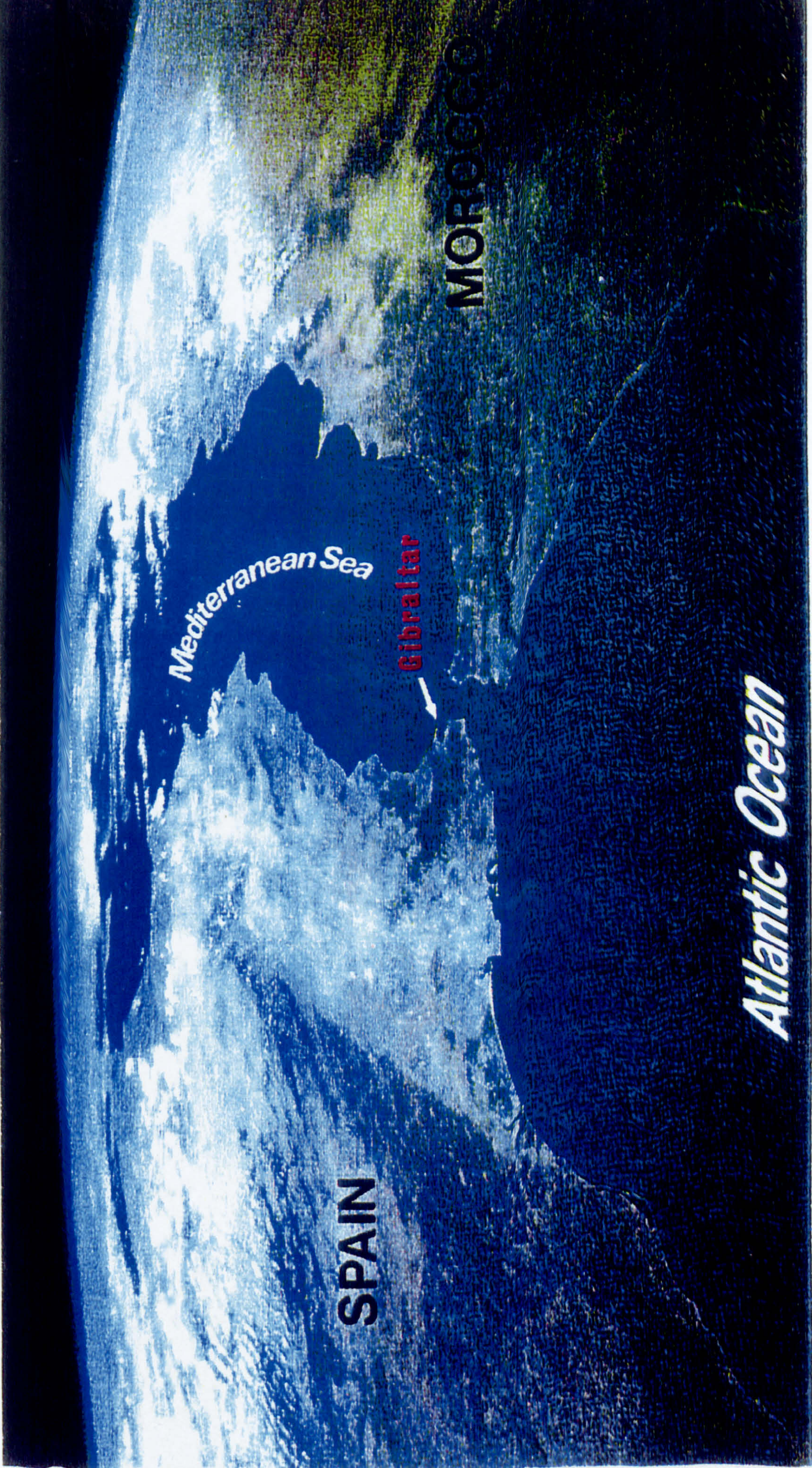
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Satellite Photograph Showing the Location of Gibraltar



Aerial View of Gibraltar

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ABSTRACT

This study provides an account of the influences which have contributed to the creation of a Gibraltarian sense of identity, with particular reference to the British imperial presence. Primary sources are of considerable importance, especially when no previous studies are available as in the case of key aspects of the history of education and informal cultural influences. Much use is made of oral evidence. Secondary sources are also used extensively.

The prologue sets the scene, establishes the structure and outlines the methodology, while chapter one explores the changing contexts and values which form the background to the study. An account of geographical, environmental and ethnic factors follows, outlining how British interests have played their part. Economic and political factors are then reviewed and they indicate both past and present dependence on the British and a substantial legacy of British ideas and practices.

In the case of religion and language both British and non-British influences are shown to have been at work. The Anglican and other non-conformist churches have been vehicles for British influence while Roman Catholicism, with its direct link to Rome, has been the religion of the people. As regards language, the British imposed English as the prestigious language, in direct competition

with the language of the area, Spanish. Thus, Gibraltarians have become bilingual but, as is demonstrated, with their own linguistic idiosyncrasies.

The study goes on to show that the formal educational system, first religious later largely secular, has been among the most powerful formative factors. The colonial government began to take charge after 1945, prior to a Gibraltar-administered system being put in place. Practice has followed and continues to follow English examples closely and higher education has come to rely entirely on provision in the United Kingdom.

Informal influences, through a wide range of social, sporting and cultural activities, have also been of very great importance. Equally, they have reflected British ideas and values. They are given due weight in the last two chapters. In particular, they have furthered the development of Gibraltar's class structure while reinforcing a Gibraltarian sense of identity.

The epilogue draws the overall conclusion that the Gibraltarian people and the Gibraltarian community, while separate and unique, are largely the product of the British colonial presence on The Rock. Gibraltar is very much an "offspring of empire". The present strong allegiance of Gibraltarians to Britain makes this clear.

PROLOGUE

The existence of a separate and distinctive Gibraltarian people on their tiny part of the Iberian peninsula cannot be denied, however much the Spanish government may wish to disregard it. “Los llanitos son españoles en su casi totalidad” (The Gibraltarians are almost entirely Spanish), said Franco in 1956¹. The Gibraltarians themselves take a totally opposite view. They have never had any doubt about “their community” within its clearly perceived boundaries, geographical and cultural, and within which they find their individual and collective identities. Much has been written on the history of this fascinating self-governing Colony, from pre-history to modern times. Some works have given due attention to the people but *none* has dealt comprehensively with the complex factors and influences which have helped determine the nature of present-day Gibraltarian society. This study endeavours to do that; to tease out and analyse these various factors and influences and to assess their significance as the community faces an uncertain future.

Cutting across many of these factors has been the British military presence for almost three hundred years. Arguably it has been the dominant factor, though not always deliberately so. As John D.Stewart² puts it, if overstating the point somewhat, “ Until the end of World War II no one in authority seemed to notice the Gibraltarian people. But for two and a half centuries a unique community has been growing up quietly within the walls, under the guns.” These have been

British walls and British guns and, inevitably, British values and British models have exerted great influence on a population living in close proximity to the Garrison and largely dependent upon it. And, as Stewart again points out, since 1945 the British influence has been overt and direct. Any serious analysis of the development of the character and consciousness of the Gibraltarian people therefore, must take stock of the British dimension in this small, close-knit community which may arguably be called an “offspring of Empire”. What kinds of British influence have prevailed, what structures and ideologies has Imperial Britain bequeathed and how have these contributed to the formation of an indigenous culture and the nurturing of an indigenous people?

What, we may first ask, makes a community, a people, a nation, if Gibraltar is one or all of these? Ernest Barker³, although in his day primarily concerned with the determinants of “national character”, usefully for our purposes distinguishes what he calls “material factors” from others which he terms “spiritual factors”. The first form the base upon which all the other elements build and they compose race, the environment and the economy, namely the ethnic ingredients of the population, the climatic and physical conditions in which the people live, the population density and the economic activities in which the people engage.

As regards the *ethnic* component, Gibraltar's past reveals a complex racial mix reflecting immigration into an abandoned territory⁴ from various Mediterranean sources, notably from Genoa and other parts of Italy, from Minorca, Portugal, Malta and Spain, as well as from Britain and from North Africa. The assimilation of these groups and the timing, the extent and the causes and effects of the population movements will be examined and the implications for a Gibraltarian national identity explored below.

Similarly, the *environment*, namely Gibraltar's location, its extraordinary physical characteristics and its small size and high density of population, has played a significant part in the development of the people. Further, the ever-present signs and symbols of British military and imperial power have made their mark – buildings, flags, uniforms, parades, ceremonies and celebrations. Both environment and symbols merit and will also receive close attention in this study.

Closely related to these matters has been the *economy*. The patterns of trade, of commercial enterprise and of employment, hitherto all generated by, or made possible by, British military operations in defence of Empire in this strategically valuable fortress and naval and air base, have significantly influenced the outlook of the people. Although much reduced since the earlier times of imperial dominance, something has remained of Gibraltar's strategic

importance even after the end of the Cold War, as the use of the facilities during the Argentinian invasion of the Falklands Islands in 1982 and during the crisis in Iraq in 1997 revealed. Nevertheless, the running down of the military base meant that commercial spin-offs for Gibraltar itself have been diminished. Alternative sources of income, based mainly on heritage tourism and financial services, are now being generated and Gibraltar's position at the gateway to Africa, with the most southerly airport in the Western Mediterranean, offers considerable potential.

Economic factors have operated in another way, not only through the requirements set by the military and colonial officials, but also through the presence and activities of a second group of people from the metropole, namely the British merchants and traders who took advantage of empire, seeking "to enhance their income, their wealth and material well-being over and above basic subsistence needs".⁵ These two groups of people, from the public sector and the private profit sector, along with a third concerned with religious affairs, each specializing in a particular kind of activity, "figured critically in European expansion" argues D.B. Abernethy. He shows that each European nation-state's imperial ventures operated not unitarily but through these home-based sectors. Members of each sector went out to their colonies where they worked, sometimes separately, sometimes more formidably in concert. Abernethy's analysis clearly applies to Gibraltar where a small British merchant class has

made a lasting mark on society. Economic factors of various kinds, therefore, will be closely considered in the pages that follow.

All these sets of material factors, ethnic, environmental and economic, will be discussed against a backcloth of historically changing circumstances. Linked to them are the spiritual factors, or the “spiritual superstructure” as Barker⁶ terms it. This is defined as “a mental organization connecting the minds of all the members of a national community by ties and connections as fine as silk and as firm as steel”. He identifies four sets of “threads” in the “spiritual cobweb”: law and government, religion, language and education. With modifications, and without subscribing to what might be seen as out-dated notions of national character, Barker’s framework and categories can be useful in considering a developing Gibraltarian consciousness.

Firstly, as regards *law and government*, for most of the British period since 1704, control has been in the hands of the imperial civilian authorities, symbolised by the person of the soldier-Governor of the time, supported increasingly by a bureau of officials from Britain. These represent the specialized public sector of the metropole as described by Abernethy, that is society’s law-makers and policy-implementers which Europe’s successful imperial countries all possessed and utilized in their empires. As elsewhere, the indigenous civilian population have been little more than the observers and receivers of British policy and practice. In general, accepting security and

economic prospects in exchange for reduced control over their lives, the Gibraltarians have willingly accommodated all that has occurred, gradually taking British political models as the ones to be preferred, in the light of others witnessed in their different countries of origin or in Spain. These processes have helped the people create and re-create their own sense of collective and individual identity over three centuries. In terms of formal governmental structures, the transition to a semi-autonomous Gibraltarian system has been slow. Only in more recent times have Gibraltarians been able to claim ownership of the legal system and the system of government. Reviewing how British political practice and British forms of organization and government, and the values underpinning them, have been imposed and received is clearly of considerable importance to the study.

Secondly, *Religion and the Churches* have also played an important part in the development of Gibraltarian society and belonging to one of the faiths has long been perceived as central to being Gibraltarian. At the same time this religious “thread”, with which the British have in a sense been less involved, serves as a reminder that not all ideological influences have been restricted to those exerted by the military masters. In fact, within this dimension the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, not the established church of the Empire, the Church of England, has been predominant, partly because the Catholic churches were already there in 1704, left behind by the Spanish. Later this influence was

reinforced by the fact that most of the immigrant groups were Catholic. Yet this is not to say that religious power and the influence has been in any way Spanish: the official link has been directly with Rome, and not with any Spanish ecclesiastical authority, thereby stressing the “not-Spanish” nature of the community boundary.

In contrast, British authority has been represented by the “official” protestant Anglican Church from Abernethy’s third specialized sector of the metropole, namely “those who direct collective rituals of worship within traditions that encompass cosmological reflections, theological claims and ethical norms”. The Anglican Church has been supported to some extent by other non-conformist churches, including the Church of Scotland. Methodism has also been extremely significant, especially as regards educational developments. Then there have been the Jews from Morocco and elsewhere; they have been most influential since early times. There is also a small Hindu temple and the prestigious King Fahad mosque, completed near to Europa Point in 1997. All manner of other religious groups have had a presence at one time or another. As might be expected, this complex religious mix has led to dispute and conflict but this has usually been only at the level of ideas. A claim often made and easily substantiated is that the various religions have co-existed remarkably amicably in Gibraltar; most have been happy to live and work together for the good of all Gibraltarians eschewing any thoughts of the sectarianism found

elsewhere. At least, this has been the public face of the community, perhaps masking or accommodating some underlying tensions. Without doubt religion and the churches have played a major part in Gibraltar's history. How British values and beliefs, along with other values with differing origins and bases, have been conveyed through, and modified by, religion, and how the religious "thread" continues to contribute to Gibraltarian consciousness and a Gibraltarian sense of identity, demand serious consideration.

Barker's two remaining "threads", language and education, are unchallengeable in themselves, as valued analytical concepts. *Language*, of course, is of great importance to any discussion of a society or a culture and in Gibraltar both Spanish and English have a place in history. In that sense linguistic and religious issues are similar: in both cases significant non-British influences have been at work, through a Catholic church left behind by the Spanish and through the Spanish language which was the principal language of the area. The British opposed the first and as regards the second they regularly and increasingly stressed the importance of English to the colony and the people. Religious influences and language are considered together. However, because of bilingual issues arising in the classrooms, and because of church involvement in schooling, both also figure in the discussion of education.

Education is everywhere a main window into the values and culture of a society, and it is a major force in creating and perpetuating those values. Therefore, the development of the educational system in Gibraltar is thoroughly examined. For most of the time since the conquest in 1704, education has not been seen by the British as primarily their concern, except in providing for the children of military personnel. Often it was the Churches, sustained by significant voluntary effort, which played a more important role in prompting and managing educational development. Government support for educational initiatives came later, from the late 1900s at least, but it was not until after the Second World War that a truly Gibraltarian system of education was created, albeit very much along British⁷ lines. Without doubt, events and circumstances affecting schooling and education throughout the past three-hundred years are highly relevant to any analysis of the origin and importance of the shared values which characterize Gibraltarian society today. Educational developments this century have been of increasing importance and it will be shown that private education for well-off Gibraltarian children in British independent schools has played a notable part in this evolution from about 1920 or earlier. It will also be made clear that the influence of largely British-based higher education, taken up increasingly by Gibraltarian young people during recent decades, has been a major factor in cementing the people's British-Gibraltarian identity.

However, a further category may be *added* to those identified by Barker. Arising out of formal education, or closely related to it, are sets of *informal cultural influences* through Clubs, Societies, Sport, Games, Theatre, Cinema and the Press. These form what Ronald Hyam⁸ calls the “by-ways” of imperialism in contrast to formal policy which represents the “high-road” of imperialism. These incidental influences are broadly labelled as *cultural* and membership of the Garrison Library, a kind of upper-class club⁹, is an example which comes quickly to mind. With its different categories of membership, the Garrison Library was established by and for the officer-class and equivalents on the Rock, including in due course some native Gibraltarians. It was closely linked to the editing and printing of the British Empire’s second-oldest and “official” newspaper, The Gibraltar Chronicle, which has appeared almost without a break for two-hundred years¹⁰. Equally exclusive, in the days before the race course was turned into an airfield, were the Jockey Club, and the Polo Club. These were also the times when the Royal Calpe Hunt, with its élite membership, British and Spanish, met regularly over the rough terrain of the Campo de Gibraltar¹¹. Like the Hunt, the Royal Gibraltar Yacht Club and the two rowing clubs, the Calpe Rowing Club and the Mediterranean Rowing Club, have also had distinguished histories. Similarly cricket, “the umbilical cord of Empire linking the mother country with her children”¹², and to some extent rugby, have not been without influence and go back many years along with other British sports and games. The regular presence of large numbers of

sailors and soldiers in the territory was a major stimulus to sporting activities, especially football; some argue that football was introduced to Spain by way of Gibraltar, in the same way that it was introduced by the British to various places beyond the Empire.¹³ Also in accordance with general imperial practice, Scouts and Guides, under the patronage of successive Governors and their wives, were established in Gibraltar in the early years of the twentieth century. Similarly, theatre, music, dance and the cinema all played their part in the transmission of imperial values. At the same time earlier musical and theatrical influences were undoubtedly Spanish, British and other influences also making their mark. In fact, interaction between British and local participation in these pursuits gradually became the norm. In general, given the small size of the native population, Gibraltarian achievement in the fields of music, drama and art has been remarkable. Overall these social, sporting and cultural activities have exerted a powerful influence on Gibraltarian society, more often than not reflecting British practice and values.

Utilizing these various analytical categories, therefore, this study will address aspects of the history of Gibraltar's people in terms of the following:-

1. Environmental and Ethnic factors.
2. Economic and Political Aspects.
3. Religious and Linguistic Influences.
4. Educational Factors.
5. Informal Influences.

The argument is made that these are relevant and valuable categories and that from each of them insight will be gained into the essence of Gibraltarian identity.

Finally, in terms of questions to be asked, it is further argued that four are fundamental:-

Who are the people who make up the Gibraltarian community?

How have the main formative influences operated in this process?

What part have Britain and British imperialism played in this process?

What issues now arise for native Gibraltarians as they seek to assert their sense of community and individuality?

In approaching these questions four sets of sources have been drawn upon, namely: published works; archive source; the press; and oral evidence. As regards the first, there are many published works relating to Gibraltar¹⁴. The majority deal with the earlier periods and they often have a military focus. Yet there is a good deal of material with a direct bearing on the factors which have influenced the development of the Gibraltarian people. As far as possible this has been carefully examined and relevant texts identified and analysed. As well as general histories, such as Sir William Jackson's more recent, The Rock of the Gibraltarians¹⁵, there are books dealing with particular aspects of Gibraltar's story, for example, publications on the churches, communications, health and so

on. Sometimes a systematic study was lacking, as in the case of the economic history of Gibraltar and the history of education since 1945. Attempts have been made to make good these deficiencies and to fill the gaps. In the case of the formal system of education, for example, which so far has received little attention from historians, it was necessary to do a substantial amount of new research¹⁶.

Secondly, archive material has been used extensively. Archival sources in the United Kingdom are mostly those in the Public Record Office (PRO) at Kew, but there were others. In Gibraltar itself, the Government Archives (GGA) and the Garrison Library (GGL) are the main sources, along with other specific records and documentary sources. These primary sources have been used in order to supplement, add to and go beyond, the secondary source material.

Thirdly, the press provided primary source material, serving similar purposes. The Times of London had much to offer but the main sources were in Gibraltar, notably the Gibraltar Chronicle, founded in 1801. Although sometimes seen as the mouthpiece of officialdom, the Gibraltar Chronicle has provided continuous coverage of events over a very long period and in more recent decades it has included interesting photographic material¹⁷. Other local newspapers such as El Calpense were used to a lesser extent, mainly because of difficulties of access.¹⁸

Lastly, oral evidence has also had a significant place in this study, obtained in a variety of ways as follows:-

- general discussion at events or gatherings, in restaurants, in the streets, and so on.
- closer probing and questioning about experiences, feelings, preferences and reminiscences when possible.
- semi-formal interviewing of individuals on specific matters e.g. membership of a particular club or society or on attitudes to the British etc.
- formal interviewing of key participants (often recorded), including:-
 - : local historians and keepers of records.
 - : politicians.
 - : local community leaders and officials.
 - : officers or key members, past and present, of local government, clubs, societies etc.
 - : teachers and other professionals.
 - : other individuals with relevant views to offer.¹⁹

Sometimes this oral evidence was obtained during visits to relevant places in the United Kingdom and in Gibraltar – schools, offices, churches and such like. On other occasions, when face-to-face contact was not possible, written evidence was obtained instead, for example from some private schools in Britain and from archivists and linguists in Italy. Whenever oral or written evidence was obtained, this was through questions that were loosely structured according to a pre-determined schedule, involving an essentially open-ended approach.

All of these sources are subject to limitations. In the case of published works, these are, of course, dependent on the values and assumptions of the writer and

on the process of interpretation by researcher or reader. However, having access to different perspectives is to be welcomed and, whether or not other 'evidence' is corroborated or contradicted, the debate benefits.

In the case of archive material in the GGA and the PRO, this was originally often destined for a narrower audience, namely for individuals or groups. Usually these were people in positions of authority and what was recorded and retained may represent an "official" view. What may be the equally valid views of those not in authority may be absent from the papers on these shelves. The same may be said of the press whose views, more certainly in the case of the Gibraltar Chronicle, tend to be the "official" ones. Such a bias may be offset by other, especially oral, evidence.

Oral "evidence", of course, has its limitations too. Unsupported memories may be unreliable. It is also possible that a formal interview may elicit the "proper" responses, particularly when a tape-recorder is employed. An "official" or social class bias may apply here too. Therefore, there is the distinct possibility that 'lesser voices' may go unheard or unnoticed in a study of this kind unless oral evidence is collected, judiciously interpreted and used.

Finally, it may be argued that the focus may be too much on one aspect of a relationship which, for some, is essentially two-sided. Britain has helped

determine Gibraltar's destiny but at the same time the "Rock of Gibraltar" has contributed to Britain's perception of itself and Empire; Gibraltar is part of Britain's history and it should have a place in what has been termed the "repatriation" of the Empire i.e. the recognition by A.S.Thompson and others that empire made too often unacknowledged impact on British domestic history²⁰. In what respects Gibraltar has affected Britain is certainly a question worth asking. In terms of a central concern it should be the subject of a separate study although it will not be disregarded here. The concentration will be unequivocally on how contemporary Gibraltarian society has been formed, often on Britain's terms. This also implies that this is in no sense a study of Anglo-Spanish relations and Gibraltar. The concern is wholly with the Gibraltarians and their claim to a distinctive identity.

The concluding question of our four questions remains. What of Gibraltar's claim to separate and special consideration in the light of its history within the British fold, despite its small size, and at a time when "nationalism is being routinized in advanced industrial countries or being superseded because of global processes"?²¹ A historical examination of the various determining factors, from the ethnic and the environmental to the cultural hopefully, in the chapters that follow, will help to provide an answer.

Chapter 1

CHANGING CONTEXTS, VALUES AND NORMS

This study has two main objectives: firstly, to take stock of the British influence on the Gibraltarian community and the interaction between Briton and Gibraltarian; and, secondly, to relate the British and other influences to the Gibraltarians' assertion of their own national identity and their demand for self-determination. These influences and interactions, of course, occurred over a long period of time, in varying contexts and against a background of evolving values and norms, expectations and assertions.

The contexts of empire changed with the flow of history, at first colonial then post-colonial, involving overall European expansion and contraction during and after the events whereby “the British empire transformed the world”²². Central to this transformation have been sets of moral, social and cultural values, all helping to shape the “legacies of empire”, the inheritance of the new decolonized nation-states. It is in the wake of this inheritance that a tiny Gibraltar has precariously sought to assert some form of separate identity. In time this appears to have become problematic as the distinctive identities of nation-states themselves have been put under pressure by new inter-state groupings and alliances and by the processes of globalization. “We live in a world in which the nation is in prolonged and often violent conflict with the

confederation for the right to become the dominant mode of political association” writes Anthony Pagden²³.

Some major aspects of contexts, imperial values and norms and inheritances, legacies, and nations and nationalism, are now considered.

Contexts

The broader historical context is that of empires world-wide, many dating from pre-European times. These and later non-European empires were usually land-based, a territory expanding through the conquest of an adjoining one. In contrast, modern 15th century European expansion was maritime and wide-ranging. Various empires were constructed in parallel and large areas of the globe were affected by “the multiple imperialisms of Europe’s autonomous components”²⁴. In January 2000, of the 188 members of the United Nations, 125 were states outside Europe which at one time were governed by Europeans, and about two-thirds of these had English, Dutch, French, Italian, Portuguese or Spanish as an official language. Much more than language was involved, of course: “Since the fifteenth century west Europeans sent forth their inhabitants, their several versions of the Christian faith, their attitudes towards nature, their languages, intellectual and political controversies, consumer goods, disease, death-dealing and life-enhancing technologies, commercial institutions, government bureaucracies and values.”²⁵ Furthermore, while to some extent the

different states did this in unison, they did so regularly in political and international rivalry with each other. This rivalry has underpinned the importance of Gibraltar to the British: its strategic position sometimes gave Britain an advantage over the others.

Some consider Columbus's first voyage in 1492 as the starting-point for modern European expansion. Others identify 1415, when King John of Portugal led a sea-borne force to take Ceuta on the African side of the Strait, as the start of the long history of modern European imperialism.²⁶ Whatever, Gibraltar did not become a British imperial possession until well into the first phase of expansion, which was mostly in the Americas. It was then that the European powers of Britain, France and Spain took their inter-state competitiveness abroad in their struggles to control the New World. "As the competition between the three major powers intensified, discovery, exploration and conquest became a crucial location for national pride" and they measured their behaviour each against the other²⁷: these matters set the tone for all that was to follow. In 1704 when Gibraltar was captured by the British from the Spanish, Britain's imperial possessions were limited to North America and the Caribbean²⁸. A period of contraction followed, from 1775. Fifty years later began the massive European expansion into Africa, Asia and Oceania between 1824 and 1912, when the motives now focused rather more on commerce and profit. With respect to the British share, by far the largest, the map of overseas territories

clearly shows that by 1939 Gibraltar had become “the first stop down the road” to so much that was British. A final phase of decline followed between 1940 and 1980, Gibraltar remaining as one of Britain’s few overseas territories in a largely de-colonized world.



British Imperial Territories in 1939²⁹

Of course, Gibraltar existed physically long before the British arrived, although the Gibraltarians tend not to claim the more distant past as theirs: for them the beginning was 4th August 1704 when, after conquest by the British, all the residents left making the way for the creation of a new people. Before that there had been 242 years when the population had been Spanish, from a far from

unified Spain. Preceding that there had been over seven centuries of Islamic control, begun in 711 with the defeat of the Christian Visigoths. The modern Gibraltarian sense of identity incorporates none of the earlier years and events. Yet there has been continuity in a geographical and military sense over the longer time-span, Gibraltar being variously described from very early times to the present as “safe-harbour”, “beach-head”, “port”, “fortress”, “staging-post”, “supply-base” or “observation-post”. Struggles between all manner of interests - factions, dynasties, faiths, countries - have characterized the centuries of the Rock’s history, struggles which latterly became struggles between expanding European nation-states. One siege followed another from 1309 to the Fifteenth Siege which ended in 1985, all described in W.G.F.Jackson’s authoritative history³⁰, The Rock of the Gibraltarians. By the 1770s “Gibraltar had ceased to be just a dynastic pawn in European affairs and had become a strategic fortress in Britain’s growing empire”³¹. Thus it remained, during the struggles with Napoleon, at sea and in the Peninsular Wars; during the struggles with Germany and World Wars I and II; and beyond through the Cold War years against the U.S.S.R., continuing into the twenty-first century with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (N.A.T.O.) base there. Therefore, although a relic of Britain’s imperial past, Gibraltar has retained a wider if diminishing strategic significance.

Many Gibraltar histories, including the most recent, Maurice Harvey's Gibraltar, published in 1996³², are largely concerned with such military matters and the changing military context. At the same time, the context for the populace, with which it should now be clear this study is primarily concerned, also changed regularly, sometimes dramatically. The sustaining thread throughout has been the cumulative development of the community and the associated establishment of a truly native population, based on a varied ethnic mix. The contributory factors are the subject of the chapters which follow. First, a sequence of extracts provides a vivid chronological "panorama" of a changing Gibraltar.

1776."Ademas de la guarnicion habitan en tiempo de paz como tres mil personas de ambos sexos i de todas edades: quinientos son Ingleses, como mil Judios, i hasta mil quatrocientos Catolicos, Portugueses, Italianos, algunos Espanoles, i la mayor parte Ginoveses. Era de temer por la diversidad de religiones, de costumbres é intereses de los habitantes, que se experimentáran en Gibraltar las pependencias i atrocidades que en otras ciudades de la provincia. La severidad del gobierno militar las ha precavido; porque certificados los individuos que alli concurren, de la pena que les amenaza en caso de incurrir en algun delito, certificados de que alli no se gana a los ministros, ni se cohechan los jueces, fundan su seguridad en no interrumpir la agenda; i por un efecto de leyes tan bien establecidas como observadas pasan muchos años sin que se vean los asesinatos i violentas muertes que en otras poblaciones mas pequeñas i de vecinos uniformes en religion i leyes."

"In peace-time, in addition to the garrison, there are as many as three thousand people of both sexes and all ages. Five hundred are English, as many as one thousand Jews and up to one thousand four hundred Catholics, Portuguese, Italian, some Spaniards and the majority Genoese. It was feared that, because of the varied religions, customs and background of the inhabitants, the same level of disputes and atrocities would be experienced as in other cities in the province. The strictness of the military government guarded against that. Since those living there had permits of residence, there could be trouble should they commit an offence. Permits could not be easily obtained from officials, nor

could the judges be bribed, and their security depended on not upsetting the apple-cart. Therefore, as a result of laws that were equally well-established and observed, many years passed without the assassinations and violent deaths found in smaller place with only one faith and one set of laws³³.”

1860. “En Gibraltar son tan diversas las costumbres como las religiones y los paises de donde proceden sus habitantes Todos los habitantes de Gibraltar a cualquiera nacion que pertenezcan o de donde procedan, si bien conservan algunas de sus costumbres nacionales, están barnizados con un tinte inglés, que forma una mistura indescifrable. Los espanoles, los genoveses y otros mandan sus hijos a educar a Inglaterra, y vuelven estos de alli tan inglesados, que a veces cuesta trabajo descubrirles la hilaza”.

“In Gibraltar the customs are as diverse as the religions and the lands from whence the inhabitants come ... All the inhabitants of Gibraltar, to whatever nation they belong or from whence they come, even though they may retain some of their national customs, are marked with an English veneer, forming an indecipherable mix. Spaniards, Genoese and others send their sons to England for their education and they return so English that at times it is difficult to identify their true character³⁴.”

1900. “The voyager, as his ship passes under the Rock, comes to regard it as one immense mass of fortifications, which Nature seems specially to have constructed for the reception of artillery. Batteries frown on its precipitous sides, batteries crown its rugged summit; batteries line the water’s edge; and batteries project audaciously even into the very sea... Half way up the slope may be seen the walls of the old Moorish castle. To the right, the irregular buildings of the town, of all imaginable shapes and colours, are clustered in picturesque variety at the foot of the precipices. To complete the picture, the Bay is studded with numerous craft, from the stately man-of-war and the great India-bound steamer, to the smart-looking felucca which spreads its lateen sails to the Mediterranean breeze.

On landing, the traveller pushes his way through a motley crowd, crosses the double enceinte, ditches and drawbridge, and enters the market-place, an open area surrounded by barracks, four, five and six stories high. Here are to be seen a throng of interesting characters: Algerians and Morocco merchants, with half-naked legs, slippered feet, their shoulders wrapped in their large white bernouse, and their head crowned with turban or tarbouche; Jews, with venerable beards, black robes and pointed bonnets; the turbaned Moors, with loose flowing robes, and vests and trousers of crimson cloth; and the Spanish peasants, with velvet breeches and leggings of embroidered leather, and the *navaja* or knife, thrust into their tight crimson sash. Among these the English soldier winds his way, neat, erect and clean-shaven, as on parade in St. James’ Park; or the Spanish lady lightly treads, her face concealed by her black mantilla, and her hand fluttering the inevitable fan³⁵.”

First World War (1914-1918). “Gibraltar never proved its worth to such an extent as during the Great War and though no actual fighting took place on the Rock itself yet it served most useful purposes such as a refuge for steamers avoiding submarine attack, coaling station, entrepot for obtaining fresh supplies of water and provisions, repairing port for damaged vessels and last but not least as a naval station and dockyard of the highest order for British and Allied men-of-war. The Allied Navies established bases at Gibraltar, the most important one being that of the United States of America.

The arming and disarming of many merchantmen was also carried out. The Dockyard workmen behaved most loyally throughout, working overtime daily to meet the needs of the Royal Navy and merchant service and the Patrol Boats exercised continual vigilance over the Straits to prevent the passage and attacks of enemy submarines and to examine all ships that passed through, and, whilst so doing, several vessels and lives were lost.

All the Military and Colonial Departments were also very hard worked and continual overtime had to be performed. Thousands of sailors, crews of many torpedoed vessels, were brought into Gibraltar. The Army too performed its duty most gallantly and strict supervision was maintained by all the different units comprising the Garrison and this watchfulness was unceasing. The continuous arrival of transports on their way to the different fighting fronts gave Gibraltar an opportunity of seeing the best regular and other regiments passing through its streets.

The arrival of Hospital Ships with wounded men was the occasion for Gibraltar to show its proverbial charity by its inhabitants loyally coming forward and helping to ameliorate the hard lot of the poor men who had been disabled in the defence of the British Empire.

The sons of Gibraltar, both on the Rock and in other remote parts of the world, voluntarily enlisted in the British Navy, Army and Royal Air Force, to fight for liberty and justice, and although no official data is available numbered several hundreds, some of whom were killed and others are disabled. War distinctions have been bestowed on not a few Gibraltarians³⁶.”

1944-1950. “Overcrowding had been a problem in Gibraltar since time immemorial. The fact that many of the repatriates who had previously lived in Spain would now have to be accommodated in Gibraltar created many problems. Nor would many of the returning Gibraltarians be content to accept the poor quality accommodation they had tolerated before the War. Those who had been billeted in the ‘better’ areas of London had sampled the luxuries of

modern-style housing, and they would naturally hanker after similar amenities on their return to the Rock. As one evacuee put it: “there will be a lot of changes to be made in Gibraltar when we go back”. All this gave a tremendous boost to the house-building programme, and led to the erection of many blocks of flats with up-to-date amenities. The construction of such self-contained flats also had an interesting side-effect – the old ‘patio’ mentality, where neighbours would sit at their front doors in the evenings and chat for hours on end (a practice still prevalent in the smaller towns and villages of Spain) gradually diminished. Of all Gibraltarians evacuated, about 2,000 had chosen to stay in Britain permanently³⁷.”

Imperial Meanings

If the fundamental context is that of Gibraltar as part of the phenomenon of empire, what does this mean? Simply defined, empire is essentially about power, control and authority. Initially this meant “the unlimited and over-riding authority (*imperium infinitum majus*) held by a single person”, the emperor³⁸. As the authority vested in kingly individuals declined and the power-bases changed, the meaning was modified and extended. By the time of the European imperial expansion it could best be described as the political control of the domestic and external affairs of one state by another, the metropole. The subordinate or dependent territory becomes a colony, an empire an aggregation of colonies and imperialism the process of constructing and maintaining an empire by the acquisition and retention of colonies. Each colony is administered by officials under instruction from the metropole. Colonial governmental institutions are accountable outward and upward and not to the residents: “Colonialism is a set of formal policies, informal practices, and ideologies by a metropole to gain control and benefit from the control³⁹.”

Clearly, the control exercised by official bodies and individual officials, as well as those less formally involved, is at the core of the imperial process. These bodies and individuals are the agencies and the agents of colonialism. In Gibraltar's case they included the military establishment, the colonial Governors and administrators, and community and church leaders. They impose, inculcate, indoctrinate, promote, exhort, present, exclude. The colonial people, for their part, to a greater or lesser degree, accept, copy, identify with, modify and sometimes reject what is being imposed. The processes are those of assimilation, adaptation, adjustment, acquisition of belief; of acculturation and enculturation and rejection. It is thus immediately apparent that "imperialism was an extraordinarily complex phenomenon", involving many processes. One useful unifying concept is that described by J.A.Mangan as "political socialisation" which is defined as "tuition, formal and informal, planned and unplanned, explicit and implicit, involved in the adoption of appropriate political perceptions, the acquisition of associated cultural beliefs and the learning of related social attitudes⁴⁰ ." This is useful in a number of ways, notably in emphasising the importance of the informal as well as the formal aspects of imperialism. In that respect it serves as a reminder, in John M.MacKenzie's words, that 'imperialism was more than a set of economic, political and military phenomena. It was a habit of mind, a dominant idea in the European world supremacy which had widespread intellectual, cultural and

technical expressions.’⁴¹ This entailed, in Britain’s case, the diffusion of “superior” British cultural ideas and values. During the earlier days of a colony, the days of “colonial over-rule”, British cultural imperialism was largely a matter of imposition, while later, as the cultural bond became more securely tied in place, the issue became that of hegemonic cultural influence and later the legacies of empire.

Legacies of Empire

While historians concern themselves with the causes of events, they also try to identify their consequences. In the case of empire, this involves the legacies which the European imperial powers bequeathed. In general, European expansion opened up large areas of the globe to westernization and modernization, with intended and unintended consequences. In the words of Raymond Betts, “The landscape of the post-colonial world resembles a beach after the tide has receded. It is still strewn with much of what the Europeans had earlier floated in.”⁴² This is an apt comment, the connotation is one of accident and of design.

In his recent review of this post-colonial “beach” Abernethy gives a comprehensive account of colonial legacies.⁴³ All the items which he lists are broadly relevant to Gibraltar while some have an even sharper relevance. Firstly, he stresses the significance of political consequences, including the

quite remarkable durability of artificial boundaries, sometimes simply drawn in convenient straight lines by the colonial competitors. These were not challenged in the upsurge of anti-colonialism, the all-consuming demand being for their own state. It was a matter of sovereignty in whatever happened to be the state. The purpose was “to capture the proto-state not to dismantle it”. In that sense “colonialism begat anti-colonialism”, Abernethy asserts and “the territorially bounded bureaucratic sovereign state is the joint product of colonialism and nationalism, a dialectical synthesis of two apparently opposed forces.”⁴⁴ The result was “the global diffusion of Europe’s governance model” of the nation-state.⁴⁵ It is in precisely this context that Gibraltarians today perceive their “state” and sovereignty.

Some political and social legacies, of course, can be far from beneficial. As well as establishing territorial boundaries, colonialism drastically altered the demographic nature of many areas. There were massive flows of population, of European settlers into a territory and of different racial groups between territories “and an extraordinarily high level of interaction across territorial, racial, linguistic and religious lines”.⁴⁶ As well as the more immediate effects on the people this had far-reaching consequences as races were prised from their continental heartlands: “European empires made race relations a persistently significant issue for the modern world”.⁴⁷

Furthermore, race became involved in another way. The Europeans everywhere projected a sense of their own superiority over others and society was stratified as part of the colonial process. The stratification was regularly on racial lines. Social and material privileges were distributed accordingly, often to the exclusion of most of the native people – a poor preparation for independence where this occurred. When the natives were excluded politically and where no legislature was in place before independence, as tended to be the case in non-British colonies, a smooth transition to a democratic form of government was unlikely. In those circumstances the only model was that of colonialism itself and it was clearly authoritarian in nature, frequently reinforcing, in fact, pre-colonial practices. Consequently, independence was likely to be seized, and power deployed, by rulers who would expect to govern autocratically. As S.A.Akintoye, with Nigeria in mind, puts it most cogently, but perhaps a little too simplistically, “The isolation of the government from the governed, the refusal to tolerate opposition or criticisms, the fear of delegating authority, the branding of all virile opposition as treasonable action - all these were learned from Africa’s colonial masters by the Africans who took over African governments at independence.”⁴⁸ In British colonies some structures along democratic lines were usually created before independence although whether and for how long these could survive depended, among other things, on the “personalities and values of political leaders”. Clearly, Gibraltar’s experience

has been closer to that of the settler-dominated dominions which unhesitatingly inherited institutions along parliamentary lines.

One other significant outcome of the exercise of colonial power has been that of negative stereotyping to which the “colonials” were subjected as a result of the imposed social stratification as described. Abernethy writes: “For many intellectuals and other opinion leaders in new states the struggle for psychological independence was more protracted and emotionally exhausting than the struggle for political independence”. The Europeans “were ingenious in devising methods to humiliate non-Europeans and unusually skilled at encouraging those they ruled to internalize an inferiority complex,”⁴⁹ Not surprisingly, for most people, this deep-seated inferiority complex did not easily disappear with sovereignty. The exceptions were the privileged individuals who were offered a road to equality through education at public schools in their countries or “at home” in Britain. For them the resulting cultural experience could sometimes lead to the rejection of the indigenous culture in favour of the “superior” British one.

Further important illustrations of colonial legacies to which Abernethy refers relate to economics, language and religion. The western idea that there could be continuous growth and development was regularly accepted. This economic legacy, says Abernethy, was particularly durable, engendering an optimism

which was not always justified. In addition, and particularly pertinent, have been the linguistic and religious legacies. Adopting a European language as the official state language has been sometimes advantageous in states with many local languages, and sometimes more useful, allowing a linguistic unity that has assisted a political unity.

There have been religious legacies too. In tandem with the promotion of European languages went the promotion of “Euro-Christianity”. This was furthered by the various churches by missionaries who were often able to take advantage of the resources and bureaucratic structures which underpinned imperial expansion. In effect, European imperial rule resulted in Christianity becoming a world religion.

Abernethy’s analysis of colonial legacies is helpful but it is limited by his approach. This gives prominence to the historian’s search for causal links between events and the need to keep the variables within manageable proportions. “I construe colonialism narrowly as control of a territory’s public sector by a metropole”, he writes⁵⁰ and, “I focus on what Europeans did in trying to carve out and consolidate dominant positions for themselves”. This study calls for the recognition of the many powerful indirect and benign influences arising from British values and norms often incidental to overt political policy and practice. In essence, it asks for greater subtlety of analysis.

British Identity, Values and Norms

The legacies of empire, therefore, affected various aspects of life - political, economic, social, psychological, linguistic, religious and cultural. They were the product of a mind-set that sought to “persuade or coerce indigenous leaders, if not the populace as a whole, to adopt what Europeans believed to be their clearly superior religion, moral code, language, literature, artistic tradition, legal system and technology.”⁵¹ At the same time, while the legacies occur in any de-colonized state, each metropole leaves its own signature on “the cultural objects found on the post-colonial beaches”. The Spanish, for example, appear to have carried an uncompromising Christian message to an uncivilized New World while the French sometimes sought to re-create the natives in their own image. The questions arise, therefore, as to what was distinctive about the British and their Empire and what were the particular values and norms which a British presence furthered and left as legacies.

These are, of course, very complex questions. For one thing, the ideas and issues involved can be highly-charged, elusive and difficult to define. For another, at different times in history different answers seem applicable. Nevertheless, some tentative responses can be useful, briefly and selectively, notably with respect to four matters: to national characteristics; to religious and

moral values; to the role of education and the public schools, and to games and sports.

One *characteristic* of the British in empire that is often highlighted, perhaps overstated, is that described variously as assuredness, confidence, arrogance or superiority, depending on the presuppositions of different writers. “Superiority is an integral part of the British character *per se*, owing to Britain’s centuries-old colonial history and status as a world-power during the whole of the 19th century”, writes one with an anti-imperialist frame of mind, Ulf Hedetoft.⁵² This self-belief, then, is seen here as both a cause of, and part of, the colonial process and the possession of empire is “smugly taken for granted as the just and righteous effect and reward of superior character”, he adds. How this illuminates the behaviour of the British *élite* in Gibraltar can be usefully kept in mind. In fact, however, Hedetoft argues that the sense of superiority is not restricted to the upper or middle classes. It is not a wholly class-based phenomenon. The workers suffer from the same sense of superiority, he states. It is a superiority “won in battles and crises” and it underpins the fighting spirit which is quickly apparent among all classes when there is a national emergency. It is a quality which Gibraltarians claim as their own, regularly citing examples from the sacrifices they made during the war of 1939-1945 down to what was needed of them during the Falklands campaign of 1982.⁵³ When the need arises, then, there is a togetherness across classes as required by the tasks in

hand. The people are *citoyens* first then *bourgeois*. Nevertheless, subtle rules applied, preserving distinctions between classes and, in the colonies, distinctions between rulers and ruled. In the Empire notions of society taken overseas remained fundamentally hierarchic.

This hierarchic framework included the church – the established Anglican church and the particular *religious and moral values* which it promulgated. Kathryn Tidrick emphasises this in her account of imperial government in India. She describes the influence of a High Church evangelicalism “which opened English eyes to India’s existence as a vast field for social and spiritual reform.”⁵⁴ It provided a mission for the church and ideals for individuals on imperial service. Evangelical religion, in Tidrick’s words, “was of immense importance in defining the ideal to which thereafter men of empire aspired, an ideal which owed much to the evangelical cult of personal example.” However, this ideology was firmly class-based. While the moral power of the Christian message was identified with the moral power of the messenger, this idea was reflected socially in “aristocratic conceptions of honour which were to emerge as the Victorian ideal of the gentleman, acknowledged by his equals and adored by his inferiors”. The upper echelons mattered most. Therefore, the upper classes were to be converted “in the hope and expectation that they would continue to preside, albeit in a more humane and spiritual fashion, over a society in which hierarchy was a principle of unalterable law.”⁵⁵ This notion of

an Anglican church close to aristocracy and allied to the establishment is broadly true and if and how it is relevant to Gibraltar will become apparent. Certainly, to take too restricted a view would be an error misled by “the deceptively aristocratic appearance possessed by that generally very middle-class enterprise, the British Empire.”⁵⁶

Moral considerations clearly accompany the religious. Ulf Hedetoft, who is a severe critic of imperialism, comments: “The British genius has morality at its core.”⁵⁷ Every act tends to be subjected to ethical analysis, in terms of good and bad, of propriety, of doing the decent thing, of doing things by the book. English literature is a history of public and private morality, Hedetoft argues. His Marxist views lead to his concern rather more with the “hybrid religion-cum-morality of Protestantism” and “its spirit of money-grabbing materialism”. Nevertheless, he too acknowledges the existence of the idea of “the perfect English gentleman”, as motivating men of empire. This concern to do “the decent thing” and of “doing things by the book” he contrasts with the ruthlessness of present-day U.S. policy based on the assumption that power is right.⁵⁸ Clearly, moral and religious considerations do have their place in the colonial context.

It was, of course, education which played the major part in the dissemination and reinforcement of values and norms. Both at home and in the service of the

Empire historians have long recognized this and much credit is usually given to Britain's unique public school system. More recently, however, we have been reminded of the importance of the broader educational spectrum in supplying the needs of empire. J.A.Mangan, for example, points out that "Scotland's 'science schools' such as Allan Glen's in Glasgow, provided the empire with a continuous stream of scientists, technologists and technicians throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries"⁵⁹, and this may not be unconnected with the significant Scottish presence in Gibraltar over the centuries. It has also been shown that British elementary schools were not excluded from the process of "developing imperial virtues"⁶⁰ and that the teacher training colleges also played their part.⁶¹

Nevertheless, "the close and continuing association between British imperialism and a privileged imperial network of old boys within a wider network of privileged old boys" appears to have played a significant part in events. The public schools were a training ground for the key personnel who were needed for the administration of the Empire. The social class bias of the enterprise was confirmed. "To this extent", writes Bernard Porter, "the upper and middle classes and the schools which nurtured them had a vested interest in empire"⁶². Furthermore, the public schools worked in unison with what was essentially an Anglican church whose ideals, as discussed above, were seen as generally

sustaining the Empire. Classroom, school chapel and games field all played their part in the training but the school games field had a greater role to play.

Indeed, sport has long been a significant ingredient of British imperialism. It has been well-established⁶³ that imperialism cannot be viewed as simply a set of political and economic imperatives. The underlying ideas of British imperialism, particularly in the late nineteenth century, were much broader, involving the “set of potent and dynamic normative ideas, beliefs and actions” which J.A.Mangan sees as defining a whole culture⁶⁴. British imperial culture, therefore, in this broad sense influenced societies in a variety of ways and organized games have been at the heart of this culture. Furthermore, the moral dimension as described was also involved through the typically Victorian idea of “character”. Both were served by the emphasis on sport and games. Academic learning counted for rather less. Individuals, the country, the empire, it was maintained, depended for success on the inculcation, demonstration and transmission of valued “Anglo-Saxon” qualities embodied in the concept of character.

Character was the basis for the public-service ideal which the state, particularly the state overseas, needed. The more affordable public schools played a crucial role when they “put a quasi-aristocratic education within reach of the middle-class by providing dismal fare in Spartan conditions.”⁶⁵ The desired effects

were achieved there through a strict regime and the emphasis on organized games and the cult of athleticism. These were the means of instilling the required qualities of self-confidence, self-reliance, leadership, team-spirit and loyalty to comrades, which defined what was needed for successful service in isolated and demanding outposts of empire.

However, the matter did not stop there. The British took sport and organized games with them overseas, in the first place for their own satisfaction. The British communities themselves benefited: games were a means of recreation and relaxation and they contributed to physical and mental fitness, while strengthening the expatriates' sense of community. More significantly perhaps, the British brought organized games to the countries they ruled, with a number of important consequences for the people there. Firstly, as J.A.Mangan has again demonstrated, the games-playing Briton regularly set in motion a critical process of imperial cultural bonding, "promoting at various times in various localities imperial union, national identity, social reform, recreational development and post-imperial goodwill."⁶⁶ Engaging in shared sporting enthusiasms, therefore, certainly helped to break down barriers, bring coloniser and colonised closer together and create a sense of social unity. This also helped to ease the processes of colonial administration and longer-term it contributed to relatively trouble-free transitions to independence and played a part in ensuring that, "unlike France's, Portugal's or Russia's, Britain's empire

did not dissolve in tears.”⁶⁷ There has been a further consequence, of course, on occasions, to which Mangan also refers. For the new de-colonized nations themselves, and indeed for most other countries, sporting ideas as spread by the British gave added focus to nationalist sentiment, providing new or additional heroes⁶⁸ with whom to identify. Playing against the British helped to unite disparate groups and “beating the arrogant British at their own game” could be seen as a national triumph.⁶⁹

These contests, introduced or stimulated by the imperialists, regularly continued, of course, after independence, in a general after-glow of goodwill. In July 2002 the Commonwealth Games were held in Manchester, some seventy countries participating, including as usual a small number of Gibraltarian competitors. Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth opened the games in what was her Golden Jubilee year. While this event takes place every four years, regular programmes of cricket and football matches between commonwealth countries continue all the time. Sport has continued to be a cultural bond between former colonised and coloniser. It has characteristically British qualities as do the moral, religious and educational aspects of the broad imperial context.

Nations, Nationalism and Globalization

“Why yet another book on nationalism?” ask Montserrat Guibernau and John Hutchinson in the introduction to a recent publication⁷⁰. The sheer volume of work produced since the 1960s prompts the question and their Understanding Nationalism is a helpful guide to the area. The main perspectives are identified and key questions are posed, some more illuminating of Gibraltar’s case than others. There is, of course, the view that Gibraltar, because of its small size and peculiar circumstances, could never be considered a nation. For the moment that argument is set aside.

In Understanding Nationalism two sharply contrasting viewpoints on nationalism are represented by Anthony D. Smith and John Breuilly. Smith takes the view that nations are not new and that there have been “collective cultural identities” that can be characterized as nations “in successive epochs of humanity’s history”. There were medieval nations whose bases were in religion or literature and whose members may have been limited to an elite. There were ancient nations too, those of Egypt and Israel, for example, also “in an ethno-cultural rather than a political sense of the term”. Smith argues, therefore, for a perspective over *la longue durée*, locating “modern nations within a continuum of historical forms of cultural community”. He adds that the most relevant of these forms is that of the single ethnic group, or *ethnie*, “with which the modern nation shares a few elements – notably myths and historical memories and a

link with an historic territory.”⁷¹ The emphasis is on continuity and the view taken of national identity is described as perennialist.

John Hutchinson in a discussion of nations and culture⁷² also favours “an ethno-symbolic framework which presents nations as a species of ethnic group”. Nations must have an ethnic basis. They build on a historic past with its “myths, symbols and culture”. In new nations the old mythic structures are not obliterated but overlaid. During times of crisis and disaster these can be exploited and an “inner world of spiritual realities” mobilized. Therein lies the source of cultural development or revival and regeneration, he argues: “The viability of modern nations rests in large part on their ability to draw on such sentiment”. To the perennialists, the failure to recognize these fundamentals makes a modernist position untenable.

On the face of it, the modernist perspective seems more appropriate to a relatively young Gibraltar. Breuilly, an exponent of this view, rejects perennialism and argues that the nation is a recent invention. “I treat the nation as a modern political and ideological formation which developed in close conjunction with the emergence of the modern territorial, sovereign and participatory state”, he writes⁷³. His perspective, therefore, is political, playing down the cultural and focusing on organized politics. Before 1600 nothing resembling the nation-state existed anywhere in the world. “Places” were ruled

rather than “people” and “much authority was framed in personal terms and justified by Christianity”. With the Reformation and subsequently there were marked changes, which Breuilly explains in great detail, leading eventually to the modernization of the state, making plausible “the argument that the ‘people’ were not, in fact, an accidental collection of individuals but rather a cultural collective, a nation”. By 1918 the nation-state had become the norm and the “principal focus of loyalty” and after the Second World War the process of de-colonization led to the creation of new “nation-states” outside Europe. At the same time, “the modernizing or modern state” is not seen by Breuilly as the cause of nationalism. Rather nationalism emerges as the ideology which best suits the linking together of the people, a territory and the state. A national culture, therefore, is “an essentially modern construct”.

As well as providing insights into the contrasting perspectives of ethno-symbolism and modernism, the literature on nationalism identifies other relevant dimensions, including that of homeland psychology. This seems particularly applicable in Gibraltar’s case. Walker Connor in his paper, Homelands in a World of States⁷⁴, assesses the significance of emotions felt for “the geographic cradle of the ethno-national group”. Not surprisingly, in demonstrating the strength of the psychological associations between homeland and people, he turns to poetry, quoting lines from Sir Walter Scott:

Breathes there the man, with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land.

Land of my sires. What mortal hand
Can e'er untie the filial band
That knits me to thy rugged strand.
(The Lay of the Last Minstrel VI,1)

Connor refers to various other writers in order to show “the invulnerability of homeland psychology to time, place and culture”. Further illustrations relate to war and to popular feelings of fighting for one’s country: Mother Russia; das Vaterland; and so on. Connor notes that, while politicians and academics may explain wars in complex ways, the ordinary people who have to do the fighting perceive them in ethno-national terms, Shrewd propagandists can recognise that, of course: “Your Country Needs You”.

Quite simply, homeland psychology invokes powerful emotions and it can become “a major motivational factor”. In peacetime, slogans have their presence too, Connor adds, noting the tendency towards ethnic exclusiveness: “France for the French”; “Fiji for the Fijians”; nor is “Scotland for the Scots” unknown. These slogans “are spontaneously reflecting a common psychological phenomenon”.

One other aspect of nationalism, which has clear relevance to Gibraltar, is its relationship to religion. Guibernau and Hutchinson in their summary describe it

as “one of the most under-researched topics in the entire field”⁷⁵. In a penetrating if sometimes obscure paper, with allusions to all the world’s religions, Steven Grosby begins to re-dress the balance⁷⁶. Grosby’s position is in accord with the ethno-symbolism of Smith and Hutchinson; religion is one of those “persisting factors in the formation of modern societies”. Grosby quickly rejects the Emile Durkheim view that there is no real distinction between nationality and religion, arguing that both are “structures that order human cognition and action, each drawing upon and permeating the other”. Religion can address some deeper personal need: the need to understand the “purpose of human life, both individually and collectively”. The appeal is to something above and beyond society, to the events of the “other world” to which world-religions subscribe. Both religion and nationality possess transcendental characteristics but the objects of the one are other-worldly, the objects of the second being this-worldly, namely the various forms of kinship and tradition.

A final point of difference between religion and nationality, to which Grosby refers, is also a difference between world-religions. While Judaeo-Christian civilization has tended to accommodate nation-formation relatively easily, this has not always been so with Islam. Islam, he states, “doctrinally rejects loyalty to those traditions constitutive of territorially extensive structures of nativity as inimical to the unity of the community of the faithful”, thereby aiming to transform this world as a whole, knowing no national boundaries.

Of course, the importance of religion to a nation has not been in dispute. The recent work on nationalism elucidates the relationship between the two as it acknowledges the importance of both in the unceasing search for identity, individual and social. The perennialist position implies that the springs of both are primordial and they will persist in the face of the new, notably a widespread secularization of society and the growth of a global culture. However, before taking up the question of globalization, and its impact on the world's nation-states, it is appropriate to return to the question of Gibraltar's place among states. Could Gibraltar ever be called a nation or a state? The literature provides some indicators.

Some, notably those taking a standard Marxist view, would reject the idea of a small territory like Gibraltar as a nation or state on theoretical grounds. "For Marx and Hobsbawm", writes A.D. Smith, "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 a territorial scale sufficient for economic viability as well as independence."⁷⁷ Others would take it as self-evident that Gibraltar's smallness disqualifies it from consideration as a nation, however smallness might be defined.

On the other hand, there are academics who accept the concept of the small state and Smith suggests that “size and scale have become 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”⁷⁸. International conferences convened in 1967⁷⁹ and 1987⁸⁰ 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?”

Quite clearly, size was not seen as an obstacle: “...the sound barrier of smallness has been broken and the only certainty is... that de-colonization will continue”. Furthermore, “The demand for sovereignty could be as urgent and strong among the politically conscious in the smaller territories as in the larger; they were in no way abashed by the difficulties that freedom might bring.”⁸¹ Earlier, Percy Selwyn, also concerned with small countries, had attributed this to the “desire of people to have a national unit with which to identify, as opposed to the anonymity of mass society.”⁸² At that time, certainly, the right to freedom and independence outweighed any reservations about viability. In fact both conferences were concerned primarily with the practical problems and difficulties being faced by small-states, viability among them.

Not all the problems discussed in the literature are immediately applicable to Gibraltar, as will become apparent. In any event, the larger picture helps to keep matters in perspective. Difficulties facing small states are identified as geographic, ethnic, economic, administrative and demographic, political, and social. Obviously, geographical location is important which clearly applies in Gibraltar's case. For example, closeness to others, and possibly "their historical dependence on larger countries for budgetary support and political protection"⁸³, may bring opportunities as well as threats, while remoteness and isolation can inhibit development. As regards ethnic factors, even in relatively small multi-racial states, when one ethnic group vies with another for power and influence, problems can arise, as in Fiji with the conflict between the indigenous people and a small but successful Indian community. Fundamental economic problems in small-states are also highlighted. These can give rise to a "viability crisis" when wealth-raising opportunities are limited, perhaps through dependence on a single agricultural crop. Regional or other external links and associations are sometimes an option to help secure a prosperous future. When natural resources are limited or non-existent, alternative sources of income can be sought, including offering tax-havens to foreigners, gambling and tourism. Moreover, as Robin Cohen points out, achieving national status can give these small and weak nations "a formidable set of advantages", including the right to levy customs and import duties, to print currency, to raise taxes, to be eligible for all kinds of international grants and assistance, to operate free ports, to be a

home for international bankers and investors, down to the right to print postage stamps⁸⁴, all of which apply in Gibraltar.

Small size is also shown to have serious implications both for the costs of administration and for meeting staffing needs. Economies of scale are rarely possible and regional or pooling arrangements with others may not always be feasible. Furthermore, investment in the education and training of administrators, teachers and others is expensive, with no guarantee that under-supply or over-supply will be avoided. Close association with another territory might again be the only way to make good deficiencies and to absorb surpluses.

Political difficulties are similarly identified in the literature on small-states. For any degree of independence to be granted, some political awareness is necessary, at least among some in the population. These can come from an élite or a labouring trade-union class, with the possibility of tension between groups or with a colonial civil service when reacting to “upstart” politicians, tensions which are particularly likely to arise in small, close societies.

Issues described as social or sociological are also linked to the characteristics of close communities. When roles overlap or coincide, as they are apt to do, and when there are “too many ties of kinship, friendship or patronage”, difficulties are likely to surface. Objectivity in recruitment can be sacrificed to nepotism

and dismissing staff may be very difficult. The quality of work can also suffer and independent decision-making may be undermined.

The extent to which Gibraltar shares these problems with other small states, and the bearing that those have on issues of national identity, will be considered in the chapters which follow. At the same time, it should be borne in mind that the very idea of the nation-state is now being challenged by the processes of globalization. Montserrat Guibernau⁸⁵ usefully summarises the position, pointing firstly to the work of the hyperglobalists like Held⁸⁶ who “proclaim the advent of global civilization”. The debate is usually spear-headed by economic arguments. In a world where an economy may no longer be local but borderless, the nation-state as a geo-political entity cannot continue to fulfil a definitive role. As well as multi-national corporations playing the economic shots, the operations of numbers of inter-governmental and trans-national bodies, agencies and pressure groups add weight to the argument that the traditional nation-state can be no more than a “nostalgic fiction”. In the light of this argument any claim to a national recognition can seem somewhat irrelevant.

This extreme view is countered by others who do not predict the immediate demise of the nation-state. Indeed, writers like Paul Hirst and G.Thompson are sceptical about a unifying globalization process. They see the world as fragmenting and characterized by large rival economic blocs and an underclass

of less fortunate states or regions. Far from being disregarded, national interests need to be reinstated to deal with the difficulties arising. As the sceptics point out, “nation-states are still of central significance because they are the key practitioners of the art of government as the process of distributing power, ordering other governments by giving them shape and legitimacy”⁸⁷. According to this view there will continue to be a United Kingdom with which Gibraltar may choose to be associated and a Spain with which no relationship, except neighbourliness, may be sought.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to resist the argument that the classical nation-state, if it ever existed in a pure, wholly-autonomous form, is at least changing quite radically in the face of an “intensification of worldwide interconnectedness”. Thus the member states of the European Union are ceding power to the centre from their national parliaments, for example, while within some of these states, power has also been devolved to constituent nations. David Held argues that “a new ‘sovereignty régime’ is displacing traditional conceptions of statehood as an absolute, indivisible, territorially exclusive and zero-sum form of public power”⁸⁸.

A new question then arises. If the nation-state is changing, weakening or becoming defunct, what are the consequences for socially transmitted national cultures? A simplistic answer is that the result is cultural imperialism and a

homogenized “mass consumer culture riding on the back of Western economic and political domination.”⁸⁹ Taking a broader view, Mike Featherstone urges that a fresh start be made, with the emphasis on processes and not on the nation-state as the sole vehicle for culture; on “the cultural integration and disintegration processes which take place not only on an inter-state level but processes which transcend the state-society unit and can therefore be held to occur on a transnational and trans-societal level.”⁹⁰ These processes amount to “global cultural flows, involving people, technology, finance, knowledge, ideas and the media”. They are above and beyond interstate processes and political re-alignment or enlargement are not involved. Globalization acquires its own momentum and its own autonomy and, potentially, it can affect everyone in this single place, the “globe”. However, since individual nation-states are not primarily involved, their sovereignty need not be weakened. Nor will they necessarily remain unaffected and they may even actively oppose the notion of globalization, seeing it in terms of competing national cultures.

For the time being, at any rate, the nation-state remains a major geo-political entity. In any case, although seeing themselves as having a European future, the Gibraltarians are clear as to their own separate identity and their sense of wanting to remain part of a British enterprise which created them as a people. It has been shown that the context has been a constantly changing one, with the flow of history, with the development and decline of European imperialism,

with changing values and norms and with modernest thinking on ideas of nationhood. The contextual issues outlined above will be helpful to the central concerns of this study.

Chapter 2

ENVIRONMENTAL AND ETHNIC FACTORS

Gibraltar is unique in its physical attributes. The Rock is an accident of geology, resulting from processes many millions of years ago when the Mediterranean was created and closed off to the west by powerful tectonic forces as Africa and the Iberian peninsula “collided”. As land was raised, sea-levels may also have fallen as a consequence of the expansion of the Antarctic ice-cap⁹¹. Then, some two million years ago this western end of the dry Mediterranean basin was opened by east/west faulting, creating a narrow passage, the Strait of Gibraltar. The Strait was dominated by two towering features, Jebel Musa to the south and Jebel Tarik (Gibraltar) to the north. This narrow stretch of water, separating Europe and Africa, and providing the only link between the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, was only fourteen kilometres wide.

With reference to early events, Clive Finlayson states that, “The Strait has seen uninterrupted human activity for at least half- a -million years to the present and much of this activity has been intimately connected with the geography of the channel”⁹². From the time of the Neanderthals, until some thirty-thousand years ago, the Strait was a barrier to any movement south. In Neolithic times, possibly, and certainly by the Bronze Age however, there was movement across the water in both directions. Later, the rich mineral and

biological resources of the areas became a major factor in attracting man, along with the availability of large bays for Phoenician and Greek seafarers sheltering from the potentially treacherous waters. For those sailors, Gibraltar must have been very much a landmark as one of the Pillars of Hercules, immediately identifiable, awesome, and a “focus for classical myth and legend”. These mariners of the ancient world would leave offerings to their Gods in Gibraltar’s caves in the hope of safe passage to and from their destinations.

Seafarer visitors to the Strait were augmented by settlers and colonisers as commercial endeavour became more institutionalised. First Phoenician then Carthaginian exercised control over a communication network of which Gibraltar was a part, until the supremacy of Rome was established in the middle of the second century B.C. Around 400 A.D. the Vandals began to supplant the Romans and as they in turn left for North Africa in 429 A.D., the Visigoths took their place. To each of these groups, it can be reasonably argued, Gibraltar was strategically significant. In the eighth century A.D., when the movement became predominantly northwards, with the expansion of Islam, Tarik⁹³ made use of Gibraltar. For the next six-hundred and fifty years or so the Rock was under Moorish control. Then, after various attempts, the Spaniards finally drove the Moors out in 1462. The British occupation came two-hundred and forty-two years later. Therefore, to Arab, Spaniard and

Briton the Rock has held great practical significance within the context of the Strait as a whole.

This significance remains as Gibraltar continues to be known throughout the world as a past symbol of imperial and military strength – “As strong as the Rock of Gibraltar” is a universally known expression. However, Gibraltar today is a city with suburbs and a settled distinctive population. To the people living there now the symbolism is rather different. Gibraltar is *home*; where their roots are. The emotional ties are strong and this is most noticeable when Gibraltarians return from school or university in the United Kingdom, from a business trip or holiday or other visit. They sigh deeply when the Rock comes into view. Unsurprisingly, the words of the unofficial national anthem are very much about the land and territory.⁹⁴ Therefore they identify strongly with the Rock, a mere promontory off the Iberian peninsula, with Africa some nine miles to the south, the Atlantic Ocean to the west and the Mediterranean Sea to the east. Small though the territory is, it is marked by clear geographical characteristics and boundaries.

The physical characteristics of a country or a place have a powerful influence on the nature of the people living there; to a significant extent people are what they are because of where they live. Geographer, historian and novelist frequently make this point. The Gibraltarians are a coastal population and they should be

considered as a Mediterranean people. The climate is Mediterranean with mild winters, little rainfall and hot, dry summers. Within these parameters there is a distinctive micro-climate determined in part by the water all around and the relatively high humidity. Westerly winds usually mean settled weather, while winds from the north or north-west can bring a surprising chill to the air. In December snow-capped Spanish peaks can be seen not too far away. However, when the wind blows from the east, as it does with some regularity, the result is usually Gibraltar's own levanter⁹⁵ cloud. This is formed as warm air from the Mediterranean is forced upwards by the sheer eastern face of the Rock, to meet the cooler air of the Atlantic some 400 metres up. As well as creating the levanter cloud, the wind somersaults over the Rock, giving swirling, westerly type conditions in the dockyard and adjoining areas. In the resulting humid and heavy atmosphere, feelings of irritability, even depression, are regularly experienced by the inhabitants. The levanter is a feature from which many would like to escape. Of course, overall the climate is Mediterranean. The sea, sunshine and the warmth, it is often argued, help to make the peoples of the Mediterranean countries as they are. They are generally considered as outgoing, demonstrative, emotional, noisy and tolerant of noise. Gibraltarians are in this mould.

The physical characteristics of Gibraltar as a place add powerfully to the general influence of climate and geography. The overall area is very small amounting to

only 5.6 square kilometres. Furthermore, much of this is so precipitous that building space is limited. The eastern side, for example, consists of little more than rocky or sandy slopes. There is nothing apart from one small village, Catalan Bay⁹⁶. It is perhaps surprising that a population of around 250 has been maintained in the village for so long. The presence of Genoese fishermen there, helping to supply the garrison with much-needed fresh fish, was clearly a major factor over many decades. There was a military presence there too and until 1930 the area was under strict military control enforced by a detachment of soldiers permanently stationed in the village from an early date⁹⁷.



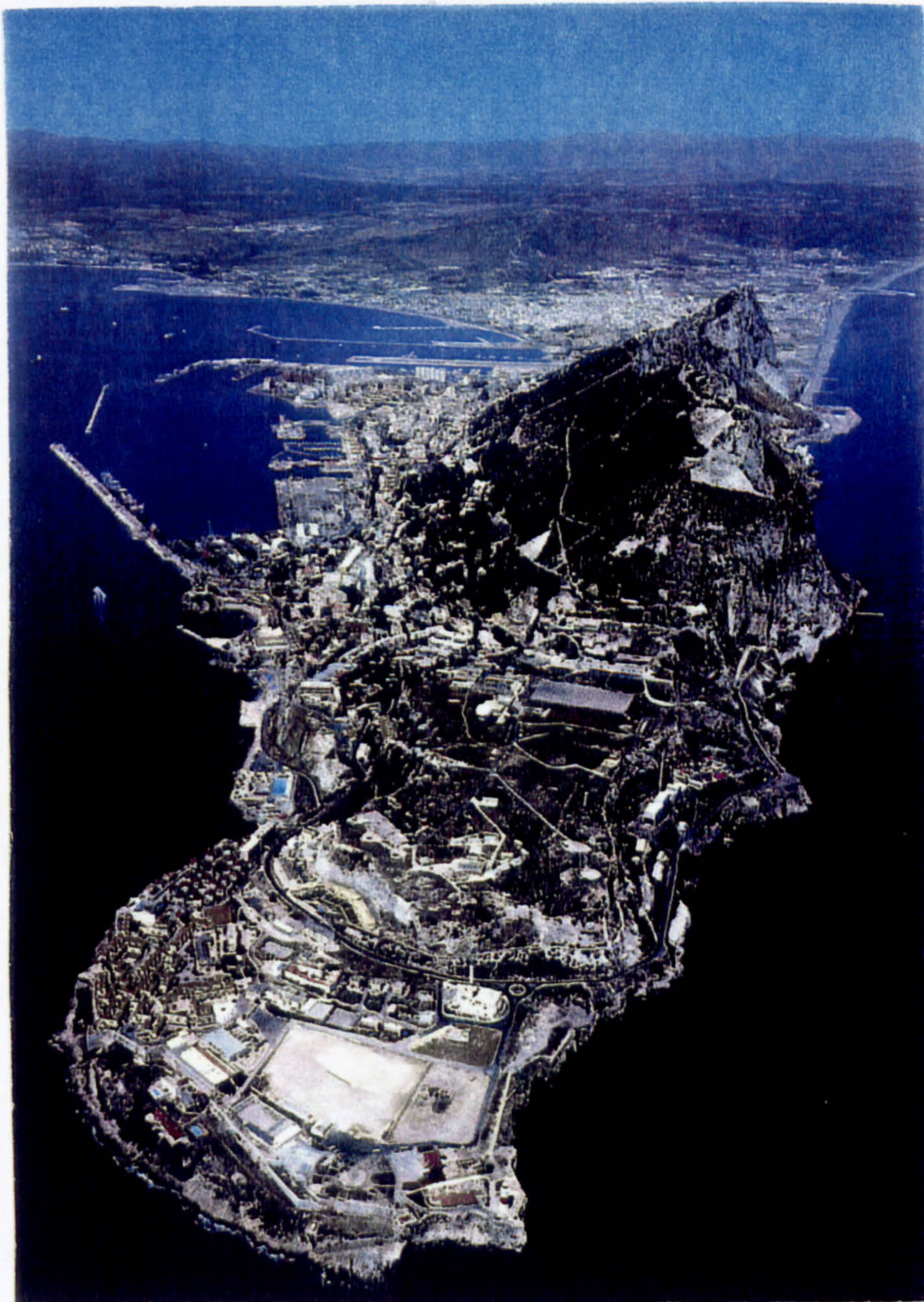
The Eastern Side of the Rock

The original city area lies to the west between the harbour and the higher ground inland from Main Street. This concentration of housing extends upwards to areas near to the Moorish Castle where the poorer dwellings have tended to predominate. Extension further to the west became possible as land was reclaimed from Gibraltar Bay, mostly for the extensive housing programmes of the 1980s and 1990s. As a result, the former coastal defences, against which the waves once lapped, are now some way inland. The land reclamation carried out after 1988 by J.Bossano's new Gibraltar Socialist Labour Party (GSLP) administration increased the habitable area of Gibraltar by one-sixth.



The City Area and New Developments

Southwards from the town, housing has always been limited, although sieges and threatened invasions tended to drive people that way for temporary safety. In the south towards Europa Point military considerations have been paramount and construction has consisted largely of defences, training grounds, barracks and married-quarters⁹⁸. The single exception was the cricket ground but originally it too was War Department property.



Southern Aspects

More recently, extensive housing, including some expensive properties, has appeared to the south of the town. Civil development has become possible as more buildings in that area have been handed over to the government of Gibraltar by the Ministry of Defence. In addition, the new King Fahad mosque now joins the long-established lighthouse as distinctive features of the Europa Point area overlooking the Strait.

The remaining flat areas lie towards the frontier with Spain, outside the town and beyond the north face of the Rock which rises sheer to 300 metres or so. Erroneously Gibraltar is sometimes referred to as an island although access from the town to Spain was at one time restricted by marshy ground and a lagoon, with its good defensive characteristics. All the flat land to the north facing La Línea (the Spanish lines), and including North Front was for a long time a potential battle zone and therefore not for habitation. More recently, in more peaceful times, the land has been put to other uses, including gardens, the race course and jockey club and the cemetery. Military occupation continued, notably when the airfield⁹⁹ was constructed, at the expense of the race course and other social amenities. The airfield proved to be so vital during the Second World War and the Cold War, and commercially it is now one of the mainstays of Gibraltar's important tourist industry and the main link with the United Kingdom. As is pointed out in chapter 2 below, it could have done much more for the Gibraltarian economy. However, when joint Anglo-Spanish use and

development of the airfield was proposed in 1985¹⁰⁰, the matter assumed great political significance for the Gibraltarians. They saw the idea as conceding sovereignty of the isthmus to Spain and opinion is unchanged today as the proposal returns to the agenda. More recently, housing and other commercial developments have also taken up space in this northern area of Gibraltar.



North Front and the North Face of the Rock

Human issues arise from Gibraltar's physical features and some have been touched on already. In general, with such a premium on space there is an inevitable feeling of being restricted, perhaps trapped, and the sense of being part of a population constantly under pressure. In-comers particularly talk of the claustrophobic nature of life in Gibraltar.

Among the problems due to the cramped conditions have been those of housing and health. There have often been acute shortages of accommodation and, as a consequence, the need to keep population numbers down preoccupied various Governors over the centuries. Some Governors were adamant that numbers should not only be contained but actually reduced. Strict controls over residence favouring only genuine native Gibraltarians resulted. In any event, military requirements have always been the first priority which has meant denying the civilian population a lot of good land, making it difficult to avoid overcrowding and the serious health consequences which occurred, especially during epidemics¹⁰¹. Aliens in particular found few places to live except in ships or hulks in the bay. In fact the solution sometimes, even for native Gibraltarians, was to look elsewhere in La Línea and nearby Spain although this brought its own difficulties in times of political or military crisis.

Overcrowding was probably at its worst in the years immediately after the Second World War when evacuees were returning from the Britain and

elsewhere¹⁰². The return of women also signalled a baby-boom. Families of six or eight in one or two rooms were not uncommon. Land reclamation and a major building programme in the 1980s and 1990s, including the construction of high-rise units, gradually brought an end to these difficulties. British funding through the Overseas Development Agency was essential for these projects. It is only recently, as the military base was being drastically reduced, that significant amounts of land and old property have been released by the Ministry of Defence for use by the Gibraltar government.

Arguably, one positive outcome of the shortage of space has been that Gibraltarian society, superficially at least, has been less divided socially than is often the case. While the wealthy built their houses in and around Irish Town and Main Street, the less-prosperous could never be far away; no West-end developments for the more affluent were possible and there was a good chance that everyone would mingle during the traditional evening 'paseo' in Main Street. It continues to be true that 'everyone knows everyone' in Gibraltar, as is usual in smaller communities. And, as has been noted earlier, it is generally accepted that the different classes and the different faiths have lived together in harmony on the Rock. At least, this is the public face of the community ; the underlying reality may be more complex. Things may be changing, and in terms of housing some of the more wealthy have second homes in Spanish

developments like Soto Grande some twenty minutes away by car. In this they are in a sense joining the many other Britons with houses in Spain.

Along with housing, the availability of good drinking water has also been a major concern. In early times wells easily provided for Gibraltar's needs. However, the population grew so much that they became inadequate and the water contaminated. Water-catchments, consisting of expanses of corrugated iron sheeting on the eastern slopes, were seen as the solution although in modern times water has had to be shipped-in when rainfall was insufficient. Today de-salination plants provide all the drinking water and the water-catchments have been removed and replaced by vegetation.

Similarly, good sanitation took time to arrive and sanitary shortcomings have been closely linked to ill-health and epidemics¹⁰³. Potential problems remain; for example, with waste-disposal; simply tipping rubbish into the sea will no longer do. Threats from pollution are also a possibility, from outside Gibraltar as well as from within. Thus health and sanitation issues have contributed to a pervading sense of vulnerability to all manner of external factors.

No account of Gibraltar's environmental and physical features, and of their impact on the community, is complete without a glance inwards, to the inside of the Rock. In a sense, the interior has been significant from the earliest periods;

prehistoric people inhabited the caves and these continue to yield evidence of the distant past. Although not recognized as of such significance at the time, a Neanderthal skull was discovered in Gibraltar before the one in Germany. In historic times, too, caves have offered dwellings of a sort; the first Genoese inhabitants of Catalan Bay may well have lived in caves beside the sandy cove, for example. However, the greatest use of the interior came with the Rock's enhanced military significance and use. The British withstood the Great Siege of 1779-1783 largely because of the tunnelling, making full use of the former miners among the troops. Work continued on a small scale but it was not until the Second World War of 1939-1945 that the main excavations were carried out. Sufficient space was created to accommodate and sustain the whole of the garrison of some twenty-five thousand men, as well as the male civilians who remained behind. All sorts of facility were provided underground – barracks, workshops, generators, stores, hospitals and so on. During the crucial North African campaign of 1942 following Operation Torch¹⁰⁴, largely launched from Gibraltar, General Eisenhower's Headquarters were inside the Rock. Excavation did not end until the 1960s and some thirty-three miles of tunnel now exist, mostly unused and seen as a potential tourist attraction¹⁰⁵. A key military element remains.

Although Gibraltar's physical characteristics have given it strategic and military advantages, the territory has not been able to satisfy the material needs of the

population. As we have seen, providing even an adequate supply of fresh water has not been easy, quite apart from food. There is no cultivable land as such. Fishing has been one source of food but never in sufficient quantities. So Gibraltar has had to rely on external sources of supply, among other things reinforcing a sense of dependence on others and a vulnerability to external factors. Inevitably, supplying the needs of the garrison and the needs of the civilian population has tended to raise diplomatic as well as military issues. Ships from Britain could usually make the journey but day-to-day requirements could not be satisfied that way. Spain was the obvious source of supply when relations permitted. When Spain was hostile Gibraltar had to look to Morocco for its needs. So, from the early years of British occupation, retaining the goodwill of the Moroccan Jews who came to Gibraltar as traders was most important, despite the requirement of the Treaty of Utrecht not to admit them.

Without doubt trade has always been vital to the existence of the civilian population while being subject to quickly changing external events and circumstances. These external factors have not always been political and advances in technology such as the change from sail to coal and from coal to oil have had major effects as will be described more fully below. There have been economic factors too, such as the sudden changes in the market, for example during the Napoleonic Wars when Gibraltar enjoyed times of great prosperity. Because other places were closed to Britain at the time, Gibraltar as a free port

was at its most attractive. This sensitivity to changing economic circumstances has continued until today when Gibraltar seeks to develop its economy in new directions to offset the consequences of the run-down of the military base. Along with new threats come fresh opportunities and some argue that Gibraltar, with its highly educated population, should seek to take advantage of the new patterns of commercial growth and development encompassing the whole of the Western Mediterranean, despite the political cost that might be involved¹⁰⁶. In past centuries Gibraltarians have been very successful in exploiting opportunities for trading and money-making and there is no reason to think that they will not continue to do so. As is argued more fully in chapter three, their acknowledged commercial and financial skills should be able to sustain them in the future.

Not only trade but communication generally has been subject to external pressures and influences, natural or political, whether by land, sea or air¹⁰⁷. Of course, the story has had a very significant positive side to it, given Gibraltar's commanding position at the gateway to the Mediterranean. Its excellent harbour and large dockyard, coupled with the commercial potential of the airfield, remain considerable assets. The Rock's strategic position at the gateway of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, and at a point of close contact between Europe and Africa, has been the mainstay of its existence, throughout the days of Empire and as part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

(NATO) defences during the Cold War and subsequently. Although altered and diminished by new technology, the strategic argument still has some force, both militarily and commercially. For the Gibraltarian people this complex of geographical and environmental factors continues to have a considerable effect on their attitudes and beliefs and on their perceptions of themselves as a distinctive people. As threats to the colony's 'boundaries' continue to occur, the community has responded by asserting its identity with increasing vigour, regularly pointing to its diverse ethnic make-up as an important factor.

Ethnic Factors

Some Gibraltarians argue that Gibraltar is not a colony in the normal sense; they are not a conquered people in a country colonised by the British. When the Anglo-Dutch fleet under Admiral Sir George Rooke occupied the Rock for England in 1704, the Spanish population, with a few exceptions, left Gibraltar space and moved to San Roque, some miles inside Spain. What was taken in 1704 was virtually empty territory. Those people who eventually became native Gibraltarians were in-comers of one type or another or, more precisely, the children of in-comers. They chose to come to Gibraltar. They came from a variety of places, at different times and for a variety of reasons. They came and went, sometimes to return or to be replaced by others. If there is a Gibraltarian nation today, it is the result of the assimilation of these immigrant groups over a long period of time.

The Gibraltarians themselves have no doubt about their existence as a distinct and homogeneous people. They are Gibraltarians in their own right with their own racial mix. While defending their British credentials, they look back to their origins. Particularly since the time when families were reunited after the war, there has been a growing interest in family history and family trees. In November 1950 the Governor of Gibraltar, Sir.Kenneth A.N.Anderson, wrote as follows:-

“...it is very clear that the Gibraltarian is certainly not a Spaniard. He 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 synthesis of blood is still going on”.

Kenneth Anderson wrote this in the foreword to “The Gibraltarian” by H.W.Howes¹⁰⁸. This publication, fifty years after it was written, has become the standard work on the demography of Gibraltar. Coming from the post of Principal of Norwich Technical College, Howes was the first and in many ways the most distinguished Director of Education for Gibraltar¹⁰⁹. As a historian with a background in research, he was well-placed to do a systematic study of The Origin and Evolution of the People of Gibraltar, as the sub-title of his book states. Howes had good access to all previous censuses, with the exception of the one for 1777 which came to light later, and to other sources which he used well. All subsequent work on population has drawn extensively on Howes’ analysis. Generally speaking Howes does two things: firstly, he identifies and

gives an account of each of the immigrant groups and he assesses their significance for an emerging Gibraltarian population. Secondly, he traces the economic history of Gibraltar, demonstrating the link between economic factors and patterns of immigration. Howes' work remains a prime text. The various censuses which he used survive, along with more recent ones, and there is more work to be done by demographers to analyse these¹¹⁰.

A somewhat different approach chosen for this study, against a background of Howes' earlier work, is to analyse a list of family names and to see what picture emerges from them. The 1995 House of Assembly Register of Electors was selected for this purpose. The Register contains the names of some 19,000 individuals being all the adults eligible to vote in Gibraltar's elections at the time. Children are excluded, of course, as are all others living in Gibraltar but not eligible to vote. Some 2,005 different family names appear on the Register¹¹¹. Each has been considered and placed in one of the following categories:-

- GENOESE/ITALIAN
- JEWISH
- MINORCAN
- PORTUGUESE
- BRITISH
- SPANISH
- MALTESE
- INDIAN
- MOROCCAN

In addition there are small numbers of other nationalities: Austrian, French, Danish, Chinese, Japanese, Polish, etc. The determining factor is seen as the country from which a family is believed to have come to Gibraltar. Italian means having come from Italy; British, from Britain, and so on. In making a decision use was made of any available evidence that seemed reasonably secure as follows:-

- (i) Oral evidence from a member of the family, either directly or by telephone.
- (ii) Evidence from a family-tree.
- (iii) Evidence from knowledgeable Gibraltarians, including a local genealogist¹¹² who alone has access to Cathedral records.
- (iv) Evidence from earlier censuses, either direct or through Howes.
- (v) Reference books on the origins of family names.¹¹³

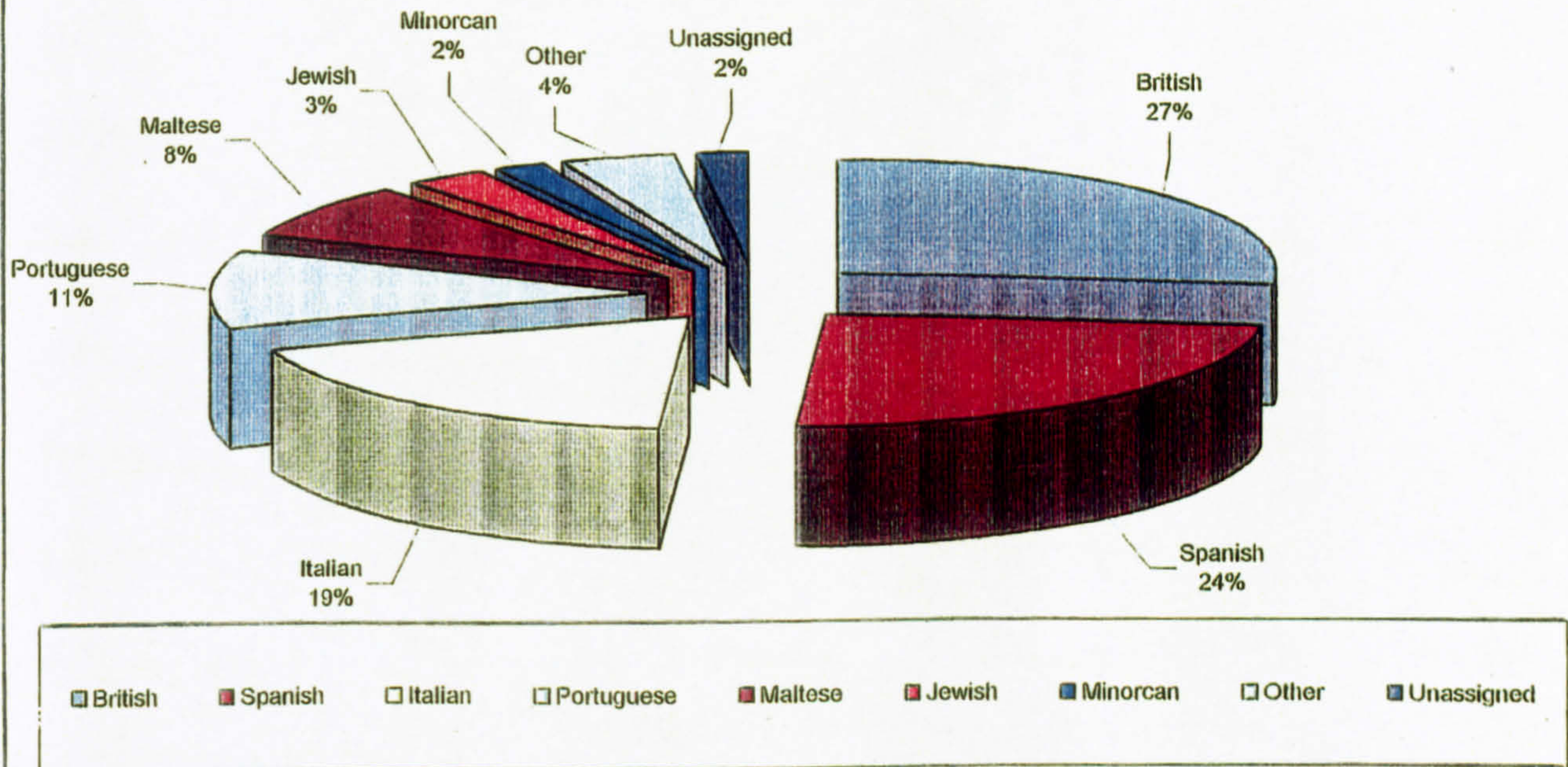
Sometimes the evidence was from several sources. However, difficulties still remained, difficulties which in their way add something to the story of Gibraltar's population as follows:-

- (a) Some in-comers may have come from one place via another for example from Greece or Italy via Malta. Usually such have been identified as Maltese.
- (b) A name may be either one or another, for example Portuguese or Spanish as in the case of Reyes, González, Cruz or García. Some are even more complicated as in the case of Martin which might be English, Spanish or Italian (Martini) in origin. In these instances actual family evidence was sought before making a decision.

- (c) Spelling peculiarities had to be unravelled where possible. Thus, Adamberry was originally Adamberg and known to be German. Andlaw had been Andlau, from Austria.
- (d) All names of Jewish origin are so-called although a few individuals may no longer be practising Jews. The majority are Sephardic Jews from Morocco, having been expelled from Spain. Some are from the United Kingdom and the United States of America – the Ashkenazy element has been increasing.
- (e) Among the small but important Indian community are one or two Pakistanis. All are termed 'Indian' i.e. from the Indian sub-continent.
- (f) All British names are grouped together even when they are known to be of English, Scottish, Welsh or Irish origins. British means from the British Isles.
- (g) Apart from Minorcan names, Spanish names are also grouped together although sometimes they are referred to as Basque or Catalan.
- (h) In-comers from Genoa and other parts of modern-day Italy are all included as Italian.
- (i) About 2% were not resolved and they form the *Unassigned* group.

The analysis identifies the proportions of the various groups, by totals of individuals as summarised in Figure 1. As is immediately apparent British, Spanish and Italian names account for 70% of the voters although historically other groups too have established their place in Gibraltar's history.

FAMILY NAMES - BY TOTALS OF INDIVIDUALS ON 1995 ELECTORAL REGISTER



Roughly in historical order, we can consider each of these original ethnic groups, addressing the following questions:-

1. Who were they?
2. Why did they come to Gibraltar?
3. How and when did they arrive?
4. What has been their contribution to society?
5. How fully integrated are they?
6. How are they perceived in terms of Gibraltarian identity?

Genoese/Italians

Those coming to Gibraltar from Italy came mostly from Genoa, or more precisely from Liguria of which Genoa was the principal city. The Genoese

were among the more numerous groups of in-comers during the early days of occupation and we can say that their descendants are part of the population today. Of course, the Genoese were in the area long before the British took Gibraltar. Genoese merchant-seafarers sailed the Mediterranean as Phoenician and Greek had done in former times. By the twelfth century, with Italian city-power at its greatest, Italy was the hub of international trade. While Venice looked to the east and to the south, its closest rival, Genoa, turned elsewhere. Genoa had a good overland route to the north and, by sea, it looked to North Africa and the Western Mediterranean. With its excellent harbour, Genoa enjoyed good advantages while communication by sea was so important. The Genoese, therefore, would have been well-informed about trading and other opportunities in the Mediterranean. Furthermore, Genoese connections with Spain, particularly when Spain's power and influence were in the ascendant, were substantial. These continued, Cadice (Cádiz) being a prime example of a Spanish city attracting immigrants from Liguria.

As regards the whys and wherefores of emigration from Liguria, the views of an archivist from Genoa¹¹⁴ are noteworthy. He points out that the movement of people to Lombardy, to Spain and beyond to the Americas took place over many years in the 1700s and 1800s. Emigrants were mostly males although those destined for America would have been in family groups. They were often from the poorer parts of Liguria and they were usually labourers and sailors.

Liguria was somewhat over-populated and lacking in agricultural resources; thus, there were pressures to look elsewhere. Historians in Gibraltar provide similar accounts while explanations vary. The failure of the chestnut crop is one factor that is suggested. Another, more specific to Gibraltar perhaps, is the view that Genoese fishermen came annually following shoals of anchovy¹¹⁵. Equally feasible, is the idea that at least some of the Genoese were shipwrights who were employed following the British navy around, doing repair work whenever and wherever this was needed. Not all Italian immigrants were craftsmen, however; some were or became successful traders and merchants in Gibraltar.

The Genoese/Italian element has long been incorporated into the community, of which they form about 20% on the basis of the figures above. Like most other groups it has not retained a separate existence although as individuals they are ready to subscribe to the notion of being of Genoese descent. An exception, if less today than it was a few years ago, is the village of Catalan Bay¹¹⁶. Traditionally regarded as a Genoese fishing village, the people there have to some extent remained apart. There were vestiges of Italian, probably Ligurian¹¹⁷, in the local speech until about two decades ago and people alive today remember their parents or grandparents speaking Italian. Italian family names still predominate in the current list of Catalan Bay names- *Bonfiglio*, *Chincotta*, *Ferrary*, *Massetti*, *Pisarello*, *Robba*, *Stagno*, for example. These and

others are found elsewhere in Gibraltar and Fiorenzo Toso¹¹⁸ in a recent study identifies and discusses some one-hundred and twenty names. Toso, a linguistics specialist, also looks at the influence of the Ligurian language in what “makes Gibraltar a unique case of the linguistic and cultural presence of Genoa...in the Mediterranean basin”. Questions of language are explored further in chapter 4. While these matters usefully point to the roots of society, it is true to say that the Italian element has been fully absorbed into the Gibraltarian mix.

The Jews in Gibraltar

It is not the intention to write anything approaching a history of the peoples of Gibraltar. That would be absurd and unnecessary, particularly as regards the Jewish Gibraltarians about whom there are various published, authoritative monographs¹¹⁹. The objective is to confirm the presence and significance of each group and to discuss the salient issues arising. Firstly, it may be noted that the Jews of Gibraltar are Sephardic or Spanish Jews who lived in Iberia for centuries before their expulsion in 1492¹²⁰. They have played a very influential part in the history of Gibraltar from the early 18th century until today. Coming mostly from Morocco, to where they had fled, especially from Tetuan, their influence at the courts of Moroccan Amirs was sometimes critical to the well-being of Gibraltar when faced with a hostile Spain. During the 18th and 19th centuries Jews in Gibraltar were found at all

levels of society, from labourers and porters to merchants and members of the international Consular Corps. In various ways they contributed substantially to the defence of Gibraltar in war and to its growth and development in peace through to today. Often businessmen and lawyers, Jewish Gibraltarians have also made major contributions to progress in political and constitutional affairs. This has been true from at least the mid-19th century down to the years of the prominence of Sir Joshua Hassan and since. Sir Joshua, lawyer and Q.C., became leader of the Association for the Advancement of Civil Rights, Mayor, Chief Minister, and international negotiator¹²¹.

There have also been strong links with the Jews in London since at least the Great Siege of 1779-1783. Jews came from the capital and Gibraltarian Jews went to live there at various times. As A.B.M.Serfaty¹²² argues, they brought an Englishness to Gibraltar in their dress, manners and bearing. As a community they have also provided a good model to follow and from an early date there have been various formal structures designed to resolve problems and to aid the needy. In 1860 F.M.Montero wrote, "They live very united and they mutually help themselves, settling their differences by means of a Rabbi and communal leaders and they are, therefore, very seldom obliged to have recourse to the tribunals of which they are subject"¹²³. In 1997 oral evidence from a Justice of the Peace¹²⁴ confirmed the validity of

this today; Jews are rarely in trouble and a strong community support system continues to operate. This extends to help in business when financial problems arise. As B.Wasserstein shows, European Jews have been sustained by an “inner cohesion” as well as by an “external hostility”¹²⁵. Gibraltar’s Jews similarly have supported others from overseas as in 1859 when over 3,000 Jewish refugees from Morocco took shelter in Gibraltar. In 1907 refugees from Casablanca were welcomed and supported and in the 1950s significant numbers who again had to leave Morocco were received in transit to Israel. These were often poor Jews and significant help was needed from the Jewish community in Gibraltar.

The number of Jews in Gibraltar has fluctuated from time to time. Some arrived soon after the British and by the time of the Great Siege (1779-1783) these stood at around 1,000 which was about one-third of the population. There was an increase to about 2,000 during the economically successful years of the mid-nineteenth century. Numbers declined in the twentieth century to around 800 and since the Second World War they are said to have dropped to the 600s. The analysis of the 1995 electoral roll by names indicates a figure of 652, about 3.4% of the total which, when children are added, would probably bring the figure to the 800s. The discrepancy, if there is one, is probably between the number of practising Jews and those of

Jewish origin. A significant number no longer practise their faith and marriage with non-Jews has occurred quite regularly.

As we have seen, there is a general satisfaction that the different religious and racial groups have lived harmoniously throughout Gibraltar's history. This clearly includes the Jews. Yet, as Serfaty ¹²⁶ points out, there have been occasions and circumstances when the Jews have suffered discrimination by groups and individuals, including the military. There have been disputes and jealousies but not of a lasting kind. Sir Joshua Hassan easily attracted the political support of the whole population for example, as did prominent Jews before him.

The Gibraltarian Jews themselves seem positive about their identity today. "There is no distinction other than that we go to the synagogues on Saturday and those of other faiths go to church on Sunday", says one. "Our synagogue is an expression of faith in the Lord, faith in ourselves and faith in our commitment to Gibraltar", writes another¹²⁷. At the same time, Israel through the faith has a place in their consciousness. "I have always identified myself with the State of Israel. I am a Gibraltarian, don't get me wrong. This is where I belong but you can still be linked elsewhere". And, "No, home is Gibraltar. I feel at home in London as well but I don't feel at home in Spain", says another.

A further anecdote is illuminating. When an Israeli cricket team played in Gibraltar a few years ago, young Gibraltarian Jews attended the game waving Israeli flags, to the obvious irritation of some other Gibraltarians. Too much importance should perhaps not be attached to this; the same Jewish youths would certainly join the general loud Gibraltarian chorus of delight whenever a Spanish football team suffers defeat. The clear impression gained is that the native Jews of Gibraltar are as truly Gibraltarian as others. History has shown us why. Living close together, sharing the same experiences of success and adversity, going to the same schools etc, have all had the same outcome. In some eyes, sadly, there have been changes of late with a shift towards religious orthodoxy under a new Rabbi. Separate schools at secondary level are now operating. Some leaders of the Jewish community say that this change will not go too far and others hope that they are right.

The British

There is a substantial British element in Gibraltar's population. Perhaps Howes understated this in his analysis. British blood featured early and many family-trees confirm this. About 193 British family names appear in the 1777 census lists. Britons, like other groups, have come and gone, left or settled, from the early days of the conquest. The analysis of names on the 1995 Electoral Roll shows that 27% are of British origin.

The obvious should be stated and a distinction made. On the one hand there always have been large numbers of British people in Gibraltar in the form of the garrison and the administration. Their presence was and is, by definition, temporary and they leave after their term of duty. At the beginning of the twenty-first century less than 1,000 are in this category. Although in Gibraltar for a limited period these Britons have exerted a powerful influence on the place and its people. Most would not be included in the 1995 Electoral Roll.

On the other hand, there have been Britons who came and stayed, spending most of their lives on the Rock or settling permanently and creating a family of native Gibraltarians. Some of the early arrivals came to trade and to make money. Some left with money made. Others stayed for long periods without necessarily intending to stay for ever. One Henry Cowper, with a possible Scottish connection, was an early example. From records in the 1770s we find him listed as a goldsmith and silversmith. He owned or managed various properties. He had seven children and a number of servants. He paid rent for a tennis court. He left at the time of the Great Siege and returned in 1783 but with only some of his family. A few years later there was no trace of the Cowpers.

Various censuses and listings confirm the regular presence of a few hundred British traders and workers. Some of these would marry and settle in Gibraltar. However, the majority who settled would probably have been former soldiers, especially during the past 150 years.. Local girls would readily marry officers and this happened in some “upper-class” families. In these instances the couple may well have left the Rock. Other girls would, with approval, marry non-commissioned officers who would be well-placed to find employment in the civil service or the police, buying themselves out of the army if necessary.¹²⁸ Some British servicemen may also have married Spanish girls employed as maids in Gibraltar. In addition there have been some instances of British women marrying locally, for example when civil servants from Britain brought maids with them.

Construction projects of a major kind also brought Britons to Gibraltar, as in the case of the works in the dockyard in the late 1890s and early 1900s. Some of these workers married local girls and stayed on in Gibraltar. One example is Commander Joseph Ballantine, a prominent citizen of Gibraltar today. He can trace his origins back to a Scottish grandfather who came from Ayr in 1893¹²⁹. There will have been a steady flow of Britons since then, military or naval, professionals and craftsmen, who came to Gibraltar to work and who married locally and chose to stay.

Those like Joseph Ballantine who go back two generations or more, are fully integrated. They speak the poor local Spanish like the rest and they mix with all other Gibraltarians without distinction. They may speak more English and better English. If they are Irish in origin they will probably be Roman Catholics. Others arrived as Anglicans or members of the Church of Scotland, some becoming Roman Catholics on marriage. To these are added a number of retired people from Britain, making up in total a sizeable and influential element of the population. Any Anglo-Saxon traits which they brought with them were very acceptable to Gibraltarians as the continuing penchant for the sports jacket and flannels or the brass-buttoned blazer testifies.

The Portuguese

From the analysis of names by nationality some 10% point to a Portuguese origin. The Portuguese were one of the earlier groups to come to Gibraltar and Howes argues that their importance had been underestimated. They are likely to have come from the south of the country, from the Algarve region.

They were probably never very numerous in the eighteenth century: the census of 1791 lists some 51 Portuguese. Most were engaged in manual work and many were masons, only 4 being in business. By 1814 there were 650 males aged 17 years and above, at the time when the Genoese, the largest

group, were recorded as numbering 886. About half the labourers in Gibraltar were Portuguese as were 43 of the 49 lightermen. There were 11 Portuguese merchants. Those employed in connection with ships and shipping were significant throughout the century.

It is held generally that the Portuguese presence was facilitated by the traditionally strong links between Portugal and England, going back to 1661 when Catherine of Braganza married Charles II. The marriage settlement included English military and naval support for Portugal, and Tangier was ceded to England by the Portuguese. When Tangier was given up in 1693 Lisbon was used by English ships instead. Commercial links grew as the Peninsular War against Napoleon further strengthened relationships.

So the services of the Portuguese would be welcomed in Gibraltar. Sometimes they came when Spanish workers were unwilling or unable to do so, for example during the first decades of British rule. They came seeking work, sometimes at the invitation of the British. This was true as recently as 1969 when Franco closed the frontier, thus preventing the large force of workers entering each day. Numbers of Portuguese arrived in small boats hoping to take the place of the Spaniards. We should add that some had arrived earlier to escape their own dictator, Salazar.

An area of Casemates Square was once the Portuguese quarter but this is remembered only in the history books. The Portuguese are long dispersed and scattered about Gibraltar. Their names, such as *Coelho*, *Mascarenhas*, and *Pereira* are scarcely known as Portuguese by most Gibraltarians. Some have taken the trouble to pursue their roots through the compilation of a family-tree and more are doing so. There is a further point that those whose names could equally be Spanish or Portuguese often hope that it turns out to be the latter. Overwhelmingly, the Gibraltarians of Portuguese origin feel that they are Gibraltarian, just as the community as a whole accepts them as part of the mix.

Minorcans

The Minorcans are a small but interesting group whose surviving family names include *Abrines*, *Arnao*, *Cardona*, *Coll*, *Costa*, *Dalmedo*, *Gomila*, *Llambias*, *Llufrias*, *Pons*, *Triay*, *Victor*, *Victory*, and *Xerri*. Six of these names appear in the 18th century censuses. Numbers were always small, being around 60 in 1777 and over 180 by 1791, by which time Minorca had been back in Spanish hands for eight years.

The explanation for the arrival of the Minorcans is not difficult to find. Minorca, like Gibraltar, was recognised as British under the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, and with it came the magnificent harbour at Mahon. The links

between Gibraltar and Minorca were extensive, including the regular movement of troops between the two garrisons. Similarly, civilians could move from one to the other, avoiding a war or seeking new opportunities¹³⁰. It was probably the opportunity for work that first brought Minorcans to the Rock where they were employed as sailors, masons, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers and labourers. Minorcans would know of Gibraltar's needs when the town was being re-built after the Great Siege in 1783. Numbers again grew during the wars with Spain around the turn of the century, despite the terrible effects of epidemics. An increase in seaborne traffic occurred in what were prosperous times for the colony and by 1816 the number of adult Minorcans reached 410. In later years Minorcans were no longer identified separately in the censuses. Their children born in Gibraltar would be classified as native and gradually they became part of a homogeneous population.

It should be noted that people of different national origins sometimes moved around from place to place, perhaps arriving at one place via another. As regards Minorca and Gibraltar there were movements in both directions, generally and at critical times in history. For example, the Jews of Gibraltar had trading connections with those in Minorca. The same might be said of Greeks who at one time were quite numerous in Minorca. One Gibraltarian

with “Panayotti” in his family-tree has evidence of a Minorcan or Maltese connection rather than with Greece direct.

One interesting Minorcan example is that of the *Abrines* family who became prosperous people in Gibraltar. *Abrines* is supposedly a Spanish name although it seems not to be found in Spain today. It does exist in the West of Scotland, however, if with a different pronunciation. How it arrived there is not known although possessors of the name wonder about the Armada.¹³¹ Anyway, the *Abrines* family, according to a family-tree drawn up in Madrid, goes back one generation before 1699 i.e. to around 1575. The first known members were then living in Palma de Mallorca, having gone there from the mainland it is believed. From there they moved to Mahon in Minorca before eventually going to Gibraltar. The first to arrive there in about 1734 were two young brothers, Gregorio and Joseph (José) *Abrines*. Both were born in Mahon and their parents, father born in Mallorca and mother born in Tarragona, must have moved from Minorca to Gibraltar when the boys were quite young. Gregorio became a sailor, as was his father, probably, and Joseph became a stonemason. Their descendants have lived in Gibraltar ever since. The latest member of the family owned shops and bakeries which he sold on retirement. There are no more direct male offspring and relatives expect their wealth to be left to the Roman Catholic Church to which they are deeply attached.

The Spanish Element

The size of the Spanish element in the population is somewhat contentious. Both extremes of belief are probably inaccurate. One Gibraltarian professional¹³², of British-Canadian origin, expresses the view that 80% of the blood flowing through Gibraltarian veins is Spanish. The available evidence seems not to support that assertion. Nor does the view that Spanish blood is a minor ingredient hold up. The analysis of names by nationality indicates a figure of 24%, a little more if Minorcans are included.

For obvious reasons there have long been close contacts between native Gibraltarians and the Spaniards living just across the frontier. The constant need for goods and services ensured that. La Línea, the “Spanish Lines”, largely owes its existence to British Gibraltar. The daily influx of Spanish workers from La Línea and the surrounding area has been considerable, with at times as many as 3,000 walking into Gibraltar in the morning and back again in the evening. These workers came mostly to take up the more menial occupations as labourers, tradesmen, servants etc. employed by both the military and civilian authorities. Something of this happens today and on a similar scale.

There has been movement in the other direction too, for social reasons. Soldiers and sailors would go to Spain on their free days and in the evenings, to drink in the bars, to enjoy time at the fair in la Línea or Algeciras, and so on, just as Spaniards would visit Gibraltar for special events. This socialising would sometimes result in the marriage of Gibraltar men with Spanish women which has been the main means whereby the Spanish element has been introduced into the native population. It rarely happened the other way; Gibraltar women have not sought the subservient role which women played in Spanish marriages.

There is some evidence about inter-marriage during the years from 1916-1942 in the Police Department Register of Births held in the Government Archive. The assumption is made that this is a record of all the births during that period. Only basic details are recorded in the ledger, including the nationality of the parents. Fathers are almost always recorded as *Native*. In the case of the mothers, most of them too are listed as *Native*; some are *British*, a few *Moroccan*, *Maltese*, *Portuguese* or *Italian* and one *Brazilian*. The rest are given as *Spanish*.

During the years 1916-1920 there were 1,650 births and 127 of these i.e. about 8% of the total had Spanish mothers. During the years 1921-1925 the proportions were similar – there were between 350 and 400 births each year and

about 1 in 11 of these were to Spanish mothers. In 1925 there was a sharp increase: 66 mothers out of 400 were Spanish, about 1 in 6. During succeeding years the number of births remained roughly the same each year, in the upper 300s, but the proportion of Spanish mothers increased to about 1 in 4. In 1936 and in 1938, years when the Spanish civil war raged and when there were many Spanish refugees in Gibraltar, the proportion was greater than 1 in 3. There were no births in Gibraltar during the Second World War and since then marriages between Gibraltarians and Spaniards have been very few in number.

The Maltese

As we see from the analysis of electoral names by nationality, the Maltese account for about 8% of the total. That they should have a presence in Gibraltar is not surprising. Both Malta and Gibraltar were on the Imperial route to the east and both had Admiralty dockyards. As was true of other groups, the Maltese came to Gibraltar to work when there was a shortage of jobs at home. Others may have come to escape the law in Malta; at any rate, they were perceived that way by the Gibraltarians and they were often categorized as trouble-makers who should be sent back. Those who could mostly took menial jobs as labourers or coal-heavers. Some were able and skilled and the men who built the Sacred Heart Church were Maltese stonemasons and labourers. Other Maltese became labourers or shipwrights in the dockyard from the 1890s. Some would have been minor merchants,

establishing businesses in Gibraltar as they would have done at home, becoming shop-owners, traders, bar-owners or cab-drivers. A publication which appeared in 1915 contains names of businessmen common to both places – *Azzopardi, Borg, Caruana, Mifsud, Zammit* and so on¹³³. The Maltese have succeeded in many walks of life in the territory, including business, law, education and politics.

While the area around St. Joseph's parish might once have been known as the Maltese quarter – because the Maltese needy were helped there – this no longer applies. Today the Maltese are integrated and fully accepted in Gibraltar society and they are found anywhere in the territory. Their past reputation as ne'er do wells has long been forgotten.

The Indians in Gibraltar

In his annual message for 1995¹³⁴, the President of the Hindu Merchants' Association, Mr. Haresh K. Budhrani, justifiably complains that Sir William Jackson in his history of Gibraltar¹³⁵ makes no mention of the Hindus. It is as if "there are no Hindus (or persons of Indian origin) on the Rock", he states. In looking at "whether we fit in the jigsaw that makes up Gibraltar society", Budhrani lists a number of issues arising during previous months, some good, some bad, showing how the Hindus have played their part in all of them. He concludes his message as follows:-

“No one pretends that we are the same as everyone else in Gibraltar – because we are not. Of course, we are ethnically different to the rest but that is precisely what Gibraltarian society is made up of. What we do enjoy in common with everyone else in Gibraltar is the fact that this is our home, it provides us with our livelihood, it is rapidly becoming the land of our ancestors and the birthplace of our children.”

The presence of Hindus in Gibraltar is quickly apparent to visitors. They are mostly shopkeepers and many have their shops in and around Main Street, along which visitors usually walk. The Hindu Merchants' Association in 1995 listed 155 businesses when the Indian community overall numbered over 500. There were 225 Indian adults on the 1995 Electoral Roll.

How and why did the Hindus come to Gibraltar? After the Napoleonic Wars there were opportunities for overseas traders and craftsmen in Gibraltar. The first merchants from India arrived in 1870, a year or so after the opening of the Suez Canal. Almost all resident Indians can trace their origins back to Hyderabad in Sindh Province which became part of Pakistan. They sometimes refer to themselves as Sindhis.

The first Indian merchants to arrive did not intend settling. They saw Gibraltar only as a trading outpost and they would “simply set up their businesses and go back to India, leaving staff recruited from India on short-term contracts of 2 to 5 years to man their businesses here”¹³⁶. Until 1921 only 7 Indian traders were licensed to trade in Gibraltar. Various restrictions

operated and numbers did not grow rapidly. The partition of India led to a small influx and by 1950 there were 23 licences, rising to 26 in 1961. With the closure of the frontier in 1969, there was “a very substantial increase in the size of the community”. Hindus with United Kingdom citizenship residing in Spain moved to Gibraltar and more Indian shop assistants were allowed in to replace Spanish workers. In 1970 the community numbered 293.

Since the 1970s at least, the story has been that of an increasing integration of the Hindus into Gibraltarian society. They join in many social activities and events, including the celebrations on September 10th, Gibraltar’s national Day. Arranged marriages are now less common and, while a young Hindu may have a choice of partner from within the Indian community, there are some marriages with Gibraltarians. The Hindus generally have full access to education in Gibraltar. At least one Hindu attends a prestigious Roman Catholic independent school in England alongside other Gibraltarians.

The Hindus officially aspire to be treated as fully Gibraltarian, and this in the face of persistent difficulties over the years even for those who arrived already possessing British passports. The belief is held that the date chosen for qualification for inclusion in the Register of Gibraltarians was selected because that was the year when there were fewest Indians in Gibraltar. In 1973 there was

a dramatic change when the United Kingdom, and therefore Gibraltar, joined the European Economic Community and when all United Kingdom passport holders became “Europeans”. As lawyer Budhrani puts it, “The right to live, trade, and work in Gibraltar has transformed the Hindu Community into a more dynamic, outward-looking community. This has brought about increased investment in property and trade and a change in the nature of the trade hitherto carried on by the Hindu Community. The increased confidence and the sense of belonging to Gibraltar, has enabled Hindus to participate fully in the life of Gibraltar”.

Moroccans

The earliest writers mistakenly spoke of many Moors living in Gibraltar during British times. These were probably men from the ships from North Africa which regularly brought goods to the Rock. Their presence would be noticeable, perhaps, alongside the Barbary Jews who managed the trade, but they were not residents.

Moroccans have become part of the life of Gibraltar much more recently. On 9th June 1969 General Franco closed the frontier and the Fifteenth Siege began. About one-third of the labour force had been made up of Spaniards and they were barred from entering the colony daily as they had done for a long time. Within weeks large numbers of Moroccans began to arrive from

Tangier to take their place and quite quickly the total reached 3,000. They took up the largely menial occupations vacated by the Spanish workers. Employment opportunities were not available at home and they were pleased to take the jobs and the very basic accommodation on offer.

When the frontier was opened fully again by Spain in 1985, the outlook for the Moroccans changed for the worse although they must have been aware from the outset that their stay would only be temporary. Spanish workers returned to take back their old jobs. The displaced Moroccans went back to Tangier or elsewhere in Northern Morocco. By 1998 only some 700 were left in Gibraltar, a good proportion being women employed as maids and cleaners. Some stayed although unemployed, perhaps with the assistance of handouts from those in work. Only 63 appeared on the 1995 electoral register, probably by virtue of marriage to Gibraltar or British women. For a long time they felt that they had a grievance. The Moroccan Workers Association took their dispute to the Gibraltar government and issues to do with residence permits, social security benefits, accommodation and other matters were on the agenda. A headline in the press in 1993¹³⁷ quoted the T.&G.W.U. National Officer for Race Equality, Bob Purkis, with the words, MOROCCANS ARE ALSO GIBRALTARIANS, which patently they were not. Given Gibraltar's circumstances of restricted space and the system of

temporary residence permits, this argument was never likely to succeed, although conditions did improve.

Despite the grievances, relations between the Moroccans and the local people have always been good. The Gibraltarians, mostly, have viewed them favourably and they often accept that they have had a poor deal, after helping out so well during Gibraltar's years of difficulty. Those Moroccans who remain continue to do some of the work which Gibraltarians traditionally have not done, including working in hotels, where Moroccan men and women are numerous, and in restaurants and shops. The majority continue to work in the construction industry and the local bus-drivers tend to be Moroccan. There is the custom among some of the more prosperous Gibraltarian families to employ Moroccan maids.

The Moroccans can be intelligent and well-educated and sometimes overqualified for the work that they do. In fact some see themselves as superior to the Gibraltarians. Their command of English can be good and many speak French as well as Spanish, in addition to an Arabic dialect of course. Many are men with families in Tangier or Tetuan or nearby. Visits home are made periodically although this can be difficult since they are not allowed into Spain to take the ferry from Algeciras and the direct service is not as it was¹³⁸. There are a few families in Gibraltar and their children attend

the local schools. Apart from the handful who have obtained British passports, they are in no sense Gibraltarians. Yet they are much in evidence in the streets and they continue to perform a valuable service. They live within the community without being officially part of it.

Others

Various other small groups make up the population – Austrian, French, Chinese and so on. They came for reasons which may now be forgotten but they probably came in search of work. There were Frenchmen, said to be on their way to enlist in the Foreign Legion, who chose to stay. There was a Swedish sailor who remained to work in Gibraltar. There was the Czech croupier who came via the French Riviera hoping to establish a casino in Gibraltar. There were the Chinese who came to open restaurants, and all the rest . All these minorities add a little to the multi-coloured canvas and they confirm the complexity of the ethnic dimension. Now well-stirred and mixed, the Gibraltarian community in part derives its sense of identity from the diversity of its people.

We have seen that some are aware of their different ethnic origins, while others are not. When asked where their names came from, a good number have no idea. Some have a family-tree or some orally transmitted knowledge of family origins. Yet there are strong indications that the different groups

perceive themselves as Gibraltarians first of all. Furthermore, they regularly mention the link with the Mother Country and with equal unanimity they are quick to assert that they are not-Spanish, although speaking Spanish from the cradle. To that extent and more they are the same, but not uniformly the same. At sub-group level there are distinctions to be made: for example, the Jews and Indians are different, as discussed above, but the differences are contained within the general belief that, “We are all Gibraltarians”. Of course, there can be tensions and disagreements between groups and this also occurs between individuals who may be rivals in business, politics, professional advancement, artistic endeavour or whatever. In a close community these tensions can reach a high level of intensity and they certainly seem to do so in Gibraltar. Yet all is “contained” within the community. In the words of A.P.Cohen, “The triumph of community is to so contain this variety that its inherent discordance does not subvert the apparent coherence which is expressed by its boundaries”¹³⁹. They are very visible, for example, on National Day, 10th September, when everyone joins in the celebrations regardless of class or group or creed. Most wear red and white, the national colours, as they engage in this annual ritualistic assertion of statehood¹⁴⁰.

CHAPTER 3

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INFLUENCES

It has been argued that a society such as that in Gibraltar is shaped by a multiplicity of forces and influences. Some of these arise from the nature of the physical environment in which people live and, in turn, these environmental factors determine the range of economic activities available to the people, facilitating some, inhibiting others.

Individuals and groups differ as a consequence. Some societies are rural and agricultural, their members living, perhaps, in scattered and isolated communities. Manners, morals, outlook and rituals are influenced accordingly. In contrast, factory-based or office-based urban communities, with high-density populations, are differently influenced and they share a different set of values and practices. Similarly, close-knit mining or fishing communities, which depend on different skills and work patterns, tend to generate their own distinctive attitudes and mentalities. Thus, a traditional farming community in the Mearns¹⁴¹, a shipbuilding community in Glasgow's Govan¹⁴² and a fishing community in Whalsay, Shetland¹⁴³ acquired their peculiar characteristics and sense of identity.

Closely allied to wealth-gathering practices, and their effects on the people, are the ways in which the wealth is controlled and distributed; the economy and politics are intimately related. Clearly, collective farms in a Marxist state and farms in post-colonial rural New Zealand imply very different individual, social and community values. Both the economy and politics, then, are the source of important formative influences and the British influence, often deliberate and direct, sometimes incidental and informal, has been considerable.¹⁴⁴ Economic influences on the emergence of a distinctive Gibraltarian people are now examined.

Economic Factors

The needs of the garrison and the exigencies of war have been among the major underlying determinants. When the Spanish left after the conquest in 1704, a new indigenous population was eventually established because of the garrison's requirements for goods and services. At first, during the years from 1704 to 1727, when there were various Spanish attempts to re-take the Rock, there was little incentive for people to settle. The civil population, largely Genoese and Jewish, numbered little more than a thousand. Supplies came from Morocco and the trade was managed by Moroccan Jews critical to which was Queen Anne's action in declaring Gibraltar a Free Port in 1706, a device which was at first designed to please the Moroccan authorities but which was later seen as "a

possible means of breaking into the closed Spanish market”¹⁴⁵. It appears that the economic advantages of Empire¹⁴⁶ were exploited from the start, although military considerations tended to take priority.

The next twenty-five years were quieter and, as H.W.Howes explains¹⁴⁷, the British directed their attentions to conditions in town as well as to the fortifications. Also at that time, in Howes’ words, “the place became anglicised. English customs and occupations were introduced, and a start was made with an English colony in addition to the small Genoese and Jewish trading communities”. This was to be a recurring theme in pronouncements and ordinances, for ideological as well as military reasons, that the population should be controlled, as far as possible encouraging “His Majesty’s Protestant Subjects”, while discouraging “Papists, Moors and Jews”. For pragmatic reasons based on their favoured position across the Strait, the Barbary Jews were tolerated as traders who were needed to sustain the garrison. British policy developed into one of accepting native-born people, including Jews, while endeavouring to keep out aliens, whose loyalty and reliability were doubtful. This exception with the Jews was to the advantage of British Governors, notably Major-General John Shrimpton and others who followed him. They derived income from the richer merchants, many being Jewish, through “key-money”, paid before these merchants could build or occupy property.¹⁴⁸

At the same time, economic activity was limited and in general Gibraltar seems to have had little commercial value for most of the 18th century. For one thing, in the days of sail, there was little protection for ships at anchor and the winds made the port difficult. However, the territory having no natural resources, local trade was important to Gibraltar. In good weather supplies from Tetuan arrived quickly and the “town was never in want, but kept well supplied with all kinds of provisions such as oxen, sheep, fowl, eggs and a vast quantity of Barbary oranges”.¹⁴⁹ Non-food goods were also transported, in both directions, some for re-export from Gibraltar, and here can be seen the beginnings of what was to become a very important entrepôt trade which commercial interests in Britain were increasingly keen to defend, especially when textiles were involved. During the time that Lieutenant-General Humphrey Bland was Governor (1749-54), the export of Manchester linen began, mostly to Morocco, via Gibraltar, to the benefit of all parties.

The Great Siege of 1779-1783 had predictably negative economic effects on the colony. With a diminished population, blockaded, and regularly under attack, normal commerce in Gibraltar was not possible. The eventual ending of the siege permitted a slow return to normality. Most buildings had either been destroyed or severely damaged during the conflict and a rebuilding programme provided a spur to economic activity as people returned and new arrivals appeared. Then, around the turn of the century, a series of naval victories over

the Dutch, Danes, Spanish and French, including Trafalgar in 1805, gave Britain command of the seas and a “practical monopoly of seaborne trade”. Because of British power the way was being opened to some of Gibraltar’s most prosperous years and the colony’s original population of Jewish and Genoese traders, augmented by some Britons and others, could take advantage of them.

Various matters contributed to the prosperity. Initially things were not so good at home in Britain. Although master of the seas, Britain’s goods were barred from European ports by republican France and her allies, through the so-called “Continental System”. Gibraltar, of course, remained open while Britain itself was badly affected and unemployment grew. The British response was to try to prevent inter-European trade by sea and, during 1807, some three hundred and twenty Spanish and other vessels were brought into Gibraltar as prizes. Thus Gibraltar benefited from British policy and from events sometimes far away. These came closer as French troops marched through Spain to deal with a defiant Portugal. Allegiances switched. French action offended the Spanish people and led to the popular uprising in Madrid on 2nd May 1808, the day which is usually regarded as the beginning of modern Spain. The intervention in support of a traditional ally, Portugal, now found the British also allied with the Spanish against the French. So Gibraltar became a supply base and a refuge for the British army and Spanish guerilla forces operating in Andalucía, as well as a link with those in action in Portugal and elsewhere in Spain. Estimates suggest

that up to £1m per month passed from Gibraltar to finance the British during the Peninsular War, public subscriptions from Britain providing some of the support. More locally, some Gibraltarian businessmen opportunistically were involved in the supply of weapons and money¹⁵⁰. Although the territory and its impregnable fortress was never threatened, French troops briefly occupied Los Barrios and San Roque, just a few miles from Gibraltar¹⁵¹. One direct consequence was that some Spaniards fleeing from the fighting found refuge in Catalan Bay.¹⁵² Clearly, the Napoleonic Wars “brought the prosperity of military activity to Gibraltar”, either immediately or soon afterwards. The frontier with Spain was as open as it could be and the channels for gun-running and for other supplies would later be available for smuggling. Because of Britain’s support for Portugal’s cause these years also saw an increase in Gibraltar’s Portuguese population bringing skills that would be valuable to the future of the colony.

During these years improvements were being made to the facilities in Gibraltar and in 1808 work was begun on the victualling yard, “a massive building, built on the lines of contemporary magazines, with eleven vaulted rooms in each of the two floors”.¹⁵³ Jackson notes that at that time “the civil population was two and a half times the size of the garrison and had developed its own economy only partially dependent on the military”, and, “by 1814 Gibraltar was

becoming as much a colony as a fortress, a commercial centre or emporium as well as the guardian of the Western Gate to the Mediterranean”¹⁵⁴.

The end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 brought a short period of diminished economic activity. Naval operations were reduced, prize ships were no longer brought in, and the British government ceased supplying the Spanish army and guerillas. On the other hand, with the Spanish economy in ruins, there was a potential market for the British goods of the industrial revolution. British manufacturers were in a favourable position, especially those in Manchester, who had well-established relations with Gibraltar’s shipping agents, merchants and brokers. British products for both Morocco and Spain were conveyed via Gibraltar, therefore. Possible rival ports in the area were not yet in a position to challenge Gibraltar whose trade also included links with Spain’s former colonies which no longer dealt directly with their one-time colonial masters. Tobacco smuggling was also back on the agenda, if on a small scale.

At about that time General Sir George Don (1814-1831) arrived in Gibraltar to take up the post of Lieutenant Governor. Left in charge, firstly by the absent Governor the Duke of Kent (1802-1820), “he displayed for seventeen years, the keenest interest in the commercial prosperity of the city”.¹⁵⁵ Perhaps Gibraltar’s best-known reforming Governor, Don was able to instigate all manner of social improvements, aided by the colony’s prosperity at that time. As British trade

with India and the East Indies via the Mediterranean grew, the years were indeed prosperous ones for the merchants, ship chandlers and retailers. More than ever Gibraltar was becoming a meeting place for businessmen of many nationalities and a trading culture was further established in the community. This moneymaking tradition has continued and even in those early days there were murmurings about a Gibraltarian aversion to the more menial kinds of work which were seen as best left to others.

These years of prosperity were to end by around 1829. Some of the Britons who had come only to make money left. Signs of imminent change were apparent in 1823 when an important technological advance was made: the first steam-powered vessel reached Gibraltar.

By 1831 H.M. Steam Packets were fully operational on the Mediterranean run. Although Gibraltar's new role as coaling station was to bring wealth to some people, others lost, with the decline of entrepôt trade; Gibraltar became only a port of call for most ships. In addition, as the French challenge shifted to the eastern Mediterranean, the use of the dockyard declined while that of Malta grew. Therefore, after the mid-1880s, "Gibraltar was living on the wealth accumulated during the Peninsular War, the fruits of trading with Spain and the money received from the increasing use of Gibraltar as a coaling station"¹⁵⁶. The native Gibraltarians' dislike of coal-heaving became apparent and the

shanty town in La Línea grew, while the reliance on Spanish labour also increased¹⁵⁷.

Thus, when Gibraltar prospered, the Campo de Gibraltar, that area of Spain nearby, benefited too. Howes, quoting another, writes, “few places can be found where food of all kinds is more abundant, or the supplies more regular... the whole district from Tarifa to Estepona seems to be appropriated to providing food for Gibraltar alone.”¹⁵⁸ As well as legitimate business there was also smuggling, which continued to play its part in the economy of Gibraltar and the Campo, as it has from the earliest to more recent decades. At that time the avoidance of Spanish excise duty, for example on tobacco, provided the incentive while the dependence of the Spanish crown on the income from excise duties prompted official irritation and protest. Yet those who were most often involved were Spaniards, either professional smugglers or visitors who every day bought what they could to take home to La Línea for re-sale at a profit. At times almost everyone was involved and Gibraltarian wholesalers and retailers all did well. It was also during the 1830s that tobacco in the form of cigars became significant. Using Brazilian or United States leaf, up to 2,000 workers, mainly women and children, were employed in cigar making in Gibraltar. Much of the trade was legitimate although there was clearly a market for smuggled cigars. Although usually an added extra, at times of difficulty smuggling became the mainstay of the economy, as it did after 1841.¹⁵⁹ A smuggling

culture is not far removed from the trading and money-making culture which has characterized much of Gibraltar's economic life.

The middle years of the century did in fact see economic ups and downs. In 1842 the decision was taken to invest in the development of the Gibraltar Dockyard, employing convict labour. The Convict Establishment using hulks and some buildings on shore eventually housed up to 1,000 long-term prisoners from all over the Empire. Thus, there was some confidence in the future and trade remained quite healthy until the 1850s. A good deal of this was concerned with the import and re-export of British goods, notably Manchester cotton. One publication¹⁶⁰ reported in 1856 that there were 32 British firms "all having houses in Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow with a further eleven firms with representatives resident in Gibraltar". During the more prosperous years British exports to Gibraltar had amounted to around £1m but matters were to worsen by the middle of the century. In 1860, a year when one-third of the population was unemployed, some 4,400 vessels called, about 1,000 of them being steamships, bringing little economic benefit. In 1862 Sayer wrote, "As a commercial station Gibraltar is rapidly sinking into insignificance".¹⁶¹ The opening of the Suez Canal in 1867 meant extra ships calling and boom years for coaling but again without benefit to the general trade of Gibraltar. Then in 1868 G.J. Gilbard remarked that, "The palmy days for the trade of Gibraltar, we fear, are gone forever; for although the commercial transactions are still large and important,

they have fallen since the days before the introduction of steam”.¹⁶² In terms of general trade, then, Gibraltar had fared better under sail. Furthermore, by the late 1880s British goods were being exported direct to Spain and Morocco thus depriving the colony of valuable entrepôt trade.

It was at about this time, following internal wrangling and dispute, that the Gibraltar Chamber of Commerce was formed. This was to become a very important body in the colony. From 1817 it had fallen to the Committee of the Exchange and Commercial Library, which was both a library and a bourse, to represent the interests of Gibraltar’s influential commercial community with its strong British nucleus. However, it became apparent that something more was needed and the creation of a formal Chamber of Commerce along the lines of those in Britain was gaining favour. The case was greatly strengthened by a projected commercial treaty with Spain and the threats it posed for Gibraltar, allegedly leading to “uncalled for interference with the free rights of that port”. This caused much concern in Gibraltar, and in England too, notably through the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and its “Committee on Trade with Spain and the Port of Gibraltar”.¹⁶³ Prompted by the links with Manchester, Gibraltar’s new Chamber was established. The first President from 1882-1885 was Benjamin Carver¹⁶⁴, from the Gibraltar branch of a family of successful Manchester businessmen and these family connections were apparently very important. British merchants clearly expected the British government to take

action to defend their commercial interests world-wide and Gibraltar was able to gain advantage from this pressure. As Barrie Ratcliffe puts it, “Lancashire merchants were among those who complained ever more loudly about trading conditions while the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, their principal pressure group, put increasing pressure on the government to protect their interests”¹⁶⁵. Thus, Gibraltar’s British future was doubly assured. In his study of the costs and benefits of British imperialism, Patrick K. O’Brien accepts that “even in peacetime British commerce derived competitive advantages from naval cruisers stationed along mercantile shipping routes and serviced from such colonial stations as Gibraltar, Malta, Singapore, Bermuda, Hong Kong and Alexandria”¹⁶⁶. Britain needed Gibraltar, therefore, for military reasons just as the notion of Empire as extending trade was highly relevant to the prosperity of the local population, merchants and others.

These fluctuations in trading fortunes during the century are indicative of a number of things, all showing how vulnerable the tiny territory has been to external events. From the beginning Gibraltarians have had to live with uncertainty. As already explained, many of the incomers came to escape from adversity, looking for something better than they had known; there is a long tradition of looking for an opportunity and exploiting it when it arises. Yet, by the end of the 19th century there was certainty in one important respect. They knew who they were. For the first time a formal definition of “Gibraltarian”

was introduced in the Strangers Ordinance of 1889¹⁶⁷: Gibraltarians were clearly defined as native-born and only they were to have full rights of residence. No doubt this affected public confidence and the ability to contend with the changing fortunes of Gibraltar's vulnerable economy. Such an enhanced sense of identity went beyond the words in a legal document and it was perhaps during the days of economic diversity that this was strengthened most. Rich and poor lived close together, individual problems being visible to all. A strong feeling of social responsibility emerged and it has been maintained. William Jackson wrote of those years "Poverty stalked the streets but no one starved".¹⁶⁸

The 19th century closed on a positive note with an upsurge in the economy, due to the huge development of the dockyard which began in 1890¹⁶⁹. This constituted a major British investment in the fortress and H. M. Dockyard was to become Gibraltar's major employer for many decades to come. With the appearance of steam and iron-built vessels, a larger dockyard was needed, including dry-docks, workshops, and other naval and commercial facilities. Much of Gibraltar was affected by these works, including even Catalan Bay and the eastern side of the Rock where extensive quarrying took place¹⁷⁰. During the building programme there was a large demand for labour, more than could be provided locally. Considerable numbers arrived from the United Kingdom, some after the completion of the Manchester Ship Canal in 1893. Scots were

among the arrivals during these years and a few stayed on to add new blood to the British element in the population.¹⁷¹ In fact, thousands of workers were needed and many Spaniards took advantage of the opportunity. They travelled from various parts of Spain to the frontier, giving further support to the view that Gibraltar's needs can be said to have created the modern La Línea and Algeciras.¹⁷² This influx of new workers from Spain resulted in more goods being bought in Gibraltar and trade prospered.

The first half of the twentieth century saw further fluctuations in the economy of Gibraltar. On the positive side, the war between Spain and the United States meant the end of Spain as a colonial power, thereby providing new opportunities. Spain turned its attention to internal development and Gibraltar's trade benefited. The Boer War of 1898-1902 also brought benefits, notably an increase in coaling and trade in mules. Wartime activity again increased the colony's wealth between 1914 and 1918, for some merchants at least. Gibraltar's role in that war was that of a vital base for allied shipping and an assembly point for convoys; as will be shown below, Gibraltar's "reward" was further constitutional development. On the negative side, rival ports at Algiers and in the Azores continued to develop and Chamber of Commerce reports in the 1920s described trade as poor although Gibraltar escaped the worst effects of the depression. The Abyssinian War of 1935/1936 also had a negative effect particularly as regards the number of visiting cruise liners. Then, in 1936, the

Spanish Civil War brought a large influx of as many as 10,000 refugees into Gibraltar, putting the colony under additional social and economic pressure. One consequence of this was the introduction of full frontier controls for the first time and a clearer separation of the Gibraltarian community from that of neighbouring Spain.

The Second World War (1939-1945) had huge effects on Gibraltar in all sorts of respects. Some trade was carried on during the war years and individual businesses derived considerable benefit although, with most of the native population removed, commerce could hardly be normal¹⁷³. As with almost everything else, a new beginning for the economy was necessary when the evacuees returned.

One particular outcome of the war was that Gibraltar found itself with an airport. The idea of an airfield there was first considered in the 1930s¹⁷⁴, but it was the necessities of war that provided the impetus to build a runway taking up the race-course and extending into the Bay of Gibraltar.¹⁷⁵ Unique strategic issues were again critical: it is generally accepted that Operation Torch and the Allied landings in North Africa would not have been possible without the air support provided from Gibraltar¹⁷⁶. These events, when General Dwight Eisenhower had his headquarters inside the tunnels in the Rock, are remembered by the Gibraltarians as part of their wartime history. And, of

course, the airport is seen as their airport which, increasingly since 1945, has been used commercially, GB Airways¹⁷⁷ and Monarch Airlines¹⁷⁸ being the main civil users today. The significance of the airfield to the psyche of the Gibraltarian people is clearly illustrated in the refusal to accept a proposal for joint British-Spanish development and operation of an enlarged airport, including a second terminal building on Spanish territory. Most people in Gibraltar saw this as entailing Spanish encroachment on their territory and a diminution of sovereignty. Some impartial observers regarded it as a missed opportunity - making Gibraltar the airport for the southern part of Andalucía could have yielded great economic benefits. Without an agreement, punitive Spanish restrictions on flights to and from Gibraltar have remained in place. Nevertheless the small airport is reasonably busy and it is important to the strategy for the further development of tourism.

Towards the end of the war, the economist Friedrich August von Hayek was commissioned by the colonial government to advise on the future prospects for the economy. He reported in October 1944, when there were still over 15,000 servicemen on the Rock and before all the civil population had returned.¹⁷⁹ His work confirmed key background factors, namely the limited scope of the economy and the almost total dependence on Britain. Hayek also noted some of the ways in which economic circumstances influenced the outlook and attitudes of the people. The report, entitled Some Economic Problems of Gibraltar,

showed that the economy was wholly based on the fortress, the dockyard and the port; there was little else, apart from some passing trade, for example when “the Fleet was in”. There was no agriculture and no manufacturing industry. Everything had to be imported. More than 50% of the working population was employed by “the four main authorities, the Dockyard, the Colonial and City Governments and the War Department. Furthermore, the income of the rest is almost entirely derived from the expenditure of these authorities and those employed by them.., and the floating population of sailors and tourists”.

One particularly interesting notion of Hayek’s was that Gibraltar economically should be seen as “little more than the commercial centre of an urban agglomeration of nearly 100,000 inhabitants” whose suburbs, uniquely, were in another country, namely across the frontier in Spain. Taken further, the Campo area and the whole of southern Andalucía may be seen as an instance of spheres of influence and what Max Beloff¹⁸⁰ and others have referred to as Britain’s ‘informal empire’. British investment in Rio Tinto mining at Huelva, wine production at Jerez and in the building of railways were other instances of British interest in the area. More locally, Hayek pointed to two factors which led to the overspill into La Línea - the housing shortage and the somewhat more congenial climate away from the levanter and the high humidity. There is some merit in the idea and Hayek went on to suggest that there could be financial assistance for a housing estate built in La Línea for Gibraltarians. One reported

danger in this was that the Gibraltarians might become less British. Hayek responded by saying that “the lower working class population of Gibraltar never was British in its character or habits of life”. He thought that the existing low levels of wages would perpetuate this state of affairs and that, “The population of Gibraltar can and will preserve or progressively acquire British standards and views only if it is predominantly of a middle class type”. However, there has been a tendency to overstate the Spanishness of the Gibraltarians and Hayek may have been guilty in this respect. Gibraltarians, including those living in La Línea, have usually seen themselves in the first instance as Gibraltarian and British but not Spanish. In any case most of Gibraltar’s manual workers in Hayek’s model would presumably have been the Spaniards crossing daily to work in the colony.

Overall the social profile drawn by Hayek in his economic analysis does seem largely valid today. He identified a group of wealthy families, the Gibraltarian “nobility” as they have been called.¹⁸¹ He wrote, “It seems that most of the large fortunes have been made in the coal trade, ship-chandlery, and in the wholesale trade generally. But very substantial fortunes appear to have been derived, often in a comparatively short time, from the retail trade, particularly in tobacco”. This last remark was no doubt an oblique reference to smuggling as well as to legitimate trade. At the other end of the social spectrum Hayek described an under-privileged class, then residing partly in Spain. They were

linguistically deprived in the sense that they had less access to English and an inferior command of the language. Pay levels discriminated against them, partly because of the intention not to be too much out of step with Spanish wages, partly because of a colonial outlook in the dockyard where pay for expatriates was significantly higher for the same work. Colonial privilege also restricted the career opportunities available to Gibraltarians ; locals could rarely, if ever, secure management posts beyond charge-hand level, when the British kept the top jobs for themselves. While these circumstances may have engendered anti-British sentiments, they seem never to have weakened the local resolve to assert the sense of being British and Gibraltarian. It was to be some time before these conditions were to change, along the lines advocated by Hayek. Among other things he saw reform of the educational system and better training as crucial if the lot of the Gibraltarians was to be improved. Some of these points made by Hayek have a place in the discussion of educational and cultural matters contained in later chapters.

It was clearly very important that someone of Hayek's stature should advise the colonial government on economic matters. The return of the civilian population, acute housing problems, a surge in the birth rate, serious educational problems, major demands on the labour market and unfair wage differentials were among the internal factors. Yet, international circumstances and British decision-making in the light of these circumstances were also to be powerful

determinants of Gibraltar's economic future. These were extremely difficult to predict; for example, Hayek stated that the Spanish government would never close the frontier - it did, from 1969 to 1983/85. This was to have far-reaching consequences for both the economy of Gibraltar and of the Campo area of Spain. For one thing, the movement of labour was disrupted. Between 1954 and 1969 Spanish government restrictions on work permits reduced the number of Spanish daily workers in Gibraltar from 13,000 to 5,000 and that year they were totally excluded. In addition, about 1,000 non-Spanish residents of the Campo had been obliged to take temporary accommodation in Gibraltar. Thus many Spaniards lost their livelihood. Furthermore, Gibraltarians used to spend money on day trips and holidays in Spain and they regularly purchased fresh produce from Spanish markets. All this was lost to the Spanish economy.

Gibraltar's own economy also suffered severely. With no visitors¹⁸² or workers crossing the frontier the shops lost much trade, legitimate and for smuggling which "was almost the mainstay of the economy".¹⁸³ However, as one report concludes, "All in all, the effects of the border closure have been accommodated to a remarkable extent and the non-availability of the Spanish labour seems to have been met with an increase in productivity as well as the import of foreign workers"¹⁸⁴. Extra British financial support during the siege helped through a Support-and-Sustain policy. There was also a strengthened military presence in the fortress which benefited the local economy. But the

cost of living was caused to rise and life confined to the Rock was not easy. One oft-stated consequence was that the difficulties united the Gibraltarians still more closely together and to the Motherland.

What was more predictable than the closure of the frontier was that military changes would make an impact. Quite soon after the war the rundown of the dockyard began although the importance of the base overall was confirmed as the cold war ensued. Then in 1949 the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (N.A.T.O.) was created and the base retained an important role in the West's defences. Notwithstanding, the Royal Navy in the Mediterranean became less significant as the responsibilities began to be shared with the United States Sixth Fleet. The part played by Malta changed too and in 1967 the flag of C-in-C Mediterranean there was hauled down after two centuries. In 1979 the Malta base was closed completely. Shortly afterwards an equally serious blow was about to fall on Gibraltar.

This stemmed from a White Paper on defence entitled, "The United Kingdom Defence Programme : The Way Forward", presented to Parliament in June 1981. The White Paper concluded that the Royal Dockyard at Chatham would have to close in 1984 and it added that "consideration will be given to alternative ways of fulfilling the Government's obligations to support the economy of Gibraltar if it is decided that the dockyard work there cannot be

kept up indefinitely”¹⁸⁵. An earlier consultative document¹⁸⁶ had defined the role of the dockyards¹⁸⁷ as mainly “for the timely repair of the ships of the fleet”, for “major maintenance”, and “to update the ships of the fleet to meet the evolving threat and/or to take advantage of advances in technology”. With a projected smaller number of surface ships and the elimination of the regular process of mid-life re-fits for frigates, this work would be much reduced. One report puts it more strongly: “...the Defence Review will effectively eliminate the type of frigate relief work which has formed the mainstay of the Gibraltar dockyard work programme”¹⁸⁸. Gibraltarians came to realize, perhaps for the first time, that they might not be sustained for ever by the British. Interestingly, the Gibraltar Dockyard stayed open a year or two longer than it would have done because of vital work carried out in support of the Falklands campaign of 1982.

Closure then was to emerge as the preferred option. To help the Gibraltar Government accommodate the changes incurred, the Overseas Development Administration was asked to fund a major new consultancy study of the economy and the consequences of the loss of the naval dockyard. A Scottish company, PEIDA, was appointed lead consultant¹⁸⁹ and various substantial reports were presented, in the tradition set by Hayek in 1943. As with Hayek, the PEIDA study provides important insights into both Gibraltar’s dependence on Britain and to some extent into aspects of Gibraltarian society.

Dependence is clearly affirmed in the main PEIDA report.¹⁹⁰ “The Economic Base of Gibraltar is accounted for almost entirely by Ministry of Defence Activities and Tourism”; and “HM Dockyard is the single most important element in the economy of Gibraltar” and “closure would have very substantial adverse impacts on the economy”, it states. The report goes on to present the facts using its own data and an input-output analysis developed by others.¹⁹¹ The details need not be recorded. It is sufficient to say that the effects of closure are identified as:-

- (i) direct: the loss of employment in the dockyard, 1500 jobs in all being at risk.
- (ii) indirect: the loss of employment in sectors dependent on the dockyard i.e. construction, manufacturing etc.
- (iii) secondary: reduced household expenditure resulting from the loss of earnings.

Therefore the PEIDA study shows beyond doubt that the loss of the dockyard would be very serious to Gibraltar, removing over £7m of annual expenditure from the economy. It also indicates how sheltered this sector had been in its “comparative insulation from external pressures”. It had not been subject to significant external competition in world markets. The report goes further in saying, in words later to be picked up by Gibraltar’s political integrationists, “Apart from its tourist sector, the Gibraltar economy is best regarded as an extension of the U.K. domestic economy”.¹⁹²

The most graphic illustration of the protected nature of the economy and its closeness to that of Britain is the struggle for parity of wages with those of the United Kingdom. This took place at a time when Gibraltar was isolated by the closure of the frontier and when Britain was concerned to sustain the territory in the face of Spanish threats. The dispute involved a good deal of industrial unrest, culminating in a one-day general strike. Galvanised by the then Branch Secretary of the T.& G.W.U. and leading member of the Integration With Britain Party, Joe Bossano, the rallying cry when engaged in the 1974 wages review was, "No negotiations without parity". Gibraltar's union link with London was fully activated and a parity enquiry team was set up under Sir Jack Scamp. While the Scamp Report¹⁹³ of June 1975 only recommended 80% of parity it was soon accepted that it would be quickly phased in. This resulted in a very substantial increase in wages and salaries, the cost being largely to the British exchequer with no regard whatsoever for the commercial world outside Gibraltar.

Of course, all this had to end if the dockyard was to be commercialised, as PEIDA saw as the only way forward. Whereas in the past, with primarily Admiralty standards to meet, it was a matter of quality almost at any price, in a competitive market it would have to be a question of quality and price. Furthermore price is likely to be largely determined by wage levels and the

PEIDA study showed that the Gibraltar dockyard was characterized by both high wage costs and low productivity. The report concluded unequivocally that “wage levels should no longer be determined by application of the parity principle”. One important political figure, when asked recently about the PEIDA Report said he had quickly binned it because it was “rubbish”. Since he had been instrumental in winning the battle for parity, this was not a surprise.

Work practices also had considerable bearing on the issues of cost and productivity. Gibraltar scored badly because of widespread restrictive practices¹⁹⁴. Impressionistic evidence from some United Kingdom managers was that the unions in Gibraltar tended to be disruptive and the workers not always as energetic as they might be. All this had to end, said PEIDA. A streamlined, better trained and flexible workforce was an essential pre-requisite for success in the commercial world to which Gibraltar had to be exposed.

Over £30m, the last development aid to be paid, was provided by the United Kingdom and a private company, A. & P. Appledore, took over the dockyard. This company had a difficult time and the yard closed, “a casualty of the penchant for confrontation in Gibraltar’s political life”¹⁹⁵. A later attempt by Kvaerner from 1992-1998 also failed, in the face of similar labour and trade union difficulties. Events surrounding the closure of Kvaerner(Gibraltar) Ltd. became something of a cause célèbre which provides insights into the nature of

Gibraltar society and the tensions which can arise in close-knit communities. In 1996 globally Kvaerner's profits had fallen by 70% and their ship-repair company in Gibraltar continued to lose money. If it was to continue in business something drastic had to happen and a new work agreement with the 138 local employees was sought. The central issue was how best to accommodate both periods of frantic activity, with deadlines to meet, and periods of inactivity while waiting for new contracts. The proposal, including obligatory round-the-clock working when necessary, was rejected by almost half of the workforce. Along with many others, the new Gibraltar Liberal Democratic party government was dismayed, even more so when recorded telephone conversations between the former Chief Minister, then leader of the Opposition, and others suggested that the Gibraltar Socialist Labour Party (G.S.L.P.) opposition wanted the yard closed and the jobs lost simply to embarrass the government. Despite G.S.L.P. denials, the accusation stuck. Events were reported in the British press and an editorial in the Gibraltar Chronicle said that they "signal a low point in our politics"¹⁹⁶. Thus, some of the politicians who did not want the privatization of the dockyard in the first place appeared to be involved in the closure of Kvaerner in 1997.

After a period of disuse, and more promisingly, Cammell Laird Holdings took over the yard in 1998 after guarantees of no union disruption were obtained. Cammell Laird have established their own training facility, in association with

Gibraltar College of Further Education and in the early 2000s the dry-docks appear to be busy again repairing ships of many types, including naval vessels. These facilities continue to be one of Gibraltar's major assets and opportunities for employment which consultants Deloitte & Touche and others have repeatedly recommended for further development.

Consultancy reports on Gibraltar's economy, all drawing on British expertise, were commissioned at times of great change. Hayek appeared immediately after the war when the civilian evacuees were returning. The PEIDA report addressed issues arising from the impending closure of the Admiralty dockyard. More recently, in the 1990s Deloitte & Touche (D&T) advice was sought on the even more serious rundown of the base as a whole; "Surviving the Cold War Peace Dividend" was an aptly chosen title for one of their reports. The focus was on the fact that "...the Gibraltar economy will be moving away from a public sector led protected régime to one which is driven by the private sector". D&T quite simply recommended building on Gibraltar's identified strengths to create replacement jobs and heritage tourism was an obvious one. Initiatives were already making progress. Tourism had become significant between the wars and it grew noticeably after the second world war, spurred on in 1961 by the opening of the marina, then the first in that area of the Mediterranean. With the frontier closed the years 1969-85 were lean years for tourism of course but there have been big developments subsequently, including the opening in 1997 of

new port facilities for upwards of a hundred cruise liners which visited the Rock annually.¹⁹⁷ Since that time and before there have also been many day- and short-term visitors via the frontier, numbers exceeding seven million in 2000; the importance of the airport in this connection has already been remarked upon. There is potential for further growth if Spanish threats and actions do not become more restrictive.¹⁹⁸

Equally significant, perhaps more so, has been the development of Gibraltar as an off-shore financial services centre which is indicative of Gibraltar's future as well as its past. A report by Touche Ross & Co.¹⁹⁹ looked at this in detail. It has certainly offered growth when traditional activities declined. Further, there is a logic to this development: where there had been trade and shipping, banking and insurance naturally followed. Given Gibraltar's maritime history and the outlook of its people, it is understandable that it should subsequently emerge as a fully-fledged financial services centre.

These more recent reports have also advocated encouragement for the setting up of small manufacturing and other enterprises, perhaps related to heritage tourism. Gibraltar Crystal, which makes objects in glass, is one example. There could be others but D&T remind us, as Hayek did 50 years earlier, that, "One feature of the dynamics of the local economy has been its reliance on non-Gibraltar citizens for manual/unskilled jobs". At the same time, Gibraltar's

other strengths, notably the possession of a highly-educated, bilingual population and strong links with the United Kingdom, suggest that a broad range of opportunities could be exploited.

Thus, Hayek's paper, and various other consultancy reports²⁰⁰ since then, have confirmed the pattern of Gibraltar's economic advantages and disadvantages. Both have influenced the people and their characteristics. As has been made clear, *disadvantages* centre on Gibraltar's vulnerability to forces beyond its control. This means vulnerability to Spanish actions and to political and economic factors on the broader international stage. The people seem able to cope with continuing threats and an atmosphere of perpetual uncertainty and change²⁰¹ - burdens and disadvantages in fact have served to bind the community more closely together together.

Gibraltar's *advantages* stem from its past importance to Empire and to imperial trade. All manner of business outlets have thrived at one time or another. In the early 1900s , for example, there were wine merchants, hotels, printing works, boat-builders and repairers, bakers, chemists, general merchants, outfitters, ironmongers, a gas works, an international telegraph company, builders and architects, tobacconists, china and glass traders, watch-makers and jewellers, boot and shoe shops, art dealers, dairymen, hair-dressers and so on.²⁰² Evidence of the international nature of business is found in the lists of the numerous

consular representatives found in Gibraltar throughout many years.²⁰³ Diane Sloma describes Gibraltar as having been “a commercial centre at the pivotal point of interchange of goods and credit on the great trade route, from England through Suez to India and beyond”.²⁰⁴ In a sentence, Gibraltar has grown up as a maritime and military trading-post and emporium, the Union Jack flying above for almost 300 years. It has fostered a population of business-minded people, quick to seize an opportunity, ready to defend their own interests and those of the British on whom they have depended, perhaps eschewing menial activities in the light of an English hierarchy of values favouring the intellectual rather than the practical. Anything of a dependency culture which may have resulted has been in some respects unhelpful. Yet the wider economic scene has generated great strengths from the British connection. Through formalised links, particularly through the influential Manchester Chamber of Commerce, Gibraltar’s voice could readily be heard whenever trade was threatened from the outside or from within by unsympathetic colonial Governors. As well as furthering solidarity with Britain, commercial interests in Gibraltar have also been influential in cementing a sense of local identity. Bodies like the Chamber of Commerce have been “an important part of the rich fabric of Gibraltar history”, contributing to “its unique development as a people and a community with an unmistakable identity”²⁰⁵. Achieving control of the economy, and no longer being dependent on the United Kingdom exchequer, have helped the sense of being distinctively Gibraltarian, as has “ownership” of political

processes and institutions. As will now be shown, Gibraltarians have been happy to exchange somewhat slow political progress for the economic advantages of the British protection just described.

Political Factors

The political history of Gibraltar has been well documented²⁰⁶, from the capture of the Rock in 1704 to the granting of full British citizenship to all Gibraltarians in 1981, and later. The key events and stages to some extent parallel those identified in the economic analysis above. This is certainly true of the main proposition advanced that the world of work available to Gibraltarians, often as a result of the British presence and British actions, has played a noteworthy part in moulding the Gibraltarian community. Similarly, government and politics, the exercise of power and control, has made its mark on the people. Far from ignoring this emerging people, as Stewart observes²⁰⁷, the British have, in exercising power, consistently tried to engineer the kind of society they wanted. Cultural bonding has not been wholly incidental or informal.

Political factors can be seen as having taken two forms. One consists of the actions of the British in the exercise of power. The other comprises the processes whereby Gibraltarians have been able to gain power for themselves, taking ownership of political institutions and structures. Over three centuries

both have contributed substantially to a British-Gibraltarian sense of identity although only more recently have the Gibraltarians acquired control of their political life, just as Gibraltar began to acquire something like a self-sustaining economy of its own.

Regarding the first, the exercising of power by the British, “cultural impositions need cultural agents”, as Anthony Kirk-Greene observes.²⁰⁸ British power has been vested largely in successive Governors and senior officials and it is they who have been the main agents of colonisation. Through them policy has been devised and carried out, always subject to the approval of ministers and parliament in London. As Commanders-in-Chief of the Fortress, the Governors have been high-ranking soldiers until recent years: Major Generals, Lieutenant Generals or Generals, heading an essentially bureaucratic and military command structure. As the Monarch’s representative Governors have taken precedence over all others. At a personal level, therefore, they have wielded great power and influence, while publicly they have been the guardians of British and imperial values.

Since 1704 Gibraltar has known some seventy-six Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, twenty-nine of them holding office during the last one hundred years. Paraphrasing Kirk-Greene, if we accept that knowing who the imperialists were is a necessary preliminary to understanding imperialism in

practice, then *background*, the qualities and the perceived roles of the occupants of the Convent, Gibraltar's "Government House"²⁰⁹, should be noted. Firstly, they have been military men, usually older and experienced, chosen because of their careers in the services and not as civil administrators. They have not been career diplomats or colonial civil servants although to some extent that was what the post demanded. Their backgrounds, therefore, have been generally appropriate to the dual function, of Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Fortress, in terms of class provenance, education and military pedigree. Of the twenty-nine who held office during the twentieth century all but the last two were high-ranking officers in the services. There were two Field Marshals, twelve Generals and seven Lieutenant-Generals. There were four from the Royal Navy, three Admirals and one Admiral of the Fleet. Of the two from the RAF, one was Marshal of the Royal Airforce, the other Air Chief Marshal. All had distinguished or very distinguished service records, including two who had won the Victoria Cross, Field Marshal Sir George White (1900-1905) and General the Viscount Gort (1941-1942). Six had Scottish backgrounds, including Lieutenant-General Sir Gordon H.A. MacMillan (1952-1955) who was hereditary Chief of the Clan MacMillan. Four had Irish connections. Most had attended public schools, including one each to Eton and Harrow. Almost two-thirds had attended the Royal Military College at Sandhurst or similar. Several of the more recent Governors possessed academic qualifications and three were Cambridge University graduates. Some were born into military families and

most appeared to “have married well”. Almost all claimed an interest in sports and games, especially cricket, golf, tennis and sailing. One, General Sir William E. Ironside (1938-1939), an interpreter in seven languages, had played rugby for Scotland.

Sir Richard Luce (1997-2000), later Lord Luce, was the first non-services Governor. Coming from an aristocratic background, he had had a high-profile career in business and politics. When he left Gibraltar he became the Queen’s Chamberlain. The untitled Scot, David Durie, who followed Luce, had been a successful civil servant. Governors Luce and Durie represented the breaking of a tradition and an apparent down-grading of the appointment. Most people in Gibraltar regretted this and some saw it as a further example of the untrustworthiness of the British and their continued appeasement of Spain, particularly in the case of Durie who seemed less likely in any way to support the interests of the local people.

Secondly, as with background, the *personal qualities* of Governors have varied, of course, some having displayed excellent soldierly skills without the attributes necessary for handling social and political affairs. Admittedly, striking the right balance, as Sir William Jackson puts it, between “the diametrically opposed requirements of a fortress and a commercial community packed tightly together”, has been far from easy for some Governors. General Sir Robert

Gardiner (1848-1855) and others were in this category. To them Gibraltar was simply a fortress and, often echoing the sentiments of politicians and Secretaries of State for the Colonies in London, they saw the civil population as an awkward and dispensable irrelevance. Gardiner became particularly unpopular with the commercial community, because of his dislike of smuggling and because of his disregard of quarantine procedures which resulted in the closure of the frontier and subsequent economic hardship. In sharp contrast, others like Lieutenant-General Sir George Don (1814-1831), Lieutenant-General Sir F. Noel Mason-MacFarlane (1942-1944) and Lieutenant-General Sir Kenneth Anderson(1947-1952) showed greater sensitivity and a desire to engage in social and political reform.

A third aspect of the gubernatorial role requires comment. Just as there have been individual differences between Gibraltar's Governors, so have there been historical differences regarding the roles that they have been able to play. Throughout the eighteenth century considerations were largely military and the role was determined accordingly. Then there was a second period in the nineteenth century when trade flourished and the population grew; Governors became rather more civil governors than military governors. As the reign of Victoria, Queen and Empress, ran its course, circumstances changed again. The later decades of the nineteenth century through to the first decades of the twentieth century were the years of "colonial overrule" when the cultural impact

was at its greatest. These were times when Gibraltar's Governors conveyed their strongest messages of Empire. Kirk-Greene advocates "chronological care"²¹⁰ and he identifies a still later phase in imperial history when links were looser and when "cultural impact" was replaced by "cultural legacy". In Gibraltar this period extended from the 1940s to the last services' Governor, Admiral Sir Hugo White (1995-1997). During those years the Governor came to play a diminishing part in the daily affairs of the territory. However, for the greater part of these various periods the process of imperial socialization gathered pace, particularly during Victorian and Edwardian times. Given that Gibraltar has not been in a position to advance from dependent territory status to full independence, this period of direct cultural impact has continued longer.

How was the governor's role in fact discharged during these periods by successive Governors and, we should add, their wives? It has taken three main and overlapping forms which may be termed executive, symbolic and prescriptive. During the earlier periods the *executive* role was usually dominant while the needs of the Fortress were the first consideration and when responsibility in London lay with the Secretary of State for War. Governors possessed power over the garrison and the people and they exercised it, either directly or down the line through the military hierarchy. Governors were the final arbiters in most matters and the public perception of them was as all-powerful.²¹¹ Nevertheless, if a Governor's manner became too punitive or too

idiosyncratic there was a chance that he might be hauled into line by London, as happened with Sir Robert Gardiner (1848-1855) and with Sir Archibald Hunter (1910-1913) both of whom fell foul of the well-connected commercial community whose interests they were thought to be jeopardizing.

Symbolic aspects of the role have always been evident but never more so than when Empire was at its greatest in the years shortly before and after 1900. The Governor's time was regularly taken up with public ceremony and social events, beginning with his arrival and swearing-in²¹². Usually disembarking from a warship, the whole garrison and population would be there to welcome the new "H.E." as he and his wife proceeded to the Convent in regal style. Thereafter, during his term of office, he would have a prominent part to play at successive events, military and imperial, including royal birthdays, national days such as Empire Day and Trafalgar Day, religious occasions, the arrivals of distinguished visitors, social and cultural events, and so on. The local population would be more or less involved with all these. The Governor was very much in the public eye as the personification of King, Motherland and Empire, allegiance to each being clearly expected.

The symbolic also involved what can be called the *prescriptive* aspects of the role, whereby preferred values and beliefs were regularly endorsed, for example through the activities of approved groups and organizations. Thus, Governors

and their wives became patrons of many clubs and societies and voluntary, religious and cultural organisations. Their presence at key celebrations was often sufficient to reinforce the values which an organisation represented but there were also occasions when speeches or addresses were given, providing opportunities for public reiteration of traditional British and imperial values. These included prize-givings and speech days and national events such as Empire Day, when the Governor would deliver a special message to children and young people. Taking one example of many, in 1927 General Sir Charles Monro (1923-1928) in his Empire Day message stressed the importance of Christian principles to individuals and to Empire as follows: -

“My message... is to remind you that a great Empire like ours can only stand firm upon the Christian foundation of unselfishness and consideration for others. Let us every year on this 24th May make a resolve that we will do our utmost, each in his own sphere, to think of others and not of ourselves, and thus fit ourselves to be useful citizens of the British Commonwealth”.

While the British were administering the colony, the Gibraltarians were able to develop their own political structures, sometimes with the help of Governors or in spite of it. Gradually they came to exert pressure on the British. It was a slow, step-by-step process and it began rather late. Today Gibraltar, one of Britain's Overseas Territories,²¹³ is a self-governing community or mini-state, at least as far as internal affairs are concerned. In 1946, R.A.Preston, a Canadian, noted that Gibraltar was a British colony “at the foot of the constitutional ladder

which has led Canada.”²¹⁴ The colony was not to climb all the way up that ladder, however. Only a small number of Gibraltarians had in fact argued for full independence. Rather more people, believing that independence was an unrealistic goal, campaigned vigorously for what they saw as the next-best thing, integration with Britain. Perhaps in the light of the problems that Britain had had with Malta, the United Kingdom government, through Minister of State Roy Hattersley, rejected this idea totally in 1975, the year in which Franco died²¹⁵. Another idea was to achieve a status similar to that of the Channel Islands whose relationship to Britain is that of Crown dependency.²¹⁶ This has also failed to find favour in Britain so far and the present relationship seems likely to continue. Much has in fact been achieved in political development, due in part to British initiatives, but due also to Gibraltarian agitation for greater autonomy. Whatever further advances there may be in the future, having their own party system and ministerial government is already extremely important to the Gibraltarian people, to their political consciousness and to their sense of identity.

How did Gibraltar reach this point? During the eighteenth century little occurred that could be thought of as the beginning of Gibraltar’s own political history. Indeed, for the first decades the British did not see their presence as necessarily long-lasting and “the town and garrison of Gibraltar in the Kingdom of Spain” was repeatedly used as a bargaining counter.²¹⁷ The one exception

during these early years was the Governor, General Sir Humphrey Bland (1749-1754) who was “an enlightened man who began the process of establishing a city administration alongside the military garrison”.²¹⁸ His twelve Articles incorporated various rights and regulations governing property, duties payable, trade, refuse collection and so on, including the Governor’s own powers with respect to these.

Bland’s regulations were still in force some sixty years later when General Sir George Don, “a man of vision and political acumen”, arrived.²¹⁹ As noted already, considerable wealth had been accumulated during the Napoleonic Wars and during Don’s term as Lieutenant Governor (1814-1831) the population grew to over 17,000. Don found the conditions for both troops and civilians generally poor and he conducted a systematic enquiry into all relevant aspects. Money was available and much progress was possible during Don’s years. With an absentee Governor at the time²²⁰, he was free to initiate a variety of reforms, not always with the approval of all sections of the community. He oversaw big improvements in sanitation, in hospital provision, in recreational facilities and in property rights and he would have achieved much more if the British government had not stopped him running public lotteries to raise money for his projects.²²¹ In most of these he was aided by local pressure from public-spirited men and by coincidental advances in thinking in Whitehall, culminating in 1830 in Gibraltar becoming a Crown Colony, no longer under the War Office

but under the new Colonial Office.²²² Jackson describes Don as having been responsible for the “installation of general civic pride” among Gibraltarians. In that respect he was clearly important to the development of a sense of being Gibraltarian, not Genoese, not Portuguese nor other. In addition clear political advances were made. Jackson’s verdict was that the greatest improvement overseen by Don was “in the partial emancipation of the large civilian population from the thralldom of military rule”.²²³ Another writer, Tito Benady is less charitable towards Don, saying that “he cordially despised” the Gibraltarians. However, Benady concedes that Don, once he found he could not move the inhabitants to Europa, “set to improving the town with great vigour”.²²⁴

It was in fact during Don’s time that the Exchange & Commercial Library was established, in 1817, primarily by and for those who were excluded from the Garrison Library. This marked the first step in the creation of Gibraltar’s own institutions. As mentioned previously, the Garrison Library admitted only officers of the garrison and, eventually, civilians deemed to be officer-equivalents. Only a few privileged Gibraltarians made the grade and substantial numbers of businessmen and other worthy citizens were not admitted. They decided to form their own club and the Exchange & Commercial Library was born, with a predominantly middle-class membership. Its committee, the Exchange Committee, became the unofficial mouthpiece of the civilian

population. The Committee helped stir the beginnings of a Gibraltarian political consciousness. Its members on occasions even went to Whitehall and Westminster to lobby on behalf of Gibraltarian causes. Although middle-class in composition, it played something of a representative role in local affairs with which it was involved at a practical level, including such things as issuing rationing tickets during the First World War. Janet Martens described it as the “first civilian political representation organised by the local bourgeoisie”.²²⁵

Quite clearly, English political examples and models were being followed. This was also been true of the legal system²²⁶ in Gibraltar which had been based on English Common and Statute Law since 10th May 1740 when a Charter of Justice granted by George II formally introduced English law to the territory, thereby replacing Spanish Law. Other changes followed and during Don's term as Lieutenant Governor the Fourth Charter of 1817 saw the appointment of the first civil judge. The Fifth Charter, at the end of Don's time, incorporated further advances, including the establishment of a Supreme Court with a jury system²²⁷ for criminal trials. From then appeals were no longer to the Governor but to the Privy Council. Thus a proper division between the judiciary and the executive was in place, clearly a very important advance for the political and legal future of Gibraltar. There have been steady improvements since. Today the law operates almost entirely along English lines through local statutes known as Ordinances which add to and sometimes vary the English statutes,

always with an eye to Gibraltar's position as an international centre for financial services as well as to its membership of the European Union and its association with the Commonwealth. The Englishness of the system extends to ceremonial aspects, including the formal opening of the legal year when robed law officers in their wigs go in procession through the streets. On arrival at the Supreme Court, the Chief Justice and others deliver keynote addresses, commenting on past achievements and problems facing the courts. From early times the processes of law have been conducted in English, with interpreters whenever required. Thus the law courts have furthered the cause of anglicization to an important extent, and never with protest as there was in Malta, for example.²²⁸

If Don furthered Gibraltar's social and political development positively, Lieutenant General Sir Robert Gardiner (1848-1855) did so negatively. Uncompromisingly, Gardiner opposed the changes which had occurred; he thought that the Fifth Charter of Justice was quite wrong. Gibraltar was a fortress, not a city. He directed his anger against the Exchange Committee whose links with the Manchester Chamber of Commerce he considered dangerous. He saw the Committee as espousing "notions of political rights which it had never been the intention of any British government to concede to the commercial settlers on the Rock".²²⁹ In fact, Committee members used these links to protest about him to the Colonial Secretary and Gardiner was recalled. Jackson argues that Gardiner gave the Exchange Committee a purpose and

“enabled it to develop into a representational body earlier than it might have done without him to give it cohesion and practice in lobbying Parliament through the Manchester associations”.²³⁰ Therefore the Gibraltarians were beginning to flex their political muscles, if under strong British influence and in British ways, and still with little voice in the running of their own affairs.

In effect, the Exchange Committee, with its membership coming mostly from the business community, was more akin to a pressure group than a formal political body in the making. It was to take another century before political parties emerged and the origins of local government were to be found rather more in Don's Commissioners for Paving and Scavenging who had the power to levy a tax. Out of that body came the Board of Sanitary Commissioners,²³¹ set up in 1866 by the then Governor, Lieutenant General Sir Richard Airey (1865-1870), to tackle the serious sanitation problems which had left Gibraltar vulnerable to epidemics. The Board operated as a semi-independent unit of local government until it was replaced by the City Council of Gibraltar.

Those years saw a gradual deepening of the people's sense of being Gibraltarian and being part of an Empire. As noted above, what it was to be Gibraltarian was laid down in an ordinance issued by the Governor and the single criterion was that of being native-born. Thus Gibraltarians were distinguished from both the aliens living on the Rock and from the British residents. Joseph J.Garcia

proudly declares that this was “a tacit recognition by the London government that the local people of Gibraltar could boast certain rights in the colony which others could not”, not even the British expatriates living in Gibraltar.²³²

Matters were taken a stage further after the First World War. While earlier attempts by the Chamber of Commerce to gain improved local representation had failed, this happened eventually, it is said, as a reward for the important role played by Gibraltar during the conflict. T.J. Finlayson²³³ traces events to the appointment in 1918 of Sir Horace Lockwood Smith-Dorrien (1918-1923) as Governor. It was he who was to preside over the introduction of the City Council and his 1921 New Year Message included the following:

“The most important administrative reform is the introduction of the elective system into the Body now known as the Sanitary Commissioners. By the end of the year this Body will have ceased to exist as such and will be elected by the inhabitants of Gibraltar. Personally, I hold very strongly the view that no Governor can legislate for the requirement of a community unless he is helped and advised by the inhabitants themselves ... I also hold the view that the city should govern itself with as little interference as possible from official sources.”²³⁴

Governor Smith-Dorrien was rightly given part credit for the emergence of the City Council as a way of getting closer to the people, however limited a body this was. What was offered was quite clearly limited and it was surmised “that the real obstacle to further advancement along the road to a greater say in local affairs by Gibraltarians emanated from the Mother Country”.²³⁵ The restrictions

were that prospective councillors had to be male, British, resident and with a full command of written and spoken English. Only resident males who were rate-payers aged over 21 could vote, amounting to less than 25% of the population. Despite these limitations the development can be seen as an important step along the road to greater democracy.

At the end of December 1921 this partly-elected City Council replaced the Board of Sanitary Commissioners. Yet this was not a full Council in the English sense. There was no Mayor and, Gibraltar having been divided into four wards, only four of the nine members were elected. Representatives of the services were among the five nominated members, thereby recognising accepted military priorities. A year later an Executive Council was also established, "to advise the Governor" who retained wide-ranging responsibilities. This council was composed of four official and three unofficial members, all nominated by the Crown. Although the three unofficial members were Gibraltarians, drawn from the membership of the City Council, the system overall was plainly a long way from being truly democratic. Various demands for greater representation were made in the 1920s and 1930s, the Exchange Committee, the Gibraltar Chamber of Commerce and the Gibraltar branch of the Transport & General Workers Union all being involved. Popular disquiet at the time of world recession was fuelled by worsening social and economic conditions which followed. Some time later, in 1936, circumstances began to change even more dramatically. The

Spanish Civil War, which had begun so close to Gibraltar, with the arrival of Franco's army from Morocco, resulted in a substantial influx of Gibraltarian and Spanish political refugees from Andalucía. As a consequence, Gibraltar's problems of unemployment and inadequate housing were further exacerbated. Any thoughts of more political advancement for Gibraltar were being pushed into the background.

In one respect Gibraltar's identity was greatly strengthened. To control the influx of political and other refugees the British introduced controls at the border where there had been none before. Therefore, the concept of a frontier, in a full international sense, between Gibraltar and the Campo area of Spain was due to the Spanish Civil War. Gibraltar's identity as a separate political unit, with a clearly defined territory for the people, had never been clearer. At the time it probably meant very little and then, a few years later, came the evacuation of the civilian population during the Second World War and political development came to a halt. It could not have been otherwise when the United Kingdom and all British territories had to be put on a wartime footing. Garcia, gloomily, writes that it "seemed that all the political gains made in over 230 years of British rule had been lost".²³⁶ Quite clearly, the civilians counted for little "when they were unceremoniously evacuated very quickly, for purely military reasons, without any real protest".²³⁷

In fact the wartime years of 1939-1945 were by no means void as far as Gibraltar's political progress was concerned. At the very least the seeds were being sown for all manner of changes and development. In general these were to be determined eventually by a complex of factors: by new military realities, by a decline in British world influence, by political tensions with Spain, by changing British attitudes and by the birth of a new Gibraltarian political consciousness.

The last two factors were apparent rather sooner. In Britain, even while war was being waged, a good deal of thinking and planning took place, in anticipation of the return to peace and a "better Britain" based on the welfare state. Gibraltar benefited from this wartime debate, for example in education, which is explored in chapters 5 and 6 below. Also, if not fully nor always wholeheartedly, British officialdom in Gibraltar gradually came to take a more liberal view of local political change. One Governor, and future Labour Party member of parliament, Lieutenant-General Sir Noel Mason MacFarlane (1942-1944), "Mason-Mac" as he was called, was certainly in this category. Far from hindering political progress, he encouraged it, when he helped the Association for the Advancement of Civil Rights (A.A.C.R.) to prosper, for example.²³⁸ In a similar way the A.A.C.R. was to fulfil the representative role previously filled by the Committee of the Exchange and Commercial Library. Other officials, like Colonial Secretary Miles Clifford²³⁹, took a middle position, while to some

extent respecting Gibraltarian aspirations. Clifford's successor as Colonial Secretary, Robert Stanley²⁴⁰, was similarly inclined and he held a poor view of some of the politically active Gibraltarians he had known. Stanley's attitude was also basically colonial and he doubted the Gibraltarians' ability to manage their affairs which he thought only civil servants could do. Gibraltarians were reminded repeatedly, as in the departing words of Miles Clifford, that Gibraltar "is a great fortress and naval base - the key stronghold of Empire; for on that consideration depends not only its prosperity, but its daily bread".

A new mood existed among the population and Clifford's sermonising in his farewell message to Gibraltar was not likely to make an impression then or later. The shock of the separation and the evacuation, the experiences which were endured consequently and the troubled process of repatriation and re-settlement had profound effects on the people; there was a new population in the making.²⁴¹ Political activity was generated mostly by some of the able-bodied males who were not evacuated, as a result of their concerns for loved ones who had been taken away. Although they may have been exaggerated, the perceptions of these men were sometimes extreme. They were of their families suffering great hardship in London and Jamaica, with no one to fight their cause. They began to organize themselves leading to the formation of the A.A.C.R. in December 1942. The two individuals playing key roles were Albert Risso and Joshua Hassan. Risso, a motor mechanic, was the main figure in a

movement whose roots were working-class. Risso and his group needed help with a constitution and they called on a young Jewish lawyer, Joshua “Salvador” Hassan. Among other things it was he who came up with a suitable name for the organization. Hassan was at the beginning of what was to be a distinguished political career culminating in a knighthood.

J.J.Garcia²⁴² is at pains to stress that the A.A.C.R. then was not a subversive organization. It was in the first instance a pressure group whose purposes were portrayed as social rather than political. Its main concern was to improve the conditions which the evacuees were facing overseas and later to hasten their repatriation. “It became the first mass movement in the history of Gibraltar, the product of circumstances created entirely by the war”, writes Garcia. Not surprisingly the colonial government was suspicious of this new body and, through the security services, they kept a close watch on its activities. The fortress and the base came first, especially during wartime. Military thinking could not easily accommodate the aspirations of the A.A.C.R. which wanted Gibraltar to have control of its own affairs through a Legislative Council. An apparently less sympathetic governor, Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Eastwood (1944-1947), without consulting the Gibraltarians, offered an Advisory Council instead but this was rejected after a meeting of the executives of the A.A.C.R., the Exchange Committee, the Chamber of Commerce and the Transport and General Workers Union. The City Council was revived, however, with seven

elected seats, all of which were won by A.A.C.R. candidates, giving them control. Therefore, “the election of July 1945 marked the arrival of the A.A.C.R. as a decisive force on the Gibraltar scene and its metamorphosis from pressure group to political party”²⁴³. One significant political step had been taken but the clamour for much more was growing.

Relations between the A.A.C.R. and government worsened, to the extent that the Association demanded the removal of Governor Eastwood and Colonial Secretary Stanley. As Garcia notes, by mid-September 1945 “the A.A.C.R. and the Gibraltar government were at daggers drawn on almost every issue”. Albert Risso talked in strong language of “doing away with tyranny and the system of the privileged few”. Power remained with the Governor and the Executive Council, “a small commercial oligarchy”. There was the City Council but its members were only partly elected. In this sense there was some local representation but certainly no local control. The A.A.C.R. set out to change that, supported by an increasingly determined population. The troubled years were characterized by acrimony, mass public meetings, deputations to London and visits by Colonial Office officials. In Gibraltar much blame for the trouble, rightly or wrongly, was levelled at Eastwood who “gives the impression of being imbued with the arrogance of many colonial administrators, whose word was final and whose decisions could not be questioned”.²⁴⁴

The Colonial Office became concerned and on 3rd November 1945 it was announced that the granting of a Legislative Council had been approved in principle, once all the evacuees were home and provided that there was an official majority on the Council. Eastwood left and under his successor, Lieutenant-General Sir Kenneth Anderson (1947-1952), a very popular Governor, further progress was made. Discussions focused on the composition of the Council, the reserve powers of the Governor and proportional representation as appropriate to the electoral system. Progress was slow. However, despite misgivings in the Attlee Cabinet, the demand for the establishment of a Legislative Council was conceded. In 1950 the Duke of Edinburgh went to Gibraltar to inaugurate the new body. Clearly, British interest and involvement was at the highest level.

In Gibraltar the A.A.C.R. had had a great deal to do with this political and constitutional progress. At the same time, as Garcia explains, it gradually moved away from its working class roots over the years. The amalgamation in 1948 of the A.A.C.R. and the Exchange Committee whose origins were in the commercial community, confirmed the trend. Political opponents say that the organization and some of its leading members became more establishment orientated. Certainly it did not seek confrontation with the British. It did not oppose the introduction of income tax, for example, however unpopular this was in some quarters. Arguably these were really signs of increasing political

maturity. The stature of individual politicians also grew steadily, especially in the case of Joshua Hassan who, during the Royal Visit of 1954, “became the first elected representative of the Gibraltarians to address a reigning monarch”. Yet the ultimate political aim was never lost sight of, namely to achieve “a fully-fledged parliamentary system” for Gibraltar and the Gibraltarians. This was to be pressed for peacefully, in sharp contrast to the violence in Cyprus in 1956.

The beginnings of a Ministerial system became apparent soon after the creation of the Legislative Council. Elected members of the Council began to be associated with government departments and in time they became known as The Member for Education, and so on, while Joshua Hassan was Chief Member. These arrangements were on the basis of “close and regular consultation and co-operation between Members and Heads of Department”. In a sense Gibraltar’s leaders were undergoing a kind of apprenticeship although actual control remained firmly with the civil servants and it stayed like that until the 1964 Constitution was drawn up. This created the House of Assembly, a Speaker, a Chief Minister and Council of Ministers, and a Leader of the Opposition, very much along British parliamentary lines. After some twenty years of agitation the Gibraltarian people had been granted full internal self-government, the Governor retaining responsibility for defence, foreign affairs and the police.

The 10th September 1967 saw one of the most important days in the recent history of the territory: a Referendum²⁴⁵ was held on the colony's future, in response to the political difficulties with Spain. Every year since, September 10th has been celebrated with great fervour as Gibraltar's National Day.²⁴⁶ In the Referendum of 1967 the Gibraltarians spoke "with devastating clarity". They rejected any form of Spanish control over the Rock. Two years later, after a Constitutional Conference in Gibraltar under Lord Shepherd, the 1969 Constitution was approved containing a crucial preamble²⁴⁷, making the wishes of the Gibraltarian people paramount in any decision about their future. The Spanish reaction to these events was to close the frontier and to impose the Fifteenth Siege of Gibraltar. It was not until 1985 that the frontier was fully open again. During those years of closure, Prince Charles and Princess Diana made a high-profile honeymoon stop-over in Gibraltar and, definitively, all native Gibraltarians were granted full British citizenship in 1981.

There had been little by way of organized opposition to the A.A.C.R. until the 1960s when Gibraltarian party politics can be said to have begun. Prompted by events at the United Nations²⁴⁸, firstly Joe Bossano then Robert Peliza (later Sir Robert) were instrumental in creating the Integration with Britain Party (I.W.B.P.)²⁴⁹ - integration was one of the options listed by the United Nations for decolonization. Yet the I.W.B.P. were a mixed bag made up of an anti-Hassan group, a group who sought wages parity with the United Kingdom and a

group who felt 100% British. They enjoyed some success in the 1969 elections and the I.W.B.P. became the major partner in a coalition government. The A.A.C.R. no longer held power but that was only to be for a short time. Three years later Joshua Hassan was again victorious in a snap election and he was back as Chief Minister.

All along the government in Whitehall had been consistent in its rejection of integration as a solution and the I.W.B.P. had no long-term future. Other parties emerged, including the Party for the Autonomy of Gibraltar (P.A.G.), established in 1977. Politically of the right, P.A.G. argued for an autonomous Gibraltar under Spanish sovereignty and, given the results of the Referendum, it also had little future. More significant was the launch in 1980 of the Gibraltar Socialist Labour Party (G.S.L.P.), by Joe Bossano, the Co-ordinating Secretary of the T.&G.W.U. in Gibraltar. Bossano had earlier left the doomed I.W.B.P. and the stance taken by his new party was very much against the Brussels agreement²⁵⁰ on talks with Spain which the A.A.C.R. had seemed to support. For Bossano there were to be no talks with Spain and certainly no talks about a possible joint use of the airport. The apparently more conciliatory attitude of the United Kingdom in its dialogue with Spain on the future of Gibraltar seemed to call for a united front against both countries. The man to do that was seen to be Bossano who "belonged to a new and more aggressive generation" and whose name was to be associated with the winning of wages parity for public sector

workers.²⁵¹ At a demonstration against a proposed agreement for the joint use of Gibraltar airport with Spain, Bossano stole the show. He accused Hassan of “betraying the sentiments and commitments of the House of Assembly and the people of the Rock”. So, the proposed airport agreement dealt the death-blow to the A.A.C.R. In December 1987 Sir Joshua Hassan resigned as Chief Minister and in 1988 Bossano won a massive victory. With the G.S.L.P. in power the United Kingdom was faced with a much more nationalist administration and a politically mature electorate.

Thus, with the A.A.C.R. as the forerunner, Gibraltar saw the development of a party political system similar to that of the United Kingdom. Today each election for the House of Assembly has all the trappings of a general election in Britain. The main parties issue manifestos and they make good use of all the media. The lesser contenders do what they can. The Gibraltarians are proud that this is so. “These are our parties and our politicians”, they are pleased to say. Political events are an important aspect of recent history, affording the opportunity for Gibraltarians to celebrate their own public figures. In so doing they are in part celebrating a sense of “national” identity.

These political changes and developments, sometimes at the behest of the British, played an important part in helping Gibraltar acquire its own particular characteristics. Furthermore, in the course of these events and in their

pronouncements and manifestos the various political parties have generated their own discourse on colonialism, sovereignty, nationalism and identity. As already noted this has occurred in the context of Gibraltar's own circumstances, which were quite unlike those in Malta for example. On the island anti-colonial and nationalist movements were evident throughout most of the years of the British presence, due partly to the fact that Malta had its own history going back many centuries. Although in a sense in Malta by invitation, the British not surprisingly caused resentment in time among those who looked back to the island's historical origins. Nationalism in Malta was also very much tied in with language, the different parties arguing for the primacy of Maltese, Italian or English respectively. In Gibraltar these matters were never a reason for serious differences and anti-colonialism lacked a focus and a cause. Generally speaking Gibraltarians have been comfortable with the British presence and they have remained "happy colonials". Consequently, no major political party has been nationalist in the full meaning of the word.

Consequently, in its political discourse the G.L.P./A.A.C.R., the sole or major party for many years, displayed a mild tone as regards the British. There was never any doubt that the British were needed, at least to defend Gibraltar from Spain which seeks "to destroy our democratic institutions". The 1972 A.A.C.R. manifesto in its plea for independence talked of the "Right to Our Land". "Myths of national identity typically refer to territory ... as the basis of political

community”²⁵², A.D. Smith points out. The manifesto added that this did not mean “political independence but a concept of nationhood which involves an independent attitude of mind, and demands respect for the dignity and human rights of the Gibraltarian people. It means partnership with but not under Britain”. Interestingly, anything closer than free association with the United Kingdom was seen by Hassan in particular as likely to erode a Gibraltarian sense of identity, rather than enhancing it.

However, there was to be a noticeable movement away from this moderate A.A.C.R position, but never to extremes. The advent of new Gibraltarian political parties caused the A.A.C.R. to add “G.L.P.” (Gibraltar Labour Party) to its name, in an attempt to win back its working-class image. Yet the assertion in the 1976 manifesto that “Because the G.L.P./A.A.C.R. was born from the people we are the natural party of the Gibraltarians” was not likely to be sufficient at the hustings. The difficulties with Spain, which had increased from the 1950s, were also having an effect. The discussions of the ‘Gibraltar question’ at the United Nations, caused the people to fear for their future. As a consequence, the sense of being Gibraltarian was sharpened and the 1980 G.L.P./A.A.C.R. manifesto referred to the “all-important struggle to preserve our identity and to secure our future”. The same document, reflecting the preamble to the 1969 Constitution, argued that “the most important factor in the Gibraltar dispute is a human one and that the people of Gibraltar have a right to

determine their own future". Led by the renowned Sir Joshua Hassan, and while speaking powerfully on behalf of Gibraltar, the G.L.P./A.A.C.R. never approached an extreme anti-colonial or anti-British, nationalist viewpoint.

Among the other seven or eight parties which appeared on the scene, from 1972 the Integration With Britain Party (I.W.B.P.), under Robert Peliza, "began to set the stage for the expression of popular feelings amongst Gibraltarians at the political level".²⁵³ As its name indicated, the I.W.B.P. was anti-colonial and its solution to the de-colonisation problem was integration with Britain. With the frontier closed, its message was clear. Gibraltar was relying more than ever on the United Kingdom and it would be logical simply to merge the colony with the Motherland; in effect, the Gibraltar economy was part of the United Kingdom economy.²⁵⁴ Integration would also have achieved equality for the Gibraltarians as colonial status was discarded. The Hattersley Memorandum of 1975 rejecting integration, and preferring the status quo, meant the death of the I.W.B.P. but its members and some of its ideas survived in new groupings. Evidence of the rivalry between the late Sir Joshua Hassan and the now Sir Robert Peliza lingers on into the 2000s.

There was some continuity through the Gibraltar Democratic Movement. This was established prior to the 1976 elections by Joe Bossano and it inherited some of the I.W.B.P. ideas and members. It wanted to be involved in any talks on de-

colonisation and on the sovereignty issue. Its manifesto affirmed that “The present colonial status of Gibraltar is an affront to the dignity of the people of Gibraltar”, adding that “The territory of Gibraltar and the people of Gibraltar are an inseparable entity”. Its position demanded a Gibraltarian Gibraltar based on self-determination. While harbouring some distrust of the British, whose attitude towards Spain seemed much too conciliatory, the G.D.M. was by no means anti-British. Its view of identity was based on a Gibraltarian heritage with a British component, linked closely to the territory where Gibraltarians lived.

In its turn the G.D.M. fragmented, some members returning to the G.L.P./A.A.C.R. fold. Integrationist aims were to some extent kept alive from 1980 by the new Democratic Party of British Gibraltar, “to keep Gibraltar British” being one of them. Again, a main argument of the D.P.B.G. was that the “territory and people are inseparable” in striving for “the Democratic development of the political, social, economic and cultural identity of the people of Gibraltar”. This included achieving a standard of living equal to that of the United Kingdom at a time when the parity issue was coming to a head and when the need to ensure Gibraltarian rights in Europe was being recognised.

Ideologies of left and right have never counted for much in Gibraltarian politics, in part because of the prominence of anti- and pro-Spanish political platforms.²⁵⁵ However, there were some of the left in the G.D.M. and when they lost their base they formed their own party, the Partido Socialista de Gibraltar (P.S.G.). They were few in number, never able to win seats in the Assembly. They attracted interest if not support because of their outspoken criticisms of the government and the British colonial authorities. They argued for British withdrawal to free the Gibraltarian people from restrictions and to facilitate genuine self-determination. Unlike others they were anti-British and they were sometimes branded as revolutionary. The P.S.G. also held exceptional views on language ; the true language of Gibraltar was not English they said, nor Spanish but Yanito, namely the poor form of Spanish, mixed with garrison English, which had developed on the Rock. These relatively extreme views of the P.S.G. contrasted sharply with those of the main body of opinion, political and popular, which combined pro-Gibraltarian and pro-British thinking, if with differing emphases.

It should also be said that there was an equivalent party of the right for a time, the Party for the Autonomy of Gibraltar (P.A.G.). At least, the personal links between leading figures in the P.A.G. and Spanish aristocracy gave rise to that view. Labelled as pro-Spanish and the “sell-out party”, the PAG had little chance of success although, arguably, its intellectually-argued case was never

listened to carefully. The pronouncements of its members, named "the Doves", even prompted riots and the destruction of property.²⁵⁶ It did advocate a settlement with Spain and it saw the terms of the referendum as providing a false choice between Britain and Spain. The P.A.G. position was that there had to be an agreement approved by Spain. The Treaty of Utrecht would be renegotiated and thereby an "Autonomous Status for the City of Gibraltar" guaranteed. The P.A.G. argued that it was pro-Gibraltarian and nationalist and, like the P.S.G., against the British colonial presence which was seen as hindering Gibraltar's development. In their different ways these two minor parties put mainstream Gibraltarian political discourse in perspective.

A still more significant descendant of the Gibraltar Democratic Movement was the Gibraltar Socialist Labour Party (G.S.L.P.), personified by the same Joseph Bossano who had also played his part in the I.W.B.P. Perhaps being more aware of the fears of the people, the G.S.L.P. came to satisfy a wish for a tougher stance towards the British and towards Spain as outside threats grew. Like other groups the G.S.L.P. was keen to throw off the colonial yoke while being to some extent pro-British and certainly pro-Gibraltarian. It was undoubtedly anti-Spanish as far as sovereignty was concerned. Talks with Spain on any aspects of sovereignty were not to be entertained. With a trade union background and a charismatic manner, Joe Bossano attracted a considerable

personal vote and he continued to do so into the 2000s, more than eight years after his party lost power.

Unequivocally, therefore, the political dimension has played its part in the formation of a Gibraltarian identity over the past two-hundred and ninety-five years or so. Within that, the British contribution has underpinned all others. British Governors and officials, through the exercise of supreme power, have conveyed images of Empire which Gibraltarians have taken as their own. Since 1945 the inhabitants have enjoyed some of the social progress which has taken place in post-war Britain. They have also been encouraged to share in developments which elsewhere have transformed Empire into Commonwealth. British political examples have been readily at hand as models to follow. Party politics have taken root and a structure of government based on a wholly elected House of Assembly has been put in place. The Gibraltarians are proud to have achieved this degree of self-government and they celebrate the efforts of their leaders, trade unionists and politicians, in the process. Yet more is demanded and they are keen to be fully removed from the United Nations list of so-called Colonies. The international political manoeuvrings have served only to strengthen a Gibraltarian national consciousness and to underline the sense of being Gibraltarian and “not-Spanish”. Political discourse has always conveyed messages to that effect. In its most recent election manifesto the GSLP/Liberal Alliance strikes the strongest of notes: “Together we are committed to the

defence of our homeland politically by continuing the rejection of the Brussels talks and the demand for full self-determination and de-colonisation.” And, at the same time, “We want good relations with Britain”. The ruling Gibraltar Social Democrat (G.S.D.) party manifesto similarly speaks of “preserving our sovereignty” and the aim “to bring about decolonisation”. The government party also looks ahead to the year 2004, two hundred years after the British conquest of the Rock, and to “suitable events to commemorate this important anniversary in our homeland’s history.” It adds, in reference to the wider political scene, “The sovereignty of our homeland cannot be exchanged or compromised for good relations or anything else”.

CHAPTER 4

RELIGION AND LANGUAGE

Supplementing the influences considered so far are those associated with religion and language. Both are likely to have a central place in the history of a nation and in the formation of a national identity. While in no sense being essentially linked, religion and language are alike in Gibraltar's story in that they both incorporate non-British as well as British elements. Moreover, the British element in both cases, particularly in earlier centuries played a lesser part. Roman Catholicism, not the religion of the Empire, has been dominant throughout and the Spanish language had precedence for long periods, not English²⁵⁷.

In religious matters the British brought alien ideas to a Mediterranean world where the Roman Catholic faith prevailed. They did so in a century when the protestant churches at home were united in strong anti-catholic views; a "patriotic anti-popery" was characteristic of the nation²⁵⁸. However, little of this was conveyed to Gibraltar where tolerance prevailed for the most part. The Treaty of Utrecht of 1713,²⁵⁹ which ceded the colony to the British, of course, guaranteed freedom of worship to Roman Catholics which may well have determined that any British sense of mission to convey protestantism to the colonies was not obvious in Gibraltar. The influence of Anglicanism, and of the

non-conformist churches, was present but it was of a more subtle kind and the adherents tended to be members of the military and the commercial community. In that way these churches were helping to project a British identity as well as their own separate identities.²⁶⁰ This image of Britishness, portrayed particularly by the established Anglican church was clearly visible to the Gibraltarians and they may have been influenced by it despite their Roman Catholic faith. In any case it would be an error to relate Catholicism too closely with a Gibraltarian sense of nationhood. Indeed, Tony Claydon²⁶¹ and others cast doubt on “any simple connection between religious and national identities”, although, in the words of Ernest Barker, “even where religion is not the essence of a nation, it is a great constitutive element in its life and disposition”²⁶²

Historically, Roman Catholicism came first to the territory with the Spanish defeat of the Moors in 1462. Some two hundred and forty years later when the resident Spanish population fled to San Roque²⁶³ in the face of the English and other forces, they left behind “four monasteries, with their adjacent churches and twelve other oratories and shrines”.²⁶⁴ Some Franciscan Friars remained and something of Roman Catholic worship continued, “an amazing concession when you bear in mind that Queen Anne was at war with the French, in part because King Louis of France was backing the Jacobite (i.e. Roman Catholic) James III as the rightful King of England”²⁶⁵. Furthermore, the immigrants who were later to make up the new population of the colony were from a largely

Roman Catholic background and protected by the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713. During British times their numbers increased or declined with war and peace and with changing economic fortunes. As Bishop Charles Caruana argues, the story of the Roman Catholic Church in Gibraltar closely parallels the history of the territory itself.²⁶⁶

In examining the nature and influence of the Roman Catholic Church three aspects in particular are noteworthy: firstly, the emergence of a unique Gibraltarian church; secondly, the church's concern with education; and thirdly the relationships within the church and with others. The importance of the first is considerable. While most of the population have been practising Roman Catholics like the Spanish and Portuguese in the rest of the Iberian peninsula, the unique nature of the local church has contributed to a very different Gibraltarian sense of identity. This took some time to take shape. During Spanish rule the churches and clergy in Gibraltar were part of the Diocese of Cádiz and the church hierarchy in Spain endeavoured to maintain the position after the occupation of 1704. Initially these efforts were to some extent accommodated by the British authorities but later they were firmly resisted on the grounds that foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Gibraltar was inconsistent with British sovereignty over the fortress²⁶⁷. Yet there were occasions when problems could arise, seemingly requiring referral to the Spanish Bishop. Subsequently, in the 1770s, as war with Spain and France became imminent, the

Governor, General Boyd, foreseeing difficulties, wrote to the Pope asking him “to bestow on the Reverend Parish Priest, Father Francisco Messa, of the Order of St. Augustine, full and ordinary powers as customarily held by Vicars-General” so that he would be able to exercise as far as possible the powers that Bishops themselves have, “freed from all links with the Spanish nation, and linked directly to Your Holiness” Holy and Apostolic See, giving him for this purpose the dignity and title of Apostolic Protonotary and Vicar-General of this city of Gibraltar and Monte Caspio²⁶⁸. The British clearly wanted this separation from Spain, for military and political reasons. Things moved slowly and there was no reply for sixteen years. During this time matters remained as they were, authority resting with Cádiz. It was not until 1792 that the priest in Gibraltar was in fact made Vicar-General, as Boyd wished, which meant that he was no longer dependent on the Bishop of Cádiz and instead he looked to Rome. However, by ecclesiastical law, Gibraltar anomalously remained part of the Diocese of Cádiz and it was not until 1816 that this was amended and the Roman Catholic Church in Gibraltar became a wholly separate entity, free of any links with Spain. Had this not happened, Spain’s dispute with Britain over sovereignty of the Rock in later years, given “the inseparability of national identity and Catholicism in modern Spain”²⁶⁹, could have assumed a different character. Furthermore, recently released documents reporting tentative moves by Harold Wilson’s British government in the 1960s, exploring “the possibility of getting The Pope to mediate in the worsening dispute with Spain”, suggest a

strategy that was more easily entertained because of Gibraltar's "particular" church and because of the Roman Catholic nature of the Spanish state.

The first Roman Catholic Bishop, with the title of Bishop of Heliopolis, was installed in 1840 and the 11th and most recent one, Bishop Charles Caruana, in 1998²⁷⁰. "Today, the Roman Catholic Diocese of Gibraltar is co-terminous with the limits of the Garrison and City of the British-held peninsula, cared for by an active indigenous clergy and totally independent of outside jurisdiction, except for the brotherly relationship between its bishop and the Bishop of Rome, and its fraternal, cultural and practical links with the hierarchy of Great Britain."²⁷¹

Thus, this separate and unique church, encouraged in its development by the protestant British authorities, has played its part in nurturing a sense of being Gibraltarian. Individuals regularly express pride in having their own "particular" church, clearly marking them off from Spain.

A second important aspect, and clearly part of what Caruana refers to as "the development of Christian living" in Gibraltar, has been the Roman Catholic church's preoccupation with education, especially after the 1830s. As will be seen in more detail in chapters 5 and 6, education has been a powerful factor in the making of Gibraltarian society. The "state" system in the territory owes much to a number of matters : to earlier private ventures, to the vision of several British Governors, to the example and support of regimental and services

schools, and especially to the involvement of the churches²⁷². The Roman Catholics were not alone in this and in fact it was rivalry between various churches that was a major stimulus to educational development as “the battle for souls” was waged in the nineteenth century, the Wesleyans setting the pace. For long periods Roman Catholic children, having no alternative, were obliged to attend Methodist or Anglican schools which could be unashamedly proselytising in their endeavours. Great efforts were made by the Roman Catholics to redress the balance, none more so than by John Baptist Scandella, the first locally-born Bishop of Gibraltar of whom Charles Caruana wrote: “The people of Gibraltar were overjoyed at having an indigenous Bishop; Rome seemed to be saying that the Colony was mature enough to have one of its own to govern spiritually.”²⁷³ In his time various new schools were built and new initiatives taken. With these developments, and with the waning of Methodist and Anglican influence over the years, the Roman Catholic Church, from the 1870s at least, assumed a position of pre-eminence in Gibraltarian education which it held well into the twentieth century. The Bishops played a key role but it was in the classrooms, through the efforts of the Christian Brothers and the Loreto Nuns of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, that the greatest influence was exerted. Although both were from Irish Provinces, they were never disloyal to the ideals of British education. The Brothers, with short breaks, taught in the colony from 1835 until the 1970s. The Nuns have seen uninterrupted service since 1845 and they still teach on the Rock in the 2000s.

Together, the Brothers and the Nuns virtually ran the schools and their influence on the Gibraltarian people has been very considerable; for generations almost every Gibraltarian was taught by them at one time or another. By the time the Christian Brothers left in 1977, the direct influence of the Roman Catholic Church was much-reduced; the reorganisation of education along comprehensive lines, including the unfinished debate on co-education, was in a way a formal confirmation of the declining influence of the church in and on the schools. Interestingly, this occurred at a time when control of the system was passing into local hands. However, Gibraltar is as yet a long way from being a secular society. What it is argued is an essentially Mediterranean “nation” is still also a largely Roman Catholic one.

A third aspect centres on relationships, both the Roman Catholic Church’s internal relationships and the relationships with other churches and with the authorities. All these relationships are often claimed to have been generally positive, generating the notion of a people living harmoniously in a mixed society.

As regards internal relationships, these have also contributed to the distinctiveness of the Roman Catholic Church in Gibraltar, stemming from the times when management was by a Board or Junta of Elders. The Junta was set up during the siege of 1727 on the initiative of the Governor. It was based on

three existing confraternities designed to help the priest-in-charge “on matters concerning the maintenance of the church and its contents”.²⁷⁴ The remit of its elected members extended beyond those matters and with obvious pride Caruana states: “A kind of Presbyterian element was thus unwittingly introduced to the small Christian community, which was barely twenty-five years old and yet was marked with an air of individualism; for it remained Spanish-speaking but grew into an Italo-Iberian body which claimed more and more to be British”.²⁷⁵ He adds, “It was to be the first lay institution to be created on the Rock and it was to have a remarkable influence on the growth of the Church in Gibraltar”.

Caruana traces the Junta’s influence long after it had “died a natural death”, to recent times and to the Second Vatican Council in 1962/65 which “abundantly provided every possibility for the assimilation and channelling along right lines of what remains of those exaggerated lay aspirations, by defining much more clearly and theologically, and positively encouraging, the role of the laity, so necessary for the growth of the church”. Through the Junta, then, lay views were made known on such issues as the appointment of clergy, the collection of monies and the rights of baptism and burial. “It was consulted and cultivated by the Governors” and its members were invited to the Convent along with the heads of other communities. It was recognised even more widely and, on one occasion, the Privy Council in London ruled that “the Junta of Elders had an

undeniable authority acquired by force of custom”²⁷⁶. Caruana readily concludes that the Junta stimulated a process of involvement and consultation which has served church and society well in the colony. This may surprise some, he concedes: “The attitude of mind which was to develop as a result of the introduction of this new structure was to prove at times somewhat alien to what the reader might expect of the people with a Catholic upbringing”. Gibraltar’s distinctiveness is further confirmed.

Not that relations were always harmonious and untroubled; there were regular disputes and difficulties, the Junta not every time being the winner. External relations were involved at times, between the Roman Catholic church and Governors, and with other churches. With respect to the Governors, Caruana is at pains to stress the “fairness” of the British towards the Catholic community and to everyone, clearly implying that generally relations with the British had been good. There were sometimes differences too when it came to other religious groups. However, overall there is a long and active tradition of friendliness and co-operation between the churches, including strong friendships between the different church leaders and in recent years a regular pattern of inter-church visits and links has been customary. To take a practical example, one well-known local Roman Catholic organist, Joseph Ballantine, speaks of playing in several churches, Catholic and non-Catholic, sometimes on the same Sunday²⁷⁷. Most Gibraltarians, including many Jews, identify with

this tradition of good inter-faith relations which seems very appropriate in the world of the 2000s, when strenuous efforts are being made towards dialogue and reconciliation between the faiths.

In fact, Gibraltar has known all manner of faiths – Roman Catholic, non-conformist, evangelical, Jewish, Muslim and Hindu, as well as their various ancillary bodies and organizations. Collectively, they have brought much to the life of the community : spiritual values, educational ideas and practices, and social awareness. Apart from Roman Catholicism, the one other religion represented throughout the period of the British presence is that of the Jews who, as described in chapter 2, came early in search of work and trading opportunities. Of course, the Jewish community represents both a faith and an ethnic group and both to some extent have already been discussed. The Jews in Gibraltar at the beginning of the twenty-first century practise their religion quietly and typically. On the Jewish Sabbath they attend one of the four existing synagogues. The first, dating from 1724, is reputed to be the third oldest Sephardic synagogue in Europe.²⁷⁸ Gibraltar's Jews are noticeable in the streets in their traditional dress, including the skull cap or kippa which is now popular again. Community affairs continue to be handled by an elected Managing Board.

The Jews have made a substantial contribution to the growth and well-being of Gibraltar. They are an essential part of society although for long periods numbering less than 1000, and even falling to around 600 in the 1990s. They have been influential beyond their numbers. While possessing their own sense of tribal identity as Sephardic Jews²⁷⁹ most are resolutely Gibraltarian. They have been successful in business and politics and regularly acknowledged leaders of the community.²⁸⁰ Since the middle of the 19th century they have been the mainstay of Gibraltar's middle-class. In these respects and others they have presented an image and an example for others to follow, through their loyalty to Gibraltar and their sensitivity to the needs of the whole community. Nevertheless, during earlier decades the Jews sometimes had to suffer ridicule and injustice. "During the last century (19th)", writes Serfaty, "the Jews lived in peace with their fellow townsmen except on Easter Saturdays when the harmony was partially disturbed by the old custom of burning a top hatted effigy (of a Jew) The effigy was taken in procession through the upper streets of the town and, on several occasions, it was thrown alight from the Castle Steps into the patio of the Shaar Ashamayim Synagogue, and ladies, who had to use the Castle Street entrance to the gallery, were frequently accosted and insulted". Subsequently, the Jews have become wholly accepted as they have been tolerant of others.²⁸¹ The June 1997 issue of the local "Insight" magazine concluded an editorial with the following words: "During their long and distinguished residence in Gibraltar, the Jewish community has forged their

good standing by have the foresight and acumen to develop a strong sense of a Gibraltarian identity while maintaining heart-felt adherence to traditional Jewish values.”

Yet there have been times when they have withdrawn into themselves and, sadly, there were again signs of that in the late 1990s, due to fundamentalist influences. Regardless of the protestations that it will not be so, the newly-created separate secondary schools for Jewish boys and girls are likely to be divisive. Hopefully this is a trend which will be reversed later, as some believe it will.²⁸²

Despite its tolerance of Catholic and Jew, the British establishment all along has preferred protestant Christians to other denominations because they were more likely to be loyal to the Crown. Furthermore, within those groups the established Anglican church, the English National church, reflecting the intertwining of church and state at many levels consolidated over centuries, found most favour as far as the garrison was concerned. The Church of England was the church of King, country and the armed forces, as is still apparent inside the Anglican buildings in Gibraltar today. Governors and soldiers are buried and remembered there and military standards adorn the walls. Yet, with its strong garrison links, Anglicanism has been only on the

fringes of civilian life in the territory and not central to it. It has represented the notion of British might in an imperial fortress, being closely associated with tradition, history, and ceremony. The Gibraltarian people have looked on while its “nobility” have participated on ceremonial occasions with the British, aspiring to be like them.²⁸³

The first Anglican church in Gibraltar was the King’s Chapel²⁸⁴ which survives in the twenty-first century as the church of all the armed forces. Once the only Anglican place of worship, it was fashioned from the chapel of the original Franciscan Friary, the first to be built on the Rock, dating back to 1535. After the thirteenth siege of 1727/28 “the Franciscan chapel was then taken over from the Roman Catholic obedience by the Church of England”²⁸⁵, as it has remained ever since. Military and other numbers on the Rock grew and a century later it was no longer adequate. In 1834 a second church, Holy Trinity, was completed. For a while King’s Chapel was closed, then reinstated as the church for the army and, since 1990, when the chaplaincy became tri-service, it has been the sole place of worship for the garrison. Being part of the complex which contains the Governor’s residence, the King’s Chapel continues to have a place in the religious and ceremonial life of the community.

The much larger Holy Trinity Church, which for a long time was the church for the Royal Navy, can boast an equally notable history, one which has involved the civilian population too. The inadequacy of the King's Chapel became an official matter during Don's time as Governor.²⁸⁶ His interest in civilian affairs "led some merchants to seek official support for the construction of a church".²⁸⁷ These "Protestant Inhabitants of this Garrison" were usually from Britain and among the committee established in 1819 were Alexander Farquhar, David Johnston and John Duguid whose names suggest a possible Scottish connection. The committee raised subscriptions for a "Protestant Parish Church in the Diocese of London", to which Gibraltar belonged at that time. Building began in 1825, in a Moorish style because the engineer thought it appropriate in Gibraltar and later it was decorated in colours like those in the Alhambra in Granada. It was completed in 1832 and the consecration took place in the presence of Queen Adelaide, widow of William IV.

Prior to the 1830s, civilian membership of the Anglican community had apparently been restricted to the British merchant class. Yet for some time before this, in reality, there had been Spanish-speaking members of the Church of England, presumably native Gibraltarians. By 1833 they were being admitted to communion, "the strictest enquiry having been made into their character and motives". They seem to have met in a private house, parts of the

service being read to them in Spanish. A few years later they were receiving financial assistance from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.)²⁸⁸ and in 1836 they were given their own clergyman, the Rev. Lorenzo Lucena, a Spaniard and former Roman Catholic priest from Córdoba. Lucena was appointed "with the hope that he may also render assistance to some other portions of the population a large part of which is represented as sadly neglected and demoralized though not unwilling to receive instruction. He would engage to enter into no controversy and to do nothing which would give just Cause of Offence to the Roman Catholics, but would confine himself to preaching and teaching peaceably the Doctrines of the Church of England. And as he is not compromised with any political party in Spain, he is not likely to give the local government any trouble on that account".²⁸⁹

Lucena, once settled, was able to take charge of a chapel and schoolroom staffed by teachers from England. In 1842 he was one of two canons appointed, along with an archdeacon, when Holy Trinity became a Cathedral²⁹⁰ and the first Anglican Bishop was enthroned. The new Bishop, Bishop George Tomlinson, arrived with the new Governor, General Sir Robert Wilson, on HMS Warspite, a clear indication of his high status in the eyes of the authorities. At that time over 1,000 from the garrison and 890 civilians were

said to be Church of England members, including some native Gibraltarians. To these were added some of the convicts from the hulks in the bay whose total numbers were to reach almost 800, warranting their own chaplain in due course. When Bishop Tomlinson took over there were concerns about the appropriateness of seeking converts in Spain. However, "though opposed to proselytising, Bishop Tomlinson would not discourage seekers after information". In the 1860s there were "stirrings of opposition to the Roman Catholic Church in Spain, Portugal and Italy". Priests were leaving Rome and the Reformed Churches were growing in these countries. Holy Trinity's need for "a Spanish fund" diminished as a consequence and the preoccupation was very much with the local community. Indeed, from 1869 the requirements of the Cathedral itself became an increasing priority. In that year the Secretary of State for the Colonies ordered the Gibraltar Government to hand over responsibility for the buildings to the churches themselves, only a small annual sum to be paid "for services rendered to civil servants". Henceforth each church was more dependent on its own resources and on the ability of the congregations to raise money.

In fact, the Gibraltarians today are proud of a long tradition of caring, money-raising and giving help just causes and all the churches have shared in this concern for the common good. In the case of the Anglican churches, this goes

back until at least the later decades of the nineteenth century which saw an extension of Holy Trinity Cathedral's work in social welfare. In 1883 the Association of Lay-Helpers was formed "to give system and permanence to efforts in the cause of temperance, charity and religion; and to bind together in common Christian work the three classes of the community, Army, Navy and Civilian". Temperance work was then to assume particular importance – Gibraltar had some sixty odd drinking places at the time, mostly for the troops. In 1898, the Gibraltar Temperance Committee was set up, with representatives of various interested parties. The Committee campaigned against the issuing of music licences to certain "grog shops" which were then able to employ singing and dancing girls. There was a wave of protest when the licences were withdrawn. However, the action resulted in a "drop of nearly 50% in the admission of soldiers to hospital", an outcome which produced favourable comment from the Governor. When male comic singers were brought in to replace the dancing girls, licences were again refused. Bishop Collins who was consecrated in 1904 took the campaign against drink into the next century.

The interest of the various churches in education also involved the Anglican Church in Gibraltar. While the children of other ranks were catered for in the Regimental Schools, there were various attempts to found a Church of England school for the children of the officer-class and others. A house called

“Brympton” was purchased in 1913 but it was not until 1920 that the school opened, with the active encouragement of the Governor, General Sir Horace, and Lady Smith-Dorrien. After a poorish start, it had some success. It was closed during the Second World War and it was re-opened for infants and juniors in 1945. It continued until the 1960s when, following a large increase in the garrison, the Ministry of Defence decided to establish its own schools, replacing the two existing non-denominational, but in effect Anglican, primary schools. By then private education in the United Kingdom was also more accessible. These two changes made Brympton largely redundant. Along with the Loreto Convent School, Brympton is remembered as a successful school for the better-off. Attendance at either was sometimes followed by private schooling in England for those Gibraltarians who could afford it. This sometimes meant enrolling in prestigious Roman Catholic public schools. As will be further argued in a later chapter this has done much to add to the “Britishness” of the community.

Other non-conformist churches have had their place in Gibraltar’s religious history, the Methodists among them. They remain active today in premises near to the Convent. Many Gibraltarians know of the Methodist church as they know something of its work alongside the other churches. It is an accepted part of their heritage. However, as in the case of the Anglican churches, Methodism

has also been mostly concerned with the services and the garrison. This originated with Wesleyan preachers from the earliest days of the movement in Britain. They were well aware of the sad state of soldiers, many of them “pressed”, as they regularly found them among their audiences. In Gibraltar there is evidence of Methodists among the troops as early as 1769²⁹¹ and meetings were said to take place twice daily in houses in town. The annals of the church in Gibraltar list Sgt. Henry Ince²⁹², a Cornishman who later earned fame in the tunnelling operations, as one of the first preachers. A consequence of this dependence on the military was that numbers fell when regiments were posted elsewhere. There were also periods of decline when the Methodists were out of favour with military commanders who saw Anglicanism as the only acceptable faith.

By 1800 a Methodist committee was in place “in order that everything might be done decently and in order” with a Leader and a Steward. There were also the first moves by the Methodists to build their own chapel. Congregations appeared to number up to 200 although actual membership was much lower, being dependent on a trial period of at least two months, “to prevent reproach from being brought on the cause of God by unworthy members”. Some sailors from naval ships attended at that time.

Being aware of the problems in Gibraltar, the Methodist Conference decided to send out a “respectable minister in the hope that he might gain permission to preach to the soldiers”. There were also aspirations to extend the movement in Spain. The first such minister was the Rev. James McMullen who died of yellow fever a few days after arrival in 1804 when nearly six thousand deaths were recorded in the colony. Those who followed established a firmer base and a permanent chapel was constructed. “By October 1831 there were 102 members, 10 on trial, 17 conversions, 5 sanctifications and 2 backsliders”²⁹³, and more the following year when the Rev. W.H. Rule D.D. arrived to take over as minister. “The Little Doctor” as he was called, because he was tiny in stature, made a marked impression on more than Methodism on the Rock, particularly through his work in schools. He appears to have been fearless in his dealings with authority. Although membership fluctuated during the middle and later decades of the century, under Rule and his successors Methodism prospered and became officially accepted. In 1881 the Methodists joined the Anglicans and Roman Catholics in being granted a Capitation Allowance, “for the services of its Minister to the Methodist troops”. The early 1900s saw the need for renovations and extensions to the church buildings, made more urgent because the completion of the Dockyard in 1905 brought a big increase in the number of expatriate residents. Later came the First World War which affected the church little but 1936 meant pastoral commitments to Spanish refugees fleeing from the Civil War. After 1939 the years were marked by a growth of

work of a broader social kind, mostly for service personnel, declining as the numbers of military diminished. In the early 2000s the church ministers to a small congregation of Gibraltarians and retired expatriates.

The authors of "Upon This Rock"²⁹⁴ give an account of the concern with the physical and social well-being of servicemen. As noted, this began with Wesley himself: "Wesley and his helpers were pioneers in the battle against the social evils of the day". And, in the activities of the soldier-preachers, there has always been "Wesley's concern for the bodies as well as the souls of men". This resulted eventually in the creation of social centres and "homes". In Gibraltar, following practice elsewhere in Britain and abroad, a "Welcome Soldiers and Sailors Home" was opened in 1898, later to be called "Wesley House". This served to formalise some of the activities that already took place in existing facilities. The main objective was to provide a place for rest and recreation and for refreshments. These needs were satisfied on an increasing scale over the years, both during and after the Second World War. For a long period overnight accommodation was available as it was in the additional facility called "South Welcome" in the South District. During recent years, reducing demand and economic difficulties have meant a streamlining of services and a concentration on the present site near the Convent where the church and the Carpenter's restaurant and social centre are located. Always

under the direction of the minister and his helpers, activities have never lost sight of the Wesleyan principles upon which the church and its facilities are based.

Methodism in Gibraltar, therefore, has been primarily for the benefit of the forces while not neglecting the needs of civilians in the colony nor forgetting the opportunities for missionary work in Spain. The latter has involved attempts to develop centres in Cádiz, La Línea and elsewhere but these were not very successful. Similarly, it appears that work aimed at converting members of the native Gibraltarian population met with little success. Some commentators²⁹⁵ say that there always was a local core of practising members but this may well have been made up mostly of British expatriates with a few native Gibraltarians. This lack of success was in spite of early pioneering work in education, when significant numbers of Roman Catholics and others enrolled in the Methodist schools with their undisguised proselytising agenda. The curriculum included much of a religious nature but the congregation scarcely rose as a consequence. This might have been due to the strong hold of Catholicism as well as to linguistic and cultural barriers.

For a time Methodist schools were in fact quite popular with Roman Catholics, Jews and others and educational endeavours, although limited to a few decades,

won Methodism a firm place in Gibraltarian history. One writer states, "These schools (Methodist) may truly be said to have been the pioneers of education in Gibraltar".²⁹⁶ As already mentioned the educational success story revolves round one man, Dr.W.Rule. Soon after Rule's arrival in the territory in 1832, his wife was approached by a poor woman asking her to teach her children to read. Other requests followed. In Rule's words, "There was no charity-school in the place and a large proportion of the children of the poor were utterly destitute of education"²⁹⁷. Rule came to his wife's aid and opened a free school in the Methodist chapel. This suited him well since the object of the Mission was to convert people to Methodism, in Gibraltar and Spain.²⁹⁸ Rule's educational initiatives prompted others to take action. With the support of the Governor, the Gibraltar Public School for all denominations was opened a year later, with a conscience clause protecting the different religious groups. For a while Rule's pupils were transferred there but he was not pleased with the set-up which gave Methodists no say in things, and he re-established the school in the chapel.

The Roman Catholics were particularly unhappy at the success of the Methodist school where the teaching seems to have been good. Local anxieties and a request for help were conveyed to Rome by Vicar General Apostolic Zino. He wrote that the issue is "now of much greater importance as a Methodist School is already erected at which fifty Catholic boys attend". There was a quick

response, via Ireland, and the first Irish Christian Brothers arrived in 1835. A Catholic Poor School was created and so there were now three schools operating in competition with each other – the Public School, the Methodist Schools and now the Catholic School. This state of affairs meant rivalry and division but “the competition had the advantage of widening the scope and improving the quality of the educational facilities provided”.²⁹⁹

Thus the Christian Brothers were to become the mainstay of boys’ education and the Nuns were to provide for the girls. While the early initiatives tended to give priority to boys, the 1840s saw parallel developments for girls. The Anglicans started a School for Girls in 1842. A year later a Catholic Poor School for Girls was opened and the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Gibraltar, Henry Hughes, an Irishman, invited the Loreto Nuns to Gibraltar. They arrived in 1845, to open first a free school and then a fee-paying school for young ladies. Their successes were eventually at the expense of the Methodists. New and better school premises were opened by the Methodists in 1878 and for fifteen years or so the school survived, but in decline. The numbers fell to only four, none of them Methodists and in 1895 the Methodist Conference decided on closure.

One other noteworthy theme running through the Methodist story on the Rock is that of the abuse and discrimination suffered by members, especially those in the forces. While Governors and the Colonial Office were sometimes tolerant and helpful, this was not always true of some merchants and military commanders on the ground, whose views, presumably, were exclusively Anglican. An early example was in 1793 when some "influential gentlemen in town" saw Methodists as undesirables. The Governor, General O'Hara, took a different view saying, "Let them alone. I wish there were twenty for one of them and we should have fewer court-martials in the army than we have." This view did not prevail and matters came to a head in 1803 when, in Regimental Orders, it was stated that "No man will ever attempt to preach or attend Methodist Meetings or induce others to do so". Five men of the Queen's Regiment were deemed to have been in breach of this and they were court-martialled. Two corporals were reduced to the ranks and all, one aged 14 years, were sentenced to 500 lashes.

Issues of a doctrinal kind also arose. A Garrison Chaplain objected to the practice whereby Methodist ministers administered Holy Communion. He said that this should be for ministers and priests of the established and Roman Catholic churches only. The Methodists appealed to the Governor at the time, the Duke of Kent, arguing that they had chosen one of their number to

administer the Sacrament “which privilege is enjoyed by Methodists in Great Britain, Ireland and his Majesty’s Plantations”. The Duke of Kent appeared to accept the plea but his views were to some extent ignored.

Nor was the baptising of children by Methodist ministers always approved by Military Chaplains and others. And, as with birth so with death: Methodists were denied a burial ground where their own minister might “perform the last religious services over the dead of their community”. It was left to the intervention of the reforming Lieutenant Governor, General George Don, to put this right. The opposition tried to exclude Methodists from the “enclosure in which members of the Church of England and Roman persuasion were sepulchered”. However, Don’s personal involvement won the day. Don also gave the Methodist minister a ration book similar to those held by other public officials thereby enhancing his standing in the community.

The fear of “democrats” and their doubtful loyalty continued after Don’s time. On one occasion soldiers were banned from “Preaching and Exhorting as it renders them inefficient for the service”. Seeing that this would deprive the church of essential lay preachers, Rule objected most forcibly, appealing to London. He also intervened on the question of freedom of worship for the troops, which had been recognised in Britain. Rule’s action resulted in

Methodists being allowed to march to their own church on Sundays, and the Presbyterians followed suit by successfully demanding the same treatment. Thus the acceptance of the Methodists was realized and their status enhanced. The Rev. George Alton, a Methodist minister, became Secretary to the Sanitary Commissioners. In 1881 the Methodist minister was granted a Capitation Allowance, like other ministers and priests, for his services to the Methodist troops. Then in 1896 the Welcome Home was opened with great jubilation and ceremony by His Excellency the Governor, Sir Robert Biddulph. Gradually the Methodist Church came to have its rightful place alongside the other churches, including the Church of Scotland.

Scottish connections with the Rock have been considerable, largely through the regular presence of Scottish regiments and their officers.³⁰⁰ Scots have also been numbered among Gibraltar's Governors and other high-ranking and middle-ranking officials. Furthermore, from the early 18th century Scots have been prominent among British merchants and businessmen in Gibraltar, including one James Mackintosh, perhaps the Colony's greatest benefactor. Serving these various groups and individuals has been the presbyterian St. Andrew's Church of Scotland.³⁰¹ The imposing building in the town centre is strikingly visible to all who pass that way. It represents both the significant Scottish dimension to

the British presence and yet another element in Gibraltar's multi-faith community with which the people identify.

Although the church was not built until the middle of the 19th century, presbyterian worship took place in Gibraltar long before that. Like other protestant churches, the Church of Scotland was in the first instance for the armed forces rather than the native Gibraltarians which in this case meant the Scottish regiments stationed on the Rock. These regiments brought their own presbyterian minister or chaplain with them and he also ministered to the civilians. The military connection has been important throughout, as the shields and banners on display in the church indicate. Social and welfare activities carried out by the congregation have also been mostly for the troops, especially during the world wars.

Before they had a church of their own presbyterians met where they could – in houses, in the Wesleyan chapel and so on. Having voted to support the new Free Church of Scotland, the first moves in what was to be a long and difficult process were made in 1843 when a building committee was formed. Some nine years later the foundation stone was laid with much ceremony³⁰² and the completed building was formally opened on 28th May, 1854. Many soldiers, sailors and civilians were present on this very special occasion. Although some prominent people attended there was little recognition of the event by the

military and colonial hierarchy. These matters were not reported in the “official” Gibraltar Chronicle.

No money had been forthcoming from official sources in Gibraltar although two Governors had contributed privately. This was in line with the harsh realities experienced over many years. As one writer puts it, “With a predominant Roman Catholic population, a pro-Anglican administration, and the difficulties of life, it is not to be wondered at that the small Presbyterian community were faced with overwhelming problems of survival”³⁰³. The same writer notes that the Weslyans were worse off at times, suffering real persecution, adding, “The Presbyterians were tolerated because of a few influential Scottish businessmen in the Colony and because it was usual for a Scottish Regiment to be stationed here”. We have already noted the difficulties over church parades, the Weslyans leading the way in achieving change. There were also more fundamental problems such as the refusal to recognize presbyterian marriages as valid on the Rock.³⁰⁴

In time, as with the Weslyans, members of the Church of Scotland were accepted and given some official recognition. It eventually became customary for the St. Andrew’s Day service to be attended by His Excellency the Governor, and all other civilian and military dignitaries, accompanied by their spouses. The relatively small congregation with its friendly family approach had always been well-respected while relations with other churches were often good.

Taking a more recent example, in 1986 the newly-appointed Roman Catholic Bishop attended a service in St. Andrew's Church, welcoming him to Gibraltar.³⁰⁵ In the early 2000s Gibraltar's small presbyterian congregation, under the leadership of its fifty-second minister since 1840, goes quietly about its business, contributing to the religious and social life of the community, including some outreach activities for expatriate residents and visitors on the Costa del Sol in Spain.

Two other religious groups should be mentioned, namely the Hindus and the Muslims. Both were discussed in the context of Gibraltar's ethnic mix in chapter 2. Only the Hindus, mostly Indian shopkeepers on Main Street, are British and to some extent integrated into society. One or two have married native Gibraltarians but for most the custom of arranged marriages persists, either within the Hindu community in Gibraltar or in India. The Indians are few in number but they are prominent and important to the commercial life of the territory. Some are involved in law and banking and they participate in the activities of such organizations as the Gibraltar Rotary Club. All the children attend the local schools with the exception of a few wealthy ones who attend Roman Catholic public schools in England. They visit the temple to participate in social and religious events and festivals. While their religion is very much a matter for themselves, the Hindus are an accepted part of Gibraltar's permanent multi-faith society.

On the other hand, the Muslim Moroccans who make up much of Gibraltar's manual labour force are only temporary residents. They have been essential to the economic life of the community, certainly since 1969 when Franco closed the frontier and cut off the supply of Spanish labour. Yet the Moroccans are generally well-regarded by the native population and they live together in harmony with the Gibraltarian community as a whole. Regulations normally forbid family residence but the few Muslim children there are in Gibraltar go to the local schools. Believers may attend the prestigious new King Fahad Mosque overlooking the Strait but few travel out of town for prayers. Again, religion is a private matter for the Muslims while they are generally accepted by all Gibraltarians as part of a mixed community.

In summary, along with other Mediterranean peoples of the northern shores, Gibraltarians are largely Roman Catholic but with their own autonomous church of which they are proud. This appears to add much to the people's strong sense of being Gibraltarian. Historically the Roman Catholic Church and the "state" in Gibraltar have been closely associated and today the Bishop and many others continue to resist the notion that Gibraltar is a secular society. Other church communities have also exerted a strong influence, sometimes beyond their size. Protestant influences, emanating from Britain, have been directed mostly at the garrison and at the expatriate population, although the native population has

been significantly affected, notably through educational initiatives prompted by Wesleyans. Anglican influences, although indirect, have also been powerful. The established Anglican Church above all celebrated its allegiance to Crown, Country and Empire, helping to set the scene for local aspirations to be British as well as Gibraltarian. Although perhaps of less interest to the local community, some of the Anglican disputes with non-conformist churches were played out there and individual rights and freedoms won. The various protestant traditions, along with Roman Catholic and Jewish thinking, have all been concerned with the social good and with caring for others which has long been part of the Gibraltarian consciousness.

Insofar as there have been inter-church rivalries and church disputes with the authorities, while sometimes bitter, they have been productive in terms of social and educational progress. They appear not to have damaged harmonious relations and the present Bishop, Charles Caruana, and others acknowledge a British "fairness" in their dealings with the different religious groups over the centuries. With all the different churches the religious past since 1704 is claimed by Gibraltarians as a part of the "nation's" heritage, contributing to their sense of identity. Among other things, as John Edwards remarks, a sense of identity arises "from real or common bonds such as language, race or religion"³⁰⁶, which are inter-related and inter-twined. Race and religion have

been discussed. How do language factors, also with British and non-British aspects, contribute to Gibraltar's story?

Having a common language is not essential to national or group identity although it can be important. The Swiss are made up of three or four different linguistic groups but their nationality is not in doubt as a consequence. Nor is the ability to speak English any longer a pre-requisite for being a citizen of the United States. In contrast, being French and speaking French are usually seen in France as essentially linked. While discourses on identity differ among states and communities and at different times, speaking the same language or languages does have bearing on questions of national consciousness of which it can at least be a powerful reinforcer.

Because of its geographical location and its maritime history, Gibraltar has long been a multi-lingual community. The comings and goings of the various immigrant groups have been described in chapter 2, showing how they have added to the ethnic and religious mix. Some of them have also left a linguistic imprint on the community. After the conquest in 1704 the few people who remained spoke Spanish and from the outset, then, the English and Dutch conquerors were obliged to communicate with Spanish-speakers. In any case a form of Spanish was the language of commerce in the Western Mediterranean. It was also the diplomatic language of Morocco upon which Gibraltar often had

to rely. Furthermore, among the first in-comers to the Rock were the Jews from North Africa and they spoke Moroccan Jewish-Spanish. They were Sephardic Jews who had been expelled from Spain to Morocco as a result of the Inquisition of 1492.³⁰⁷ After the expulsion and before coming to Gibraltar they made their lives in a society whose people had for centuries held Moorish Spain, where a form of Spanish, Mozarabic, had been the spoken language in general use.

As well as reinforcing the use of Spanish in Gibraltar the Jews also influenced the vernacular which seems to include some words of Hebrew origin³⁰⁸. In addition, these Moroccan Jews, if not Moroccans directly, may have brought the Arabic linguistic influences which are also reported.³⁰⁹ Not that the Jews turned their backs on English. Howes³¹⁰ reports the very opposite: they led the population in speaking that language in the fortress. The Jews were to display considerable loyalty to the British especially during periods of difficulty with Spain and their acceptance and furtherance of the English language was part of that process.

But the Jews were later outnumbered by others who came from Italy, particularly from Genoa in Liguria³¹¹, bringing different linguistic influences. As one researcher explains, "We may take it for granted that the Genoese who formed the bulk of Gibraltar's population in the 18th century spoke only their

native dialect without knowing any form of standard Italian".³¹² In spite of this, church records and some official proclamations down to mid 19th century, appeared in Italian.

The population in the early period of British occupation, then, with later influxes, was strongly Genoese which many Gibraltarians today claim as their true origin. They arrived speaking neither of the two languages of the Rock, English nor Spanish. To begin with they learned to speak neither well and some say, mixing reality and myth perhaps, they gradually created a language of their own, drawing on both. The nature and extent of the Italian influence is best sought in the "Genoese village of Catalan Bay".³¹³ In fact little of the language survives there beyond distant memories of grandparents who spoke 'Genoese'. As discussed in chapter 2, many of the family names are Genoese or Italian but only a few words and expressions are found which are Ligurian or Italian derivations. This scarcity of contemporary linguistic evidence takes nothing away from the overall picture of an important Genoese element in Catalan Bay and in the population of Gibraltar as a whole, and in parts of Spain too, for that matter. The new arrivals during the 1700s and 1800s would no doubt learn to speak Spanish, with a Genoese flavour, ousting their own language within a century.

The main linguistic story, of course, revolves round the two main languages, Spanish and English, the latter becoming the official language in 1713 when the Treaty of Utrecht was negotiated. English was the language of the military and of government and, as the security of the imperial fortress was seen as paramount, the growth of a core population of British, English-speaking protestants was encouraged. Consequently, by the late 18th century there was a sizeable British community in the territory made up of former soldiers, tradesmen, merchants, and officials, thus ensuring the place of the English language on the Rock. Furthermore, this process of anglicization brought pressures on the native Gibraltarians to demonstrate their loyalty and to learn English when engaged in commerce or in any dealings with officialdom. From the early 19th century at least, English became the prestige language of the colony, essential for aspiring members of the community and it has remained so ever since. Thus the British brought the English language and culture to the Rock which they at least encouraged and to some extent successfully imposed.

The position of English strengthened steadily over the centuries as a result of various factors while the British endeavoured to stamp their mark on the colony more and more firmly. Achieving the status of a Crown Colony in 1830 was one of the political and social landmarks, followed soon afterwards by the opening of the first government primary schools to operate alongside the existing church schools. Later, the implementation of compulsory schooling in

1917 was another major development, bringing the English language to all the children, although Spanish continued to dominate outside school and throughout the early years of childhood. In school an English curriculum, geared more and more to an English and imperial examination system, determined the form and content of all that was taught and learned. There was little opposition to this “cultural imperialism” in a place which had no ancient language of its own. Gibraltar contrasted sharply with Malta in that respect. Having two languages already, Italian from Sicily and its own vernacular form of Arabic, the Maltese were likely to question the imposition of English, albeit brought by the British whose presence was at first willingly accepted. “One of the great ironies of recent Maltese history”, writes G.Hull, “is that decolonization and independence should have been accompanied by the permanent enthronement of the ultimate symbol of British domination : the English language”.³¹⁴ However, as discussed in Chapter 3 while three highly politicized and rival language movements emerged in Malta³¹⁵, nationalist sentiments in Gibraltar have not focused on questions of language. In fact, whatever political influences there were often favoured English. For example, in 1919, when trade unionism was gathering pace, the Gibraltar Workers Federation sent a memorial, with nearly four-thousand signatures, to the Governor and to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, complaining that too much time was being spent in schools on Religious Instruction and not enough on the teaching of English.

Some of the more recent events have been particularly influential in the growth of English usage. The Second World War brought large numbers of troops to the Rock at a time when the civilian population was evacuated to London and Madeira.³¹⁶ This reminded the people and the world, if they needed reminding, that the territory of Gibraltar was British and the Gibraltarians were subject to British requirements. When the people returned from those years of direct exposure to English and to life in the United Kingdom, their children were to enter a new educational system modelled along British lines and with instruction in English as a cornerstone. There was more to follow. The Cold War years from then until the 1980s required the continued presence of large numbers of British troops in Gibraltar, with plenty of English being spoken in the territory. As is shown in later chapters, the active presence of the British Council in Gibraltar did much to further the influence of the English language and culture and these cultural offerings were welcomed by the local population.

One other critical event was the Fifteenth Siege³¹⁷, when the frontier with Spain was closed by Franco from 1969 to 1985. This reduced the significance of Spanish in the community as Spanish workers were replaced by Moroccans and as Gibraltarians and other Britons were no longer able to enter Spain. Spanish language contact diminished substantially. On the other hand, the influence of English grew, reinforced by the increasing rôle of the mass-media. English language films were available to all. Radio was also very popular, both the local

Gibraltar Radio and the British Forces' programmes. Later, television on the Rock added to the impact of the media, eventually providing opportunities for viewing Spanish television. In addition, during these difficult years of isolation from Spain, Gibraltarian women took up voluntary and paid activities which further released them from traditional home ties and exposed them much more to the influence of the English language and culture. In the past they had been almost wholly restricted to Gibraltarian Spanish.

Indeed, Spanish had been the dominant language in the native population from an early date. It was the language of the hearth and the cradle and of the social domain as a whole. The widespread practice of employing Spanish maids who also looked after the children had been significant in this respect and, given that labour from Spain provided for many of the fortress's needs over long periods, Spanish became the language of the workplace generally. This dominance of Spanish was reinforced by regular contacts across the frontier, by frequent marriages between Gibraltarian males and Spanish brides, and by Gibraltarians seeking places to live in La Línea when there were shortages at home as was regularly the case. The dialect spoken, then, was of the south of Spain, of Andalucía. It was from it, combined with English, that a local "language" emerged.

This local "patois" is called Yanito, a name of uncertain origin³¹⁸ ; Spaniards often refer to Gibraltarians as "Yanitos" and their speech as "Yanito", usually

derogatively. To some, Yanito is a form of speech, not a language as such. To refer to it as a dialect of Spanish is certainly misleading and it can be said to have the following constituents:-

- (a) Sentences containing Spanish and English phrases, for example,
El museo no tiene pension scheme.
The museum does not have a pension scheme.
- (b) Corruptions of English words: *tipa*, tea-pot; *arishu*, Irish stew.
- (c) Corruptions of Spanish words influenced by English:
numbrero for the Spanish *número*
- (d) A few words of Italian, Hebrew and Arabic origin.
- (e) Local words and colloquial expressions.

“Yanito”, this mixture of languages, is heard everywhere in Gibraltar, and even across the border in La Línea.³¹⁹ To the casual visitor it can at first be amusing and interesting. It can be somewhat disconcerting too. Yet such is to be expected where two languages exist side by side. The English masters endeavoured to impose their language on the Spanish-speaking Colony, if not too strenuously but with a fair degree of success. One of the outcomes has been Yanito which does not deny the underlying primacy of Spanish.

It is not only the characteristics of Yanito but also the accent and way of speaking which identifies the Gibraltar speaker either in English or Spanish.

Melissa Moyer writes: “The phonology is perhaps *the* most unique aspect of

Gibraltarian speech: intonation and certain phonological processes are distinct from the Spanish spoken in the area and from Standard British English and R.P.”³²⁰ Thus the Gibraltarians have their own accent in speaking what is often excellent English, and their own accent in Spanish too.

Although mostly evident in spoken form, Yanito, their own “language”, can also be written and there are Yanito items in the press from time to time. The following example shows how Spanish and English phrases are combined:-

*“Que proud me hicieron our students in the Mother Country staging a demonstration at the Spanish embassy in London, para que se entere de una vez, verdad Cloti?”*³²¹

Therefore, while generally occurring in everyday language in the community, Yanito can have a humorous edge which is cultivated in this way in the press and in witty conversation. There are printed dictionaries which are expected to be mildly entertaining with such expressions as “*en famili uei*”, pregnant, and “*el manolo*”, man-hole, “*el sangui*”, sandwich, “*el picle*”, pickles, “*el pudinpén*”, pudding pan, etc.³²² Here we see the effects of what has been termed ‘garrison English’ on local vocabulary.

Perhaps things are changing. Another local historian³²³ sees Yanito as having declined in vitality as the interaction with Spaniards has decreased and as better-quality English, and better Spanish too for that matter, have become more

available, directly and through television, and so on. He shows how schooling and circumstances have changed for succeeding generations:-

- Grandfather - educated by Christian Brothers
- Father - evacuated to London
- Son - taught by Gibraltarian graduates trained in Britain

Yet the extent of usage of Yanito may have declined little, the ambivalent attitude of the Gibraltarians notwithstanding. They accept that they speak poor Spanish; very few seem confident in speaking Spanish to Spaniards; often they prefer not to, thereby asserting their not-Spanish identity. Those who do so in public, and who try to speak good Spanish can be ridiculed for attempting to speak “posh” Castilian. Nor is Gibraltarian English always good although many have an excellent command of the language. Beyond that, Yanito is something that they might wish to disown. At the same time some take a secret pride in being “different” in this way, and one or two claim it as their native language. Cavilla, a local lexicographer, himself argues that Yanito helped form “la personalidad gibraltareña” (The Gibraltarian psyche).

Most of the work that has been done on language in Gibraltar has been largely concerned with vocabulary; it has remained at the level of the “lexical substrata”. A recent linguistic study by Moyer³²⁴ is much more probing and her broad approach places language firmly in its social context. A socio-linguistic

approach enables her to take code-switching and Yanito seriously. Code-switching, Moyer confirms, is related to social class, to linguistic competence and to national identity. As already established, in terms of social class Gibraltarians appear to be a close and well-integrated people easily capable of separate study and examination. Linguistically, therefore, it can be seen to be a clearly defined "speech community", with its own special linguistic characteristics. Within that community there is a three-part class structure consisting firstly of Gibraltar's "nobility". Then there is a commercial, administrative and professional middle-class created by Gibraltar's service-sector economy. Lastly there is a poorer, lower-class stratum, found living in some of the post-war tower blocks or in poorer areas in town. Linguistically these people are the least competent and they are less likely to use English. Nor will they use a code-switching Yanito, relying much more on a poor-quality Spanish. In fact the practice of code-switching seems to be a function of a higher level of linguistic competence and a considerable degree of fluency with both languages is necessary. Educated Gibraltarians are the ones most likely to possess and use these skills. The middle-class then, are fluent in Yanito as they can be in English and in Spanish and they can make use of all three. In contrast, the more wealthy "upper-class" Gibraltarians tend to speak English among themselves almost all the time, thus expressing solidarity with an English upper-class stratum. They in particular, but others too when they can, often speak English to their children to help with their education.

The evidence from Moyer also supports the argument that language is very important to the Gibraltarian people "to preserve their unique identity" as it is in many societies. Because of a deep sense of loyalty to the British, accompanied by economic dependency on the United Kingdom, Gibraltarian feelings towards the Mother Country are ambivalent, combining both admiration and resentment. This ambivalence is paralleled by tensions with respect to language usage. Unlike other code-switching situations where there is pressure from one entity only, namely the state, in Gibraltar there is pressure from two different nations and some two-way posturing results. In Moyer's own words, code-switching "is a symbol of local identity and also a means by which Gibraltarians can avoid adopting either a British or Spanish cultural identity which is associated with the monolingual choice of English or Spanish"³²⁵.

An earlier linguistic study by Janet Martens³²⁶, although primarily focusing on gender and other issues, paints a similar picture of language usage in the 1980s, one which is valid twenty years later. Martens is less concerned with code-switching, concentrating on the place of the two main languages and on preferences for one or the other. In the first place she confirms that Spanish is the dominant language in the social domain, quoting one Gibraltarian who said, "I couldn't be emotional in English". There is regular evidence of this and examples are easy to find. A good illustration is when a baby appears on the

scene: baby-talk is almost certainly going to be in local Spanish. This extends to the language of play, in street and playground. Like Moyer, Martens gives a broad account of language preferences in various important areas of discourse. Whereas matters of an emotional kind invite the use of Spanish, discourse of an intellectual and conceptual kind favours English. Humorously but pertinently, one observer remarked, "They sin in Spanish and confess in English"³²⁷. More seriously, in politics and government English is preferred. This includes public meetings and meetings of the House of Assembly, although in informal political situations Spanish is often reverted to. Similarly, in trade and commerce, formal business is conducted in English, casual business in Spanish. All military and public ritual is carried out in English. In the main Roman Catholic churches in the early 2000s the services are conducted in English whereas in the neighbourhood churches Spanish may be used on some if not all occasions. All these preferences continue to be evident to the careful observer although there is the impression that English has gained some ground in recent decades. Rather more people are more fluent in the language of the British.

To the outsider these code-switching and bilingual practices are sometimes perplexing. To the Gibraltarians they have meant formidable teaching-learning problems in the schools, problems which were apparent early in Gibraltar's educational history. Certainly by the time the Methodists under Dr.W.H.Rule were setting the pace in the early 19th century the issues were live ones. Rule

advocated the use of Spanish in the face of “an unchristian prejudice among many persons against all that is Spanish of which the natives unhappily partake”. Spanish was to be accepted in Methodist day and evening schools when others rejected it. Looking back we can say that this was shrewd politically and sound pedagogically when you “start where the pupils are” in their first language. Rule’s words are also revealing as regards attitudes towards English and Spanish and the lower status of the latter which the British imperial presence had done much to reinforce, if for the best of reasons.

As described in the earlier pages of this chapter, the Roman Catholics’ subsequent educational response to the Methodist initiatives was bolstered from the 1880s by the Christian Brothers. They quickly saw the problems which Gibraltarian pupils faced especially during their first years in school. Tried educational methods favoured the more able so the Christian Brothers sought other remedies. The first step was for them to accept the real place of both languages and they translated the English school reading books into Spanish. Later they produced their own series of bilingual readers which were published in Manchester.³²⁸ These approaches meant that the pupils learned to read in both Spanish and English, giving the Gibraltarians an advantage which was recognised as important at least a century ago. To have a good command of both languages could open the door to excellent career opportunities, especially in South America which has been officially recommended to Gibraltarians at

times when emigration might have seemed to be one solution to the problems of overcrowding and poor employment prospects. Between 1918 and 1939 there was a noticeable exodus to Argentina and neighbouring South American countries.

The teaching approach preferred by the Christian Brothers lasted for a long period and from time to time the schools were under attack for not doing enough. Quite simply, Spanish was so dominant in most homes that it had to be used to communicate with infants and to explain learning situations to them. Correspondence in the press supported the teachers. One influential letter in 1919 concluded: "Without practice, without an English atmosphere, with no taste for reading, and with no mind to bestir ourselves to improve on the knowledge acquired in school, how can we expect to make progress? To those critics of the schools I would say, 'Connais toi, toi-même...'"³²⁹. Therefore, once a good base in English was established, and as English usage within the population became more widespread, Spanish could play a lesser role and this came more slowly and less widely than many hoped. The new educational system created after the Second World War confirmed English absolutely as the language of instruction in Gibraltar's schools, including the pre-school years. This did not totally exclude Spanish and the educational planners were able to learn from experience in Welsh-speaking communities in the United Kingdom. Later research however, has shown that serious educational problems remained

for the less able and for those coming from the numerous predominantly Spanish-speaking homes. As mentioned already some argue, even today, that the subservience of Spanish in schools has helped to maintain an educational underclass. Comparison with Malta is illuminating. There, it is said, the neglect of the vernacular may have led to “the rise and persistence of a vast class of *dérainés*, unskilled and ignorant urban workers”³³⁰. Impressionistic evidence does suggest the presence of something of an underclass of linguistically less-able and often young Gibraltarians. Yet the bilingual objectives remain and Spanish is placed in the core in Gibraltar’s version of the national curriculum. Good English and good Spanish are both among the main objectives. Young educated Gibraltarians do show an excellent command of English which they and their parents and grandparents cherish. Again, this is quite unlike Malta where nationalists lament the dominance of a “colonial” language. Yet in the end Hull admits that, “To many Maltese the loss of Italian seems more than compensated for by the establishment at home of an unrivalled international language which (usurper or not) puts them in a privileged position in an increasingly denationalized modern world”.³³¹ Gibraltarians appear not to have lost out linguistically and, alongside English, the acquisition of A-Level Spanish plays a significant part in enabling almost 50% of school-leavers to go on to higher education in the United Kingdom each year. In sharp contrast to all this, Arabic, the major language of the Muslim world just a few miles away across the Strait, is ignored.

Without doubt, language is important to Gibraltarians and to the debate about identity. It takes them back to their beginnings in the early 18th century. While the myth-makers may not aspire to the extravagance of the Maltese claim that they are Phoenician in origin, many in Gibraltar make the more plausible assertion that the founding layer of the population was Genoese. Evidence of Ligurian Italian has long gone and, in line with the language of commerce and social life in the area of the Strait, a form of Spanish held sway in its place. English gained ground over time, encouraged or expected or imposed by the British. A bilingual society has resulted, with its own accent in both languages and with Yanito astride the two, for some Gibraltarians at least. In significant ways English now dominates. It is the language of thought, of the law, of government and of administration and, above all, of education. English is central to the chosen school curriculum which reflects a British model. This curriculum provides the gateway to higher education in the United Kingdom and it underpins the identity of Gibraltarians as a class of Britons. Overall, therefore, the place of language in society, as with religion and the churches, reinforces the Gibraltarians' perception of themselves as separate and distinctive, but also British.

Chapter 5

EDUCATION 1704-1972: A SYSTEM BORN AND RE-BORN

Matters relating to education and schooling in Gibraltar have already been encountered, particularly in connection with the role of the churches and with bilingualism. Without doubt the formal system of education everywhere results in some of the more significant influences on the individual and the community and it is important that the development and the influence of education in Gibraltar should be traced. The impact of education is most noticeable in the formal curriculum which specifies what is to be taught, learnt and assessed at each of the stages from nursery school onwards. However, formal learning by no means takes up the whole story. Informal influences arising from the overall organization of schooling, the so-called "informal curriculum", also play their part in the overall process of the socialization of the young. As will be made clear, while Gibraltar's educational system had varied beginnings, British influences through both the formal and informal played an increasing part and by the twentieth century they were rapidly becoming dominant.³³² This study is concerned with the extent of these influences given that "education has the characteristics it does because of the goals pursued by those who control it"³³³.

In the light of progress made and of the increasing British dominance a further issue arises, namely as to whether or not Gibraltar's educational system can be

described as an actual or an emerging state system. Margaret Archer has defined a state-system as “a nation-wide and differentiated collection of institutions devoted to formal education, whose overall control and supervision is at least partly governmental, and whose component parts and processes are related to one another”³³⁴. At first sight Gibraltar’s does appear to be a state system. On the other hand, is it not simply an extension of the state system imposed by the British?

The Beginnings of a System

Gibraltar was occupied in 1704 and in 1713 the territory was ceded to the British by the Treaty of Utrecht. During the first one hundred years or so, a century which saw the Great Siege of 1779-1783 among others, as well as major epidemics, education encountered all manner of obstacles. Early records have not survived and the earliest historical accounts make no mention of education.³³⁵ What schooling there was initially would have been offered by the few Catholics who remained. The military authorities may not have been too interested and it is reasonable to suppose that they would have had other priorities. Nevertheless, G.F.Cornwell writing in 1905 states: “That there existed in those times schools of the Municipality (“escuelas de enseñanza”) there can scarcely be any doubt...and even up to 1840 a few schools of this class were in operation in Gibraltar”³³⁶. Clearly, there was some public interest.

Two early censuses, those of 1777 and 1791, suggest a little educational activity, mostly carried out by individuals from Britain. What there was took the form of private enterprise, through the endeavours of a few teachers, including a Mr. and Mrs. Geddes who opened an academy in the early 1770s³³⁷. This Scottish-sounding couple returned after the Great Siege and they enjoyed a good reputation which the Governor, Lieutenant-General G.A. Elliott (1776-1790), recognized³³⁸. The Geddes' had apparently left by the end of the century.

The early decades of the 19th century saw a number of important developments, some concerned only with educational provision for army personnel and their children although these were likely to have had a wider influence in a garrison town like Gibraltar. As N.T. St. John Williams shows, the British army recognised the need for a literate and numerate cadre of non-commissioned officers, linking the command structure and the fighting soldiers. It was also believed that education could "contribute to morale and to a soldier's personal and social well-being and that a regiment benefits from both"³³⁹. The focus initially, then, was on the regiment, extending in due course to the education of soldiers' and civilian children when time and resources were available. The objectives for them were to "implant in the children's minds early habits of

Morality, Obedience and Industry and to give them that portion of learning which may qualify them for NCOs”³⁴⁰. Thus the army’s interests were to the fore and the boys were seen as potential recruits. At the same time schooling was thought to be good for the welfare of the children and it also ensured that they were less of a nuisance about the camp, writes St John Williams.

The same writer also makes the important point that regimental schools earned a place in the general history of education for two principal reasons. Firstly, every regiment had a school by 1812 whereas an equivalent civilian system was not in place until some twenty years later. Secondly, the army schools gave Dr. Andrew Bell, firstly in Madras and later at the Royal Military Asylum in Chelsea, the opportunity to develop his ideas for the monitorial system. Bell’s “Instructions for Conducting a School, through the Agency of the Scholars themselves” were accepted by the army as the best pedagogical model. Some of Bell’s Chelsea-trained Assistant Teachers went overseas. The army schools in Gibraltar were among the first to be established and “Thomas Alcock and James McLeod were sent in September 1815 to Gibraltar to superintend a School upon the Madras system”³⁴¹.

Gibraltar was to derive considerable benefit from these educational advances, and it is known that General H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, the father of Queen

Victoria, although mostly an absentee Governor (1802-1820), greatly encouraged the growth of regimental schools in the colony³⁴². Traverso writes: "Towards the end of 1802 or the beginning of 1803 the Duke recommended, and it was approved, that a school should be formed in each regiment stationed in Gibraltar and that soldiers and their children should attend classes conducted by one of the sergeants in each regiment – and a sergeant's wife to take charge of the girls"³⁴³. As was regularly the case, the role of the Governor was crucial.

This was certainly true of the Duke of Kent's Lieutenant-Governor, Lieutenant-General Sir George Don (1814-1831). When he took charge the regimental schools were extended and re-organized on an area basis as garrison schools. It can be surmised that Don, probably the most outstanding reforming Governor, knew all about Bell's educational ideas and the arrival of the two Assistant Teachers may well have been prompted by him. Don centralised the regimental schools on two sites, a North District Garrison School at Castle Road and a South District Garrison School at Buena Vista. Each had a School Committee, including the Commanding Officers of the regiments, under the chairmanship of a Military Chaplain. Furthermore, Don had quickly noted that the children of the town were given to "habits of idleness and profligacy" and he saw the schools as for all the children. He resisted a suggestion that there should be separate classes for military and civilian children. Nor did he want poverty to be a barrier and in some cases civilian children were admitted free of charge when

their parents could not pay. The schools were properly staffed and resourced and strict regulations were put in place. The time-table focused on basic language and number, along with some handicrafts. Religious instruction played a prominent part. Unfortunately in 1828 the two buildings were taken back for other use and the schools had to close. When this happened, Don expressed the hope that "a system of Education for the poorer classes would soon be re-established in the Garrison City of Gibraltar".³⁴⁴ Thus there was some early British interest in education due to the actions of an enlightened Lieutenant-Governor who had the power and the inclination to influence events. Although there was no form of civil administration as such, Albert Traverso argues that General Don, by including local children, had "laid the foundations of a centrally sponsored general education system"³⁴⁵.

In due course the pattern of regimental schools was re-established and in 1843 there were six, serving the Royals Scots, the Royal Fusiliers, the South Staffordshire Regiment, the Northamptonshire Regiment, the Cameron Highlanders and the Royal Artillery. The "system alongside"³⁴⁶ which began in those early years of the nineteenth century, has continued ever since and it survives today in the form of St. Christopher's School for the services' children. Thus there is a long tradition of two parallel systems of education in Gibraltar, regularly to the benefit of the native population.

Don's hopes for civilian education in the colony were soon to be realized. At first the developments were due to the efforts of Gibraltar's religious groups as one church tried to outdo another. The Methodists from Britain appear to have led the way. They sought to increase church membership through the schools they set up from 1832 and this was probably part of a wider strategy to extend their missionary activities into Spain. To some extent in response to this, the first grant-aided and non-denominational Gibraltar Public School was established along British lines in 1832 by Don's successor as Lieutenant-Governor, Sir William Houston (1831-1835). With a "conscience clause" in place all the churches were invited to participate in the venture. However, the managing body of the Roman Catholic Church, the Junta, was not wholly pleased by the development and plans were made to raise money for the building of a Catholic Poor School. A request was made for the services of teachers from the Order of Irish Christian Brothers to staff the school and two Brothers arrived in Gibraltar in 1835 for what was described as their "first Colonial adventure". Their stay was short and troubled. They spoke no Spanish, the large numbers of children wanting to enrol spoke little English and the Brothers' freedom to operate the school in their customary ways was severely restricted by the Junta³⁴⁷. Although the Brothers left after only two years, ground had been retrieved from the Methodists and the school continued if inadequately staffed. Traverso summarises the position as follows:-

“The 1830s, therefore, saw the beginning of the trend away from centralised, general community education to separate development on confessional lines which was to be the dominant factor for over a century until after the Second World War”.³⁴⁸

The various denominational schools prospered and the Methodists continued to be at the forefront. The Methodist Mission in Gibraltar claimed that it had four day and two evening schools, “well-established and, we hope, well-taught”. These schools, notes Traverso, “may truly be said to have been the pioneers of education in Gibraltar”.

Anglicans also gained ground and a girls’ school was opened, under the auspices of the S.P.C.K. Catholic education expanded too and schools were opened on various sites. The Loreto Nuns³⁴⁹ were also invited to Gibraltar to bolster the Catholic cause and they opened a fee-paying school for girls in 1851. This began a long association which has continued until today in the surviving private Loreto Convent School. In a smaller way the Hebrew community also became involved in formal education. Hitherto it must have depended on the teaching in the synagogues, but in 1855 it opened a school alongside the others, which meant that education, again to use Traverso’s words, “began to reflect more accurately the composition of the population of Gibraltar”. While this was true, the basis was being laid for control by the dominant religious group, namely the Roman Catholic Church, and what became virtually a mono-integrated system.³⁵⁰

Growth and expansion continued through the later decades of the 19th century. More elementary schools were created and provision was extended into the secondary stages. The return of the Christian Brothers in 1878 – they were to remain for a further one hundred years exerting a huge influence on many individuals and on the community generally – facilitated this, while the Anglican S.P.C.K.³⁵¹ schools declined. The presence of the Brothers and the Nuns probably kept costs down somewhat although the Catholic authorities continued to press for government aid. This was to be on the basis of the 1880 Education Code, drawn up along British lines. It set out the elementary school curriculum and the regulations for the payment of grants.³⁵²

The Code caused initial difficulties, especially for the Roman Catholic Church which saw its role as being threatened. However, with the appointment of the first Colonial Inspector of Schools, and also a local Inspector of Schools (who had been the Garrison Engineer.), the Roman Catholic Bishop eventually accepted the Code and the inspection and the grants which went with it. The regulations in the Code meant the introduction of common standards and, through the application of a “conscience clause”, the “gradual disappearance of religious rivalry in this field”.³⁵³ Although narrow in concept, the Code did have an overall beneficial effect on attendance and basic standards. Later, the

Revised Code of 1892 saw the curriculum “freed from the constraints imposed upon it by the previous practice and a fair measure of flexibility was introduced in both subjects and standards for the brighter pupils”³⁵⁴. Thus, British examples were being closely followed. Indeed, there was never a suggestion from any quarter that things should be otherwise.

Early Twentieth Century

During the first one hundred years of British occupation, therefore, educational provision was probably limited, those with money to pay taking advantage of small private schools or individual tutors. In the 19th century, around 1830 when Gibraltar became a Crown Colony, educational ideas from Britain noticeably made their mark, aided by initiatives taken by particular Governors. Regimental and Garrison schools made use of the latest practice, to the continuing advantage of the civilian population. In addition the pioneering educational efforts of a proselytising Methodist Church, and the vigorous response from other faiths, underpinned a significant extension of educational provision, the Roman Catholic Church eventually consolidating its dominant position. The introduction towards the end of the century of government inspection and grants based on the Education Code had given a decidedly British look to the curriculum and to standards.

The succeeding years, to the outbreak of World War One, revealed a similar pattern of development. Official educational reports were usually favourable, stressing the extent of the provision available. For example, in 1902 of the schools receiving Government grants, all but four were Roman Catholic, with a daily attendance of around 1,200 pupils. The two government schools, Gibraltar Public School and the Infant and Industrial School, each accommodated 150 girls and the mixed Hebrew School about the same number. Catalan Bay School which was Catholic, although not having achieved the standards necessary for it to receive grants, had around 80 pupils. The private Loreto Convent Schools and the Christian Brothers' Line Wall College, continued to thrive.³⁵⁵ In addition, there were 10 mixed Army Schools, catering for some 525 pupils including a number of children of British civilians. The report of 1902 by the Colonial Inspector of Schools went on to state that, "The private schools, ... being mostly conducted by women are sixteen in number, and include some establishments of a very high order of merit. Education therein is provided for infants and elder children of both sexes and all creeds, with a daily aggregate of 880, and if to this very respectable total is added the averages of all the Government-aided and Army schools, and others, ... it seems unquestionable that education in Gibraltar has been assiduously cultivated from the earliest period of its history as a British Colony, and presents to-day a most praiseworthy and encouraging aspect"³⁵⁶.

Although most of the elementary schools earned government aid through inspection, the schools continued to be run by the churches, including the Hebrew school which, after some initial difficulties, reached the standards required by the Code. Among the different faiths, the Catholic influence was still dominant, grant-aided or otherwise. The fee-paying secondary school for boys, the Line Wall College run by the Brothers, maintained an excellent academic reputation and, as the local inspector Mr. Cornwell showed, the rest of the private sector seemed to be prospering. However, the demand for a non-Catholic school for well-to-do girls persisted, despite some earlier failures. Two further attempts were made. The first, Brighthurst School, operated for thirteen years. A second, Brympton, also an Anglican foundation, was intended as an Anglican alternative to the Loreto Convent School for girls. Brympton made a start before 1939 and it continued with some success until the early 1970s. Traverso comments as follows:-

“It is, perhaps, a reflection of the degree to which expatriate families, serving in Gibraltar up to the end of World War 2, felt a need for separation from the indigenous community, that there was such persistence in pursuing the aim of providing separate schools such as Brighthurst and Brympton which catered mainly for the children of officers and the wealthier anglicised Gibraltarians”.³⁵⁷

It was also during the first decades of the twentieth century that the British authorities began to take a more obvious interest in educational matters in the Colonies. This paralleled developments at home and it was the logical outcome

of general concerns about education and the Empire which had been apparent for some time³⁵⁸. Economically and militarily Britain was declining, in comparison with its competitors, and an inferior educational system was considered to be a major factor. British education needed to improve, not only at home but in the colonies too and Government records in Gibraltar³⁵⁹ indicate that there was a steady flow of pamphlets, audio-visual materials, reports and other documents from the Board of Education in London over these years. The Board also called for reports from all British territories themselves and a format for reporting was provided. The report for Gibraltar was compiled by the local Inspector of Schools and, along with all the other reports, it was available at subsequent Imperial Education Conferences as was demanded.³⁶⁰

These were also years when the non-governmental League of the Empire³⁶¹ was most active, particularly through the schools. As a letter to the Gibraltar Chronicle at the time put it, "the aim of education should be the creation of good citizens, equipped and able to take their share of the burden of Empire"³⁶². Gibraltar had its place in the imperial network and there is correspondence on file with Lord Meath, the major driving force behind the Empire Day Movement. Leaflets circulated in Gibraltar included an extract from the Earl of Meath's speech on May 24th 1905: "It is intended that the Empire day Celebration shall be an outward sign of an inner awakening of the Peoples who

constitute the British Empire to the serious duties which lie at their door”.³⁶³ Celebrations in Gibraltar seemed to involve most of the civil and military population. There are also file references to “Chums” magazine which was available in Gibraltar. Its aims included “giving young people an idea of the vastness and unity of the British Empire”. The schools were urged to enter competitions, to exchange flags and to form links with others through the School Linking Scheme, thereby promoting enthusiasm for Empire. For a time Gibraltar schools did all these things and pupils had a share of success in the competitions. One competition winner in 1906, Abraham M. Bensusan of the New Hebrew School concluded his essay as follows :-

“We live in Gibraltar, the smallest but not the least important portion of our great and mighty Empire. The Rock with its fortress, its huge docks, its population of merchants and shipwrights, sailors and soldiers, forms one of the most important parts of the chain of British Dominions round the globe and binds all parts of the Empire close together. In consequence of the importance of Gibraltar as a fortress and naval station, the importance of the city is overlooked. We are proud of the share which our old Rock has taken in the making of the Empire and hope that some day we may be allowed the privilege of taking a small part in its government. God Save the King-Emperor.”

One can assume that this essay was not without adult influence. It is interesting to note that, mingled with sentences reflecting imperial propaganda at the time, is a plea for a modicum of political autonomy. This suggests that there were aspirations towards self-government long before the post-World War Two agitations as referred to in chapter 3.

Meanwhile the schools operated in the context of an evolving school Code derived from Britain³⁶⁴, under the watchful eye of successive local Inspectors of Schools. In 1913 one Inspector, T.W.Haycraft,³⁶⁵ addressing a recurring theme, had much to say about technical education, or rather the lack of it. Only the Dockyard School, with its preoccupation with its own needs, provided technical education. In this context, Haycraft referred to Gibraltar's perennial failing of not preparing people for the more menial jobs. "A boy who reaches 6th Standard considers himself to belong to the educated class, and will not follow manual labour.... The general result of a complete preliminary education in Gibraltar appears to produce clerks and superior shop assistants", Haycraft wrote. In 1925 the Headmaster of the Dockyard School, when failing to attract apprentices of sufficient calibre, addressed the same issue: "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 the loss of self-respect".

This Gibraltarian disdain for manual work is sometimes attributed to a preference for the academic, as opposed to the practical, established by the Christian Brothers. However, this was not wholly the case. The Brothers appreciated the problem and they appear to have done what they could as regards technical education. On the advice of Mr.E.Glasgow, a Schools

Inspector from London, and with some financial support from government, the Brothers established a Manual Training Centre at Sacred Heart School in 1925. This was so successful that a new Technical School was built nearby at Sacred Heart Terrace and opened two years later. Some parallel developments for girls took place during those years with the introduction of cooking into the curriculum.

World War Two

The events of 1939 brought an end to all educational activity in Gibraltar. During the preceding years various shortcomings had been identified, including the issue of poor attendance, against a background of poverty worsened by the depression. There had been compulsory elementary education in Gibraltar since 1917 but some parents could not afford to provide their children with clothes and footwear for school. Significant numbers were depending on poor relief. It was particularly through the visits of Inspectors from London that this and various other problems at classroom level were officially recorded and assumed by the British to be their concern. Indeed, the curriculum was still based on the School Code which had remained virtually unchanged since the 1890s. Another major concern was the lack of a professionally qualified Gibraltarian teaching force, which was going to take a long time to remedy; Gibraltar could not rely on the Christian Brothers and Loreto Nuns for ever. Then there was the

longstanding problem of bi-lingualism and its consequences for teachers and teaching. Several other matters relating to buildings, resources, finance and the management and administration of education were also seen as requiring attention. Therefore, it had been accepted that all aspects of education in Gibraltar should be reviewed and action taken. The stage was set for changes and improvements but it was not to be until after the war when a very different political and social climate in Britain was to prevail.

The war had far-reaching consequences for the people of Gibraltar.³⁶⁶ All the children were evacuated, along with the women and the older men. Most went to London, some to Madeira, others to Jamaica and Tangier. In some cases the children paid fees in private schools but the majority took advantage of the educational provision that was set up for them in these places. This was varied and mostly make-do. Most children lost some of their schooling. Perhaps there were gains to offset this, through the encounters with different values and a different way of life. The greater exposure to the English language was also significant. There were social and psychological consequences too, the older women probably experiencing the greatest culture shock when they suddenly encountered liberal views and practices that were quite unknown to them. For the population as a whole, those who left and those who stayed behind, their sense of being Gibraltarian was enhanced by the intensity of their shared fears

and experiences. For those who went to London particularly, their sense of being a member of the “British family” was considerably strengthened.

While the children were away the educational planners were at work in Gibraltar, noting pre-war inadequacies and failings. Although they did not fully appreciate it at the time, they also had to plan for a rather different set of clients with new and higher expectations. In addition, they were to be faced with a school population which had fallen behind. A survey conducted by Sergeant Sanderson of the Personnel Selection Staff in November 1944 confirmed this. Some 346 children between the ages of 11+ and 14+ were tested using an Intelligence Test, Raven’s Progressive Matrices, and a standardised Arithmetic Test. The conclusions were that Gibraltarian children were “at least as intelligent as a comparable group of British schoolchildren” but that “there are more dullards and backward children than there should be – to an excess of 10-15%”. The Arithmetic Test results also showed that “there is need for considerable leeway to be recovered by these children”. Clearly, formidable difficulties lay ahead³⁶⁷.

Emergency Years

It fell to Miles Clifford (later Sir Miles) to lead the planning. He was the Colonial Secretary in charge of the administration of the colony from 1942-1944.³⁶⁸ In some respects he was apparently not too sympathetic to the

Gibraltarians. Shortly before he left in 1944 he wrote: "I am getting more than a bit tired of this wretched little Rock and its queer people. They are all getting het up over separation (i.e. the evacuation). They staged a demonstration through the streets entirely orderly and a trifle pathetic. About 30% did not know what they were there for and another 30% did not know that they were there".³⁶⁹ Not surprisingly, then, Clifford seems to have held strong ideas on what was best for education in Gibraltar, although no doubt subject to Colonial Office thinking. Through the committee which he chaired, he was very much at the impenetrable political centre of the "controlling group"; any local input was through nominated members, whose numbers did not include a church representative.

The Clifford Committee³⁷⁰ provided the blueprint for the post-war system taking as a model the Education Bill for England & Wales which eventually became the 1944 Butler Act. The subsequent report, published under the title, A New Educational System for Gibraltar³⁷¹, dealt with all aspects of the system. However, while the needs of Gibraltar were uppermost, the larger context was clearly that of Britain and the Empire. "Emphasis throughout the whole of school life (certainly from the age of seven, if not earlier) should be on the English language and the Imperial connection", the report stated. It also recommended "that the Government Schools for Boys should be named after men famous in the history and traditions of The Rock e.g. Rooke, Elliott,

Nelson, Napier, Gort, that the boys should be given distinctive caps and that everything should be done to foster the competitive spirit both in work and games". This did not happen, although house systems within some of the schools were named in that fashion and a competitive approach to work and play was always encouraged. Clifford's views overall were those of the British imperial establishment.

The Clifford Report, while reflecting a particular viewpoint, was a well-informed and intelligent document. Initially, in the attempt to realize its plans and aspirations, matters of immediate practical concern necessarily dominated. Children were back in the Colony after difficult years as evacuees and something had to be done quickly. An emergency scheme was in operation in June 1944. There was no Director of Education at that time and one of Clifford's officials in the Colonial Secretariat set up the arrangements. These were based on two omnibus schools, one for about 200 boys aged 5 to 17 years, at the Sacred Heart School, the other for 120 girls aged 7 to 15 years at Line Wall.

Reliance on Britain and the British was everywhere apparent, even at classroom level. The Brothers and Nuns had left because of the war and there was little local staffing available, none being qualified. It was only thanks to Royal Army Education Corps (R.A.E.C.) personnel and other teachers in the services

that any schooling was possible at all. Soon afterwards, as the Clifford Report advocated, the first Director of Education was appointed. He was Dr.H.W.Howes, formerly Principal of Norwich Technical College³⁷², who was, in Miles Clifford's words, "a queer little egg from all accounts but is said to be full of zeal and enthusiasm which we can do with here"³⁷³. Howes quickly took charge. His policy was to get the children into school as soon as buildings could be found and improve the quality from there. By September 1944 Howes' reorganization was underway. A third and mixed omnibus school was established at Plata Villa as well as an infants school. In addition, as an interim measure before establishing fully-fledged grammar schools as in Britain, a mixed selective secondary school was set up, also at Plata Villa. British help with this was fully acknowledged by Howes: "Staff for the secondary school were obtained from the R.A.F., thanks to the helpful cooperation of the Air Officer Commanding", he reported. Howes also thanked the army's Colonel Moodie whose knowledge of intelligence testing helped with the secondary school selection process. This was a further instance of the substantial assistance given by the services.

Thus, not only was the blueprint British but the personnel who first implemented it were largely British. By the end of September some 1,260 pupils were in school, as against 320 in July. Not that the picture was as rosy as it might seem. Certainly, from correspondence in the press³⁷⁴, parents were

unhappy over the small number of secondary places available. Children of secondary age were wasting their time in elementary schools (presumably the all-age schools), it was said. Calls for the return of the Christian Brothers were heard among the complaining voices, while more and more evacuees were returning adding further to the pressure on accommodation. Any call for the return of the Loreto Nuns was muted.

The question why the Christian Brothers had not been invited back immediately to help deal with the crisis was faced eventually. Along with the Loreto Nuns they had virtually run the greater part of the schooling system for decades and they could do so again. The issue was raised officially towards the end of 1944 and something of a power struggle ensued. The Procurator General of the Irish Christian Brothers wrote to the Vatican on the matter which was then passed to the British Legation to the Holy See³⁷⁵ who in turn wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Anthony Eden. The matter then went to the Colonial Secretary in Gibraltar who himself seems not to have been keen on the return of the Brothers. The Brothers themselves were arguing that they had done well in the past, that the Bishop of Gibraltar wished to maintain the Brothers in the schools of his diocese, and that they would willingly accommodate any educational reforms that were envisaged. They wondered why they had been excluded, if that was the case.

It is not wholly clear whether there had been a deliberate decision not to invite the Christian Brothers back. Without doubt Clifford argued for a fresh start after the war, to create a government educational system along British lines. When it came to detailed discussions of the Brothers' return, two requirements were postulated: that the Brothers should be trained and qualified and that they should be of British nationality. By the end of 1944 the Director of Education had met the Superior-General of the Order in London and on 20th December 1944 the Colonial Secretary wrote to London with an approved list of eight Brothers whom he would like to come to Gibraltar at an early date. These included one Headmaster, Rev. Bro. Fearon B.A. All were "to be appointed in strict accord with present practice i.e. as temporary teachers in the employ of the government". A ninth name was added a few months later. All were either English-born or of English parentage. On 24th July 1945, Howes wrote of them after appointment:

"I would say that my lay heads from England, and myself, are convinced of the British outlook of all these men. They have supported me wholeheartedly in fostering English, British Empire History and English sport. Brother Foley, the Headmaster of the Secondary School, has already discussed with His Excellency the formation of a Cadet Corps affiliated to the Anti-Aircraft Units on the Rock".

There was, therefore, a firm assumption that the educational system would be British, producing good British and imperial subjects. Only Brothers who could abide by these objectives would be acceptable.

There were parallel negotiations concerning the return of the Loreto Nuns who had also taught in Gibraltar long before the war. By December 1944 agreement in principle had been obtained. However, concerns were expressed by the Mother-Provincial and these included the state of Europa Convent which had been requisitioned during the war and needed repairs "to fit it for occupation by Nuns and pupils". The two requirements applying to the Brothers would be difficult to meet. Firstly, not all the Nuns had teacher-training but it was hoped that years of successful teaching experience in Gibraltar would count, at least in the meantime. Secondly, with respect to the nationality requirement, the Mother-provincial wrote, "The Ultimate Goal that all Nuns teaching in Gibraltar should be of United Kingdom origin presents an insuperable difficulty"; there simply were no such Nuns available. Discussion of these matters had also involved N.E.Archer, the United Kingdom representative in Dublin, as well as the Archbishop of Dublin.

Gradually, during this emergency period, the system began to settle down and to make progress. Within a year Dr.Howes was able to report favourably to the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies³⁷⁶, while admitting that the quality of the education on offer left much to be desired. Some basic needs and a little more were being met and early on Gibraltar had been re-established as a Centre for the Cambridge School Certificate and the London Matriculation. There was also movement towards the establishment of scholarships for study

in the United Kingdom, finance coming from the Mackintosh Trust³⁷⁷, local firms and the Gibraltar government. From the outset therefore, the examination system, and higher education which followed, were wholly British.

By the end of the school year in 1946 it was claimed that the requirements of the 1944 Education Act³⁷⁸ were largely in place in Gibraltar, confirming that this was the undisguised objective. Around fifteen schools were operational and, in addition, there were two private schools, Loreto Convent School run by the Nuns, and Brympton, an Anglican foundation. In May 1946 the Governor, Lieutenant-General Sir T.Ralph Eastwood, accompanied by the Director of Education, made a tour of the schools, including the Grammar School for Boys where he was welcomed by the Christian Brother and Headmaster, Brother Foley. Among other things, His Excellency inaugurated the school house system which was made up of three houses – Eliot, Rooke and Nelson. From there he went to the girls' grammar school, namely Loreto Convent School, and to two new infant schools. These visits confirm that good progress had been made at school level, that the selective arrangements were in place and that the Governor was very much in the public eye as patron of all that was happening.

The Clifford Committee also stressed the need for manual and technical education, leading on to post-school provision, and the report looked to the Admiralty Dockyard Technical School as well-placed to provide this. First

established at least by 1911, the Dockyard School took its place alongside others in the Empire, its nature and function having been wholly determined by naval requirements. It provided excellent training and first-rate apprenticeships down to 1939³⁷⁹. Clifford advocated that these traditions should be preserved and the School enlarged “admitting a bigger intake than at present and to provide for the training of youths not necessarily destined for employment in the Dockyard”. This was to be the technical component of Gibraltar’s tripartite system as laid down in the 1944 Education Act. Planning for the school was underway by 1945 and a new building was designed costing £31,000. Called the Gibraltar Technical and Dockyard School, the new buildings were opened in 1949. The running costs were to be shared equally by the Colonial government and the Admiralty. While serving the needs of Gibraltar it was to remain one of H.M. Dockyard Schools, the longest to survive, in fact. Initially there were eight staff, seven of whom were Royal Navy Instructors. The original objectives were clearly outlined by the Governor, Lieutenant-General Sir Kenneth Anderson (1947-1952), at the opening ceremony: “The School will offer a good general education associated with preparation for a branch of industry. The curriculum will not be narrow and during the first two years the subjects at the Grammar School will be the same except that there will be more time for handicrafts and science. There is every reason in favour of Gibraltar increasingly supplying its own technicians, in and outside the Dockyard”. This broad approach meant that school-age pupils could be presented for General

Certificate of Education examinations, although to begin with the results were disappointing. All in all, however, the new Technical School seems to have settled down quite well and numbers were soon close to one-hundred as expected.

Similarly, the Clifford Report saw Adult Education as an essential part of an improved system. This was to take two forms, one related to qualifications and careers, the other focusing more on general cultural matters. As might have been expected, during the immediate post-war years there was also an explosion in evening class activity of a more academic or vocational kind, at first mostly involving the forces as personnel sought to prepare themselves for civilian life. The resident population also benefited and when there were places the courses were available to them. Initially the delivery was organised by the educational branches of each of the armed services. After a while the Gibraltar Education Department began to organize its own evening classes, and a few daytime ones too. Collaboration between the providers developed through an official Co-ordinating Committee. Gradually the responsibilities became mostly local and in 1970 a locally-based lecturer in the College was appointed Adult Education Co-ordinator for all Education Department courses. From the beginning the Technical School, later the College, had offered courses and although these took place at various places, it was logical to co-ordinate things from there. A few years later a full Department of Adult Education was created in College. It

also used rooms in John Mackintosh Hall, the newly-built cultural centre and library.

As regards cultural enrichment for adults, once more Gibraltar was fortunate in having help from the United Kingdom, on this occasion through the British Council. Early correspondence was with Sir Angus Gillan, Director of the Empire Division. The Council was first established in Gibraltar in 1944 at the Calpe Institute. Its main purpose was to help the population as it returned after several unhappy years of evacuation. As one document puts it, "The British Council was invited to play a part in preparing the way for a normal life when these families were eventually returned to their homes"³⁸⁰. They returned to bad housing conditions and very poor amenities. It was thought that the Council could add some quality to the lives of the people. This was to be done, bearing in mind that, "The fundamental policy of the British Council in Gibraltar has been to encourage every form of cultural, educational and recreational activities and thereby to strengthen the closest relations between the people of Gibraltar and those of the United Kingdom and Commonwealth". The general aim was "to increase and widen knowledge" in all areas of interest. While the Director of Education was responsible for the children at school, the British Council was "expected to continue in the sphere of adult education when the children left school". Orientated more to the cultural and recreational end of the spectrum, the British Council encouraged many interest groups and societies and it

provided books and other printed and audio-visual resources. It also organized lectures and musical and dramatic events. Unashamedly it provided British offerings to a population wanting just that: "They wanted to do things in the same way and on the same lines as they are done in Britain, which they take great pride in referring to as 'home'". It was recorded that interest in Spanish culture was limited to an interest in flamenco but not much else. Thus, the British Council made excellent contributions to adult education and to the life of the community at that time. It laid the foundations of a cultural tradition which has to some extent continued through to today.

Consolidation and Review

The main guiding principle continued to be that of matching developments in Britain while bearing particular local needs in mind. In fact, there have been few deviations. To take the most obvious exception, in 1948 the School Leaving Age was raised from 14 to 15 years, as in Britain at the time, but it has not been raised since. Overall, however, the years to the 1950s were a period of consolidation, into a system of infant schools and junior schools at primary level and, at secondary level, separate Grammar and Modern schools for the boys and girls, and a small Commercial School. The Technical and Dockyard School for boys as discussed above, was opened in 1949, to complete the tripartite pattern that was envisaged in Britain.

These were also years when several important documents appeared. Undoubtedly, the most significant was the Education Ordinance of 1950³⁸¹. This confirmed the colonial appointment of a Director of Education as the key administrator with wide responsibilities. The position of the Roman Catholic Church (and to a lesser extent the other churches) was recognised, through representation on an advisory School Board although with no special powers. The church, through the Bishop, was also granted the right to approve teacher appointments. In the main, however, the direct influence of the Church was much reduced compared to the pre-war years and Gibraltar possessed what was essentially a government system of schooling.

Two consultancy reports around that time were also of particular importance as part of a review process. The first emerged from a visit to Gibraltar by W.H.Ingrams in 1949³⁸² on behalf of the British government. His terms of reference were to identify how “the maximum economy of administration cost” might be made between the Services and the Civil Authorities, as well as between departments. The concerns, then, were with cost-cutting and any possible rationalization. In its treatment of education the Ingrams Report was to the point in a number of respects. It spoke of the need “to bring standards and practice as near those of the United Kingdom as possible” while making “the adjustments necessary to meet local conditions”. Ingrams approved of the practice of recruiting staff from United Kingdom schools as a temporary

measure, “to preserve an assimilative policy effectively”. For the first time a close link with an education authority in Britain was advocated, and the London County Council was named as the best option. Ingrams also suggested that school inspections should be carried out by H.M. Inspectors of Schools from the United Kingdom, underlining the wholehearted acceptance of a policy which moulded Gibraltar the British way. Significantly, one reads that “there may still be a time when the Home Office is a more natural custodian of its affairs than the Colonial Office”, suggestive of the closer association with Britain which many thought ought to have occurred and to which they still aspire. It was probably only the dominance of Roman Catholicism and the bilingual character of the community which impeded full integration with Britain. On the whole Ingrams found little to change in education and where change was recommended the Governor in particular was anxious that this should not conflict with the 1950 Education Ordinance, which had been the outcome of a great deal of effort. Therefore, a London view was expressed and to some extent countered by a vigorous local response from the Governor.

A further review of the educational scene in Gibraltar was conducted in 1951 by Freda Gwilliam, Educational Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. This was a wide-ranging exercise resulting in an excellent report³⁸³. Looking back over the years since 1944, Gwilliam praised the Director of Education who “tackled with courage, ingenuity and resourcefulness” the many problems

associated with post-war educational re-habilitation³⁸⁴. By 1951 the position was then “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”, she reported.

Gwilliam described the overall position at the time. There had been army schools in Gibraltar before the war but in the 1950s and 1960s there were no Ministry of Defence Schools; children of services personnel had to attend Colonial Government schools, taking about 12% of places. She reported that, “Nearly 3,000 local and services children were provided for in 17 primary and 6 secondary and post-primary schools of which all but 2 are maintained through Colonial or Local Government funds”. “To all appearances”, she continued, “the educational system in Gibraltar reflects current thought and experience in this country”. Again, therefore, there was a strong endorsement of the intention to replicate the system in Britain.

While praising when praise was due, Gwilliam was also critical and hard-hitting. The state of the buildings and the quality of the teachers were the main objects of her concern. While there were some outstanding but untrained local teachers, others were poor. Nor were the newly-trained necessarily very good. Numbers were going to colleges in Britain for training, notably to St.Mary’s

College, Strawberry Hill, a Roman Catholic training institution in London. Eventually they would satisfy Gibraltar's needs. In the meantime, expatriates were being recruited but "salaries offered are inadequate to attract and hold enough good people". Staff such as the Organizing Headmistress for primary schools were sorely needed: "In Miss Kent Gibraltar has been singularly fortunate and should move heaven and earth to keep her"³⁸⁵, said Gwilliam.

It is unnecessary to report Gwilliam's findings in their entirety but a few more points relating to British influence should be mentioned. Gwilliam referred to the "so-called Secondary Modern Schools", doubting that they were true to the English idea which was perhaps not properly understood. They were to be more than repositories for "failures". Although Gwilliam herself did not say so, this may be one instance of a number when the transplanting of an idea did not immediately take root. In contrast, Gwilliam reported favourably on the Boys' Grammar School where the Headmaster, Brother Foley, was "an energetic, single-minded, obstinate, critical but loyal Englishman"³⁸⁶. His School Certificate and Higher School Certificate results were good, as they were in both Grammar Schools. We should add that these were the same examinations taken in Britain. "During my nine years as Head of the Grammar School I had secured recognition from the English public examination boards that Gibraltar be treated as on a par with British schools and that we did not take the overseas examinations as 'colonials' or 'foreigners'", Foley remarked.

Gwilliam also offered her own insights into Gibraltarian society generally and into the nature of the various social and religious groups and their need to work together. Of the Gibraltarians she wrote, "They are more British than the English and their loyalty deserves recognition". Of the services she stated that there was the need "to see to it that their wives are aware of the history of the territories in which they make their temporary homes", implying that relations might be better. With respect to education overall, one of Gwilliam's concluding remarks was: "Government's active assistance in education has passed through the administrative stage and now settles down to improve practice and professional standards".

Gwilliam's presence was reported locally. After ten post-war years, education seemed to be attracting the high profile that it deserved. Coverage in the press appeared to be satisfactory and the publication by the Department of Education of annual reports, later triennial reports, was a good achievement. These reports first appeared in 1950/1951 and they continued, with few breaks, until 1988 when publication ceased. Happily, they were resurrected ten years later.

The year 1954 marked two-hundred and fifty years of the British presence. The Annual Report on education for that year was noteworthy in a number of respects, one being the reference to the memorable visit by Her Majesty the

Queen and His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh on the 10th May which caused a good deal of friction in relations with Spain. It was recorded that some 4,000 schoolchildren assembled in the Victoria Stadium, the Queen and the Duke driving round in an open car “so that every child had the opportunity of seeing her”. More specifically to do with formal education, Freda Gwilliam visited Gibraltar again in December that year while earlier, on September 1st, the Government had appointed a temporary Adviser in Education, namely “Rev. Brother W.D. Foley B.A., who, until the summer of 1954, was the Headmaster of the Grammar School and Superior of the Christian Brothers in Gibraltar”. He had been asked “to investigate a specific number of lay educational problems and to submit his recommendations for dealing with them”. He also became Chairman of the Board of Education.

There were probably several reasons for Brother Foley’s appointment. Obviously he was held in high esteem by the Colonial Government and any reservations about Roman Catholic influence through the Brothers had been forgotten. There was also uncertainty at that time as regards the post of Director of Education; the previous incumbent had been seen as not up to the job, in contrast to Dr. Howes, and an appointment had not been made. There is evidence that Brother Foley saw himself as Acting Director, but without administrative responsibilities. A major practical reason for the appointment was the urgent need to plan ahead for the time a few years hence when the post-

war population bulge would have worked its way through the system. Brother Foley worked in close consultation with Freda Gwilliam. While in Gibraltar for this extra year, Brother Foley produced numerous documents and memoranda. He also devised various schemes for the reorganization of education. The details need not concern us and it is sufficient to say that his proposals were largely accepted in principle. The words of Sir Christopher W.M.Cox of the Colonial Office are revealing, however: "...probably the most important of the memoranda he has written has been the overhaul of the secondary system, which was modelled ten years ago on the tripartite scheme, orthodox in this country and which has not been a success since neither the modern nor the technical schools are in a really healthy state". Bro. Foley argued against selection at age eleven years, recommending that all pupils should go to a single Junior Secondary School, moving to the Grammar, Technical or Modern School at the age of thirteen. His plan was not carried out and in any case the Loretó Nuns preferred things to remain as they were for the girls. When he finally left Gibraltar in 1976 – he had left in 1955 and returned in 1973 to become head of the Boys' Comprehensive School– he said that he had "grown to loathe the 11-plus entry system to the Grammar School, as being socially divisive, premature in judgement of natural ability, restricting the curriculum of the junior schools, imposing a fearful trauma on the victim as he/she approached the dreaded day of judgement under the eyes of family, friends and teachers". He had become convinced that comprehensive education would be best for Gibraltar and later a

system “somewhat on the lines of what was later called in Britain *the Leicester Plan*”³⁸⁷ was to be adopted.

An Evolving System of Schooling

Clearly, in earlier centuries when education was largely left to individuals and to private groups, a “state” system of education can scarcely be said to have existed. In late Victorian and Edwardian times government interest in basic standards became more apparent, both in response to Gibraltar’s perceived needs and to anxieties in Britain about economic and imperial decline and a failing education system. Then, after the First World War and the imposition of compulsory education in 1917³⁸⁸, the beginnings of an overall system of education were discernable. Subsequently, as the Second World War drew to a conclusion, educational planning resumed with a new vigour: there was a clear intention to create a full educational system for Gibraltar and arguably, according to Margaret Archer’s criteria, a “state” system.

The system settled down and the 1960s saw further changes. While these reflected local thinking by Brother Foley and others, they were also closely related to shifting ideas in Britain and by 1965 they were gathering pace, especially regarding secondary schools. First, in accordance with the proposals of a local working party, it was decided that school-age pupils would no longer be enrolled in the Technical School which would be renamed “Gibraltar Technical and Dockyard College”³⁸⁹. One leg of the tripartite system of

secondary education had been removed, one which had not in fact met with much success in Britain.

Underlying this decision to abandon secondary technical education were reservations about the appropriateness and effectiveness of selection at 11-plus, on which the tripartite system was based. Again, British influence was in evidence³⁹⁰ although a Gibraltarian consensus was emerging independently. On 29th March 1965 the government set up a Secondary Education Commission to determine what form secondary education should take and, significantly, all five members and the secretary of the Commission were Gibraltarian³⁹¹. The proposals, therefore, were to be formulated in Gibraltar by Gibraltarians, although the Colonial office followed matters closely because of cost implications.³⁹² In the event, a good deal of educational literature from Britain was read and there were visits to British education authorities and schools.³⁹³ Various options were considered. The proposals which succeeded were largely along British lines. Selection would be ended. The two grammar schools were to be abolished and two comprehensive schools created, one for boys the other for girls. It was also proposed that Year VI of each of the schools could be combined to create a Sixth Form College. The Commission reported in December 1965 and the government accepted most of its proposals. Area middle schools were set up and two single-sex comprehensive schools for 12-15(18) year olds were eventually established in 1972 at Westside and Bayside,

but not the Sixth Form College. A Loreto Nun, Sister Aoife Hynes³⁹⁴, was appointed head of Westside Girls' School, and Brother Hopkins became head of Bayside Boys' School. Both appointments were made after interviewing short-lists of candidates.

There were difficulties other than selection and one matter of controversy stood out, namely that of co-education. This was probably to be expected in a predominantly Roman Catholic community with historically strict rules about the upbringing of girls. Clearly, fundamental beliefs were involved. M. Martens study, as referred to in chapter 4, goes beyond gender construction to underlying assumptions about sexuality in Gibraltar in the 1980s. One can assume that these assumptions were in place long before then. Among them was "the importance of fidelity and chastity as the only acceptable forms of Gibraltarian female sexuality", alongside the "notion of the women as active female seducer and a man as a passive male victim".³⁹⁵ An article in the Boys' Comprehensive School Magazine in 1980 clearly brings these assumptions to bear on the co-education issue, as follows:

"One of the main points brought up against co-education is that dealing with a girl's virginity. Many girls' parents fear for their daughters because they think of the possibility of pregnancy. This is justified for there have been such cases, which cause many problems and hasty marriages ... As regards distraction in a mixed school, some people believe that pupils' attention and behaviour would be affected by the presence of the opposite sex. They believe that either girls would wear provocative clothing and excessive make-up, thus distracting boys, or

that boys would act in an anti-social manner, bullying or answering teachers in a rude way to appear manly; thus causing an obvious lack of discipline within the class.”

The advantages and disadvantages of co-education were not discussed in the Secondary Education Commission Report. By 1969 co-education had been introduced into all primary schools, subsequently to be extended to the emerging middle schools and the Commission simply advocated two single-sex comprehensive schools, with co-educational arrangements possible at sixth form level. However, the Minister and numbers of politicians favoured a co-educational school on two sites and the debate continued. Although this was initially local in nature the Overseas Development Administration (O.D.A.) eventually became involved, again mainly because of financial implications. In 1972 an O.D.A. adviser wrote as follows :-

“Ideally, and given social acceptance of the idea, the best plan for Gibraltar would have been one large co-educational comprehensive school. However, because of the sites and funds available (and because of public opinion.) that plan was just not possible”.³⁹⁶

The controversy lingered on. In the following June, another Adviser, Mr.P.Collister, visited Gibraltar. He also recommended that any thoughts of introducing coeducation should be set aside. He thought that a Working Party should be appointed, under the Director of Education, to look at the central issue i.e.whether there should be an all-through coeducational school on two sites or “two single-sex schools, the boys at Bayside and the girls at a new school”. Although P.Collister was not directly involved, the body became

known as the Collister Working Party (C.W.P.). Its members, almost all Gibraltarians, were: the Acting Director of Education, a representative of the R.C.Bishop, the comprehensive school Heads, the Officer i/c Services Children's Schools, the Headmaster of a Middle School, a representative of the Gibraltar Parents' Association, the Chief Architect and a Government Statistician. They reported in July 1974³⁹⁷.

The C.W.P. did what Collister had suggested – they surveyed local opinion, which was found to be opposed to coeducation. While teachers and pupils seemed to be in favour, parents and the Roman Catholic Church were not. Feelings were sometimes expressed very vigorously and there was a fear that coeducation would drive the remaining Christian Brothers away. The conclusion of the C.W.P. was that coeducation was not acceptable at the time but it might be later, if public opinion were to change. Design of any new buildings should allow for that possibility. In fact, the Collister Report had a lot to say about buildings, particularly the much-needed new girls' comprehensive school. It was a thoughtful report which addressed broader issues, evidence having been taken from various sources in Gibraltar and in the United Kingdom. Government policy followed Collister: there would not be coeducation at secondary level but it should not be ruled out indefinitely.

Comprehensive Schooling in Place.

In 1997 there were celebrations marking twenty-five years of comprehensive education in Gibraltar, with its pattern of First Schools, Middle Schools and single-sex Secondary Comprehensive Schools. Implementation had not been easy. Although it began in 1972 it took a further eleven years to complete the process. Completion was marked by the official opening of Westside School for girls in 1983, Bayside School for boys having been completed rather earlier in 1974/75. The delays and difficulties provide insights into various matters, including the declining role of the Christian Brothers, institutional development along United Kingdom lines and the growing influence of local groups and interests, with the tendency towards confrontational politics, now that management lay in Gibraltarian hands. At the same time Gibraltar's continuing dependence on the United Kingdom for assistance and resources was most obvious, particularly so when the frontier was closed by a hostile Spain throughout the years from 1969-1985.

The provision of adequate buildings and resources was the main stumbling block, coupled with the general feeling that the transition was being badly administered. Local politicians were strongly criticised and they thought that the personal attacks on them were unjust. It did appear that decisions about appointments, syllabuses and books etc., were late in coming. Parental concerns were expressed at an early stage and the union, the Gibraltar Teachers'

Association (G.T.A.), which has had good links with the National Union of Teachers³⁹⁸ in England, was flexing its muscles. A press headline in 1973 read, “Teachers Fear For The Future of Comprehensives”³⁹⁹, the main issue being the delay in building the extension to the Bayside Comprehensive School for Boys. The G.T.A. sought and obtained the backing of other Gibraltar unions, notably the T.&G.W.U. and a mass resignation threat by teachers had to be taken seriously. However, the threatened resignation of Brother Hopkins, the Head of Bayside School for Boys, stole the publicity. He took what was thought by some to be an inappropriate political stance. Unless five points were met –on buildings, the provision of ancillary staff, the provision of books and resources, improved school-leaver opportunities, and staffing instability – he would resign. He did not think they were met and he resigned as from August 31st 1973. It was then that Brother Foley was asked to return to Gibraltar to take over the school. Gradually progress was made and reassurances accepted. By 1974 all the boys were located in the Bayside building and in 1975 an extension there was completed. Nevertheless, facilities were to remain poor for a number of years.

In the meantime the girls’ comprehensive school continued to operate on three sites. Complaints about that were more muted, perhaps, but they were made nevertheless. They culminated in quiet protests when Mrs. Judith Hart, Minister of Overseas Development, visited Gibraltar in 1978. Parents wrote to Mrs Hart

arguing their case for a new building for secondary school girls. The pupils themselves defied the instructions of the Headmistress, Sister Aoife, and they made a silent protest at the airport, in numbers and with banners and placards, when Mrs.Hart arrived⁴⁰⁰. There was no doubt that finance from Her Majesty's Government would be necessary for such a major undertaking. This was granted in due course and the new Westside School for girls was opened in November 1983. Judith Hart is remembered as someone who was sympathetic to Gibraltar's interests and needs⁴⁰¹.

Although matters relating to buildings were prominent through to the early 1980s, other important issues arose during those years. Staffing difficulties constituted a recurring theme. Some unqualified women staff remained in school although the decision was taken to recruit no more. Training programmes had been stepped up but there was a wastage problem, despite the requirement to teach in Gibraltar for at least three years after training. There was a steady flow of teachers to more secure or more lucrative posts in Britain. Shortages at secondary level were particularly serious and in 1977 the Director of Education went to the United Kingdom to recruit some twenty-two expatriate teachers; the reliance on personnel from Britain was to continue for a few more years. The achievement in 1978 of parity with the United Kingdom in respect of salaries, probably helped the situation as regards local supply. As discussed

more fully in chapter 3, parity was much sought after by trade union and political activists at the time.

These institutional changes and staffing problems involved not only Gibraltar's civilian schools but also those providing for the children of the three armed services. As already explained, Regimental schools, which had existed for a century and more before 1939, were not re-opened after the war. Instead, St. Christopher's School, to all intents and purposes a government school like the rest, served the needs of the expatriates. It was non-denominational although it was in effect an Anglican foundation and services' children of primary school age enrolled there, along with some Gibraltarians. Dual educational provision continued, therefore, at first in this informal and partly-integrated manner.

In fact, events in the late 1960s, when the frontier was closed by Franco, saw the garrison strengthened and the number of services' children looking for schooling increased. In 1969 the Ministry of Defence entered the scene and it formally took over St. Christopher's, locating it in a new building for junior pupils at Europa. A second new school, for infants, St. George's, was built to the north-west of town. Roughly as had been the case before 1939, Gibraltar's two parallel education systems were again in place at primary school level.

In various respects the two systems were linked. On leaving St. Christopher's expatriate children either went to the United Kingdom or they proceeded to the local secondary schools where they accounted for up to 12% of the roll. Sometimes there were difficulties. In the middle 1970s, for example, there was unease among the services families over the alleged inferior quality of the secondary school provision for their children, the poor English of the Gibraltar children being one factor. By the 1980s the teaching had improved. Good liaison between the two systems and with parents was also a positive feature, usually through the Officer in charge of the Services' Schools. There were also beneficial contacts at a professional level, as in the case of inservice activities arranged by the then Services Children's Education Authority (S.C.E.A.) which administered the two schools: Gibraltar teachers would often attend on an informal basis and this was acknowledged as very valuable in those early years, before Gibraltar's own teacher-development programmes gained momentum. The two 'systems' were mutually-supporting and the shared benchmark was best British practice.

As might be expected, because of the teachers' professional isolation, inservice training for Gibraltar teachers was by then given a high priority. Advisers and inspectors from Britain had made the point repeatedly and the arrival of comprehensive education and related changes in curriculum, methodology and examinations gave it added urgency. In 1970, a Teachers' Centre was set up,

similar to those in the United Kingdom. The local Wardens of the Centre did creditable work and a good basis was laid for further development. A significant step forward was taken when, on the recommendation of the Collister Report, a Curriculum Coordinator was appointed, in the person of Dr. Hugh Lawlor of the University of Hull. During the years when he was in post, from 1979 to 1982⁴⁰², the work of the Teachers' Centre and inservice work generally were considerably strengthened. A network of curriculum working groups was organized and gradually extended. This provision of external support advocated by Collister, has remained in place through to the twenty-first century for all categories of teacher, including those sectors now to be considered.

Chapter 6

EDUCATION 1972-2000: GIBRALTAR TAKES CONTROL

The origins of educational provision in Gibraltar, therefore, go right back to the early decades of the occupation. In an immigrant local population of mixed ethnic and often Roman Catholic origins, serving non-Mediterranean, protestant and colonial masters, influences inevitably have been complex. Nevertheless, British power has held sway and the clear and unopposed assumption has been that British educational models should be followed. This view has prevailed to today and it has also been true of important sectors of education not yet properly considered: special education, further education, private education and higher education. One matter affects these more-recently developed sectors in particular: they have evolved against a background of Britain's declining world influence and the de-colonization of its dependent territories, with obvious implications for Gibraltar. While Gibraltar has not advanced as far as others down the road towards self-determination a good deal of autonomy has been acquired in the management of civil affairs, including education. Through the process of "localization" and administrative change, control has passed to the Gibraltarians while the foundations have remained British.

Administrative Change

Some twenty years after the publication of the Clifford report a major event was the enactment of a new Education Ordinance⁴⁰³, replacing that of 1950. This covered all aspects of Gibraltar's educational system under 13 headings with 89 sections and provided the framework for decades to come. It was passed by the House of Assembly on 13th March 1974. However, while being an instrument devised by the Gibraltar legislature, powers concerning the establishment, maintenance and staffing of schools and so on, rested with the Governor. The Council of Education, replacing the Board of Education, was also there "to advise the Governor upon such matters connected with educational theory and practice as the Council shall think fit, and upon any queries referred to the Council by the Governor"⁴⁰⁴. Its members were to be nominated, except for the Minister for Education and the Director of Education. Quite clearly, nominally at least, the Governor held overriding powers. Further, Section 82.1 listed some 43 matters about which the 'Governor may make regulations'. As well as the Council of Education, each school was to have a School Committee and there was to be an Advisory Council on Religious Education to advise the Minister. The 1974 Ordinance was plainly along British lines, enshrining a system that was British, largely to be operated through Gibraltarian political and administrative systems but with powers ultimately in the hands of the British Governor representing Her Majesty The Queen.

Not long after the enactment of this Ordinance, an event of some historical significance occurred: in 1977 the Christian Brothers left Gibraltar for good. Only five were in post at the time and their departure did not greatly exacerbate the teacher-supply problem. Yet, to the people of Gibraltar this was a momentous event. The contribution of the Brothers to education over about 100 years had been very considerable. When they received the Freedom of the City on 25th June 1977, many hundreds of Gibraltarian men could look back to days when the Christian brothers were the backbone of the schooling system for boys – “SELFLSS SERVICE TO GENERATIONS OF GIBRALTARIANS” was one newspaper headline. Tributes flowed in and there were many celebrations and presentations. They are still remembered today with gratitude and affection and sometimes a little fear derived from the Brothers’ robust style of teaching. They were, of course, Roman Catholics. While the Britishness of the educational system has been emphasized throughout this study, the people of Gibraltar have remained staunchly Catholic and this has brought other, possibly non-British, influences to bear. At the same time the Christian Brothers were never disloyal to the British cause. There was never any thought of their being obliged to leave and the severing of this link with the past was very much part of an inevitable process of localization which the Christian Brothers had always assumed would happen one day.

Localization: New Directors for Old

As outlined in chapter 3, political progress in Gibraltar came late and it happened slowly. In some respects the closure of the frontier by Franco from 1969-1985 hindered the process. Britain recognised the need to keep a tight hold on the reins and the garrison had to be reinforced. Top posts were held longer by Britons, thus delaying “localization”. This was true in the case of education and the last United Kingdom-appointed Director of Education, Brian Mellor, appointed initially for three years, was persuaded to extend his contract. Mellor’s perceptions, together with those of his successor, the first Gibraltarian Director, throw light on a number of aspects of educational development.

Mellor was seconded from the post of Assistant Director of Education in Essex. He found himself involved in a “traditional, colonial-based system”, as he put it, and one of a number of “big fish in a small pond”. His earlier overseas experience was valuable. The closed frontier, while strengthening Britain’s resolve to support the Colony, fed an inward-looking mentality, Mellor thought. On the other hand, the crisis released a great deal of energy and everyone was prepared to do more and to do unusual things. There was also a blossoming in the cultural field, in drama, music, modern dance and so on⁴⁰⁵. While personal and professional relationships were good, there was impatience in the minds of Gibraltarians who were anxious to take over more of their own affairs.

Administratively Gibraltar is untypical, when one finds the Director's name on one door and the Minister's on the next. To the outsider this seems distinctly strange. For Mellor as for others it worked well. He and the Minister were on very good terms. They discussed mostly only educational issues. Ministers have not been primarily political animals; a case was always made and defended on educational grounds. The Minister and the Director together had regular meetings with the Council of Ministers and discussions were not party-political. Sir Joshua Hassan was the Chief Minister throughout Mellor's five years in office and Mr. Joseph Bossano was the Leader of the Opposition. Mellor appears to have enjoyed good relations with them both.

For reasons of scale, school administration has also been carried out differently. Mellor confirmed that much, notably with respect to enrolments, finance and the ordering of supplies, was done centrally in the Education department whereas in larger authorities in Britain many of these tasks would be carried out at school level. Heads were left less scope as managers because rather less was devolved to schools. The head was little more than a time-tabler and implementer of curriculum, ensuring that teachers were in their classrooms, to paraphrase Mellor's words. The fact that all staff were civil servants employed in colonial service was no doubt a contributory factor.

Not that Mellor found Gibraltarian staff lacking in competence although external support was essential. Full use was made of a link with Mellor's own authority, Essex⁴⁰⁶. Various officers from Essex went to Gibraltar from time to time to carry out general and specific inspections. It was felt that expertise from a large L.E.A. would be of benefit to Gibraltar which was remote and isolated from the United Kingdom.

It became evident from the inspections that the most urgent requirements were in the area of curriculum development; in that sense there was a need to "take the system forward", as Mellor put it. The Teachers' Centre was functioning reasonably well but matters to do with curriculum required a boost. That was achieved through the appointment of a Curriculum Co-ordinator, firstly a Mr. Bridges from Ulster and, in Mellor's time, Dr. Hugh Lawlor from Hull University. Inservice training was stepped up a gear and Hugh Lawlor worked to promote curricular improvement within classrooms, for example, regarding Mixed Ability Teaching. Later, building on the excellent work done by Lawlor, the present Director, Leslie Lester, moved from school to become an Adviser. With Mellor also delegating a good deal of the work to his Gibraltarian Education Officers, it can be said that the future administrators were being carefully prepared.

Not surprisingly, Mellor argued that the supply of well-trained local teachers had been one of the most pressing problems. He was pleased with progress made and by the time he left Gibraltar, only ten or a dozen expatriate teachers remained out of a total of some 280. This had been largely the consequence of the Scholarships Awards Scheme and to the priority given to those who wanted to teach. Localization was almost complete and this helped financially because expatriate teachers were expensive; accommodation had to be found for them and they were paid extra allowances. The problem of unqualified teachers was also tackled vigorously and a distance-learning arrangement with Hull University, apparently due to the efforts of Hugh Lawlor, made a noteworthy impact. In 1985 the Vice Chancellor of the University went to Gibraltar to conduct a graduation ceremony for 23 formerly unqualified teachers, most of whom have done well in the system subsequently.

Liaison with the Services Education Officer was also one of the Director's duties. There were sponsored Gibraltarian children attending the two services' primary schools. There were also some 200 Services' children in the two comprehensive schools, mostly in classes 1-4. These children tended to be less academic and few stayed on to VI Form. The children of higher ranks usually attended boarding schools in the United Kingdom, as did those of some of the wealthier Gibraltarians. In Gibraltar, living separately and divided by language, services' children and Gibraltarian children rarely mixed. Mellor's daughter

was something of an exception – she stayed to obtain good A-Levels and she was fluent in Spanish by the time they left in 1983.

The appointment of the first Gibraltarian Director of Education that year was not without controversy. It was reasonable to suppose that the two Education Officers in post would be strong candidates. One, Julio Alcántara, had postgraduate qualifications in management and he was selected, on interview, by the Public Services Commission.⁴⁰⁷ The G.T.A. was not pleased and it tried unsuccessfully to have the appointment rescinded on the grounds that “eligibility to the post was restricted in such a way that a number of highly qualified teachers, holding senior posts in schools, were debarred from applying”. It was and is not uncommon in “small-state” Gibraltar for difficulties to arise when appointments are made. When everyone knows everyone else well, objectivity seems difficult to achieve.

Julio Alcántara’s appointment was in fact a good one. He held the post until retiral in 1995. He had taught at various levels of the system and he had been Warden of the Teachers’ Centre before becoming Education Officer under Mellor. He had also been active in the G.T.A. for eleven years. Brian Mellor thought him the logical choice as his successor.

Alcántara, a proud and determined Gibraltarian, recalled the struggles over the years to create a qualified teaching profession with salaries on a par with those in the United Kingdom. Since 1976, when those goals had been achieved, there was no overriding reason for Gibraltarian teachers to stay in Britain to teach after training. By then, as the comprehensive system was settling down, schools “were able to take off”, although the buildings problems were solved too slowly. The co-education issue, he thought, had never been properly debated.

Alcántara saw Mellor as having been one of the better Directors from the United Kingdom. Some had been very poor. Mellor wanted to do a good job. He encouraged inservice training and curriculum development. Hugh Lawlor had made significant contributions through his work in the Teachers’ Centre and in schools. The links with Essex and Hull had been very valuable for Gibraltar, Alcántara thought.

There was the continuing need “to keep the links with United Kingdom as fresh and constant as possible”, as Alcántara put it. Gibraltar’s problem was always that of keeping up with changes in Britain. For example, Gibraltar needed to be geared to a recognised examination system, in order to preserve entry to higher education and to professional qualifications generally. To go it alone could not achieve this and to look to Spain was “unthinkable”. English examinations had

served Gibraltar well, down to the introduction of the General Certificate of Secondary Education (G.C.S.E.) in 1986, and the National Vocational Qualifications (N.V.Q.s). When Alcántara was Director, the teachers were asked their views on the idea of the National Curriculum and 96% voted in favour. This was undoubtedly to do with the wish to remain British, he thought. A year later than in Britain, the National Curriculum was accepted in Gibraltar, with local modifications⁴⁰⁸. The special place of Religious Education was preserved and the need for Gibraltarian pupils to have a command of good Spanish as well as good English, meant that Spanish had a place in the core. Assessment was also treated differently; after consulting staff it was decided that there would be no Standard Assessment Tasks (S.A.T.S.) as in the United Kingdom, at least not initially.

Gibraltar was different in one other respect: the school-leaving age was 15. When questioned, Alcántara was adamant that there was no case for raising this from 15 to 16. "Why should we change from 15? We've always had a good range of options. There's work at 15, which very few take. Then there's further education, for an apprenticeship, perhaps. Pupils are not unloaded onto the streets. In fact, the staying-on rate is high. Unwilling pupils in school can cause problems", he argued.

Alcántara also stressed the importance of parents in a home-school partnership. More could be done. On School Committees, as laid down in the 1974 Ordinance, he saw them as useful in furthering standards, although they did cause problems for the Department from time to time. Parent members were usually on nomination by the Gibraltar Parents' Association or the Gibraltar Women's Association. Nevertheless, there was less interest among parents than was hoped for.

If Alcántara's appointment raised problems and difficulties, by the time he left the post twelve years later, having a Gibraltarian in charge was accepted as normal. The past nineteen years, under Directors Julio Alcantara and Leslie Lester, have been a further period of consolidation and an increasing sense of "ownership" of the system. Keeping abreast of United Kingdom developments has made substantial demands on staff, notably with respect to the change from G.C.E./C.S.E. to G.C.S.E. and the adoption of the National Curriculum. Both have had major implications for training, especially training for all secondary school teachers. Evidence of the success of the system has regularly been given in terms of examination performance. In 1995, after 25 years of comprehensive education, Minister for Education. Dr. Bernard Linares, remarked as follows: "Comprehensivism is a veritable success in every sense". And, "Our public examination results have soared from year to year, placing our schools among

the top United Kingdom league tables. Nearly half our annual intake of pupils gain access to higher and further education in British universities and colleges”.

Special Educational Provision

Therefore, as is further explored below, Gibraltar is proud of these post-school achievements. Educational leaders are equally keen to show their concern for the less fortunate. Indeed, at the end of the twentieth century Gibraltar has a comprehensive educational needs support system which many would envy. An Adviser in Special Education, formerly head of the special school, heads the team. A statutory Assessment Panel, whose members include the Consultant Pediatrician and the Educational Psychologist, decides on special cases as required. Each school has a Special Needs Coordinator (SENCO) so that necessary help as far as possible can be provided in mainstream schools. For the more severely handicapped there is St.Martin's School which opened in 1977 and for those aged 15+ there is the modernised St.Bernadette's Occupational Centre. All aspects of the arrangements are British in conception and origin. However, their realization owed much to local Gibraltarian initiatives. In fact, special education is an illuminating instance of how British and Gibraltarian elements overlap and coalesce.

One of the earliest initiatives in the 1930s led to help for the blind, through voluntary local effort involving public-spirited individuals from all parts of the

community, including successive Governors' wives⁴⁰⁹. The Gibraltar Society for the Blind was founded as a consequence and it has continued to operate in various forms. Help with training was the main priority and a special school for the partially-sighted, St.David's, operated for a few years in the 1950s.

After the war individual initiatives became important in the broader area of physical and mental handicap. From around 1950, the work of a Mrs.Morillo, a former nurse, in providing what was basically a child-minding service for parents with children suffering from Down's Syndrome, eventually attracted government support. The outcome in due course was the establishment of St.Bernadette's Occupational Centre. Local pressure groups, notably the Society for Handicapped Children, made up of people from all social classes, played a key part in persuading the government to accept responsibility for special educational provision. This happened particularly after 1964 when Gibraltar acquired its own Minister for Education.

Meanwhile British influences continued to operate. As throughout the educational sector, these operated at three levels: through ideas, through material support and through the provision of expertise. Since 1978 ideas have come from the Warnock Report⁴¹⁰ entitled Special Educational Needs. In essence, Warnock changed the emphasis from a child's disability to his or her needs and to positive ways of satisfying them. Gibraltar was in a position to

take full advantage of Warnock almost immediately through key personnel who were being trained in the United Kingdom at the time. Local groups, now more experienced and self-assured, consistently use developments in Britain as the bench-mark for their aspirations.

British official interest and support has been evident in a number of ways. A Colonial Adviser's report in 1968 by R.F.J.Brown stated that "steps should be taken to identify all children in need of special educational treatment, whether on account of physical or mental handicap, and proper provision made for them".⁴¹¹ A few years later acquiring financial support for the building of the new St.Martin's Special School was a crowning event. Access to British expertise had also come into play. The school was planned on the basis of advice from Mr.D.N.Thomas, Organising Tutor in the Education of Handicapped Children at the City of Leicester College of Education who visited Gibraltar several times. Architectural expertise came from Mr.W Fletcher, Superintending Architect of the Department of Education & Science and the first headteacher, Roger Huxtable, was a British appointee.

Several Gibraltarian headteachers have been in post since then. By the various steps and stages outlined, the present provision for individual needs across the system has been developed. Although some parental pressures continue to demand changes, much local opinion is favourable. This usually extends to

support for Gibraltar's high-profile involvement in the Special Olympics since 1986. This is a further way in which Gibraltar can fly the flag abroad while celebrating its traditional image as a caring society.

Further Education.

Like special education, further education closely resembles British models. It confirms the "Britishness" of a Gibraltar system which, having school and post-school dimensions, can be said to constitute a "state" system. In particular, given the territory's post-1981 responsibility for its own economic affairs, aspects of education and training are of increasing concern to the Gibraltar Government some twenty years later.

In fact, the roots of vocational education go back much further. They are two-fold, concerning the schools on the one hand and, as has been shown already, the Dockyard on the other. As regards the schools, in a sense the elementary school curriculum as a whole was always geared to the provision of useful basic skills. Then the opening of the Infant and Industrial School in 1855, catering at first for boys and girls aged 5 and 6 years, and later for older pupils, was overtly practical. It continued to operate until 1926.

Also in classrooms, a major intervention by the Christian Brothers occurred in the 1920s when they established a new technical school at Sacred Heart Terrace. Costs were met partly by the Brothers themselves but mostly by public subscription, then by government grants. Instruction in Woodwork, Metalwork, Elementary Science and Mathematics, and Drawing and Art was provided. Significantly the Brothers stressed the educational aspects of the enterprise: "We will not teach trades; it is a school, not a workshop for apprentices".

Apprentices were, of course, found elsewhere, namely in the Dockyard. In a 1905 report, G.F. Cornwell, the local Inspector of Schools, states: "I am pleased to report that there are 25 pupils from the Roman Catholic School employed in H.M. Dockyard and about 10 more are preparing for the same employment". Whether or not the Dockyard had its own school at that time is not clear but it certainly did by the end of 1911. From around that time, therefore, the Gibraltar Dockyard School was one of a number in the Empire. In the records for the 1920s there are references to the Malta, Bermuda and Gibraltar Schools using "the same set of papers from the office of the Adviser on Education at the Admiralty".

Gibraltar's Dockyard School continued to operate well into the middle of the century and, from the available written evidence as well as from the oral

evidence of those who recall it from the 1930s, it provided vocational training of a high order. Gibraltar seemed to have an excellent base on which to build after the Second World War. As described, big changes were set in motion after 1943 as a result of the deliberations of the Clifford Committee. Gibraltar's version of a tri-partite system of education was created and a new and enlarged Dockyard Technical School provided the technical element.

When the Dockyard School admitted its first pupils, on 3rd January 1949, the accommodation seemed good – 7 large classrooms equipped for various practical activities, a fine physics laboratory, a large assembly hall and more. However, a few years later, in 1952, the school was described by Freda Gwilliam, Educational Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, as “not over-generously housed in new buildings”.

Nor did Freda Gwilliam speak too favourably of the curriculum that was on offer: the “curriculum is too narrowly specialised” and that there were “no facilities for general and cultural education” she reported. She also stated that the Grammar School was perceived as “creaming off the best” while the “left-overs” went to the Technical and Dockyard School. Clearly this was not what was intended and it prompted early doubts about the selection process. As the issues became sharper Gibraltar was to make changes in line with those made in Britain.

Nevertheless, the new Technical and Dockyard School, catering for school-age pupils as well as apprentices, did make a reasonably promising start. The Governor's comment at the opening that this new provision for technical skills would be of great importance to the future of the colony was not misplaced. Flag Officer and Admiral Superintendent Rear Admiral P.W.B. Brooking, who presided over the opening ceremony, shared that view. The school seems to have settled down well. Numbers built up annually and by 1953 they were close to the 100 mark as expected. This was reported by Miss Olga Giraldi who was Acting Director of Education for a few months. She was probably the first Gibraltarian to hold such a position and it was to be another thirty years before a permanent Gibraltarian appointment was made in the person of Julio Alcántara.

The Director of Education, a British expatriate, had jurisdiction over matters affecting school-age pupils in the Dockyard School. In 1953 opportunities for the others, the aspiring apprentices, improved. A Joint Apprentices Indenture was introduced by the main employers in Gibraltar – Dockyard, City Council, Army Engineers and Colonial Government. By the 1960s total student numbers approached the 200 mark, including about 80 apprentices.

Although having its obvious successes, in 1965 it was decided to review the future of the Gibraltar Technical and Dockyard School at about the time when the Secondary Education Commission was also doing its work. A three-man working party consisting of the Chief Education Officer (as he was called at that time), the Senior Labour Officer and the Base Instructor (RN), was set up. Its findings⁴¹² were accepted by the Gibraltar Government and by the Ministry of Defence (M.O.D.) and the idea of a technical school equal to and operating alongside the Boys' Grammar School was abandoned. There would be no September intake of school-age pupils and the school would be renamed "The Gibraltar and Dockyard Technical College". Those doing G.C.E. courses and others would be allowed to complete their studies over the next four years.

The newly-named institution played no part in school education. It catered part-time for about 120 yard boys, apprentices and others. As well as technical input for these students, help with basic literacy and numeracy was provided. In addition, some nineteen boys enrolled in a two-year full-time "diagnostic course in engineering for operatives at craft and technician level", aimed at a City & Guilds qualification. The arrangement continued whereby one or two outstanding apprentices each year were awarded scholarships to the United Kingdom to complete and further their studies. What was, in effect, a college of further education, was now in place.

As described in chapter 3, the labour market has always been subject to internal factors relating to Gibraltar as a military base and to external factors as determined by political events. In 1969, when the frontier was closed and, as Sir William Jackson puts it, the Fifteenth Siege began, there were important consequences for the College. The loss of some 2,000 Spanish daily workers overnight meant an immediate re-appraisal of Gibraltar's job requirements. The recruitment of replacement Moroccan labour was seen as essential although, clearly, the territory had to supply more of its own needs than hitherto. There were various new demands on the College. One major development during the next few years was the establishment of a Department of Building Construction. Again, advice and support from the United Kingdom was necessary and the Construction Industry Training Board (C.I.T.B.) provided some of this. Assessors from a college in Bristol were involved, in order to fulfil the requirements of the City & Guilds examining body. Because of the crisis many people were galvanised into action although the acquisition of practical skills, using the College or by other means, was not as extensive as it might have been. A value-system which favoured the professional and the academic rather than the practical and the applied continued to dominate.

The 1970s were years of sustained progress for further education. One particular development of note was the acceptance of women in the College and in the Dockyard. In part this might have been the consequence of the closed

frontier, with women assuming a higher profile in the job market. It was also in accord with an emerging equal opportunities policy in the United Kingdom. In 1972 the College appointed its first female lecturer, a Mrs. Fitzgerald and in 1976 the first seven female apprentices were enrolled. During the decade, College buildings were further added to and improved, providing more classrooms, a new drawing office, better laboratories and an information centre and library. The range of courses was growing, with examination performance to match. Extending the City & Guilds Electrical Technicians Course to the advanced Part 3 level was a major development. Total enrolments each year were around the 300 mark, including over 40 full-time students. At the Prize Giving in 1979, held in John Mackintosh Hall, almost 200 certificates and prizes were presented by Lady Jackson, the wife of the Governor, who, along with her husband, was held in very high esteem by the people of Gibraltar. In addition, some 45 students were presented with G.C.E. Certificates. Outstanding students each year continued to win either Gibraltar Government or John Mackintosh Trust Scholarships to Colleges in the United Kingdom. Achieving high standards was clearly seen as providing the opportunity to go to Britain for further study. Later, when mandatory awards were made available to college as well as to all school students who had gained a place in a British college or university, this incentive was reinforced.

The 1970s also saw the first steps taken towards the local management of further education in Gibraltar. One charge regularly levelled at the British, perhaps with some justification, is that they failed to offer Gibraltarians early enough opportunities to learn the skills of senior management. In 1976 two locally-based lecturers, D.Carr (of British expatriate origin) and J.Reyes, were promoted to Lecturer 2 level, the first to achieve that distinction. This was described by Sir Joshua Hassan, the Chief Minister and principal guest at the 1976 Prize Giving, as “the next logical step to eventual complete localization”; clearly, Gibraltar wanted “localization”. This was to take time.

Also in 1976, a study-group was established to look at the issues arising from a possible transfer of the College to local control. Financial questions appear to have been at the heart of the deliberations which were to continue for a few years yet. It was in 1984 that Octavio Victory, a Gibraltarian with a varied career in education – technical teacher, secondary school teacher, education officer – was appointed Principal. He took over from the last Royal Navy Principal, Instructor Commander R.Hutchings, some months before the formal handing over of the College to local control. As the transfer grew closer, the expertise of the Further Education Staff College at Coombe Lodge in the United Kingdom was sought. Two members of staff went to Coombe Lodge for a few weeks and staff from Coombe Lodge went out to Gibraltar to deliver a course

for all the staff of the College, senior managers from the secondary comprehensive schools also being invited to attend.

In his speech at his first Prize Giving as Principal in November 1984, Octavio Victory⁴¹³ urged Gibraltarians to develop the skills that were needed in Gibraltar and to rely less on United Kingdom skills and the skills of others. He saw the College as well-placed to help in a drive for skills, a message which he later took to the pupils of the comprehensive schools from whose ranks future College students would come. Subsequently he thought that his efforts in that respect were not too successful. Given Gibraltar's long tradition of antipathy towards manual labour, this was not surprising. The image of the College remained poor in the eyes of pupils and their parents.

When the formal hand-over finally came, on 2nd April 1985, less than one month after the re-opening of the frontier, it was a low-key affair. The Headline in the Gibraltar Chronicle was "CIVILIAN ADMINISTRATION AT TECHNICAL COLLEGE". Those present were Flag Officer Gibraltar, Rear Admiral Dingermans, the Gibraltar Minister of Education, George Mascarenhas, Gibraltar's Director of Education, Julio Alcántara and College Principal, Octavio Victory. The Minister in his speech, on accepting a "symbolic trophy"⁴¹⁴ from Admiral Dingermans, commented that, under its new name, the "Gibraltar College of Further Education" should serve Gibraltar's interests well.

In particular he mentioned the importance of Adult Education and the College's potential as a centre for the teaching of English. The Minister was seeing the future as likely to differ from the past.

This was bound to be the case for a number of reasons, the most dramatic being the closure of the dockyard following a defence review and the White Paper of 1981. As discussed in chapter 3, after the closure in 1984 early attempts to operate the facilities on a commercial basis met with little success, despite substantial United Kingdom funding. Appledore Ltd was the first company to be involved, then Kvaerner. The Gibraltar Government also provided financial support, including money for training workshops. Cammell Laird Holdings, the commercial operator who took over in 1996, freed by prior agreement from the constraints and hindrances of local labour disputes, were expected to fare better. It became clear to everyone that the proper use of this excellent dockyard facility was largely dependent on external forces although the support of local labour and the unions was absolutely necessary. The availability of trained employees was also essential, of course, and the further education college was there to play its part.

By the time the second Gibraltarian Principal, Richard Patterson, replaced Octavio Victory in 1987, the College was already in the process of coming to terms with new difficulties and with major changes in the market. The various

departments had been reduced to three. Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering and Building & Construction had been merged to form the Department of Technology. Business Studies, which previously had been retained within the school system, was transferred to the College where it was freed for further development. Adult Education achieved departmental status under the Vice-Principal. The College had become more and more like an English college of further education.

The third Gibraltarian Principal, Joseph Reyes, after eight years as Vice-Principal, took over the post in 1995. He had been to England for various courses of study. He had also lived through many changes and he understood the professional and human issues well. Under Reyes the shift away from traditional engineering skills continued. Courses for chartered secretaries and legal executives, and courses in strategic and supervisory management and in business start-up, all underpinned by a high degree of computer literacy, became the order of the day. Being able to respond to this new and widening range of local needs and demands, including providing courses for the police and inservice training for teachers, was seen as vital as Gibraltar's economic dependence on the British withered. Adult Education also remained firmly in the frame, including courses enabling the unemployed to enhance their qualifications to General Certificate of Secondary Education (G.C.S.E.) level and beyond. Nor was the re-birth of some of the traditional skills excluded,

albeit using new technologies, as the Dockyard began to enjoy a new lease of life in the 1990s. Most of these courses had to be seen as revenue-earning, with new and increasing demands being made on the College management team. Indeed one feature of those years was the search for the best management structure and the best managers to administer the College. The re-naming of the Department of Education as the Department of Education and Training and the appointment of a Training Officer at education adviser level in 1998 marked a new urgency in seeking the right formula to satisfy Gibraltar's needs.

In this brief survey it has been shown how the provision of all forms of education at post-school level has been modelled on British lines. British educational legislation has shown the way and determined the detail. At key times, expertise from the United Kingdom, through officials, advisers, inspectors, consultants and trainers, has been drawn upon. The examination system and the examining boards and bodies, down to the dominance in the 1990s of N.V.Q.s, have been British. Students furthering their studies have done so in the United Kingdom, adding to qualifications acquired earlier. Before 1984 formal provision was controlled by the Ministry of Defence, largely through personnel of the Instructor Branch of the Royal Navy. Since then, Further Education has been firmly in Gibraltarian hands. While 'localization' has long been the goal, this has in no way altered a system which is essentially along British lines but maintained and administered by

Gibraltarians, officials and politicians. Recent developments and appointments have recognized a sensitivity to Gibraltar's changed economic, industrial and commercial circumstances.

Private Schooling

Before proceeding to a consideration of higher education, a brief word may be said about private schooling which since 1939 has led to numbers of Gibraltarian young people attending boarding schools in Britain. Although the numbers involved have been relatively small, the families who have sent their children to these schools have been wealthy and influential. They have represented Gibraltar's "upper class".

Historically there was some form of private schooling available in Gibraltar from an early date but this was on a small scale⁴¹⁵. Also from the early years of their presence, the Christian Brothers and the Loreto Nuns established fee-paying boarding and day schools, for boys and girls respectively. The boarders regularly included children from well-to-do Spanish families seeking a good Catholic education where English was taught. Line Wall College, run by the Christian Brothers, survived until 1940. Loreto Convent School was re-opened after the Second World War and it continues into the 2000s with some three-hundred mixed kindergarten and primary school children. Similarly, the Anglican Brympton School, catering primarily for the children of officers and

government officials, existed for a while before and after the war. None of these schools, however, could offer the range and quality of provision that was sometimes looked for, and the children of the British regularly attended public schools in Britain. From an early date some wealthy Gibraltarians began to follow suit and the first known enrolment is believed to have been in 1867. When travel was either overland or by sea, this would have been extremely difficult. The development of Gibraltar Airways, from modest beginnings in 1930, transformed the situation in the post-war years. There were some enrolments in the 1930s but it was from the 1950s onwards that numbers began to increase.

The schools chosen have tended to be mostly in the south of England, northwards to Stonyhurst College in Lancashire and Ampleforth College at York. Almost all are Roman Catholic foundations. Most are boys' schools. All were/are single-sex schools although this is changing. Some have preparatory schools on site or separately and it is now common for the schools to admit day pupils as well as boarders. All are members of the Headmasters' and Headmistresses' Conference or the Girls' School Association. The schools attended by Gibraltarian children are as below.

**PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM ATTENDED BY
GIBRALTARIANS WITH KNOWN NUMBERS OF FORMER PUPILS
AND PUPILS ATTENDING⁴¹⁶**

Ampleforth College	York	Benedictine	1
Clifton College	Bristol	Mixed. Has a Jewish House.	
Dieu Manor	Leicester	Prep. for Ratcliffe College	
Douai School	Reading	Benedictine	2
Downside School	Bath	Benedictine	
Eton College	Windsor	Boys	1
Farnborough Hill	Hampshire	Girls	3
Mayfield College	East Sussex		
Mount St.Mary's College	Sheffield	Jesuit. Mixed.	
<u>New Hall School</u>	Chelmsford	Girls	17
Prior Park College	Bath	One-time Christian Brothers	63
Ratcliffe College	Leicestershire	Rosminian Order. Mixed.	5
Roedean	Brighton	Girls.	1
St.Edmund's School	Herts		3
St.George's College	Weybridge	Josephite Community. Mixed.	14
St.Mary's School	Dorset	Inst.of Blessed Virgin Mary	3
<u>Stonyhurst College</u>	Lancs.	Jesuit	57
The Oratory School	Reading	Catholic. Mixed.	13
Woldingham School	Surrey.	Society of the Sacred Heart Foundation	10
<u>Worth School</u>	Hampshire	Benedictine	27

The schools underlined were visited.

It is immediately apparent that these are mostly well-known schools with excellent facilities and a long history combining "the academic standards of the English public school with a distinctly Catholic ethos". While the numbers of

Gibraltarians enjoying this private boarding-school education have been comparatively few, and while they have tended to come from a narrow social band, the impact on Gibraltarian society has been considerable. Certainly former pupils today display a keen sense of allegiance to the school they attended, Stonyhurst College, Prior Park or another. Furthermore, the experience there, with its social and academic advantages, appears to have enhanced their belief in themselves as Gibraltarian and British. On leaving school the majority stay on in the country for higher education in British colleges and universities where they join the academically successful pupils from Gibraltar's own "state" secondary schools.

Higher Education in the United Kingdom

Direct contact with the British, especially through time spent in the "Mother Country", is likely to have had a major effect on Gibraltarians. Their grasp of English language usage will be strengthened, as well as a familiarity with British life-styles and ways of thinking. Gibraltarians who have lived in Britain say that they "feel" more British. The evacuation had these effects as attendance at private schools in Britain by a select few has done.

In recent decades higher education has become an increasingly important element in this process. At first, during the years immediately after the Second

World War, only a very few students were involved. One or two outstanding apprentices from H.M.Dockyard went to United Kingdom each year to complete their training, and perhaps to go on to better things. Similarly, as early as 1945, the Director of Education reported that "A number of scholarships had been given by the Mackintosh Trust, local firms and Government to enable students to study in England". By 1950, over 50 students were in United Kingdom receiving scholarships and grants. Priorities given to teacher training helped to maintain the numbers. They remained in the 30 – 50 range for some years.

In 1974 a points system was introduced, based on A-Level results. Any pupil with 14 points was eligible for a scholarship. An A-Pass earned 8 points, a B-Pass earned 6 points and a C-Pass earned 4 points, a D-Pass 2 points and an E-Pass 1 point. Immediately, from some 16 scholarships per year the number jumped to 60. In 1978 new Education Awards Regulations reduced the requirements to 12 points and by 1980 about 90 students were receiving awards each year.

In 1988 the points system was ended by the new G.S.L.P. administration under Joe Bossano⁴¹⁷; any student who obtained a place on an approved course at a United Kingdom college or university became eligible for an award. As a result, numbers increased year by year. In 1998, for example, some 600 students,

slightly more boys than girls, were simultaneously in receipt of grants from the Government of Gibraltar, including three students who were studying in North America. About one-third were due to graduate that year. Awards were means-tested and over 150 were made each year for courses lasting from 1 or 2 years for certificates and diplomas to 3, 4 or 5 years for graduating courses. Subjects of study varied considerably. Some of the figures, not mutually exclusive, are as follows:-

1998 Student Numbers by Subjects Studied

BUSINESS AND ACCOUNTANCY	104
LAW	76
SPANISH	65
MEDICAL/DENTAL/ANCILLARY	61
MUSIC/ART/DESIGN/ARCHITECTURE	59
COMPUTING/IT	39
TEACHING	34
TOURISM/HOTEL MANAGEMENT	33
MATHEMATICS/SCIENCE	22
ENGLISH	18

This data confirms the traditional popularity of courses on management, accountancy and law, in part reflecting opportunities in local and United

Kingdom-based companies. Gibraltar's plans for further development as a financial services centre reflect the relevance of some of the other choices, including tourism-related courses. The Gibraltarians' known strength in languages is also apparent; in addition to the take-up of Spanish, there were some studying French or Italian, and one each in the case of Arabic, Chinese and Japanese. Numbers taking courses in the aesthetic field were also in line with traditional accomplishments in Gibraltar.

As numbers of students in higher education increased, so did the number and type of institution attended. At the start, colleges and universities near to London were almost always chosen but this changed somewhat. In 1998 close to 100 institutions were represented, from Aberdeen University in the north to Plymouth University in the south. Although most received two or three Gibraltarian students, some were much more popular, for example, Cardiff University, Kingston University in London, Nottingham Trent University and Southampton Institute. The newer universities are well-represented but it should be added that the ancient establishments – Oxford, Cambridge, St.Andrews, Aberdeen and Edinburgh – have also admitted Gibraltar students from time to time.

The figures for higher education speak for themselves; almost half of each generation of secondary school pupils are now involved. The effects on students

and on Gibraltar must be considerable. Many return while others seek employment in the United Kingdom or elsewhere. All will have benefited from first-hand extended experience of life in Britain, their sense of being Gibraltarian and British probably stronger than ever.

In conclusion it should be noted that Gibraltarian students completing higher education today are at the end of a process which began at home at the age of four. They have passed through Gibraltar's small-state education system, with its nursery schools, a special school, first schools, middle schools, secondary schools, a further education college, and higher education at United Kingdom universities. The various elements and procedures are interrelated and control and supervision is in the hands of an elected Gibraltarian government, thereby meeting the terms of Margaret Archer's definition of a state system.⁴¹⁸

However, Archer saw colonial educational systems when imposed on other peoples as requiring different explanations. Obviously, Gibraltar is a colonial or post-colonial "state". The system that has emerged is a near-copy of what was developed in Britain. The British ensured that this was so. From the earliest times British thinking shaped aspects of educational policy and practice in the interests of security in a fortress which guarded the route to Empire. The Gibraltarians were willing participants in the matching process, partly because of their dependence on the British. To the extent that there were indigenous

influences at work through language and religion these were accommodated in an educational system which gradually came under local "state" control.