

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND LAW

**THE WAR AND THE SIEGE: LANGUAGE POLICY AND PRACTICE IN  
GIBRALTAR, 1940-1985**

by

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A thesis submitted to the  
University of Birmingham  
for the degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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April, 2012

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## ABSTRACT

My thesis explores language policy and practice in the history of the people of Gibraltar between 1940 and 1985. This period covers the wartime Evacuation and the Spanish border restrictions and closure, and it is also fundamental in the emergence of Gibraltarian identity and democratic rights. My contention is that these developments were facilitated by growing accessibility to the English language. From being largely the preserve of the colonial establishment and the elite, it emerged as pre-eminent in official use, the media and culture, and higher oral registers. This change was hastened by the Evacuation, which increased awareness of the need for English.

The Clifford Report of 1944 reformed the whole education system and gave a central role to English. Clifford, Gibraltar's Colonial Secretary, and indeed educationalists at the Colonial Office, proved themselves far more enlightened than their governing counterparts in Gibraltar. Their reform greatly contributed to political development in the following decades. With the Spanish border closure, the English language and the sense of attachment to Britain gained further consolidation, co-existing with the move away from overt colonialism.

In my examination of language behaviour in Gibraltar, including bilingualism and the use of Spanish, interview material supplements written sources.

TO MARY,

WITH THANKS

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

At one level, this thesis is the product of six years of part-time study at the University of Birmingham. At another, it represents a life-long interest in the English and Spanish languages and their convergence and effects in my original home, Gibraltar. Many years ago I completed a master's dissertation at the University of Wales, researching into the influence of Quevedo on English literature; both this, and my career in education in the years since, as a teacher of English and in college management, have in a way equipped me for my present work, or at least whetted my appetite to bring it about.

I have pleasure in thanking many who have helped me. First and foremost, my supervisor, Dr Aengus Ward, Senior Lecturer in Modern Languages at the University of Birmingham, who has provided me generously with his time and his considerable expertise. Aengus has given me much valuable advice, constructive criticism and great understanding; not to mention patience. Indeed, he has done much to bridge the gap of over 40 years in my research methods!

I am also grateful to Dr Pat Odber de Baubeta, Senior Lecturer in the Department, and to Professor Frank Lough for their support; and to the University as a whole for its own help in my studies. The Library has kindly made available to me many resources and much assistance.

I am a Gibraltarian, with a strong personal involvement in many of the issues explored in this thesis. It has been a great pleasure for me to go back to Gibraltar several times in the course of my study. There are many to thank there: firstly and most importantly, all those who agreed to be interviewed (that is, all of those approached, for no one refused). I have chosen not to give their names, but they receive my full gratitude: they were unfailingly co-operative and generous of their time, and provided me with the core of my research into personal experience of language. Sadly, some of my interviewees are no longer with us. To all of them I pay my tribute.

I thank too the Garrison Library and its new Librarian, Dr Jennifer Ballantine Perera, for her deeply intelligent assistance on many occasions; Lorna Swift, former Librarian; Dennis Beiso and his staff at the Gibraltar Government Archives; Mrs Lydia Griffiths for providing material; Tommy Finlayson and Joseph Garcia for giving me their time and expertise; Tony Aguilera for his detailed and learned emails, and the research he carried out on my behalf; Ronald Barabich and Adolfo Canepa, for generously submitting written answers to some questions I set them and for their hospitality in Gibraltar; Dr Chris Grocott, for his great help and deep knowledge of the subject and for coming to meet me at the University; Mr Jonathan Jeffries, for sending me material he has written. I try to acknowledge in the following pages the work of other writers I am indebted to.

It is customary, I think, to end acknowledgements on a personal note. Mary has been untiringly patient in her support over the last six years, and helped me with many weeks' proof-reading, and general reading and opinions. I thank her wholeheartedly.



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## THE WAR AND THE SIEGE: LANGUAGE POLICY AND PRACTICE IN GIBRALTAR, 1940 – 1985.

### PROLOGUE

In this thesis I examine the part played by language in the development of the Gibraltarian identity in the period 1940-1985. I have chosen this period because it includes the wartime Evacuation and the Spanish blockade from the mid-60s to the reopening of the border.

In the development of language policy and practice these are two major events for the people of Gibraltar. 1940 saw the Evacuation of the majority of the civilian population, principally to Britain.<sup>1</sup> The Evacuation highlighted the role of Gibraltar as a fortress – civilians had to be got out of the way. At that time the civil rights of Gibraltarians were very limited. There was the recently acquired and limited vote for some seats in the City Council; otherwise the only political avenues were merchant-class bodies, such as the Exchange and Commercial Library: these were paternalist rather than representative and interests could be in conflict. The considerable class and power divisions between those in or near Government and the people was largely symbolised by their varying degree of access to the English language. Although increasingly a medium in schools its use as an official language – of the governing class and the local elite - contrasted with the popular and everyday use of spoken Spanish among Gibraltarians.

Both the Evacuation and the period immediately following it brought about important changes. The wartime years made Gibraltarians conscious of their identity as a people, and this was given political substance by the renewed clamour, in the mid to late 40s, for representation in an elected legislature. This movement – which

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<sup>1</sup> The Evacuation was so crucial, in itself and to future developments, that I have no hesitation in capitalising the word.

incidentally brought Gibraltarians into closer contact with the official language – was accompanied by a complete overhaul of the education system, on the lines of the 1944 Education Act in England.

The new system resulted from the recommendations of the committee headed by Miles Clifford, Gibraltar's Colonial Secretary at the time. The Clifford Report of 1944 was a remarkable document, for, while espousing imperial values, it was forward-looking in creating a state system of education for the first time in Gibraltar. It also strongly emphasised the centrality of the English language. From now on its use in schools was predominant.

The new education system and increasing electoral participation in representative institutions were, by the 1950s, resulting in a Gibraltar which was markedly different from the 1930s. Efficiently administered universal schooling in the English language was creating a generation which, while still largely communicating within itself in Spanish as an oral language, was turning increasingly to English-language culture, in reading, broadcasting and the cinema. Political institutions were also developing, with the new Legislative Council having a growing number of elected members, although the colonial-fortress role was not to change for some time.

The second major event in my thesis which is crucial to language and identity development in Gibraltar begins with Spain's claim to Gibraltar in the United Nations Committee on Decolonisation in 1963. Spanish restrictions, which in various shapes and forms had been imposed at different times, such as the Queen's visit to Gibraltar in 1954, now assumed an altogether more serious character. Cross-border communication was made more and more difficult, and eventually, in 1969, the border was closed and Spanish labour withdrawn. This brought about radical results in Gibraltar. Apart from a growing sense of community and solidarity, and a pro-Britishness exemplified by the 1967 referendum, it turned the Gibraltarians more towards a British lifestyle, culture, and inevitably language use; in parallel, it also produced a growing sense of nationhood, enhanced by the gradual running-down of the base, the closure of H.M.Dockyard, and a wish to have a less 'colonial' relationship.

This was also a period of active trade unionism and sometimes acrimonious political debate. Increasing legitimacy began to be accorded to the use of ‘Yanito’, sometimes regarded as the Gibraltar dialect, as a marker of identity; and, perhaps paradoxically, the first questionings were expressed as to whether Spanish should play some part in the school curriculum.

Underlying these major changes was the continuation of Spanish as, often, the main oral language in Gibraltar for family, informal, emotional and affective discourse, despite its low profile as a technical, written and literary language. Clearly, the factors for its maintenance to this day were strong enough to override major considerations of political loyalty. The reasons for this do not seem to have been satisfactorily explored, and I shall attempt to do so briefly in the latter part of the thesis. The distinction between Spanish and Yanito – in formal and sociolinguistic aspects - also merits some discussion. Is Yanito a language in itself? As a further illustration of the complexity of the language situation, a recent researcher has concluded that Gibraltar English is a *new* New English.<sup>2</sup>

I have therefore set out to explore language in Gibraltar during just under half a century of particular historical significance. Beyond this, my encompassing time-frame starts with the capture of Gibraltar by an Anglo-Dutch force in 1704 and concludes with its present status as a British overseas territory. (No doubt there is much research still to be done about many aspects of Gibraltar under Spanish and Moorish rule, not least in language.) In my first chapter and an appendix I have surveyed the development of Gibraltar’s population in the years since 1704, with its successive groups of immigrants, in terms of the needs and conditions of what was a fortress-colony for much of this period. I have given some background to the development of languages in Gibraltar, focusing here on the dominance of English as the official language and the displacement of Genoese by Spanish as the popular language of speech and culture. I have gone into language in early educational provision. Issues of religious tolerance, rights of residence in Gibraltar and early attempts at securing political rights for the civilian population have also been explored.

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<sup>2</sup> Anja Kellermann, *A New New English: Language, Politics and Identity in Gibraltar* (Heidelberg: Kellermann, Books on Demand, GmbH, 2001).

After my chapter on the Evacuation I go on to examine the many changes, social and political, that took place in Gibraltar after the Second World War; then the factors that contributed to the Spanish restrictions and border closure; and the Gibraltarians' growing sense of identity throughout these years.

Although the period of my study properly ends with the reopening of the border I also provide in my closing chapter some continuation of the story beyond that, taking into account recent events and scholarship, to put my conclusions in context.

It is difficult to see language development in isolation from all the factors that accompany the development of a people. I have chosen to examine language in Gibraltar as the prism through which the changes in the history of its inhabitants are refracted. I will argue in the thesis that it is impossible to understand any aspects of Gibraltarian identity without an awareness of the role played by language throughout the years. This will be primarily an examination of how English ceased to be the preserve of the ruling class; how possession of it among Gibraltarians enhanced their enfranchisement in political activity and social advancement.

This is a complex story, because the role of spoken Spanish – in its Gibraltarian variant of Andalusian Spanish – remains very strong in Gibraltar. And it must be remembered that Spanish had become an *imported* language in British Gibraltar; for after the capture and the eviction or retreat of the original Spanish inhabitants, it was the Genoese language of the main influx of new immigrants that coexisted with English. It was only when the Sephardic Jewish merchants established themselves and Spaniards began to return to Gibraltar that Spanish gained its place as the language of the civilian inhabitants. It was then that the first seeds of Yanito, seen by some as a separate local dialect, were sown. Then, as now, Yanito was one of the distinguishing features of the Gibraltarian identity.

As part of my research for this thesis I have used a variety of histories of Gibraltar and also personal memoirs written by Gibraltarians. These, and the work of Gibraltarian historians, have been of special relevance. They are largely the product of the last two decades or so, and I hope I have shown my appreciation of the work of

this school of writers sufficiently generously in the thesis. I have also consulted books and theses dealing with language in Gibraltar, again mostly appearing in the last two decades, and written by Gibraltarians and others. In the last two or three years of my research I have had the opportunity to consult the work, in the form of books, theses and articles, of the members of the Lancaster Project about Gibraltar. I am most grateful to them for the quality of their research and the valuable material they have produced, and trust that they will take it as no disrespect if I do not always agree with their conclusions.

My examination of bilingualism in Gibraltar, and aspects such as diglossia and code-switching, inevitably made me use the work of scholars like Romaine and Kellermann, as well as of Gibraltarian researchers into language. In my last chapter I try to discuss language use and bilingualism in Gibraltar within a wider, more global, context.

I have carried out many interviews in Gibraltar on two of my visits, and have had permission to use them freely. I felt it was essential for me to interview a substantial number of Gibraltarians and residents of Gibraltar to obtain their views and experience of the importance of the English language: many of these were persons who had been through the wartime Evacuation in Britain and elsewhere; others grew up in the post-war period and could speak with authority about the role English played in their educational, vocational and social lives. While conscious that not all the interview material is verifiable by reference to external documentation, I think I have established that much of it is. My informants were never discouraged from providing the occasional anecdote: these, in my view, often strengthened the narrative. The written typescripts of the interviews that I have used in the text are appended at the end of the thesis. I also had some written and e-mailed submissions from contacts in Gibraltar and these are, I hope, suitably used and acknowledged.

I have made much use of libraries and archival material both in Gibraltar and Britain - newspapers, reports, official records and documents; and also on-line resources. My work in Gibraltar has entailed thorough use of the Garrison Library and the Gibraltar Government Archives; in Britain, I have used the National Archives at Kew, the British Library at St Pancras and its newspaper section at Colindale, and also material



at the National Library of Scotland and the University of Edinburgh Library. I have also consulted trade union papers at the National Records Centre in Warwick University. I have used the Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies at Rhodes House, Oxford for the papers of Miles Clifford. And, of course, the University of Birmingham Library has been a major provider of sources.

A fair amount has been written in recent years about the history of Gibraltar from a civilian point of view, and about the identity of the Gibraltarian, and there has been considerable scholarship and research into language in Gibraltar as a manifestation of that identity. I have examined these aspects, but, more importantly, my examination of the link between language and power will try to chart the growth of Gibraltarian rights in conjunction with the consolidation of the English language in all walks of life; hence, for example, my detailed examination of the circumstances surrounding the Clifford Report and my high regard for its importance. To see the initiative of the Colonial Government and of Gibraltar's Colonial Secretary at the time as the key to educational emancipation, and the adjunct to the constitutional advances that were about to begin then, may fly in the face of post-colonial historical deconstruction. But, having thus stepped in where angels may fear to tread, I am prepared to go further. Thus, my analysis of the post-war years and the response to the border closure is predicated on the belief that the predominance of the English language, in parallel with the growing adoption of British institutions, was the foundation that established the identity of the people in those years; and that this foundation was laid at the time of the educational reforms. Indeed, I will argue that the heritage of Yanito, which is examined in my thesis, and the sense of Gibraltarian 'nationhood' of recent years, are themselves part of the continuum and of the unfastening of the springs that started in 1944.

These are issues which will be central to the thesis.

## CHAPTER I. THE GIBRALTARIANS, PEOPLE AND LANGUAGE, PRE-1940

### 1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A British (or, before the Act of Union with Scotland, an English) possession since its capture in the War of the Spanish Succession in 1704 and subsequent cession by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, Gibraltar is now designated a UK Overseas Territory. It consists of a peninsula joined to the south of Spain by a narrow isthmus. Most of its inhabitants live on the western side (the town area and reclaimed land by the harbours) and in the residential districts in the south. The famous Rock, occupying a large portion of the total area of less than three square miles, and dominating views of Gibraltar from all sides, is largely uninhabitable and partly inaccessible. With a population of 30,000 in what is effectively an urban area of perhaps one and a half square miles Gibraltar is one of the most densely populated places in the world. This fact will have a great significance for everything that follows in this thesis.

Prior to the Moorish invasion in 711 AD, the Rock and its caves had seen the passage of prehistoric people and also been occasionally used by Mediterranean seafarers, Carthaginian, Phoenician and Roman, who had more permanent settlements further along the Bay. The Moorish occupation of the Iberian peninsula started in the area of Gibraltar (or Jebel Tarik – Tarik's mountain, Tarik ibn Zayed being the leader who captured it).<sup>1</sup> It then became a place of permanent settlement and many buildings from the occupation survive, including the prominent castle and the Moorish baths. The present Catholic Cathedral, like its predecessor under Spanish rule, was built on the site of a Moorish mosque and several of the original features remain.<sup>2</sup>

The Moors held Gibraltar, with brief interruptions, until 1462, by which time the tide of the Christian reconquest of Spain was running high. The Spaniards then established themselves, even if it appears now that Gibraltar became subordinate in military and

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<sup>1</sup> Quoting a twelfth-century Arab historian, Hills writes that Tarik 'cast anchor close to a mountain which received his name'. George Hills, *Gibraltar: Rock of Contention* (London: Robert Hale, 1974), p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Hills, pp. 37-39. William Jackson, *The Rock of the Gibraltarians: A History of Gibraltar* (London: Associated University Press, 1987), pp. 34-35; also reference to Cathedral in web page *Catholic Diocese of Gibraltar*. For the Rock's strategic significance to the Moors, cf. Ignacio López de Ayala, *Historia de Gibraltar* (Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1782), pp. 110, 124.

economic importance to Algeciras, five miles west across the Bay. It was captured in 1704 by an English and Dutch expedition supporting the claims of the Archduke Charles of Austria to the Spanish throne. Although the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) ratified the accession of the rival Bourbon claimant, it gave Britain sovereignty in perpetuity over the Rock and harbour, but not over the isthmus, and radically influenced the course of Britain's maritime and imperial history.<sup>3</sup> Britain's control over Gibraltar was challenged throughout the eighteenth century by both Spain and France and there were frequent sieges, culminating in the Great Siege of 1779-1783 at the time of the war of American Independence. Utrecht also gave a formal basis to the introduction of the English language in Gibraltar.

## 2. THE PEOPLE

The original Spanish civilian population of Gibraltar left the Rock at the time of its capture. 'Although Article X [of the Treaty of Utrecht] promised freedom of religion and full civil rights to all Spaniards who wished to stay in Hapsburg Gibraltar, few decided to run the risk of remaining in the town.'<sup>4</sup> They gave way to a new influx of civilians whose reason for living in Gibraltar was to serve the requirements of the forces. The pattern thus established was to last for many years and had deep consequences for language. This new civilian population was made up of different Mediterranean national and ethnic groups, differentiated by occupations, origins and languages. Early accounts distinguish between Genoese, Portuguese, Jews, British or Catholic and non-Catholic.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, we have a mixture of people of clearly differentiated and recognised ethnic groups and religions, held together by the need to serve the requirements of the British army and navy. It is tempting to state that the high degree of tolerance and harmony that characterises the community today had its origins in the racial and religious mix of those early days. The siege conditions under which both civilians and garrison lived for much of the time would have provided a common purpose and enhanced this ability to coexist. Because relations between Britain and Spain were often hostile in the eighteenth century, contact across the isthmus would have been

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<sup>3</sup> Jackson, pp. 113-117.

<sup>4</sup> Jackson, p. 99.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix I, pp. 274-275.

minimal. These conditions of life in a restricted space have some parallels with the circumstances that obtained in the fifteenth siege, from the mid -1960s to 1985.

The Genoese ethnic component of the population was dominant well into the nineteenth century, with important language implications. Tito Benady writes that the connection between Genoa and Gibraltar goes back to late medieval times when Gibraltar was in Moorish hands.<sup>6</sup> He details how the Genoese had been active in southern Spain for several centuries: at the beginning of the sixteenth century they formed about a quarter of the population of Cádiz. Although the Genoese settlement in Spanish Gibraltar was not so extensive it was still significant enough for a Genoese consul to be appointed at Gibraltar in 1612. (In fact, Genoa again appointed a consul in Gibraltar soon after it came under British control.) Benady states that by 1725 the Genoese formed 37% of the civilian population:

The middle-class was largely composed of 18th century immigrants who had made good ... Its customs were largely influenced by the Genoese who had formed the largest section of 18<sup>th</sup> century civilian population.

There were many new arrivals from Genoa after 1807 following Napoleon's annexation, and Benady dates the foundation of present Gibraltarian society to the post-1815 period. The nineteenth century, he claims, 'was very much the Genoese century, when the immigrants from Genoa and their descendants became the backbone of Gibraltarian society'.<sup>7</sup> Benady believes that the working class was largely Spanish in character. This was partly because the Genoese were traditionally merchants and businessmen whereas the Spaniards, although they too served the needs of the garrison, predominantly worked in the more manual occupations. This pattern was to continue for many years and, as we shall see throughout this study, had important language implications.

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<sup>6</sup> Tito Benady, 'Genoese in Gibraltar', *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* [hereafter *GHJ*], 8 (2001), 85-107 (quotation, pp. 96-97).

<sup>7</sup> See also Thomas Finlayson, 'The Gibraltarian since 1704', *GHJ*, 9 (2002), 23-41, for a detailed analysis which includes breakdown by occupations etc. But of interest here is the fact that Archer, in his analysis of Gibraltar names according to the 1995 electoral register, gives no fewer than 26% of names as Spanish / Minorcan – compared to 27% British, 19% Italian etc. Edward Archer, *Gibraltar Identity and Empire* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 36.

In his influential study, Dr Howes too constantly emphasises that the Genoese are the basis of Gibraltar's population.<sup>8</sup> However, the ethnic composition of the population and its legal status have been complex matters and, because of the inevitable implications for Gibraltarian identity, need to be looked at, if only briefly.

### 3. BRITISH AND 'ALIENS', 'NATIVE GIBRALTARIANS', AND LATER DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

The distinction between aliens and native residents became an important issue. But this was a matter that was subject to fluctuation and demographic change. Martin Blinkhorn writes:

One generation's "resident aliens" – non-British immigrants – produced the next generation's "natives".<sup>9</sup>

And:

Until the second half of the nineteenth century, Gibraltarians [were] regarded by officialdom not as colonial settlers but as 'alien' birds of passage.<sup>10</sup>

But, he adds, by the final third of the century this was beginning to change, with the entitlement of right to residence for British subjects, that is, anyone born in crown territories (what Constantine refers to as *jus soli*)<sup>11</sup>. The implications of this right to residence – whom it included and whom it did not - would be central to the formation of the Gibraltarian civilian community.

The Aliens Order in Council of 1873 (and subsequent legislation) set rigid limits to residence in Gibraltar for non-British subjects, introducing a strict system of permits

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<sup>8</sup> Henry W. Howes, *The Gibraltarian: The Origin and Development of the Population of Gibraltar from 1704* (Colombo: City Press, 1950; 3<sup>rd</sup> edn, Gibraltar: Medsun, 1991), e.g. pp. 27-28, 58, 106–107, 168.

<sup>9</sup> Martin Blinkhorn, 'A Question of Identity: How the people of Gibraltar became Gibraltarians', *The United Kingdom Overseas Territories: Past, Present and Future*, ed. by David Killingray and David Taylor (London: Institute of Commonwealth Studies / OSPA, 2005), 45-64 (p. 48).

<sup>10</sup> Blinkhorn, p. 51.

<sup>11</sup> Stephen Constantine, *Community and Identity: the Making of Modern Gibraltar since 1704* (Manchester: University Press, 2009), e.g. pp. 25, 98–99, 106.

for entry to and overnight stays in Gibraltar. The official rationale for the legislation was the Rock's limited space and its primary role as a fortress and naval base; fears of cultural dilution by allowing residence to aliens were also expressed. A letter written by the police magistrate dated 14 February 1876 suggests the underlying tensions:

I have no hesitation in recommending that a law be enacted providing that the children of aliens born in Gibraltar should not be entitled to claim the status of British subjects (letter, p. 1).

He also states that in war 'aliens could most easily be got rid of' and also refers to 'the requirements and necessities of the fortress' (p. 2).<sup>12</sup>

The history and evolution of rights of residence in Gibraltar is exhaustively explored by Stephen Constantine.<sup>13</sup> The Order drew opposition from many quarters. Constantine explains Bishop Scandella's objections to its restrictiveness, on educational and on moral grounds.<sup>14</sup> The Exchange Committee too had their particular angle:<sup>15</sup>

Their fears that the rules would make the 'servant problem' even more difficult for the moneyed class smack of class interest, but there was also here a challenge to strict segregation of alien and British subject.<sup>16</sup>

There was concern at the severity of the original order of 1873. A *Gibraltar Chronicle* report of 1885 describes the Governor's meeting with a deputation which included representatives 'of the community' from the Chamber of Commerce, the Exchange Committee, the Sanitary Commissioners and Mr Parral, representing *El Calpense*.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Box for the 'Aliens Question', Correspondence 1866–1886, containing Aliens Order in Council (Drafts), Gibraltar Government Archives.

<sup>13</sup> Constantine, *Community and Identity*. Cf. e.g. Chapter 4, 'Demographic Management: aliens and us, 1815-1890s', pp. 98–131; and Chapter 7, 'Demography and the alien in the twentieth century: creating the Gibraltarian', pp. 230–277. See also Jennifer Ballantine Perera, 'The Language of Exclusion in F. Solly Flood's "History of the Permit System in Gibraltar"', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 20, 3 (2007), 209 – 234.

<sup>14</sup> Constantine, *Community and Identity*, p. 123.

<sup>15</sup> As did some years later the newly formed Chamber of Commerce.

<sup>16</sup> Constantine, *Community and Identity*, p. 120.

<sup>17</sup> *El Calpense* (and *El Anunciador*) were Spanish-language dailies; they, and the more established and official *Gibraltar Chronicle*, will often be quoted in this thesis. See, for example, p. 37 below.

[It was] generally agreed that the residence of Aliens in Gibraltar should be restricted to those whose services will be useful and convenient to the British population, such as professional men, traders and domestic servants; visitors also to be admitted for short periods.

And it was the general opinion that ‘Female aliens about to be confined should leave Gibraltar’.<sup>18</sup>

As a result of these representations, the 1873 Order in Council was amended with a number of concessions, and a new Aliens Order in Council passed at the end of 1885. This Ordinance, ‘under which only native-born subjects were allowed to reside on the Rock, all others needing permission to live in the colony, “was a most important restrictive piece of legislation, and gave, in effect, a definition of a Gibraltarian”’.<sup>19</sup> There is no official use of the term yet: ‘natives of Gibraltar’ or ‘native Gibraltarians’ appears in ordinances and the discussion of the time, and the *Gibraltar Guardian* uses ‘Gibraltarians’ in its first issue in 1889, but the word ‘Gibraltarian’ only seems to have been used *officially* around 1925.<sup>20</sup>

Today, this legislation of 1885, restricting the rights of residence (to those aliens who were ‘useful and convenient’ to the British population) would strike us as exclusive and racist, even though it has its counterpart in current immigration control regulations in, for example, the European Union. It could be argued that the particular demands of a small, crowded fortress-colony justified strict control on the part of the authorities. There would have been problems of overcrowding and security. However, the opposition of Bishop Scandella and local traders to the restrictions do suggest a civilian point of view on the subject which was rather different to that of the colonial authorities in Gibraltar. Possibly they were more sympathetic to the requirements of neighbouring, Spanish-speaking people, as co-religionists and also as potentially useful members of the workforce. Clearly, self-interest among the opponents of the Order played a part too. But the ethnic, religious and linguistic common ground was

<sup>18</sup> *Gibraltar Chronicle*, 29 January 1885, p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Howes, *The Gibraltarian*, quoted by Modrey, p. 134. Modrey also quotes Jackson: ‘The Gibraltarian had thus been given an official identity for the first time’ (Jackson, p. 248): Annett Modrey, ‘Multilingualism in Gibraltar’ (interpreting diploma thesis, Leipzig University, 1998), pp. 19-20.

<sup>20</sup> In a negative response to an application by an alien for a licence to trade. Gibraltar Government Archives, YF 185/1925, I: this reference in Constantine, *Community and Identity*, p. 245. Finlayson finds the earliest use of the word – a rather derogatory one – in a book written in 1929 (book and author unnamed). Finlayson, *GJJ*, 9 (2002), pp. 39–40.

not to be underestimated. If the legislation was seeking to create a more anglicised Gibraltar it was not likely to succeed in isolation, given the population influx into Gibraltar and the ease of movement at the time, together with the close family ties and contacts, across the border.<sup>21</sup> It was only when taken into account together with other factors, like the Education Code of 1880, that the increasingly British character of Gibraltar, symbolised by the growth of English language use, began to be felt.

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A high number of Spanish women settled in Gibraltar from the nineteenth century.<sup>22</sup> Sam Benady writes that in 1725, out of a total population of 1,113 civilians, only 381 were women.<sup>23</sup> But a striking demographic feature going back to the early years after the capture was that the number of women exceeded men in the Spanish element of the population (unlike other ethnic groups). They married into the Genoese and other categories,<sup>24</sup> a situation that would remain for much of the future.<sup>25</sup>

In the same publication, L.A. Sawchuk and L. Walz, write of a trend which had become quite pronounced by the early twentieth century:<sup>26</sup>

The marriage registers from 1900 to 1939 revealed that the percentage of marriages that were spatially endogamous – between a man and a woman from the same location – fell over 15%, from a high of 89.4 to 72.9 percent over the course of forty years. The decrease in endogamous marriages and increase in exogamous unions [that is, marriage to an outsider] occurred primarily as a result of a rise in the number of Spanish brides entering Gibraltar's marriage pool – most notably from the area of La Línea ... Approximately one out of every five marriages was between a Spanish woman and a Gibraltar man.

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<sup>21</sup> Stockey describes the 'porous' nature of the frontier up to the 1950s. Gareth Stockey, *Gibraltar: A Dagger in the Heart of Spain?* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2009), p. 5.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. reference to census of 1891, Appendix I, pp. 274-275 below.

<sup>23</sup> Sam Benady, 'Women of Gibraltar', *GHJ*, 10 (2003), 67-79.

<sup>24</sup> Tito Benady adds that 'contemporary observers ... tell us how Spanish they thought the Gibraltar working class had become in their habits. The only exception to this was the community of Genoese fishermen in Catalan Bay', 'Genoese in Gibraltar', *GHJ*, 8 (2001), p. 97.

<sup>25</sup> A comparison is sometimes made with Paraguay, where female Guaraní speakers intermarry with Spanish-speaking males. Corvalán writes that the majority of children speak Guaraní at home: 'Los hijos aprendían el idioma de la madre' and she refers to it as the 'lengua materna'. Graziella Corvalán, *¿Qué es el bilingüismo del Paraguay?* (Asunción: Centro Paraguayo de Estudios Sociológicos, 1983), pp. 11, 28, 54.

<sup>26</sup> Lawrence A. Sawchuck and Leah Walz, 'The Gibraltar Identity and early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Marriage Practices,' *GHJ*, 10 (2003), 81-87.



Moreover, between 1930 and 1939 28.3% of children born in Gibraltar resulted from such unions. The writers show that the majority of Spanish-born wives married unskilled labourers.<sup>27</sup>

As will become apparent in subsequent chapters, this significant Spanish female element was bound to have a powerful and crucial effect on language development in Gibraltar, certainly enabling the maintenance of Spanish as the home language for many years. However, it is noteworthy that, in the words of Martin Blinkhorn, 'demographic hispanicization ... failed to generate political hispanicization'.<sup>28</sup>

#### 4. GIBRALTAR AND THE *PAX BRITANNICA*: DEVELOPMENT OF INFLUENTIAL MERCHANT-CLASS BODIES

Britain's naval requirements in the French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars and her growing command of the seas and of maritime trade led to a great upsurge of prosperity for the colony - as it became from around the 1830s with the gradual introduction of civil instead of military administration.<sup>29</sup> This growth took full advantage of Gibraltar's naval and strategic position and also of the post - Napoleonic war recession affecting other countries. The Pax Britannica of the Victorian age and the opening up of the sea-routes to the Empire in the East consolidated Gibraltar's position and it had by now 'developed its own economy'.<sup>30</sup> There were new opportunities in entrepôt trade with Spain and with newly independent South American countries. Smuggling across the border also flourished. A number of merchants, mostly Genoese, made themselves very rich as shiphandlers, victuallers and handlers of trade with the hinterland.

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<sup>27</sup> The changes in the ethnic and occupational character of Gibraltar's population since the English conquest, as well as the development of residential rights, are minutely traced in Constantine's book, *Gibraltar: Community and Identity*.

<sup>28</sup> Blinkhorn, p.49. As a postscript to these facts about population, it is worth noting that the 1936 Gibraltar Blue Book, basing itself on the 1931 census, records that in the civil population there are 7,539 males and 8,649 females ('no coloured population') living on Gibraltar's '1 and 7/8' square miles. They are classified under 'whites'. 'Aliens and resident strangers' amount to 1,425. 451 inhabitants are employed in manufacture, 1,151 in commerce and, curiously, 3 in agriculture. Gibraltar Blue Book for 1937, pp. 132-133, Gibraltar Government Archives.

<sup>29</sup> It was for a time mistakenly supposed that Nelson's body was taken ashore in Gibraltar after Trafalgar, and many of that battle's casualties are buried there. Henry W. Howes, *The Story of living Gibraltar*, (London: Philip and Tacey Ltd, 1946), p. 71. The exact date of 1830 for colonial status is disputed by T. Finlayson, '1830 and all that! A Myth Exploded', *GHI*, 8 (2001), 42-46.

<sup>30</sup> Jackson, p. 226.

From simply serving the needs of the garrison, the civilian population had acquired a wider trading role benefiting from the expansion of shipping and the Empire. It had begun to gain a separate identity, albeit one that was malleable and susceptible to new immigration patterns. (For instance, from the late nineteenth century the Maltese became an important element, ethnically and culturally.) Language change was an important part of this adaptability.

At the same time, there was considerable poverty in the labour force and for a time largely unregulated exploitation. The crowded, insanitary living conditions led as elsewhere to regular epidemics (cholera, yellow fever and typhus) throughout the nineteenth century and these caused many deaths, while keeping the population relatively stable.<sup>31</sup>

This contrast of prosperity and squalor demanded new solutions. The work of enlightened governors such as Sir Humphrey Bland was recognised by López de Ayala in his early history of Gibraltar.<sup>32</sup> Later, Sir George Don, who set up pioneer schools and a civilian hospital, and Sir Richard Airey, concerned for public health, ameliorated conditions for both civilians and garrison.<sup>33</sup> Sir Richard created the Board of Sanitary Commissioners in 1866, after a deadly cholera epidemic. While it naturally concerned itself mainly with health and sanitation matters, and did so to good effect, the Board was notable because (a) it had civilian representation (b) it had powers to levy rates and determine municipal expenditure and (c) in practice, its remit to advise the governor went beyond health issues.

This is important in the development of Gibraltarian identity and political self-awareness. Constantine warns against seeing the commissioners' role as evidence of the 'onward march of popular democracy'.<sup>34</sup> When set up by Airey they were a totally civilian body, consisting of twelve selected commissioners, but subsequent governors

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<sup>31</sup> The 1901 census records a total of 615 Maltese (444 males). Constantine, *Community and Identity*, p. 130.

<sup>32</sup> López de Ayala, p. 373.

<sup>33</sup> See, for instance, Peter Bond, *300 Years of British Gibraltar, 1704–2004* (London: Peter-Tan Publishing Co., 2003), pp. 62, 73.

<sup>34</sup> Constantine, *Community and Identity*, p. 215. 'The order-in-council [setting up the Sanitary Commission] was mythologised into Gibraltar's *magna carta*', *ibid*, p. 208.

came to the conclusion that that degree of civilian representation was excessive. They gradually reduced the number of civilian commissioners. But despite this clawing back of power the Commission did fulfil an important historical role, even if perhaps sometimes ‘mythologised’ by historians. Using the term with some latitude, it was the first official body that represented the interests of the Gibraltarians.

Its role, however, was sometimes ambiguous. For instance, there is correspondence between Sir Archibald Hunter and the Board about the lack of relief for the poor. Hunter, a Governor whose tenure ended in failure and recall, nevertheless shows concern:

There are in Gibraltar a large number of poor people who are dependent for their livelihood upon the charity of their well-disposed and better-off neighbours.

So far as I can learn, there is no Poor Rate and no system of organized Outdoor Relief, and no institution such as a Poor House ...

I do not think it right that, in a British Colony, such a state of affairs should be longer tolerated.<sup>35</sup>

Hunter’s objections to this ‘casual and constantly varying’ charity draws a reply from the Commission some days later, opposing the levying of a poor rate which would hit the taxpayers:

[they would] seek a requital by raising house rents which would eventually redound to the detriment of the poor and needy whom it was sought to relieve.

We can see from this that the Board was conscious of protecting the interests of the merchant classes, as well as serving the interests of the poor. However, in strictly political terms, it is still right to regard it as the genesis of constitutional development on the Rock.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Letter dated 26 November 1912. This, and the one dated 31 December 1912, quoted next, were published in the *Gibraltar Chronicle*, 31 January 1913, p. 1. (They are both quoted by Constantine, *ibid*, pp. 191-192). In the same issue Hunter’s speech to a deputation of leading members of the civilian and military bodies includes the remark on the challenges lying ahead, ‘This town is like the Augean stables’. Issue of *Chronicle* consulted at Garrison Library.

<sup>36</sup> An inspection of minutes of proceedings shows many matters of public concern and benefit being discussed by the Sanitary Commissioners, e.g. the installation of electric light in the commercial mole (item no. 6, p. 68, for meeting of 28 September 1904), and many submissions about water and

It should be remembered that at this stage there was no conventional political body or forum representing the civilian, largely ethnically Mediterranean, population of Gibraltar.<sup>37</sup> Jackson notes that some decades earlier - in the 1820s - the committee of the Exchange and Commercial Library had assumed the role of an *unofficial* representative body of the civilian population. This body consisted of merchants who set up an equivalent body to the Garrison Library, which was an exclusive institution for army officers and high-ranking expatriates. The Exchange Library committee had the unusual distinction of being an *elected* body (by subscribers). Blinkhorn refers to it as an 'entirely unofficial and partly elected sounding-board for local opinion'.<sup>38</sup> The committee certainly sought to advance the rights of the people, right up to the twentieth century, even when there was already a City Council. Entries in the letter book certainly bear out a concern with the popular good, mixed with a regard for the advantage of its moneyed members, and with a public congratulatory role. For instance, in March 1938, 'the recently elected committee' expresses the wish to fulfil the main object of 'promoting the welfare of the people of Gibraltar'. Among the wide range of carbon copies of letters, replies, and cables (many of these routine communications) the Committee asks the Italian consul on 1 July 1929 for the band of the visiting naval squadron to give a concert at the Alameda. Clearly, it is interested in providing both bread and circuses. And, very significantly, on 22 September 1936 it asks the Colonial Secretary to find temporary accommodation for distressed Spanish refugees who have been ejected from the camp at North Front and have been taking refuge in the lobby of the Exchange Buildings: this seems to have combined

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electricity, health and hygiene. Significantly, permission for improvements is effectively given by the Colonial Secretary. Another item concerns alterations to the boundaries of Admiralty properties (item no. 13, p. 208, meeting of 2 March 1905). Here too a colonial official (the Admiral Superintendent) holds the initiative. Again, the minutes for 2 March 1911, for item no. 9 under 'local matters', record a letter from the Colonial Secretary giving due legal notice under the Public Health Ordinance that the Governor 'authorises and requires' the Commissioners to take charge of, maintain and repair the flight of steps leading from Lower Castle Road to Upper Castle Road. Minutes of Proceedings, for 1887 – 1891, 1904 – 05, and 1910 – 1911 at the Gibraltar Government Archives. 'Mediterranean' Gibraltarian names such as Galliano and Patron occur in the list of those present at the meetings.

<sup>37</sup> Jackson, p. 229. Looking at this today, it is remarkable how far the tentacles of colonial power reached. As an example, according to the Gibraltar Blue Book, the Colonial Secretary, Lt.-Col. Alexander Beattie CMG, CBE, MC ('salary £1,465, entertainment allowance £120') is assigned the following roles: 'ex-officio member of Executive Council; Chief Commissioner of Crown property; Chairman of the Board of Education; Justice of the Peace; Member of the Board of Health; and Visiting Justice to the Mental Hospital and Civil Prison'. Gibraltar Blue Book for 1937 (date of copy amended in ink to 1940), p. 99, Gibraltar Government Archives.

<sup>38</sup> Blinkhorn, p. 52. Also cf. this chapter, pp. 23 – 24 below.

compassion with a degree of self-interest in having their headquarters building cleared. Predictably, since property owners featured strongly on the Committee, it is unhappy (27 May 1937) with the Government's proposal to abolish private ownership leases and to keep rents at a low, subsidised level.<sup>39</sup>

A further opinion-forming body, a local Chamber of Commerce, was founded in 1882, and it became associated with the Manchester Chamber. This body too, obviously created by successful and wealthy merchants, claimed some right *de facto* to speak for the people of Gibraltar, but from the second half of the century it was the Sanitary Commissioners who could be seen as the direct ancestors of the City Council which was instituted under the governorship of Smith-Dorrien in 1921.<sup>40</sup> Indeed, very early in the twentieth century there were hopes of a greater say in government. Archer quotes from a schoolchild's prizewinning essay in 1906, which combines a plea for this while voicing the imperial fervour of the time:

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.<sup>41</sup>

But it would take decades for these hopes to be realised.

## 5. CLASS INTERESTS AND 'PLAYING UP HOMOGENEITY'

When looking at the written minutes, reports and correspondence of official government authorities and the three public bodies, it is taken for granted that in a British colony there would be unfailing use of English. This assumption needs emphasising because it is easy to forget that many Gibraltarians in the nineteenth

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<sup>39</sup> In its ceremonial and congratulatory roles, the Committee on 29 June 1928 cables to congratulate the Admiralty and the aircraft carrier HMS *Eagle* 'on behalf Inhabitants Gibraltar' on the rescue of Spanish aviators from the sea. It aligns itself with *El Anunciador* and *El Calpense* on 25 February 1930, in thanking these two organs for 'el apoyo que tan desinteresada y entusiasmadamente han prestado a esta entidad hasta ahora y que confiamos han de continuar prestándole'. All references in paragraph from Exchange and Commercial Library Letter Book, Gibraltar Government Archives.

<sup>40</sup> Constantine, *Community and Identity*, pp. 322-323. City Council minutes show how subordinate the Council was to the armed services. At a meeting on 11 August 1927, for instance, it was reported that permission to reclaim part of the Inundation was refused by the Government, because the military authorities had their own scheme. City Council minutes 1927-28, Gibraltar Government Archives.

<sup>41</sup> Archer, p. 121.

century and well into the twentieth would not be conversant with English. This would have applied particularly to women, older men and many manual workers. Many would rely therefore on reports published in Spanish in *El Calpense* or *El Anunciador*. The majority of the civilian population was thus deprived of direct access to the language of record, just as all civilians at the time were deprived of a say in government. It was only in the years after the Second World War, with the advent of a new education system and the development of more representative institutions, that both aspects of this democratic deficit would be addressed.

The three bodies I have discussed, then, were made up of members of the wealthy, mercantile class. Stephen Constantine describes how they (and later the City Council and the Transport and General Workers Union), took it upon themselves to speak for the people (i.e. the ‘not British-by-birth’ inhabitants). According to Constantine, they were prominent in asserting their Britishness whenever Royal visits took place or occasions such as coronations, jubilees or weddings were celebrated.<sup>42</sup> Martens makes the revealing comment that the early Gibraltarian participation in Government was primarily ‘bourgeois participation’, with ‘a shift of hegemony from a colonial to a local bourgeoisie.’<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> This allegiance to the British monarchy, he suggests, is part of the ‘construction of Britishness’ in Gibraltar. Stephen Constantine, ‘Monarchy and Constructing Identity in “British” Gibraltar, c. 1800 to the Present,’ *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 34, 1 (March 2006), 23-44 (pp. 24, 34). Blinkhorn writes: ‘How later nineteenth-century Gibraltarians came to internalise sense of “Britishness” is another puzzle that remains to be unravelled’: ‘A Question of Identity’, p. 54. In a similar vein, two city councillors moved at a council meeting on 12 October 1927 that a letter from the Vicar General of Gibraltar should be treated as urgent. This letter invited three representatives of the City Council to join the welcoming party on the arrival by sea of the new Bishop of Gibraltar, Dr Richard Fitzgerald, and to accompany him processionally to the Cathedral. ‘It is requested that one at least of the three representatives be a Catholic to allow all corporations to be represented at the bearing of the Canopy.’ City Council minutes 1927-28, Gibraltar Government Archives.

Jara Fuente’s distinction between the elites of ‘power’ and ‘participation’, though dealing with a different country and a different time, has some resonance here: ‘el regimiento integra así mismo a los linajes de la élite de participación en el sistema político-decisional, siquiera sea en sus márgenes y en una relación de naturaleza marcadamente servicial ... Por una parte, la élite de participación accedió tarde al aprovechamiento de la jurisdicción de la ciudad y en un menor grado de intensidad y éxito que la élite de poder. José Antonio Jara Fuente, *Concejo, Poder y Élite: La clase dominante de Cuenca en el siglo XV* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2000), pp. 403-405. Jara Fuente writes about the tensions and conflicts between the two classes, the control and power wielded by the ‘élite de poder’, and how the ‘élite de participación’ enjoyed the resources of power, but not its control (p. 396). Constantine’s view of the role of the Gibraltarian merchant classes may come near to this.

<sup>43</sup> Janet Martens, ‘Gibraltar and the Gibraltarians: The Social Construction of Ethnic and Gender Identities in Gibraltar’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1986), p. 47.

There have been strong suggestions that these three early bodies were more concerned with furthering the interests of the commercial sector than with representing the wishes of the people. Chris Grocott, in his doctoral thesis, examines the role of ‘the moneyed class’ up to the outbreak of the Second World War and writes of ‘the class conflicts at play in Gibraltar’s society’. He challenges the tendency of modern local historians to hide these conflicts, and of ‘playing up homogeneity’ in their examination of imperial discourses and the evolution of Gibraltar’s post-war democracy:

The moneyed class were the perfect collaborators for the colonial authorities ... people with whom governors could easily identify and readily do business.<sup>44</sup>

The English language would also offer common ground.

Grocott adds:

It will be seen that the involvement of Gibraltarians in political bodies was piecemeal rather than organized and deliberate, and was more concerned with narrow self-interest than advancing civil self-government.<sup>45</sup>

As part of his thesis, Grocott traces the acrimonious and sometimes violent conflicts between the stevedores’ and coal heavers’ union and the employers in the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth. He stresses the local workers’ co-operation with Spanish labour unions of the time – strongly anarchist and left-wing – and the subsequent creation of the *Círculo Obrero* as a home-grown trade union.

Consistent with this view, Jose Netto, Branch Officer of the TGWU in Gibraltar during the crucial years of the 1970s, referred to class divisions at the time:

Estos grupos económicos conservaban las leyes, controlaban las leyes, y se hacían las leyes por las cuales se engañaban directamente a los trabajadores y es más, las ramificaciones de éstas que llegan casi al momento.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Chris A. Grocott, ‘The Moneyed Class of Gibraltar, c. 1880-1939’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Lancaster, 2006), pp. 5 and 115.

<sup>45</sup> Grocott, p. 34.

<sup>46</sup> Interview with JN, April 2009.

According to this perception, solidarity existed within demarcations of class rather than nationality. It is an approach also favoured by Gareth Stockey who sees the border as a ‘process’ rather than a strict political barrier and examines the geographical and cultural commonality of the Spanish and Gibraltarian working class between the turn of the twentieth century and Franco’s imposition of restrictions from 1954. Stockey discusses how Gibraltarian opinion was polarised when the Spanish Civil War broke out, with the Governor, services and Establishment supporting the insurgents, and the working class in sympathy with the Republic. The ‘moneyed’ class, argues Stockey, also had common ground with the colonial rulers and the Catholic Church in supporting the Spanish Right, so that the oft-proclaimed homogeneity of Gibraltarian political opinion was totally subverted by cross-border sympathies based on class (and language behaviour too). Stockey explodes the myth that Gibraltarians generally favoured the Nationalists and only changed views later, when awareness of their atrocities intensified and Franco aligned Spain with the Axis powers during the Second World War. In fact, while this was certainly true of the change of attitude eventually undergone by many initial right-wing sympathisers in Gibraltar, and there were many complexities in the choices of loyalty and alignment in these years, the working class had indeed consistently identified with their pro-Republican counterparts across the border.<sup>47</sup>

This class solidarity would have been in keeping with capital / labour conflict in Europe at the time. From the point of view of this thesis, it shows the ‘coming of age’ of Gibraltar’s working class and, by its identification with the Spanish labour movement, it emphasises the more Spanish origins (as opposed to British or Genoese) of this class. (In fact, many Gibraltarian workers and their families, at times of economic hardship in Gibraltar, lived in La Línea where rents were much lower.) It also shows the ability of the less privileged to begin to organise themselves – a prelude to the development of the Association for the Advancement of Civil Rights

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<sup>47</sup> Stockey, pp. 87-97. He also discusses the attitude of the Church in Gibraltar. It was of course strongly for the insurgents. However, Caruana writes that Bishop Fitzgerald did not renew contract with some Spanish monastic orders because ‘some Spanish priests had voiced anti-British feelings ... The local priests deprecated the monks [who were] responsible with their political bias for that sector of the population who had turned anti-clerical. It took the better part of 40 years to undo the harm done by priests taking sides in political matters’. Charles Caruana, *The Rock Under a Cloud* (Cambridge: Silent Books, 1989), p. 128.



and the Gibraltar trade unions in the 1940s. As a result of contact with outside forces and the contemporary historical trends, a new aspect of the Gibraltarian identity was here developing. The close connection with the Spanish trade unions is a further reminder of the preponderant use of Spanish among the Gibraltarian working class at the time. Political affiliations and language behaviour were much closer to each other then than they were to become. Because, although the language of the Gibraltarian working-class remained Spanish for many years yet, new labour and political developments were to strengthen its links with Britain.

Grocott points out how the ‘moneyed classes’ and the colonial authorities welcomed the affiliation of the union with the British Transport and General Workers Union shortly afterwards in 1919. This was to them a more acceptable organisation because it was more controllable.<sup>48</sup>

In fact, rather than join the Spanish socialists, the Gibraltar socialists and trade union members had formed themselves into a branch of the British Social Democrat Federation twenty years earlier. The visit in 1898 by Lorenzo Quelch from SDF headquarters in England to support the coal heavers consolidated this link. Quelch describes how the colonial authorities and the merchants greatly preferred to be dealing with him and a British organisation rather than with Spanish labour unions.<sup>49</sup> Assimilation into the TGWU came later.<sup>50</sup> Incorporation into a British trade union would obviously be a step in the direction of anglicisation and eventually more widespread contact with the English language among the workers. This became an important issue. Indeed, Quelch reveals his language difficulties in Gibraltar: fewer than a third of those present at union meetings could understand English, and he needed interpreters, although he had no problems with officials and clerks.<sup>51</sup> But the paradox in this move towards the British trade union movement is that, whereas the

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<sup>48</sup> Grocott, p. 159. Cf. Lorenzo Quelch, *An Old-Fashioned Socialist* (Reading: Lorenzo Quelch Memorial Group, 1992), pp. 49, 61; also cf. interview with Jose Netto in Gibraltar, April 2009.

<sup>49</sup> The coal merchants even went as far as to offer to pay his salary if he returned to settle in Gibraltar to lead the Branch. Quelch, p. 61.

<sup>50</sup> However, in the years after Quelch’s departure, and preceding the formation of the TGWU in Gibraltar, Gibraltarian workers ‘joined their Spanish comrades in several bitter industrial disputes’. Stockey, p. 40. For industrial unrest in this period, see also, for example, YF 951/07, YF 1009/07, YF 1180/07, Gibraltar Government Archives.

<sup>51</sup> Quelch, pp. 50–55. See footnote 88, p. 31, below.

adoption of British institutions have normally marked social and political emancipation in the history of Gibraltarians, this particular one actually represented a conservative move towards greater establishment control.<sup>52</sup>

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The handwritten minutes of meetings and the reports of the Exchange and Commercial Library at the Gibraltar Government Archives tell us much about how this body perceived its responsibilities. My conclusion is that, despite the reservations about its role, there is a strong inclination on the part of the Exchange Committee to meet the needs of the community. As examples:

English Composition classes: Applications from Messrs. Stemp, Beneluz and Summer were read.

Mr Summer's application was accepted on the following terms: Two classes to take place weekly at the Exchange Rooms of 1½ hours duration each with the remuneration of half a guinea per lesson<sup>53</sup>

In line with this provision, among the typewritten reports on the work done by the Exchange Committee during 1919 there is a strong plea for a much greater effort to improve the teaching of English. This will be examined later. Here too there is a concern for a matter that would advantage all Gibraltarians: there is no intention of keeping the English language in an elitist enclave, however much it was associated with the Establishment.<sup>54</sup>

A tribute to Mr Michael Parral for his work in *El Calpense* is followed by a letter from Buenos Aires:

The *Calpense* ... has always endeavoured to fight for the welfare of the Colony. It has championed the cause of those measures which in its opinion tended to *improve Gibraltar and the condition of its inhabitants*. [My italics]<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> We must remember, however, that the Workers' Union obtained a large majority of the elective seats in five of the pre-war City Council elections: Diane Sloma, 'Gibraltar, Fortress and Colony in Strategy, Economics and War, 1918-1947' (unpublished doctoral thesis for Anglia Polytechnic, Cambridge, 2000), p. 94. The union's councillors were by no means quiescent: see, for example, Thomas J. Finlayson, 'Gibraltar's First Election', *GHJ*, 3 (1996), 7-14.

<sup>53</sup> Exchange and Commercial Library, minutes of meeting of 19 July 1917, Gibraltar Government Archives.

<sup>54</sup> It is significant from the point of view of this study that these exchanges took place and were recorded in the official language, rather than that of the people that they aimed to benefit.

<sup>55</sup> Tribute to Mr Michael Parral in letter from Buenos Aires, Exchange and Commercial Library minutes and reports, 19 July 1917. Book no. 14, September 1916- July 1917, Gibraltar Government Archives.

There is also an article in Spanish about ‘el asunto de los mercados’, especially irregularities about the supply and pricing of fish, from Mr Bellotti; and an appended extract from either *El Calpense* or *El Anunciador* of Mr Serfaty’s speech, criticising the delay in appointing Mr Bellotti as Exchange representative on the Markets Committee. Fish was a staple diet for the poorer classes in Gibraltar, where the price of meat was high, and Bellotti’s concern for its pricing typifies the paternalistic protection that the merchants of the Exchange Committee sought to give the public.<sup>56</sup>

Whatever its composition and democratic deficit, therefore, the Exchange Committee genuinely had awareness of the people’s needs and interests. Similar observations could be made about the Chamber of Commerce and the Sanitary Commissioners. While Grocott is right in seeing these bodies as sharing many interests with the colonial establishment, the portrayal of them as mere adjuncts to this establishment (or ‘perfect collaborators for the colonial authorities’) needs to be nuanced.<sup>57</sup> Judging from the evidence in this and the previous page, they were very much part of the Gibraltarian community, class differences notwithstanding. More moderately, Blinkhorn states that the merchant class could ‘organize, articulate and mobilize’. While he finds it hard to say if they enjoyed the support they claimed to represent ‘the interests of Gibraltar as a whole, ... [this] claim was comparable to those made by many ‘subaltern’ elites in the heyday of colonialism.’<sup>58</sup>

Indeed, Grocott (and Constantine) disagree with those, like Dr Howes, who saw the eventual foundation of the Legislative Council as part of a continual process going back to the creation of a Board of Health in 1815.<sup>59</sup> This is a viable argument, but in any study of the development of the Gibraltarian identity one must give due importance to the role played by these bodies, no matter how paternalistic and unrepresentative by modern standards, in showing (and acting upon) concern for the welfare of the people. This elite, moneyed, English-speaking, and largely untypical of the population, would one day find common cause with the majority. In the Evacuation, in the middle of the twentieth century and beyond, as well as in the

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., Gibraltar Government Archives.

<sup>57</sup> Grocott, p. 115. It is doubtful whether any democratic advance has ever taken place without one interest group or another being benefited: it is unlikely that Gibraltar’s elite was solely motivated by considerations of their own self-interests.

<sup>58</sup> Blinkhorn, p. 53.

<sup>59</sup> Grocott, p. 34.

development of political rights and the growth in the use of the English language, there would be a convergence of interests. The elite, no less than the lower classes would contribute to the formation of the Gibraltarian identity. It seems to me that Howes, and others who have traced the later development of representative institutions in Gibraltar similarly, are not mistaken. Many democracies today have origins no less bourgeois, paternalistic or indeed ‘moneyed’ than Gibraltar’s.

## 6. RELIGIOUS HARMONY IN GIBRALTAR

Religious tolerance and the harmonious coexistence of different ethnic groups has been one of the defining factors of Gibraltar’s history. Jackson and others (such as Hills) pay tribute to the freedom enjoyed by the Catholic Church in Gibraltar - greater indeed than in Britain throughout the period and than in Spain in the late nineteenth century. Edward Archer observes that the freedom of worship guaranteed to Catholics by the Treaty of Utrecht and the amicable coexistence between the Anglican and the Catholic Churches in Gibraltar were established at a time when Roman Catholicism was the object of deep discrimination in England.<sup>60</sup> One reason for this harmony, apart from the need for it in a crowded, restricted fortress, was the growing independence of the Catholic Church in Gibraltar from the Spanish hierarchy (from 1816 there were no diocesan links with Spain). The diocese became ‘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’. Gibraltar was elevated in status from a Vicariate to a Diocese in 1910.<sup>61</sup>

Bishop Caruana gave a powerful example of religious tolerance in Gibraltar:

There was a need for poor children to be taught, and so the Governor managed to get the head of the Catholic school, for Catholics, also the wardens of the Jewish Church and the wardens of the Anglican Church and got them together, and decided to build the first school in Castle Road in 1832 – a state school, where religion was to be taught; and then a conscience clause was invented, whereby during school nobody could poach or proselytise or teach religion to people who were not of the same faith ... and the Catholics had to have a priest teaching the vulgate version of the Bible,

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<sup>60</sup> Archer, p. 93.

<sup>61</sup> Caruana, pp. v, 122-124.

the Jews their ... whatever they have, their Bible, and the Anglicans the [King] James's version they were specified at the time. During classes they got the best of teaching available, but when religion was to be taught they used to go to their different classrooms taught by the different teachers (rabbis for Jews, Catholics for Catholics, Anglicans for Anglicans) ...

Even today the Vatican Council has never proposed anything like that ... This has created the society we have now.<sup>62</sup>

This perception of the need for separate religious instruction (sometimes in different languages) for Catholic, Anglican and Jewish pupils provides another early indication of the degree of tolerance that shaped the Gibraltarian community. By the first half of the nineteenth century Gibraltar emerged as a community accommodating different races, religious beliefs and languages, and the interdependence of these three elements was very marked in its developing identity.<sup>63</sup>

But all this was gradual. The Methodists had a more difficult journey on the road to freedom of worship, at least in the garrison, where attending prayer meetings could result in courts-martial and lashes in the early nineteenth century. They too eventually secured their rights and their church, whilst Presbyterians benefited from the prominence of Scottish governors, regiments and civilians in Gibraltar's history. And the Jews, apart from an early period when their religion was mocked at the Easter Saturday procession, had enjoyed worship in their long-established synagogues since soon after 1704.<sup>64</sup>

## 7. THE LANGUAGE SITUATION, 1704-1940

### (a) The Early Mixture

Let us now look back more closely at the language situation in Gibraltar. The Genoese language, which received a huge impetus from the second half of the eighteenth century, with many immigrants arriving from Genoa, was kept alive (at least in the Catalan Bay village on the eastern side of the Rock) until early in the

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<sup>62</sup> Interview with BC, April 2009.

<sup>63</sup> Archer, p. 97.

<sup>64</sup> See Archer, chapter 'Religion and the Churches', pp. 93–106.

twentieth century. However, there is little doubt that by the time the population began to coalesce and merge into an identifiable ‘Gibraltarian’ community (by the early decades of the nineteenth century, well before *official* recognition as such) Spanish was becoming the principal or only language of most civilians.<sup>65</sup>

One reason for this was that the many Jews who came to Gibraltar from Morocco after the capture spoke Sephardic Spanish: Kramer explains why this type of Spanish would have been congenial to the inhabitants:

Many phonetic features of Jewish Spanish, with its inherited archaisms, stand nearer to Italian pronunciation than to standard English or even to Andalusian.<sup>66</sup>

Also quoting Kramer, Errico states that this Spanish and Genoese were ‘mutually intelligible’ and that ‘there was little need to adopt Andalusian (the *adstratum*) as the lingua franca’.<sup>67</sup> However, it appears that Jewish Spanish was eventually assimilated by Andalusian Spanish in the nineteenth century. Rafael Lapesa writes:

Los judíos de Marruecos y Oriente han conservado con tenacidad sus tradiciones. En boca suya se encuentran romances y dichos antiguos que se han olvidado en la Península ... Característico del judeo-español es su extraordinario arcaísmo ... la decadencia del judeo-español es progresiva y abrumadora: reducido al ámbito familiar, su léxico primitivo se ha empobrecido extraordinariamente.<sup>68</sup>

And Benady states:

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<sup>65</sup> Cf. Thomas J. Finlayson, ‘The true origins of the vast majority of present-day Gibraltarians are to be found in this period’ [the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth]: typescript of talk to the Gibraltar Heritage Society, c. 2000, ‘The Gibraltarian since 1704’, pp. 13-14. See also Howes, *The Gibraltarian*, p. 98. For the growth of Spanish in Gibraltar in this period see Ballantine, *GHJ*, 7 (2000), pp. 115-116

<sup>66</sup> Johannes Kramer, *English and Spanish in Gibraltar* (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1986), p. 14. Kramer quotes W.J. Entwistle, *The Spanish Language* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952), pp. 177-183.

<sup>67</sup> Elena Errico, ‘Gibraltar: A Hybrid of Language and Culture’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Università degli Studi di Bologna, 1996-97), p. 33. Various communities appear to have kept up the language. (Mr Tony Aguilera saw evidence of this in the Florence synagogue – personal communication.)

<sup>68</sup> Rafael Lapesa, *Historia de la Lengua Española*, 8<sup>th</sup> ed. (Madrid: Ediciones Gredos, 1980), pp. 523-529. Kramer also quotes Lapesa. Dorothy Prior too believes that this type of Spanish (‘lingua franca’) had died out in Gibraltar by the middle of the nineteenth century. Dorothy Prior, *A Short History of Loreto in Gibraltar* (Gibraltar: Doma, 2005), p. 11. Also see Manuel Alvar, *Manual de dialectología hispánica: El español de España* (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel S.A., 1996), section on ‘el judeo-español’, pp. 341-377.

The main outside cultural influence for the Jews as for most other Gibraltarians at the time was Spanish rather than English. When a Jewish paper was published for a short time in 1843, the *Crónica Israelita* was printed in Spanish.<sup>69</sup>

Different commentators have touched on this subject. Archer refers to these North African Jews as ‘the first incomers’, and states that their form of Spanish was the language of commerce in the Western Mediterranean.<sup>70</sup>

This Jewish population was undoubtedly influential. Tito M. Benady writes of the important trade with Tetuán after the capture and that, ‘within a few years’, the Jews formed half of the civilian and trading population of Gibraltar and were ‘the nucleus round which the new Gibraltarian culture developed’.<sup>71</sup> The average proportion of the Jewish population in the early censuses was 26%. As with other groups, their numbers rose in the eighteenth century, and it must be remembered that their influence, socially and commercially, was disproportionate. Kellermann writes that ‘their services became indispensable to the garrison’ and that they ‘began to dominate commercial life’.<sup>72</sup> In fact, from the middle of the nineteenth century they were regarded by some as ‘the mainstay of Gibraltar’s middle class’, influential in trade and eventually even more so in politics.<sup>73</sup> The importance of this community in trade and society ensured that the impact of their Sephardic dialect of Spanish would be very marked.

In addition the population of Spanish origin gradually grew considerably. This was another reason why Spanish was becoming a mother tongue for a large part of the

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<sup>69</sup> Tito M. Benady, ‘The Jewish Community of Gibraltar’, in *The Sephardi Heritage, The Western Sephardim*, ed. by Richard D. Barnett, and Walter M. Schwab (Grendon: Gibraltar Books, 1989), ii, 144–179 (pp. 169–174). Abraham B.M. Serfaty, *Jews of Gibraltar under British Rule* (Gibraltar: Garrison Library Publications, 1933) also describes the value to Gibraltar of the Jews’ trade links with Morocco during hostilities with Spain. He writes of the important services to Gibraltar of men like Aaron Cardozo and Judah Benoliel, pp. 9, 18. This theme is echoed by Sir Joshua Hassan in his published lecture ‘The Treaty of Utrecht 1713 and the Jews of Gibraltar’ (London: The Jewish Historical Society of England, 1970), p. 2.

<sup>70</sup> Archer, p. 107.

<sup>71</sup> T. Benady, ‘The Jewish Community of Gibraltar’, pp. 145–147.

<sup>72</sup> Anja Kellermann, *A New New English: Language, Politics and Identity in Gibraltar* (Heidelberg: University of Heidelberg, 2001), p. 22.

<sup>73</sup> Archer, pp. 93–106. Archer also notes good inter-faith relations and co-operation in Gibraltar today, including the Muslim and Hindu religions. But cf. Janet Martens’ thesis, discussed below, Chapter V, pp. 186–187. Serfaty describes the mockery and burning of effigies of Jews on Easter Saturday in Castle Steps near the synagogue: a practice only stopped in 1917. Serfaty, p. 169.

civilian population. Genoese, Italian and Portuguese were increasingly absorbed.<sup>74</sup> Was this Spanish influenced by the so-called Western Mediterranean mixture known as ‘lingua franca’? López de Ayala refers to civilians speaking ‘un dialecto o jerga común a todas las naciones sin excluir las africanas’.<sup>75</sup> Other writers speak of Spanish itself as the ‘lingua franca’ of the western Mediterranean.<sup>76</sup> However, according to Levey:

The possible existence of a widespread Mediterranean lingua franca remains an enigma ... its structure and content is highly speculative.<sup>77</sup>

In the 1830s Genoese immigrants made up more than half Gibraltar’s population. It is not clear exactly when Genoese ceases to be a mainstream language in Gibraltar. Blinkhorn refers to the ‘disappearance of “Italian” dialects, menorquín, Portuguese and Maltese’, tracing this ‘back to the eighteenth century during which Spanish became the *lingua franca*’.<sup>78</sup> This seems rather early for the disappearance of Genoese. Kramer, discussing the language shift in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, recognises that Spanish became dominant (the *adstratum*) because Spain was next door to Gibraltar, and that by the third generation of the post-capture resettlement of the Rock, Spanish had become the ‘mother language’. He seems to be on strong ground when he claims that ‘the abandonment of Genoese by the local population and its replacement by Spanish seem to have occurred in the first third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century’, although ‘contemporary sources do not tell us anything about this important linguistic change’.<sup>79</sup> Significantly, the Governor’s proclamations were published in English, Spanish and Italian until the nineteenth century: the last time the Governor used Italian besides English and Spanish in an official proclamation was in

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<sup>74</sup> Sergius Ballantine, ‘Spanish and English in Gibraltar: Development and Characteristics of two Languages in a Bilingual Community’, *GHJ*, 7 (2000), 115-124 (p. 116).

<sup>75</sup> López de Ayala, p. 374.

<sup>76</sup> For example, ‘It [Spanish] was the *Lingua Franca* of the whole of the Western Mediterranean, including Morocco.’ Jackson, p. 247.

<sup>77</sup> David Levey, *Language Change and Variation in Gibraltar*, Impact: Studies in Language and Society, 23 (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamin Publishing Company, 2008), p. 22.

<sup>78</sup> Blinkhorn, p. 49.

<sup>79</sup> Kramer, pp. 54 -56. Errico agrees that at this time ‘Genoese and other Romance vernaculars spoken in Gibraltar disappeared and were replaced by Andalusian Spanish’ (p. 34).



1836.<sup>80</sup> As might be expected, however, Genoese has left a big influence on Gibraltarian Spanish, as will be seen in Chapter VI.

Kellermann too writes of the growing Gibraltarian contact with the hinterland in the nineteenth century, partly because of the greater co-operation of Britain and Spain. With intermarriage there came many Spanish-speaking mothers and thus more contact with the language. She quotes Jackson's reference to Sir Robert Gardiner, Governor from 1848 to 1855, saying that Gibraltarian civilians were Spanish in habits and language.<sup>81</sup> Hence the 'emergence of a localised form of Andalusian Spanish, with lexical borrowings from Genoese' and other languages – the *lingua franca* of Gibraltar eventually known as Yanito.<sup>82</sup> Ballantine dates the starting point of Yanito rather earlier as the second half of the eighteenth century, when the Genoese influence was becoming strong.<sup>83</sup>

In recent years, there has been much discussion by Gibraltarian and other researchers and writers as to the origin of the word, whilst the linguistic status of Yanito as an identity marker vis-à-vis both Spain and latterly Britain has been studied in detail. Two Yanito dictionaries have been produced by Gibraltarians.<sup>84</sup> Ballantine's dating of its genesis to the eighteenth century seems to make good sense, bearing in mind demographic patterns, different Mediterranean linguistic influences and also the growing (and returning) use of Spanish by then. The emerging dialect would have developed a particular character in a small, heterogeneous and largely sealed-in community. I deal more fully with Yanito and language shift in Chapter VI.

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<sup>80</sup> Kramer, p. 56, quoting Dr J.W.V. Cumming, former Gibraltar Government archivist. Modrey claims that 'during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the language situation did not change much'. This cannot be correct, but she is right when she continues, 'Spanish and its local variant continued to be spoken in both formal and informal settings'. Modrey, p. 32.

<sup>81</sup> Lutgardo López Zaragoza, *Guía de Gibraltar y su Campo* (Cádiz: publisher not stated, 1899) is perhaps an example of the influence of the Spanish language at the time. It is a factual, sympathetic directory of contemporary Gibraltar and the Campo area. It is all in Spanish, even the advertisements for British products, and conveys a very Spanish ambience. Although the prologue states that the book 'tiende a llenar un vacío en esta importante región, poco ó mal conocida del resto de España', it is also likely to have been intended for a Gibraltarian public.

<sup>82</sup> Kellermann, *A New New English*, p. 88.

<sup>83</sup> 'A local dialect began to develop which became the starting point for Llanito'. Ballantine *GHI*, 7 (2000), p. 116.

<sup>84</sup> Tito Vallejo, *The Yanito Dictionary* (Gibraltar: Panorama Publishing, 2001) and Manuel Cavilla in *Diccionario Yanito* (Gibraltar: Medsun, 1990) give many examples of Genoese-derived words in recent or current use in Gibraltar. Also personal information by e-mail from Mr Tony Aguilera. (Cf. pp. 234-240, below).

## (b) English and Spanish at Work and in Politics

What was the position of English in these years? Jackson writes that ‘Only the garrison spoke English’.<sup>85</sup> Except for a small number of the more enterprising tradesmen, this would have been broadly true in the early years. For until education was developed English was obviously not the language of the civilians (except of course those civilians from Britain and Ireland who were attached to the armed forces).

Kramer writes that in the first decades of the nineteenth century a good mastery of English ‘began to be taken for granted as a necessity for jobs’,<sup>86</sup> but these must surely have been jobs close to the colonial establishment, since other accounts (e.g. Jackson above) make it clear that on the whole the great majority of civilians existed comfortably without much English. Ballantine says that it was not until the twentieth century that English ‘received an impetus’.<sup>87</sup>

Thus, for the century up to 1940 Spanish was the principal spoken language of the majority of Gibraltarians.<sup>88</sup>

The official attitude to Gibraltarians’ problems with English had already been expressed forcefully at the highest level. In a speech to the Chamber of Commerce in 1913 Governor Sir Archibald Hunter bemoaned the language difficulty for the police:

They all ought to speak English ... No man should draw British pay in a Government employment in Gibraltar who cannot speak intelligible English – intelligible to a British visitor. Some of our Police fall short of such a standard. Yet no policeman can direct traffic who does not possess a knowledge of colloquial Spanish ... When wanted urgently the telephone operator at the Colonial Hospital is a man who cannot speak English, not even the gibberish that passes here for English. English is no

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<sup>85</sup> Jackson, p. 247.

<sup>86</sup> Kramer, p. 56.

<sup>87</sup> Ballantine, *GHJ*, 7 (2000), p. 116.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Quelch, on his visit to Gibraltar to assist the Coal Porters Union. ‘My inability to speak or understand the Spanish language was a hindrance to me in connection with my contact with the rank and file of the Union ... this difficulty did not arise with the foremen and the committee of the Union, or employers’. Quelch, p. 55.

better spoken here in general than by Kaffir rickshaw-men in Durban and nothing like so well as by a donkey-boy at Suez or Cairo.<sup>89</sup>

But in the last few decades of this period English was gaining greater currency as the language of work, and as we shall see was being taught in schools (and more and more used as the medium of instruction) to this end:

If you worked for someone like the MOD you had no option but to use English in discussion with them.<sup>90</sup>

[Referring to the 1930s] The aim of these families would have been to get their children to work with official employers, i.e. Colonial Government, UK departments, City Council, Boards ... the longer the stay [at school] the better the knowledge of English ... the prospect of better employment would have gone hand in hand with a good knowledge of English and the lack of formal qualifications may not have been a hindrance.<sup>91</sup>

Chris Grocott, pursuing his theme of class divisions in Gibraltar, comments perceptively on how the British administration in ‘overtly Spanish surroundings’ even made ‘language significant for class relationships’:

The poorly educated workers spoke mainly Spanish, or a heavy accented mixture of both Spanish and English; whilst the moneyed classes were careful to perfect their English accents and would never be seen speaking Spanish in public. The English language came to reinforce class, preventing those without knowledge of the official language from moving up the social or economic scale – it became a tool of class, and an identifier of it.

And:

Opportunities to enter the moneyed class were limited to those who could afford an education that taught such necessary skills as a command of written and spoken English.<sup>92</sup>

Later, he writes:

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<sup>89</sup> *Gibraltar Chronicle*, 31 January 1913, p. 2.

<sup>90</sup> Interview with TA in April 2009.

<sup>91</sup> Mr Tony Aguilera, e-mail, 20 July 2008.

<sup>92</sup> Grocott, pp. 11, 22.

The vast majority of Gibraltarians spoke Spanish as a first language, and very little (if any) English. This language barrier ... stood between the working class and the moneyed-class society.<sup>93</sup>

Indeed, in her foreword to the *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* for 2008, which is dedicated to the labour movement in Gibraltar, J. Ballantine Perera states:

in the early days of trade unionism in Gibraltar, a Gibraltarian workforce would have more in common with their Spanish counterparts – they shared a language and a sense of class-consciousness – than with the mostly English speaking elite. Spanish as a language of left-wing action plays an important role in the articulation of workers' rights.<sup>94</sup>

Grocott convincingly assesses the socio-cultural value of English vis-à-vis the colonial establishment. Nevertheless, not all those who gained from English as a result of their education were necessarily members of 'the moneyed class'. As we shall see later in the discussion about education in Gibraltar, the use of English in schools, even if certainly fragmented and far from universal, goes back at least as far as the 1830s. Levey writes that by the end of the century over 2,500 children were 'receiving a basic education in some form', although he rightly points out:

The basic English grounding that the majority did receive was not enough to change linguistic habits, especially as most children rarely used English outside the classroom.<sup>95</sup>

And he does remind us of the existence of fee-paying secondary schools. In those schools the Christian Brothers and the Loreto nuns fulfilled an important role; in fact their presence was strong in primary education as well. English was bound to have a strong profile wherever they taught.

Modrey points out that even early editions of the *Chronicle* were bilingual. She traces the development of bilingualism to the first decades of the nineteenth century; by the beginning of the twentieth century the upper class was fluent in English, but did not have much influence on the language situation as a whole:

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<sup>93</sup> He quotes Blinkhorn: 'Fluent English was a prerequisite for dealing with the colonial activities ... access to English language education, therefore, placed them in a highly privileged position in Gibraltarian society giving them both political access and "socio-cultural prestige" '. Grocott, pp. 101-102, quoting Blinkhorn, pp. 49 -50.

<sup>94</sup> Jennifer Ballantine Perera, 'Foreword', *GHJ*, 15 (2008), 1-6 (p. 2).

<sup>95</sup> Levey, pp. 26-28.

The changes in the development and therefore the wider use of English with time is to be found in the community itself, in the lower and middle classes.<sup>96</sup>

Modrey rightly states that Spanish was spoken by ‘the poorer section of the population’, and this would have been the majority of the population.<sup>97</sup>

But the *presence* of the English language was always an important factor. Kellermann suggests that from early on there was a recognition by some in the civilian population of the importance of a working knowledge of English. The Jewish community tended to speak more English;<sup>98</sup> and the public interest shown in the first denominational schools in the 1830s and 40s also indicates such recognition. These, as Modrey also suggests, may have been the first seeds of Gibraltar English-Spanish bilingualism, 100 years before English became the ‘other tongue’ of the Gibraltarians.<sup>99</sup>

This is what Kellermann herself regards as Gibraltar’s language shift, gathering momentum in the second half of the twentieth century.

In the course of her research in Gibraltar, Kellermann conducted a survey to analyse the cross-generational competence in English and Spanish among the 120 parents of informants going back to individuals born before 1917.<sup>100</sup> In her graph, of those who come under working- and lower middle-class status in the age-group of Gibraltarians born from 1890 to 1937, men are on 3.8 and women on 4.6 on a scale where full monolingual Spanish represents 5. That is to say, women (predominantly) and men who were in most cases too old to benefit from the post-war education system come out as largely dominant Spanish speakers, with ‘some knowledge of English’.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> She refers to Kramer and Kellermann when discussing ‘language disloyalty’: ‘the mother tongue is regarded as dangerous to the lifestyle the Gibraltarians have chosen’. Modrey, pp. 32-33.

<sup>97</sup> Modrey, p. 19. But cf. her comment on language change, p. 30 above, footnote 80.

<sup>98</sup> ‘The Jews had led the population in speaking English whenever possible’. Kramer, p. 16, quoting Howes, p. 123. Archer too makes this point, p. 107.

<sup>99</sup> Kellermann, *A New New English*, pp. 89-90.

<sup>100</sup> ‘By analysing the correlation between language knowledge, age, sex and socio-economic status, it has been possible to depict the development of bilingualism in Gibraltar as an apparent-time process.’ Kellermann, *ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>101</sup> However, competence in English was much higher among the upper-middle and upper classes (under 3 on the scale for the generation born in 1958-1977 – defined somewhere between ‘balanced bilingual’ and ‘English dominant’ speakers). Kellermann, *ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

Kellermann's graph confirms that at the beginning of the twentieth century the average working class Gibraltarian had little knowledge of English. This is consistent with some of the comments above.

On balance, therefore, it seems fair to say that up to the outbreak of the Second World War English would not have been the language for everyday use: Spanish would have been regarded as the language of home, leisure and culture, and even of the popular press.

### (c) The Language of Worship and Culture

Unsurprisingly, Spanish was used extensively in the Catholic Church in Gibraltar in the period under consideration. Bishop Caruana emphasised that Spanish was, for the first and second centuries of British rule, 'very much the commentary-type, and supporting, language. Because Latin was the language of the liturgy'.<sup>102</sup>

When Irish soldiers were allowed to attend Catholic services after the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act (1829), they, like English Catholic civilian families, experienced difficulties with the clergy's use of Spanish. 'A request for the appointment of English-speaking priests was promptly answered.'<sup>103</sup> This move – progressive for the time – symbolised the accommodation of different faiths that existed in Gibraltar as well as its diverse linguistic needs.

However, popular entertainment and culture in Gibraltar, certainly up to the Second World War, were usually in the Spanish language and of a Spanish and Mediterranean character. In his recent book, Joseph L. Morello carries out a thorough survey of the work of Gibraltarian musical and dramatic writers and performers. Having researched the history of the Theatre Royal, the chief centre of the performing arts in Gibraltar for many years, Morello writes:

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<sup>102</sup> Interview with BC, April 2009.

<sup>103</sup> Caruana, p. 47.

There was a tremendous following of musical culture on the Rock, with the Agrupación Artística Calpense (formed in 1927) at the forefront and zarzuelas and musical concerts being the most popular form of musical entertainment.<sup>104</sup>

The theatre had opened in 1847 with a Verdi opera:

And thus began a period spanning over 120 years of operas, zarzuelas, concerts and occasionally special events. The theatre was vibrant with life and vitality.<sup>105</sup>

It becomes clear how powerful Spanish musical culture was then.<sup>106</sup>

The English-language influence in popular entertainment would have been limited to a proportion of films after the introduction of ‘talkies’ in 1931. Unsurprisingly many British and American films were shown dubbed into Spanish, as a glance at the listings in the papers of the time demonstrates. Some radio listeners would have tuned in to the BBC Empire Service, and indeed there was official encouragement for this. A letter from Governor General Harrington to the Colonial Secretary Ormsby-Gore, states rather authoritatively:

After consulting the Executive Council, I am of opinion that the introduction of the Empire Service of any language other than English is, as far as Gibraltar is concerned, unnecessary.<sup>107</sup>

But listeners to the Empire Service would have been a minority, for it is probable that most Gibraltarians who owned a wireless set tuned in to Spanish radio stations.

Kellermann backs up this point, basing herself on issues of nineteenth and early twentieth century newspapers:

social activities and cultural events were conducted in Spanish and were very Spanish in style. Artists from all over Spain now performed at the Theatre Royal, while English-language plays were

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<sup>104</sup> Joseph L. Morello, *Memories of Our Recent Past: Cultural Recollections and Events in Gibraltar* (Gibraltar: Insight Publications, 2007), p. 13.

<sup>105</sup> Morello, p. 14.

<sup>106</sup> Morello, pp. 32, 46-50. A number of those interviewed by Morello, such as Nemesio Mosquera, speak of their participation in zarzuela and cultural events. In addition, many variety shows (in Spanish) were produced by Gibraltarian writers.

<sup>107</sup> Letter of 5 November 1936, Gibraltar Government Archives, YF 335/1936.

rare events.<sup>108</sup>

## 8. THE ENGLISH- AND SPANISH-LANGUAGE PRESS BEFORE 1940

A study of the Gibraltar press gives a clear insight into language and cultural patterns in this period. The quasi-official *Gibraltar Chronicle* and the popular, predominantly Spanish-language papers *El Calpense* and *El Anunciador* can be compared and contrasted. (The *Gibraltar Guardian* was a very short-lived publication.)

Modrey writes that ‘Spanish-language papers had considerable impact on the language situation’.<sup>109</sup> Indeed, *El Calpense*, founded in 1868, and *El Anunciador* (1885), both now defunct, comfortably outsold the *Gibraltar Chronicle*, a newspaper not really intended for the majority of civilians. However, a Spanish-language press was officially viewed with suspicion.<sup>110</sup> Indeed, Agustín Parral had been denied permission to start *El Calpense* in 1841.

For this part of the chapter *Gibraltar Chronicles* from the period 1935-37, 1940, and also 1945-46, were consulted.<sup>111</sup> This was done to test the hypothesis that the *Chronicle* was, certainly in the pre-war years, a paper of the colonial and military establishment, not concerning itself primarily with events affecting the civilian community, and mainly read by serving and expatriate Britons. It would also be read by those Gibraltarians who, through commercial or social standing – and of course fluency in English – had gained a degree of assimilation into that establishment. It was Gibraltar’s paper of record.

As an example, the issue for Wednesday, 2 January 1935 (the paper was then entitled *The Gibraltar Chronicle and Official Gazette*)<sup>112</sup> starts off with a five-column

<sup>108</sup> Kellermann, *A New New English*, p. 89.

<sup>109</sup> Modrey, p. 32.

<sup>110</sup> Governor Wilson believed that the security of Gibraltar required a strong British rather than Spanish cultural influence: Kellermann, *A New New English*, p. 88, quoting Tito Benady in *Almoraima*, 8 (1992), 29 – 32. Cf. Francisco Tornay de Cózar, *Gibraltar y su Prensa* (Cádiz: Diputación Provincial, 1997), p. 48.

<sup>111</sup> At the British Library newspaper reading room at Colindale. The *Chronicle* was also consulted at the Garrison Library, which holds a complete collection, at the Gibraltar Government Archives, and at the National Library of Scotland. Dates of citations in this section are included in the main text.

<sup>112</sup> Prior to 1919 the subtitle had been *Commercial Intelligencer*. The Official Gazette subtitle was introduced because ‘in the absence of a separate Gazette [the *Chronicle*] was the only place where



‘London letter’ on the front page, covering the current naval negotiations between the European powers, other European matters and Western Australia’s proposals for secession. There are on the second page full details of the British New Year Honours awards and, under ‘overseas news’, details of Hitler’s New Year’s proclamation and an account of a territorial dispute. One has to get to the third page to read anything with a Gibraltarian content, and that is largely of a social nature, such as the Governor’s message for the New Year, and advertisements for a dance at the Rock Hotel, the Royal Calpe Hunt, and horse racing at North Front.<sup>113</sup> The 4 January issue has extensive reports on the Asturian miners’ rising among its news coverage, and on 8 January the *Chronicle* reports the assassination of Kirov.<sup>114</sup>

The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War saw a great influx of Spanish refugees into Gibraltar, mostly republican and many of whom stayed on. The conflict had a great effect on political alignment in Gibraltar, and of course would have consolidated the use of Spanish at the time. The *Chronicle*’s coverage of the outbreak of the war on 20 July 1936 is based on sources available to British newspapers and provides little detail about the crucial and frightening events just across the border. These were witnessed by many Gibraltarian visitors to Spain on the day and had a deep effect on the many families seeking refuge in Gibraltar. From 21 July the reports are replicated in occasional special editions in Spanish (very unusually for the *Chronicle*), presumably for those refugees and for many Gibraltarians too.<sup>115</sup>

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official notices ... could appear.’ Its subtitle was dropped in 1942, the editor writing that the *Chronicle* had ‘laboured under the disability that whatever comment appeared in its columns was attributed ... to official authorization’ and had been inhibited from constructive criticism because of the paper’s ‘official connection’. To dispel these ‘misapprehensions’ the sub-title was dropped and, although the *Chronicle* would still be the medium for bringing government orders and regulations to the public notice, the Official Gazette would be supplementary, releasing additional space for news. (Diane Sloma, ‘*Gibraltar Chronicle*; Language, Style and Cultural Identity’, *GHJ*, 4 (1997), 43-51 (p. 45). (The paper was submitted as part of the author’s doctoral thesis at Anglia University.) Sloma argues that the use of English in the *Chronicle* was among the influences contributing to the cultural differentiation of Gibraltarians, that it ‘helped shape the Gibraltarian identity’ and that the language was important in binding Gibraltar to the colonial power.

<sup>113</sup> The spirit of the Hunt at the time is captured in Gordon Fergusson’s *Hounds are Home: the History of the Royal Calpe Hunt* (London: Springwood Books Ltd, 1979).

<sup>114</sup> The Asturian rising, in 1934, ‘was brutally crushed by the right-wing Spanish Government’. Franco, leading Moroccan troops of the Spanish Foreign Legion, played a major part in the suppression. A substantial number of refugees made their way to Gibraltar. Stockey, p. 83.

<sup>115</sup> In a reference to the Spanish navy largely staying loyal to the Republican Government, the *Chronicle* uses the phrase ‘se vuelven comunistas’. Hills states that ‘From the start [of the Civil War] the garrison paper, the *Gibraltar Chronicle* made no bones about calling the Republicans “reds”’. Hills, p. 416. With regard to the use of Spanish in *Chronicles* at that time, Tornay de Cózar quotes Tito Benady (writing in the journal *Almoraima*) that there were some bilingual editions of the paper back in

Issues of 1940 reinforce these impressions. The Second World War news items (e.g. for 5 and 6 February) are detailed and, together with the commentaries and background articles, very much as they would have been presented in the London newspapers. Nearly all of the eight pages in these two issues are about the war. Gibraltar 'news' is largely restricted to sporting, social and advertising material. The births and deaths slot, incidentally, distinguishes between the military, naval and civil populations, but this at least is some recognition of the latter.<sup>116</sup>

The two Spanish-language papers were rather different from the *Chronicle*. Firstly, they had a bigger circulation; then, they gave greater emphasis to local affairs, and were of more relevance to the civilian and non-establishment public.<sup>117</sup>

Tornay de Cózar writes of *El Calpense*:

No sólo fue una institución muy respetada de la comunidad gibraltareña, sino también en algunos momentos de su vida fue faro y heraldo de la democracia y de la libertad.

de Cózar mentions its support for the Spanish Republic 'en defensa de los pueblos y de las libertades', referring to its ban in Spain at the time and to the penalty imposed on those caught smuggling copies across the border.<sup>118</sup>

I consulted issues of the pre-war *El Calpense* at Fortress House, Gibraltar.<sup>119</sup> The English language content is basically limited to the occasional article and to official

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1813 for 'la importante colonia de comerciantes españoles que se había refugiado en la Roca'. Tornay, p. 81.

<sup>116</sup> Sir Robert Stanley, Gibraltar's Colonial Secretary 1944-47, wrote to Mr Luke at the Colonial Office, (15 September 1945), making a point which could have been even more applicable in the pre-war period: 'The Gibraltar Chronicle, directed as it is by the Garrison Library, is obviously not in a position to provide independent comment on local events, but the complacent disregard with which it ignores any and every question of public interest in its leading columns is profoundly irritating'. (He gives the example of the paper ignoring the launch of the major post-war subsidised housing scheme.) Coming from a Colonial Secretary who was not popular in Gibraltar and not sympathetic to demands for Gibraltarian representation in government, this is a particularly eloquent comment. National Archives, CO 91/526/6.

<sup>117</sup> Thomas J. Finlayson, 'The Press in Gibraltar in the Nineteenth Century', *GJJ*, 4 (1997), 91-109. *El Calpense* generally sold 450-625 to the *Chronicle's* 330-400 in the years 1868-1884. The disparity was c. 700 to 350-500 in the last decade of the century. 'El Calpense consistently produced a larger circulation than the *Chronicle*', p. 99. *El Anunciador* soon passed the *Chronicle* in circulation features, becoming the most popular newspaper by 1900.

<sup>118</sup> Tornay de Cózar, pp. 51-52. *El Calpense's* circulation increased during the Civil War.

notices, such as the one from the City Council Collectors giving the names of officials (9 October 1939, p. 3).<sup>120</sup> There are marriages and births notices in English (11 October, p. 3), and two days later there is, like most editorial content of the paper in Spanish, a review of the film *Maridos Errantes* shown at the open-air Alameda Cinema. We learn from that same issue that the Rialto is screening *El Hombre sin Rostro* (13 October, p. 2). This Paramount film was obviously dubbed into Spanish, as I have indicated that many were at the time, and this lends weight to the argument developed above that the popular arts in Gibraltar were aimed at a largely Spanish-speaking public. This dichotomy in the use of languages is also illustrated in the same issue (p. 4) by an official notice in English about the estate of ‘Matilde Armstrong’.

Once the war had been in progress for some months, there were plenty of official notices in English. In April 1940 the committee of the Gibraltar Voluntary War Contribution Fund recognised that ‘once again the people of Gibraltar have maintained their traditional reputation for unequalled patriotism’ (1 April, p. 1); there were also commercial advertisements in English (pp. 2–3). An article by ‘Junius’, unusually in English, showed a civic-minded aesthetic by satirically questioning the wisdom of erecting a lavatory in the garden of the Supreme Court; perhaps more seriously it also asked when ‘some of our comfortably off young gentlemen are going to join the Gibraltar Defence Force’ (20 April).<sup>121</sup>

Copies of *El Anunciador* I consulted at the Gibraltar Government Archives – there seems to be no complete collection extant – show that it too was aimed more at the civilian population using the Spanish language. It claimed in its masthead to be ‘el de mayor circulación en Gibraltar y su Campo’. As an example of its concern with local

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<sup>119</sup> I was able to do this on my visit to Gibraltar in January 2008 thanks to the generosity of Mr J. Marrache on that occasion. It is often the case that, as Grocott states, the collection of *El Calpense* [is] ‘unavailable for research’ (Grocott, p. 15).

<sup>120</sup> Dates of citations from *El Calpense* and *El Anunciador* in these paragraphs are provided in the main text. Issues of *El Calpense* and the *Chronicle* dealing with the Evacuation are discussed in pp. 60–64, below.

<sup>121</sup> In the context of an earlier time, but showing its local concerns, there is a damaged one-off issue of *El Calpense* for 23 July 1885 (no. 558) at the British Library newspaper reading room at Colindale. It carries European and world news, reports of cholera epidemics in southern Spain and of a meeting between the Exchange Committee and the Chamber of Commerce urging the Governor to convoke the Sanitary Commissioners. This is in order to suspend sea communications with Algeciras and also to adopt ‘medidas que se crean convenientes y necesarias’ for the land border (p. 2). This passage is of interest because it shows the character of these three institutions as the only civilian bodies with any political influence at the time. It also shows the omnipresent threat of epidemics in nineteenth-century Gibraltar.

affairs, we see in the issue for 16 January 1936 (p. 1) a leader objecting to a documentary being shown at the Naval Trust Cinema, which showed Gibraltar in a bad light, as a poor, dirty place. While its official notices were also in English, world news (Romania in economic crisis, an item about Chile) on the same page were in Spanish. Announcements of forthcoming films at the Theatre Royal and Rialto gave their Spanish names and these films too were clearly dubbed from the original English (p. 2). There was a review of ‘Tres lanceros bengalíes’, a film also in this category (p. 1).

A later issue had an article on ‘Los Aficionados’ of the Agrupación Artística Calpense’ (21 July).

On 23 January 1936 (p. 2) there was a sympathetic article about the TGWU conference in Gibraltar (‘la directiva ha tenido el acierto de organizar un ciclo de conferencias’); a reference to ‘la administración de la justicia inglesa’; and, topically for the time, an advertisement in Spanish of a soup kitchen (‘Cantina Escolar’).<sup>122</sup> The 12 January 1936 issue carried an announcement for three scholarships to Line Wall College. Tributes to the late George V on 21 January referred to ‘El Glorioso Imperio Británico’.

Later in that year, *El Anunciador* described crucial events in Spain. In the issue for 15 February 1936, on the eve of the general elections, there was a balanced leader, comparing the Spanish parties contesting the elections with British equivalents, and suggesting that ‘en Inglaterra lógicamente vencería la llamada coalición de izquierdas’.<sup>123</sup> This article referred to the previous right-wing administration’s brutal repression of the Asturian strikes, and commented that it had not governed ‘en absoluto’, criticising its policies on wages and taxes, employment and agrarian reform. Considering that the ownership and management of the paper (‘Director: Ricardo Ferrary’) would have probably been ‘moneyed class’ by Grocott’s definition, this balanced approach to the Left in Spain subverts the thesis that this section of Gibraltar’s society had no regard for the welfare of the working class.

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<sup>122</sup> *Anunciador*, 23 January 1936,

<sup>123</sup> *Anunciador*, 15 February 1936.

This is borne out by the newspaper's response after the general elections to the triumph of the Popular Front in its front-page leader:

Vencieron los que estaban llamados a vencer dentro de toda la razón y justicia ...

Creemos sinceramente que [España] tiene en la actualidad el Gobierno que puede llevarla adelante. Dn. Manuel Azaña es su mayor gobernante ...

Un conservador en Inglaterra, sería un socialista en España .<sup>124</sup>

*El Anunciador* was thus reassuring its readers about the moderation of the Spanish Left. However, this was a balanced newspaper and less than a month later a leader condemned the press censorship in Spain and the violence and burning of churches that followed the elections:

Si se les dió [un triunfo] no fué para abusar de él.<sup>125</sup>

But not long afterwards, when the Civil War broke out, *El Anunciador* welcomed Spanish refugees fleeing to Gibraltar from the excesses of the nationalist troops who quickly gained control of the Campo area:

Una vez más ha dado nuestra ciudad prueba evidente de su buen corazón, de su santa hospitalidad ... Es imposible calcular el número de personas que el domingo y en el día de ayer llegaron a nuestra ciudad y aún desde otros puntos vecinos. Creen algunos que han entrado unas 6,000 personas, en su gran mayoría mujeres y niños (21 July 1936, p. 2).<sup>126</sup>

Thus, in their coverage both of news and the popular arts *El Anunciador* and *El Calpense* dealt with matters broadly concerning the civilian population, and in what was then at least the language of the people. An examination of these newspapers and the *Chronicle* illustrates the dichotomy between the popular Gibraltarian Spanish-

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<sup>124</sup> *Anunciador*, 21 February 1936.

<sup>125</sup> *Anunciador*, 18 March 1936.

<sup>126</sup> I consulted several issues of the *Gibraltar Chronicle* reporting the advent of the Spanish Republic in 1931. The differences between Church and government are clearly stated, as well as instances of violence against the Right. Refugees from Spain, we are told, were present at a mass in the Cathedral celebrated by the Bishop of Málaga. The reporting is factual, but without the sympathetic involvement shown by *El Anunciador*. *Gibraltar Chronicle*, 16 and 27 April, 1931, and 15 and 16 May 1931, all these reports being on p. 2.

speaking culture and the official, colonial-establishment ethos, embodied in the use of English.

Although *El Anunciador* ceased publication at the beginning of the war, *El Calpense* flourished for many more years, and I shall return to it in later chapters.

## 9. EDUCATION IN BRITISH GIBRALTAR BEFORE 1940

The education system in Gibraltar, then as now, determined English language development. Up to the early nineteenth century educational provision had been extremely patchy, and limited to private tutors and ‘academies’.<sup>127</sup> General Sir George Don laid the foundations for a centrally sponsored system.<sup>128</sup>

A Methodist mission under Rev Dr Rule then set up the first of several schools in the 1830s.<sup>129</sup> On the question of language use, Rule was progressive and forward-looking, for he advocated acceptance of Spanish in his schools deploring ‘the unchristian prejudice’ of the natives ‘against all that is Spanish’.<sup>130</sup> Indeed, the Methodists [had] ‘started something like bilingual education’.<sup>131</sup>

Religious disputes led to the establishment of two grant-aided interdenominational schools in 1832.<sup>132</sup> This initiative did not succeed: ecumenism had clearly gone too far for the spirit of the time, and schools went denominational. An early attempt to bring the Christian brothers to Gibraltar in 1835 to staff the new Catholic Poor School

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<sup>127</sup> Charlotte Mann had described Gibraltar in her family journal of 1820 as a ‘most unsuitable place for the education of children, there were no English teachers’. Quoted by Edward G. Archer and Albert A. Traverso, *Education in Gibraltar, 1704-2004* (Gibraltar: Gibraltar Books Ltd, 2004), p. 4.

<sup>128</sup> Don was lieutenant governor to the Duke of Kent, nominally governor from 1802 to 1820. He encouraged the opening of schools for garrison children, and made it possible for local children to attend these ‘regimental’ schools, even free of charge in the case of poor children. Archer and Traverso, pp. 4-10.

<sup>129</sup> Hills claims that by 1839 Rule had four schools with 400 children – all [sic] Spaniards, but he then writes that the wealthier ‘preferred to send their children to Mr Rule’ – and this must have included Gibraltarians. Hills, p. 393. According to Bishop Caruana, the Methodist mission schools poached many Catholic children ‘because they were very good teachers of English’. Interview with BC, April 2009.

<sup>130</sup> A telling comment about the valuation of Spanish. Quoted by Archer, p. 113.

<sup>131</sup> Errico, p. 35, quoting Albert Traverso, ‘A History of Education in British Gibraltar 1704 –1945’, (unpublished master’s dissertation, University of Southampton, 1980), pp.13-14.

<sup>132</sup> Caruana, p. 49.

was short-lived.<sup>133</sup> However, the Loreto nuns arrived in 1845 to open their first school in Gibraltar (followed by a fee-paying school in 1851) and seem to have been more successful. Dorothy Prior, historian of the Loreto order in Gibraltar, claims that from 1845 until 1939, their nuns were responsible for teaching ‘all the girls in Gibraltar, and all the boys up to the age of seven’.<sup>134</sup>

This suggests an educational landscape in which differences between the schools, in religion, gender and in emphasis on the use of English, were significant.

The Catholic Church had a dominant role. The Catholic Junta’s rules for the school for Catholic Poor Children provide an eloquent testimony of what it regarded as vital to education. Quoted as written, they read as follows:

Reglamentos/ para las escuelas Catolicas de Gibraltar/ Establecidas en 1<sup>o</sup> de Enero de 1836/ por el Reverendísimo Sr Vicario General Apostolico/ y Junta de Ancianos de la Iglesia Catolica de Gibraltar/ Para la instruccion gratuita de la juventud católica de Gibraltar en los sanos principios de la moral y *para hacer mas estensivo entre ella el conocimiento del Idioma Inglés.*/ [My italics]<sup>135</sup>

The Education Code for the administration and funding of the schools of Gibraltar, proposed by the Government in 1880, was an important development and central in determining the role of English. It was virtually the English Elementary Code arising from the 1870 Education Act.<sup>136</sup> Until they eventually adopted the Code in 1882, Catholic schools operated without financial assistance. Dr Scandella, the first locally born Gibraltarian bishop (1857-1880), had made ‘education his particular concern’, creating several new schools and a fee-paying secondary college.<sup>137</sup> He and his successor Bishop Canilla had fought hard for funding. The progressive Canilla was active in extending education to the poor and, because of his willingness to take on

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<sup>133</sup> Archer and Traverso, p. 20. Caruana, points out that the Brothers’ relations with the Junta were strained (p. 51). They were not happy to work in a school with classroom segregation according to fees or with the fee system proposed. Caruana, pp. 50-58.

<sup>134</sup> ‘And this is very often forgotten. The Loreto nuns have had a huge impact on education in Gibraltar. The boys ... the Brothers came and went, came and went. They had other Brothers; they had priests. Sometimes they taught in Spanish.’ DP, interview, April 2009.

<sup>135</sup> Caruana, pp. 214–215. The Junta of Elders was an influential lay body set up as early as 1727; it became the administering authority of the Catholic Church in Gibraltar. Cf. Archer, p. 96, Archer and Traverso, p. 1, Caruana, pp. 15-21.

<sup>136</sup> Archer and Traverso, p. 45. This point is also stressed by Errico, p. 35. She is quoting from Traverso, ‘A History of Education in British Gibraltar’, p. 54.

<sup>137</sup> Caruana, pp. 70-71.

the Establishment in fighting for the underprivileged, he became known as ‘friend of the poor and Jews’. He was concerned that the ‘payments by results’ stipulated in the Code would militate against Spanish-speaking children. The Code also required guarantees about teaching qualifications, whilst the Government for their part agreed to the Church’s request for the inclusion of religious instructions in the syllabus. Although not entirely happy with the conditions for funding set by the Secretary of State, the Church had no alternative but to accept them as well as a degree of centralised control.<sup>138</sup>

In subsequent years, opportunities for post-elementary schooling beyond the age of 14 improved, ‘albeit in the private sector’.<sup>139</sup> Hills points to the ‘psychological gap’ which was beginning to be created between the children of those wealthy Gibraltarians who were sent to independent boarding schools in England and those children attending the local schools, even when these were the fee-paying Brothers’ and nuns’ schools. We should also remember that, in contrast to the Education Act in Britain, elementary education in Gibraltar (for ages 5–14) was made compulsory as late as 1917.<sup>140</sup> T.W. Haycraft, the Police Magistrate who was also Inspector of Schools in Gibraltar, had lamented in his report of 1913:

after attaining the 4<sup>th</sup> Standard [i.e. aged 12 on average] most of the children do not continue to attend school. At the last examination, only 43 boys and 15 girls in all were examined in the 6<sup>th</sup> Standard.<sup>141</sup>

By the time of the Evacuation progress had been made in education in Gibraltar: opportunities for craft and technical education and training, for instance, were now greater. But there was still much scope for improvement: there was often huge

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<sup>138</sup> Hills, p. 393.

<sup>139</sup> Archer and Traverso, p. 43.

<sup>140</sup> Under the Compulsory Education Ordinance. Was there a connection between the Ordinance and the military authorities’ recruiting needs for civilians fluent in English to work in the defence installations in Gibraltar? This intriguing possibility was put to me by Mr Tony Aguilera. Despite poor school attendance pre-1917, Archer still puts the number on roll in *all* schools in 1902 at just over 3,000 (1,200 in Government schools): Archer, p. 11. This suggests a major improvement in the period following the implementation of the Code: in 1887 accommodation for 842 pupils was required ‘immediately’ and places for another 1,315 ‘might be necessary’. Archer and Traverso, pp. 48, 51.

<sup>141</sup> Thomas W. Haycraft, *Educational Systems of the Chief Colonies not Possessing Responsible Government: Gibraltar* (HMSO: Eyre and Spottiswood Ltd, 1913), quoted by Traverso and Archer, p. 67 (no page reference supplied). It must be emphasised that many children left school early to add to the family income. Cf. interviews with MC, January 2008 and HC, April 2009.



overcrowding in some schools;<sup>142</sup> and ‘Girls, of course, did not figure in these developments’, for there was segregation of schooling for boys and girls, usually with a gender-specific curriculum.<sup>143</sup>

#### 10. CONSEQUENCES OF THE EDUCATION CODE: CALLS FOR MORE ENGLISH; DIFFICULTIES FOR SPANISH-SPEAKING CHILDREN

A crucially important feature of the Code was that it ‘required that education be conducted in the English language ... [Spanish] was allowed as a medium for explaining English terms, especially in the lower standards.’<sup>144</sup> The Code decreed a minimum of 1.5 hours of English lessons per day. English had been used in the service schools, private schools and to a growing extent in the public, denominational sector. However, the Code’s stipulation is significant as the first explicit official requirement acknowledging the importance of English and its role in the curriculum.

Up to this time, language use in schools would have shown a continuum from English in its entirety to varying use of Spanish in an auxiliary role.

As we have seen, the two main providers of education had been the army and the churches. The regimental schools were staffed by army personnel and their wives and largely attended by army children (although, as has been noted above, Governor Don did make them available to civilians c.1817); they would of course have been English-speaking. However, the situation with confessional schools would have been more complex. English would have been used as much as possible as an ‘official’ language, but the Methodist schools and the other, newer, Protestant schools used Spanish and bilingual education extensively; and the Catholic Poor / Public schools would have had a considerable element of Spanish in the early years. It is likely that ‘in subjects such as music, the solfeo system would have been used by Spanish-speaking teachers,

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<sup>142</sup> In the pre-war years, there were classes of 50, 60 and 94. St Mary’s Infants had 428 pupils in ten classes. *Colonial Annual Report: Gibraltar* (HMSO: 1963), p. 31.

<sup>143</sup> But in 1929 Domestic Economy had been introduced, with modern equipment, in the largest girls’ school, supplementing needlework. Archer and Traverso, p. 70.

<sup>144</sup> Modrey, p. 26, quoting from the dissertation by Traverso, p. 54. Also Archer and Traverso, p. 47.

but also that Latin, scripture and religion may have been taught by Spanish priests’.

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Nevertheless, it has been argued that the Code presented Gibraltar pupils with ‘enormous difficulties’ because it required the use of English with Spanish in a very subordinate role:<sup>146</sup>

Instruction in other subjects had to be given in English because English textbooks were used and the teachers, both religious and secular, were in the main not equipped with the standard of academic Spanish required. At the same time *the Code recognised the need for the use of Spanish for instruction, especially in the lower standards* ... Spanish was not however, taught as a subject ... Spanish conversation was forbidden during school hours ...

As many of the mothers were of Spanish descent, Spanish was understandably the tongue used in practically all Gibraltar homes. For this reason *the Spanish language initially was the natural medium of instruction* [my italics].<sup>147</sup>

Consistent with this, Levey writes that by the end of the nineteenth century education had not changed the ‘linguistic habits’ of most Gibraltarians. We also have to bear in mind that the pattern of school attendance at this time would have been very irregular. As Levey notes:

The impact of education in the linguistic orientation of Gibraltar was limited.<sup>148</sup>

Dorothy Prior, while emphasising as we have seen that the core of teaching from the nuns was in English, accepts the influence of Spanish in the home:

My mother has pretty good, grammatically correct English ... Born in 1917. So it [English] was there, and it was available to Gibraltar girls. But I think obviously the attitude of the family also counted for something, and if you only spoke English when you were at school, then you went home and spoke Spanish all the time ... If I look at the older generation, my mother’s generation, some

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<sup>145</sup> This was brought to my awareness by Mr Tony Aguilera, in private correspondence. He also lists schools receiving grants from the Government, according to the 1883 Gibraltar Directory. DP pointed out that the nuns’ private schools subsidised their Poor schools (interview, April 2009).

<sup>146</sup> Errico, p.35, quoting Traverso, p. 54. Also see Archer and Traverso, p. 47. However, the Compulsory Education Ordinance supported the use of bilingual readers.

<sup>147</sup> Archer and Traverso, p. 73.

<sup>148</sup> Levey, pp. 27–28. Cf. p. 23 above and p. 50 below for examples of public calls for raising the level of English.

people still imply that they can't speak much English, but I think that they probably have more than they say.<sup>149</sup>

Allowing for the fact that she is referring to a later period, it would appear that from the outset Spanish had been used as an auxiliary language in primary schools to facilitate 'access to English' and Errico endorses the fact that it was the medium of instruction for those children who were not able to follow classes in English.<sup>150</sup> In fact, an Annual Report, summarising educational provision in Gibraltar, states:

At the beginning of this [the twentieth] century there were many schools in which the medium of instruction was Spanish although the Sacred Heart School, Loreto Schools and the Church of England Schools used English and there was also an English School in City Mill Lane.<sup>151</sup>

More emphatically, Modrey writes:

Schooling was mainly conducted in Spanish as were nearly all social and cultural activities ... some instruction was provided in English but Spanish remained the main instrument of teaching and this was reflected in the limited knowledge of English.<sup>152</sup>

Modrey exaggerates the extent of the use of Spanish in schools; by the 1920s and 1930s its role would increasingly be that of an auxiliary teaching language. The official status of English in Gibraltar, and the requirements of the Code, would have ensured that English was used as widely as possible. For instance, Dorothy Prior states:

The core of teaching from Loreto has always been through English and from 1845 solid. English was there from the very beginning with Loreto ... They used to have notices up from the very beginning: 'English is the language of this school'.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Asked about those who 'had slipped the net' i.e. Gibraltarian women of that generation who were in many cases not conversant with English, DP responded, 'I wonder whether these people ... they've all to some extent been through the teaching of the Loreto nuns, and I have my doubts whether they could not speak English to the extent that they said.' Interview, April 2009.

<sup>150</sup> Errico, pp. 38-39.

<sup>151</sup> *Colonial Annual Report: Gibraltar, 1963* (HMSO: 1964), p. 31. Consulted at Gibraltar Government Archives.

<sup>152</sup> Modrey, pp. 32-33.

<sup>153</sup> 'They really struggled to get the children to speak English.' Interview with DP, April 2009.

The amount of use of English appears to have been in direct proportion to the status of the institution; for example, the senior private schools would have unequivocally used English as the medium of instruction, with at the other end of the spectrum some of the small schools in the poorer areas using more Spanish, at least in the early years.<sup>154</sup>

These developments can be seen in conjunction with the return of the Irish Christian Brothers to Gibraltar for their second, and much longer stint, in 1878. Their influence, and that of the Loreto nuns, cannot be underestimated.<sup>155</sup> As late as the outbreak of the Second World War, all the 27 qualified teachers in Gibraltar, in both the public and the private sectors, were Brothers and nuns. The official government source notes:

Early in the century the Loreto Order of Nuns and the Christian Brothers directed and controlled both the primary and secondary schools on behalf of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Gibraltar.<sup>156</sup>

Conscious of the dominance of Spanish as the mother language, the Brothers had had translations made of reading books from junior standards onwards, and vocabulary lists were supplied for the (unqualified) junior teachers. Subsequently the Brothers introduced a set of bilingual readers to improve English *and* Spanish, which appear to have met with wide approval.<sup>157</sup>

The introduction of the reader - published by John Heywood Ltd, Manchester - was therefore an early explicit acknowledgement that there was value in a *bilingual* education and that there was benefit in improving the pupils' Spanish. In giving Gibraltar children the advantage of learning two languages simultaneously, the

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<sup>154</sup> In the public 'secondary' schools for boys, that is schools where education beyond age 14 was available (there were three of these by 1940) it is likely that 'the use of English [was] virtually total in the thirties'. A comment from Mr Tony Aguilera in e-mail communication.

<sup>155</sup> By 1897, the year before Bishop Canilla's death, and following the opening of new schools and the consolidation of some existing ones, the Brothers were in charge of six schools educating almost 2,000 boys. Caruana, p. 114.

<sup>156</sup> *Annual Report* (1963), p. 31. Gibraltarians served as unqualified and junior 'assistant teachers'. Under 'Education and Welfare Institutions' in a pre-war report we read that 'Six candidates had presented themselves for the examination in English for assistant teachers. Of these, five obtained honours'. *Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Gibraltar*, 1938 (HMSO, 1939), p. 7. Gibraltar – Papers and Correspondence, National Archives, CO 1045/171.

<sup>157</sup> 'From the very beginning, the Christian Brothers found that people did not talk English at all so what they did was to publish their own little booklet where they had one page in English and one in Spanish.' Interview with BC, April 2009.

readers were providing an enlightened approach which some would like to see today.<sup>158</sup>

Archer and Traverso state the difficulties arising from the importance of English in education.<sup>159</sup> Archer quotes the *Gibraltar Chronicle* of 19 April 1920, ‘the greatest barrier to progress is perceived as an unusually thorny problem owing to the bilingual difficulty’:

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.<sup>160</sup>

But, quite apart from educational or official policy, the great need for mastering English was felt by the Gibraltarians themselves. The Gibraltar branch of the TGWU (successor to the British Workmen’s Federation from 1919) had in that year sent a memorial to the Governor and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with nearly 4,000 signatures, seeking more time for the teaching of English and less for religious instruction. Archer quotes from a letter in *El Calpense*, 29 May 1919, highlighting this issue:

Without practice, without an English atmosphere, with no taste for reading ... how can we expect to make progress? ... The children hear English spoken in the schools only. At home, in the street, in business houses, at church, in the theatre, in all pastimes, the children hear, read and speak only Spanish ... Even in the classroom, except with the teachers or in their presence, the children speak only Spanish.<sup>161</sup>

In that same year a report of the work of the Exchange Committee contains the following complaint:

Respecto á lo que se había hecho para fomentar el idioma inglés tenía que decir que era bien poco, pues con esas clases á las que asistía una docena, cuando más, de jovenzuelos, solo se conseguiría al cabo de algún tiempo que hubieran unos pocos que no dijeran ‘tarty tree tausend’ como decían

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<sup>158</sup> The reader defines its object as ‘to enable Spanish-speaking children to acquire a facility in reading and translating the English language’. The Brothers are ‘convinced of [their] necessity and utility ... for a Colony where the vast majority of children rarely, if ever, hear English spoken in the domestic circle’. Preface to reader, reproduced in Archer and Traverso, p. 78.

<sup>159</sup> Archer and Traverso, pp. 47, 68.

<sup>160</sup> Archer, p. 113.

<sup>161</sup> Archer, p.113 and endnote 19.

muchos aquí ... se debía solicitar y obtener el concurso de las autoridades, que tenían tanta obligación como nosotros de ver que aquí se hablara perfectamente el idioma de la madre patria.<sup>162</sup>

This concern at failure to implement language policy adequately and the obvious gaps in education had repercussions. Mr Hancock, ‘expert in education’ was sent out by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1920 to report on the education system. He replied to criticisms that not enough time was dedicated to the teaching of English by pointing out ‘that much more time was given to English subjects, namely Reading, Composition, Grammar, Dictation and Writing than ... in corresponding schools in England. In Standard 4 for example [that is, 12-year olds] 875 minutes per week as against 610 in an English school’.<sup>163</sup>

E. Glasgow, the Colonial Inspector of Schools, commented in 1921 and 1925 on the poor standard of English in schools. Glasgow’s report of 1922 stated that [the pupils] speak English in school only and as foreigners.<sup>164</sup> The 1925 report refers to ‘a foreign language’ and ‘the blind leading the blind’.<sup>165</sup> However, they are ‘fortunate in having the opportunity ... of learning how two different nationalities express themselves in speech. *All parties* agreed children must learn English’ [my italics]. Glasgow’s comments about learning two languages are forward-looking for the time, as was perhaps, in the light of recent work about bilingualism in education carried out by Gibraltar schoolteachers, his advocacy of the use of Spanish books for the first year or two of school life.

Michot too refers to the limitations imposed on the use of Spanish in early twentieth century education policy, and dates the time when English became the ‘langue officielle dans les écoles’ to the First World War.<sup>166</sup> She quotes Ballantine’s article about the use of Spanish as an auxiliary teaching language, destined to be relegated by

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<sup>162</sup> Exchange and Commercial Library Book no. 14, 1916 – 1917, Gibraltar Government Archives.

<sup>163</sup> Archer and Traverso, p. 74.

<sup>164</sup> E. Glasgow, *Report on the Elementary Education in the Government-Aided Schools of Gibraltar* (Gibraltar Government: 1922), p. 15, Gibraltar Government Archives.

<sup>165</sup> Glasgow, *Report on the Elementary Education in the Government-Aided Schools of Gibraltar* (Gibraltar Government: 1925), pp. 28, 30, quoted by Kellermann, p. 93.

<sup>166</sup> Julie Michot, ‘Les Gibraltariens: des Britanniques à part entre Europe et Afrique’ (unpublished doctoral thesis : Thèse de l’Université de Metz en civilisation britannique, 2002-2003), pp. 88-89. She obtained this information from Cecilia Baldachino, a former teacher and chairman of the Royal Commonwealth Society of Gibraltar. In fact, it was only after the Clifford Report that English could be said to be *universally* official in Gibraltar’s education (see Chapter III, below).

the education authorities to the rank of a foreign language.<sup>167</sup> However, Errico provides evidence about the practical advantages of this subsidiary use of Spanish and also of a wide recognition of the need for its use at the earliest stage.<sup>168</sup>

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It is instructive to look at the census of 1931 in this context, for it exposes the shortcomings of the education system, leading to a high rate of illiteracy and the far from universal grasp of English.<sup>169</sup> It showed that 58.8 % of Gibraltarians ‘could speak English’ (63.6 % of over 5s) and put the illiteracy rate at 20%. This census comments in the introduction:

It should be noticed that the English language is, in the case of natives of Gibraltar, an acquired one, the language in common use being Spanish.

Table VI:

British Subjects			
Total population =	M 7,498	F 8,648 =	16,146
Able to speak English =	M 5,475	F 4,431 =	9,906

As regards ‘foreign subjects’ 199 males out of 281 are able to speak English, but only 166 women out of 978. This is a clear reflection of the demographic phenomenon noted earlier, namely the very high proportion of marriages to Spanish women in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Two other significant facts emerge from the census. Out of the grand total of 17,405, comprising both native British subjects and foreign subjects, there are 1,330 children under five. If included in the illiteracy total, these would obviously have distorted those figures, as they do for English-speakers. The other is that there is no indication of the degree of fluency required to count as an English speaker. So where would we place those of Dorothy Prior’s grandmother’s generation (born around 1890) who ‘understood a hell of a lot more than she actually spoke’?

<sup>167</sup> Ballantine, *GJJ*, 7 (2000), p.117.

<sup>168</sup> Errico, p. 36.

<sup>169</sup> Census Report for Gibraltar (Gibraltar: 1931), Gibraltar Government Archives.

## 11. EDUCATION AND ‘THE LANGUAGE OF THE EMPIRE’: THE SITUATION IN 1940

Thus, English was becoming increasingly used in the schools as a medium of tuition, because of official policy and encouragement for anglicising the community, and also because of the role played by Brothers and nuns. This is implicit in the colonial stratification of the territory, and explicit in the Glasgow and Bowman reports before the war, and in the subsequent perceptions of educational planners after it.<sup>170</sup> Archer writes of the British endeavour over a long period to stamp their mark on the colony more and more firmly:

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.<sup>171</sup>

Maria Dolores Baldacchino too reminds us of how colonial values were perhaps inseparable from education in Gibraltar at the time:

I remember the Jubilee in 1936 when all schoolchildren assembled in Grand Parade and were given medals to commemorate the occasion.

English was hardly spoken at home and many people of the older generation did not know how to speak it at all.<sup>172</sup>

Sir Archibald Hunter’s comments in 1913 about the quality of English in Gibraltar have already been quoted.<sup>173</sup> Twenty years a later, on Empire Day, 25 May 1933, the Gibraltar Colonial Secretary gave a speech at the Scouts Rally:

Now I should like to address a few remarks to the Gibraltarian Scouts in particular. When times have permitted I have walked round places such as Willis’s Road and Flat Bastion Road.<sup>174</sup> In one of

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<sup>170</sup> Such as Howes, *The Story of Gibraltar*, p. 9. Dr Howes became Director of Education of Gibraltar, a post created on the recommendation of the Clifford Committee. Cf. Chapter III.

<sup>171</sup> Archer, pp. 108-109.

<sup>172</sup> Maria Dolores Baldacchino, *Gibraltar Belongs to Us*, unnumbered pages (Gibraltar: Gibraltar Publishers, 2007).

<sup>173</sup> Cf. pp. 31-32 above.



Britain's oldest colonies one would expect to hear the English language. In my meanderings I have not heard a word of it. I might as well have been in La Línea!

Only last week it gave me great pleasure to visit two camps of Gibraltar Scouts who had encamped near Algeciras. They were excellent camps in every way, except that I found the boys talking to one another in a foreign tongue [sic]. The only newspapers I saw in those camps were Spanish.

Gibraltarians, you are extremely fortunate in certain respects to be bilingual but let me appeal to you to give first place to the language of the Empire to which you are proud to belong.

The Gibraltar Scouts can do a great deal towards seeing that British ideas are absorbed in Gibraltar, and I ask them to assist in seeing that this is done (applause).<sup>175</sup>

This is an eloquent example of a high-ranking colonial official's way of thinking. It is ambivalent in that it sees bilingualism as an advantage and yet stigmatises the scouts' use of Spanish as 'a foreign tongue'. The Colonial Secretary was implying that Britishness and colonial loyalty are contingent on the use of a language that, as I have endeavoured to show, was only gradually gaining ground in education and had not yet begun its even more gradual journey to acceptance as the language of home, popular culture and emotion.

Alexander Beattie, who built up a distinguished record of service, meant well. He did accord a British identity to Gibraltarians and acceptance into the imperial family, but it is still astonishing to read this quasi-official expression of language policy at a time which is already past the high-water mark of British imperialism.

The Bowman Report summed up the state of education and language in Gibraltar in 1937 and therefore serves as a good indicator of the situation shortly before the Second World War - the final comments on the old order, as it were.<sup>176</sup> Like Glasgow before him, Bowman was not slow to point out deficiencies in accommodation,

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<sup>174</sup> These are working-class districts in the upper town.

<sup>175</sup> Unusually, there is a note of dissent in a letter dated 21 July 1933 and addressed to Beattie, the Colonial Secretary. The writer 'does not agree that it is a shame that many in Gibraltar do not speak English', and refers to a trial in Wales when a prisoner appealed on the grounds that two members of the jury did not speak English. 'I have never heard anyone say it is a shame that there should be Welshmen who cannot speak English.' Gibraltar Government Archives, YF 323/1933.

<sup>176</sup> *Report on the State-Aided Elementary Schools of Gibraltar by Humphrey E. Bowman, C.M.G., C.B.E., M.A., late Director of Education, Palestine Government* (April 1937), Gibraltar Government Archives.

equipment and organisation, although he noted improvements since his previous visit in 1930. His attitude to secondary education was elitist in the extreme (he saw problems with fees and ‘class distinction’ [sic]). The Brothers and Nuns made it available at their private schools, but for poorer boys [sic] Bowman advocated a very limited scholarship scheme instead.<sup>177</sup> After inspecting all state-aided schools he said about progress in English:

Oral reading still tends to be too fast: pronunciation and accent are faulty ... More drill in English vowel sounds, especially long vowel sounds ... and ... diphthongs ... required in lower classes.<sup>178</sup>

Bowman was critical of the current monolingual readers: it was ‘wrong to use books written for children in English schools’ and he praised the Brothers for tackling the ‘vexed and difficult question’ of Spanish, giving it more time in the lower classes of the boys’ schools.

As long as the home language of the children is Spanish, it seems clearly to be the duty of the schools to see that pupils are well grounded in it. The aim of the elementary school of Gibraltar should be to turn out children who are as far as possible bi-lingual.<sup>179</sup>

At a time when official policy, for reasons of patriotism and loyalty, was to make Gibraltarians more conversant with English, this recognition of the importance of Spanish was noteworthy and ahead of its time.<sup>180</sup> It was to be many years before the advantages of a bilingual education, as opposed to one which practised total immersion in English, were strongly and publicly argued, by Ballantine and others.<sup>181</sup>

Bowman quotes Ormsby Gore, then Secretary of State for the Colonies:

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<sup>177</sup> ‘Under existing conditions, secondary education in Gibraltar, as in most other countries, cannot be for all who demand it; over and above paying pupils, it should be a privilege confined to those who by their youth, their intelligence and their conduct have proved that they deserve it.’ (Bowman Report, pp. 3-4, 24-25.)

<sup>178</sup> Bowman Report, pp. 11-12. Compare with Kellermann’s identification of differences in vowel and diphthongal production in ‘Gibraltarian’ English, Kellermann, *A New New English*, pp. 323-371.

<sup>179</sup> Bowman Report, p. 15.

<sup>180</sup> Even after the Second World War, the case for English is often made on quasi-colonial grounds, e.g. Howes, *The Story of Gibraltar*, preface, p. 9.

<sup>181</sup> S. Ballantine, Report on the In-Service Course for Teachers in First Schools, ‘Bilingualism in Education’, submitted by course tutors Michael Flores and Sergio Ballantine to the Director of Education’ (Gibraltar: Department of Education, 1983).

Every child must begin its education in its mother tongue ... and when for educational purposes we introduce our own language we must not therefore neglect the continued use of the vernacular. Bilingualism is in itself a proved educational asset, but the European language must not seek to suppress or stop the development and use of the indigenous language.<sup>182</sup>

Here too there was progressive thinking on the part of the Colonial Office. It is a far cry from the reported prohibition of the use of Spanish in some schools.<sup>183</sup>

By 1940 therefore, education in Gibraltar had moved from an interdenominational system to a faith-based (and largely Catholic-dominated) system; and, following the Education Code of 1880, based on the English model, the Government had developed a system of funding and inspections. Availability of school places had improved since 1917.<sup>184</sup> However, there was much concern about standards and about the level of English taught and practised. Archer comments:

Another major concern was the lack of a professionally qualified Gibraltarian teaching force ... Then there was *the long-standing problem of bilingualism* and its consequences for teachers and teaching [my italics].<sup>185</sup>

The Annual Report for Gibraltar for 1946, reviews the pre-war period thus:

Pre-war educational facilities were confined [sic] ... to those of the Roman Catholic Church and were beset with numerous handicaps. The teachers belonged to the Religious Orders of the Christian Brothers and the Loreto Nuns, and assistance was mostly unqualified and untried ... an uncoordinated system which ... had many gaps.

The secondary schools were not open to Government inspection and received no grants from Government. No system of teacher training existed.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Bowman Report, p. 16.

<sup>183</sup> See for example interviews with DS, AT and DP for their comments about children not being allowed to speak in Spanish in or outside the classroom.

<sup>184</sup> There were 2,773 in 'Aided' schools. Gibraltar Blue Book, 1937 [date amended in ink to 1940], Gibraltar Government Archives. The 1936 Blue Book gives rather similar figures.

<sup>185</sup> Archer, p. 122.

<sup>186</sup> *Colonial Annual Report: Gibraltar* (HMSO: 1946), p. 11, Gibraltar Government Archives. Bowman too had been critical of the level of qualification of the teachers and he suggested three years' education leading to the Senior Cambridge, then a year's training at College. The standard of teachers had been criticised before. At the time of the Hancock Report in 1920, although Hancock was pleased with the way teachers were discharging their duties, only 19 out of 87 teachers (largely Brothers and Nuns) had received professional training. The remaining 68 were Gibraltarians who had 'passed on from being pupils to teachers' (Archer and Traverso, p. 74). Some in-service training was provided by Brothers and perhaps Heads. Salaries were low. In 1926 *voluntary* examinations in English were set up for

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In this introductory chapter I have examined the background to the people of Gibraltar and some of the consequences of English / British possession of the Rock from 1704. I have discussed developments in language use, culture and politics in the years up to the Second World War. These are all intertwined. I have considered the development of the population since 1704, describing its mixed Mediterranean origins, and the mixture of religions, Christian and others, that mostly co-existed in harmony. We have seen the Genoese language eventually giving way to Spanish, itself influenced in Gibraltar by the Sephardic dialect as well as by other Mediterranean tongues. Changes in the elements of the population, such as the advent of Spanish women marrying local inhabitants and the arrival of a Maltese labour force, were among the factors shaping society and language. The use of English by the colonial establishment, exemplified by the *Gibraltar Chronicle* and by the Gibraltarian merchant elite, contrasted with the Spanish employed by workers and by the majority of civilians and by the newspapers that were closer to their views. Because language issues have been so crucial in education and politics in Gibraltar, accompanied by expectations of colonial loyalty and social stratification, I have gone into them in some detail.

I have tried to draw a distinction between language policy and practice: how the two gradually began to come together in education, if not yet in popular culture. From early days, English was the *de facto* language in schools, largely because of the pioneering part played by the services, with Spanish relegated to an ancillary role, though still widely used in particular schools. As education became more organised

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teachers, following Glasgow's recommendations. Even as late as 1937 locally recruited teachers would have had no formal qualifications. Fluency in English would have been demanded (e-mail from Mr Tony Aguilera, who reminds me that selection would have been carried out by the Board of Education, which included high-ranking representatives of the government and the churches). Archer refers to the 'dominant position' in education of the Catholic Church (Archer, p.119). An illustration of this dominance is that in 1928, for example, the Board of Education, 'appointed under the Compulsory Education Ordinance, 1917', included the Bishop and four other representatives of the Catholic Schools. The Catholic Bishop also chaired the managing committee of the elementary and government-aided Catholic schools: *The Gibraltar Directory* (Gibraltar: 1928), p. 123, at the Gibraltar Government Archives.

and more widespread in the late nineteenth century (from the time of the Education Code) the official, colonial language policy was for the increasing use of English, and here the Catholic teaching orders and other denominations contributed considerably. This policy was backed up by inspections and reports motivated by the Colonial Office. The rationale was one of colonial proprietorship and imperial solidarity, although the advantages to the people of building up a sound base in the English language are always stated prominently: what we get is not a heartless displacement of a native language but rather the downgrading of Spanish to a secondary but not invisible role. Indeed, there was much official recognition of the advantages of bilingualism. Another remarkable feature that has emerged in this study is the awareness of Gibraltarians of all classes of the advantages of English, and their call for consolidation in English language education.

The Second World War was to mark a fundamental change in all aspects of Gibraltar's life, not least in educational developments and language policy and use, in social and political progress, and in the beginning of a sense of national identity. I therefore now turn to the Evacuation of 1940.

## CHAPTER II. THE WATERSHED: EVACUATION AND ITS EFFECTS ON LANGUAGE AND GIBRALTARIAN IDENTITY

From May to August 1940, women, children and old people in the civilian population of Gibraltar, as well as men in non-essential occupations, were evacuated so as not to impede military preparations in the fortress. The total was almost 17,000; 4,000 men in essential occupations remained on the Rock. Most of the evacuees were sent initially to French Morocco and very shortly afterwards expelled from there following the collapse of France. Under pressure from the public and the authorities in Gibraltar, the British Government eventually agreed to admit them to Britain, initially on a temporary basis, with a view to transferring them to Jamaica or elsewhere. (Some 1,500 evacuees were in fact shipped to Jamaica, but increasing U-boat sinkings in the Atlantic caused the plan to be abandoned.) About 2,000 evacuees went to Madeira. This number was made up both of self-funded persons and of those in the Government-funded Evacuation scheme. But more than 12,000 evacuees spent the war in Britain. Although the majority stayed in the London area for most of the war there was dispersal, to Northern Ireland in particular, from 1944 when the V- weapons assault was launched on London.<sup>1</sup>

The effect of the Evacuation on the history of Gibraltar is crucial. There was a great sense of shared purpose in crisis, embracing the Gibraltarian community in the places of Evacuation and the menfolk in Gibraltar, who had a common cause and provided solidarity.<sup>2</sup> My main concern here is the role of the Evacuation in the development of Gibraltar's identity and language, and in these areas the Evacuation is a watershed.

Apart from demonstrating the practical need for English, the Evacuation provided an impetus for popular self-expression, for instance, in the Marlborough Court protest in

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas J. Finlayson, *The Fortress Came First* (Grendon, Northants: Gibraltar Books Ltd, 1990), pp. 1-6, Jackson, p. 274. There were also 719 evacuees in Tangier and 102 in Spain, largely self-funded and in some cases with family connections (figures provided by Gibraltar Resettlement Board in February 1944: Finlayson, p. 147). Also cf. interview with MB who spent part of the Evacuation in Spain, and footnote 23 below.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Blinkhorn, who regards the Evacuation as the first of three specific episodes since 1940 in 'collective identity-formation'. The wartime period was marked by 'an unprecedented feeling [since the Great Siege of 1779 - 1783] of shared community hardship, largely erasing distinctions of wealth and status'. He sees the Evacuation as 'a vital "national myth"'. Blinkhorn, 'A Question of Identity', p. 57. In the 1990s Elena Errico and Melissa Moyer gave broadly similar causes for the 'partial shift to English'. (See Chapter VI, p. 231.)

London. This desire had its origins in at least the two decades before the war and, as we shall see, gained momentum afterwards.

There is much material concerning the Evacuation and the experience of Gibraltarians in Britain, Madeira and Jamaica, and of the cultural impact on people who, by and large, had never been more than a few miles away from home before. In the past twenty years or so, with the greater availability of British Government records and the coming of age of a group of Gibraltarian historians, much work has been done on the importance of the Evacuation in shaping the identity of the Gibraltarian. There are many eye-witness accounts in writing, correspondence and film. It is, of course, still possible to speak to many in their seventies and beyond with vivid memories of that time. A major school project, involving many interviews and displays, was organised in 2000 on the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary.<sup>3</sup>

Significantly, from this point in 1940 onwards education for Gibraltarian children, allowing for the disruptions of wartime, largely followed a British pattern and consolidated the English language.<sup>4</sup>

## 1. THE EVACUATION AND TWO GIBRALTAR NEWSPAPERS

This event is central to an understanding of modern Gibraltar – in all aspects. Contemporary issues of two Gibraltarian newspapers and an awareness of their intended readerships and choice and presentation of material tell us a great deal about the period.<sup>5</sup> (In a later chapter I shall examine the press in the post-war years to show

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<sup>3</sup> 'Living History: Memories of Evacuation', at Bayside Comprehensive School. 100 of the questionnaires sent by pupils to former evacuees had been completed, and interviews with them were carried out by the boys. Based on the returns, the school developed a project which culminated in an 'evening of nostalgia' on 29 June. At this event, there was an exhibition of Evacuation memorabilia, a drama production (contributed by girls from Westside Comprehensive), concert and dance events and refreshments. The programme contained a preface from the Head Teacher, Dr Leslie Zammitt, who saw the Evacuation (referring to the Jamaica experience) as 'the beginning of emancipation, and the women who returned to Gibraltar were not quite the same as those who left as evacuees'. The Head of History was prominent in the planning and execution. *Insight* magazine gave full coverage to the event *Insight*, 9, no. 3 (Gibraltar: Insight Publications Ltd, August 2000), pp. 13–14.

<sup>4</sup> For educational arrangements during the Evacuation cf. Archer and Traverso, pp. 82–90.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. pp. 37–43 above for the pre-war press in Gibraltar.

its relationship with language and with the developing Gibraltarian identity.) For the moment it will be enough to compare how they presented the Evacuation.

First of all, how did the *Chronicle* handle this most important event in the history of the people of Gibraltar, which began in May 1940? In the early May issues there were details of the collapse of the Allied armies in the West and of the Dunkirk evacuation, and reports of Churchill's defiance. But as late as 11 May life was continuing as normal in Gibraltar: the Agrupación Artística Calpense put on a variety show, 'Al Dorarse las Espigas' (reviewed with praise by the paper, unusually, as it is very much an entertainment in Spanish). As always, the cinemas advertised prominently, usually British or American films, often dubbed. Then there were notices for the Sandpits Tennis Club, the Rock Hotel and the Garrison Library, all impeccably British establishment institutions, for which only privileged Gibraltarians at the time had means or access.<sup>6</sup>

But the 17 May issue was historic, albeit with total understatement. On the front page there was the Government Official Gazette notice No. 72, giving details of an impending black-out practice – the war was getting nearer home. Just under this was notice No. 73. It referred to the existence of an evacuation scheme, and curtly advised that evacuation may be made compulsory, and that 'in the meantime there is no objection whatsoever to individuals who are in a position to do so making their own arrangements for their families'. There was nothing else in the paper expanding on this momentous matter.

On 21 May notice No. 78 (front page) announced that the evacuation of women and children would take place 'forthwith upon shipping becoming available ... arrangements [had] been made for their reception and accommodation in French Morocco'. A small item on p. 3 assured readers that the measure was 'because of the international situation, not in regard to Spanish intentions'.

The following day's issue (22 May) stated on p. 2 that the first batches of women and

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<sup>6</sup> *Gibraltar Chronicle*, 11 May 1940, p. 4. In this section, references to the date of citations from the *Chronicle* and *El Calpense* are given in the main text.



children would be leaving that day and the next. On 23 May there was a prominent and detailed call for recruitment to the Gibraltar Defence Force, whilst the following day's issue reported on the departure of over 900 evacuees for Casablanca (p. 4): 'Cheers and greetings were exchanged', and the children supposedly regarded the whole experience as an adventure. There was a whiff of official wartime propaganda about this statement, for we learn from other sources, such as Finlayson's *The Fortress Came First* and from eye witnesses, that spirits were nothing like as high as this. The *Chronicle* was discharging its role as an Establishment and military source. The crisis had to be swept under the carpet: France was about to collapse and ready to sign an armistice with Germany as the last ships were reaching Casablanca. It is possible, of course, that public morale needed to be kept up with statements of this kind. But this aspect of the Evacuation symbolises how much the people were in the arms of fortune and at the mercy of forces totally beyond their control; and why the whole experience came to mean so much in the development of the Gibraltarian psyche and identity.

At this time there was one mainly Spanish-language paper in Gibraltar. *El Calpense* was published between 1868 and 1982 (by which time it was a weekly, and mostly in English). *El Anunciador* had circulated between 1885 and 1939.<sup>7</sup> A number of issues of *El Calpense* of the time were examined in January 2008.<sup>8</sup> Official notices were in English (for example, a City Council notice giving the names of rate collectors, 9 October 1939, p. 3), marriage and birth notices (11 October, p. 3), an announcement about a private estate (13 November, p. 4) and some advertisements. On 1 April 1940, there was a notice also in English on the first page about a collection by the organising committee of the Gibraltar Voluntary War Contribution Fund.<sup>9</sup> In the same

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<sup>7</sup> From 1900 to 1935 its circulation surpassed both the *Chronicle's* and *El Calpense's* and only fell slightly behind in 1938 and 1939. Thomas J. Finlayson, 'Newspapers published in Gibraltar, 1900–1972', *GHJ*, 5 (1998), 103–113 (p. 108). Both Spanish-language newspapers 'consistently outsold the *Gibraltar Chronicle* during the inter-war period' (Stockey, p. 33). Gibraltar Blue Book (1937 – date amended to 1940) gives a figure of 1100 for *El Anunciador* and 1000 for both the *Chronicle* and *Calpense* (p. 146), possibly conflating figures for 1939 and 1940.

<sup>8</sup> At Fortress House, Gibraltar, courtesy of Mr J. Marrache.

<sup>9</sup> 'Once again, the people of Gibraltar have maintained their traditional reputation for unequalled patriotism.' And, of course, this patriotism had an official character too. A letter from the Governor to Malcolm MacDonald, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in early 1940 records that a deputation consisting of G. Gaggero, H. King, P.G. Russo (unofficial members of the Governor's Executive Council), S.P. Triay (president, Exchange and Commercial Library), L.J. Imossi (president of the Chamber of Commerce), A.E. Huart (TGWU organiser) had 'formed themselves into a voluntary

issue, there appeared advertisements in English for Nescafé (p. 2) and Saccone and Speed and the Imperial Tea Rooms (p. 3). Later, the Evacuation notices of 17 and 21 May 1940, p.1 (nos 73 and 78), were themselves in English, as in the *Chronicle*, although, importantly, there was a notice in Spanish on 22 May (p. 2), ‘Lo que deben saber los evacuados’, advising on food, health and the prevention of disease for those about to leave for Casablanca. This was accompanied by a note in Spanish about the items of luggage they should take. From this point on, there was more coverage in Spanish about matters connected with the Evacuation.

On 23 May 1940 there was (p. 2) an article ‘La evacuación de Gibraltar’, setting out details of finance and payments and reception arrangements in Casablanca and Rabat, and also a piece headed ‘Los evacuados de ayer’, which praised the stoicism and behaviour of the evacuees, describing their attitude as exemplary. There were further articles on 26 May (pp.1-2), about lodgings in Casablanca and another ‘La Evacuación: el tercer contingente de evacuados’. In late May and early June there were a number of reports about the arrival of successive contingents. In contrast, there were official notices in both Spanish and English about new curfew regulations (27 May, p. 2, and 29 May, p. 1), and others in English (5 June, p. 2) warning against defeatist talk and also one announcing a black-out test. This last notice was accompanied by a Spanish translation, enigmatically warning about how certain activities of some citizens of Gibraltar constituted a danger.

Patriotic exhortations in English headlined reports of the growing military crisis. The issue reporting the surrender of France stated in large print above the report ‘There’ll always be an ENGLAND and ENGLAND shall be FREE’ (21 June, front page). In the following June issues, a stirring quotation from Cowper and other such lines tried to keep up morale.

This comparison between the two newspapers’ presentation of news of the Evacuation suggests a greater involvement on the part of *El Calpense* with the popular, human aspect. It too published official notices, but the fact that news about the evacuees in Morocco appeared in that paper, and in Spanish, indicated, firstly, that the paper was

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representative organizing committee and opened a public appeal to raise in Gibraltar a fund in support of the prosecution of the war’. Despatches from Gibraltar, 1940-42, Gibraltar Government Archives.

more geared to the civilian people of Gibraltar than the *Chronicle* and less to the official, services-orientated element; and, secondly, that the language as well as the content was directed towards the majority of Gibraltarians.<sup>10</sup>

Later I shall look at the two newspapers again in examining their presentation of news and editorial content in the post-war years.

## 2. A COLONIAL PEOPLE: HOW THE EVACUATION HELPED IN DEVELOPING THE RIGHTS OF GIBRALTARIANS

Finlayson writes of the traumatic experiences undergone by the evacuees in London:

their nerves, somewhat frayed by their prolonged and often uncomfortable sea voyages, were not helped by the several months of almost nightly bombing raids which they had to endure ... ever-present [was] a mental anguish born of the fact that while their bodies were in England ... all they held most sacred [was] in Gibraltar.<sup>11</sup>

Clearly, the hardships faced by the evacuees were considerable, particularly in London, very much in the front line during the war, but the problems of uncertainty and separation from families affected all wherever they were. This will emerge in the interviews discussed in this and other chapters.<sup>12</sup>

It must not be forgotten, however, that there were positive features for Gibraltarians in the Evacuation experience. One of the objectives of this thesis is to establish to what extent the English language became more entrenched with Gibraltarians as a result,

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<sup>10</sup> *El Calpense's* wartime reports about cultural activities of Gibraltarians in London, such as an account of a musical programme on the BBC on 17 February 1943, and its information about educational arrangements, provide further evidence of this. On 9 March 1943 the paper reports that the BBC is going to transmit 'un nuevo programa de canciones y mensajes' from evacuees in London, to be relayed in Gibraltar through loudspeakers in La Bolsa 'para mayor comodidad'.

<sup>11</sup> Finlayson, *The Fortress Came First*, pp. 93-94.

<sup>12</sup> Blinkhorn writes of 'unprecedented resentment' towards Britain for bad planning of the Evacuation and repatriation, p. 57. This strikes me as a very sweeping statement. There was obviously rushed planning in the critical days of 1940 and subsequently. However, on balance, the Evacuation had both created 'a national myth' and consolidated a very strong pro-British loyalty as a result of the experience of those evacuees who were in Britain. This is clear from the work of many historians (not all Gibraltarian) as recorded in this thesis, and of course from many of the interviews. Blinkhorn himself shows how the Evacuation and repatriation led to a 'de-hispanicising immersion in Britishness; ... reinforced by a new education system [and] anglicization of Gibraltar's culture'. Blinkhorn, p. 58.

and how far this would enable them after the war to overcome their previous language disadvantages. Then there is the question of the development of a sense of Gibraltarian identity and the beginnings of a quest for political power among the people, accompanied by an introduction to opportunities for women and a growing awareness of their rights.<sup>13</sup> The Evacuation had a major part to play in these connected developments.

In Chapter 11 of his book ('The Marlborough Court Incident') Finlayson traces the controversy about the right of the evacuees to have democratically elected representatives at their centres rather than nominated officials and committees. The row started off with a complaint about food at one of the centres and escalated into a dispute involving the Ministry of Health, the evacuation commissioner, the law courts, *The Times* – and the nascent AACR in Gibraltar.<sup>14</sup> Former and aspiring Gibraltar politicians also became involved.

There is much material about the dispute. A letter from G. Miles (a name later to be encountered in educational correspondence) on 6 May 1943 referred to the food protests:

[the] adults are determined to be dissatisfied; the natural hardship of separation, *the strange climate and language* and the lack of adaptability of the adults have all aggravated this [my italics].

There was a protest at Marlborough Court, a large evacuation centre at Earls Court. It originated in dissatisfaction with the provision of outside catering at the centres, organised by the Ministry of Health. This had proved unsatisfactory in both quantity of food and cooking methods, and many evacuees at Marlborough Court and elsewhere had taken to preparing food in their own rooms - a breach of regulations, which happened to be particularly rigidly enforced at that centre.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> See Mariola Summerfield, *A Woman's Place: Memories of a Gibraltarian Woman - a Llanita* (Gibraltar: M. Summerfield, 2007). She writes about her generation – she was 9 when evacuated – who, 'despite their lack of a formal education ... , was instrumental in bringing about radical changes in Gibraltar's social and political history, overseeing women taking up their rightful place in our society and the arrival of democracy and civil rights'. Summerfield, p. 14.

<sup>14</sup> The Association for the Advancement of Civil Rights had recently been formed in Gibraltar. It is discussed in Chapter III below.

<sup>15</sup> National Archives, CO 91/516/6.

These protests then escalated into wider dissatisfaction, in that the committees which existed in the different centres were appointed rather than elected bodies. (The file notes that ‘Some of the letters are in Spanish and the extracts given, therefore, are translations’. Petitions circulated round the centres regarding the wish for elected representatives are also in Spanish.)

The growing problem, including a sit-in at Marlborough Court, a visit from an AACR representative from Gibraltar, and the active involvement of Dr Newsome Wright, a London solicitor, on the evacuees’ behalf, was reported in considerable detail in *The Times* in July 1943. The reports were sympathetic and gave a background to the evacuees’ position: ‘many of them [commented the paper] do not speak English’. The matter was defused when the Ministry of Health (the junior minister, Miss F. Horsburgh, was prominent in the negotiations) agreed to an improvement in conditions and to some relaxation of existing regulations.<sup>16</sup>

As a significant glimpse into the situation there is a letter on file signed ‘Ricardo’ and sent to John Dyer in Gibraltar. It is written, it must be said, in not very grammatical Spanish, and criticises the cost of living in London, describing the writer’s unhappiness with life as an evacuee. Surprisingly escaping the wartime censor is the comment:

Y como bastardos ellos que nos puede ver [sic] porque hablamos el español.<sup>17</sup>

This at any rate is one person’s perception of the disadvantage of being monolingual in Spanish in England at the time.

### 3. EDUCATIONAL PROVISION IN THE EVACUATION: LONDON

In Britain, the Ministry of Health gradually set up organized education for nearly 3,000 evacuee children aged 5 –16. Archer and Traverso state:

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<sup>16</sup> Two men, Bellotti and Holliday, had been prominent in the protest and were served with notices of eviction. This led to a County Court case, in which Judge Hargreaves found against the Minister. The two evacuees were reinstated in their accommodation, although in the subsequent appeal the Master of the Rolls and two Lords upheld the original decision to evict (Finlayson, *The Fortress Came First*, Chapter 11). This case too was reported in *The Times* (21 June 1943 and subsequent Law Report).

<sup>17</sup> Letter 3 December 1942, National Archives, CO 91/516/6.

In November 1940, the Ministry of Health established the Gibraltar Advisory Committee, under the chairmanship of Major J. Patron ... The committee's remit included oversight of the arrangements for the education of the evacuee children.<sup>18</sup>

The evacuee centres were provided with nursery schools. At first it was considered advisable for Gibraltarian evacuees 'to have schools of their own in London where special provision could be made to deal with the language problem'.<sup>19</sup> Later, each centre had a nearby school assigned to it.<sup>20</sup> Under the heading 'Un nuevo hogar para los gibraltareños', *El Calpense* reported on 6 March 1943 that up to 4,000 Gibraltarian children were attending school:

en escuelas locales, juntamente con los londinenses, pero en muchos centros se han creado escuelas elementales y de párvulos ... cuando llegaron a Londres la tercera parte de los evacuados entendía y hablaba inglés; en la actualidad todos entienden el idioma y todos los niños se desarrollan dominando tanto el inglés como el español. Esto les será muy útil en el porvenir.<sup>21</sup>

Charles Caruana, the late Catholic Bishop of Gibraltar, was more critical of educational provision for the evacuees. He wrote that, had the original plans to take the Gibraltarians to Jamaica been carried out, 'it was only there that the children would receive the appropriate education and practise their religion'. He added:

there was absolutely nothing arranged for the children's education in London. Impromptu arrangements were made under pressure from Bishops Amigo and Fitzgerald ... Children were at first accommodated in any schools with vacancies, even if they were Protestant schools. It was only later on that schools with the proper facilities for Catholic children were found nearer the different centres.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Archer and Traverso, p. 82. Also cf. memo from Acheson about educational arrangements for evacuees, 8 January 1941, and Mayhew's report 'The Education of Gibraltar Evacuees in the United Kingdom', National Archives, CO 91/516/12; and CO 91/515/11 for additional material.

<sup>19</sup> Archer and Traverso, p. 82.

<sup>20</sup> The school accommodation for older pupils included the Victoria and Albert Museum in Kensington.

<sup>21</sup> Archer and Traverso give the number of evacuee children receiving education at ages 5 -16 in UK as 2,800, with a further 400 in Madeira and 200 in Jamaica. Archer and Traverso, pp. 82 -87

<sup>22</sup> Caruana, pp. 130-131.

He also pointed out that the Colonial Office never offered the Christian Brothers terms inviting them to open a school in the UK for the evacuees. (In contrast, the Brothers opened a school in Tangier for Gibraltarian children who spent the war there.<sup>23</sup>)

The children's education in Britain must have been disrupted in many ways, not all connected with the dangers of the Blitz.<sup>24</sup> For instance, most of the teachers were English and did not speak Spanish. This may have had the unintended effect of making the children speak to each other in Spanish. However, the British Council, which helped many Gibraltarian children with scholarships for secondary education, also started classes in English (as well as other subjects) in 1943.<sup>25</sup> Finlayson writes:

In the long term this association with the English language and this exposure to a different way of life was to have profound effects upon the future of the civilian population of Gibraltar. The Gibraltar Government and the secretary of state for the colonies attached great importance, not only to progress in the English language, but also to the acquisition of English atmosphere and traditions.<sup>26</sup>

This link between the English language and imperial values has already been apparent in the pre-war period and will become an issue again in my examination of the post-war years.

Finlayson adds:

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<sup>23</sup> Two senior Christian Brothers, later joined by four others, opened the school for Gibraltar children. I have not found a reference to numbers enrolled, but bearing in mind the proportion of pupils in other places of Evacuation (and not counting the transferred Line Wall College, with about 80 boarders) the number of pupils may have been up to 150. Tangier formed no part of the Evacuation scheme but evacuees went to Tangier 'by choice and at their own request': Archer and Traverso, pp. 89 and 221. Some would have chosen Tangier, despite its Francoist administration, because of family links and/or because their economic situation allowed them to do so. Close proximity to the menfolk in Gibraltar must have been a great attraction.

<sup>24</sup> See interview with CT, pp. 81-82.

<sup>25</sup> When re-evacuation to Northern Ireland took place in 1944, schools were set up for the Gibraltarian children (staffed by Gibraltarians assisted by Irish Sisters). Local secondary schools also admitted Gibraltarian pupils. (Archer and Traverso, pp. 82 - 83.)

<sup>26</sup> Finlayson, *The Fortress Came First*, p. 94.

Although Spanish was to continue as the language of most homes, the greater contact with the English language during these years was to have a profound effect, particularly upon the younger generation.<sup>27</sup>

This is quite consistent with the report from *El Calpense* quoted above.

Manolo Rodriguez commented that the evacuees were respected ‘and treated as equals. They [Londoners] even admired the fluency of the English spoken by the younger evacuees’ even though ‘most of the time we used to speak in our habitual Spanish at the centres’.<sup>28</sup> As a 14 year-old, Rodriguez did not attend school in London because arrangements for education between 5 and 16 were not implemented for a year, by which time he was already employed. He referred to the nurseries that were improvised and how initially there were no formal arrangements for education. However, even when plans were drawn up for 5–16 schooling, ‘the curriculum was at a primary level and would have been of little benefit to those of us who were more advanced in our studies before the evacuation’.<sup>29</sup>

In fact, eventually there was plenty of thought given to educational provision for the evacuees. There is a letter from Miles Clifford to the Education Officer of the London County Council in 1944 thanking the Council for its work ‘on behalf of the children of this colony evacuated in 1940 ... The results speak for themselves and will provide an inspiration and a stimulus to our educational agencies’. In reply, F.H. Yale, Head of St James LCC school at Lancaster Gate, wrote:

As Headmaster of one of the largest Gibraltarian schools in London may I take this opportunity of saying how much we enjoyed having the Gibraltarian children with us. We found them most responsive and appreciative of everything done for them ... if the work we did will help them to success and strengthen the ties of Empire binding them to us, that, in itself, will be ample reward ... over 500 Gibraltarian children passed through this School in the 3½ years in which I had the privilege of being in charge.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Finlayson, *ibid.*, p. 228.

<sup>28</sup> Manolo Rodriguez, *I Remember* (Gibraltar: Gibraltar Books, 2001), p. 68.

<sup>29</sup> Rodriguez, p. 61.

<sup>30</sup> Clifford’s letter of 17 August 1944. This correspondence is in box ‘A.A. Traverso’s research material’, Gibraltar Government Archives.



It must be pointed out that, even if this appears to have been a fairly representative view, it was not a unanimous one. Dr Howes' note to Christopher Cox, the Colonial Office's official adviser for education, described a critical response to the children by one of their teachers. This person, whose identity is not known, was dissatisfied that the education of Gibraltar children was conducted in English; he also levelled some criticisms at their parents' temperament and background.<sup>31</sup>

A Colonial Office file at the National Archives throws more light on educational provision for the evacuees. In a memo to Mr Mayhew, who represented the Colonial Office on a committee established by the Ministry of Health for educational arrangements for the evacuees, Cox emphasised the need to avoid 'the danger of their becoming a small enclave'.<sup>32</sup> In a letter, also to Mayhew, he referred to conversations with inspectors and to 'the importance of the language difficulty', which he said had 'its dangers'. He 'did not want the teachers to concentrate too much on teaching the English language *in vacuo*':

Both inspectors thought it might be a good idea to try and persuade Gibraltar to leave two or three of their best teachers here at the end of the war to be properly trained.

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<sup>31</sup> Howes quotes a teacher with responsibility for an Evacuation area: 'Though when it suits their book "they are very British and Proud of it", it is undeniable that Spanish (their own variety of it) is their mother tongue, especially as it is the language of the home, and in my own limited experience it is very rare to find many of the women who could speak English. The teaching of elementary subjects in a language which was a closed book to the vast majority resulted in the attempt being farcical.' According to this source the task of this and other educators was not made easier by the 'apathy and cynicism' towards 'juvenile' education that pervaded the settlement and the mothers' sense of being discriminated against as 'foreigners'. Despite some positive comments about the provision of English language and other classes, this teacher's opinions betrayed a degree of exasperation and some breakdown in communication with the evacuees:

'In general I found these people, as I have found them elsewhere in the Latin-American world, immensely ignorant ... riddled with superstition ... general ignorance lends itself to that other curse of the Spanish temperament, individualism, where every man forms his own party ... will go to any lengths to sabotage any scheme.'

While conceding that some of the evacuees' concerns were justified, affecting their opinion of the British and creating a need for careful handling on their return to the Rock, the writer was obviously unsettled by the 'queer idiosyncracies, fanatic Catholicism alongside ribald atheism'. Small wonder that Clifford added a note at the end of the document, 'Someone has been putting the wind up our worthy Doctor!' Governor Eastwood, not popular in Gibraltar himself, wrote, 'A very good character sketch for Gibraltarians – or at least a section of them.'<sup>31</sup> (Gibraltar Government Archives, YF 368/1942. These two notes are dated 2 July and 4 July 1944. Howes' statement to Cox does not appear to have a date but must have been written towards the end of June.)

<sup>32</sup> Memo dated 10 June 1941, National Archives, CO 91/515/11.

Mr Atkins remarked that by all and large he considered the attitude of the Gibraltarians a credit to the Empire.<sup>33</sup>

The remarks about Empire, although more moderate and sympathetic, originate in a similar mindset to the pre-war Gibraltar Colonial Secretary's when he commented on the local scouts' use of Spanish.<sup>34</sup>

This comment is obviously meant as a compliment and would be regarded as such by the evacuees; it also epitomised the generally harmonious relations which existed between them and the British people, whether officials or members of the general public. It does, however, beg certain questions. Were traditional imperial values very high on the agenda when Britain was fighting a war for survival; indeed, although it was to be some years before the country's imperial power was widely accepted to be in decline, were there already stirrings of a shift away from Empire? However, it must be added that where Gibraltarians were concerned, the growing wish through the war years for civilians to have a say in the Rock's affairs was not inconsistent with their strong and continuing imperial loyalty.

Another Colonial Office file at the National Archives includes a draft report by J. Angus Gillan of the British Council for the Colonial Secretariat in Gibraltar under 'Social Welfare Arrangements'. The Council and the WVS were to encourage young people and adults to join classes in English.<sup>35</sup>

The main object of the Council's work is to help the Gibraltarians to become more aware of the 'Mother Country'. The fact that the whole [sic] child population is receiving a British education in the United Kingdom should have an interesting effect on Gibraltar in the future.<sup>36</sup>

It is natural that furthering Gibraltarians' command of the English language and strengthening their 'Britishness' and imperial loyalty should often go together. In the same file, the Colonial Office's Mr Acheson commented:

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<sup>33</sup> Letter dated 28 April 1941. The school attendance figures appearing in the same file were also creditable in the circumstances. February 1942, for example, showed an improvement from the previous year: Gibraltarian children 73.4%; London County Council children 81.4%. National Archives, CO 91/515/11.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. pp. 53-54, above.

<sup>35</sup> The Women's Voluntary Service was founded just before the war, originally to help civilians with the damage caused by air raids. It later diversified its activities.

<sup>36</sup> Gibraltar Evacuation: Social Welfare Arrangements. National Archives, CO 91/516/12.

[This is] a unique opportunity ... to spread among the Gibraltarians the sense of British citizenship and British culture ... their outlook should as far as possible be broadened by closer contact with British ideas and ideals, and the education of the children should be directed on British lines. The purpose should be to send them ultimately back to Gibraltar with a wider knowledge of the English language, with a more vigorous British outlook and with a stronger affection for this country.<sup>37</sup>

This passage reveals a conscious attempt to mould the identity of Gibraltarians within a colonial discourse. Considering that it was never the policy of the British Government to host Gibraltarian evacuees in the first place, it shows the emergence of a new initiative on the part of the Colonial Office. This was a well-meaning, paternalistic attitude, but it is difficult to escape the conclusion that it also amounted to *ad hoc* policymaking. It is as if the opportunity could not be missed to impart Britishness and colonial values with an almost missionary zeal on a willing people.

As we shall see in later chapters the quest for ‘an English atmosphere and traditions’ probably reflected the wartime patriotism as well as the longer-established aspirations of many Gibraltarians. It certainly underpinned the recommendations of the Clifford Report for the new post-war education system in Gibraltar; and these feelings were to be later articulated by Dr H.W. Howes, the first Director of Education, in 1946, again with an imperial flavour.<sup>38</sup>

In separate memos to officials, Mayhew suggested the use of English reading books (from O.U.P. and Longmans) for pupils ‘who do not have English as their mother tongue’; and urged the desirability of arranging Saturday sessions for Gibraltar teachers ‘in view of their weak academic background’.<sup>39</sup>

There was no lack of helpful initiatives. Gibraltarian youths benefited from the Pitman’s College educational activities and training schemes, largely in commercial

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<sup>37</sup> Memorandum, 8 January 1941. National Archives, CO 91/516/12.

<sup>38</sup> ‘My main object in writing this little book ... is to provide those leaving the Secondary Schools of Gibraltar with an account of their own place, in order that they may feel a sense of real pride in being members both of their own community and of the British Empire.’ Howes, *The Story of Gibraltar*, p. 16.

<sup>39</sup> Mayhew’s memoranda, National Archives, CO 91/516/12.

and technical subjects.<sup>40</sup> These courses, and a six-month intensive English course, had been agreed with the support of the Gibraltar Government and the Evacuation authorities.

There is, however, some disagreement about the effect of the Evacuation on Gibraltarians' command of English. Errico attributes the maintenance of Spanish as the home language during the Evacuation to the evacuees' little opportunity to practise English.<sup>41</sup> It is certainly the case that the older generation of evacuees would generally have been Spanish-speaking (cf. interviews with evacuees below). Their self-generated entertainment would largely consist of Spanish-language musical performances, comic acts and zarzuelas. Finlayson describes and illustrates some of these entertainments.<sup>42</sup> In fact, Errico refers to West's view that the 'evacuation was disadvantageous for children's English'. West writes:

Many of these evacuee children did not begin to learn English till they returned to Gibraltar, and are consequently backward and somewhat of a problem.<sup>43</sup>

This is very much a minority view. Traverso, Finlayson *et al.* hold the view, as I do, that the Evacuation brought about a great improvement in the command of English.<sup>44</sup> Julie Michot regards the evacuation as representing for the women a 'véritable bain linguistique'.<sup>45</sup> These claims will be examined below, in the analysis of interviews carried out in Gibraltar.

#### 4. MADEIRA, JAMAICA

The evacuees who went to Madeira underwent a different experience in many ways, but the education provided was at least as anglicised. A British school was established, using many teachers who were themselves evacuees – it was the

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<sup>40</sup> Gibraltar Government Archives, Evacuation File 95.

<sup>41</sup> Errico, p. 37.

<sup>42</sup> Finlayson, *The Fortress Came First*, pp. 95-99; with photographs and article from *Gibraltar Chronicle* of 29 July 1942, reproduced between pp. 114 and 115.

<sup>43</sup> Michael West, 'Bilingualism in Gibraltar', *Oversea [sic] Education*, 27 (1956), 148–153 (p. 149).

<sup>44</sup> Freda H. Gwilliam wrote that the Evacuation had given a 'slight impetus to the use of English'. *Report on Education in Gibraltar by Miss F.H. Gwilliam* (1951), p. 2. National Archives, CO 91/541.

<sup>45</sup> Michot, p. 90.

counterpart of the more select schools at home (speaking Spanish in the playground was not allowed). Lina Searle writes that in the school the children ‘kept to the English educational system.’<sup>46</sup> Traverso quotes Finlayson, who observes ‘that in their selection [of teachers] the greatest care was taken to choose teachers who were as nearly English as possible.’ Archer and Traverso write:

The curriculum was much as existed in Gibraltar before the war ... There was also special emphasis on the British dimension and on the English language. This was strongly encouraged by the British authorities and by the Headmaster [a British resident]. Those who were pupils there recall that Spanish was forbidden in and around the school and that violations of the rule were punished.<sup>47</sup>

There was also exposure to English through English-language films (and also to Portuguese-language films with English sub-titles, which increased the evacuees’ knowledge of the island’s language). The BBC news and English-language periodicals also helped.

According to Archer and Traverso, ‘British traditions and culture were also emphasised’ for the children who attended school in Jamaica.<sup>48</sup> (However, as in pre-war Gibraltar and in London, the evacuees’ musical productions in the camp were ‘usually staged in Spanish’.<sup>49</sup>) Again, secondary education was available for the more academic pupils. The Governor of Jamaica advised that ‘schools will now be more under the control of the education department in Jamaica’ and there will be ‘less free hand for the RC authorities’. This illustrates the religious tensions that could exist in educational provision and which were a feature of the post-war arrangements in Gibraltar, as will be explored in the next chapter.<sup>50</sup> But, taking educational provision for evacuees as a whole, Archer and Traverso conclude that many had enhanced their

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<sup>46</sup> Lina Searle, ‘Memories of a Young Girl in Madeira’, *GHJ*, 8 (2001), 31-34 (p. 33).

<sup>47</sup> Archer and Traverso, p. 87. Cf. article of 12 October 1979 in *Calpe News* where the anonymous writer states, ‘Ten or fifteen years ago, a child at school would have been punished for speaking in Spanish within earshot of a teacher.’ Also cf. pp. 261, 192-195, below.

<sup>48</sup> ‘The aim was to deliver a Gibraltarian curriculum with an emphasis on the English language.’ Archer and Traverso, pp. 87-89.

<sup>49</sup> Morello (quoting Nemesio Mosquera, writer, comedian and entertainer), p.50.

<sup>50</sup> Letter to Lord Moyne, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 22 October 1941, National Archives, CO 91/515/11.

command of English and got to understand British society better.<sup>51</sup> ‘Their self-confidence grew as a consequence.’<sup>52</sup>

## 5. EVACUATION AND LANGUAGE: MY INTERVIEWS IN GIBRALTAR, JANUARY 2008

The Evacuation is so central to this thesis that eye-witness accounts from some of those who experienced it will further our understanding. To complement the historical outlines, therefore, I shall draw from the interviews I held in Gibraltar during my visits in 2008 and 2009. I would like to consider how Gibraltarians who were evacuated now think about their language experience at the time. My objective was to get the views of a cross-section of evacuees. This obviously meant that these particular interviewees were of advanced age, in their seventies, eighties and in some cases nineties. Their recollections, as they sometimes pointed out themselves, were necessarily clouded by the passage of many years. In view of their circumstances, I was happy to let them talk freely, even if some of what they said was not immediately relevant, and to extract the more pertinent material on subsequent analysis of the typescript of the interviews. I had prepared a number of questions but adapted these to the particular experience of the subjects and the comprehensiveness of their experience.<sup>53</sup> Inevitably, this section of the chapter will show that it originated in conversation and narrative.

One of the things I hoped to achieve in these interviews was to test my belief that the Evacuation had been of great importance in the language shift that occurred in Gibraltar after the war.<sup>54</sup> As we have seen, some writers like Finlayson have argued that the Evacuation helped the English of children in particular, because they had

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<sup>51</sup> This also applied to the Christian Brothers’ school in Tangier, especially set up for children whose parents had opted to be evacuated there, outside the government scheme. It is arguable that the Tangier evacuees had, educationally and in other respects, the least disruptive experience.

<sup>52</sup> Archer and Traverso, pp. 89-90. Cavilla refers to Gibraltarian children switching from the Papá and Mamá of the pre-war years to the Dad[dy] and Mum[my] of today, and he adds, ‘The giving of English names and the speaking of English to children in Gibraltar is another post-war custom’. Manuel Cavilla, *Gib* (Gibraltar: 1994), p. 107.

<sup>53</sup> See pp. 300-301 below.

<sup>54</sup> See pp. 71-74 above.

educational and social opportunities to improve it. ‘Official’ sources too, such as the Colonial Office, thought that this aspect of Britishness would be enhanced by the Evacuation experience. I therefore wanted to know from those subjects who had been in the Evacuation what was the extent of their knowledge of the English language before 1940, and how this knowledge and opportunities to speak it developed when in England and indeed the other Evacuation destinations.

The interviews with the evacuees yielded much useful material about their wartime experience, some verifiable by examining written official or press material of the time, some anecdotal and often backed by more than one source. Much of their material went beyond questions of language. The awareness of a Gibraltarian identity is often said to date from those years; to have been consolidated in the educational and political reforms of the post-war decades; and to have been confirmed later during the Spanish restrictions and border closure from at least 1963 to the reopening in 1985. Thus, the evacuees had much to say about the sense of Gibraltarian solidarity brought about by their experiences.

It is impossible to generalise about evacuees’ fluency in English in 1940. Obviously it depended on their educational and family and social background. Hence it was important to establish how individuals’ experience varied.

(a) JBa, RB, DB, CR, CT: Five young Gibraltarians in London, 1940-44

JBa was already in primary school in Gibraltar when he left, aged 8. He knew English and as his mother was Spanish he came from ‘a fairly bilingual’ household. He says that the Spanish language predominated in Gibraltar in the inter-war years. In London, he did much translating for his mother.

His feeling about being in an environment where everyone spoke English (the basis of my second question) was that he ‘was like a fish taking to water’, and his schooling at

an Essex County Council school in the camp area of Dr Barnardo's Home in Barkingside, was 'a continuity of schooling from Gibraltar translated into England'.

I was also curious to know about communication with English people outside the Evacuation areas. JBa however recalled that the camp was very self-sufficient in services and there was not much contact with the local community. Radio programmes, library books and the cinema were all 'completely and utterly in English' and he does not remember reading any Spanish-language books until back in Gibraltar. Camp concerts and entertainment, however, were bilingual. (They were an important aspect of the social life and sense of solidarity of the evacuees in Britain and elsewhere.) He concedes that 'domestically' the Spanish language would be used, because older Gibraltarian citizens and those like his mother had Spanish as their main language. She had been born in Spain. JBa regards the often-quoted advantage of bilingualism in Gibraltar as a pitfall, as it made it unnecessary for her to speak English. It was necessary for 'us' [the men] because of 'education, prospects of employment'. This is a theme that was to recur again and again in the interviews and which I have already touched upon in this thesis: that there was often a division along gender lines in language policy and practice in Gibraltar, until the advent of the post-war education system and social and political changes.<sup>55</sup>

When asked about the problems some Gibraltarians might have had with English in their day to day life in England, JBa said many of women would take a child with them to go shopping, and the latter would translate for them. This point also came up in other interviews; as did the comment JBa ascribed to women in that situation: 'Hablo muy mal, se van a reír de mí la gente'.

I enquired whether people's treatment of the evacuees was influenced by their competence in English. JBa's sole recollection here is that the evacuees took great umbrage at being called 'refugees'. Again, several interviewees made it clear that they were aware of the distinction between being in flight and being made to leave their

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<sup>55</sup> Cf. Chapter IV below for full discussion, and also interviews with DP and TA in April 2009.



homes by their own government (wise as this may have been in the foreseeable circumstances).

JBa completed his education in Gibraltar, initially in the stopgap system set up when the evacuees were arriving back, and staffed by military personnel, while the plans for educational reform came to fruition. He then attended the Grammar School, succeeding in his School / Higher Certificate examination. I shall return to JBa when examining the role of English in the variety of central executive and administrative roles he held in Gibraltar after the war.

RB too was fluent in English when she went to England as a young teenager, having had an English-medium education in the Hebrew School which took her up to the 'Cambridge examination'. (She does make it clear, however, that 'a lot of Spanish' was spoken day to day at the time.) Her fluency and relative maturity obviously helped her to adapt well to English life. 'Everything came so natural. I am surprised myself ... after all we came from Gibraltar, a very small place, like a village.' Unlike her younger brother and sisters, who attended school in London, RB went straight to work. There was no problem with English, and she 'went back to our Spanish' when back at the centre. ('You know the things we liked of Spain, the things we were used to.') She read British newspapers and went to the cinema and the theatre. Asked whether she knew of evacuees who had problems with English, she replied that most of the people close to her did not. Some of the elder ones may have had some problems ... 'but not much. I don't know how they managed, but they managed. Somehow they used to go out and ask in their own way'.

She points out that in other centres there were people who were less fluent in English. Hearing many people in that category speaking Spanish caused some English people to regard them as refugees or immigrants and to look down on them. But RB makes it clear she did not experience that problem herself and that she was well treated – an interesting example of a person's language influencing others' perceptions and behaviour. After a period in Northern Ireland, where she also did office clerical work, she adapted well on her repatriation to Gibraltar. Her attitude to English did not

change on her return – this was a question I asked most of the evacuees – because ‘being in business here I used to speak a lot of English but we went back to the same way of life, speaking Spanish at home, in the street and with friends, and speaking English to our English friends and the business’.

DB too was fluent in English when she arrived in Britain, having completed her school education in Gibraltar, with all her teachers speaking English. In England she had full-time employment, and had other as well as linguistic attributes: she was able, for example, to trace her aunt, who was giving birth to a child in Islington Hospital, and take charge of the two other children, at the height of the Blitz. Clearly, she had no problem in living in an environment where everyone spoke English, and was equally unambiguous about managing her day to day experience well.

There was plenty of reading in English (‘I used to go out and buy them myself, *Silver Star*, *Lucky Star*, *Miracle Oracle* – all those books’), she had enjoyed radio at work (‘Music While You Work’), no cinema but certainly parties and variety shows organised by the evacuees at her centre, Marlborough Court in Kensington.

On the question of how people without fluent English felt about being in an English-speaking environment, DB pointed out that there was solidarity in the evacuee community and those who knew English would interpret for the benefit of the others. In fact, many of the required services, such as a medical clinic, were available at the centre. Again, her experience was that English people did not like Gibraltarians to speak in Spanish in their midst (she relates an amusing incident when an Englishman was criticised on a bus for having a greasy coat, and it turned out he understood Spanish!). DB, whose father was English – and this would of course have been a major factor in her early English fluency – speaks of England as a second home. Thus, there was good reason why her attitude to English on returning to Gibraltar did not change, and she continued to use the language extensively (‘I deal with English people, and Gibraltar people and ... schoolteachers’).

Also fluent in English at the time of the evacuation was CR, who arrived in England as a 5-year-old. His father had placed great emphasis on a sound education, enrolling him in a succession of different schools in pursuit of higher standards before they moved from Barkingside to Wales at the time of the 'second blitz'. On repatriation, CR attended the temporary school run by the armed forces ('where you learnt practically nothing') and then was moved again, this time to the Anglican private school. In due course he went to the Grammar School. He told me he had no problems at all with English, although his mother did not have a good education and never spoke English well.<sup>56</sup>

In England, CR was one of those children who helped their mothers with local shopping. He also helped to buy train tickets and guided her when they travelled from Barkingside to Liverpool Street Station. He recalls an amusing incident when his mother accidentally became stranded on the platform after he got on the train, and then reporting to the stationmaster at Liverpool Street that she had got lost:

Look, sonny, what do you mean your mother's got lost? You're the one who's lost. Sorry.

Although there was not much in the way of entertainment, he became an 'omnivorous' reader, but his access to printed Spanish seems to have been limited to his mother's prayer book.

As Finlayson and others have noted, the provision of food in the centres was a common cause for complaint among the evacuees. Often, difficulties with the English language affected the efficacy of the representations they made. CR says, 'they couldn't get across what it was.' It seems that the grandmothers and the more elderly were the ones who had the problems, not those women who went out to work.

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<sup>56</sup> He described how in later life communication problems between his mother and his English father-in-law were overcome: 'They happily talked to one in English and the other in Spanish, and there was no ... questioning as to why it was one or the other ... at that age it was the same with me, I used to speak to my mother in Spanish and everybody else in English.'

CR became aware that those who spoke with a Queen's [sic] English accent at the time were accepted as 'just one more', only becoming 'a foreigner' if the locals got to know that they had a non-English surname. In this context, he describes the indignation of his father and others when, on leave in England, they came across a file, in the office responsible for Gibraltar, titled 'Gibraltar Refugees'. Many became involved in the subsequent complaints and representations. Another criterion of 'foreignness' or non-Britishness was the fact that evacuees could speak another language!

Asked how his attitude to English varied after the Evacuation, CR remembers that he was at first ridiculed for his good English by those who either had not had the same level of education or the chance to acquire the accent. He himself says that over the years he lost his 'la-di-dah' accent.

CR had much to say about the role of English in many aspects of post-war life in Gibraltar, and we shall consider this later.

CT was the about the same age, nearly six, when evacuated to central London. He, however, had started his schooling a few months earlier in Gibraltar ('at that time we were taught in Spanish'). His wartime education, at least before re-evacuation to Northern Ireland much later in the war, appears to have been rather sketchy. He was taught by local teachers in English but did not attend regularly as the children's parents would not always allow them to on account of the bombing. He believes the teachers were not qualified. English was not new to him on being evacuated, because the family ran a shop in Gibraltar and they had English customers. Like other evacuees, he speaks of the cool reaction of the locals when Gibraltarians were heard talking in Spanish. He says he did not use much English in London: he used to go out with his parents, who did the shopping, and they had medical and other services provided at their centre. CT read the comics of the time and the family listened to the BBC news on a communal radio. Again, he identifies the food, rather than language or any other difficulties, as the main reason for complaint. A further insight into Evacuation life is provided by his recollection that his father and mother used to be

asked by some residents to read out the letters they had received from Gibraltar and compose their, presumably dictated, replies. In an earlier chapter we have seen that literacy in Gibraltar was by no means universal at the time. CT joins others in the view that being called ‘refugees’ caused great resentment (‘in those days they [the British] had a superiority complex’).

(b) How some older evacuees adapted: MC, CH, MI, AO

I interviewed a number of older evacuees – all women - in their eighties and nineties, some of them in old people’s homes and among the oldest survivors of the Evacuation. For the most part they had completed their education by the time they were evacuated, and some were actually into their twenties by then. One revealing aspect was the varying degree of exposure to English they had had, a function of their education and family background. Their information highlighted how the parents and grandparents whom they accompanied, sadly now long gone, would in many cases have found the English language truly foreign.

MC said that the two languages had been used at her school, more English than Spanish, but that there were Spanish pupils too, who came from La Línea. Thus, teachers, who were mostly Gibraltarians, taught in Spanish as well as English (‘El español no se quitó de la escuela’).

Once in England, MC expressed herself in English ‘bastante bien’ (this interview was conducted in Spanish). She had enough English and at times other evacuees would ask her to give the meaning of something in Spanish. Because she worked (at a pharmaceutical manufacturer) she needed to communicate in English with her employers. She was always able to enjoy English language films. She helped her mother, a non-speaker of English, with her shopping by interpreting and giving her the names of articles in Spanish. Her mother had gone to a school where Spanish was used exclusively, and she could not always attend because, as in many other large

families, some of the children would look after brothers and sisters: hence her lack of English.<sup>57</sup>

MC has no recollection of the locals treating those evacuees who were less fluent in English any differently. On the contrary, she wholeheartedly praised the behaviour of the British towards the evacuees. On whether she regarded the English language as more important after the return to Gibraltar:

No; no pensé que tenía más ni menos, igual sí. Bastante importante para mí, porque si tenía que hablarlo, pues lo hablaba, y si no tenía que hablarlo, pues no lo hablaba.

CH had been to a school where the Gibraltarian teachers did not use English. She does not seem to have spoken much English in England, referring to having much help in the hotel and from other residents and younger people:

Yo entendía pero me daba vergüenza. Yo entendía todo pero hablar no ... No me atrevía; lo escuchaba todo; yo decía que sí o que no; pero hablar no. A mí me daba vergüenza. Estaba cohibida.

She managed with shopping ('yo cogía y pagaba'). She was sent Spanish books by her husband in Gibraltar. Asked whether she knew evacuees who had problems with English, she said a good many, but that they and she were resigned to this (and they listened closely). Again, she was full of praise for the helpfulness of the British and their treatment of the evacuees - this theme emerged very strongly in many interviews. And this strong regard for the British continued on her return to Gibraltar.

MI claimed that she was taught in English at her school (St Mary's) and that her mother also knew English. She could participate in English conversation when taken to the doctor, and read stories, in both English and Spanish, some of these being sent by relatives in Gibraltar. Her mother possessed a Spanish Bible, and each night she would get her and her brother to pray. When I asked the inevitable question (for the

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<sup>57</sup> As explained in Ch. I, education in Gibraltar only became compulsory in law in 1917.

only time in the interviews) she answered, 'En los dos'. MI narrated humorous anecdotes arising from language misunderstanding.<sup>58</sup> She was well aware of not having passed examinations in English, and professed to be satisfied with what she knew ('me sabía defender muy bien con mucha gente'). This knowledge would have come in useful in her job with the NAAFI after repatriation. She too had enjoyed dance, song and zarzuelas at her hotel ('siempre cantando y bailando') and was very happy with the treatment received from the management.

AO - also very old - told me that she had studied English in her school in Gibraltar, an education interrupted by the Evacuation. She did not complete it in Britain, giving the reason that the residents had to stay in their centre because of the war situation. There seems to have been no shopping or much going out in her case: she appears to have spent much time taking part in the concerts held at the centre, and with music and dance. Because of her knowledge of English (which she says impressed others in her family) she was asked by the centre manager to help with the distribution of mail. She answered my standard question by assuring me that she had no problem in being in an environment where everyone outside the Gibraltarian community spoke English. Many evacuees were not fluent in English ('no tenían la escuela que teníamos nosotros'), but she adds that, being always with their families, they did not need much English. It was very much of a Spanish-speaking situation among the evacuees, and she gives two amusing instances of attempts to resolve language difficulties when her mother went shopping with friends.<sup>59</sup> Both in London and when re-evacuated to Northern Ireland, AO seems to have made a spirited contribution to evacuee social life.

(c) Madeira: JS, JM, MB <sup>60</sup>

JS, 94 years old at the time of our interview and very lucid, was among the 2,000 Gibraltarians evacuated to Madeira. He was there from 1941 to 1943 when he returned to serve as a volunteer gunner in the Gibraltar Defence Force. He told me he spoke English and Spanish to a high standard when evacuated (he had been taught by

<sup>58</sup> Cf. typescript of interview, pp. 393-394.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. interview script, pp. 399-400.

<sup>60</sup> Evacuees in Jamaica seem to have had an experience that was nearer to that of UK evacuees than to those in Madeira: managing as best they could outside the Gibraltar Camp, with the young helping the older people when shopping and generally.

the Christian Brothers), although education was ‘limited’ up until the war. The emphasis was on the Spanish language and even Spanish currency and he adds that English then was ‘a second language ... [of] very little importance’:

It was only after the war when Gibraltar had a grammar school that the number one subject was English ... But I would say that the standard of English and Spanish in Gibraltar generally was very poor.

This belief that English was by no means universal in pre-war education is consistent with much of what has been discussed in Chapter I. JS also gave me some examples of what he regarded as poor Spanish.<sup>61</sup> He had very clear information about the school that was set up in Madeira for evacuee children. The ‘headteacher was an Englishman’ but there were also local teachers, like two ladies from Catalan Bay. JS takes the view of many that the education there was of a high (‘up to GCE’) standard.

In Madeira the evacuees spoke to each other mostly in Spanish. Outside the school (where there were dire penalties for pupils speaking in Spanish at any time) not much importance was given to English – Madeira is of course Portuguese-speaking.

Both in Spain before the war and in Madeira, JS had found his knowledge of English and Spanish (and later Portuguese) useful, working in business and, in Madeira, as an interpreter with the authorities and also freelance.<sup>62</sup>

In the past JM has worked as a businessman, and as a meteorologist with the RAF. He has held a number of exhibitions of Gibraltar memorabilia and has lectured to tourists visiting Gibraltar. When I interviewed him, his book about Gibraltar’s cultural history had just been published.<sup>63</sup> He regards the Evacuation to Madeira as a second one, because like most other Gibraltarian evacuees he was first taken to Casablanca and

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<sup>61</sup> See Chapter VI for discussion of Gibraltarian Spanish / Yanito and code-switching.

<sup>62</sup> He obtained a post as an unqualified teacher in 1946 and later qualified in Britain. See p. 124 below. For his comments on the post-war education system and on English, Spanish and Yanito in Gibraltar see interview transcript, pp. 302-303.

<sup>63</sup> Morello, *Memories of our Recent Past*, already referred to.



then evicted at short notice when France capitulated. Arriving in Madeira at the age of 9 he attended the newly-established British School for Gibraltar children, where, as noted above, the pupils were not allowed to speak in Spanish. He points out that this was not necessarily difficult or unpopular, because there was a strong feeling of patriotism which the children shared. JM talked at length about the political and social background to the Evacuation in Madeira, and about daily life there for his family and others.<sup>64</sup> He referred to the advantages of receiving education there compared to London, where it was considerably disrupted by enemy action in the Blitz. JM experienced the post-war education system in Gibraltar, and his comments about this will be referred to in a later section.

MB went to Madeira (her family were self-funded) but did not stay for long. She was 12 on arrival in 1940, and fluent in English, which she had learnt at the private nuns' convent school in Gibraltar ('A los doce años ya hablaba bien'). In Madeira she initially attended a school with an English teacher and later on the School for Gibraltar Children. However, in 1942, after a year and ten months, her mother eventually obtained permission to take her to La Línea, by the frontier with Gibraltar. This was no easy matter at that stage of the war, with Spain being a non-belligerent supporter of the Axis and, as MB puts it, 'estaban perdiendo los ingleses'. She stayed there and later in a small town near Córdoba, for her greater safety, for the family was not allowed to cross the border into Gibraltar until the end of the war.

According to MB there was very much of an English atmosphere in Madeira, with 'all the young girls speaking English'. There was no difficulty of expression for the evacuees; those who had no English managed in Spanish with the Madeirans, with the help as elsewhere of the youngsters - some learnt Portuguese. Social life in Madeira and entertainment were, as can be expected, very good for wartime circumstances, with dances, films, and an English country club.

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<sup>64</sup> He says that Madeira was not totally safe, for Hitler had forces ready to invade Spain and Portugal. Initially only privately funded evacuees went there, but as these fell short of the Portuguese Government's quota of 2,000 the British Government allowed the remaining places to be filled under the assisted evacuation scheme. According to JM, lots were drawn for these places – that is how his family went to Madeira.

On returning to Gibraltar, MB was aware of a much greater use of English ('porque toda la gente que venían de Inglaterra, los jóvenes ... y en seguida ya la educación'). Her own education had been disrupted as a result of her moves, and she had not sat for examinations, but she read a good deal.<sup>65</sup>

(d) Interviews with two couples: MM and JMu; VR and MR

MM met her English husband, JMu, in Gibraltar where he came to work, first with the police and then the MOD. She spoke only a few English words when evacuated and started her school education in London. That, however, was often interrupted by air raids and alerts, and she was then re-evacuated with her family to Cowie, in Scotland, where they stayed from 1941 to 1947. Not surprisingly, her English acquired a very Scottish accent ('Ay' for 'yes' etc.), to her friends' confusion on repatriation! Like others, she gradually lost her acquired accent.<sup>66</sup>

There were some difficult moments at the Kensington underground station where they sheltered at night and which sustained a direct hit at ground level.

MM only spoke Spanish with the family. Their Marlborough Court centre provided for the needs of the evacuees, such as clinics, and the older residents were therefore not put to the test where language was concerned. She was too young at the time to go out shopping or for entertainment, unlike her older sister. She says people managed to communicate, and her mother understood and read English, but could not speak it. This was backed up by JMu, who had never heard his wife's mother speak English since they were married. He added that, in Scotland, MM and her brother and elder sister had improved their English because they had been on errands and shopping, whereas their mother stayed at home. His wife had been exposed to English, in Cowie School, but her mother had not been exposed at all: this appears to have been the

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<sup>65</sup> In her own memoirs, she writes, 'Through all these events ... my schooling was ruined. I had private teachers, but when the war finished I was too old to go to school.' Baldacchino, *Gibraltar Belongs to Us*, unnumbered pages.

<sup>66</sup> MM was 17 on repatriation and did not return to school then - part of the reason for preferring to read English to Spanish to this day.

experience of many Gibraltarian women of that generation during the Evacuation.<sup>67</sup> MM herself added that, apart from being called Maltese sometimes, and being asked ‘how [they] lived in Gibraltar’, they were extremely well treated in Scotland. MM’s attitude to English did not vary on her return to Gibraltar; she spoke it widely with her friends. As we shall see, this couple had much to say about the current use of English in Gibraltar and its part in the Gibraltarian identity.

JMu is unique among the subjects in my field because he is the only example of an Englishman who became a naturalised and resident Gibraltarian.<sup>68</sup> He spoke about the reaction of English visitors to Gibraltarians’ linguistic characteristics. His comments, however, belong to a later section, when post-war developments and the emerging identity of Gibraltarians are discussed. His perceptions of the Evacuation itself are based on his wife’s experience.

The reflections of my other couple, VR and MR, also complemented one another’s. VR was only six when she was evacuated, had started her education in Gibraltar, and could understand and ‘talk a little bit in English’. In England, she was at a government school, the teachers and pupils were English and ‘there was a nun’. (She continued her education at Line Wall School on repatriation to Gibraltar via Scotland and was there taught by English-speaking Gibraltarians). Her husband, MR, was not fluent in English at the time of the Evacuation: his mother had no English, and Spanish was the home language. (She used sign language to go shopping, being accompanied by a friend and making ‘no effort to talk’ in English.) His schooling started immediately in England (‘and I had to learn the hard way’). Almost all his teachers were English. MR’s schooling was disrupted, in Wembley, Hyde Park and Kensington, and then when his family was re-evacuated to Northern Ireland during the V-weapons assault. There the teachers and pupils alike were Irish, so he picked up a different version of English – that of Northern Ireland.<sup>69</sup> When he returned to Gibraltar aged 11 he soon attended the Grammar School, where, perhaps strangely,

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<sup>67</sup> MM: ‘There are lots of people like that,’ that is, who understood English but did not speak it. JMu: ‘Your mother was not alone in this.’ But MM’s father used English in his work with Cable & Wireless.

<sup>68</sup> JSe, whose interview is analysed later, is a Canadian Gibraltarian.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. MM, p. 87 above.

the Christian Brothers did not encourage his Irish accent.<sup>70</sup> MR said that when evacuated he had no particular thoughts about being in an environment where everyone spoke English, although both were agreed that VR had the advantage that her mother spoke English at home (she read British newspapers too). Thus, the family adapted well to day-to-day life in England. But MR emphasised that his case was totally different where home language was concerned.

VR was one of many Gibraltarians at Dr Barnardo's in Barkingside. She and other children at the centre would have singing lessons and hold concerts – in Spanish and English – with other Gibraltarian evacuees. MR recalls that older people, 'of [his] mother's age and beyond', did have problems: it was fortunate that they were in groups and in company, and neighbours could help each other ('community living') and alleviate hardship. MR provided an example of this by referring to a well-known Gibraltarian actor reading and translating from a newspaper for a crowd of evacuees at the Wembley centre. VR's mother would help people go shopping if they needed it. Both emphasised at the end of their interviews how their parents and older people suffered during the time. On being asked about their attitudes to language on repatriation, VR said that, although she could speak both, she preferred English as she could express herself more effectively in it. MR made the original point that this period saw the birth of Yanito in Gibraltar, with its mixture of languages. His and others' thoughts on the code-switching phenomenon will gain inclusion in a later chapter.

(e) Later interviews with two evacuees who became schoolteachers: AT and HC

In my subsequent visit to Gibraltar in April 2009 I interviewed two retired teachers who had been evacuated to Britain as young children (AT, co-author of the history of education in Gibraltar frequently referred to, at about four years old; HC was just a few months old). Although the main purpose of these interviews was to find out more about language use in more recent times and in different contexts, some valid points

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<sup>70</sup> See Ch. III below for the reasons why Christian Brothers in Gibraltar immediately after the war were predominantly of an English background.

emerged about these two men's language experience at the time and subsequently. HC said he struggled with English:

For one thing I began school at seven porque me cogió la evacuación. I couldn't speak a word of English. My mother was Spanish; I hadn't seen my father for four years there. My father's English ... well, he spoke Spanish all the time, so when I went to school I really struggled there. That generation was bad at English and they passed it on to us. It was later on that I picked it up.

AT, however, was old enough at the time to go to school in England:

I was very lucky. I went to London but my father arranged to get us out of London and we went to Horncastle in Lincolnshire, and I went to school there and ... because I spoke Spanish ... they used to make fun of me, and I learnt my English there.

He returned to Gibraltar with a high degree of fluency.

They pointed out that, whereas they are called Harry and Albert, their fathers had been called Henrique and Alberto – another illustration of how names were among the things that became anglicised after the war.

## 6. SOME CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE EVACUATION AND LANGUAGE

Looking at the experience of the evacuees there is a clear difference, perhaps to be expected, between those who were young when evacuated and older people.

- The young, if they had started their education in Gibraltar at a school where English was used widely and then continued it in Britain, became very fluent in the language.
- This also generally applied to those who started their education in Britain shortly after arrival.

- This fluency is attested to by the fact that children in these two categories were able to cope with everyday situations, such as shopping, entertainment, and finding their way about, and they often helped parents, grandparents and others of older generations in these situations.<sup>71</sup>
- With regard to those who had already completed their education in Gibraltar, their fluency largely depended on the amount of English used in their schools there (we have already seen that this varied very considerably). Having completed an education in Gibraltar was not necessarily a sign that a person was fluent on arrival.
- The closer to the Evacuation that they had completed their Gibraltar education, the more likely was fluency in English.
- Thus, the elderly ladies I interviewed, who had completed their schooling in Gibraltar say in the 1920s, were generally found to be less fluent in English, or even non-English speakers.
- It would follow that, as these were in their late teens and twenties during the Evacuation, their parents' and grandparents' generations, from their late thirties to their seventies and beyond in 1940, would have had even fewer educational opportunities to become fluent in English.
- In the higher age bracket, women were less fluent English speakers than men – e.g. no man in my sample needed or expressed a wish to be interviewed in Spanish.
- The older evacuees who had little or no fluency in English did not generally develop it.
- This was because there was a strong community network in which English-speaking evacuees, often the young, would help their elders.
- Moreover, living within the Gibraltarian community in largely self-contained centres, the older people's need for external, individual contact with English-speakers would not have been strong.
- However, even among many of those who for different reasons did not develop their English during the Evacuation there was an appreciation of the *need* and *advantages* for doing so.

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<sup>71</sup> Baldacchino writes, 'The first ones left for London, many did not speak English, and had never left the Rock ... All families teamed together, not many spoke English so the older boys were the ones that helped to do the shopping and made themselves understood.' Baldacchino, unnumbered pages.

- One factor which must be taken into account in addition to all these is whether the individuals concerned had at least one English (or Celtic) parent or close relative in Gibraltar and had consequently spoken English in the family all or part of the time.
- Whilst the younger evacuees developed linguistically rather similarly in Madeira (some said better, because of the nature of the school they attended and their less-disrupted schooling) the older ones were less dependent on language help. The reason given for this is the close relationship of Portuguese to Spanish.
- The educational situation in Jamaica appears to have been rather similar. The fact that the evacuees lived in a large camp and were to some extent insulated from the island's inhabitants would have emphasised the degree of cohesion in their own community and reduced the need to speak English, compared to say London or Northern Ireland.

We should remind ourselves of the pre-Evacuation educational opportunities in Gibraltar. The private Loreto Nuns' and Brothers' schools, and the Hebrew school, had traditionally taught an English curriculum through the medium of English.<sup>72</sup> Some of the other, more modest, schools – they were also private or run by the Church, because there were no government schools in Gibraltar until 1945 – had also used English, to a greater or lesser extent, depending on their staffing and their adherence to the Bowman report of 1931.<sup>73</sup> Generally, in response to this and other reports, there seems to have been a trend in the 1930s for such schools to use more English, but this as we can see from some interviews above was not universal.

Many of my younger interviewees had benefited from these developments, and many claim to have been already fluent on arrival in Britain. Thus, as noted above, whereas the older evacuees in many cases had had little English in their education, the younger ones had gained from recent improvements. In addition, some would continue to gain from the schooling they had in Britain, however interrupted by wartime conditions. Everyday contact with local people, which was quite common for the younger

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<sup>72</sup> For reference to Hebrew school cf. RB's comments, p. 78 above, and interview transcript, pp. 313-316 below.

<sup>73</sup> There were still pockets in the system where children 'were taught in Spanish', e.g. CT, p. 81.

evacuees, often involving sports and leisure activities, is another important factor. The argument that the Evacuation was extremely helpful to this generation's English, made by Traverso and Finlayson among others, seems to be unimpeachable. The degree of linguistic assimilation undergone by the youngsters can be seen from the fact that some were speaking in the local accent / dialect of English that they experienced (illustrated by CR and MM), and which was jettisoned after their repatriation. Bearing all this in mind, the opinion of Errico that 'the evacuees had little opportunity to practise English' and West's assertion that 'many of these evacuee children did not begin to learn English till they returned to Gibraltar, and are completely backward and somewhat of a problem' can therefore be seen to be wide of the mark.<sup>74</sup>

However, it is a fair assumption, upheld in some of the interviews, that the older evacuees made little progress with their English. This would have applied in ascending amount with age, and affected women more than men. Men and women who had jobs would clearly have gained more fluency through practice and exposure, but many would have returned to Gibraltar with not much more English than they possessed on being evacuated (albeit with a new appreciation of the disadvantages of not having English). This would lead one to the conclusion that the acquisition or improvement of English language skills in the Evacuation was largely context-driven, depending on the circumstances of different individuals – their age and background, gender, environment, opportunities for schooling, and spheres of social activity. Although we have seen statements from Colonial officials about the need to anglicise and inculcate British values, and also some practical moves like the provision of English classes for adults, it cannot be said that whatever improvements occurred were mainly the result of official policy or conscious language planning.

It is no surprise that, with a proportion of older Gibraltarians in 1945 not being bilingual, Spanish remained very important in the immediate post-war decades. This is because even while the post-war education reforms were being implemented many

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<sup>74</sup> Errico, p. 37, West, p. 149, referred to above on p. 73. Gareth Stockey, in his recent work, *Gibraltar: A Dagger in the Spine of Spain?* critically weighs up the extent of anglicisation as a result of the Evacuation. Stockey, pp. 189-191.



of the older generation were still active in work, politics and of course family and social life. As in the past, after the war there were also marriages to Spanish women.

If we accept from the evidence provided in these interviews that there is no glorification of the amount of English evacuees already used and no exaggeration of their competence, then it would seem that the effect of the Evacuation on language was to enhance, and speed up, a trend that was already in progress. It did not have a great effect where older people were concerned. Therefore for the full explanation of Gibraltar's post-war language 'shift' we must look elsewhere. So let us turn now to the post-war educational reforms.

### CHAPTER III. THE CLIFFORD REPORT AND ITS EFFECTS

The thesis of this central chapter is that the Clifford Report is of fundamental importance to Gibraltar. In establishing a state system of education and the primacy of the English language it coincided with the call for political emancipation and representation which was gaining momentum at the time. In both spheres, English was the means that facilitated progress and eventually radical change. I shall try to assess whether the educational reforms went further and were more ahead of their time than political progress at the rate allowed by the colonial authorities. This dualism largely reflects attitudes held by civil servants and educationalists at the Colonial Office on the one hand and of military and colonial Governors and administrators in Gibraltar on the other. I have examined archive material to explore these different tensions, and also those surrounding the Church, the British Council and the role of Spanish.

#### 1. BACKGROUND TO THE REPORT

Repatriation took place from April 1944. By then, plans were being made for a totally revised education system in Gibraltar. A fresh start after the war provided an opportunity to tackle many of the problems of pre-war education. Not only did the Education Bill now going through Parliament and which culminated in the 1944 Act in England provide a model; it was also clear that, after their experiences in Britain and elsewhere, Gibraltarians would expect higher standards. We have already seen (Chapter I) that there were calls for more and better tuition of the English language and that this aspiration coincided with Gibraltarians wanting more of a say in their political destiny. The Evacuation heightened these concerns.

However, it was the Colonial Office that took the initiative in these developments. Miles Clifford was Colonial Secretary in Gibraltar from 1942 to 1944, and a Committee under his chairmanship was entrusted with the task of making proposals for the post-war system.

Colonial Office files at the National Archives that were closed until 1972 reveal many significant points emerging from the internal debate about these plans. The correspondence and commentaries of officials which accompany the draft proposals tell us much - about attitudes to education, about differences of opinion in Gibraltar, about colonial assumptions generally. In fact, some of the views expressed by officials at the Colonial Office might strike us today as surprisingly enlightened.

In the words of A.B. Acheson, a senior colonial administrator, the Governor of Gibraltar, Mason Macfarlane, had stated:

that the Gibraltar Government had appointed a committee to consider various aspects of post-war reconstruction and development ... this Committee had proposed that a Director of Education should be appointed after the war.<sup>1</sup>

The Committee had been appointed in October 1943. The draft Report ('Strictly Confidential') lists its members: Clifford himself, and his Financial Secretary, as well as three Gibraltarians: A.R. Isola (lawyer and later politician), Albert Risso (trade union leader and prominent in AACR politics) and Sir George Gaggero (head of large shipping and travel firm).<sup>2</sup> There is an outspoken and revealing letter dated 31 January 1944 from the Acting Governor to the Rt. Hon. Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies:

Since R.C. Bishop (his Lordship Dr Fitzgerald) was responsible, *ex officio*, for directing those educational activities [the highly criticised pre-war system] to so considerable an extent and his views were reputed to be somewhat reactionary, the Governor [Mason Macfarlane] felt that no useful purpose was to be served by appointing him to the Committee ... He accordingly appointed to it the

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<sup>1</sup> National Archives, 'Education – Post War Plans', CO 91/517/6. In fact Dr H.W. Howes, former Principal at Norwich Technical College, was appointed in June 1944, and, as we shall see, played a major part in introducing the new system.

<sup>2</sup> J. Coelho, Commissioner of Lands and Works, sat on the Committee as a co-opted member. There is a letter from Clifford, 30 August 1943, with his response to the Bowman Report and describing setting up his committee; also letters of acceptance from those invited to serve on it; and Mr Isola's letter with his own proposals (discussed below). Gibraltar Government Archives, File 0894 ('Education Reform').

Hon. Mr. A.R. Isola and Sir George Gaggero, both of whom had evinced interest in educational reform, and Mr Risso, President of the Association for the Advancement of Civil Rights, to represent the interests of the working classes.<sup>3</sup>

There is no representation of the Catholic Church on the Committee, an omission which is to cause friction later.

## 2. THE DRAFT REPORT <sup>4</sup>

- In reviewing pre-war educational provision (Section 1, pars. 1-4, pp. 1-2 and also pars. 5–13 of attached memorandum), the draft Report described the generally poor standard and referred to 20% illiteracy at the time of the 1931 census. It pointed out that secondary education was restricted to four fee-paying schools; there was no proper system of teacher-training, scholarships or apprenticeships (p. 2).
- One radical recommendation was that Government must be responsible for the general direction and control, through legislation, of all educational activities in the Colony (Section 2, par. 5 (i), pp. 3-4). In fact, the Report advocated that it should be directly responsible for boys' primary education, whereas the Catholic Church should be in charge of the girls' – this proposal was discussed at length subsequently, and not implemented.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> File 0894 also contains this quoted letter and also an extract from the Governor's Executive Council minutes of 21 January 1944, expressing awareness of the Catholic Church's concerns about the proposals.

<sup>4</sup> Draft of report 'A New Educational System for Gibraltar' (Gibraltar: Government of Gibraltar, 1943), as inspected in National Archives, CO 91/517/6; also material in CO 91/522/10, CO 91/522/11, CO 91/522/12, CO 91/522/13. References within Report are given in main text. Citations for pages and paragraphs are as for this original draft: later versions vary.

<sup>5</sup> This may well have been an acknowledgement of the great influence and long-term contribution of the Loreto nuns. DP, historian of the Order's role in Gibraltar, said, 'Right up until just before the war, the Loreto nuns were teaching, or responsible for teaching, ... all the girls in Gibraltar up to the age of 16, 17 even ... most girls, most children, left school at 14 in those days ... and [teaching] all the boys up to the age of seven. This was from 1845 until 1939 solid. The Loreto nuns have had a huge impact on education in Gibraltar. The boys ... the Brothers came and went ... the core of teaching from Loreto has always been through English, and from 1845 solid.' Interview, April 2009.

- Adequate religious instruction must be provided and the schools must be open to children of all faiths (par. 5 (viii and ix), p. 4).
- Of particular interest for this thesis is par. 5 (xi), p. 4:

Emphasis throughout the whole of school life should be on the English language and the Imperial connection.

The importance understandably given to the ‘imperial connection’ by the colonial authorities and the members of the Committee can now be seen as anachronistic even for the time. This comment prepares us for what is going to be something of a paradox in the Clifford Report: its marriage of 1940s educational thinking, progressive in comparison with pre-war ideas, with a largely played-out colonial philosophy.

The Draft Report was critical of the Brothers’ political stance in paragraph 14 (pp. 8 - 9).<sup>6</sup>

Then par. 20 (p. 11) returned to the question of language:

Spanish influence has grown very deep roots in Gibraltar which have been continuously refreshed by inter-marriage and, due to this and to the defects of previous educational policy, the Spanish language and Spanish mental processes still dominate the intellectual life of the community. Few Gibraltarians are able to express themselves with any fluency in English (they tend, both in speech and writing, towards a direct translation from the Spanish) and among themselves they lapse naturally into the Spanish tongue. The decennial census of 1931 revealed that one third of the population over 5 years could only speak Spanish. This state of affairs must be combatted [sic].

However, on policy towards Spanish, the draft Report continued (par. 21, p. 11):

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<sup>6</sup> Draft Report, National Archives, CO 91/517/6. See pp. 108-109, below.

There is no wish to oust the Spanish language from the Colony (this would not in any event be possible) for the Gibraltarians are a people who should be naturally bi-lingual and it is the Committee's ambition that the young people of the Colony should become perfectly bi-lingual; but the local vernacular (Spanish) is of a poor standard and there is little appreciation of grammar or syntax. It is recommended, therefore, that Spanish should be regularly taught in all schools from '11 plus' by properly trained language masters and mistresses. *It should not, of course, be employed as a medium of instruction for any other subject.* Given a real mastery of both English and Spanish, the young Gibraltar will face life with very great advantages; he will, for example, have the whole of Latin America open to him [my italics].

- The recommendations emphasised the need 'to bridge the gulf which the improved educational system [would] create between the younger and older generations'. There had been discussions with Sir Angus Gillan, Director of the Empire Division of the British Council (par. 26, p.15).<sup>7</sup>
- In par. 45 (p. 22) the Committee '[reiterated] its opposition to the employment of nuns, priests, or lay brothers'.

Indeed, one of the most forceful arguments in the draft Report was its concern about the suitability of the Irish Christian Brothers. This opposition to the Brothers' return resulted in a long-lasting controversy with the Church. Although not directly linked to the subject of this thesis, it does illustrate how the Committee was prepared to be radical in its educational reforms and its approach to Church involvement in education.

- Perhaps aware of impending controversy, the Committee recommended negotiations 'on the highest ecclesiastical plane to resolve possible problems with the local Catholic Church' (par. 62, p. 32).

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<sup>7</sup> The Council set up the Calpe Institute for the purpose of providing British 'culture' in different forms. It fulfilled this role in Gibraltar with some success for at least 20 years. See below for a more detailed discussion, pp. 133-136.

- The Committee recommended some form of ‘weeding-out’ process for admission to secondary school (par. 52, p. 24).

Summing up its objectives, it said it had tried ‘to make amends for past neglect’ by giving all children the opportunity for a sound education, and makes the bold statement:

A parallel purpose has been to ensure that the future generations shall be British in something more than name and shall share equally with other members of the great family of British peoples all that the English language, culture and tradition have to offer them; so, only, will new and responsible leaders emerge (par. 58, pp. 30-31).

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The three appendices to the draft Report are also significant. In Appendix A (p. 1) there is a memo from Clifford to the Governor. This was written at the time when he urged the formation of the Committee, after he had come across the Bowman Report on pre-war education in Gibraltar and he had felt he was reading about some ‘backward island in the Pacific or “bush” Province in W. Africa’. This memo favoured the appointment of Major Patron to the Committee rather than J.A Hassan of the AACR (here a crossed-out section referred to the latter being ‘debarred on racial grounds, as Hebrews represent less than 5 % of the community’).<sup>8</sup> Clifford itemised the inadequacies of pre-war education and noted the high incidence of truancy, despite schooling having been compulsory in law since 1917. He stated that the fees for the secondary schools should be ‘moderate’.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Ironical, in view of Hassan’s pre-eminence in all political forums in the next 45 years. Who was responsible for crossing out these remarks, or causing them to be crossed out? Presumably it would have been the Colonial Secretary in London or some of his senior officials whose names and initials are appended to memos, minutes and comments (Section 4, this chapter, below). The final published report was, as we shall see below, toned down considerably.

<sup>9</sup> In his introductory remarks, Clifford referred to the Christian Brothers’ ‘dubious political persuasion’. The Committee’s deliberations showed uncertainty about pupils beyond 11, other than those going to the projected selective secondary schools. Initially it was intended that pupils could stay on until 14 in the senior classes of the ‘primary’ or ‘elementary’ schools. This issue was resolved in the following year.

Appendix B (pp. 2-3) includes a paper from A.R. Isola, who lamented the high degree of illiteracy pre-war and the ‘entire absence of the use of the English language once the child left school’:

easily explainable if parents could not speak English, how would the family get on together ?

The English language is not known by the majority and even those who have some knowledge avoid speaking the language through the inferiority complex produced by the fear of saying something wrong.

Isola gave the examples of court witnesses, who chose to give evidence in Spanish, adding that the elected foreman of a jury was usually an Englishman. He then made a proposal, which did not find favour subsequently on grounds of cost and practicality, that every Gibraltar child should attend boarding school in Britain. He argued that day schools were not enough:

... if it is the Government’s intention to make Gibraltar a real British colony, where English will be spoken, English ideas of justice and fair play will be practised and good use made of those whose capabilities will make them worthy of responsible positions (pp. 2–3 of Appendix B, dated 18 October 1943).

Appendix C consists of the minutes of the various meetings of the Committee: there seem to have been nine in all between October and December 1943. Although English should be the medium of general and religious instruction, the Committee agreed at the first meeting that Spanish must be properly taught in all schools and there was detailed discussion about this in the meeting of 4 November 1943 (par. 2 of minutes):

It would be so taught in the senior classes of the Government schools, *for it was not to be expected that all boys would proceed from primary schools to the secondary school at the age of (about) 11* [my italics].<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> This restriction was of course subsequently abandoned, consistent with the 1944 Act in England.



Perhaps optimistically, the Committee recommended ‘the employment of fully qualified Spanish masters recruited from Spanish Universities or similar institutions of repute’ (par. 3).

At the meeting of 11 November (minutes, par.1) there was fresh evidence of dissatisfaction from two Gibraltarian members of the Committee, Gaggero and Isola, with the educational record of the Christian Brothers, followed by agreement on 16 November (par. 2) among the three Gibraltarian representatives that ‘many orders’ would be more acceptable to Gibraltarians than the Brothers. There was another reference to ‘undesirable political bias’ and, significantly, even the English spoken by the teachers left something to be desired [!]

The meeting of 29 November attempted to rationalise the proposals for secondary education (minutes, par. 3).<sup>11</sup>

The file also has correspondence between Clifford and Major Patron in London about the importance of acquiring a good knowledge of both English and Spanish ‘hand-in-hand with training ... in whatever branch of clerical work’.<sup>12</sup>

### 3. COMMENTARY

The Clifford Committee showed itself well aware of the inadequacy of general educational provision in Gibraltar before the war. Its recommendation of Government control of education, for the first time, and the fact that the Church was not

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<sup>11</sup> These proposals would conform ‘to [those] made for education in England in the recent White Paper on Educational Reconstruction’, and eventually becoming the 1944 Education Act. Primary education would end at 11+ then all boys would proceed to one of three forms of secondary education – the new ‘secondary’ school (corresponding to the Grammar School of the White Paper), or the ‘modern school’ now being proposed, or the technical. At this stage, the thinking was that no fees would be charged in the ‘modern’ school.

<sup>12</sup> Letter of 15 June 1943. Major L. Patron was a Gibraltarian resident in Britain who ‘had been involved in the provision of welfare and educational facilities for Gibraltarian evacuees in London and his advice had been sought as a non-resident member’ (Archer and Traverso, p. 92).

represented on the Committee, showed a conscious intention to move away from the close relationship that existed before the war between the Catholic diocesan authorities and schools. The recommendation that schools should be open to children of all faiths sought to remove the inconsistencies of provision by denominational schools over the last hundred years.

The Committee therefore, whilst hardly a politically radical body, had radical thoughts on educational reform. It was uncompromising in its unwillingness to welcome back the Irish Christian Brothers, but it was initially prepared to allow the Catholic Church to be in charge of girls' education. This seems a reflection of the high regard built up by the Loreto nuns over the years (although again the Committee recommended the employment of English instead of Irish nuns).

There were strong and candid statements about Gibraltarians' difficulties with English. However, there was also recognition of the importance of Spanish, and no wish to 'oust the Spanish language from the Colony'. This valuation of Spanish, despite intolerance to its dialectical form in Gibraltar, and the suggestion that it should be taught in schools – although emphatically it should never be a medium of instruction for any other subject – is evidence of a welcome broadmindedness not always apparent at the time, or for many years later. The preference for the English language and the 'imperial connection' was stated explicitly, but the practical advantages to the children of studying Spanish, even in a subsidiary role, were also emphasised.

But the Committee was critical of the dominant 'Spanish influence' and 'mental processes'. It defined its 'parallel purpose' as ensuring that Gibraltarians would be British in 'more than name' and share the benefits of culture and language with other members of 'the great family' of British peoples. This was stated as a prerequisite for 'the new and responsible leaders' of the future emerging. While obviously very much in line with Colonial Office thinking, and already rather anachronistic in a world that was poised to change rapidly, there is no doubt that at least two of the three Gibraltarian members of the committee vigorously subscribed to these views (A.R.

Isola's own ideas for compulsory boarding schooling for Gibraltar children, for instance, were more extreme in their 'Britishness' than anything the Committee recommended). Was this pragmatism or was it a particular British loyalty, vis-à-vis Spain, in the make-up of Gibraltarians? This had been so pronounced in the previous two centuries and would continue thus throughout the war and the subsequent decades that we can take it as a factor. Probably it was a mixture of both.<sup>13</sup>

And pragmatic the Committee certainly was in advocating negotiations with the Catholic Bishop to eliminate the problems that it foresaw.

The appendices to the Report also tell us much.

Miles (later Sir Miles) Clifford was in the middle of a long and distinguished career. His experience in Nigeria must have been in his mind when, on seeing the Bowman Report, he had felt he was reading about a 'bush' province in West Africa: a telling comment on how colonial hierarchies were perceived. In his reluctance to have Joshua Hassan on the Committee on grounds of race, and in initially accepting the principle of fees for the secondary schools he comes over as a man of his time, and it would be easy to ignore the beneficent and progressive nature of his (and of the new appointee Dr Howes') educational reforms.

As we have already seen, Albert Isola was a very blunt advocate of the need to improve English, linking Gibraltarians' difficulties in the language with the use of Spanish at home and an 'inferiority complex' arising from the fear of making mistakes.<sup>14</sup> He also connected the language with English ideas of 'justice and fair play'. In preparing capable children to become worthy of responsible positions in a 'real' colony Isola was arguing for something not unlike an imperial civilising

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<sup>13</sup> Albert Isola topped the poll in the first Legislative Council elections in 1950 (Garcia, p. 68).

<sup>14</sup> J.D. Stewart's caricature of Gibraltarians' English many years later might well explain why some could develop such a complex. John D. Stewart, *Gibraltar: The Keystone* (London: John Murray, 1967). See below, pp. 250-251.

mission. This type of discourse was not successfully challenged in Gibraltar at the time.<sup>15</sup>

The minutes of the meetings of the Committee showed a mixture of progressive and conservative opinions – and also a degree of confusion. Thus, the Committee agreed that Spanish must be ‘properly taught’, but in the senior classes, where it was not expected that ‘all boys would proceed’. The call for fully qualified Spanish masters recruited from Spanish universities was well-intentioned but never realised. The objections to the Irish Christian Brothers were reinforced by a further comment against the English they spoke. Rather more presciently, the recommendation to have a separate school (instead of ‘senior classes’ in existing schools) for senior boys not proceeding to the planned secondary (grammar) school or to technical education brought the proposals into line with the 1944 Education Act.

#### 4. SOME REACTIONS TO THE REPORT’S RECOMMENDATIONS

This early draft of 1943, therefore, clearly showed the direction the Committee wanted to take. However, criticisms from Whitehall were soon heard, on grounds of both religion and language.

Colonial Office officials’ comments on the preliminary report – presented in December 1943 – were remarkably candid.<sup>16</sup> The officials presumably felt protected by Whitehall confidentiality in writing their notes and memos. An early comment admitted ignorance of the subject:

as we do not really know very much about the pre-war Gibraltar education system ... the advantage lies in waiting for the Governor’s report.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Although, with the demand for more representative political institutions, it had been questioned at least since the emergence of the TGWU in 1919 and the AACR in 1942. See pp. 145-146 below.

<sup>16</sup> It was later discussed in detail with the Education Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr C.W.M. Cox (later Sir Christopher Cox), in March 1944.

<sup>17</sup> This and subsequent references in this section to letter / memo correspondence at Colonial Office, are in National Archives CO 91/517/6.

A detailed minute (probably from Mr Miles) dated 14 December 1943 shows how past educational provision in Gibraltar and current proposals were seen in Whitehall:

In peace time there was no State education in Gibraltar. Government control was exercised through a Board of Education of which the Assistant Colonial Secretary (Mr Dryburgh) was ex-officio Secretary ... also ... an ex-officio Inspector of Schools. There was an Ordinance making elementary education compulsory but as truancy was rife a School Attendance Officer was appointed ... total expenditure on education was ... rather less than 6 ½ % of revenue. Education was conducted by 2 Roman Catholic Orders, the Christian Brothers and the Loreto Sisters. Both drew a proportion of their Staff from Eire. The Christian Brothers were predominantly Irish and their teaching was tainted by a political twist.

The general conclusion of the report is that the arrangements for education were generally unsatisfactory, particularly for boys' education ... the time is considered suitable to make a complete change.

And then the writer of this document grasped the salient point of the Report; and the crucial issue that was to govern its implementation in Gibraltar and its eventual shaping of Gibraltar's identity:

Emphasis is to be on the English language and the Imperial connection.

English is to be the basic language and, as I read the report, it is to be the medium of instruction in primary education from the earliest years. Spanish is to be taught as a second language but not to be used as a medium of instruction.<sup>18</sup>

However, after noting that the schools were to be strictly non-denominational in character, with adequate facilities for religious instruction, the Colonial Office minute made the remarkable comment that the proposals were in the nature of 'castles in the air'. As regards language, it stated:

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<sup>18</sup> See also DP's comments about the use of English in the Loreto nuns' schools. Interview, April 2009.

the medium of instruction from the earliest age is to be the English language. Gibraltarians talk Spanish at home. [There is a comment in the minute about the suggested use of the vernacular in Mauritius.] This Committee has gone all Imperialistic but I doubt whether anyone in this airy fashion can change the nature of a people and the language which they use.

Again, these comments about the role of Spanish in the lives of Gibraltarians were unexpectedly realistic and enlightened for the time, even if they did not carry the day in the end. It is ironic that the Colonial Office was more tolerant to Spanish and less favourable to going 'all Imperialistic' than the Committee itself.

Church and language issues loomed large. While there was agreement that 'the Irish influence in Church and education must be eradicated', there was much caution in Whitehall about this.<sup>19</sup> For instance, Oliver Stanley, the Colonial Secretary, writing on 15 April 1944, was critical of the Report's 'lack of clarity' about religion. And, on the other contentious issue, referring to families with Spanish mothers, he wondered 'whether the children are likely to be harmed or handicapped by this understandable desire to give their upbringing an English bias from the start'.<sup>20</sup>

T.R. Rowell agreed with Miles on the language question. However, he saw the makings of 'a first-class row in these proposals' (letter, 15 December 1943); but A.B. Acheson in a memo of 20 December wrote that he did not find the Report a very impressive document from the layman's point of view. He criticised the lack of experience of the Committee, their ignorance of the pre-war situation and their lack of contact with the R.C. Bishop.

He continued:

The second semi political point is the proposal that English should be the basic language and the medium of primary instruction. The Gibraltarians speak Spanish at home [once again, there is a

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<sup>19</sup> The draft Report in fact anticipated (par. 62) that the Catholic Church in Gibraltar would not find some of the proposals acceptable (including the rejection of the Christian Brothers).

<sup>20</sup> National Archives, CO 91/517/6.

reference to the use of the vernacular in Mauritius]. It is not regarded as practicable to make the sweeping change merely to give an English bias to education.

This official's criticism of the pre-eminence given to English in the Report confirmed the gap between the Committee and Whitehall. This also applied to the issue of the Church's involvement.

On the proposal to have separate types of schools for boys and girls, the memo commented:

Presumably it is because the Christian Brothers' education is regarded as worse and more subversive politically than the education given by the Loreto Sisters.<sup>21</sup>

It is instructive to see how the report was toned down in subsequent versions, in particular where this aspect was concerned. The original draft stated that the pre-war Christian Brothers' school fell 'far short of modern requirements' but, more strongly, it criticised the Brothers for what it regarded as their anti-British tendencies and adverse political influence (par. 14, pp. 8-9 in original draft). In this typewritten draft of the Report examined at the National Archives, pointed comments that the pre-war Brothers gave expression to Sinn Fein ideas, declined to teach English history and refused to fly the Union flag on Empire Day are crossed out in red ink.<sup>22</sup> There are some lines referring to Eire's unsupportive role in the war and non-contribution to the Allied cause.

At the Gibraltar Government Archives there is also a 1943 original draft, with Clifford's own handwritten marginal notes. It included this section about Sinn Fein ideas, English history and the union flag; here too these were crossed out in red ink ('gave increasing expression' had in fact briefly replaced 'propagated'; and 'neglected' to fly the Union Flag had displaced 'refused') (par. 14).<sup>23</sup> A later 1944

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Prior's history of the Loreto nuns, Foreword, pp. i-ii. Also interview with DP, April 2009.

<sup>22</sup> Draft Report, par. 14, pp. 8-9, National Archives, CO 91/517/6.

<sup>23</sup> In copy of Report, Gibraltar Government Archives, Box file 0894B (Educational Reform).

amended draft (in a typed copy of the report held in Gibraltar Government Archives) toned down these remarks about Eire's wartime role from 'a State [which] has failed to lift a finger in defence of the Empire and which has ... afforded indirect assistance to the enemies of civilisation' to 'a State which has deliberately disassociated itself from the common cause' (par. 13, p. 8); it also omitted the passage about Sinn Fein ideas, teaching British History and Empire Day.<sup>24</sup>

The toning-down had therefore been considerable. It was to be even greater in the final version, in booklet form, of the published document in November 1944. This praised the Christian Brothers and simply commented 'even the most ardent supporters are sensible of the defects in other directions (e.g. training in British ideals and citizenship)' (par.13, p. 14). These alterations were the result of Colonial Office pressure at the highest level in the light of subsequent discussion.<sup>25</sup>

I now return to concerns in Whitehall about language issues.

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<sup>24</sup> Amended Report in 'Reports and Proposals on post-war education needs 1943-44' in box of 'A.A. Traverso's research material for master's dissertation on the history of education in Gibraltar, 1704 - 1950', Gibraltar Government Archives.

<sup>25</sup> Booklet 'A New Educational System for Gibraltar', with Sir Miles Clifford's papers, Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. Manuscript MSS. Brit. Emp. S. 517, 2/1. Senior officials at the Colonial Office desired 'the removal of Irish influence' but without 'affronting the Church', and worried about the reaction of the Church in Britain. Bishop Fitzgerald argued strongly on behalf of the Brothers. Cox, however, on his visit to Gibraltar in March 1944 and in prolonged discussions, was critical of previous educational standards and remarked on Fitzgerald's 'conservative paternalism' (Clifford wrote in a marginal note, 'He is of course a complete reactionary'). Cox doubted whether the Brothers had had a decisive political effect in the past, and also recognised the strength of the lobby that wanted their return. The long delay before publication of the Report is attributable to this drawn-out, behind-the-scenes negotiation. The S. of S. actually called on 22 May 1944 for withholding publication because of 'difficulties' with the Bishop, and it was during these discussions (around August 1944) that the principle of having English Christian Brothers, in background and qualifications, was agreed. On 19 July a cable from Colonial Office stressed 'it is most important for the long range success of the new proposals to carry the Bishop with us, if at all possible'. Both Clifford and Howes seemed to establish rapport with the Bishop at this time. Gibraltar Government Archives, 'A.A. Traverso's research material', Box file 0894B (Educational Reform), and YF 368/1942, 'Proposals for a new education system'; and also National Archives CO 91/522/11 and CO 91/522/12.



## 5. DR HOWES, THE COLONIAL OFFICE AND ENGLISH

Dr Howes, the newly-appointed Director of Education, made some preliminary comments in a paper to Clifford. Some of these elicited abrasive marginal comments from the Colonial Secretary, such as Howes' idea of exercising a degree of control over British Council work ('The Council will clearly *not* wish to be run by the D.of E.').<sup>26</sup> To Howes' remark that 'the young women of tomorrow may have learned English and the mother tongue with children may be English', Clifford writes, 'It wont [sic] – it will be Spanish'. There will be opportunities later in this thesis to judge which of the two was right. But they agree that 'the one opportunity of a generation [to learn English] has arrived now'. Their perception of the importance of the Evacuation, and the years following the return home of the people, in consolidating the position of English is indeed the basis of my thesis.

A sub-committee reporting to the Advisory Committee of Education for the Colonies was dealing with the proposed reforms for Gibraltar. Oliver Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, had written (on 2 September) concerning this sub-committee's anxiety about language use in Gibraltar schools on three counts:

- 1) the point at which the second language should be introduced as a medium of instruction
- 2) the method by which English as a second language was taught
- 3) the training of teachers who, in Gibraltar, must be necessarily bilingual

The sub-committee was of the view that the age of 8 was too early to begin using English as the medium of instruction: this would stultify the child's progress;

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<sup>26</sup> There was also Howes' strange suggestion that, because of his co-operation with the army education services in wartime Britain, he should be given some honorary rank to work with the Army Education Council ('Certainly not, Govt. will oppose any such suggestion'). When Howes reiterated his association with the services in his comments on the Report (pp. 1–2), Clifford retorted in the margin, 'How he does ram this down our throats.' Correspondence c. 22 June 1944 in Gibraltar Government Archives, YF 368/1942.

introduction of English would be gradual and (rather curiously) to be decided by the teacher.

On the second point, the sub-committee was concerned at the lack of systematic study in the UK of the best methods of teaching English to foreign [sic] students. Training Colleges should study this and ‘colonial peoples should ... have access to the best methods of acquiring the English language’.

On the third issue, teachers should be representative of the community, and the Colleges chosen in the UK for these students should ‘have clearly before them the type of society to which the student was returning’. Students should therefore be given a course at end of training ‘to enable them to adapt to different circumstances in Gibraltar’ at an institution near a university with a strong department of Spanish.

Finally, there was a recommendation to seek information on linguistic problems from schools in Eire, Wales and Malta.<sup>27</sup>

As noted, the sub-committee was critical of the proposals for English and Spanish (par. 20 and 21), and was unclear at what stage the teaching of Spanish was meant to start. It had ‘familiar and grave objections’ to teaching in a language other than the children’s native language and doubted whether ‘all teachers in Gibraltar will be able, in the near future, to teach English well’ [Clifford in margin: ‘I agree, but they should be able to do so in the course of time’]. The sub-committee continued:

[The aim] of teaching through English should be ‘realisable’ if English is taught from the beginning of a child’s school career and if it becomes the medium of instruction gradually from the age of say 8 onwards, till at the end of the primary stage it is so for all subjects in the curriculum except, of

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<sup>27</sup> In this letter, Stanley drew attention to the sub-committee’s concern with wording suggesting (in par. 16 of the Report) that ‘education in the “modern” school would be inferior’. Again, in the light of future developments in education, the Colonial Office was showing an enlightened view. Letter of 2 September 1944, Gibraltar Government Archives, YF 368/1942.

course, the Spanish language itself ... [it is] just as necessary to provide good teaching for the latter language as for English.

Again, Clifford signalled his agreement in the margin, noting that a further complication 'is provided by the language spoken by many at home [being] a debased Spanish vernacular' and 'not even good Andalusian'.<sup>28</sup>

From 20 September Clifford, who was in general agreement with the observations of the sub-committee, exchanged notes with Howes discussing the amendments required by the Colonial Office.

On the language suggestion, Howes wrote:

At an early age, Spanish should be used and not taught, but it is my view that Spanish should be properly taught at 11, as one would teach a second language in the UK with emphasis on good speech, pronunciation, and due attention to grammar and good Spanish literature ... I would be inclined, if allowed, to go even further, and begin a little correct Spanish teaching at age 8, thus giving three years for gradual and progressive development up to age 11. It is likely to be very difficult to *unlearn* bad Spanish picked up at the mother's knee in Gibraltar.

Howes praised the progress of the first Gibraltarians following teacher-training in UK – the first three girls employed had been selected, *inter alia*, because of their excellent English speech. He continued:

English must be the medium of instruction in the post-primary period and I would suggest before because (a) the evacuation has increased the use of English, and even those who are supposed to

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<sup>28</sup> These references to the sub-committee are taken from Gibraltar Government Archives, YF 368/1942. There was no lack of official recognition of the importance of Spanish. In a memo dated 3 November 1944, A.B. Acheson of the Colonial Office stated:

'The Government fully endorses the emphasis placed by the Committee on the importance of English which is to be regarded as the language of instruction albeit the optimum point at which the child should switch over from Spanish to English will need to be worked out in practice.'

The Committee's contention is accepted, i.e. that Spanish should be taught by properly qualified instructors at the age of 12 plus, but the Government sees some advantage in introducing regular periods of oral instruction from the age of 8 onwards. National Archives, CO 91/517/6.

habitually use Spanish, frequently, I note, switch from one tongue to the other. Many parents ... [believe] ... that English ought to be used throughout the school. Incidentally the Bishop and his clergy now give out all notices, and read all the Gospels and Epistles in English. This is a change which is clearly welcomed by Gibraltarian Catholics.

Howes attended meetings of the Advisory Committee.<sup>29</sup> Its sub-committee specifically discussed and reported on the Clifford proposals on 7 November 1944, with Howes making a considerable input. The 'linguistic problem' and the time of switch-over from Spanish to English as medium of instruction, together with the need for 'properly qualified instructors' of Spanish, seem to have been the major topics discussed. Howes makes the rather sweeping point that the form of Spanish used by the majority is a patois ('a form of speech and not a language') and that 'few were able to read Spanish'. In this vein he pointed out that it would be difficult 'to obtain local teachers who were competent to teach through the medium of standard Spanish, especially in reading'. Howes conceded that many Gibraltarians had become familiar with English during the Evacuation, but also accepted that because of marriages the Spanish element would be perpetuated in Gibraltar. With this in mind, he endorsed the proposal that the vernacular should be used at the infant stage (with age 8 being the transitional year), and English should become the method of instruction in the junior school. 'Correct Spanish speech [should be] developed as a subject.'

Following Howes' presentation, the sub-committee recommended that 'the Director should explore the possibility of providing reading matter suitable for infants which would be understood by those to whom the local patois is the language of the hearth'.

A puzzling recommendation indeed.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Reports in National Archives, CO 91/522/12.

<sup>30</sup> National Archives, CO 91/522/12. Also: [The sub-committee's] 'principal doubts arise in regard to proposals dealing with language (pars 20 and 21) and to those referring to Modern Schools'. There were objections to using language 'other than native language' as medium of instruction. Document dated 10 August 1944, National Archives, CO 91/522/11.

Howes, who had to implement the Report as Director of Education, and consistently took a strong line on the primacy of English, was to add in his Education Department Report for 1945:

An increasing amount of English is being spoken by children ... the girls are, generally speaking, more apt and more persistent in English speech ... more could be done by parents by speaking English to their children in the home.<sup>31</sup>

Although the issue of teaching Spanish was a nut that would not be cracked for many years, Howes had correctly judged the effect of the Evacuation on language and also identified the patterns of code-switching and diglossia which would remain features of language in Gibraltar after the war. We are reminded, that, apart from his intellectual calibre, Howes' own knowledge of Spanish and his Catholicism were of great value in the educational and political aspects of his role.

For all that, Miles Clifford's attitude to his subordinate, while obviously cognisant of his professionalism, showed some of the condescension of the Colonial service ('a queer little egg'), and a due sense of his own authority.<sup>32</sup>

## 6. CONTROVERSY, NEGOTIATIONS AND AMENDMENTS; A *MODUS VIVENDI* WITH THE CHURCH; PUBLICATION

A chronological examination of the correspondence in the final weeks before publication of the Report yields further evidence of the underlying tensions with the Church and between the Colonial Office and the Gibraltar Government.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> 'Gibraltar Education Department Report' (1945), p. 10.

<sup>32</sup> As did his well-known comment about a demonstration for repatriation: 'I am getting more than a bit tired of this wretched little Rock and its queer people'. Comments in letter to Angus Gillan, 10 July 1943, National Archives BW 33/1.

Whitehead quotes Cox that Howes was 'not the type or age we had in mind [he was appointed at 47] ... a Pickwickian looking man with horn-rimmed spectacles, certainly to look at neither an inspiring leader nor a man of the world'. However, Cox found him cheerful and friendly. He was a Roman Catholic 'but not a fanatical one'. Whitehead adds: 'What Cox didn't say was that Howes was scruffy in appearance, loquacious, spoke Spanish and was well acquainted with Spain which was just as well as he faced a tough assignment in Gibraltar.' Clive Whitehead, *Colonial Educators: The British Indian and Colonial Education Service, 1858–1983* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003), p. 96.

In a memo to the Governor (22 September), Clifford was clearly vexed that the Secretary of State had suggested that Howes should carry out the recommended revisions to the Report.<sup>34</sup> ('As its author' Clifford was 'not prepared' to allow this). For the first three paragraphs, the political ones, which the Secretary of State had deemed too contentious, Clifford pictorially agreed that he would 'temper the wind to the shorn lamb' (which caused the Governor to note in the margin, 'Yes, but it does not need to be too mealy-mouthed'). Clifford also pointed out that Howes 'agrees with us and not with them on the language option' (a clear indication of the different views about the primacy of English held by the Committee and the Colonial Office). A telegram sent by the Governor to the Secretary of State on 23 September stated that Clifford (pointedly referred to as 'its author') was reviewing the Report but did not feel that material differing from the original recommendations should be incorporated.

The Governor urged prompt publication:

When the full extent of its recommendations are known it will be welcomed by the great majority of Gibraltarians as one of the most generous and far-sighted measures which have yet been introduced into this Colony.

And, already anticipating early publication, Clifford suggested to the Governor free distribution of information to parents and a 'carefully framed précis for the press eschewing any contentious points'. If there was any more 'backing and filling from the east side of Main Street [i.e. the Catholic Cathedral] we should publish correspondence ... but I hope this will not be necessary'.

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<sup>33</sup> On 26 August Secretary of State Stanley called for the Report to 'be carefully reviewed with the object of omitting any passages which might conceivably give offence', saying that paragraphs 13 and 17 in particular, dealing with the Brothers, required careful consideration. The Governor wrote back saying certain passages had been re-cast 'to purge the Report of any element of provocation or offence as far as the Christian brothers are concerned'. Letter of 29 September 1944, Gibraltar Government Archives, YF 368/1942.

<sup>34</sup> Material in this section is also from Gibraltar Government Archives, YF 368/1942.

By 20 October material for the press release was ready and approved by Clifford, and there were suggestions of a timetable for publication. On the 30 October Clifford wrote to the three Gibraltarian members of his committee, also to Messrs Russo and Cottrell. This letter stated that the Education Report has been amended as approved at the last meeting of the Committee:

It is desirable that all copies of the original report (which, as you will recall, was marked 'Strictly Confidential') should be destroyed.

He instructed the members to return their copies. Perhaps this is not surprising considering the nature of some of the rather outspoken passages in the earlier drafts.

On 31 October the Governor sought clearance from the Colonial Office to publish the Report in its revised form before the departure of Clifford, 'its moving spirit'. But even as late as 6 November a cipher cable from the Secretary of State, who was still very concerned about references to the Brothers, urged the Governor to exercise caution and requested further alterations.<sup>35</sup> Other final amendments requested were minor, as Clifford noted, and not necessarily useful. The 'optimum point' for the use of the English language in schools was 'to be worked out in practice'; 'standard' was to be inserted before 'Spanish', leading to Clifford's pertinent note, 'What *is* standard Spanish? No such term exists as far as I am aware'.

However, one significant alteration was to par. 8, whereby the Government was to assume responsibility for girls' primary education. As this was opposed to the original recommendations of the Committee, that it should be in the hands of the Church, Clifford commented:

This is putting into the mouths of the Committee something that it never said but if they agree I am content to embody it.

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<sup>35</sup> This cipher from the S. of S. expressed 'considerable hesitation' about some of the references to the Brothers in the report, in view of their possible effect on the attitude of the Bishop. The S. of S. still wanted modification of par. 13 so as not to endanger 'the Bishop's goodwill and co-operation'. (Gibraltar Government Archives, YF 368/1942, and National Archives, CO 91/522/11).

Par. 20 was toned down to ‘too many Gibraltarians are unable to express themselves with any real fluency in English’.<sup>36</sup> (Clifford: ‘The difference escapes me’.)

Clifford sent a note to Howes (8 November) saying that, in order to get the Report published, he agreed to the changes. He had ‘embodied amendments in [his] personal copy’ but he had not in all cases ‘adhered to the text’ because he was ‘not prepared to accept the [Colonial Office’s education] sub-committee’s amendments to my English!!’<sup>37</sup> Both Clifford and the Governor (in notes dated 9 November) questioned whether the amendments improved the Report, but they wanted to get on with publication. Untypically, Eastwood allowed himself the comment to Clifford, ‘I feel for you’.

A meeting of the Committee took place on 10 November to consider the amendments. Clifford was not worried by minor changes in the introduction (‘as that is the Government’s blessing’).<sup>38</sup> Haste was now all-important.<sup>39</sup>

Thus, the final amended Report, ‘A New Educational System for Gibraltar’, was duly accepted by the Secretary of State.<sup>40</sup> The published version was a printed booklet in small format, stating on the front cover that it was ‘based’ on the Report of the Clifford Committee, and issued under the ‘authority of the Government of Gibraltar’ on 29 November 1944. As we have seen, it was a somewhat tamer document than the earlier 1943 and 1944 drafts in its comments about the Church and Brothers in

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<sup>36</sup> From ‘Few Gibraltarians are able to express themselves with any fluency in English’, par. 20, p. 11 of Report.

<sup>37</sup> And his amendments are in red ink. Examined in April 2010 at Gibraltar Government Archives, YF 368/1942.

<sup>38</sup> Another sign of the tension and sensitivities of the times was Isola’s note on 11 November that he had heard that religious instruction was being taught in Spanish; Clifford’s marginal comment was that this had to be referred to the Director of Education urgently.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Eastwood’s letter to Stanley, 24 November 1944: ‘... while the force of one or two of the amendments suggested ... escapes me I have accepted them in toto as I feel it is necessary to get the Report published without further delay.’

<sup>40</sup> G.M. Clifford Committee: *Report of a Committee appointed by the Governor to consider the post-war educational needs of the Colony ... and to make recommendations thereon*. Governor Eastwood wrote to Oliver Stanley for final assent, accepting the changes and making two legal amendments to the Education Ordinance, on 24 November 1944. He urged haste in publication and agreed it was ‘important not to endanger the goodwill of the Bishop’. Gibraltar Government Archives. YF 368/1942.



particular, but nevertheless set out the actual educational proposals in detail.<sup>41</sup> A Government announcement about the Report was issued to the *Chronicle*, *El Calpense* and the press association on the same day, and indeed an extensive centrefold article was published in the *Chronicle* to coincide with this.<sup>42</sup>

Copies were sent to former governors, the head of the British Council, the head of the LCC, the Minister of Education, the ambassadors in Madrid and Lisbon, the *Times Educational Supplement*, the members of the Committee and all those heading education and the churches in Gibraltar.

Four days later, Howes wrote to Clifford that the reception of the Report had been 'cordial'. As it was desirable that the 'poorer classes' should understand what opportunities the Government was offering children, he proposed a 'simple explanation of the scheme in a leaflet, with two pages in English and two in Spanish'. Clifford authorised this, and three days after this a letter from Howes went out to parents. Finally, the Secretary of State agreed to the distribution of the information (a reprint of the *Chronicle* article) to Northern Ireland.

Clearly, a *modus vivendi* had by now been reached with the Catholic authorities. The Bishop's acquiescence in the plans was crucial. This was not given enthusiastically. In a telegram to Howes he requested:

For Heaven's sake don't quote me as being a fervent supporter of, or heartily endorsing, the proposed new system. As you know, I have been dragged along without conviction or enthusiasm and have co-operated only to avoid lesser evils. I believe it won't work or will work very badly.<sup>43</sup>

However, it is important to bear in mind the amount of compromise that had taken place over the months of gestation. Sir Christopher Cox was clearly a very important figure in the negotiations. Clive Woodhead refers to his positive involvement in

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<sup>41</sup> Copy with Sir Miles Clifford's papers, the Bodleian Library, MSS. Brit. Emp. s. 517 2/1. See above, p. 109.

<sup>42</sup> See below, p. 121.

<sup>43</sup> Telegram dated 25 November 1944, National Archives, CO 91/522/11.

‘settling differences’ between Government and Church over Gibraltar’s educational reorganisation:

The Government took the opportunity [during the Evacuation] to wrest control from the Roman Catholic Church ... Cox won high praise from senior Colonial Office Staff.<sup>44</sup>

Whitehead also recognises that the ‘success of the ensuing negotiations owed much to Howes’ handling of a very delicate and potentially explosive situation’.<sup>45</sup>

Providing further evidence of the underlying conflict, Acheson’s memo dated 3 November 1944 had stated that the Bishop had been offended by being left out of the preliminary discussion but that ‘reasonably cordial relations [with] Mr Clifford [were now] restored with much difficulty’.<sup>46</sup> And, as we have seen, the Church remained a significant player. Indeed, some time later Dr Howes, noting the modifications in the revised Report that was finally approved by the Secretary of State, commented:

The Colonial Secretary at the first meeting of the newly-constituted Board of Education mentioned specially the help and guidance received from Bishop Fitzgerald.

Howes also observed that the Brothers’ work in the early stages of the new system ‘under the Government [is] worthy of all praise’.<sup>47</sup>

The late Bishop Charles Caruana wrote that, despite his concerns with the post-war educational plans, Bishop Fitzgerald worked in close liaison with the Government officials, making it clear to them that as head of the Catholic Church ‘he could contribute much to the government of the colony’.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Whitehead, p. 193. He refers to file ‘Gibraltar – Papers and Correspondence’, National Archives, CO 1045/171 and to the Sir Christopher Cox Papers, CO 1045.

<sup>45</sup> Whitehead, p. 96.

<sup>46</sup> National Archives, CO 91/517/6.

<sup>47</sup> Henry W. Howes, ‘Report on Education Department during 1945’ (Gibraltar), pp. 5–7.

<sup>48</sup> Caruana, p. 132.

On language, the other major front, the softening of par. 20 already mentioned was perhaps a concession to the sensitivities of Gibraltarians to this matter.

## 7. THE EARLY POST-WAR YEARS: SIGNIFICANCE OF REPORT FOR EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE POLICY.

The Clifford Committee Report of 1943/44 and its subsequent implementation followed the principles of the 1944 Education Act for England and Wales. Education in a tripartite system of grammar, technical and secondary modern schools became compulsory up to age 15; selection at 11 was now a central feature. Importantly for this study, the medium of instruction, from the later stages of infant school to leaving age, was now emphatically English. The curriculum was English. For the first time, the Government of Gibraltar (that is, the official Colonial Government, since at that time there was no other) was in charge of education and made universal provision from 5 to leaving age. The only exception was the continuing private girls' grammar school, run by nuns, and a very small number of private primary schools. The Brothers, despite the original strong recommendations, would staff the boys' Grammar School, but they were not predominantly from an Irish background. That was likewise a Government school.

The significance of the Report to Gibraltar can be seen from the account in *The Gibraltar Chronicle* of 29 November 1944. An enthusiastic editorial article, under the heading 'A Citizen's Right' (p.1), compared the new system favourably to that in the UK under the new [1944] Education Act:

[a] system based upon progressive educational thought, yet having regard to the special circumstances and traditions of Gibraltar and safeguarding religious interests for those who deem them to be a fundamental part of the child's upbringing ... a scheme for which the colony has waited many years.

Gibraltarians [are] entitled to educational opportunities equal to those enjoyed in any part of the Commonwealth ... [the proposals constitute] more generous provisions, both financial and otherwise, than anything granted in the new Education Act of the United Kingdom ... a practical, far-reaching scheme ... one of [Government's] major articles of its promised post-war charter of progress ... a British citizen's right to education ... a dominating force in the colony's contribution to its own development ... The patience of people in abnormal conditions and five years of upheaval is being rewarded by reform.

Together with this leader, the Report was showcased in a prominent centre fold article. It was headlined 'Nursery-to-University Charter for Gib's Schoolchildren / Equal Opportunity for all is the basis of Govt. Education plan'. It accurately summarised in 14 points the policy of the Clifford Report, stressing its provision of equal opportunities, free education, the need for Government and Church to work in the closest co-operation, and two fundamental features:

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. (point 11) <sup>49</sup>

From these remarks we can see that the objectives of the Report were not far short of revolutionary. Some other important issues emerge:

- It is curious that it was still intended to charge fees 'where parents are in a position to pay' for the secondary schools, although no child would be 'denied the opportunity' if parents could not pay. By the time post-war education in Gibraltar got into its stride no fees were payable in the government schools.
- The notion that the proposals for educational reform were a reward for the 'abnormal conditions and five years of upheaval' in the war brings together two of the strands of the narrative of this thesis: the Evacuation and the Clifford Report, both central in the Gibraltarians' use of the English language and both heralding constitutional progress and greater civic rights.

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<sup>49</sup> *The Gibraltar Chronicle*, 29 November 1944, also National Archives, CO 91/522/12.

- And the significance of the Report went beyond this. In his letter to the Colonial Secretary of 24 November, already referred to, urging speedy publication, Governor Eastwood had asked the Secretary of State for ‘guidance for distribution in Northern Ireland’:

The Report is such a positive earnest of the Government’s goodwill that you may think it will serve to off-set present discontent.

Eastwood’s proposal was meant to allay the great unhappiness in Gibraltar arising from the delays in repatriating a substantial number of evacuees, still in camps in Northern Ireland. The poor conditions there, and the slow progress in remedying the situation, largely because of lack of accommodation in Gibraltar, had been issues which gave birth to the AACR, leading to public meetings, demonstrations and friction with the colonial authorities. The fact that promulgation of a new educational system could help to defuse current tensions is evocative of how radical and far-reaching the aims of the Clifford proposals were.

On the day of publication, the booklet ‘A New Educational System for Gibraltar’ was issued to all parents of schoolchildren ‘under the authority of the Government’.<sup>50</sup> A few days later, on 7 December, a letter from Dr Howes was sent to parents. These events in themselves amounted to a radical development in a community where most parents had not previously been consulted or informed about educational philosophy and provision. This process was now made possible by the new, centralised system of government control of education.<sup>51</sup>

No study of language development in Gibraltar since the war can afford to ignore the Clifford Report, for its effect on the place of the English language in Gibraltar proved conclusive. This was because of a policy that consciously gave prominence to the

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<sup>50</sup> Dr Howes’ 1945 Report on Education, National Archives, CO 91/522/13.

<sup>51</sup> Copy in National Archives, CO 91/522/11. In a letter to Cox dated 9 December 1945, in the same file, Howes stated: ‘I have spent a fortnight since the publication of the much-revised Report addressing various local bodies to explain its contents.’

language in education and all official walks of life. In terms of Gibraltarian social and family life there was after 1944 a clear dichotomy between the languages spoken by the younger generation at home and at school. In the following pages I shall examine the effects these developments had on post-war Gibraltar and the evolution of the Gibraltarian identity.

## 8. SOME GIBRALTARIANS' EXPERIENCE OF THE NEW SYSTEM

As in the chapter about the Evacuation it is essential to obtain the views, however briefly, of Gibraltarians who were affected by these radical changes in the education system and by the accompanying philosophy. To do this I sought opinions and recollections from my interviewees in Gibraltar in January 2008. I asked them how the immediate post-war education policy affected them, particularly where language was concerned. The style I have adopted in this section of the chapter takes into account the tone of our discussions.

As pointed out in the previous chapter, some of the evacuees interviewed had completed their education by 1940, others were not to resume it in 1944-45 if by then they had reached a 'school leaving' age while abroad. A school leaving age, in any case, would have been a very nebulous concept in the circumstances of the time.

But many did return to be affected by the changed educational landscape. JS was one of the mature Gibraltarians who trained as a teacher in response to the great need for qualified teachers after the war and the efforts of directors of education like Dr Howes to professionalise teaching. This was a direct consequence of the Clifford Report. After qualifying for entry while raising a young family he attended St Mary's College in Twickenham, which became the natural destination for many Gibraltarian trainee teachers to this day.

JBa attended the temporary services-staffed school immediately after repatriation:<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> See above, p. 77, and interview transcript, p. 306. An emergency scheme operated from mid-1944 to 1946, as civilians were gradually repatriated. This involved the temporary creation of 'omnibus'

They started teaching in the buildings of Sacred Heart School with servicemen as teachers ... education started again at a fairly low ebb ... basic, very basic. Then the Christian Brothers came out and took over Plata Villa at Witham's Road and they started the Grammar School ... the Brothers ... got us through.

JM also attended the temporary school until the Brothers arrived in early 1945:

There was a lot of pressure to reactivate the education in Gibraltar and consequently they wanted and they did have a department of education. We were taken to the Sacred Heart School with the military personnel.

He was proud to pass the entrance examination for the Grammar School and he did well in school examinations (he believes the boys from Madeira performed better than those from London).<sup>53</sup> Because of a serious illness he could not sit for the Cambridge Higher certificate. JM remembers the school as mixed in its early stages.

CT too, around 11 at repatriation, completed his secondary education in Gibraltar under the new system; he left at 14 years 10 months in 1950 to enter the dockyard as an apprentice fitter. Asked how his attitude to the English language had changed when he came back from England, he said:

Well, it was important because if you had to go to a post ... you had to learn English to do say an entrance examination, say for to be an apprentice in the dockyard.<sup>54</sup>

VR, only 10 when she went back, resumed her education at Line Wall School, a government school within the new system:

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schools for pupils of primary and secondary school age and the use of service personnel as teachers. A mixed and selective third 'omnibus' school was set up as an interim measure before establishing the fully-fledged grammar schools. It was staffed by RAF personnel. The scheme operated while the teacher shortage was addressed and negotiations were completed for the return of the Brothers and nuns. Many parents were dissatisfied with the number of secondary places available. See Archer, p. 124.

With the implementation of the new system there were already 1,260 school places taken up at the end of September 1944 while repatriation was under way (Archer, p. 124) and 2,300 in Government schools in June 1946, when it was still far from completed: Archer and Traverso, p. 104. In 1951 there were nearly 3,000 pupils in Government schools: Archer, p. 129.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. p. 86 above.

<sup>54</sup> CT's comment at our interview, that Spanish was used in his early, pre-Evacuation schooling, has been quoted. (p. 81).

It was Gibraltarians who were our teachers. All we talked there was English; there was no Spanish spoken there.

Her husband, MR, was around the same age on his family's return from Northern Ireland. He attended Sacred Heart School, where the teachers were Gibraltarian, for a short time, then proceeded to the Grammar School when that was established. We have already seen that his Irish accent was not favoured by the Christian Brothers! He told me that he had studied more English after leaving school, by correspondence.

CR, whose father had moved him to various schools in UK to better his education, also resumed his schooling in Gibraltar. He claims he never liked school and that his best years started when he left it. He had, however, been delighted with the results of his examinations, School Certificate in those days, and this success stood him in good stead in his career at the Treasury, the Post Office, the magistrates' and coroner's courts, and his work with the Council of Ministers and the Gibraltar Council. He can serve as an example of the way in which post-war education, as envisaged by the wartime planners and Gibraltar's first Director of Education, was turning out qualified young people who could take over influential jobs in the colony. Probably many of these would have been held by expatriates before the war. Moreover, the new holders of such posts, more anglicised than their predecessors in education and language, could be expected to uphold the British imperial values - such as patriotism, loyalty, British culture and institutions - espoused by the creators of the new system.

A later interviewee, DP, began her schooling after the war in Gibraltar and would therefore have been among the first to receive their education under the new system. She considers the things that had a big impact on her life:

I wrote down the 1944 Education Act and all its impact on Gibraltar. Otherwise, I would have been in a school as it was in Gibraltar pre-war, so this was hugely different. And of course it would have been the same in England.

In the predominantly Anglican school catering largely for service children, however, assimilation was not easy:



When I was at school at St George's some of the English girls would say, 'Oh, you're Spanish ... You say that you aren't, but we know that you really are.'<sup>55</sup>

## 9. ENGLISH, IMPERIAL VALUES AND LANGUAGE ISSUES IN THE EARLY POST-WAR YEARS

As has been seen, the Clifford Committee's goals were clear:

the future generation should be British in more than name and should share with other members of the great family of British peoples all that the English language, culture and tradition have to offer them.<sup>56</sup>

so only will new and responsible leaders emerge.<sup>57</sup>

Alongside the concern at the low standard of English and the view that 'Spanish language and Spanish mental processes still dominate the intellectual life of the community' there is a clear connection between the need for more English as a medium of instruction and as an enforcer of British cultural identity.<sup>58</sup> Dr Howes, in his 1946 history of Gibraltar, also expressed the hope that a growing familiarity with the English language would enhance the British identity of the young.<sup>59</sup>

A little earlier, in a letter dated 25 October 1945 to 'members of the teaching staff', Dr Howes, after emphasising the need for a probationary period of one year, had written:

Those who show that they have good English speech, a modern approach ... need not worry.

The medium of instruction, except in special circumstances among infants, must be English. Parents want their children to speak English, school life will be retarded without it, and the chances of scholarship to University etc. made remote.

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<sup>55</sup> Interview with DP, April 2009.

<sup>56</sup> Also quoted by Kellermann, *A New New English*, p. 36.

<sup>57</sup> (Draft) Report, par. 58, pp. 30–31.

<sup>58</sup> And this 'unsatisfactory situation' had to be 'combatted'. See p. 98 above.

<sup>59</sup> Howes, *The Story of Gibraltar*, pp. 85–86.

This is a British Colony, and the language is English. The more people speak English, the fewer the misunderstandings and misconceptions. In your hands to a very large extent, lies the future of English in Gibraltar. Speak English all the time, and allow nothing but English ... in the classroom or in the playground.

In the Primary School (ages 8-12) one lesson each week will be given in correct Spanish speech. The accent will be Andalusian, but the correct noun, adjective etc., and correct grammar must be used. The Head Teacher shall discover the most correct and clear Spanish-speaking teacher and use him or her for the whole school.

However, it is imperative that Spanish teaching should not be allowed to interfere with the major problems of English teaching; it is the second and not the first language.<sup>60</sup>

Once again, therefore, we see that there was a deliberate attempt to inculcate not simply British but also British *imperial* values in the population. This concern about ‘Spanish mental processes’ (in the words of the Report - whatever that phrase might really mean) dominating the intellectual life of the community shows a language policy dedicated not simply to improving the standard of English. Such a prescriptive approach could not be permanent and, more than four decades later, Kellermann saw ‘the partial language shift towards English’ in the second half of the twentieth century in terms of its *voluntary* adoption by the Gibraltarians and its role as an identity marker.’<sup>61</sup> In Howes’ comments, however, there are echoes of, for example, later U.S. policies discouraging bilingualism, as a means of hastening the assimilation of Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and Cubans in their new country (cf. Ch. VI for reference to Proposition 227).

There is no denying the overall benefits of Howes’ tenure as Gibraltar’s first Director of Education and of his writings. His proposal for some compulsory Spanish teaching is forward-looking in the context of some of his other requirements. However, Howes’ emphasis on ‘correct Spanish’, though well-meaning, must be seen today as quaint pedagogical counsel, for it is the product of an age less tolerant to the use of

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<sup>60</sup> Lest it be thought that Howes was old-fashioned, there are also his ‘Notes for Teachers’ in the same file, in which he wrote: ‘All teachers using English as the medium of instruction are teachers of English’. Here he was anticipating the educational reports of the 1970s and beyond, such as the Bullock Report. This material in ‘Gibraltar – Papers and Correspondence’, National Archives, CO 1045/171.

<sup>61</sup> Kellermann, *A New New English*, p. 75.

dialect and local varieties. And the selection of the model Spanish speaker and teacher would not have gone down well in school staff rooms in Gibraltar.<sup>62</sup>

This regard for the English language as a signifier of political loyalty appears to have been something new in Gibraltar; hitherto any stigma attaching to an imperfect grasp of English would have belonged to the social and cultural rather than explicitly political domains.<sup>63</sup> That is, the upper-middle and upper classes would have benefited from their access to English language media and culture and they would have enjoyed the higher social status which went with membership of Establishment-type clubs and societies, for which fluency in English would be taken for granted. However, a lack of command of English among those who had not had the opportunity to acquire it would not have implied a weakening of Gibraltarians' traditional loyalty to Britain. It is curious that in 1943 and 1944, when signs of the future dismemberment of the Empire were already present, the Clifford committee could still set out its agenda in these imperial terms. One can imagine that making a case for the continuing and improving use of English in say India or Nigeria would be on very different grounds.<sup>64</sup>

Sergius J. Ballantine sees the Clifford Report as significant from the points of view of the language *and* the imperial connection. He quotes Heath (1972):

Decisions made during the history of a nation, and that includes decisions about language and education, are made primarily on political and economic grounds, and reflect the values of those in power.

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<sup>62</sup> I can find no evidence anywhere of this 'reform' ever being implemented.

<sup>63</sup> It returned once Spain began to show hostility and impose border restrictions. Greater use of English and Yanito showed integrative tendencies with Britain, dissociative towards Spain (cf., for example, references to Kellermann, Chapter VI below).

<sup>64</sup> In India, English is now regarded as a functional means of bridging the gulf between speakers of different major and minor languages, and also as a world language for technology and the media. However, David Graddol states that 'Estimates of how many Indians actually know the language lack credibility, with numbers ranging from 11 million to 350 million'. David Graddol, 'India chases language of success', 'Learning English' supplement of *Guardian Weekly*, 15 January 2010, p. 2. Stephen May writes that in India, 'English has remained the preserve of a small high-caste elite... [there is a] similar scenario in Africa where, despite English being an official language in eight post colonial African states, and a semi- or co-official language in a further six, the actual percentage of English speakers in these states does not exceed 20 per cent'. Stephen May, *Language and Minority Rights: Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Politics of Language* (London / Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd / Longmans, 2001) p. 204.

Ballantine writes that the Clifford Report emphasised the importance of the English language, ‘yet took no account of the preferred or dominant language in the community’. He challenges Clifford’s statement that ‘there was little appreciation of [Spanish] grammar or syntax’, and refers instead to the low pass rate in ‘O’ level English at the time he wrote – 42% (compared to say mathematics at 73%).<sup>65</sup> Elsewhere, Ballantine writes that, in being used as an auxiliary teaching language, Spanish is destined to be relegated by the education authorities to the rank of a foreign language.<sup>66</sup> We shall examine this school of thought later: there is substance in it, although it runs counter to my thesis that the Clifford Report was educationally forward-looking. In consolidating English the Report was actually a vital step in the process of political emancipation. It is also clear from much of what was written and said at the time both in Gibraltar and especially in Whitehall that the role of Spanish was not to be entirely forgotten. The strong belief among some Colonial Office officials that it should be the medium of instruction and Howes’ and Clifford’s wish to raise its standard as a *second* language may show some confusion and lack of unanimity but no lack of sympathy.

In fact, the new policy of using English in schools seemed to bear fruit very rapidly. The 1951 census showed that the percentage of English speakers in Gibraltar had risen to 75% - this excludes children under 5. This figure compares with approximately 67% in the 1931 census, although it still uses the vague criterion of ‘simple’ English and points out that a higher degree of grammatical fluency and accuracy are required.

Including the under-5s, Table 7 of the 1951 Census Report gives these figures:

British subjects	M 9,589 -	Able to speak English	7,466
	F 10,302	“ “	6,026
Total	19,891		13,492 <sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Sergius Ballantine, ‘A Study of the Effects of English-Medium Education on Initially-Monoglot Spanish-Speaking Gibraltarian Children’ (unpublished M.Ed. dissertation, University of Wales, 1983), p. 16. Note that these statistics apply to the early 80s – this figure has improved substantially since. Cf. examination results statistics, pp. 209 below.

<sup>66</sup> Ballantine, ‘English and Spanish in Gibraltar’, *GHJ*, 7 (2000), 115-124 (p. 117).

<sup>67</sup> Census Report for Gibraltar (Gibraltar: Government of Gibraltar, 1951), pp. 8-9, 18. Some years later, the 1961 census report pointed out that in 1951 the remaining 25% were recorded as illiterate (i.e.

Indeed, by 1951 there was good reason for most Gibraltarians to have a knowledge of English. In addition to historical factors, there had been the Evacuation experience and also the first fruits of the Clifford Report.

A post-war report in 1949 by W.H. Ingrams of the Colonial Office referred to the 'general use of Spanish as a second language – or rather the desire that Gibraltar should be bilingual'. He also wanted to bring 'standards and practice' as near to UK as possible. His attempt to maintain 'an assimilative policy' by having very close links with the British education system seems to have gone farther than the planners of education reform in Gibraltar had intended.<sup>68</sup> When Freda Gwilliam, Educational Adviser to the Colonial Office, inspected Gibraltar's schools in 1951, she reported:

A great effort is being made to establish English as the common language. Unfortunately it is not in general use at home, where the Gibraltarian version of Spanish is too strongly entrenched. It was said to me ... that the Gibraltarian men find their obedient home loving wives too easily across the border in La Linea and that the home drags down the standards the schools have so carefully built up.<sup>69</sup>

This comment touches on ethno-social and psychological aspects of life in Gibraltar which have already emerged in previous chapters and which will figure again when identity is discussed. However, Gwilliam pointed out that more Gibraltarian girls were now earning their own living. She also noted that secondary schools' fiction libraries from UK have a 'remarkable effect upon command of English'.<sup>70</sup> On her return in 1954, she commented on the improvement in the quality of English and was

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they were not English speakers). The later Census Report rightly comments, 'This was a definite misconception because it is quite certain that the percentage of illiteracy in Gibraltar is nowhere near that figure'; and it assumes the speaking, reading and / or writing abilities of the majority of the population to be satisfactory.

'Given the difficulties of ascertaining the true figures, because of the element of confusion that is bound to arise on account of the bilingual character of the population, no questions on literacy were introduced in the 1961 census. The percentage return of forms, however, and the admirable manner in which the majority were completed, appears to indicate that the omission was justified'. Census Report for Gibraltar (Gibraltar: Government of Gibraltar, 1961), pp. 39-41.

<sup>68</sup> 'Recommendations on Education in Gibraltar', p. 148, par.10. National Archives, CO 926/54. Also cf. Archer, pp. 128–129.

<sup>69</sup> Par. 14 of Report, National Archives, CO 1045/171.

<sup>70</sup> Par. 3 of Report. Gwilliam also criticised the English of some teachers in primary schools. She praised Bro. Foley and the Grammar School (par. 4), National Archives, CO 91/541.

impressed by the standard of debating in both boys' and girls' grammar schools: she had reported favourably on this in 1951 also.<sup>71</sup>

There is plenty of evidence about the continuing awareness of Gibraltarians of the need to become more competent in English. There is an unattributed article in the Gibraltar Government Archives which appears to have been published around 1946 in *El Calpense*.<sup>72</sup> It is entitled 'la enseñanza de nuestros pequeños' and urges the need for children to be encouraged to speak more English at home. It refers to the disadvantages experienced by many Gibraltarians in Britain during the Evacuation because of their lack of English, being a Spanish-speaking community; it therefore supports the pre-eminence of English in the new ['ambicioso'] plan for education, praising the work in English in junior schools and urging parents to 'fomentar el inglés' outside school.

By the time Michael West wrote his very brief study English as a medium of instruction was firmly entrenched.<sup>73</sup> Competence in it was regarded as a *sine qua non* for employment in many white-collar jobs, including government clerical grades.<sup>74</sup> Since formal academic qualifications (School Certificate and, later, 'O' and 'A' levels) were only obtainable – at least at first - in the two grammar schools, the usual social and academic gulf between grammar school and secondary modern was widened in Gibraltar by the particular association of the selective schools with success in English. Both the boys' Grammar School and the Loreto Convent, for instance, had model debating societies and drama productions. Their provision of an English-style education bore no resemblance to what was available (outside the fee-paying Brothers' and nuns' schools) before the war.

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<sup>71</sup> National Archives, CO 1045/171. Justin O'Brien, Stanley's successor as Gibraltar's Colonial Secretary, wrote to J. Martin at the Colonial Office with reference to Miss Gwilliam's report, 'It is only in spoken English that the standard of education of service children is higher than that of the local children.' National Archives, CO 91/541.

<sup>72</sup> This cutting, without indication of source, is in A.A. Traverso's research file, Gibraltar Government Archives.

<sup>73</sup> West, pp. 148-153.

<sup>74</sup> The latter requiring English language at 'O' level. Cf. Ronald Barabich, *Memoirs of Arnold Barobiscio* (Gibraltar: R.A. Barabich, 2010), p. 84. See, for example, advertisement for Meteorological Office post in *Gibraltar Chronicle*, 2 September 1964, p. 2.

However, there could be disagreement about the position of the two languages. A letter from a Mr Griffith-Jones to his M.P. asked him to confirm whether the use of any language other than English was forbidden in schools:

Such a practice in Gibraltar, where very many people speak Spanish as their mother tongue, is tyrannical and well calculated to [cause] a very real grievance on the part of a large section of Gibraltar's population.<sup>75</sup>

The 'tyrannical' label was accompanied by a rather hyperbolic comparison with the Nazi occupation of Poland.

The correspondence with the M.P. (Derek Walker Smith), also involving letters to and from the Colonial Office and the Governor and Education Department of Gibraltar, confirmed that English was the official language in schools but that it was 'incorrect that any other language is forbidden in school precincts'. Spanish was actually allowed in the first year in infant school, since most pupils 'have Spanish as mother tongue'.<sup>76</sup> There are, however, eye-witness reports that at certain times and in certain schools the use of Spanish was actively discouraged.<sup>77</sup>

Michael West makes some relevant comparisons with Puerto Rico. He notes the use of English readers in the schools after the first two years when English is taught 'as a foreign language'.<sup>78</sup> West's examples of reading matter are curious: *Eagle* comic at primary level, then *Biggles* and Agatha Christie in the Grammar School. He examines the GCE 'O' level results for 1953, pointing out that 'Many of these evacuee children did not begin to learn English until they returned to Gibraltar, and are consequently rather backward and somewhat of a problem'. As already noted this would not apply to over 5s who received education in UK and elsewhere.

West regards the adult Gibraltarian as 'a remarkable example of bilingualism. All classes (except the very lowest) speak English'. His survey of language and reading

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<sup>75</sup> 'Languages spoken in Gibraltar schools', letter of 5 October 1955. National Archives, CO 926/170.

<sup>76</sup> Letters from Governor to the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Selwyn Lloyd), 29 October 1955, and then from the latter to the M.P., 7 November 1955. National Archives, CO 926/170.

<sup>77</sup> For more recent examples, cf. interview with DS, April 2008, and an anonymous article 'Bilingualism - A Myth', in the local journal *Calpe News*, 12 October 1979.

<sup>78</sup> But he seems to think grammar was taught only in the Grammar School. West, p. 149.

habits is rather generalised, but he does make the valid point that ‘the Gibraltarian is an almost unique example of a people belonging to a major language group who have changed their language. Change of [major] language is an almost unknown phenomenon in modern times’. Unlike in Puerto Rico, where the ‘Spanish language and cultural background can never be replaced’ and where poverty has acted as a ‘language-stabiliser’, he foresees the decline of Spanish with developments in education in Gibraltar and is probably one of the first writers to expect ‘Gibraltarian English to develop local characteristics’.<sup>79</sup>

Anja Kellermann writes that the new education system furthered ‘better educational opportunities’:

The formal teaching of English went a long way to improve the general knowledge of the language, and successive education reports bear witness to a steadily improving standard. The authorities felt that parents had acknowledged the value of English as a ‘commercial necessity’ and had ‘welcomed the Gibraltar experiment in the matter of languages’ (Annual Report, 1949, p. 3). In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the successive directors of education even claimed to have noticed an increase in the use of English in the home ... However, Spanish remained predominant in the community.<sup>80</sup>

She quotes Holmes, who noted that by the mid-60s there was a tendency to move more towards English in the younger groups of the population,<sup>81</sup> and Figuerelo’s contention that ‘by the 1960s Gibraltar’s transition from a socio-cultural Spanish community to a British one was well under way’.<sup>82</sup>

## 10. THE SETTING UP OF THE BRITISH COUNCIL IN GIBRALTAR

This chapter would not be complete without some commentary on the setting up of a British Council centre in Gibraltar. The Council had, after all, an educational purpose and its emergence belongs to this time. The ideals of the Council, openly proselytising

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<sup>79</sup> West, pp. 150-152.

<sup>80</sup> Kellermann, *A New New English*, pp. 95-96.

<sup>81</sup> Holmes writes, ‘this may be a sub-conscious response to political sentiments.’ He refers to West’s article and, like West, notes differences with the situation in Puerto Rico. N. C. Holmes, ‘Gibraltar: Function, Economy and Population’ (unpublished B.A. dissertation, University of Durham, 1966), p. 56.

<sup>82</sup> Kellermann, *A New New English*, p. 96, quoting Figuerelo, p. 82. See below, Chapter V for the effect of the Spanish blockade and border closure on language and identity.



for British culture and the imperial mission, were in harmony with much of the stated thinking behind the Clifford Report, and indeed behind the views expressed before the war by members of the colonial establishment. Thus, the opening of the Calpe Institute is attended by the representative, Jack Bingley ('ex-Persia'), H.L. Ward Price, Assistant Director of the Colonial Section of the Council, and Miles Clifford, who was to leave Gibraltar shortly afterwards. Clifford remarked in his address:

The Government is devoted to the task of ensuring a healthier and a happier Gibraltar in the future.

He advocated, for 'future mutual understanding':

Free association in things of the mind, in the study of literature, history, music, art and drama which constitute our common heritage.<sup>83</sup>

British Council philosophy and activity in Gibraltar await an in-depth study. In the meantime, an examination of files in the National Archives raises political and language issues relevant to this thesis.

Sir Angus Gillan, who as we have seen had visited Gibraltar in 1943 to get the ball rolling, expressed the general belief that the Council should operate 'through indigenous organizations' rather than directly control its institutes. He did not want to terminate the agreement with the Gibraltar Society, a body seemingly sponsored by the Council and already working towards similar ends.<sup>84</sup> This seems a progressive attitude for its time, consistent with some of the views we have seen expressed by Colonial Office officials towards Gibraltarian rights and aspirations.

It is possible that Gillan is responding to the report for the period 24 November 1944 to 31 July 1945 by Jack Bingley about British Council activity in Gibraltar. On language and cultural issues this report shows a totally different attitude to Gibraltarians. A few quotations will illustrate something about a certain imperialist mentality:

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<sup>83</sup> *The Gibraltar Chronicle*, 10 July 1943, p. 4, in National Archives, BW 33/1.

<sup>84</sup> Sir Angus Gillan, writing to Acheson at the Colonial Office, 3 October 1945, National Archives, BW 33/1.

The habit of [Gibraltarians] spending their spare time in reading has not yet been acquired.

Care should be taken that all [film] commentaries in English should be clearly and slowly spoken, that simple language is used and that dialect is entirely excluded.

To take part in a play in English is something strange and new to Gibraltarians; they are handicapped by their imperfect knowledge of English and by their feeling of inferiority when acting with British people and before a partly British audience.

While it is certainly the Council's aim to make British music better known to the world, it is impossible to impose it on a foreign people ... it would be disastrous to present [to the people of Gibraltar] only music by British composers.

[Discussing the break-up of a Gibraltar orchestra] It is the Representative's opinion that no orchestra of this kind can be held together in Gibraltar without a British conductor. As an outsider, he is not affected by local quarrels, and is able to impose loyalty and discipline ... Moreover, if the orchestra includes service personnel as it must, its success is less probable if the conductor is Gibraltarian, especially when his command of the English language is often unconsciously humorous.<sup>85</sup>

Bingley goes on to say that concerts 'were continued in the hope of creating an appetite for good music amongst the local people'; but neither they nor gramophone recitals were successful. At the latter, the 'British' members of the audience's 'openly expressed comments on the behaviour of the rest of the audience led to ill feelings'. As for music courses, 'the Gibraltarians soon lost interest' and only the 'British' [sic] remained. Meanwhile, organised debates were not successful either. Once again, difficulties were caused by 'Gibraltarians' limited knowledge of English' and their feeling 'at a disadvantage when debating with British people whose education and command of the language was so much superior'. Moreover, and significantly, the Colonial Government was not in favour 'of organised discussion of local affairs'.<sup>86</sup>

In fact Bingley wonders whether the 'people of Gibraltar [have] sufficient cultural background to respond to the cultural facilities which the Council provides', and whether the Council is really necessary:

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<sup>85</sup> Jack Bingley's report on the British Council in Gibraltar, 24 November 1944 to 31 July 1945, Section 2 (Activities), (a) Books (b) Music (unnumbered pages), National Archives, BW 33/1.

<sup>86</sup> Bingley, Section 2 (Activities), (i) Lectures and Debates.

After months of unremitting toil the Representative is forced to the conclusion that the Gibraltarians have no wish to interest themselves in anything that is on a cultural level.

He adds, presumably by way of explanation for these gloomy conclusions, that the previous educational facilities ‘provided by the Irish Christian Brothers’ were ‘of a very elementary nature’:

Until a fully educated public has been created by the new Department of Education the Council can expect little or no response for its efforts.<sup>87</sup>

What is one to make of all this? The patronising attitude towards Gibraltarians certainly seems to belong to a very early era of colonialist assumptions. After all, we must remember that, even only taking into account those who attended the best pre-war schools, a substantial body of Gibraltarians must have been educationally and culturally aware enough to have benefited from the Council’s programmes. And surely there must have been a widespread fluency in English in that body? Bingley seems to have had little recognition of the genuine interest in drama and music shown by Gibraltarians in the different context of Spanish cultural influences.<sup>88</sup> Perhaps his approach might have been more favourable towards this resource; and in his capacity he could thus have worked gradually towards incorporating some of this cultural richness into the Council’s provision. This need not have clashed with the Council’s aim of disseminating imperial values. It is difficult to know what models of perfection from other countries or societies Bingley had in mind when dissecting the Council’s failure at the time – for that is what it seems to have been – to get through to the Gibraltar people. It is just as well that in the following decade or two the British Council in Gibraltar, led by enlightened and inclusive managers, provided a positive supplement to the work of schools and also resources and facilities for more general benefit.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Bingley, Section 3 (Future Policy). And, as a political throwaway revealing the tensions of the time: ‘This Association [the AACR] is naturally not regarded with any favour by the Colonial Government’.

<sup>88</sup> For the richness of Gibraltar’s artistic life in the pre-war period, and tributes to individual performers at the Theatre Royal, see Morello, parts 1 and 2; also pp. 35-36 above.

<sup>89</sup> Other voices were heard. There was a response to Bingley from the Gibraltar Society Committee. It is clear that both Gillan and Cox, who visited Gibraltar in 1943 and 1944 respectively, accepted the Council’s role in co-operating with the Government’s educational plans. A report signed by Tom Eames Hughes of the Colonial Secretariat commented that ‘the total exclusion of Spanish would be a shortsighted policy’, referring to the Clifford Report’s stress on the value of bilingualism to the Gibraltar. ‘No peril or betrayal in a little Spanish now and then.’ National Archives, BW 33/1.

## 11. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CLIFFORD REPORT

The reforms ushered in by the Clifford Report held sway in the education system of Gibraltar for a quarter of a century, until the tripartite system was challenged and comprehensive reorganisation introduced.<sup>90</sup> The Report's emphasis on the use of English and its advocacy of a centralised state system of education have been followed in Gibraltar to this day. With Gibraltarian lay teachers taking over from religious orders, the influence of the Church in education has naturally been weakened, although all denominations have access to instruction in their faiths. Progression to higher education and much of the curriculum follow the English model.

The discussions leading to the Report, its final acceptance and publication, and its effects, are crucial to an understanding of the changes taking place in Gibraltar in the 1940s.

- Firstly, the creation of a state system of education, with central planning, as opposed to the previous miscellaneous provision, was bound to lead to greater efficiency.
- Secondly, the formalisation of the use of English as a teaching medium in a community where Spanish had long been the primary spoken language, was at the root of a great 'language shift', and with it a redefinition of Gibraltarian identity.

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In 1958 the British Council representative was withdrawn and the Government assumed responsibility for the Calpe Institute. A Director was then appointed. (*Colonial Annual Report: Gibraltar* (HMSO, 1962), p. 86.

<sup>90</sup> 'The Report was well-received by the public' (Archer and Traverso, p. 101); but within a decade there were proposals for amending the system by deferring the 11-plus examination and raising the profile of the non-grammar schools. These proposals were welcomed by Sir Christopher Cox at the Colonial Office (ibid. p.112). Also cf. motion about selection at 11+ put by P.J. Isola at Legislative Council and discussion, 21 July 1964. (Legislative Council Debates, vol. for 1963–64, Gibraltar Government Archives.) This was about the time many LEAs in Britain were considering secondary reorganisation on comprehensive lines, because of the problems inherent in the 11+ examination and the socially divisive nature of the tripartite system, where the secondary modern schools were very often regarded as second - (or indeed third -) best. But none of these later issues invalidate the significance of the Clifford Report in its time.

- Thirdly, not only did a command of English become essential for holding jobs and making social progress within the colonial establishment, but it continued to be seen at this time as a true symbol of Britishness and of upholding colonial values. This was emphasised by different commentators, UK and Gibraltarian, with Dr Howes, the first Director of Education, perhaps being particularly emphatic. He was, in fact, following a consistency of approach with previous officials, such as the Gibraltar Colonial Secretary who, in the 1933 Scouts Jamboree, was astonished that Gibraltarian scouts should be speaking in Spanish. Howes' work as Director of Education and early historian of the Gibraltarian people was estimable, and so was his support for giving the Spanish language a place in the new dispensation. However, it is remarkable that, at a time when ideas of decolonisation are gathering momentum in the world, Gibraltar is still attributed an exemplarist imperial role.
- At the same time, and almost in a contrasting role, the development and dominance of the English language became closely linked with the call for political and constitutional advancement in the post-war years. This is because English was the discourse of politics and it was only when Gibraltarians gained universal confidence in using it as a medium – that is to say, when Clifford's educational reforms had started to bear fruit – that the majority, and not simply the wealthy and beneficiaries from private education, could aim for political empowerment. The British Council representative's statements about Gibraltarians' difficulties with English will strike today's reader as remarkably patronising. However, when Bingley saw Gibraltarians as dysfunctional in such areas as music conducting, drama, debating and cultural appreciation through their incomplete (or sometimes even 'unconsciously humorous') grasp of English, he was unwittingly pointing the way to how a full command, achieved through the new education system, would in a few years have an emancipating effect on access to culture and political participation.
- Another aspect that is unexpected was the strength of liberal and progressive elements in the Colonial Office. The files available at National Archives in Britain and Government Archives in Gibraltar show a really strong desire to

improve educational standards in Gibraltar, a true acceptance of the colonial masters' burden, so to speak.<sup>91</sup> Clifford himself, for all his occasional abrasiveness and sense of status, was the embodiment of this approach.<sup>92</sup> And in the belief that often came through in the discussions, that Spanish should be fostered, and not crushed, there was a strong element of forward-looking, tolerant thought regarding the role of Spanish in the curriculum which was not seen again in Gibraltar for a good many years. A similar concern is evident in

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<sup>91</sup> 'An imperialist ideology by no means excluded a sense of social responsibility.' Archer, p. 166. And Clive Whitehead writes:

... [there is] much evidence to suggest that those personally responsible for promoting education in the dependencies were motivated by a genuine concern for the welfare of indigenous people but they could only work within the confines of what was feasible at the time. Preface, pp. xiii–xiv, *Colonial Educators*. Whitehead states that until WW1 'education was almost exclusively a mission preserve', that the 1920s marked 'a new phase of government involvement in many colonies' and that the Colonial Education Service was founded in 1938 (pp. 82–83). These dates are consistent with educational developments in Gibraltar.

<sup>92</sup> Clifford was a remarkable Colonial Secretary. In under three wartime years he accomplished not only the reform of Gibraltar's educational system; but also of its health system and of the structure of its colonial civil service. What was particularly noteworthy for the time was how he saw his responsibilities towards the people, and his enlightened approach to their aspirations and entitlements. In a letter to the Governor, 20 December 1942 (p. 1), introducing a report on reconstruction proposals for Gibraltar, he wrote that '*our* people' [my italics] are coming back from Evacuation with high expectation and that they 'should return to find that the Government has not only *not* been forgetful of their necessities but has laid its plans for a new Gibraltar'. In memo no. 11 of 7 October 1943 he criticised 'a small but selfish plutocracy, which has grown fat on administering to the needs of the garrison' (p. 23), also the lack of social services, welfare and housing (p. 24): 'An enlightened policy could have saved us much of the bitterness'. Clifford emphasised (Memo 4, p. 12, p. 31 in file) that the people have become a 'definite entity ... they constitute an Imperial responsibility and are as much entitled to our care and to opportunities for development as are the people of any other of our Colonies'. Mss. 517 2/1.

In his 'handing over notes' (p. 2, Mss. 517 2/3) on 26 November 1944, he criticised the Executive Council as 'a curiously autocratic survival in ill-accord with modern thought ... [There is] ... no provision whatsoever for the voicing of representative public opinion in the counsels of Government'. In document 72 of this file there is his farewell message to the press (appearing in the *Chronicle*): 'We should think of Gibraltar as an organic whole and not as two separate entities – Services and Civilians – ranged on either side of the fence'. Later (document 78): 'the two should supplement and support each other'.

He was widely praised for his tenure in Gibraltar (e.g. letter from Mason Macfarlane, 2 August 1944, document 31 in 517 2/4, and also from Gibraltarians who worked under him, e.g. letter from Howard Davis, document 167 in 517 10/2). Sir Christopher Cox (letter of 11 December 1944, document 46, 517 2/1) congratulated him 'on a really first-class job on Gibraltar education ... Future generations of Gibraltarians will indeed have reason to be grateful. It is a grand achievement ... I lift my hat'. Clifford's subsequent career earned him yet more praise and distinctions.

When, many years later, on 13/14 November 1970, Sir Miles was interviewed by A.H.M. Kirk-Greene for the Oxford University Oral History Programme about his career in the colonial service he stated that in war-time Gibraltar was 'a pretty odd place to be in ... [the Evacuation] had enabled him 'to examine the whole of the administration ... the place was a sort of vacuum, in the way of planning for the future. Particularly as regards education, which was archaic, entirely in the hands of the Roman Catholic Church ... the administration of the city was probably completely reorganised during these three years. I think that would be the opinion of most Gibraltarians. Before I left I drew up a Constitution ... which would give more representation to the citizens.' Document 76, pp. 36–37, 517 10/1. (This material is from Sir Miles Clifford's papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS. Brit. Emp. s. 517).

anxiety about the ‘modern’ school being regarded as inferior. In these respects, the contrast with the attitude of say the British Council’s representative could hardly be greater. It is like a clash of different approaches to colonialism.

- Likewise, despite the strong call by some, including Gibraltar members of the Committee, for the replacement of the Christian Brothers by other Catholic orders, the colonial authorities are eventually able to create a satisfactory working arrangement with Bishop Fitzgerald and the Catholic Church in Gibraltar, and conditionally agree to the return of the (English) Brothers. This is also a response to popular demand.

In summary, while there continued to be an often cavalier approach by the British Government to Gibraltarians’ aspirations for constitutional development, as we shall see in Chapter IV of this thesis, and a patronising disrespect for Gibraltar political and trade union figures, this was not reflected by those at Whitehall and the Colonial Office dealing with education. The Clifford Report and its implementation recognised the language and educational needs of Gibraltarians in the post-war period. By being sensitive to their dignity, need for opportunities, and indeed cultural and religious traditions, as well as to their individuality, the Report was the first real acknowledgement of a Gibraltar identity. How this identity expressed itself through language behaviour, and was further developed in unison with political and constitutional progress, is the subject of the following chapters.

## CHAPTER IV. THE FIRST TWO POST-WAR DECADES: POLITICS AND POLICIES, THE MEDIA, AND LANGUAGE USE

With such striking progress being made in education it is logical to assume that progress would also be made in those other areas of life in Gibraltar where the need for change had been felt. In this chapter, which takes as its starting point the period when repatriation gathered momentum in 1944, I shall attempt to assess the rate and nature of political and cultural development in the years up to the Spanish restrictions, always keeping in mind my thesis that English language policies and practice accompanied such development. Indeed, by widening political and cultural participation they became central determinants of change.

### 1. PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

At this point, before studying how a sense of national identity and the political institutions which expressed it developed in Gibraltar after the war, I want to consider another significant report which came out at about the same time as the Clifford Report. This will, among other things, shed light on some ‘official’ attitudes for its comments on Gibraltarian language and identity. Professor Friedrich von Hayek, the eminent Austro-Hungarian-born economist and philosopher, was by now a British subject and held a post at the London School of Economics.

Hayek is noted for his espousal of ‘classical liberalism’ in economics.<sup>1</sup> He had already reported for the Government on changes in the cost of living in Gibraltar in 1939-44 and also on wages and salaries paid to different classes of workmen and employees in the wartime period. Hayek was now (1944) requested to produce a further report on the economy of Gibraltar, and the report itself and much correspondence about it are at the National Archives at Kew.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> His advocacy of the free market and belief in the interdependence of economic and social phenomena were to make him influential with later right-wing politicians.

<sup>2</sup> Report by Professor Hayek on Economic Problems in Gibraltar. National Archives, CO 91/522/1.



A letter from Governor Eastwood to Oliver Stanley at the Colonial Office forthrightly remarks:

Hayek's proposals for the limitation of the Gibraltar population by compelling the less wealthy members of the community to live in Spain would ... be deeply and justifiably resented by Gibraltarians.<sup>3</sup>

Eastwood was widely regarded in Gibraltar as an unpopular Governor.<sup>4</sup> Yet in this instance he was of one voice with the people in opposing extraordinary proposals. Let us examine these.

Hayek had written:

The town of Gibraltar is little more than the commercial centre of an urban conglomeration of nearly 100,000 inhabitants, whose working class suburbs are situated in Spain (par. 6, p. 2).

[The population's] character is still predominantly Spanish. The Spanish mothers, who usually speak no English at all, determine the language spoken in the family and probably the majority of children know only Spanish till they go to school, where it still remains the language spoken among the children themselves out of school hours (par. 16, p. 6).

One of the main obstacles [to encouraging emigration etc], the fact that the majority of the population speak neither English nor, I am told, good Spanish, should be gradually removed by the reform of the educational system now in progress (par. 22, p. 8).

The lower working class population of Gibraltar never was British in its character or habits of life, and as long as wages remain anywhere near the present Spanish level there exists neither a chance

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<sup>3</sup> Letter in National Archives, CO 91/522/1.

<sup>4</sup> 'Eastwood and Stanley, both of whom had become figures of hate in the local community'. Joseph Garcia, 'The Man on the Spot: a case study in Colonial Administration', *GHJ*, 4 (1997), 24–30 (p. 28). Robert Stanley was Colonial Secretary in Gibraltar 1944–47. Confusingly, he shared his surname with the wartime UK Secretary of State for the Colonies, Oliver Stanley.

for them to adopt British standards or habits, nor could any attempt in this direction have produced anything but a miserable proletariat much more unhappy than the equally poor working class in Spain. The population of Gibraltar can and will preserve or progressively acquire British standards and views only if it is permanently of a middle class type (par. 40, p. 13).<sup>5</sup>

Small wonder that Eastwood knew that these recommendations would not be acceptable to the people. Even colonial authorities would be reluctant to accept these views, particularly in the spirit of greater liberalism and freedom emerging at the end of the war. In the report there are inaccuracies (the ‘predominantly Spanish character’ of the population, the implication that mothers are universally Spanish, the downgrading of the Britishness of the ‘lower working class’ population), and exaggeration in the premise that Gibraltar’s working class ‘suburbs’ are in Spain; for although many Gibraltarian coalheavers, for example, had lived in Spain in the early part of the century, making common cause with Spanish workers in their membership of Spanish labour unions, there have always been working class districts in Gibraltar. In fact, the majority of manual and unskilled workers had been for many years before 1969 Spaniards from La Línea and Algeciras.<sup>6</sup> Hayek had gone very much by external appearances, without pondering the deeper issues of identity and the individual history of the people of Gibraltar. Whilst he was right that (many) children would speak only Spanish until going to school, and then continue to do so in out-of-school hours, language and habits were only part of the story. Moreover, the Clifford educational reforms were intended to do rather more than to eliminate an ‘obstacle’ to emigration. Hayek’s equation of Britishness with middle-class values needs some scrutiny. These sociolinguistic perceptions and related aspects will be examined in the later chapter on language and identity.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Hayek, however, concedes that there is ‘no justification for excluding the rapidly increasing number of Gibraltarians whose English leaves nothing to be desired’ from the more responsible positions in the dockyard (Report, par. 59, p. 19).

<sup>6</sup> For example, according to Stockey, 12,000 at the height of the First World War, Stockey, p. 43. However, in the depressed 1920s almost 4,000 Gibraltarians had relocated to La Línea, *ibid.* p. 58.

<sup>7</sup> There is in a Colonial Office file a memo dated 11 May 1945 to Mr Luke, Head of the Mediterranean section of the Colonial Office, over an unclear signature, which reads: ‘My own view of the general problem of Gibraltar is that we should endeavour to obtain outlets for emigration ... the ultimate idea would be to break up Gibraltar as a community and leave it as it was originally formed, that is a small parasitic population hanging round the port and the fortress. We shall never achieve a community with a full life in the limits of the Rock, with no possibility of agriculture or industry’. This appears to be a memo from Sir Robert Stanley. A further memo of 11 June 1945 from Stanley in the same file advocates emigration again: National Archives, CO 91/526/6. This attitude would be consistent with many of the unpopular views Stanley expressed. For instance, he refers to the greatly respected Albert

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Hayek obviously regarded language as a major issue in Gibraltarians' 'Britishness' or otherwise. Significant developments in politics and language took place in the period covered by this chapter and the role then played by the English language in contributing to the Gibraltar identity was crucial. I will consider the political changes that came to Gibraltar in the years following the war, because they are intertwined, as I try to argue as the core of my thesis, with language policy and behaviour in the making of this identity.<sup>8</sup>

But first I need to go back briefly to the period when significant demand for greater local participation in government had first been made. This had gathered pace throughout the 1920s and 1930s, and needs some examination in the context of the widely criticised educational situation in Gibraltar as described in my first chapter, and of the social and cultural conditions of the time.

The Executive Council had been established in 1922, as the Governor's official consultative body. The Council consisted of the colonial secretary, three other official members (attorney general, financial secretary, the senior service representative) and three unofficial members appointed by the Governor. These would usually be

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Risso as 'a pleasant plebeian'. Garcia, *GHJ*, 4 (1997), p. 26, and National Archives, CO 91/526/6 (also quoted by William Jackson and Francis Cantos, *From Fortress to Democracy: The Political Biography of Sir Joshua Hassan* (Grendon: Gibraltar Books, 1995), p. 51.

However, there was support for emigration in some non-government quarters. Not long after the war, *Luz*, the AACR organ, reports a public debate about emigration. The vote was 24–16 in favour. [Emilio] Alvarez, speaking in support of emigration, 'empleando claros y convincentes argumentos abogó por la conveniencia para la juventud Gibraltareña [sic] de emigrar a otra parte del Imperio Británico, siempre, desde luego, que la emigración fuese apoyada y controlada por el Gobierno ... hizo resaltar el limitadísimo campo de acción que Gibraltar ofrece a nuestra generación futura la cual si aprovecha de lleno el presente sistema de enseñanza no podrá realizar su ambición de recoger el fruto de sus estudios por no contar Gibraltar con el amplio radio de acción ni con las posibilidades de crearse un buen porvenir con que cuentan muchas otras partes del Imperio'. *Luz*, 30 March 1946, p. 2. Opportunity for career enhancement abroad was, of course, one of the benefits which the Clifford Committee envisaged (cf. p. 99, above).

<sup>8</sup> Jackson, writes of the post-war period that 'in the political field Britain pursued her policy of increasing internal self-government in Gibraltar as she was doing throughout her colonial empire'. Jackson, p. 297.

members of the Gibraltarian merchant class.<sup>9</sup> Thus, there is a wide gulf, symbolised by the official language, between this non-elected body and the people.

ExCo was the only official forum where the Governor would hear civilian opinions. It was effectively the Governor's cabinet, although he in fact wielded the casting vote and indeed, as head of the fortress, had the final say on all matters. It was a far removed concept from the kind of legislative council which Gibraltarians of all persuasions aspired to in subsequent years. Its power was not threatened by the City Council which had been created the previous year and for which the first elections were held in December 1921. As we have seen, the City Council was so limited in its elective composition and powers that it fell well short of satisfying pre-war demands for greater participation in government.

The role and working of ExCo reflected the mindset of the rulers of a colonial fortress. It did not aim to be in any way 'democratic'; its Gibraltarian element would not always show solidarity with the people or be impervious to its own class interests. Of crucial importance, the language of its proceedings, oral and written, would exclude a very large proportion of Gibraltarians in the 1920s and 30s.<sup>10</sup>

Meanwhile, let us consider how language and politics interacted with each other in this period.

I have already described how Chris Grocott regarded language in Gibraltar in the period 1880–1939 as a great barrier to political, social and economic advancement for the working-class who spoke little or no English; and a corresponding advantage for the moneyed classes, through private education. Grocott quotes Blinkhorn regarding

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<sup>9</sup> The Chamber of Commerce wrote to the Governor expressing satisfaction at the inauguration of the Council under his Governorship. Letter of 11 April 1923, in correspondence box with Executive Council Minutes, Gibraltar Government Archives.

<sup>10</sup> A request from the Workers' Union asking for a more 'representative' ExCo was given short shrift by J. H. Thomas, the Colonial Secretary, in 1924 as being 'incompatible ... with a Military Fortress'. Gibraltar Government Archives, YF 510/1924. Ten years later, following agitation by the Exchange and Commercial Library Committee, the Chamber of Commerce and the Union, a petition for greater participation in government, simply seeking wider representation in ExCo, was signed by 3,152 out of 3,890 electors. Again, this was rejected by the Secretary of State. Joseph Garcia, *Gibraltar: The Making of a People*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Gibraltar: Panorama, 2002), pp. 10-11.

the advantages of fluent English and English-language education and to the political and cultural access these conferred.<sup>11</sup>

Stockey points out that from the mid-nineteenth century governors of Gibraltar had cultivated the favour of the moneyed class, who could sit on juries, be appointed justices of the peace and receive imperial honours in due course:

[they were] the first Gibraltarians to be involved in the political process.

And he adds:

Instruction in English, and familiarity with English culture, was essential for advancement within colonial Gibraltar, and to this end members of the moneyed class sent their children to English public schools and universities.<sup>12</sup>

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The pre-war City Council, the only institution civilians could vote for – and that on a very limited franchise and for a minority of seats up to the war – was resurrected in 1945. The suspension of the Council for the duration had not been welcome to the Gibraltarians. An official memo sheds significant light on how its role was downplayed:

These councillors may to a certain extent be right in their representations but one should not loose [sic] sight of the fact that a certain amount of Govt. control ... has to be exercised by Govt, while a certain amount of their commitments are guaranteed by the Col. Govt. Also the majority of the Public Services performed are for and on behalf of the Garrison. I do not consider prudent at the present stage to revert to the administration of this Body as if times were normal ... it is a matter for ExCo to offer comments for H.E's [illegible].

The memo is signed by one N. North but I have not been able to trace whether he was from the Colonial Office or the Government in Gibraltar, or indeed one of the service heads.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Grocott, p. 102, quoting Blinkhorn, pp. 45–64. See above, p. 32.

<sup>12</sup> Stockey, pp. 25–26. He links the TGWU's call in 1919 for more English tuition to its emphasis on the 'Britishness' and maturity of the union movement, and 'readiness to be accepted into the structures of "British" Gibraltar', p. 49.

Draft ordinances, signed by Miles Clifford as Gibraltar's Colonial Secretary, were published by the *Chronicle* with a constitutional development supplement on 30 December 1944. They provided 'for the reconstitution of the City Council and the resumption of powers and duties' to amend the Ordinance of 1935, and stated, in section 7, a requirement for candidature:

[to be] able to speak, read and write the English language

and with a schedule requiring a declaration by the candidate, viz.:

I am able to speak, read and write the English language.<sup>14</sup>

These language stipulations for candidates, fully consistent with the balance of power in Gibraltar then and subsequently, do bring home how the field for candidature before the war would have been restricted, and told against working-class participation. While this gradually improved in the decades after the war, as the Clifford educational reforms bore fruit, the language issue, with its tendency to disadvantage those who were less fluent in English, was apparent as late as the 1980s.<sup>15</sup>

In any case, the Council's remit was strictly municipal. It was not nearly enough to satisfy the aspirations that had built up before and during the war years. These aspirations were strengthened by considerable dissatisfaction in Gibraltar with the way repatriation was being organised, particularly for those evacuees in Northern Ireland. In a perceptive article in 1946 Richard A. Preston comments on the conflict

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<sup>13</sup> Memo of 27 December 1942, City Council Transfer (Transfer of Powers Ordinance, 1940), Gibraltar Government Archives, YF 588/1940. Clifford notes in his acknowledgement that 'the future conduct of the affairs of the City Council [was] ... under consideration' by the Governor.

<sup>14</sup> TGWU Archive, Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick, Appendix J, Mss 126/TG/247/1/1 and 2–6.

I consulted City Council minutes for January to August 1922, 1927–28 and 1938–39, at Gibraltar Government Archives; they are handwritten and of course in English. In a file for City Council elections between 1924 and 1960, there is extensive correspondence for 1936 about eligibility and qualifications for candidature and voting, and other election material. Gibraltar Government Archives, file 4453.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Martens, p. 118, and Chapter V, below.

between the fortress / colonial status of Gibraltar on the one hand and, on the other, the ‘awakening political consciousness’ and the ‘quasi-nationality evident in recent years’.<sup>16</sup> The military role of Gibraltar limited constitutional progress and in describing the disaffection resulting from this, and from delays over repatriation, Preston writes:

For the first time in its history, Gibraltar began to witness the *insurgence* of the Gibraltarian population [my italics].<sup>17</sup>

Nevertheless, previous expressions of a desire for greater involvement in government may have been in hope rather than expectation. There was a wide gulf between the position of the Government and the governed.<sup>18</sup>

## 2. ENGLISH / SPANISH IN POST-WAR POLITICS AND CONTEMPORARY PRESS REPORTS

The political parties in the first post-war council elections in 1945 and in the early Legislative Council elections used both English and Spanish in their oral and written political addresses: much Spanish was used in the pre-polling day addresses at John Mackintosh Square. As the working-class political party at the time, the AACR published its early manifestos either in Spanish or in English and Spanish.<sup>19</sup> (Even in the 1990s some of the election candidates would use Spanish when speaking in the less affluent parts of town.) *Luz*, a political organ for the AACR and the Gibraltar Confederation of Labour during the 1940s and beginning of the 50s, was predominantly a Spanish-language newspaper. Ballantine Perera reminds us of its

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<sup>16</sup> Richard A. Preston, ‘Gibraltar, Colony and Fortress’, *Canadian Historical Review*, 27, 4 (Dec. 1946), 402-423. Preston also refers to ‘the very inadequate education system’ (p. 404) and to the Spanish-language newspapers of Gibraltar – as opposed to the *Chronicle* – ‘giving expression to Gibraltarian opinion’ (p. 415).

<sup>17</sup> Preston, pp. 418-419.

<sup>18</sup> In 1944 the Gibraltar Government had proposed an Advisory Council, largely based on elected City Councillors, but even within the Colonial Office this idea was regarded with scepticism: National Archives, CO 91/523/2. After agreeing to a majority of elected seats in the City Council from 1945, and following much pressure and agitation, including waspish contributions from Stanley and Governor Eastwood, the Colonial Government eventually agreed to the institution of a Legislative Council. This was said to be partly in recognition of the hardship and sacrifices endured by the people in the war: National Archives, CO 91/523/3 and CO 91/526/6. Although in theory there was an ‘unofficial’ majority, in practice the Governor held the casting vote and reserve powers, and ExCo remained in its old form. But there was further constitutional development throughout the 50s and 60s.

<sup>19</sup> Personal e-mail information from Dr Joseph Garcia.

role and of the prevalence of Spanish as a language of ‘left-wing action’ for the workers.<sup>20</sup> After the demise of *Luz*, *El Calpense* remained, as we have seen, the only Spanish-language paper on the Rock until its gradual adoption of English and then its own cessation.

It is relevant to look at some press reports of political developments of the time and to see how language and political considerations were connected, and how the use of English and Spanish catered for different perspectives.

Early post-war issues of *El Calpense* convey a clear impression of the political mood. For instance, issues of 26 and 27 October 1945 have a front page story and long leaders reporting the City Council debate about the repatriation of the remaining evacuees. As has been seen, this was a continuing cause of friction between the people and the colonial authorities. On 3 October there are articles titled ‘En defensa de Nuestros Derechos’ and ‘Un Consejo Legislativo’. The latter reports the Colonial Office’s agreement to the creation of a Legislative Council ‘tan pronto como las circunstancias lo permitan’, but because of ‘la posición especial de Gibraltar, como fortaleza, será esencial contar con una mayoría oficial entre los miembros no oficiales, nombrados y elegidos’.

Dissatisfaction with repatriation arrangements and constitutional progress went hand in hand. There is a report of a public meeting at the Theatre Royal. S.P. Triay, active in the AACR, is quoted (note that Spanish is used at the meeting, since the AACR’s supporters would include many working-class people):

Todos estos males – en mi opinión – son síntomas de un mal radical, y es que el pueblo no tiene en sus manos poder suficiente para solucionarlos ... el pueblo no tiene ni poder ni responsabilidad ... A ver si conseguimos un Secretario Colonial en vez de un señor frío que no parece importarle lo que el pueblo opina.

La AACR no tiene ningún agravio personal contra este señor. Prueba de ello es que desearía que le otorgasen un ascenso. Si lo quieren hacer Gobernador en otra colonia, tanto mejor.

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<sup>20</sup> Ballantine Perera, *GHJ*, 15 (2008), pp. 1–6.



Triay then goes on to ask for an elected majority in the Governor's Executive Council.<sup>21</sup>

*Luz* also takes a strong line on constitutional development and other matters, and the contrast between newspapers reflecting popular opinion and the pro-Establishment leanings of the *Chronicle* is illustrated once more by a spat between these two journals in 1946. The *Chronicle* had criticised the poor attendance at a City Council meeting, stating it 'could not commend the citizenship of the people of Gibraltar ... it would seem they have no interest in what happens in their home city'. *Luz* springs to their defence trenchantly and with a touch of irony:

No podemos menos que congratularnos al ver que el *Gibraltar Chronicle* está dedicando más tiempo a asuntos de interés local.

However, it is critical of the context the *Chronicle* has chosen for its strictures. It believes issues such as repatriation, unemployment, wages, the cost of living and Gibraltarians' right to participate in government, matters the City Council is not empowered to deal with, would have been more worthy of the newspaper's attention. It therefore rejects the *Chronicle's* charge of apathy, suggesting that the reason for the apparent lack of interest is that, because of the Council's limited powers, its meetings are of no great consequence, and adding that in any case only recently has public attendance at meetings been allowed.<sup>22</sup>

This exchange tells us something both about the political frustration felt in Gibraltar at the time and the continuing dichotomy of its press. It shows that the *Chronicle*, while giving publicity, as we have seen, to matters like the Clifford Report and the setting-up of the British Council's Calpe Institute, is still a long way from identifying with the people where controversial political and social issues are concerned. It will not speak with a popular voice for at least another decade and a half.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> *El Calpense*, 22 October 1945, p. 1. Copies of *El Calpense* for this period were made available for my inspection at Fortress House by Mr J. Marrache, January 2008.

<sup>22</sup> *Luz*, 18 May 1946, p. 6, replying to *Gibraltar Chronicle*, 10 May 1946, p. 6.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. interviews with later editors JSe and DS, below.

The Gibraltar Government Archives hold copies of *El Calpense* from 1953, with wide coverage of the elections to the Legislative Council held in that year – the inaugural elections were in 1950. The edition of 15 September (all in Spanish as usual, except for an official notice advertising a government post on page 4 and an advert for Schweppes) has an editorial titled ‘Hay que cumplir un deber cívico’:

Se han pronunciado numerosos discursos en los que aspiran a participar en nuestro gobierno (*aunque no sea todavía en la forma extensa en que se debiera*) hacen constar su historial político.

*Aun cuando ... no se abrigue mucho entusiasmo por la forma en que hasta ahora se nos gobierna, el electorado tiene el deber cívico de acudir a votar ... Si desea expresarse contra el sistema de gobierno, aun cuando no esté dispuesto a dar su voto a nadie puede hacerlo en blanco, para así demostrarse que el pueblo está atento a sus intereses y hace uso de los mermados privilegios que se le conceden* [my italics].<sup>24</sup>

There is a detailed pen-picture of the three AACR candidates, and an electoral advertisement. Their claimed achievements and aspirations include:

Permiso para visitar tu familia evacuada. Repatriación de tu mujer e hijos, el Voto para la Mujer, Mayoría elegida en el Municipio, Legislación Laboral y Social, Libertad de Prensa ... Luchamos por ... Ampliación del sistema de Educación ... Abolición del sistema de Representación Proporcional, Más Legislación Social, Más Derechos para la mujer.

As was suggested in a comparison of issues of *El Calpense* and the *Gibraltar Chronicle* in the early days of the Evacuation we can see that, once again in 1953, this newspaper shows a clear concern with Gibraltar politics and the rights of the people.<sup>25</sup>

Two days later, *El Calpense* publishes election results, with full coverage and interviews of successful candidates in the first two pages. A leader on the 18 September returns to the subject of the elections:

Es preciso que el grupo [of elected candidates] se vea precisamente animado por lo que se ha dado en llamar ‘espíritu de equipo’, o sea por la decisión de no tratar de buscar lucimientos personales, *sino por el afán de luchar en la más completa unidad, para presentar un frente unido a la mayoría oficial integrada por los miembros exofficio y los nombrados por el gobernador.*

<sup>24</sup> Front page, *El Calpense*, 15 September 1953.

<sup>25</sup> See pp. 60-64, above.

*Al fin y al cabo los intereses de los consejeros populares deben ser exáctamente iguales: La defensa de Gibraltar y de sus intereses* [my italics].

The editorial stresses the need for unity once again, saying that the opposing camp, made up of the official and nominated elements, is completely organised as a team ‘de unidad sólida e inquebrantable’:

En [algunas cosas] el acuerdo con la parte oficial no será posible ... la mayoría oficial siempre estará atenta para beneficiarse de las debilidades de la parte opuesta.

I shall return to the use of language in the press later in the chapter.<sup>26</sup>

### 3. COMMENTARY: POLITICS, IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE

The link between the post-war political advances, and the efforts by Gibraltarians for recognition of their rights on the one hand and the formation of the Gibraltarian identity on the other is obvious enough. The language link is more tenuous, but real. In these two decades we are dealing with an electorate that is becoming more educated and politically conscious, that is now, in its younger generation, universally schooled in English, and that participates in official life – in government, civil service, employment, law, the media etc. – in a very British manner.<sup>27</sup> Much of this is due to official policy. But we find a paradox. Colonial Government policy requires this type of anglicised involvement, and Gibraltarians are happy to subscribe to it. However, the political gains made by Gibraltarians, following the model of British democratic development in the colonies (and even, if we take the whole century into account, of

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<sup>26</sup> The AACR, founded in 1942, had, together with the other public bodies, played a prominent role in achieving the Legislative Council. Initially campaigning for repatriation, it had then fought elections on the basis of constitutional development, housing, working conditions and health and social services. It was unhappy with proportional representation because it saw this as an attempt to limit the party's electoral successes. See Garcia, *Gibraltar: The Making of a People*, Chapters I and II, Jackson and Cantos, pp. 50–60. The GCL, the AACR's associated trade union, soon eclipsed the local branch of the TGWU. Cf. correspondence, Modern Records Centre, Warwick University, Mss 292/946.9/1 and Mss 126 TG/247/1/1. There were AACR majorities in the City Council, and also of elected members in LegCo until 1988 (except for 1969–1972, when the Integration with Britain Party – created from a strong pressure group – governed in a coalition). In 1964, the elected AACR members allied themselves with an independent to obtain a majority.

<sup>27</sup> See Governor's [Sir Gordon MacMillan's] surprised response to the Gibraltarians' practice of British democracy in footnote 30, next page.

the mother country) is one that has needed to be campaigned for, often with the Colonial Government trying to slow down the pace of change. If this is so, how can we reconcile greater proficiency in English and wider use of the language and of British institutions in the next two decades – greater pro-Britishness, so to speak – with the struggle for more *Gibraltarian* political rights?

The simple answer is that we are not dealing with a classic post-imperial situation of the post-war years, when many territories sought their independence (even these of course largely kept English as the official and administrative language because of practical considerations). We are dealing with a territory and a community loyal to Britain and British institutions that wanted to increase its participation in what, as we have seen already, has been called ‘the British family of nations’. Its wish for more democratic institutions coexisted with its loyalty to Britain and increasing absorption of things British.<sup>28</sup> This was a very Gibraltarian version of post-war response to a colonial situation. It had gained strength in perhaps less than a decade, largely through the experience of the Evacuation; it was a package of aspiration to some power-sharing *and* the retention and enhancement of its British characteristics. The Colonial authorities may not always have grasped the complex juxtaposition of these issues.<sup>29</sup> The worldwide call for decolonisation, mediated by Gibraltar’s special circumstances, and the association of even the Spanish language with a dictatorial regime were further contextual complications. There was full consistency between the community’s wish to develop its political rights and its increased use of the language and other symbols of Britishness. So I would now like to examine in more detail the language situation and its wider effects in these two highly significant and transformative decades.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> British ‘values’ for Gibraltarians would increasingly include language, literature, and cultural heritage. Cf. interview with EG, January 2008.

<sup>29</sup> Nor may all Governors have grasped it. In fact, there was grudging and patronising approval in the confidential Governor’s report for April and May 1953 about the conduct of the electors in a recent Council election: ‘It is surprising how well the Gibraltarian, despite his basic Latin temperament, has accepted both the spirit and the letter of the British democratic process’. National Archives, CO 926/21. In a similar spirit, defending the Governor’s reserve powers, a report in 1956 on further constitutional development stated, ‘the good people of Gibraltar look to these to preserve them against one another and against the vagaries of their Latin temperament.’ National Archives, CO 926/280, also quoted by Garcia, *Gibraltar: The Making of a People*, p. 97.

<sup>30</sup> Arnold J. Heidenheimer, in his 1963 survey of post-war Gibraltar politics, discusses ‘the rapid extension of citizenship rights to the lower classes’ in Gibraltar, and refers to a ‘native’ movement which has operated without ‘the cohesive effects of conventional nationalist symbols’, presumably meaning the fight for constitutional rights which co-existed with loyalty to Britain. Heidenheimer

#### 4. LANGUAGE, 1944–1963

Governor Eastwood had objected to a letter in *El Calpense* on 20 November 1945 (the writer adopting the *nom de plume* ‘Fiat Lux’), which criticised with some irony the constitutional proposals:

English contributions in the Spanish language newspaper ‘El Calpense’ have appeared on various occasions in the past. It is a procedure adopted in order to ensure, as far as may be possible, that something offensive about an Englishman is read and understood by him whether or not it is understood by the readers for whose instruction and enlightenment it purports to have been published.<sup>31</sup>

This comment sheds light on the gulf that was appearing between the Governor’s views and Gibraltarians’; and of course about the attitude to the use of English as a language for a strictly demarcated audience.

Jackson and Cantos refer to Hassan’s effectiveness at the AACR’s mass meetings and demonstrations, at a time when Spanish was often used on such occasions as well as in electioneering literature:

‘Nosotros, el pueblo de Gibraltar’. [This] oft-repeated cry ... always brought him fervent acclaim ... his high-pitched tenor voice, fluent *Llanito* and logical approach, could sway a Gibraltar crowd or audience as few others could do.<sup>32</sup>

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charts the milestones towards responsible government, the political significance of the Evacuation, the development of the first ‘well-organized political mass organization’ (the AACR) and trade union conflicts. He illustrates the religious tolerance and lack of extremism shown in Gibraltar’s politics and the acceptance by the old socio-economic elite of the welfare state. Heidenheimer, describing the ‘broadening’ of the AACR across the political spectrum over the years, writes of the ‘native’ mass-movement’s commitment to pluralist values and control of ‘potential internal cleavages’. Supporting a recurring issue in this thesis, he notes that TGWU candidates were handicapped in the 1959 elections by their imperfect English and the GBC’s language requirement for election broadcasts. Arnold J. Heidenheimer, ‘Citizenship, Parties and Factions in Gibraltar’, *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 1, 4 (1963), pp. 249–264.

<sup>31</sup> National Archives, CO 91/523/3.

<sup>32</sup> Jackson and Cantos, p. 50. The AACR/GCL produced a Spanish-language leaflet encouraging women to use their right to vote for the first time in the 1947 City Council elections. This again provides evidence of the currency of Spanish among many women in Gibraltar for the reasons already discussed. Sub-pad 13, City Council Elections, Gibraltar Government Archives, 4453.

The frequent use of Spanish in politics was inevitable at a time when there were still many who could not have benefited from the improvements in education in the years after the war. However, since all the business of the Legislative and City Councils (not to mention the Law Courts and the Civil Service) was carried out in English, it is worth examining what effect this had on the language situation of the ordinary Gibraltarian.<sup>33</sup> We have already seen how the post-war reconstituted City Council demanded a knowledge of English from prospective candidates. The original qualifications to be elected to the first City Council in 1921 were as follows:

A councillor had to be a born British subject over the age of 21, and occupy a dwelling house or a part of one in Gibraltar for at least eight months in every year *and be able to read and write English fluently* [my italics].<sup>34</sup>

This requirement does not appear to have been dropped in subsequent elections. It is an example of a clear divergence in the politics of the time between language policy and the language behaviour of much of the population.<sup>35</sup>

CR, one of my interviewees in Gibraltar in January 2008, recalls the significance of English in the post-war years. While not going as far as to agree that a good command of English equated to power, he does believe it equated to opportunities. Asked about post-war LegCo elections he comments:

There were still people who ... had more of a command of the Spanish language than the English language, not only in politics but also in the trade unions, which at that time were very linked to politics ... there were a lot of people who were involved in the trade unions and hardly spoke any English.

When he worked at a bank ‘English mattered not much unless you needed to talk to the manager or sub-manager’ (it did matter when he studied for his banking diploma), and not much either at the Treasury where his work consisted mostly of accounting:

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<sup>33</sup> Cf. interview with CR, January 2008. For the increasing use of English in the Catholic Church. See below, interviews with BC and BL, April 2009.

<sup>34</sup> Finlayson, *GHJ*, 3 (1996), p. 10.

<sup>35</sup> While no language stipulation was made for the voters, they had to meet residential (and property ownership or tenancy) qualifications too. Voters had to be male and over 21. Less than 25% of the population was therefore enfranchised.

I mean, for a junior person in the Treasury, you never talked to the Governor or the Deputy Governor or anybody like that, so it didn't really matter.

Nor did it at the Post Office, where he subsequently worked:

And there again it didn't matter because everybody was Gibraltarian.

Later, when employed as interpreter in the Magistrates' Court he encountered some amusing linguistic pitfalls with Spanish witnesses, such as the Spanish word 'conductor' for 'driver'. 'The buses in Gibraltar have no conductors ... 'what do you mean, conductor?'' On a more serious note, he stresses the paramount importance of English in the legal system in Gibraltar and in Government, where he then became clerk to the Council of Ministers and the Gibraltar Council. This had succeeded the Executive Council as the executive body in Gibraltar and included the Chief Minister, other ministers, the Governor, Financial Secretary, Attorney General, and heads of armed services. Unsurprisingly, in such scenarios English had to be 'as perfect as you could possibly make it'.

CR's experience of many posts and levels of responsibility in Gibraltar's civil service and government (and he also worked with a lawyer) sheds significant light on the role or roles of English in Gibraltar in the post-war years.<sup>36</sup>

JMu's situation is significant in a different way. As an Englishman working in Gibraltar in the early post-war years, with the police force and the army, he recalls that many UK residents or visitors would be offended 'because the local people were speaking Spanish' but it never used to bother him. He referred to his son's education with the Christian Brothers, his acquisition of an English English, and non-critically recognises the natural urge of many Gibraltarians to speak in Spanish in less formal situations at school and elsewhere. He is a strong believer in the advantages of bilingualism for Gibraltarians, and has done much to participate in Spanish-language culture himself:

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<sup>36</sup> Interview with CR, January 2008.

when they are brought up speaking English as a primary language they will grow up bilingual, they will speak a better Spanish.<sup>37</sup>

I examine different aspects of bilingualism in Chapter VI.

JSe's experience as editor of the *Gibraltar Chronicle* was very relevant to my research. Perhaps because of his qualifications in psychology, his evidence on Gibraltarian sociolinguistic values and bilingualism was invaluable. He traces changes in the approach to language in Gibraltar to 'the work situation':

The English were the employers essentially, whether it was military, in the dockyard, and a lot of firms. The Gibraltarians were for the most part ... sandwiched between the English and Spanish workers ... The Englishman who came out ... he didn't tend to learn Spanish, so the result of this was that he depended very strongly on the Gibraltarians to communicate with the Spanish. There were always a lot of Gibraltarians who didn't master English anyway ... This in a way trapped Gibraltarians into a situation where in their daily lives they were only using a small vocabulary of the Spanish language, and a very small vocabulary of the English language. This was really the nearest one could say that they got into a language of their own – the Yanito ...

Gibraltarians, for all that period of time, until educational developments in Gibraltar, which was a while after the Second World War, Gibraltarians were really trapped between two languages. This is easily seen when the Gibraltarian during the Evacuation, for example, went to England; he had great difficulty, for example, when communicating with the English, because he could no longer drop back into Spanish for odd words, which are mainly family-type words, emotional situations and kitchen language, which was Spanish. Your job situation here had tended to be more towards the English, but that didn't help when you've got a girlfriend or you wanted a sandwich ... employment had a very, very strong influence.

JSe remarks on the primacy of English among the moneyed and professional classes in those years, how they mixed socially with the English officer class in places like the Garrison Library; and even how some of them affected to speak anglicised Spanish when in Spain. This attitude was a throwback to earlier times and, in its more extreme forms, it survived at least until the period of the border closure among a number of Gibraltarians.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Interview with JMu, January 2008.

<sup>38</sup> Interview with JSe, January 2008.



As we study the development of Gibraltarian political and social life in the years between repatriation and the beginning of the Spanish blockade in the mid-sixties it becomes apparent that changes were taking place across the spectrum of everyday life, and that Gibraltar was developing differently from what might have been predictable before the war. A constant feature of these changes, accompanying them and sometimes defining and influencing them, was the growth of English. We can continue this study with a look at an area where language and other changes could be expected to be emphatic and influential: the media, in particular broadcasting and the press.

## 5. BROADCASTING IN GIBRALTAR: GBC RADIO AND EARLY TV; USE OF SPANISH-LANGUAGE MEDIA

There had been for some years a government radio service in Gibraltar. In 1934, Radio Distribution had been introduced, with 'a number of programmes of local origin', but mainly relays from abroad. Then, a 'Radio Gibraltar' was set up by the Ministry of Information in 1943 as a specialised service relaying BBC news in English, Spanish and Arabic, and some material originating in Gibraltar. In 1944 it was broadcasting as much as 10¼ hours a day, of which 3¾ hours were from the BBC.<sup>39</sup> It was closed down after the war but a small transmitter was maintained, and used for 'short broadcasts, such as addresses by the Governor, the relay of public ceremonies and ... notification of winning numbers in the Gibraltar Government lottery draw'.<sup>40</sup> Operating separately, there was also the Forces Broadcasting Network.

There were demands and representations for a more extensive local radio service. Approval was given in 1956 for a Government broadcasting service to be established, 'with the important difference that time was to be made available on the air for commercial broadcasting' under the supervision of the Government's Public

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<sup>39</sup> *Colonial Annual Report: Gibraltar* (HMSO, 1962), p. 81.

<sup>40</sup> Article by Sir Howard Davis, 'At the Start of Radio Gibraltar', special feature on fortieth anniversary of founding of Radio Gibraltar, p. 2. *Gibraltar Chronicle*, 16 February 1998.

Relations Officer.<sup>41</sup> It was finally opened in February 1958 and is described thus in a minute from a Mr Croft at the Colonial Office dated March of that year:

The Government's own programmes, occupying 5 ½ hours a day at the peak listening periods, were entirely in English except for two relays of the B.B.C. Spanish Service news daily and a weekly sports commentary. The remaining official programmes consisted of relays from the B.B.C. news bulletins and programmes in the General Overseas services, B.B.C. transcriptions, records etc. (Par. 6).<sup>42</sup>

There were also four hours of commercial programmes, with advertisements, which included the popular record request programme in Spanish, 'Discos Dedicados'. Soon there was a 'loud public outcry against relayed and canned programmes' and a wish for both serious and light live programmes.<sup>43</sup> This wish was met increasingly over the years.

In summary, then, the service was divided into a government and a commercial section, with the former providing local and relayed BBC news, other BBC relays, current affairs programmes and items of an informative and formal nature as well as some entertainment material. The 'commercial' section catered for music request programmes, outside broadcasts of popular cultural events, opera records and so on. In addition to Government funding, some of the financing was from advertising. The commercial section tended to run the majority of live programmes and Spanish-language output.<sup>44</sup> It eventually merged with the Government section.

Both parts of the service used English and Spanish, even to the extent of relays of BBC news using both the BBC Overseas Service and the Spanish-language 'La BBC radiando para España'. This is an eloquent comment on the need for parallel language provision in Gibraltar in the late 1950s, when many middle-aged and older people's dependence on Spanish was still strong, whereas the young and those who had benefited from the new education system would now gravitate to English-

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<sup>41</sup> *Annual Report, 1962*, p. 81.

<sup>42</sup> National Archives, FO/953/1923.

<sup>43</sup> Davis, special feature, p. 2, *Gibraltar Chronicle*.

<sup>44</sup> 'The official side was run by the Government's Ministry of Information and the commercial side by private enterprise (Film Distributors Ltd).' A. Mascarenhas, article on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the service, *Gibraltar Chronicle*, 15 February 2008, p. 9.

language programmes. There would, of course, also be strong official support for the use of English.

By 1962, Radio Gibraltar broadcast 113 hours per week, and over the whole year 5,870 hours (3,653 in English, 2,217 in Spanish).<sup>45</sup> The programme for the opening day in February 1958 set a pattern which was to be followed for many years:

- 1150 Opening announcement
- 1200 The News
- 1209 Commentary
- 1215 Sports Round-up
- 1230 Dick Bentley, Jimmy Edwards and June Whitfield in 'Take it From Here'
- 1300 Introduction (Presentación)
- 1400 Now Showing (Cartelera)
- 1415 The News (In Spanish)
- 1430 Request Records (Discos dedicados)
- 1500 Close
- 1800 Excerpts from "The Gondoliers" (Gilbert and Sullivan). The Glyndebourne Festival Chorus and Pro Arte Orchestra conducted by Sir Malcolm Sargent
- 1900 Request records (Discos dedicados)
- 1930 Bebe Daniels and Ben Lyon in 'Life with the Lyons'
- 2000 Dance Music (Música de baile)
- 2100 The News
- 2109 Records at Random
- 2130 "Home Sweet Home" (El hogar de hoy, de mañana y de siempre)
- 2215 The News (In Spanish)
- 2230 "Castles in Spain." Orquesta Zarzuela de Madrid, conducted by Federico Moreno Torroba
- 2300 The Queen <sup>46</sup>

I have reproduced this programme in full as a fair example of the linguistic and cultural mix that pervaded the identity of Gibraltar at the time. Eventually football matches would be broadcast live in both Spanish and English and there would be programmes on bullfighting like 'Redondel' with commentary and interviews with the

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<sup>45</sup> The Government took over responsibility for commercial broadcasting in March 1961: *Annual Report 1962*, p. 82. The *Gibraltar Post*, an English-language weekly, welcomed the merger ('although we don't believe in nationalisation'), *Gibraltar Post*, 11 March 1961, p. 4.

<sup>46</sup> Programme in special feature, p. 1, *Gibraltar Chronicle*, 16 February 1998.

bullfighters of the day, written and presented by Manolo Mascarenhas.<sup>47</sup> Complementing plays and comedy sketches by local writers in Spanish, and quizzes, there would be the English-language 'For Children of all Ages', 'Hospital Requests' and 'Housewives' Choice'.

Examining the schedules for Radio Gibraltar in *The Gibraltar Post* for 8 July 1961, we can see that the content has not changed very much, but there is a difference in presentation. There are news programmes and commentaries five times a day in English on weekdays, four in Spanish; a Spanish serial, *Los Senderos*, on weekdays, sports programmes and local sports at fixed times. Apart from these, taking one day as a sample:

#### MONDAY

8.15 am The Daily Service

9.30 Close Down

12.30 Advertising Magazine. Morning edition,

1 The Third Test Match. England v Australia. Fourth day's play – at Headingley, Leeds

4.15 Close Down

7 For Children of All Ages

7.30 Nina and Frederick

8 Showtime

11.30 Dance Music

12 THE QUEEN

#### LUNES Programa en Español

1.35 pm Hora del aperitivo

2.05 Interludio Musical

2.45 La Voz de ... Les Saluda

3 Invitación al Real (Concurso)

3.05 Recordándote (Discos Dedicados).

3.30 La butaca de la suerte

3.35 Recordándote (Discos Dedicados)

9.30 Observe y gane (Concurso Telefónico)

10 Bailes españoles

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<sup>47</sup> Cf. interview with AM.

10.30 Nombre usted el personaje (Concurso)

10.45 El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha (Serial Telefónico Cap 14)

11.15 Fiesta flamenca

The separate scheduling according to language is quite significant. The popular bias is towards Spanish-language programmes, particularly in the evening ‘peak’. (A newspaper critic wrote that the radio hit of 1960 was ‘undoubtedly the famous serial’ *Yo amo a un canalla*.<sup>48</sup>) In fact, the early years of Radio Gibraltar tell us a great deal about the cultural dichotomy in Gibraltar, largely but not exclusively determined by the generations. For example, although the popular afternoon record request programme run in Spanish by the commercial section included many English-language ‘hits’, Spanish popular *coplas*, previously heard by Gibraltarians on Radio Algeciras and Tangier radio, still figured strongly in the requests. Zarzuela was often played in the evenings, presumably appealing mostly to those who had memories of performances going back to before the war.<sup>49</sup> One thing Radio Gibraltar did not do in its formative stages was to intervene in politics, although it did give representatives of different parties and political movements the opportunity to express their views on air during election campaigns.<sup>50</sup> And, as we shall see in the next chapter, when the crisis with Spain became acute in the mid-60s it fulfilled an important morale-boosting task.

Alice Mascarenhas writes on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary:

As the years moved on, it catered for a wider local audience, with the greatest difficulty of having to be all things to all men.<sup>51</sup>

However, writing in the same issue of the *Chronicle*, David Hoare expresses the hope that for the next 50 years, the service will remain ‘a truly local station that identifies us as llanitos’.

I shall return to Radio Gibraltar when examining the two decades of Gibraltar’s isolation from Spain from the mid-sixties.

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<sup>48</sup> ... ‘which kept every lady in town glued to the radios ... soon the craze swept men as well’, Joe Garcia, *Gibraltar Post*, 7 January 1961, p. 2.

<sup>49</sup> See below, interview with GV about gradual move from Spanish- to English-language popular music.

<sup>50</sup> For instance, the 1962 City Council elections: *Annual Report, 1962*, p. 83.

<sup>51</sup> Article in *Gibraltar Chronicle*, 15 February 2008, p. 9.

The Gibraltar Broadcasting Corporation introduced television in 1962.<sup>52</sup> A meeting held at the Colonial office on 28 February 1958 ‘to discuss the development of a commercial television service in Gibraltar’, is minuted by A. Pennington, of the Gibraltar Television Company, who states:

The service would be run almost entirely in the English language, at any rate to begin with, though there might be some news translations into Spanish ... [there would be] a Children’s Programme in English.<sup>53</sup>

In fact, Gibraltar television used English exclusively for many years. Moreover, one of the objectives of the project is given in the same file as:

‘National Prestige’. The importance of reflecting the British way of life in this part of the world through the medium of television.<sup>54</sup>

Foreign Office correspondence of the time shows sensitivity to possible anxiety among Spaniards that Gibraltar TV broadcasts would be received in Spain; hence there are references to programme control, and it is made clear that no politics or religion are to be allowed. There is a draft *aide memoire* from the British Embassy to the Foreign Office dated 18 December 1959 stating that the ‘British authorities intend to introduce controls’ and that ‘certain circles in Spain regarded the BBC’s Spanish broadcasts with some restiveness’.<sup>55</sup> It is outside the scope of this thesis to comment on the British Government’s attitude to Spanish sensitivities then or later.

Of course, once TV reached Gibraltar viewers would tune in to the Spanish broadcasts as well, and in many cases principally. As we shall see in the next chapter, the widespread viewing of Spanish television in Gibraltar during the near-siege and siege years probably did much for the maintenance of that language.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> The service was Government-run, under licence to a commercial concern and with a commercial advertising element. It was backed by the Thomson Group. *Annual Report, 1962*, p. 3.

<sup>53</sup> National Archives, FO 953/1923.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> National Archives, FO 953/1963.

<sup>56</sup> By the reopening of the frontier in 1985, TV ownership and rental had reached 85% of the population: e-mail from Mr Eddie Hammond, whose family held major radio and television dealerships. Although opinions about its influence vary today, HC said that ‘the Spanish influence was very, very strong, porque look at the number watching Spanish TV. Bueno, el TV que tenemos en

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During my stay in Gibraltar in January 2008 I was able to speak to two persons who had been closely involved with the development of Radio Gibraltar and Gibraltar TV. Their association with these services was relatively recent but they had much to say of value about developments in the late 50s and beyond.

GV, General Manager of Gibraltar Broadcasting Corporation for many years, explained that Radio Gibraltar had been set up in 1958 under a set of statutes (the Gibraltar Broadcasting Ordinance) and directions issued by the Governor in Council. It was seen as part of the Civil Service. He said that there were restrictions in language use. English was the ‘core output’ but 25% was allowed in ‘what was called another language’.

He recalls the relays of the BBC Spanish and South American services, but over the years these Spanish language services were being reduced. GV is of the opinion that when radio started it was ‘colonial radio’:

If there was anything local controversial you joined the BBC World Service for something like a farming programme or relayed cricket. And it was very difficult to do real programming in that era. You had BBC subscription services and you paid them for serials and the big vinyls.

He believes that the Spanish language ‘Discos Dedicados’ programme was a key factor in the social development of Gibraltar, and ‘at the time of the closed border period’ the only means of communication, not only internally but externally with the people in Spain.

The role of the core team of announcers was significant:

It became difficult to recruit Spanish-speaking announcers to a decent level of Spanish.

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Gibraltar ... Spanish TV is the order of the day.’ On the other hand, TA partly attributes the growing use of English to ‘the big influence that exposure to English [language] TV programmes had had’. Interviews, April 2009.

GV was conscious that ‘we were exporting the sound’:

It was a colonial environment; if it was not Oxford English it wasn't right and there seemed to be little room in people's minds for the Gibraltarian accent, for Gibraltarian participation. It was very evident in television news where the newsreaders with one notable exception ... were either UK expats or military officers who were fantastic but they had no interaction with the community ... again with [one] notable exception ... It was difficult to get local people to perform and if you got them they ran the risk of being criticised in town for not being up to standard. It was just that it was this colonial thing. We didn't sound very English / British – it was wrong regardless of editorial values because some of those officers who came to England had no knowledge of Gibraltar life. They were foisted into your living room and you believed them because they were English / British, I suppose.

This is a very revealing comment on Establishment attitudes in Gibraltar to the local use of English. What we have here is not simply a preference for English as opposed to Spanish or Yanito – perfectly understandable – but an inflexible requirement that interviewers and presenters should use RP as a superior form. This stipulation for broadcasting, originating in the fifties and sixties, was eventually dropped as attitudes to language and dialect changed. In its time, it was probably not very different to the requirement the BBC made of its broadcasters. It illustrates a source of resistance to the development of a Gibraltarian identity, or at least an attempt to mould it in a certain form. This is an example of policy-makers trying to determine the pace of change.

The comment is consistent with another issue, for, referring to freedom of expression within GBC at the time, GV adds:

And there were lots of civil servants and MOD [personnel] barred from expressing public views at the time.

GV believes that Radio Gibraltar has nevertheless really helped the political and social development of Gibraltar. He spoke about the need for editorial responsibility in exercising freedom of expression, particularly when GBC was ‘breaking new ground’ as a news medium, and the need to ensure its independence.



Television, GV pointed out, started in Gibraltar as a private initiative but it was taken over by GBC. It was at the time purely in English. GV said that there was no problem of competition from Spanish TV, because the Gibraltar service was protected by ‘this fervour of nationalism that was flowering in Gibraltar at the time ... and to put any Spanish on it was really taboo’. An analysis of this factor, given that the introduction and development of Gibraltar TV coincided with the Spanish restrictions from the mid-sixties, properly belongs to the following chapter, and I shall return to the interview with GV in due course.<sup>57</sup>

AM, now assistant features editor of the Gibraltar Chronicle, worked for Gibraltar Radio for 16 years from the late seventies; but her father had worked in broadcasting since its foundation, and she was able to describe to me early language policies of the service.<sup>58</sup> From the early days there was an afternoon slot for Spanish programmes, retained to this day with the record requests; there was also the BBC news in Spanish in the evening. Most of the Spanish-language announcers in the early years, like her father, spoke excellent Spanish. (When she joined the service ‘I didn’t try to speak better than the Spaniards.’) She sums up:

It [Radio Gibraltar] started at midday in 1958, and it was in English, because English was the official language of Gibraltar, but from the very beginning they had a separate commercial section ... the policy of Radio Gibraltar must have been that it had to be in English ... and it needed to have Spanish because it was catering for a section of the population, while at the same time it brought in listeners from Spain.<sup>59</sup>

Her comments on her own experience in GBC, and developments in language policy and use in Gibraltar from the mid-1960s, should likewise form part of the next

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<sup>57</sup> Interview with GV, January 2008.

<sup>58</sup> ‘My parents were great lovers of Spanish art, as they were of British art, and by that I mean that my father would read Shakespeare as much as he would read Lorca ... so I had experience of both at home. My father was a lover and a great aficionado of bullfighting.’ In fact, he is also likely to have been the writer (in the mid-fifties) of Spanish-language reports in *El Calpense* of cricket Test matches involving England: in my experience the solitary convergence of Spanish and cricket in journalism, and a telling commentary on Gibraltar’s cultural heritage. Archer refers to cricket as ‘the umbilical cord of Empire’, Archer, p. 5, quoting J. A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), p. 153.

<sup>59</sup> Interview with AM, January 2008.

chapter. However, we can see again that in the two decades after the war and at the time of the foundation of Radio Gibraltar there was a consistent need for an element of Spanish-language programmes. As I have tried to illustrate, this was because even after the Evacuation and after the introduction of the new education system there was a large segment of the population of Gibraltar preferring the Spanish language to English, as their day-to-day language for entertainment, news and culture. This would have mainly been in the middle-age group and above, though not exclusively so.

## 6. THE PRESS, 1944 – MID-SIXTIES: HOW THE NEWSPAPERS REFLECT LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY CHANGES

This may be a suitable time to look at how daily newspapers in Gibraltar in this period – the 20 years after World War Two – reflected cultural change.<sup>60</sup> In examining some issues from the pre-war period, and some reporting the Evacuation, I have indicated that the *Chronicle* was predominantly a paper for, and by, the forces and colonial establishment, and for the more anglicised and influential Gibraltarian civilians. In its capacity as a Gazette (this second title was retained until 1942) it had been seen as the official mouthpiece, which communicated orders and legislation from the Governor.

*El Calpense*, since its foundation in 1868, represented for the best part of a century Gibraltarian Spanish-speaking culture. *El Anunciador* was equally significant from 1885 until it ceased publication in 1939. These were very much newspapers of the people. R. A. Preston, when discussing the ‘growth of a feeling of Gibraltarian distinctiveness ... noticeable in the second half of the nineteenth century’, writes that these two daily newspapers ‘were founded in Spanish to give expression to Gibraltarian opinion’, and it was ‘significant that there was no comparable newspaper in English’. By way of contrast, in the *Chronicle* until the 1920s ‘the absence of local news [was] striking’.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> This change is also illustrated by the fact that newspapers from Spain, easily available before the war, were less widely read by this time, whereas British national papers, flown in daily, gained increasing popularity.

<sup>61</sup> Preston, p. 415. Also see footnote reference to D. Sloma, pp. 37-38 above.

I have already quoted some extracts of *El Calpense*'s rather more human coverage of the Evacuation. In 1945, after the war, it expressed strong feelings about the slowness of repatriation and the need for constitutional progress. Passages have also been quoted above about the 1953 Legislative Council elections and *El Calpense*'s criticisms of the limited powers given to the Council.<sup>62</sup>

Two issues of the *Chronicle* from 1946 and 1947 show the extent to which there is a gradually increasing recognition of the civilian population in the post-war era. On 23 November 1946 there is a letter from the General Secretary of the Association for the Advancement of Civil Rights, formed as we have seen in 1942 and having as one of its chief aims the repatriation of evacuees. The AACR was destined to become the driving force of Gibraltar politics for over 40 years. This letter is a copy of that sent to the Colonial Secretary, censuring delays in the completion of repatriation.

The *Chronicle* issue of 24 February 1947 shows some return to pre-war 'normality'. There are, as often, official notices; there are also notices for forthcoming events at the Calpe Institute, and regattas for the visiting Home Fleet at the Royal Gibraltar Yacht Club, also football and hockey match reports. But there is also a long article about German PoWs in Gibraltar and their new privileges pending their return home; a photograph of a local cabaret singer who is about to get married; and a column 'Wandering about the Rock' in which the writer criticises the uncouth behaviour of a section of the audience during the showing of *Brief Encounter*. From these items one can perhaps detect a gradual move by the *Chronicle* to material of greater relevance to the local civilian population, although it will be a decade and a half before there is sufficient coverage of local affairs for this newspaper to be regarded as anything like a voice of the people.<sup>63</sup>

Probably because it fulfilled this role much better, *El Calpense* outsold the *Chronicle* in its early years. It was published until 1982. In its closing sixteen years, much of *El Calpense* was in English – a reflection both of a dissociation from things Spanish

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<sup>62</sup> The Spanish-language weekly *Luz* was only published between 1945 and 1950. It too campaigned vigorously for repatriation. For instance, it strongly objected to German PoWs being repatriated when Gibraltarian evacuees were still 'prisoners' in Northern Ireland, 'después de seis años de la más ignominiosa evacuación forzosa de su patria chica'. *Luz*, 21 September 1946, p. 1.

<sup>63</sup> See comments from JSe, p. 170 below.

during the border closure and of the reducing number of writers and readers choosing Spanish, as a result of the growth of an English-medium education.<sup>64</sup> This phenomenon, which is so eloquent of the way Gibraltar was changing in the decades I am examining, belongs more to my next chapter.

It is clear from a brief perusal of issues from 1953 that *El Calpense* is not a parochial paper at all. For instance, in the issue of 15 September 1953, already referred to, there are, as well as local items, items about a wide range of world news, including the neutralisation of Germany, the South African race laws, a major strike in Indonesia (p. 2), negotiations following the Korean war, the trial of Polish clergy charged with ‘espionage and propaganda against the state’, air communications with Berlin, and anti-corruption moves in Persia (p. 3). The last page includes news of an experimental flight from Dakar by the new Comet airliner as part of a link with Rio de Janeiro, and a revolt in an American gaol.

There is also a notice about shipping movements (‘Actividad en el Puerto’). The pre-war practice of having some advertisements in English is continued (for Schweppes, on p. 2).

On 17 September 1953 other local items include a press communiqué with GCE ‘O’ level results, port activity, a magistrates’ court report (p. 2), an advertisement for coach excursions (this in English, p. 3). Overseas news cover strikes in France, M. Laniel’s visit to the USA, issues concerning Persian petroleum, and Selwyn Lloyd’s support for the USA in its opposition to China’s proposals for the Korean negotiations (all on p. 3).<sup>65</sup>

My interviews in Gibraltar in 2008 included meetings with the former and current editors of *The Gibraltar Chronicle*, JSe and DS (father and son), and AM, now features editor, whose comments concerning her prior experience in broadcasting have been included above.

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<sup>64</sup> See Finlayson, *GHJ*, 4 (1997) for circulation figures in the nineteenth century. Issues from 1966-1973, when *El Calpense* was predominantly in English, are available at the British Library’s newspaper reading room in Colindale.

<sup>65</sup> The paper’s editorial article is about President Neguib of Egypt (p. 4) and there is information about the disappearance of Melinda Maclean, wife of the defected spy, and her children; also about the return of 520 British PoWs from Korea.

JSe, a long-term resident in Gibraltar (and sometime on the Costa del Sol) of British-Canadian origin, became editor in 1961, having previously taught in a secondary school. In 1961, he said, the *Chronicle* was ‘fulfilling the job of supplying the service personnel and so on, all the UK British, with the general news’.

And also it had spread quite a bit into the local population, as a general newspaper, but ... it only had one half column of local news which were local, unless something very unusual happened.

During my time ... because [of] the natural evolution of Gibraltar ... [there was] the development of the House of Assembly from the City Council ... so gradually there was more local, official news coming in, and gradually I developed this ... It really started becoming much more the local newspaper ... Meantime, the British services were being reduced anyway. UK newspapers were coming in and the paper did a complete change. Later on, I started writing editorials which also had quite an influence within the situation.

When I observed that in September 1959 the *Chronicle* had headlined the date of the forthcoming general elections as their lead story – this being the British general elections and not the Gibraltar Legislative Council elections, which were to take place at almost exactly the same time – JSe agreed that ‘*El Calpense* was the local newspaper’. We discussed whether this was a function of language:

I think ... not just ownership. It was the buying public; there was a large enough buying public for the *Chronicle* to be worthwhile and also the *Calpense*. It was worth ... [there were a] large number of people who were tied into Spanish [so] that it was worth producing. That gradually started dying and unfortunately I was very sad when *El Calpense* went. It would have gone, I think, eventually but it went before its time.<sup>66</sup>

The main reason for the extinction of *El Calpense* would have been that from the late sixties it began to lose its natural constituency, that is, its readership among the older, Spanish-speaking, Gibraltarians, who were also the last large segment of the

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<sup>66</sup> Interview with JSe, January, 2008. DS regards his father’s contribution as ‘first civilian editor’ as symbolising the changes that were taking place at the time, when the myth of ‘1704 democracy’ was being ‘deconstructed’ and the gradual disappearance of the MOD completely altered the basis of the economy. Interview with DS, January 2008. (DS may have meant that that part of the perception of history that equated the conquest of Gibraltar with the arrival of democracy has been thoroughly revised. Cf. interview, p. 367.)

population to prefer reading in Spanish. Significantly, this part of the population had not been directly affected by the post-war education system.<sup>67</sup>

AM emphasises that the *Chronicle* was ‘in military hands for many, many years’, and limited in its coverage of ‘the social side of Gibraltar’. She gives a strong example of this: the Agrupación Calpense, a performing company founded in 1923 which over the years produced plays, zarzuelas and other musical entertainment for an enthusiastic following and to a high amateur standard, was generally ignored by the *Chronicle*:

A lot of these things weren’t reported because they were local news, but they would have been reported in *El Calpense* ... in *El Anunciador*, the *Gibraltar Post*.<sup>68</sup>

She too dates the time when the *Chronicle* began to take on local and community news to the period of JSe’s editorship, when it became a wholly local newspaper, and this was well after the war. She attributes the decline of Spanish-language newspapers in Gibraltar to education through the medium of English. This became inevitable in the language shift that this thesis has explored so far: Spanish was relegated to the status of a foreign language in the school curriculum and the young (and, by this stage, the not-so-young) had no firmly rooted tradition of using it as a reading or written language. Here was a feature of Gibraltar’s bilingualism which showed loss rather than gain.

## 7. OTHER SPHERES OF LANGUAGE USE, 1944 – MID-SIXTIES

### (a) English / Spanish across the Generations

Children of the wartime and post-war-educated generation therefore found themselves in a situation where they would speak, and be spoken to, in English at school and then go home, in the majority of cases, to Spanish-speaking adults. This pattern would continue, by and large, until at least the mid-1960s, when the first generation of English-language-taught children became parents themselves; even so, Spanish would

<sup>67</sup> See, for instance, comments from my older informants in interview section, pp. 302-447.

<sup>68</sup> Interview with AM, January 2008.

still be the chief language of the home for many.<sup>69</sup> However, there was now increasing scope and reason for the use of English. The phenomenon of code-switching became more common with the enrichment of people's English vocabulary, and while this may have had, and still has, its critics it undoubtedly helped to consolidate bilingualism. Moreover, dissociative tendencies towards Spain were to grow as a result of the border restrictions from at least the mid-60s. Allied to this was a growing awareness of Gibraltarian identity. All these factors, political, sociological, and educational, resulted in the average Gibraltarian of say 1965 being linguistically very differently equipped from that of 1935 or even 1945. These issues will be explored in the next two chapters. Meanwhile data is available for boys' examination results within this period.<sup>70</sup> English language results are not yet given separately; and girls' results only become accessible later.

#### (b) English / Spanish across the Sexes

It has already become clear in this study that Gibraltarian males had traditionally been more proficient than females in English for many years. This was partly because of work requirements: they were more likely to need the language to obtain jobs, and for communicating with employers in the forces or colonial government, monolingual almost without exception. Their education may also have marginally prepared them for this more than in the case of women. Many of the women, of course, were Spanish and had married Gibraltarian men.

To a considerable extent, this dichotomy operated rather less during and after the Second World War. Firstly, many Gibraltarian women (particularly young ones) had

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Sonia Ellul, *A Case Study in Bilingualism* (Cambridge: Huntington Publishers Ltd, 1978), pp. 20-23, for the situation in Malta. This, and research by other writers, will be discussed further in Chapter VI, below.

<sup>70</sup> An extract from a 1959 Government Report states that 'only' 20 out of 46 candidates for GCE English language in government schools were successful; there is 'room for improvement ... in the teaching of English' (A. Traverso's research file, Gibraltar Government Archives). A yearly 'Christian Brothers Educational Record', apparently written by Bro. Ryan (JVR), in the same file provides details of overall 'O' level passes in the Grammar School in the 50s and 60s; for instance, in 1955 17 boys obtained passes [sic]; in 1956, 29 boys got an average of 5.8 subjects; in 1957, 45 boys passed 171 subjects; in 1959, 17 boys gained 63 'O' level passes. In 1966 30 candidates obtained an average of over 6 passes each. Uneven as this documentation is, it at least provides information not available for the girls' equivalent. Elsewhere, Department of Education Annual reports for 1946-1948 refer to 'high' School Certificate pass rates in maintained schools; later, practically 95% of Grammar School candidates have passed at least 5 'O' levels (Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1954, p. 13, Gibraltar Government Archives). See Chapter V for results in the 70s and 80s.

obtained jobs in London and elsewhere during the Evacuation, and of course many had needed to speak the language in the workplace, shops and other places. I have examined this in a previous chapter. Then there was the post-war education system. As has been seen, many women who had not attended the Loreto nuns' convent school, receiving high-quality English-type schooling and qualifications there in the period before the war, would have largely been taught with Spanish used at least sometimes as an auxiliary teaching language. This was because Spanish was perceived as the language they would use at home; that was where they were expected to exercise their vocation, and their education fitted them for it.<sup>71</sup> But, taking all things into account, it is remarkable how quickly women accomplished their part of the language shift. In fact, it is instructive to compare examination results in 'O' level English language between the boys' and girls' schools for a later period, when Department of Education records become available.<sup>72</sup> This is but one example of the dramatic effects of post-war language policies in Gibraltar.

### (c) English / Spanish at Work and Leisure

Kellermann and others have explored the factors determining the use of Spanish and English at home and work (note too Stewart for a colonial-nuanced analysis in a later chapter of this thesis).<sup>73</sup> In the 1950s and 60s there were still many working people of middle age who had received their schooling in the twenties and thirties and, although those in the higher positions were likely to have had private schooling with the Christian Brothers, many would have had an education in which Spanish may have been employed to some extent. In short, many of these working men (we are talking mainly about men, because of the gender-determined working / domestic dichotomy of the time) would feel much more comfortable in Spanish, at work and play.<sup>74</sup> Their younger colleagues, however, particularly those in clerical positions in the government civil service, would increasingly be expected to hold 'O' levels in

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<sup>71</sup> DP, interviewed in April 2009, referring to the period before the post-war reforms were fully implemented, said: 'some [girls] didn't get quite the same level of intensity in English grammar because they had been to the other schools, which were mostly run by teachers who were Gibraltarian, and at the beginning they were not trained'.

<sup>72</sup> See below, pp. 209-210.

<sup>73</sup> Cf Kellermann, *A New New English*, Chapter 4, 'The Sociolinguistics of Gibraltar', and also theses by Holmes (pp. 55-56) and Martens (pp. 226-230); also Chapter VI below.

<sup>74</sup> In the next chapter, I shall examine JSe's interview comments on this issue in the sixties and beyond.



English and other subjects: other employers would in time share this expectation. Much of their cultural experience would be anglicised; their speech, while not yet predominantly English, would show the features of a diglossic language situation where different languages are accorded different status and functions. Meanwhile, pupils of the technical and secondary modern schools would generally cling to Spanish as a first language longer – class division played a part here too, because they represented a more working-class tranche of the population.<sup>75</sup>

It is significant too that the only cinema that mostly offered Spanish-language films (in the 40s and up to the early fifties, when the supply of these appears to have dried up) attracted older, often predominantly female audiences. Whether this was partly because of the mellifluous tunes of Mexican films or the sentimental plots of many of the escapist Spanish and Argentinian films of the Franco and Perón era - forerunners of today's *telenovelas* – it is not easy to determine at this distance; but the main reason was surely language. And it is certain that the young flocked to see English-language films, just as they read British comics, with their considerable cultural impact on impressionable minds. It is difficult to quantify this tendency, just as it is difficult to calculate the amount of reading that took place among the young. In the absence of statistics we must go by the availability and apparent popularity of books and other reading material.<sup>76</sup>

Between 1946 and 1948 the British Council at the Calpe Institute published the *Calpe* magazine, a literary journal of a high standard. However, we cannot underestimate the continuing, if slowly diminishing, influence of Spanish cultural forms in performance arts in Gibraltar in this period. Morello interviewed for his book many writers, actors and producers who also flourished in the post-war period.<sup>77</sup> The Spanish-language

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<sup>75</sup> Interviews with CR (January 2008) and TA (April 2009) both illustrate experience of how fluency in English largely went together with status of occupation.

<sup>76</sup> The Calpe Institute, which to some extent made up for about a decade and a half for the lack of a public borrowing library, held a collection of over 5,000 books and was well used by 'a very large number of schoolchildren'. In 1958 the Government of Gibraltar assumed responsibility for the Calpe Institute from the British Council. *Colonial Annual Report: Gibraltar* (HMSO: 1959), pp. 56–57. 'A well stocked library in which there is a children's section', was the comment on the Calpe Institute Library in the report on the site proposal for the new Mackintosh Hall presented by Mr L.F. Gibbon, Ministry of Education, (p. 2, par. 6). A copy of the report was kindly made available to me by Mrs Lydia Griffiths, courtesy of the John Mackintosh Trust.

<sup>77</sup> See Morello for a detailed examination of Gibraltar's singers and performers in this period. In the next two paragraphs page references to his book are given in the main text.

element in their work was clearly very strong. For instance, the annual ‘Fiesta en el Aire’ talent contest, which started in 1950, was a showpiece for many performers. Francis Chipolina, as an example, states:

After the war I took part in many zarzuelas ... I participated in a great number of plays and comedies ... probably my best performance was in *El Beso*, which is a hilarious parody (p. 36).

Also showing the Spanish cultural influence were visits by Spanish performers to the Theatre Royal – even when relations with the Spanish Government were entering their slow decline. For instance, the well-known singer Lolita Sevilla performed there in 1960. And we are told by his son (pp. 46–51) that the late Nemesio Mosquera performed mostly in comedies as well as quite a number of zarzuelas and sainetes (comedy sketches), all of them in the Spanish language. He also produced and directed several zarzuelas and produced Spanish-language comedies. As a 12-year-old, Anita Gaetto appeared in *La Alsaciana* (pp. 56–59) with a junior group, the Grupo Infantil. Rafael Torrilla had written ‘about a thousand poems in all. Up till two years ago [interview with Morello was in 1998] they were all written in Spanish’ (p. 70). In that period, groups like the Romanceros (although they occasionally sang in English), and writers like the prolific Luis Bruzon (pp. 122–125) also worked principally in Spanish.

## 8. SPANISH LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE; CONTACT WITH SPAIN AND RELATIONSHIPS

Some important features contributed to Spanish language maintenance at a time when local educational, administrative and political forces did not encourage it. The advent of Spanish TV in the early 60s must have been significant in this respect, given the power of the new medium. The fact that many Gibraltarian men married Spanish wives, as had happened in different periods of Gibraltar’s history, was obviously also very important in the retention of Spanish in many homes: this aspect has been well recorded.<sup>78</sup> Then there was the everyday contact with Spanish workers coming in daily. There were 11,000 Spaniards working in Gibraltar in 1947, out of 18,700 registered workers; by 1950, this number had risen to 13,900; by the following year to

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<sup>78</sup> See above, pp. 13-14.

14,080.<sup>79</sup> After 1954, when new passes were withheld by Franco's government following the Queen's visit to Gibraltar, numbers gradually declined up until the border closure. However, even in 1956 there were 12,000 Spanish workers out of a workforce of just above 18,000.<sup>80</sup> Another potent source of language maintenance was the fact that Gibraltarians, almost without exception, used the Spanish hinterland for recreation and leisure. This situation existed until 1963-64, when the issue of Gibraltar came up in the UN.

Soon after repatriation, car ownership in Gibraltar was high and it increased through the late 40s, 50s and early 60s. 1,924 private cars were registered in 1950-51; 2,239 in 1952-53; by 1960 there were 4,061.<sup>81</sup> This in a population of barely 25,000. This trend was partly explained by the fact that, with housing that was almost totally tenant-occupied, a car was the main source of expenditure for a family and its chief consumer ambition. In addition the British export drive in manufactured goods meant that cars sold readily abroad, and this included the sterling area. There was little taxation on motor vehicles in Gibraltar and petrol was cheap.<sup>82</sup> Many British visitors, having experienced austerity and the great difficulty in buying new cars in U.K. throughout the forties and early fifties, were astonished at the galaxy of the latest gleaming British-made vehicles (and eventually continental models too) queuing at the frontier gates every weekend waiting to enter Spain. This would mean a break from life in the crowded colony, for Gibraltarian families could picnic, exercise and enjoy the attractive countryside in the Campo area. The cultural force of this cross-border contact in those years cannot be understated. Clearly this, and also longer holidays which families would take in places like Málaga and Seville, played a big part in the continuing exposure to Spanish language and culture among Gibraltarians in those years.

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<sup>79</sup> *Colonial Annual Reports: Gibraltar* (HMSO) for 1947 (p. 3); 1950 (p. 3); 1950-51 (p. 10).

<sup>80</sup> Roy Clinton, 'The Impact of Trade Unionism on the Economy and Politics of Gibraltar in the 1970s and 1980s', *GHJ*, 15 (2008), 101-122 (figure 2, p. 103).

<sup>81</sup> *Colonial Annual Reports: Gibraltar* (HMSO) for 1950-51 (p. 43); 1952-53 (p. 42); 1960 (p. 66).

<sup>82</sup> In 1959 the total revenue from licences, which would have included car licences, was £14,452. *Annual Report, 1960*, p. 21.

Education and the increasing anglicisation of Gibraltar, particularly affecting the younger generation, were creating a new cultural pattern. Reading habits, films, broadcasting and newspapers all increasingly embodied the new power of English. By the early to mid-sixties Gibraltar had settled into a tranquil, more satisfied lifestyle, in which, as explored in this chapter, some important political advancement and democratic participation had been gained, and also a considerable degree of prosperity. Progress had undoubtedly been made since the pre-war period: there was full employment and wealth from trade and from the maintenance of defence spending. Social security provisions for Gibraltarians and employment rights, from starting at a low or non-existent level after the war, were slowly improving, thanks in large measure to the AACR's efforts, although much remained to be done in these areas in the 1970s and beyond.<sup>83</sup>

From 1954, following the Queen's visit, problems with Spain had been foreseen, but perhaps not enough to ripple the calm waters of Gibraltar's life for a few more years.

And then, from 1963-4, with the renewed Spanish demands at the United Nations, things changed radically. We can now see clearly why the siege conditions for the two decades after the mid-60s had such a profound effect on all aspects of life in Gibraltar, its economics and politics to begin with, and then on the evolution of its social, cultural and linguistic identity. This is the basis of my next chapter.

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<sup>83</sup> See, for example, description of social security and social welfare provision, *Annual Report, 1960*, pp. 36-52.

## CHAPTER V. SPANISH RESTRICTIONS; THE BORDER CLOSURE; GIBRALTAR'S FIFTEENTH SIEGE

### 1. BACKGROUND

Spain has never relinquished its claim to sovereignty over Gibraltar. The Spanish government objected to the creation of the Legislative Council and later constitutional changes on the grounds that the Treaty of Utrecht had not provided for self-determination for the civilian population. It had also reacted unfavourably to the Queen's visit in 1954, imposing restrictions and new controls. When the issue of Gibraltar came before the UN Decolonisation Committee in 1963 Spain, supported in its stance by the strong anti-colonial lobby in the UN, created increasing difficulties of access across the frontier. These restrictions grew inexorably, culminating in closure in 1969. For two decades, therefore, from the mid-sixties to the mid-eighties, Gibraltar was isolated from Spain. This had a considerable effect on the attitude of Gibraltarians towards their neighbours and indeed to Britain. In this period, there was an increasing loyalty to Britain and a growing integrative attitude to things British, not least the English language, with a corresponding dissociation from Spain and Spanish cultural influences. Together with this development (encapsulated in the well-known slogan of the time, 'British we are and British we stay') there was a definite new emphasis on the Gibraltarian identity. When the Chief Minister and his colleague addressed the crowds in 1963 on their return from putting Gibraltar's case in the UN one of the many banners displayed proclaimed, 'Gibraltar Wants Self-Determination.'<sup>1</sup> This recognition of Gibraltarians as a 'people' gathered pace from this time. Indeed, the burden of Sir Joshua Hassan's and Peter Isola's case before the Decolonisation Committee was that the Gibraltarians were not, as claimed by Spain, a 'prefabricated population', but that they had developed a unique homogeneity over two and a half centuries; they were entitled to self-determination and wished to continue their connection with Britain in the exercise of this right. In this chapter I

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<sup>1</sup> Frontispiece photograph, *Colonial Annual Report: Gibraltar* (HMSO: 1963).

explore the background to these events and the effect of the years 1963 to 1985 on the identity and language in Gibraltar.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. SOME EFFECTS OF THE FRONTIER CLOSURE

The closed frontier revolutionised many aspects of Gibraltarian society and life and had far-reaching effects on identity and language.

The different Spanish restrictions were meant to bring about the collapse of Gibraltar. In actual fact they achieved a transformation in many respects. The scale of this transformation and its implications were in their way no less than that which followed the Second World War. In the first place, as already mentioned, important constitutional changes occurred in 1964 and 1969, easing the passage from colonial status to an internally self-governing small territory.

Moreover, the economy did not collapse as a result of the restrictions. First, there was the importation of labour from Morocco (initially housed in former services barracks). Then, amounting almost to a social revolution, there was a greater take-up of work by women. Two research studies, appearing at the beginning and the end of the period of border restrictions being examined in this chapter, show the development of this phenomenon. Holmes's general study is a very early example of non-military writing about Gibraltar by an outsider, and thus deserves our attention. He partly attributes the 'low level' of economic activity in Gibraltar by British standards to local women's 'disinclination to work'. (Holmes notes that previously, only 50 % of unmarried women, 'potentially available for employment,' were actually at work.<sup>3</sup> There had already been a 20% increase in female employment since 1960, possibly reflecting

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<sup>2</sup> Then and subsequently much discussion centred on interpretations of UN Resolution 1514 (XV), which upheld the territorial integrity of a country but also the right of dependent peoples to freely determine their political status. Stalemate followed, with the UN urging discussions between the two countries for a 'negotiated solution', 'bearing in mind the interests [sic] of the population'. Among the results of the Spanish pressures, Jackson records that 'traffic across the frontier fell from 8,691 vehicles per month in January 1964 to 873 in January 1965'. The historic outcome of the Referendum of 10 September 1967 was that 12,138 voted to retain the link with Britain, whilst 44 preferred the Spanish option. See Jackson, pp. 299–303, 307–308, 310; Jackson and Cantos, p. 101; also the speech of Castiella, Spanish Foreign Minister, before a plenary session of the Cortes, *Spanish Red Book on Gibraltar*, English translation (Madrid: Spanish Government publication, 1965); *Gibraltar Chronicle*, 25 September 1963, pp. 1–2; 21 October, 1964, p. 2; 30 August 1967, p. 2; 9 September 1967, p.1; 6 October 1967, pp. 1, 4; and *El Calpense*, 3 October 1964, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Holmes, pp. 35, 52.

social patterns developing before the siege.) However, comparing this situation with that applying twenty years later, at the time of the reopening of the border in 1985, we find great changes. Martens in her thesis of 1986 writes of the ‘radical change’ in attitude to work represented by the entry of Gibraltarian women into employment after the withdrawal of Spanish labour. Under the Equal Pay Ordinance of 1975 Gibraltarian women had a new status. (It is significant, however, that Martens later points out in her discussion of gender issues in Gibraltar that, except for teaching and nursing, ‘Gibraltarian women were concentrated in the least skilled and / or worst paid jobs which are not filled by Moroccan migrant women and men, or UK British women’.)<sup>4</sup> This increase in female employment led to what became for the first time virtually a double-household-wage labour market, with all its own implications.

Another factor limiting the damage caused by closure was the presence of many workers from UK, both on a waged and volunteer basis: this too helped to ensure that Gibraltar would not be brought to its knees. The local workforce, 6,000 strong in 1956, grew to 9,000 after the withdrawal of Spanish labour in 1969, and was 10,759 by 1971.<sup>5</sup> It was not long before the standard of living in Gibraltar reflected the benefits of a greater financial turnover – there was more money to earn and spend, even though prices inevitably went up. This led to industrial unrest in the seventies but also eventually to wage parity with Britain in the official and industrial sectors.<sup>6</sup>

Although Gibraltarians constantly urged Britain to take a firmer line with Spain, there was no doubt about the reality of the UK Government’s commitment to a ‘support and sustain’ policy, manifested in considerable financial aid in the form of successive development grants, for instance, £25.6 million between 1970 and 1981.<sup>7</sup> These contributed to programmes for new housing projects and the now-growing tourist economy. British guarantees to adhere to the preamble to the 1969 constitution

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<sup>4</sup> Martens, pp. 64-66 and p. 266. DP, speaking about her experience in publishing her own book, commented that ‘attitudes still hold, anything that’s written by a woman is ... viewed as being second rate’. She believes that ‘it’s partly the men who do it ... but it’s also partly the women who collude’. Interview, April 2009.

<sup>5</sup> Clinton, *GHJ*, 15 (2008), pp. 102–103.

<sup>6</sup> Three articles in *GHJ*, 15 (2008), are particularly relevant: Jose Netto, ‘El Sindicalismo Gibraltareño’, 31–45 (pp. 38–43); also Dr Bernard Linares, ‘The Young Christian Workers and the Labour Movement in Gibraltar’, 61–77; and Joe Bossano, ‘The Parity Question: a Socio-Political Evaluation’, 79–99.

<sup>7</sup> Jackson, pp. 317–8, 321.

(whereby the people would not pass under the sovereignty of another state against their wishes) and to respect the result of the 1967 referendum also encouraged Gibraltarians. Frequent visits by parliamentarians, including the Prime Minister Harold Wilson and other ministers, as well as leaders of the major parties and backbench MPs, were helpful in keeping up morale.<sup>8</sup>

But for the first time in many years – even during the war it had been open to Gibraltarians – the frontier with Spain was totally closed *sine die*.<sup>9</sup> Day-to-day life was bound to be different now. Siege conditions, which previous generations in Gibraltar had experienced in wars, now returned in what was supposedly peacetime. With the arrival of those Gibraltarians who had formerly lived in Spain, the Rock was more overcrowded than ever. A sense of claustrophobia was inevitable. When possible, people now took their holidays in Britain and Morocco (the latter becoming a source not just of labour but also of the types of fresh produce previously supplied by Spain). The fortress mentality produced in these circumstances added to the sense of solidarity and neighbourliness but, as was to be expected, it also encouraged unfavourable feelings towards Spain, or at least towards the Spanish Government.<sup>10</sup>

From the point of view of this study, the main effects of the closure of the border were the development of an enhanced sense of identity, greater adherence to Britain, the consolidation of the English language, and a wide separation from Spain. As Blinkhorn writes:

[The Spanish claim] injected a hitherto largely absent *anti* - Spanish note into Gibraltarians' sense of themselves.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Harold Wilson visited in late 1965. The British Government's 'support and sustain' policy was warmly welcomed, although Gibraltarians would have sometimes liked a more vigorous response to the blockade. The support from MPs (and British trade unionists and the British press) was greatly appreciated.

<sup>9</sup> It was closed very briefly on a number of occasions early in the Spanish Civil War. Stockey, pp. 113-114, 123. (The war had begun with Franco's insurgent Army of Africa being ferried and airlifted over the Strait to southern Andalusia. Events in La Línea on 18 July 1936 are still vividly remembered by witnesses from Gibraltar. Rodriguez, p. 16.)

<sup>10</sup> As an illustration of this strong feeling, 'Licence holder' urges that Radio Gibraltar should drop Spanish ('at present 8 hours a day') in a letter to the *Gibraltar Chronicle* of 27 September 1963, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Blinkhorn, pp. 56-57; also p. 47.



As part of this identity, a difficulty in ‘acknowledging the extent of Spanish culture’ was certainly apparent – Stewart, writing in 1967, commented on his Gibraltarian colleagues’ embarrassment at being seen by him at bullfights in the neighbouring town.<sup>12</sup> However, asserting an identity must naturally involve a selection of loyalties and roles. Many minorities, in choosing assimilation into a larger group, will discard certain attitudes, habits, inclinations, and consciously adopt those of that larger group. The Gibraltarian reluctance to acknowledge Spanish cultural links fully is largely due to a wish to emphasise solidarity with Britain, and this remains the trend in Gibraltarian society.

This great pro-British sentiment that flourished in Gibraltar in the succeeding stages of the Spanish border restrictions and closure was evidenced by a deep desire for closer links with Britain. An illustration of this was the rise of the Integration with Britain Movement (and then Party) from 1965.<sup>13</sup> However, Gibraltarian attitudes became rather tested when the UK Government, for all its support of the Gibraltarians economically and internationally in the dispute with Spain, became willing to hold talks under duress in May 1966. Over the next few years, before and after the death of Franco, Britain and Spain held major talks about Gibraltar, at Strasbourg, Paris, Lisbon and Brussels, and this resulted in a number of concessions from Britain. At Lisbon in 1980 Britain indicated for the first time a willingness to discuss sovereignty.

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In these years, an awareness of Gibraltarian ‘nationality’ or political identity undoubtedly developed, for the coming of democracy in Spain did little to ease the border problem. There was a strengthening of the feeling that the Gibraltarians were ‘a people’, as described by the Gibraltar petitioners in the United Nations. Thus, Garcia writes:

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<sup>12</sup> Stewart, p. 193.

<sup>13</sup> Under Major (later Sir) Robert J. Peliza (1920–2011), Chief Minister 1969–1972, then leader of the Opposition and Speaker of the House of Assembly.

<sup>14</sup> Garcia, *Gibraltar: The Making of a People*, p. 141.

There can be little doubt that the whole United Nations episode served to weld the Gibraltarians together as a people. This solidarity had been apparent during and after the wartime evacuation of civilians, and twenty years later it came to the surface once more.<sup>15</sup>

The period from the early Spanish border restrictions in the mid-fifties to the reopening in 1985 is regarded by Blinkhorn as the second specific episode in Gibraltar's 'collective identity-formation'.<sup>16</sup> The years immediately following this period, when the Lisbon / Brussels process was implemented with the reopening of the border, and Spain joined the European Union, constitute Blinkhorn's third episode (an 'official British ambivalence to Gibraltar's future'). This, he claims, introduced a 'new layer', a mistrust and fear of 'betrayal and sell-out' being added to the 'British' ingredient of identity; a process of 'enhanced "Gibraltarian consciousness"'.<sup>17</sup> He is right that this new consciousness was partly a product of how elected politicians and parties reacted to new developments in Anglo-Spanish relations and the run-down of military expenditure in Gibraltar. It was also very largely due to the output of what might be called the first generation of Gibraltarian historians, of other writers and of researchers into Gibraltar's heritage – most of these being products of the post-war educational system. They all contributed to what Blinkhorn calls a 'widely internalized' communal sense of Gibraltarian identity.<sup>18</sup>

Writing in 1966, Holmes had recognised the creation of a distinct regional identity and an 'atypical' British colony, presciently seeing the time coming for a 'political decision as to the future'.<sup>19</sup> Martens, twenty years later and shortly after the frontier reopening, but just before Gibraltarian historians emerged to seriously examine their people's history, found a 'group' or 'a people' in the process of constructing an ethno-nationalist identity.<sup>20</sup> Her analysis is not necessarily congenial to a Gibraltarian point

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<sup>15</sup> Garcia, *ibid*, p. 133.

<sup>16</sup> It will be recalled that the war, Evacuation, repatriation and 'politicization' from 1940–45 constituted the first: Blinkhorn, p. 57. But see also references to Errico and to Moyer, p. 231 below.

<sup>17</sup> Blinkhorn, p. 59.

<sup>18</sup> Events outside the period of this thesis, such as the Blair government's offer to Spain of joint sovereignty in 2002, maintained this consciousness of identity.

<sup>19</sup> Holmes, p. iv.

<sup>20</sup> Martens herself comments on the paucity of writing by Gibraltarians (with the exception of some Jewish historical work) and on the lack of non-military and colonial literature about Gibraltar. She believes Preston records 'for the first time in history the insurgence [sic] of the Gibraltarian population' (p. 38). But this situation changed from the late 1980s, after Martens' research, with the publication of work by Gibraltarian historians such as Finlayson. His *The Fortress Came First* (1990), already cited in this thesis, was the seminal work in this movement.

of view. She states that she found it difficult to define a Gibraltarian culture *per se*, noting the contrast between the dominant pro-British ‘political discourse’ in Gibraltar and the ‘popular discourse’ of Gibraltarian identity. In some frank passages, possibly going against received wisdom of the time, Martens examines what she calls the anti-British attitudes of some Gibraltarians. Their concern for defining identity, which she believes emerged after the closure of the border, acquired a stronger impetus with the Hattersley memorandum.<sup>21</sup> Certainly she sees the younger generation of the time as ‘more autonomist’, although she says that Gibraltarians generally ‘cannot acknowledge the extent of Spanish culture as a dimension of their identity’. In areas of ‘informal social practice’, as with language, they ‘subvert the dominance of English / British discourse’.<sup>22</sup>

Martens may not have fully grasped the subtleties and ambiguities of Gibraltarian biculturalism and the particular nuances of disagreement with Britain within the context of a generally close relationship – family disagreement but solidarity presented to the outside world, as it were. It was inevitable that there would sometimes be friction between Gibraltarians and the colonial establishment. We have seen how the struggle for advancing civil rights in the years after the war had been arduous. It was only within this siege period that parity of wages was achieved between Gibraltarians and expatriates for equal work. And of course there was frustration with Britain because of the closure of the naval dockyard and defence cuts generally.<sup>23</sup> The awareness that a disproportionate amount of the best land on the overcrowded peninsula was at the time still not under Gibraltarian civilian control was bound to rankle. Moreover, the failure of successive UK governments – however supportive – to take a strong, proactive policy against Spain in response to its pressures on Gibraltar sorely tested the patience of its inhabitants. Added to these feelings would be the residual unease experienced by colonial subjects everywhere. It should come as no surprise that a greater awareness of identity developed in these

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<sup>21</sup> Roy Hattersley, Foreign Secretary in the Labour Government, had authoritatively stated in a visit to Gibraltar in 1975 that integration with Britain was not an option and ruled out all constitutional advance to self-determination. In this way he crushed the Integration Party. Its successor performed poorly in the 1980 general elections and was soon dissolved. Cf. Garcia, *Gibraltar: The Making of a People*, p. 206.

<sup>22</sup> Martens, p. 259. See below, pp. 191-192, 198-200. But my thesis tries to make clear that Spanish culture is not unacknowledged in Gibraltar. Cf., for example, references to Morello later in this chapter.

<sup>23</sup> See, for instance, report on discussions about the dockyard closure, *Gibraltar Chronicle*, 6 January 1983, p. 1.

years, when many peoples in the world were undergoing a similar process in determining their nationhood, and when decolonisation and the pursuit of self-determination were major universal trends. In these respects the younger generation in particular would become 'more autonomist' in a colony where the Governor still held important reserve powers, and where some rights, such as the right to vote in European elections, had not yet been won.

All these factors notwithstanding, the ultimate political loyalty of the Gibraltarians was never in question.<sup>24</sup> For instance, the separatist, pro-independence candidates fared very badly in the 1980 general elections, and were doomed to rapid oblivion. Whatever frictions existed with the UK vanished in times of crisis. Gibraltarian support for Britain was fervent at the time of the Falklands War in 1982, partly out of a sense of parallelism - Spain stridently supported Argentina's occupation of the islands - but importantly because here was the fortress playing its part as so often before for the mother country.<sup>25</sup>

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We should consider how Gibraltar's tradition of tolerance and harmony stood up to the stresses of the fifteenth siege.

Holmes describes the Catholic Church's dominance as the most 'unBritish' aspect of Gibraltar, because it had social effects which did not conform to a traditional British pattern, but he declares that it could thrive without interference.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Constantine takes a different view of Gibraltar's loyalty, seeing the welcome accorded to members of the royal family in Gibraltar as 'a protective device' to stiffen the resolve of the British Government against Spanish claims: 'Britishness and expressions of loyalty to the crown have been ... mechanisms by which interest groups in Gibraltar had secured their membership of and status in a constructed and ethnically non-British community': Constantine, 'Monarchy and Constructing Identity', p. 40. I remember being as a young boy among the assembled welcoming schoolchildren, both at the opening of LegCo in 1950 by the Duke of Edinburgh and for the Queen's visit in 1954. The loyalty, joy and what is now called the 'feel good factor' were intense and universal on both occasions.

<sup>25</sup> The liner SS *Uganda* and HMS *Hecla* were converted into hospital ships in the dockyard rapidly and at very short notice, with Gibraltarian personnel working round the clock (*Gibraltar Chronicle*, 16 June 1982, p. 1). Much money was raised for the Task Force by public subscription (*Gibraltar Chronicle*, 7 June and 12 June 1982, both on p. 1).

<sup>26</sup> Holmes, p. 60.

Twenty years later, Martens challenges some established notions in her examination of the Church. She sees much deeper fissures in the religious base, referring to the dominant Catholic influence in education (exemplified in the belief in 1967–68 that ‘all the best teaching and administrative posts in education were going to “devout” Catholics’.<sup>27</sup>) Although the 1974 Education Ordinance prevents the Church from having legal control over the secular aspect of schools, ‘the Catholic Church is the only denomination given a say in the composition of the Education Council’. She regards the Ordinance as ‘another case of institutionalised discrimination’, observing an ‘undercurrent of misconceptions’ towards religious minorities (as she does elsewhere towards ethnic minorities).<sup>28</sup>

It should be pointed out, however, that Anglican, Jewish and, in later years, children of Moroccan parents were well integrated in schools.<sup>29</sup> In general terms, religious tolerance continued to be a distinct feature of life in Gibraltar. BC did show concern in his interview that Catholic teachers were in danger of ‘failing in their commitment’, and ‘not teaching the Catholic religion’:

Was it done because of the embarrassment that they didn’t want to say, ‘Jews, go to the library to see the senior Rabbi; Anglicans, go to etc. ...?’

He also opposed the proposal to teach an ‘across-the-board type of Christian religion which helps nobody’. However, he strongly praised the previous system of openly catering for religious instruction for all denominations, without fear of appearing to discriminate, by providing different lessons in separate places for the different faiths.<sup>30</sup>

Neighbourliness between followers of different religions is often regarded as central to the Gibraltarian identity, and has been commented on by many observers.<sup>31</sup> For instance, Archer writes:

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<sup>27</sup> Martens, p. 197.

<sup>28</sup> Martens, p. 205.

<sup>29</sup> By 2008, when Levey published his research, he was able to include the Jewish, Moroccan and Indian ethnic minorities in his survey. See Levey, Appendix II, pp. 276–278 below.

<sup>30</sup> Referring to ‘the practice we had in the Grammar School’ (i.e. say from 1946 to 1972), he adds, ‘We had a wonderful system which created the society we now have,’ and he warns against stifling ‘the wonderful relationships that exist between different religions’. Interview with BC, April 2009.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. pp. 25–26 above.

the various religions have 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 shown elsewhere.<sup>32</sup>

While some aspects of Martens' deconstruction are no doubt accurate, and there is a slight tendency on the part of some writers to glorify the degree of tolerance and amity between religions, ethnic groups and social classes in Gibraltar, there is still a remarkable measure of these by universal standards today.<sup>33</sup> One reason for this tradition is the very heterogeneous nature of Gibraltar's population, who have had to live together in a small area at times of peace, war and siege in a spirit of co-operation. The fact that the ancestors of many of today's Gibraltarians were fleeing persecution and hardship from diverse Mediterranean lands, such as nineteenth century Genoa, or the Spain of the Civil War, must have strengthened this attitude.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, the siege conditions which have been such an important feature of Gibraltar's history, right up to the fifteenth siege following Franco's closure of the border, have created a society that closes ranks when faced by external threat.

We can conclude, then, that by 1985 a new sense of Gibraltarian identity was emerging. It was still very solidly British, but now nuanced by a recognition that the economic underpinning provided by Britain's armed forces and the naval dockyard was a thing of the past; and that Britain's support for the Gibraltarians against Spanish claims, though still real, was not as vigorous as they would like.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Archer, p. 4. But he does say later that occasionally the Jewish community withdrew into itself (e.g. in the late 1990s) and that the separate schools that it set up then are 'likely to be divisive'. Archer, p. 98. He sees a sense of British 'fairness' in the dealings of the different religious groups. Archer, p. 106.

<sup>33</sup> Some of the following reasons for the prevailing tolerance, not only religious, were raised by BC and also by BL, in the interviews in April 2009.

<sup>34</sup> Stockey details how Gibraltarians gave shelter to many Spanish Civil War refugees. Official Government policy was sympathetic to the Nationalists, and the authorities were embarrassed by the presence in Gibraltar of many republicans, but – also conscious of the feeling of Gibraltarians and the UK Government and unions – none of these were returned against their will to the Nationalist zone. See Stockey, pp. 101-2, 114-120. For Gibraltar's help and shelter to Spanish victims of civil conflict (of all political persuasions) also see *El Anunciador*, 18 March 1936, 21 July 1936. Cf. pp 42-43 above.

<sup>35</sup> 'There had been little opposition locally to the military presence in Gibraltar *per se*' (RaB). This would be because of Gibraltar's history and the pro-British feelings of Gibraltarians – and traditional concerns about Spanish intentions. But, RaB points out, there had been resentment 'that much precious land and accommodation [had been] taken up by the military'. In the event, he suggests, the rundown of the services was accepted; people did not feel less secure, and when the resident battalion was withdrawn, the Gibraltar Regiment took over its duties. RaB, personal communication, April 2010.

### 3. DISSOCIATION AND CLOSENESS: ISSUES OF LANGUAGE AND POLITICS IN THE FIFTEENTH SIEGE

#### (a) Changes in Language Behaviour

The sense of dissociation from Spain, the developing closeness with Britain in response to the new developments, and the growing political awareness of the Gibraltarians were important features of the siege period. And so was the new prominence acquired by the English language.

The first feature has already been touched on. It was made explicit in the 1967 referendum and in the loss of physical contact with the neighbouring country. This political and geographical distancing was bound to have a huge effect on people's approach to such things as cultural preferences, social habits, even food and lifestyle. Whereas Spanish cultural influences had still been strong with many adults in the two decades following the war, they now diminished rapidly. This was partly because the post-war educated generation, with its more anglicised values, was becoming ascendant, but more because of the degree of dissociation from things Spanish engendered by the border closure, propaganda and threats. And of course there was a growing affiliation with Britain as protector, supporter and friend. This expressed itself in a cultural Britishness that was probably stronger than ever in the history of Gibraltar. Oda-Ángel writes:

El cierre de la verja ... intensificó la relación de los gibraltareños con el Reino Unido y acrecentó, de la misma manera, la personalidad local.<sup>36</sup>

This trend was to be accompanied in the period during and after the border blockade by a growing sense of Gibraltarian nationalism.<sup>37</sup> While this never detracted from a

<sup>36</sup> Francisco Oda-Ángel, *Gibraltar: la herencia oblicua. Aproximación sociológica al contencioso* (Cádiz: Diputación de Cádiz, Servicio de Publicaciones, 1998), p. 91.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Martens, pp. 251-252, on the growth of autonomist parties and of identity awareness in the 1980 elections. By the 1984 elections, when Bossano's GSLP formed a strong opposition, 'a growing sense of Gibraltarian nationalism was attractive to the younger generation'. Jackson and Cantos, p. 257.

continuing solidarity with and dependence on Britain, it allowed much more scope for a sense of identity to develop.

So how did the use of English grow in these two decades? If we take the two theses from the beginning and end of this period we find a difference in emphasis. Holmes regards the mother tongue of Gibraltarians as ‘indisputably Spanish’ but, with English as the educational and official language, ‘the vast majority of the population are effectively bilingual’. He recognises that Spanish-born wives educated in Spain were the chief exception to this rule, and refers to the legal stipulation I have already noted that those standing as candidates for election must speak, read and write English. Spanish ‘remains dominant’ in the home but, in an early allusion to what later became known as code-switching, Holmes points out the ability of Gibraltarians to converse in sentences incorporating both languages – ‘an asset of great value’. He believes that the tendency to move towards English may be a subconscious response to political sentiments, but adding that at age 5 only 15% of children entering school are from English-speaking homes.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, in the two decades I am now examining there was already unease among some teachers that Spanish was treated as a foreign language for educational purposes, and some debate about English language immersion in the first year of primary school.<sup>39</sup> However, adults continued to read British newspapers from UK and local papers and books that were totally or mainly in English.<sup>40</sup> (Holmes somehow found that only 10% of comics read by children were in Spanish.) Language researchers in Gibraltar have often discovered that many interviewees express regret that their knowledge of technical Spanish, or their confidence in reading and writing in Spanish, are not what they might be.<sup>41</sup>

In noting Gibraltar’s historic language change to English, Holmes draws a comparison with West’s comments about Puerto Rican immigrants to the USA and their adoption

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Also: ‘Three contenders stood under the banner of Triay’s Party for the Autonomy of Gibraltar (PAG) ... it was the first time that candidates calling for Gibraltar’s integration with Spain contested an election on the Rock and not surprisingly none was successful.’ Garcia, *Gibraltar: The Making of a People*, p. 176.

<sup>38</sup> Holmes, pp. 55-56. Not very different from the figure 20 years later. Martens was told by a head teacher that 80-90% of children entering school had Spanish as their first language. Martens, p. 215.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Ballantine, *GJJ*, 7 (2000), 115-124.

<sup>40</sup> Daily national newspapers from London had a large readership from the end of the war, and particularly from the mid-50s with the introduction of regular direct flights.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. JSe’s comments about Gibraltarians’ difficulties with technical Spanish, p. 157 above and interview, January 2008. Also interview with HC, April 2009.



of a new language, even though they come from a large language group themselves.<sup>42</sup> Holmes rightly foresaw that factors enabling the retention of Spanish in the past (such as communication with Spain, intermarriage and contact with the Spanish workforce) would weaken as a result of the border restrictions. However, as I argue in a later chapter, this trend would have been slowed down by the advent of Spanish television from the early sixties and, later, the reopening of the border. He examines literacy trends in different censuses, observing the growing proportion of English speakers over the years.<sup>43</sup>

Martens' examination of language, mediated through the gender and political issues of Gibraltar, follows substantial stays there during the later years of the border closure. She writes that Gibraltarians are bilingual but not in a uniform sense, and the difference in their capacity for using Spanish and English affects their access to certain forms of power within the community: this is an issue which has constantly arisen in this thesis.<sup>44</sup> She too sees what has already been discussed in earlier chapters: that the early Gibraltarian participation in government was primarily 'bourgeois participation', and this in effect largely restricted political involvement to good speakers of English.<sup>45</sup> (We have seen how the ability to speak, write and read English was a vital requirement for pre-war candidature for the City Council.) In earlier elections in the 50s and 60s this latter trait would have been very marked - some candidates had obviously found more difficulty than in expressing themselves in fluent English. These included working class candidates who had received their education in the 1920s or before, for whom English was very much a second language. This disadvantage was emphasised when, for instance, the TGWU candidates in the 1959 elections were debarred from using Spanish in their radio slot because of GBC's language stipulation.<sup>46</sup> Again, the outcome of post-war politics in Gibraltar could have been very different if the choice of leader of the AACR had been an important trade unionist rather than a highly-educated and English-fluent solicitor.

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<sup>42</sup> West, in the early study of bilingualism in Gibraltar that I have already quoted, stresses the permanence of Spanish culture and language in Puerto Rico (p. 151). See p. 133 above.

<sup>43</sup> Holmes, pp. 57–59.

<sup>44</sup> Martens, p. 14.

<sup>45</sup> Martens, p. 47.

<sup>46</sup> Heidenheimer, p. 262.

(b) Gibraltarian 'Nationalism' and use of Spanish

There was, however, a small change in the period now under examination. In discussing 'Gibraltarian nationalism' and how this varied between parties at the time of the 1980 general election campaign she witnessed, Martens writes that the main parties, such as the AACR and the Democratic Party of British Gibraltar (successors to the Integration Party) made their election speeches almost exclusively in English, and wrote their election literature in English. However, the small, short lived, Partido Socialista de Gibraltar – which she describes as the most anti-British of the parties, and did not in fact contest any elections – <sup>47</sup> ran a newspaper entitled *Gibraltar Libre*, their use of Spanish being 'an outcome of their belief that the "natural" language of Gibraltarians is neither English nor proper [sic] Spanish but Gibraltarian Spanish or Yanito'.<sup>48</sup> English was regarded by the left-wing PSG as a second language and the language of colonial domination. They wanted recognition of the cultural and social significance of the Spanish language. Moreover, according to Martens, among the candidates of the new Gibraltar Socialist Labour Party – which was to become a powerful and successful force in Gibraltar politics in the next few years - the only one capable of an articulate and skilled political speech in English in 1980 was their leader, Joe Bossano:

The English [of the other candidates] was for the most part broken ... They would have been more successful in Spanish, as English is the language of political and social sophistication.<sup>49</sup>

They were working men who lacked confidence with English.

Another party seeking autonomy at this time was the PAG, or Partido Autónomo de Gibraltar. It fared badly in elections and was short-lived.<sup>50</sup> But some of the material in its mouthpiece, the weekly *Calpe News*, is of note because of its perception of the

<sup>47</sup> Personal communication from AC, former Chief Minister, AACR party leader and educationalist, April 2010.

<sup>48</sup> Martens, p. 130. *Gibraltar Libre* was 'very much left-wing and against the AACR government of the day ... the paper was as a matter of policy starved of government notices and press releases, which was very much the lifeline of local newspapers'. RaB, who was Government Press Officer at the time (personal communication, April 2010).

<sup>49</sup> Martens, p. 118.

<sup>50</sup> See footnote 37 above.

way the Gibraltarian identity was developing and its support for the use of the Spanish language and for Spanish culture.

This support must be seen against the background of its political agenda. At the time of the British Government's talks with the Spanish foreign minister in 1978 the paper urged that Sir Joshua Hassan, the Chief Minister, must get 'a clear declaration from both the Spanish and British Governments recognising the internal sovereignty of the people of Gibraltar'. A leader-type article in Spanish on the back page also defends the claim for autonomy.<sup>51</sup>

Some months later, *Calpe News* commented on the Anglo-Spanish talks being held in Paris. An opinion column sums up the problem with Spain:

This matter has a history dating back to 1704 which entered a critical and traumatic stage in the years 1963 and 1964. We have lived in crisis and in trauma ever since ... Among our leaders, there is no Moses. So chained we are likely to remain to our unchanging fate – as the last bastion of colonialism in Europe – and the last anachronistic wrangle in the age of the philosophy of a United Europe.<sup>52</sup>

This mission statement for the newspaper is also printed in English. But significantly what the paper means by 'identidad Gibraltareña' becomes clear from a 'Round and About' feature in another issue. Here, *Calpe News* moves into cultural territory:

Last time I went to a musical performance at John Mackintosh [Hall] it was to see Luisa Fernanda, a very Spanish occasion. One would say that this bears witness to the dual nature of our society; but when one counts the number of Gibraltarians who attended the Carol Concert [held by the Gibraltar Choral Society], or for that matter the number of expatriate British who went to Luisa Fernanda, one can but wonder whether we do indeed have a dual culture, or in fact there are really two different cultures living together peacefully side by side.

This is a strong exposition of the Spanish element in Gibraltar's culture, which many would not agree with – or possibly be embarrassed by because of its diminution of the

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<sup>51</sup> *Calpe News*, 24 February 1978, pp. 1-4.

<sup>52</sup> *Calpe News*, 29 December 1978, p. 3. And, in the same issue: 'Calpe News tiene como fin primordial la defensa de los intereses Gibraltareños [sic] promoviendo un acuerdo entre España e Inglaterra en la disputa sobre Gibraltar de forma que se reconozcan, protejan y promuevan los derechos de los Gibraltareños en Gibraltar y el desarrollo de la comunidad y la identidad Gibraltareña'. *Calpe News*, 29 December 1978, p. 12.

British element. An article by ‘Jotate’ in the same issue defends the Spanish name of PAG:

¿En qué idioma nos entendemos la inmensa mayoría de los gibraltareños? <sup>53</sup>

There are situations in which it would be more useful, more informative, not to say more courteous for a Gibraltarian to express himself in the Spanish language. This he cannot do officially nor, seemingly, is he allowed to do so on GBC. <sup>54</sup>

*Calpe News*, however, rather over-eggs the pudding in its political slant:

The PAG stands for reconciliation with Spain, through a formula of autonomy which will recognise the sovereignty of the people of Gibraltar. Reconciliation is the objective – autonomy is the means. <sup>55</sup>

### (c) The Language of the Trade Unions – and *Social Action*’s call for Spanish

In my visit to Gibraltar in April 2009, I obtained new insights into language use in the unions in this period. Ballantine Perera, in her preface to the *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* for 2008, writes:

The reader will note how Spanish functions as a language of social action in the manifesto of the Young Christian Workers during the 1970s. <sup>56</sup>

Partly because of a desire to reflect ‘Gibraltar’s socio-linguistic reality’, and ‘given the significance of Spanish as a language of preference by workers’ movements in the late nineteenth century and during the twentieth’ the journal includes, for the first time, an article in Spanish – by Jose Netto, District Officer of the TGWU and a crucial figure in Gibraltar’s trade unionism in the period I am discussing in this chapter.

<sup>53</sup> *Calpe News*, 15 December 1978, pp 2, 10.

<sup>54</sup> *Calpe News*, 26 February 1982, p. 1.

<sup>55</sup> *Calpe News*, 1 December 1978, p. 3. It is, however, right to point out that the newspaper supported the British campaign to recover the Falklands (18 June 1982, p. 1).

<sup>56</sup> Ballantine Perera, *GJJ*, 15 (2008), p. 2.

Dr Bernard Linares, Branch Officer and then General Secretary of the TGWU in the years from 1972 to 1975, in his article in this issue refers to the YCW manifesto, *Conciencia Obrera*, which came out in May 1973. Its central theme was the sense of dignity of workers (*concientización*). The manifesto was written ‘in Spanish (as this was seen to be more accessible than English to industrial workers)’.<sup>57</sup>

This indication of the use of Spanish in trade union activity in Gibraltar echoes the early, pre-war links, already discussed, between Gibraltar and Spanish trade unions. Nevertheless, it is significant that, a full thirty years after the Clifford report, Spanish could have such a high profile. I investigated this further in my visits to Gibraltar.

Reinforcing this impression is a very relevant article in *Social Action*. Also largely written in Spanish, *Social Action* was a monthly journal which spoke for the Young Christian Workers. In March 1969 it published an article ‘Hace Falta un Idioma’ by someone adopting the nom-de-plume ‘Henemene’:

Conocer bien un idioma es una gran suerte, pero aun es mucho mejor tener la posibilidad de aprender dos idiomas casi simultáneamente y llegar a dominar ambos con toda perfección ... Aquí en Gibraltar gozamos de esa gran suerte ... desgraciadamente la mayoría de la gente no habla bien ninguno de los dos ... [hay] dos fuentes principales de enseñanza: el hogar y la escuela. Aquí está precisamente el mayor obstáculo que impide se cultiven ambos idiomas debidamente ...

En la casa se enseña una cosa, en la mayoría de los casos, mal. En la escuela se enseña otra cosa y por desgracia, bastante deficientemente ... digan lo que digan algunos señores, la lengua maternal de la mayoría es el ‘Llanito’, o sea, un español de pésima calidad. Cuando el niño ingresa en la escuela ... se encuentra pensando en español que es su idioma y batallando con el inglés que con dificultad aprende, pero casi nunca debidamente, en la mayoría de los casos ...

El niño se hace hombre y abandona la escuela sin haber logrado dominar ninguno de los dos idiomas.

Where English is concerned:

Lo ha estudiado en la escuela pero no lo ha cultivado lo necesario porque con sus amistades y familiares ha hablado ese español de pésima calidad.

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<sup>57</sup> Bernard Linares, *GHJ*, 15 (2008), p. 66.

The writer then moves to the nub of the Gibraltarian language issue in 1969, the year of closure of the border:

Claro está, ciertos señores dicen, muy convencidos y posiblemente influidos por esa antipatía que sentimos hacia el gobierno de Franco, que el idioma español debe y tiene que desaparecer de Gibraltar; que esto es inglés y por lo tanto se debe pensar y hablar únicamente en inglés. Eso es verdaderamente absurdo ... todo esto no debe ser obstáculo para que se procure asimilar todo lo que de bueno haya en España y una de estas cosas es el idioma español. La educación y la enseñanza no deben tener límites ni fronteras.

After summing up the advantages of having two languages, the writer repeats that neither language is spoken ‘con fluidez’, although significantly making an exception for those who receive private education. And, another significant point which I shall examine in the final chapter, the writer adds that Gibraltarians can manage in Gibraltar but find it difficult outside:

No mezclamos la política con la cultura ... es necesario un idioma para poder pensar con claridad y que si en vez de un idioma se pueden aprender dos, aun mucho mejor.<sup>58</sup>

*Social Action* was of its nature a journal of the Left, campaigning for workers’ rights and better housing and social services; it was independent-minded and generally critical of the Establishment and of the AACR.<sup>59</sup> It is remarkable to read this candid analysis of language competence in Gibraltar at a particularly sensitive time, when Gibraltarians were undergoing the effects of the siege and asserting their dissociation from Spain.

#### (d) Interviews with BL, JN and JB

Recalling his time in the Union, BL said:

You would expect trade union language to be influenced by that, by its linkage to Britain, but one has to make a distinction between, again, the official trade union language – reports, documentation

<sup>58</sup> *Social Action*, no. 25, March 1969, p. 10.

<sup>59</sup> Also personal communication from RaB, who had held a number of senior posts in the Gibraltar civil service (April 2010).

and petitions and lengthy correspondence and all that, that is, like the formal language of trade unions as organisation – and then the workshop language, the language of people when they are fighting for their salaries and better conditions ... Then Spanish is the prevalent language.

He explained why the Young Christian Workers' report *Conciencia Obrera* had been published in Spanish:

Because it was clear to us at shop-floor level that that really was much more incisive in getting to the working people of the dockyard, government and industrial workshops than English. They enjoyed that ... when I went into the picket lines and strike action, that sort of thing, then of course it was Spanish ... Spanish is the language that really makes impact at that level.<sup>60</sup>

As a boy JN received his education in Spain:

Tengo que decir que por ejemplo en cuanto al idioma se refiere, que nuestra trayectoria histórica de Gibraltar a medida que avanzamos para atrás el idioma español se utilizaba mucho por nuestra comunidad y nuestra familia.

He recalled how he had been impressed in his youth by the use of language of Spanish syndicalists, some of them illiterate, and how he imitated it himself ('iba a robarle expresiones'). In more recent times at union meetings minutes were taken in English, but JN points out:

En terminos prácticos las discusiones se hacían en español.

The use of Spanish included union literature. However, there was change:

Cuando el cierre de la frontera se acentuó mucho el idioma inglés.

Over the years, while perhaps being a little dismissive about his own English, he gained a competence in it which stood him in good stead, for instance, in the wage-parity negotiations with British officials.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> BL, interview, April 2009.

<sup>61</sup> Referring to a meeting with Harry Irwine (TGWU Deputy General Secretary): 'Harry tenía un inglés que yo no lo tenía'. Interview with JN, April 2009.

JB, as current party leader and former Chief Minister and Branch Officer of the TGWU, had much to say in our interview about the role of language in politics and other walks of life in Gibraltar. As these comments relate largely to the contemporary situation, they will be looked at in the next chapter.

#### 4. 'SUBVERTING THE DOMINANCE': LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND USE

Kellermann draws a distinction between Spanish as a (chronologically) first language with most Gibraltarians and English, which, though often acquired rather later, becomes the 'mother' tongue. Her comment takes into account the social and psychological aspects of language choice. Thus, the Gibraltarians' conscious adoption of English as the 'mother' tongue is linked to the implied political loyalty and assertion of identity in its use – as well as, of course, its functional advantages, for it is the language that government policy has enshrined over the years. A 'first' language is not always the 'mother tongue'.<sup>62</sup>

However, there may be other reasons why Gibraltarians' language behaviour defies categorisation. Thus, as I have already quoted, Martens refers to language in Gibraltar 'subvert[ing] the dominance of English / British and colonial discourse'.<sup>63</sup> that is, she claims Gibraltarians will try to appear as predominantly speakers of English, whereas in fact speaking more Spanish – and this despite their professed loyalty to Britain. This leads to the kind of difficulty she saw experienced by some politicians at elections. She writes about the setting up of a 'boundary-maintenance mechanism' because of Gibraltarians' colonial background and the ethnic, political and social issues: their particular history of affiliation with Britain and dissociation from Spain conflicts to some extent with their choice of language. Although Gibraltarians are bilingual for the most part, with a 'contextually-determined' choice of language,

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<sup>62</sup> 'To refer to Spanish as the "mother tongue" of Gibraltar is inappropriate, since it belies how Gibraltarians themselves understand the term. In Gibraltar it does not denote the language "learnt at the mother's knee", but rather the language to which Gibraltarians have an uncanny "sentimental attachment" (Kramer, 1986a: 65)'. In Kellermann's survey 54.3% regarded English as their mother tongue, 11.4% regarded English *and* Spanish as such, and 34.3% indicated Spanish. Kellermann, *A New New English*, pp. 121-122.

<sup>63</sup> Martens, p. 259. See above, pp. 184-185.



Martens argues that they ‘produce a discourse on language which is not always consonant with Gibraltarian practice’.<sup>64</sup>

Martens’ comments on the significance of language choice in Gibraltar politics lead on to a wider discussion about language behaviour in the community. She gives examples of Gibraltarians sometimes using language to exclude UK British people (for example, in shops). Likewise, Gibraltarians do not always ‘accommodate English spouses linguistically’, presumably meaning that the latter must often find themselves in predominantly Spanish-speaking family and social situations.<sup>65</sup>

She states that 1977 was the year the English language ceased to be compulsory (with punishment for transgression) in informal conversation at school, attributing this to the introduction of comprehensive education and the ‘Gibraltarianisation’ of the teaching staff.<sup>66</sup> But she sees language conversion in education as a problem, remarking rather emphatically, and against much received opinion (as I discuss in Ch. VI), ‘Bilingualism is a barrier to intellectual development’. Martens’ belief that the education system hinders rather than establishes effective bilingualism can be challenged too. However, when reminding us of the use of English in such areas as the main political parties’ election manifestoes, she is acknowledging the existence of different language registers in English and Spanish in Gibraltar.<sup>67</sup>

Like others, she has noted the unwillingness of Gibraltarians to be spoken to in Spanish by non-Gibraltarian English speakers.<sup>68</sup> Despite this, however, ‘Spanish is overwhelmingly, in practice, the formal preference of Gibraltarians at home and in non-formal public contexts’, even in middle-class households.<sup>69</sup> She writes that school leavers at 15 who have struggled with English will frequently speak Spanish for the rest of their lives. This is borne out to some extent by HC’s experience in

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<sup>64</sup> Martens, p. 213.

<sup>65</sup> This suggests a gulf at times between some Gibraltarians and some UK Britons; it also echoes the frustrations of the 1970s and early 80s, with the lack of progress on the border issue, the closure of the naval dockyard and the rundown of the armed services. Some evidence of how anti-colonial feelings operated then is seen in the weekly *Panorama*, which comments on whether ‘natives’ are being invited to official garden parties. *Panorama*, no. 29, 21–27 June, 1976, p. 3.

<sup>66</sup> Martens, p. 214.

<sup>67</sup> Martens, pp. 217, 219. She adds that Yanito is sometimes used in the special schools, p. 217.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. p. 202 below.

<sup>69</sup> Martens, p. 228.

communicating with his school leavers, who spoke in Spanish to him ('And I remember a couple of years ago, they had to speak English. Embarrassing, that').<sup>70</sup> I shall return to this in the next chapter, in my survey of language in Gibraltar.

Other writers have discussed the phenomenon of according a different valuation to the two languages: Kramer noted (also in 1986) the eagerness of Gibraltarians to emphasise the 'high degree of English penetration', going as far as to say that the [Spanish] mother tongue was regarded as 'dangerous to the lifestyle'.<sup>71</sup> Carmen Fernández Martín in her thesis examined and quantified the much greater valuation placed on the English language, compared to Spanish, by Gibraltarians;<sup>72</sup> Kellermann writes of language behaviour and choice in Gibraltar being subject to social and psychological pressures.<sup>73</sup> Meanwhile, in her study of bilingualism, Romaine states that 'bilingualism is about politics', that the 'choice of a particular language is symbolic of various social and political divisions'.<sup>74</sup> She observes that, where language is concerned, 'there can be discrepancies between what people say and what they do':<sup>75</sup>

People find it hard for various reasons to report on their own usage in ways that are meaningful to linguists ... people may claim to use a more prestigious variety of speech than they actually do.<sup>76</sup>

This is the situation that caused Martens to conclude that Gibraltarians' expressed loyalty is to English while their choice of language at home and for non-formal contexts is predominantly Spanish. Benedict Anderson writes:

Much the most important thing about language is its capacity for generating imagined communities, building in effect particular solidarities.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Interview with HC, April 2009.

<sup>71</sup> Kramer, p. 63.

<sup>72</sup> Carmen Fernández Martín, 'Valoración de las actitudes lingüísticas en Gibraltar' (doctoral thesis, University of Cádiz, 2002). See pp. 224-225, below.

<sup>73</sup> Kellermann, pp. 96-97; see also Modrey, pp. 35-36.

<sup>74</sup> Suzanne Romaine, *Bilingualism*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965), introduction, p. xiv.

<sup>75</sup> Romaine, p. 319.

<sup>76</sup> Romaine, pp. 288-289.

<sup>77</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983; repr. 1991) p. 133.

We can see how the expressed preference for English in Gibraltar serves as a focus for the pro-British Gibraltarian solidarity that has emerged; hence Martens' comment:

Their discourse on language is situated in a wider discourse of Gibraltarian identity.<sup>78</sup>

It is as well to remember, however, that different individuals may come up with unexpected differences in language experience. Taking my interviews as examples, DP's 'grandfather on [the] father's side was the kingpin ...':

and he insisted that the children spoke English ... so my English has been very good grammatically from day one.<sup>79</sup>

AM likewise claims an upbringing in which English was very much to the fore,<sup>80</sup> whilst RB's experiences in the Evacuation were enriched by her good grounding in English at school.<sup>81</sup> In contrast, we have already seen that HC did not really come into contact with English until the age of seven, and JN much later.<sup>82</sup>

There is a similar picture in Malta, a community which has many similarities to Gibraltar in history and geography, religion and ethnicity. Sonia Ellul has written that a change of sympathies at national level often results in shifts of language loyalty, referring to the new recognition of the Maltese language.<sup>83</sup> Although Gibraltar has no distinct national language akin to Maltese, the growing acceptance of Yanito and the 'local form of English' in Gibraltar might seem a parallel case.

## 5. HOW GIBRALTARIANS EXPERIENCED LANGUAGE IN THE SIEGE YEARS AND HOW RADIO AND TV ADAPTED

DS, now editor of the Gibraltar Chronicle, remembers the attitude to Spanish at the time:

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<sup>78</sup> Martens, p. 252. Although Stephen May quotes Carol Eastman, who states that language use is merely a surface feature of ethnic identity, and thus adopting another language would only affect the language use aspect of ethnic identity, not the identity itself. Carol Eastman, in *Linguistic Minorities, Policies and Pluralism* (London: Academic Press, 1984), pp. 259-276. Quoted by May, p. 135.

<sup>79</sup> Interview with DP, April 2009.

<sup>80</sup> Interview with AM, January 2008.

<sup>81</sup> Interview with RB, January 2008.

<sup>82</sup> Interviews with HC and JN, April 2009.

<sup>83</sup> Ellul, p. 26.

I lived through the early part of the border closure when it [English] became popular suddenly in the Christian Brothers' School. The speaking of Spanish outside the main Spanish class was strictly forbidden and you were strapped ... if speaking Spanish in the corridors, and so forth ... That was in 1967-69... I had a lot of exposure to the UK areas that don't exist anymore, Rosia Swimming Club, the NOP [Naval Officers' Pavilion], and there were signs that it was strictly forbidden to speak Spanish, clearly because the officers couldn't speak Spanish and didn't understand. They didn't mind people speaking French ... you often find that people have very mixed feelings about the way they speak in Gibraltar.<sup>84</sup>

Asked if the border closure could have caused Spanish to die out in Gibraltar, but for Spanish TV, DS replied:

Very slowly. But I think it was largely suffocated anyway.

The people who tend to feel strongest about Spain are the people who don't have the best English language ... There's an element of tension in there, and certainly people who were Spanish, the generation of my grandparents and that, some of the wives were often Spanish ... feel even stronger, from them there is a resentment that comes out ... the experience of the civil war.

Those who 'feel strongest about Spain' and are not the best speakers of English are members of the working class, who have traditionally expressed the strongest pro-British feeling. This has been seen in voting patterns over the years (e.g. for the AACR in its earlier years and the Integration Party, and later for the GSLP, as opposed to the more right-wing independents). It has also been seen in the different attitudes to, for instance, the Brussels agreement of 1984, when some concessions (including 'issues of sovereignty') were made to Spain in return for the full opening of the border from the following year. The AACR was then seen as 'the party of

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<sup>84</sup> The use of English in the select services clubs would, of course, have predated the restrictions and was for reasons other than dissociation from Spain.

Brussels’;<sup>85</sup> the GSLP, now more representative of working class opinion, was solidly against the agreement.<sup>86</sup>

This issue of feeling ‘strongest about Spain’ represents a fascinating clash between language preference (for whatever reason) and political loyalty. However, there are circumstances in which, no matter which language made the easier choice, English forced its way through:

Thus, DS’s father and previous editor of the *Chronicle*, JSe, comments:

I think it [Yanito] was truly killed when the frontier closed because English became much more important ... the education system was developing, and ... it was patriotic to speak English. And I always found particularly during the closed frontier situation, if I saw a Gibraltarian who came to the office was having difficulty talking to me in English I would go into Spanish but he would force me back to English, because he would not be seen in the *Gibraltar Chronicle* offices speaking in Spanish. That would be his downfall, really.

JSe’s experience was similar to that of Kellermann, Martens, Stewart and others, all of whom have commented on Gibraltarians’ discomfort when addressed by them in Spanish.<sup>87</sup> It illustrates the point suggested earlier in this chapter that Gibraltarians are very reluctant to have their sense of identity, or indeed their language skill, undermined when speaking to UK British or English-speaking visitors, and especially in an English-speaking ambience (even if JSe, of British / Canadian origin, is a long-established Gibraltar resident). They do not want the English-speaking part of that identity to be questioned. It is a totally different situation with their use of Spanish with Spaniards or of Spanish / Yanito among themselves.

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<sup>85</sup> Garcia, p. 188.

<sup>86</sup> At the time of the first referendum in 1967 the working class areas of the town were the most lavishly decorated with Union Jacks etc.

<sup>87</sup> Kellermann, *A New New English*, pp. 248-249, Stewart, p. 59, p. 183, Martens, p. 226.

AM, features editor at the *Gibraltar Chronicle* and former broadcaster, recalls the predominance of English in her private girls' school and how pupils were not allowed to speak Spanish in the school grounds:

Spanish did not happen at school until the age of 8 and I can actually remember I must have picked up the first Spanish book in school at the age of 8.<sup>88</sup>

The two decades now being examined saw Radio Gibraltar responding to the border closure. The role of Spanish in radio now became more functional. AM speaks of the station being the only link for those who had family in Spain after the closure of the border:

There was no link, sea, air, at all, so Radio Gibraltar, the Spanish service, became paramount, for example messages such as 'your mother has died', and 'a child has been born into the family', and 'we're going down to the frontier at 7 o'clock on Sunday to show you the baby across the fence'.

And she refers to her father's Sunday programme, 'Palabras al Viento':

Radio Gibraltar ... [also] needed to have Spanish ... and certainly during the closed frontier, especially at the beginning and ... the 'Palabras al Viento', which as you know was one of the most influential [programmes], although it wasn't probably a political thing. It was a programme that reflected what was happening in Gibraltar vis-à-vis Spain, and which really replied to all the accusations that were coming from Spain, and in that sense the Spanish service then served a purpose. Not only was it morale-boosting for the Gibraltarians, but it was facts and information for those who lived on the other side of the border.

GV, later manager of the Gibraltar Broadcasting Corporation, also recollects the role of broadcasting at the time of closure. He agrees that the record request programme was the only means of communication with people in Spain. There were some

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<sup>88</sup> Interview, April 2008. But she told me in subsequent conversation 'she had found some children's stories in Spanish which she vaguely remembers from her childhood'.

problems after the departure of the first Spanish-language announcers and the use of ‘expert’ linguists to ‘translate’ the news bulletin into Spanish:

Some of the language was just not the day-to-day language that you hear in the streets.

Nevertheless, broadcasting in Spanish on Gibraltar TV, as opposed to radio, was never fully accepted, certainly not in the period of closure and only spasmodically after 1985.<sup>89</sup> I have already referred to ‘the fervour of nationalism that was flowering in Gibraltar at the time’, according to GV, and which militated against the use of Spanish:<sup>90</sup>

The customer, the viewer, really didn’t like that [the use of Spanish on TV] but again GBC wasn’t structured for that, to use Spanish, and if we had gone out to speak to the people, vox pop in Spanish or whatever, we would have come back with nothing in the can. There would have been a reluctance; people at the time were trying just to speak in English, to think in English.

This consolidation of English (newspapers too were predominantly in that language by this time) indicated loyalties which, in many cases, led to the sacrifice of personal language preferences.

The roots of this attitude are explained earlier in this chapter. Since Spanish TV remained popular in Gibraltar, the preference for an English-speaking service was an instance of language behaviour being governed by political loyalties. It was a question of Gibraltarians not projecting an identity which was anything other than British to themselves and to the world. Given the public impact made by a broadcasting station – even a station such as GTV could be picked up within quite a few miles from Gibraltar – it was natural that broadcasting in Gibraltar would be predominantly in English.

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<sup>89</sup> See below, p. 256, for the use of Yanito in TV programmes in recent years.

<sup>90</sup> Interview with GV, p. 166 above.

These interviews with GV and AM show how television used English overwhelmingly, whilst radio mostly used Spanish in popular programmes and BBC relays. GV refers to unsuccessful attempts to broadcast a new Spanish-language ‘soap’ on Gibraltar TV.<sup>91</sup> Objections were raised to the programme being broadcast from Gibraltar, not because it was not appreciated *per se* but because it would be preferred coming from a Spanish station. There are issues of identity-marking here rather reminiscent of Martens’ comments about Gibraltarians’ ‘discourse’ about language.<sup>92</sup> Once again, political loyalty and an awareness of national identity create a boundary between what is permissible at an objective distance (watching a Spanish TV programme broadcast from Spain) and a closer personal involvement (watching the same programme through Gibraltar TV). Spanish-language programmes could presumably have been defended as a kind of permissible exoticism. But it would be seen as some erosion of Gibraltarianism if a popular TV programme in Spanish came from Gibraltar. Given the power of broadcasting to project a national image, these concerns are fully understandable.<sup>93</sup>

A significant cultural point made by GV was that the popularity of Spanish records in the 50s can be seen by examining the collection in the GBC archives – the singles in the Spanish section are dog-eared and ‘very thumbbed’; the English language record covers, on the other hand, are not so worn out for that period, but become increasingly so in later years as musical language taste switches over. This is a clear, practical illustration of cultural shift.

However, EG, another informant, believes that ‘if Spanish TV had not been there’ Spanish would probably have disappeared in Gibraltar. To my knowledge, this is not an area that has been studied in depth yet, but it seems a reasonable claim that Spanish would have been weakened, even if not totally disappearing, in the siege years. To say

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<sup>91</sup> Although coming after the period covered in this thesis, here is a clear indication of attitude to language use. In 1999 GBC broadcast a successful Colombian ‘telenovela’, its first Spanish-language serial; followed by a second ‘telenovela’. On its conclusion, however, Spanish-language TV programming ended in Gibraltar (entry for GBC in Wikipedia).

<sup>92</sup> Martens p. 213.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. p. 181, footnote 10, above for a comment about the use of Spanish on radio at this time. And yet, Spanish-language popular entertainment and performance arts were current in Gibraltar even in this period (see below, this chapter).



this is to acknowledge the considerable influence TV has had on speech and cultural habits in many countries. It has been said that, in its early years at any rate, Spanish TV helped to raise the standard of Gibraltarians' Spanish in enlarging vocabulary and improving grammar. It is not easy to quantify this. But until the advent of satellite TV in the early 90s, when BBC and other English-speaking programmes became more accessible, there is little doubt that Spanish TV was watched intensively in Gibraltar.

EG, who in this period was commissioned into the Gibraltar Regiment, and eventually commanded it as colonel, stresses the importance of English in a military career in Gibraltar:

The use of English and knowledge of English was paramount in the sense that the Regiment worked with the rest of the British Army and unless you were absolutely fluent it was difficult to get on. You know, in those days, even in the 60s and then the 70s, if you didn't speak English all that well ... you were the second-class wog and that had a bearing when you went to courses in the UK ... I was the first Gibraltarian to go to the Royal Military Academy in Sandhurst ... most Gibraltarians had the sort of nationalistic urge to broadcast to the world that first of all 'we are English' and possibly because of our connections and our problems with Spain ... whenever one had dealings with the British Army you always tried extremely hard to make sure you were one of them.

And I found ... also essential for me as part of my duty as commander was the education of my soldiers ... I always made it a point [that] part of their curriculum was English, and most of what they did was English-orientated, and the English language was paramount, which they also needed themselves, to get on in their careers and then exams, courses and exams.

EG adds that in the evolution of the new and self-sufficient Gibraltar of today, less dependent on and subservient to the military, 'language has a lot to do with that evolution'. He comments on the puzzlement experienced by UK-based officers on coming to terms with his perfect English and bilingualism:

Spanish permeated all around because Spanish was spoken in the home, and you had the situation where I was in a meeting with other members of my unit ... and eventually Spanish cropped up ... and 'How come?' You had to explain this and the other.

Turning to the effects of the closure of the frontier, EG recollects:

[it had] a tremendous effect in Gibraltar in many ways, in language, in culture, and ... in possibly establishing the Gibraltarian identity ... The closure of the frontier to me in the evolution of the Gibraltarians had more of an impact than even the Evacuation because in the Evacuation people went away in groups; those who went to London went together. I mean they were in a foreign country, but they were together. They had their Spanish ... those who went to Madeira again were together. Those who went to Jamaica ... were practically in a concentration camp ... The closed frontier ... made us into more of a community than we were in those days.

These are significant comments, which speak for themselves, about two crucial periods in the history of the Gibraltarian community.

EG now chairs the Gibraltar Police Authority, a recently created watchdog body, and he stresses the British nature of the police force and policing in Gibraltar: the role and evolution of English in the police is comparable to that in the Gibraltar Regiment.

## 6. ENGLISH IN GIBRALTAR SCHOOLS, THE PRESS, BUSINESS AND THE CHURCH, AND POPULAR CULTURE: MID-60s – 1985

### (a) In Schools

Attitudes to English in different areas of life in Gibraltar at this time show changes from previous decades.

Educational developments in Gibraltar from the mid-60s to the mid-80s were significant, with the advent of comprehensive reorganisation and a teaching force that became wholly lay and almost entirely Gibraltarian in this period.

DS's recollections about the increasing use of English at this time are consistent with improvements in examination results. This can be seen from the statistics and Department of Education reports (details on the next page); also from evidence of the use of English by schoolchildren informally and outside school. However, conflicting evidence emerged from interviews of how successfully the idea to stop Spanish being spoken outside the classroom was enforced – or if it was enforced at all.<sup>94</sup> An important factor to bear in mind was that, early in this period, comprehensive education was introduced in Gibraltar and that – although a Christian Brother had been the first head of the new comprehensive – the Brothers were to leave Gibraltar in the next few years (by 1977). The new system was launched in the early 70s but it took some more years for the buildings to be ready for the two new single-sex schools.<sup>95</sup> While this is not the place to argue the merits of comprehensive education as opposed to selective, it is clear that the class distinctions of the tripartite system, exacerbated in Gibraltar by its intimate and close-knit character, were much reduced. The 11+, in which good scores in English language had been essential, created particular difficulties for children from working-class homes.<sup>96</sup> After some years of the new system, there seem to have been striking overall improvements in performance too, in both the boys' and girls' schools. (To this day, co-education is a thing of the future.)

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<sup>94</sup> Cf., for example, interviews with AM, JMu and DS.

<sup>95</sup> Many of the early misgivings about the tripartite system originated from Bro. Foley, previous Head of the Grammar School. He took up temporary appointment for one year as adviser on education to the Colonial Government on 1 September 1954. 'He [had] been asked to investigate a specific number of purely lay educational problems and to submit his recommendations for dealing with them to the Government.' (Government Notice no. 177, signed by J.D. Bates, Gibraltar Colonial Secretary, 21 August 1954, published in the *Gibraltar Gazette*, 27 August 1954, VI, 323, p. 2.) The notice went on to refer to Bro. Foley's 'exceptional qualifications and abilities as an educationalist'. Also National Archives, CO 926/478.

Comprehensive education had been discussed since well before the 1964 general election. Much work had been done by teachers' working parties. A commission had been appointed by the AACR, its findings accepted, and the system was subsequently introduced by the Integrationist-led coalition from 1972. It was fully in place, assisted by funding from the Overseas Development Agency, and with new buildings completed, by 1984–85. Once this was achieved 'support for comprehensive education was almost unanimous'. (This information in a personal communication from AC, minister in the AACR government then and Chief Minister, 1987–88, April 2010.)

<sup>96</sup> 'The English test, on the one hand, was not of great assistance in achieving the primary object of the teaching of English in the junior schools, which was to enable the children to use English as a means of communication. Indeed, the children were being subjected to intense coaching in the specialised requirements of the test.' Michael Campbell, Director of Education, in Executive Council debate about 11+.

He declared he was also studying other options, including the 'Puerto Rican method'. P.J. Isola, however, emphasised that the Gibraltar child was not at a 'disadvantage in comparison with the English child'. Executive Council minutes for meeting of 9 June 1964, p. 2, Gibraltar Government Archives.

Traverso traces the pattern of examination successes since 1952, referring to a ‘steady flow of examination passes at ‘O’ and ‘A’ level. He gives details for 1982, showing particularly good results for the girls’ comprehensive.<sup>97</sup>

However, Department of Education reports show that ‘O’ level English language could still present problems, more so for the boys. In 1975 the overall pass rate was 63%; in 1976, 68%. In 1977, around the time of comprehensive reorganisation, 45%; for later years, separate figures are available for girls and boys; 1979: Girls 42% pass rate, boys 38%; 1982: Girls 57%, Boys 26%; 1986: Girls 80%, Boys 55%; 1987: Girls 63%, boys 57%.<sup>98</sup>

Ballantine writes in 1983 that the Clifford Report had ‘emphasised the importance of English yet took no account of the preferred and dominant language in the community’, and clearly regards the Report as an enforcer of the imperial power base.<sup>99</sup> He attributes the pass rate for English language of 42% (a combination of Traverso’s figures for the two comprehensives?) as an indication of pupils’ difficulties with English. In the subsequent decade a strong case was made for the use of Spanish as a medium for teaching Spanish. This was an issue which had reared its head as far back as the discussions in the Colonial Office at the time of the Clifford Report (probably even earlier, if we bear in mind Dr Rule’s academies in the nineteenth century), when it was felt by some that teaching in the mother tongue in the early years at least would be more effective than total immersion into English.

#### (b) In the Press

We have already seen in the previous chapter that in the years after the war the *Chronicle* moved towards becoming more of a Gibraltarian publication. Much more

<sup>97</sup> Traverso, pp. 121, 152, 304–307. He quotes the Minister for Education in 1997: ‘Our public examination results have soared from year to year placing our schools today among the top in UK league tables.’

<sup>98</sup> Gibraltar Government: Department of Education Annual Reports, 1975, 1976; Biennial Reports, 1977–78, 1979–1980, 1981–82, 1986–1988.

<sup>99</sup> Ballantine, ‘A Study of the Effects of English-Medium Education on Initially Monoglot Spanish-Speaking Gibraltarian Children’, pp. 16–17, 63–64.

recognition was given to political issues, such as constitutional development and trade union matters, than before the war. The role of JSe, who became editor in the early 60s, was important in this.<sup>100</sup> In the period I am now examining the paper gave increasing prominence to local news. The discussions about Gibraltar in the United Nations were fully reported and commented on – not something that would necessarily have been the case two decades earlier. In the issue of 3 August 1963, shortly before the emergence of the Gibraltar question in the UN, there is foreign news on the front page; but then we find on p. 2 ‘Simpson’s Diary’, consisting of local news, and official notices; other articles of local interest on p. 3; an article by a Gibraltar politician on tourism, and church notices on p. 4. Pages 5 and 6 are a supplement for the programmes on Radio Gibraltar for the following week. Films, personal announcements, and advertisements feature on p. 7; and sport (UK and local), port information and a bullfighting report on p. 8 complete the picture. This is in great contrast to the *Chronicles* of earlier times. We should also remember that at this time the Spanish language press virtually disappeared. *Luz* and *El Anunciador* were long gone. *El Calpense* was now increasingly in English: eventually in 1982 it ceased publication altogether. *Gibraltar Libre* and *Calpe News* were in Spanish, but did not long survive the autonomist political interests that they supported. Other periodicals, like the weekly *Gibraltar Post* and the *Evening Post*, were also in English.<sup>101</sup> Thus, from the mid-60s onwards English was the language of the Gibraltar press.

### (c) In Business and the Church

Was there a change in the patterns of day-to-day language transaction? At the higher level, business in Gibraltar has been run in English for a long time. If we take the examples of the Exchange and Commercial Library and the Sanitary Commissioners, the language of meetings and records was English; business accounts and paperwork were also in English.<sup>102</sup> On the shopfloor, however, much business had traditionally

<sup>100</sup> See interview with JSe and comment in Chapter IV.

<sup>101</sup> The latter became the *Gibraltar Evening Post*, a daily. Issues for 1974 which I examined at the Gibraltar Government Archives cover local affairs, such as the disputes concerning Bernard Linares and Joe Bossano in the TGWU. There are attacks on the Integration Party, and press notices about the working party for comprehensive education (30 April 1974, p. 1; 9 May 1974, p. 1; 10 May 1974, p. 1; 11 May 1974, p. 1; 18 May 1974, p. 1).

<sup>102</sup> Consulted at Gibraltar Government Archives.

been conducted in Spanish, both with Gibraltarians and Spanish workers. But with the changed conditions of the siege years there would be no Spanish clients and more British workers and also English-speaking tourists:

The use of Spanish has definitely gone down probably [since] the closure of the frontier ... One big difference that came as a result of the siege was that the Spanish labour was withdrawn and we then started to get more and more contractors from England coming to work in Gibraltar ... a lot of the technical words [were] sort of understood in English rather than the correct Spanish equivalents so that even when the Spaniards were here they tended to come up with ... their own version of English technical terms.<sup>103</sup>

Religion presents a more complicated picture. Although the Catholic Diocese was directly responsible to the Holy See, visiting Spanish clergy would have taken part in novenas in the last century and there had been cross-border co-operation in ecclesiastical matters. Relations became more tense during the Spanish Civil War, when some resident Spanish clergy gained notoriety for being apparently anti-British, and when the sympathies of Gibraltarians were split between Republicans and Nationalists.<sup>104</sup> Significantly, up to the 1960s many services were still held using the Spanish language for the readings and sermons (bearing in mind that the order of the mass would have been in Latin). In these cases, and more so in some churches than others, Spanish had been the ‘commentary-type’, and supporting language.<sup>105</sup> But, as in other areas, the growing use of English in education was leading to more English being used in Church services.

And then, of course, came Vatican II, with the implementation of the liturgy in the vernacular adding a new dimension to language use in the Church in Gibraltar. Coinciding with the move to English generally was the adoption of the English

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<sup>103</sup> Interview with TA, April 2009. He recalls the effect on language of the return of a growing number of Gibraltarian students from higher education in UK. He adds that the preference for English-language films and broadcasting at this time was very marked. AC also notes the ‘the process of “de-hispanization”, particularly where language was concerned’. He also points to the growing number of students going to UK institutions in this period and improvements in education generally. ‘The younger generation tended to speak less Spanish than their parents’ (a trend which has led to young children in the present day speaking little Spanish). He too comments on the influence of Gibraltar TV. Personal communication, April 2010.

<sup>104</sup> Interview with JN, April 2009.

<sup>105</sup> Interview with BC, April 2009.

vernacular for church services, not eliminating masses in Spanish totally or the use of Spanish vernacular, but making them less usual. However, it was a different matter with preaching:

Even today when there is a novena – say to St Jude – a novena in Sacred Heart to our Lady of Lourdes, they are all in Spanish ... I say the mass in English, but when I preach I preach in Spanish, so that I know that what I am going to say in Spanish will go straight through the skin. It gets through, in instruction or anything, in Spanish.<sup>106</sup>

Replying to a question whether English could be called the language of the head and Spanish of the heart, BC replied:

We sin in Latin but we confess in English [laughter]. It's easier to confess and ask for pardon in English, which is more formal, and perhaps act in Latin, because we are a Latin people.

Yo creo que cuando se habla el español se habla de corazón.<sup>107</sup>

BL, whose thoughts as a trade union leader and educationalist have already been quoted, had previously spent some time in orders. Referring to his experience at that time, he said that the Church has a language of its own, and added:

even after they have gone into the vernacular the sphere of prayer and liturgy and all that has a particular framework, within which the Church and churchmen express themselves...

but in Gibraltar, I think, precisely because we were dealing with ritual, formal language of the Church, English has been the main language. This in spite of the fact that many churchgoers, certainly of an older generation, are more versatile in Spanish than in English.

And he too spoke of the popular novenas conducted by Spanish preachers. However, with the introduction of the vernacular in the 1960s,

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<sup>106</sup> Interview with BC, April 2009.

<sup>107</sup> Visiting Spanish preachers were a popular feature of the novenas and Lenten talks. Some congregations were 'always more elite and they insisted on English'. Interview with BC, April 2009.

the Church adopted English as its main medium of liturgical use in the mass etc. They still kept a slot for Spanish ... particularly when relating to the older generation and of course it was permissible, because the vernacular meant the language of the people.<sup>108</sup>

Another example of how the Church was affected by the anti-Spanish attitude that resulted from the siege was that the ‘Cursillos de Cristiandad’ became ‘anathema in the 1960s and early 70s.’<sup>109</sup>

#### (d) In Popular Culture

I now turn briefly to some aspects of popular culture.

From Joseph Morello’s book it would seem that Spanish was still often used in musical shows, popular entertainment and live radio well into this period and beyond.<sup>110</sup> However, as in radio request programmes, there is a greater demand for English-language songs than previously. For instance, Pepe Carseni ‘sang in both Spanish and English throughout his musical career’, winning first prize at the new Gibraltar Song Festival (started in 1965) and performing in 1969 at the Sandy Shaw Show in St Michael’s Cave (p. 234). Local bands such as the Diamond Boys (influenced by the British popular music groups of the 1960s) and the Terriers played ‘hits of the day’, many of them in the English language (p. 262 and p. 226). Nevertheless many of the most successful groups of local musicians (like Los Trovadores) continued to use the Spanish language, often in Latin American numbers (p.184).<sup>111</sup> Probably Spanish still beat English in popular music choice in this period. It is noteworthy that many of the schoolchildren who were denied the informal use of Spanish at school would, very shortly afterwards, be able to enjoy part of their

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<sup>108</sup> Interview with BL, April 2009. Both BL and the writer, although having Spanish-speaking and Spanish-praying mothers, said their own prayers principally in English as a result of their education by the Christian Brothers. (As if ‘dealing with ... a higher sphere, and therefore English’.)

<sup>109</sup> Personal communication from AC, April 2010. He is deeply involved in the movement.

<sup>110</sup> For example, the Huapangueros group ‘sang predominantly in Spanish, on rare occasions we would sing in English’. Morello, p. 210. Other page references to the book in this paragraph are given in the main text.

<sup>111</sup> And the popular Spanish singer Manolo Escobar was scheduled to perform on 16 and 17 October, shortly after the frontier re-opening, at the Queen’s Cinema: *Gibraltar Chronicle*, 7 October 1985, p. 1.



popular culture in the Spanish language.<sup>112</sup> Although the performance of zarzuelas became rarer in these years, it is fair to say that the pattern of dissociation from Spain did not yet really encroach into popular entertainment. In the years post-1985 this might be different. And yet, Modrey in her research in 1998 quotes an informant:

Culturally and socially, I can't feel British because my way of life ... is not lived the British kind of way.

And she states that many of her informants referred 'Britishness to nationality only ... in no way connected to cultural identity'. (One even said he felt Spanish because geographically 'we are an extended part of Spain'.)<sup>113</sup>

As we can see, despite all the pressures militating against its maintenance, Spanish, at least in its oral and dialectically-influenced form, does survive in Gibraltar, and even as a language of first choice for many. Why this is so I shall explore further in the next chapter.<sup>114</sup>

Finally, in recent years there has been some scholarly argument that the sense of identity (and dissociation from Spain) is reinforced by the increased status and recognition given to Yanito. This subject also properly belongs to my next chapter, when I discuss language more fully, but certainly the use of Yanito in both press and TV, usually lightheartedly, becomes more common.

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<sup>112</sup> Note HC's experience with former pupils who, despite their education in 'compulsory' English, spoke to him in Spanish when given free choice. Interview with HC, April 2009.

<sup>113</sup> Modrey, pp. 87–88. However, there was undoubtedly a cultural backlash as a result of the siege too. For instance, the 'Tuna Calpense', mainly from Catalan Bay, had to be disbanded. Personal communication from AC, April 2010.

<sup>114</sup> RaB believes that the reason why Spanish has always been spoken, despite the blockade, was that it 'had been long established' through marriage between many Gibraltarian men to Spanish women. 'The Spanish blockade, including the closure of the frontier, could not have reasonably been expected to change the practice [of people speaking Spanish].' RaB, personal communication, April 2010.

## 7. A VERY DIFFERENT GIBRALTAR? TWO ACADEMIC STUDIES, 1966 AND 1986

Two theses I have already quoted from in this chapter were written at the beginning and end of the Spanish restrictions and border closure, roughly the period examined here. Holmes was very much aware of the continuing fortress-role of Gibraltar in the sixties. He had noted the exclusive use of English by all official and most unofficial sources and saw the tendency developing already to greater use of English by the young, which might be ‘a subconscious response to political sentiments’. Holmes was right to see Gibraltar’s separateness in its identity and in its unique postcolonial position, highlighted at the time of the Spanish claim in the United Nations.<sup>115</sup> However, his dissertation was written before the main effects of the siege began to tell, and his comment on the relatively low level of economic activity, particularly among women, must be seen against this background. But the number of women in employment was already increasing, and the supply of Spanish workers was running down following the withholding of new passes from 1954. This work force was now well below its peak of over 14,000 in the 40s and early 50s.

Janet Martens’ doctoral thesis was completed in 1986. Appearing at a significant time, when the border with Spain had just re-opened, and the two decades of the Spanish siege had come to a close, it raises important points which I have had to examine in some detail. Martens claimed to use a methodology largely requiring the use of ‘discourse theory and practice’. Employing the material gathered during her substantial stays in Gibraltar, she concentrated on the main areas of politics, language and gender. The scope of her research was necessarily much more extensive than Holmes’; and the society she depicts is one that had changed in keeping with change generally and, importantly, as a result of the political and social pressures brought about by the Spanish blockade. Thus, as we have seen above, she made observations regarding Gibraltarians’ claims about language, social attitudes and lifestyle that are not – or had not, at the time – been shared by many other writers and researchers. This is nowhere more apparent than where she discusses the disabilities suffered by members of some minority ethnic and religious groups. She also explored a degree of

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<sup>115</sup> Holmes, pp. iv and 56.

‘anti-Britishness’ in some political groups and individuals which in her view underlay the public manifestation of adherence to Britain. This, she argued, extended even to instances of the linguistic exclusion of spouses of UK origin. Martens explored the social complexities whereby language behaviour subverted language loyalty. Nevertheless, by 1986 it is no longer possible to state without qualification that the mother tongue of Gibraltarians is ‘indisputably Spanish’, as Holmes had written about the earlier period.<sup>116</sup> Judging from Martens’ conclusions in comparison with Holmes’ acceptance of a more official and uncritically received discourse, a good deal had clearly changed in those two decades.

#### 8. 1963–1985: LANGUAGE POLICY AND PRACTICE

There is little doubt that in this period English was extensively encouraged (and even legislated for) at official levels. There was the consolidation of English as the language of education, now demonstrated by superior examination results and in a comprehensive system which spread blessings more evenly; there was even active discouragement - strongly enforced, in the experience of some of my interviewees – from speaking Spanish outside the classroom. Radio and TV policies were equally definite about the primacy of English: Spanish in radio retained a strictly demarcated role. The language of the Gibraltar press was well on the way to becoming overwhelmingly English in these years. However, language policy was not necessarily formed as a result of the frontier restrictions and Spanish campaign – it had been moulded by the Clifford Report and its effects and by political and social developments from the 1940s; but it undoubtedly received an impetus from Gibraltarians who saw it as another way of expressing their solidarity with Britain and their distance from Spain.

And yet, all of this does not tell the full story. For the most part Spanish – *spoken* Spanish – survived comfortably in Gibraltar in those two decades, legislation, language policy and animosity to Spain all notwithstanding. While accepting that some of this language maintenance was the long-term result of marriage to Spanish women in earlier decades, there was still, according to our informants, a strong

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<sup>116</sup> Holmes, p. 55.

attraction to the language, evidenced by the popularity of Spanish TV. Moreover, we are told of a continuing preference for Spanish at ‘shop floor’ level in the unions, which were very active in what was at times a turbulent period in Gibraltar’s labour history. The late Bishop has spoken about the different roles served by English and Spanish in reaching out to the faithful. *Social Action* made a very reasoned case in 1969 for more status to be accorded to the learning of Spanish, as did members of the teaching profession. Looking at Morello’s history of popular culture and performance, we can see the strong Spanish element in this period. Day-to-day speech among peers (often not between parents and children) would typically be in Spanish for many types of conversation, a factor analysed by Kellermann, Martens and others for its sociolinguistic implications.

This suggests that there can be a dichotomy or even contradiction between official language policy and practice; and between political loyalty and language use. National identities can be constructed (or upheld) without the need for a ‘native’ language, or a language that can act as a focus for loyalty.<sup>117</sup> It is true that a ‘native’ language can indeed make a national identity more accessible (Malta serves as an example of this) and we see the relationship between language and ethnicity as one of the key factors in, for example, the history of Europe in the last century. However, there are many reasons why even peoples who otherwise want to assert their own identity might make a language choice that logically seems to contradict this.

This would apply to, say, former British and French colonial territories retaining a *minority* ‘colonial’ official language without this weakening their identity, even though logically the expression of nationalism would be better served by adopting an indigenous *majority* language. In Gibraltar the same phenomenon takes effect, but in an opposite way. That is, although political loyalty would dictate the use of English at all levels, there are many reasons, as we have seen, why Spanish is often the language of popular spoken communication. It is a complement, rather than a threat, to the essence of ‘Gibraltarianness’.

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<sup>117</sup> Anderson, pp. 133–135. Also May, *Language and Minority Rights*, on relation between language and identity, p. 135.

Even if we accept that Spanish, in the two decades under discussion in this chapter, has been the chronologically ‘first’ language of many Gibraltarians we can see why English gradually has become the ‘mother’ tongue.<sup>118</sup> This factor is compounded by loyalty to and solidarity with Britain. And this English has also been credited with its own character as a ‘*new New English*’ (Kellermann). It is part of a complex set of linguistic resources in Gibraltar that includes a Gibraltarian variant of Andalusian Spanish, often categorised as ‘Yanito’, and its code-switching.

Spanish can exist in Gibraltar without political closeness to Spain. We have to be aware of Gibraltar’s history, geography and ethnicity. What I have started to attempt so far is to look at different roles of language in changing circumstances, at different levels and for different purposes. I am therefore now ready to move on to my final chapter, in which language and identity in Gibraltar in the period 1940-1985 are explored in more detail.

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<sup>118</sup> See p. 197 above. ‘In Gibraltar, the term “mother tongue” cannot be taken to mean “first language”... Its referential meaning is ideologically conditioned’. Kellermann, *A New New English*, p. 121.

## CHAPTER VI. LANGUAGE POLICIES AND BEHAVIOUR; INTERACTION OF LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY IN GIBRALTAR

What Gibraltarians had once regarded as a colonial language came to be seen as a great facilitator of social, educational and political emancipation, simultaneously serving their need to identify with Britain and to see themselves as a separate people from their neighbours. Language is an important determiner of human behaviour and relationships, so exploring how language policy and use have developed in Gibraltar will shed more light on the Gibraltarian identity. This exploration will require an examination of some of the literature of recent decades, written by Gibraltarians and non-Gibraltarians. When addressing the role of Yanito and code-switching in Gibraltar, it will also be useful to bear in mind how similar issues have been explored with regard to language behaviour in other communities.

The growth in the use and command of English in Gibraltar coincided with a dissociation from Spain as a result of political differences. Paradoxically, this growth continued after the high-water mark of overt British ‘patriotism’, the ‘British we are, British we stay’ stage. That is, it carried on when people became increasingly aware of the Gibraltarian dimension to their Britishness and when in fact Gibraltar had already seen the rise and fall of ‘autonomist’ political parties. In 1981 Gibraltarians officially received full UK citizenship rights under the British Nationality Act, including right of entry into Britain and abode; more recently, after the 1999 White Paper, Gibraltar has become a UK ‘Overseas’ Territory, in common with other former UK ‘Dependent’ (and before that, ‘Colonial’) territories.<sup>1</sup> As suggested throughout this thesis, Gibraltarians have constantly stressed their differences (‘otherness’) from Spaniards. If we agree with Blinkhorn’s notion that a key ingredient of the Gibraltarian identity is ‘not being Spanish’,<sup>2</sup> then we can see an echo of this in the existence and usage of Yanito. Coinciding with this, some have perceived a new legitimacy accorded to ‘Gibraltar’ English and a tendency to destigmatise, if not to glorify, Yanito – both symptoms of a more self-confident construction of identity. Choice, conscious or unconscious, rather than policy, has been responsible for this.

<sup>1</sup> Killingray and Taylor, *The United Kingdom Overseas Territories*, editors’ introduction pp. 2, 12.

<sup>2</sup> This ingredient is ‘the first condition of Gibraltarianness’. Blinkhorn reminds us (*A Question of Identity* in the work quoted in footnote 1 above) that this is not the same as being anti-Spanish. Blinkhorn, pp. 45, 50. Cf. Stewart’s comment on Gibraltarians seen by him at bullfights, p. 182 above.

## 1. ENCOURAGEMENT OF ENGLISH

We have seen how the educational planners for the post-war period wanted to create a greater Britishness and sense of empire for the new generations of Gibraltarians: a sense of Britishness rather than ‘Gibraltarianness’. More and deeper familiarity with the English language was the cornerstone of this process. This was the basic assumption behind such historical milestones as the adoption of the Clifford Committee’s recommendations, and also of such institutions as the local branch of the British Council, established in 1944.<sup>3</sup> It also influenced the evolution of a largely English-language press and media. The resulting language policy in the early years covered by this study undoubtedly had ‘colonial’ overtones. However, this situation generally met with popular acceptance. This was because of Gibraltarians’ loyalty to Britain, and also because of their long-expressed wish for raising the standard of English. In any case, with constitutional reform and the improvement in civil rights, the more obvious trappings of colonialism had softened by the end of our period. The consolidation of the English language and Britishness were also responses to the external crisis faced by Gibraltar in the face of the Spanish campaign and eventual border closure.

In the second half of my period of study, therefore, the growth in the use of the English language in Gibraltar became very much a matter of choice and preference as well as policy. The Evacuation, the post-war reforms and the border blockade were all key factors.

This development took place despite a language split between the generations in the first two post-war decades, with schoolchildren being taught in English and imbibing a largely British culture while speaking Spanish at home with their less anglicised parents. In the discussions in the 1940s regarding the more widespread use of English, there was full awareness of this situation, and of the conflict it presented between policy and practice.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Angus Gillan’s correspondence and Bingley’s report, National Archives, BW 33/1. Also see pp. 133-136 above.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Chapter III on the Clifford Report.

The orientation towards English could be described, in Suzanne Romaine's terms, as both 'integrative' and 'instrumental'.<sup>5</sup> In Gibraltar, and this goes back to well before the period of our study, the 'integrative' motive would be to seek assimilation into higher social and cultural circles; whereas the instrumental one would be pragmatic: for finding work and pursuing education. Both motives have featured strongly in Gibraltar. As far back as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries many working men found it necessary to know a little English, and merchants and professional men who had to work with English monolinguals more than a little. The Evacuation made clear that women who had scant English were functionally disadvantaged - at home previously this had hardly been an issue for them.

Nevertheless, strong though instrumental orientation always was, the greater Britishness envisaged by the Clifford Committee and the post-war education planners led *de facto* to an integrative orientation too. This was because English was not solely a medium of instruction for the post-war generation: it was also the key to British culture and way of life; and ultimately the *sine qua non* for acceptance in the higher echelons of the colonial establishment in Gibraltar. Stephen May's comment about 'the extent to which English functions as a gatekeeper to positions of prestige within societies' is worth bearing in mind because if this is true in post-colonial societies, it would be much truer in a colonial Gibraltar.<sup>6</sup> To be educated in the new system was not simply a question of having a superior education to the pre-war generation, leading to a better job.<sup>7</sup> It was this, but it was also entrance into the world of the British press, literature, English-language film and broadcasting – all of which were readily available to post-war Gibraltarians – and of course to the clubs and societies which still existed after the war and in which access for Gibraltarians became

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<sup>5</sup> Romaine, p. 43. She here discusses language use in Ireland, arguing that 'instrumental' rather than 'integrative' orientation has determined language choice, because of the necessity for and adoption of English. This is despite a lack of identification with English culture.

<sup>6</sup> May, *Language and Minority Rights*, p. 203.

<sup>7</sup> Interview with TA, April 2009. Possession of 'O' level English language was a pre-requisite for practically all jobs in the government civil service at clerical level or above, e.g. post at Meteorological Office required 'O' level English language: notice in *Gibraltar Chronicle*, 2 September 1964, p. 2. Perhaps surprisingly, City Council clerical posts did not at the time require 'O' level English language. Barabich, p. 84.



gradually easier.<sup>8</sup> We can thus see that official language policy had wide-ranging effects.

## 2. THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND PRESTIGE AND LOYALTY; ISSUES INFLUENCING LANGUAGE BEHAVIOUR

Kellermann and others have noted this ‘positive integrative attitude towards the British speech community and an uncanny negative integrative (i.e. dissociative) one to Spain’ or, in Blinkhorn’s simpler term, ‘not being Spanish’.<sup>9</sup> As elsewhere, the issue of language use and choice became political. To have and show a command of English was a badge of British patriotism – a Gibraltarian patriotism to the mother country – and at the same time a manifestation of belonging to the ‘tribe’.<sup>10</sup> This trend became more pronounced during the Spanish campaign and border closure. In the 1950s and especially the 1960s, when the Spanish restrictions that were to lead to the full closure of the border from 1969 to 1985 began, the use of English became one of the symbols of the Gibraltarians’ identity as a people or indeed a nation.<sup>11</sup> There is a considerable body of scholarly literature examining the link between political loyalty and language in Gibraltar.

Levey writes that political events became ‘a catalyst for language change’:

Spanish politics during the Franco era arguably did more, both directly and indirectly, to push the local population towards English and away from Spanish than internal or British government politics had achieved during the previous 300 years.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> We have seen in previous chapters that it was also a requisite for meaningful political participation. As pointed out, Heidenheimer notes that in the 1959 elections, the TGWU candidates, most of whom lacked confidence in their English, did not speak on Radio Gibraltar because only English was allowed. Heidenheimer, p. 262 and his footnote 33.

<sup>9</sup> Kellermann, *A New New English*, p. 96, Blinkhorn, p. 45.

<sup>10</sup> A tendency replicated in the greater acceptance being given to Yanito and its code-switching features, as discussed later in this chapter.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Anderson: ‘Nation, nationality, nationalism – all have proved notoriously difficult to define, let alone to analyse’. He quotes Seton-Watson (*Nation and States*, p. 5): ‘yet the phenomenon has existed and exists’. Anderson, p. 3. Also cf. Blinkhorn, who writes that ‘a widely internalized’, communal sense of Gibraltarian identity has emerged over the past half-century. If enough believe ‘such a thing exists, then exist it does’. Blinkhorn, p. 60.

<sup>12</sup> Levey, p. 10.

Although it could be argued that language shift in Gibraltar forms part of a continuing process which has been ongoing since the Second World War ... this process was noticeably accelerated as a result of the closure of the border ... seen and consolidated in the linguistic make-up of their children.<sup>13</sup>

Indeed the shift towards English was already well on course, partly because of official language policy but increasingly because of Gibraltarians' awareness of its advantages. However, it gathered momentum during the border closure. The closure did not create a new situation in language behaviour as much as build on what was already a clear trend.

For, as already discussed, Gibraltarians have always asserted their 'non-Spanishness'. This dissociative attitude is one reason why Gibraltarians do not like to be addressed in Spanish by an English-speaking non-Gibraltarian.<sup>14</sup> All this accords with many of Anja Kellermann's findings when she probed into her Gibraltarian informants' perception of their language behaviour.<sup>15</sup> She emphasises that speakers do not always report accurately on this, under-reporting the amount of Spanish they use. She quotes Chambers, that 'Linguistic differences are so intimately associated with political conflict that opposed groups sometimes exaggerate them'. But she sees language in Gibraltar 'instrumentalized as a marker of identity' and 'linguistic and sociolinguistic behaviour [as] ... an act of identity'.<sup>16</sup> High status is accorded to English (an 'almost devotional attachment'), and it has 'symbolic value' in the 'language ideology of the community'. This positive evaluation of English and negative view of Spanish leads her to quote Figuerelo:

El idioma español queda restringido, quizá vergonzantemente, al uso de la intimidad familiar.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Levey, p. 12. The findings of his recent research into adolescents' and pre-adolescents' language use appear to confirm that 'an intergenerational linguistic shift is taking place in Gibraltar'. Levey, p. 58. As I have tried to point out, this is a continuing phenomenon, from at least as early as the implementation of the Clifford Report.

<sup>14</sup> I myself have been told (April 2009), 'We speak English here, not Spanish,' when asking in Spanish for directions from a member of the public.

<sup>15</sup> Kellermann, *A New New English*, 'The Sociolinguistics of Gibraltar', pp. 85-100.

<sup>16</sup> Kellermann, 'When Gibraltarians speak, we're quite unique! Constructing Gibraltarian Identity with the help of English, Spanish and other respective local varieties' (Heidelberg, 1996) in *The Linguistic Construction of Social and Personal Identity: First International conference on Sociolinguistics in Portugal* (Évora: serviço de Publicações da Universidade de Évora), pp. 73-78 (p. 77).

<sup>17</sup> Kellermann, *A New New English*, p. 96, quoting Antonio Figuerelo, *Informe sobre Gibraltar* (Barcelona: Ediciones de Cultura Popular, 1968), p. 82. Kellermann also quotes Figuerelo on the high degree of British cultural influence ('way of life') after 1954, when the first border restrictions were imposed. Kellermann, p. 40, Figuerelo, p. 81.

In Gibraltar the speech community's *deliberate* partial shift to English has been first and foremost an act of identity [my italics].<sup>18</sup>

Essentially these comments are consistent with what I have argued throughout this thesis. There are many other elements in the position held by English besides this 'act of identity', such as the pragmatic and functional need for it. Yanito and Gibraltarian Spanish too play an important role as identity markers.<sup>19</sup> But, clearly, the centrality of English is inseparable from Gibraltar's sense of identity. Indeed, far from conflicting with the growing sense of nationhood that many have seen evolving in recent years (for it is much more an evolution than a 'construction'<sup>20</sup>), it accommodates it.<sup>21</sup> The primacy of English is the result of more than language policy.

One curious side-effect of this emotional attachment to English and its value as identity marker is that Gibraltarians, while they may readily admit to a lack of competence in Spanish and gently satirise Yanito (as evidenced for example by the humorous column in Yanito in the newspaper *Panorama*) are not self-critical of their English. Kellermann and Martens have both discussed this issue, which is consistent with a reluctance to allow outsiders to question their English and a refusal – now disappearing, according to Kellermann – to 'acknowledge the distinctive character' of their New English.<sup>22</sup>

Although written about a more recent period, Carmen Fernández Martín's comments are relevant here. She researched how Gibraltarians think about and evaluate their languages and their use of different varieties in different contexts. She concludes that Spanish has a 'carácter familiar', whereas English has ['carácter de] superioridad'. Whilst bilingualism enables social 'integration' in Gibraltar, it is impossible to isolate languages from politics. Spanish has no 'presencia' in the public sphere. She remarks that as elsewhere within the wider picture, in Gibraltar the highest valuation ('en términos de inteligencia, competencia y estatus social') is accorded those who speak

<sup>18</sup> Kellermann, *A New New English*, p. 98. Kramer and others also make this point.

<sup>19</sup> Kellermann herself points this out in her paper: 'Local forms of English and Spanish together with codeswitching are playing an increasingly important part in constituting identity.' 'When Gibraltarians speak', pp. 76-77.

<sup>20</sup> Or Anderson's 'cultural artefact'. Anderson, p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> Cf., for example, Martens' comments on Gibraltarian nationalism, pp. 183-185 above.

<sup>22</sup> Kellermann, *A New New English*, pp. 127, 151-152.

‘prestigious varieties’ in a standard accent, and that non-standard accents, minority and vernacular languages possess an ambiguous status.<sup>23</sup>

Indeed, as an extreme, it has been suggested that some Gibraltarians have regarded English spoken with a public school accent, and Spanish spoken very poorly, as a status symbol and perhaps an ultimate affirmation of loyalty.<sup>24</sup> And even many among those who appear to have problems with English consider themselves bilingual – there is no group identification with Spain.<sup>25</sup>

These tendencies are all the result of language policies influencing public perceptions and preferences, perhaps even going beyond the intentions of the original policy-makers. In this vein, Modrey quotes Kramer’s comment that the mother tongue is dangerous to the chosen lifestyle of Gibraltarians, and Kellermann’s notion of ‘language disloyalty’- ‘dangerous’ perhaps in the sense that it would undermine Gibraltarians’ claim to ‘Britishness’ in the eyes of the beholder.<sup>26</sup>

### 3. BILINGUALISM IN GIBRALTAR; LANGUAGE EVOLUTION AND SHIFTS

Even before the war education reports had recognised the advantage to the Gibraltarians of having Spanish, if only as second to English and not as a medium of instruction. Indeed, as we have seen in Chapter III, discussions in the Colonial Office at the time of the Clifford Report acknowledged the strength of Spanish in Gibraltar and even questioned whether English should be the medium of instruction in the new

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<sup>23</sup> She used questionnaires and ‘técnica de pares ocultos’ whereby 122 informants aged between 12 and 18 listened to a tape featuring four of the ‘variedades’ spoken in Gibraltar and evaluated the personality of each speaker. This was done through the use of pairs of contrasting adjectives, themselves graded on a 7-point scale. ‘Los resultados de esta prueba nos ayudarán a comprender cómo esta comunidad categoriza socialmente a sus miembros mediante la forma de hablar.’ Fernández Martín, ‘Valoración de las Actitudes Lingüísticas en Gibraltar’, pp. 5, 44-49, 83-84, 133. Fernández Martín comments on the lack of material about ‘the peculiar linguistic situation’ in Gibraltar, even in specialist sociolinguistic journals.

<sup>24</sup> See p. 253 below, also article in *Calpe News*, 12 October 1979, pp. 4–5.

<sup>25</sup> Modrey, p. 45. Also cf. Kramer, who shares common ground with Kellermann when he writes that Gibraltarian intellectuals are eager to emphasise the high degree of English penetration in their language (what he calls ‘counter-insurance’). Kramer, p. 65.

<sup>26</sup> Modrey, p. 35; Kellermann, *A New New English*, p. 97; Kramer, p. 63. Kramer contrasts this attitude with that of the Chicanos to Spanish, p. 65.

system. Howes and Clifford also gave a place to Spanish language teaching, albeit in a very secondary role. So let us look at how Gibraltar's bilingualism has come about.

Levey writes that 'Gibraltarians are correct to define themselves as bilingual but the term is subjective' and notes that 'different sectors of society have varying degrees of proficiency in English and Spanish'.<sup>27</sup> This belief, though less applicable now than in former times, still contains some truth. It is also worth bearing in mind Modrey's notion that 'the bilingual communicates in a dual culture system': as we have seen throughout, we are dealing with a combination of languages and cultures.<sup>28</sup>

In the introduction to her book, Suzanne Romaine considers the wide spectrum of definitions of bilingualism. Her choice of definition is that bilingualism is simply 'the alternate use of two or more languages'; it is 'something entirely relative because the point at which the speaker of a second language becomes bilingual is either arbitrary or impossible to determine'.<sup>29</sup> This is as good a starting point as any for an examination of bilingualism in Gibraltar.

In general terms bilingualism gives speakers choice between two languages. But Fishman has noted that bilinguals are 'rarely equally fluent in both languages about all possible topics',<sup>30</sup> there is a need for 'functional *differentiation*' between languages rather than dominance of the one or balance between the two:

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<sup>27</sup> Levey, p. 6. He draws on Moyer's work in coming to this conclusion.

<sup>28</sup> Modrey, p. 40. She quotes Bossard (1945), p. 670.

<sup>29</sup> She follows W.F. Mackey's definition (1968), and his earlier (1967) suggestion of four questions that a description of bilingualism should address – degree, function, alternation between the languages, and interference (or degree of separation between the languages). Romaine, using references to Mackey, pp. 11-12, and bibliographical references, p. 352. Ellul (in her study of bilingualism in Malta) and the Gibraltarian Sergio Ballantine have made a distinction between different kinds of bilingualism. Ellul speaks of two types, co-ordinate and compound: Ballantine adds 'subordinate' bilingualism to these two forms, using Weinreich's classification. Ellul, p. 1; Ballantine, 'A Study of the Effects of English-Medium Education on Initially Monoglot Spanish-Speaking Children', p. 3. He cites Uriel Weinreich's, *Languages in Contact* (1963 edition).

<sup>30</sup> Romaine, p. 19. Also: '¿Qué es lo que permite calificar a un individuo como bilingüe?... se han propuesto definiciones ... que van desde el pleno dominio de dos lenguas (L. Bloomfield, 1933) hasta el extreme opuesto, que propone que "el individuo bilingüe ... posee una competencia mínima en, al menos, una de las cuatro habilidades lingüísticas" '. Maitena Etxebarria, *La Diversidad de Lenguas en España* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe S.A., 2002), p. 29.

From the point of view of sociolinguistics any *society* that produces functionally balanced bilinguals (i.e. bilinguals who use their languages equally well in all contexts) must soon cease to be bilingual because no society needs two languages for one and the same set of functions.<sup>31</sup>

There is also the issue of diglossia. Ferguson (quoted by Romaine) used the term in 1959 to refer to the relationship between two or more varieties of the same language, involving different 'functional specialization' in 'High' and 'Low' varieties.<sup>32</sup> Among those areas in which H and L may differ, according to Ferguson, are prestige, literary heritage and grammar.

Fishman adopted the concept of diglossia to embrace more than one language. Diglossia is as significant in Gibraltar as in other bilingual societies, because the literary, written and (largely) formal oral functions of language rely on English, whilst Spanish has a much less formal, if still important, role. Fishman's comments are apposite to Gibraltar when he writes of 'one set of behaviours, attitudes and values being supported and ... expressed in one language; another set' in another. He considers how the 'compartmentalized' roles in a speech community ('separate though complementary') prevent one language or variety from displacing the other:

This separation most frequently took the form of a High (H) language, used in conjunction with religion, education and other aspects of High Culture, and of a Low (L) language, used in everyday household pursuits and in the lower work sphere.<sup>33</sup>

Gumperz states, coming near to Fishman's notion of compartmentalisation:

Where speakers control and regularly employ two or more speech varieties and continue to do so over long periods of time, it is most likely that each of the two varieties will be associated with certain activities or social characteristics of speakers. This is especially the case in formal or ceremonial situations, such as religious or magical rites.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Joshua A. Fishman, Robert L. Cooper, Roxana Ma, *Bilingualism in the Barrio*, Language Science Monographs (Bloomington: Indiana University Publications, 1971), p. 560. Also cf. Grosjean: 'Contrary to general belief, bilinguals are rarely equally fluent in both languages.' François Grosjean, *Life with two Languages: an Introduction to Bilingualism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1982), p. vii.

<sup>32</sup> Romaine, p. 33, quoting Ferguson, in P. Gigliolo, ed., *Language and Social Context* (Harmondsworth: Penguin 1972), pp. 232-252 (p. 232).

<sup>33</sup> Fishman, p. 539.

<sup>34</sup> John Gumperz, *Language in Social Groups* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1971), p. 314. Also cf. Beswick, 'A community will generally share a set of social and behavioural norms defining language use. Anyone who speaks more than one language chooses between them according to the

Again, this is very relevant to Gibraltar, where different codes fulfil different roles. ‘Code alternation is largely of the situational types: distinct varieties are employed in certain settings’ with separate activities and different categories of speakers.<sup>35</sup> In Gibraltar the ‘high’ code is predetermined by the official and educational status of English; the ‘low’ – Spanish or Yanito – is used *largely* in popular and less formal usage, but this does not detract from its importance to users.

Fishman reminds us that diglossia exists not just in ‘multilingual’ societies, but also in societies employing different languages or registers or ‘functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind’.<sup>36</sup> Later in this chapter I will return to my interview with JB and the question of registers.

Equally crucial to this study is the link between bilingualism and politics. I have already referred to Romaine’s contention that bilingualism is ‘about politics’. She argues that there is rarely equality of status in a community’s languages, always competition and sometimes conflict.<sup>37</sup> As the example of Gibraltar demonstrates, lack of parity in status often applies when more than one language is available. We might think that bilingualism would be seen as a virtue but this is not always the case, and there are often political obstacles to its acceptance. An already-notorious one is Proposition 227 in the USA, which limited publicly funded bilingual education in California (1998). Its essence was that schools should teach children ‘overwhelmingly’ in English, through structured English immersion (not unlike the English immersion method used in Gibraltar schools after the first year of education). The reasons given for favouring this approach were educationally and socially integrative. These were both challenged, on the grounds of the social and educational advantages of learning in a first language.<sup>38</sup> There were criticisms of immersion –

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particular circumstances of the interaction, just as they choose between forms of a given language according to context’. Jaine E. Beswick, *Regional Nationalism in Spain: Language Use and Ethnic Identity in Galicia* (Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingual Matters, 2007), p. 13.

<sup>35</sup> John Gumperz, *Discourse Strategies* (Cambridge: CUP, 1982), p. 60.

<sup>36</sup> Fishman, p. 540. Less relevantly to my study, he also discusses the other parts of the bilingualism / diglossia matrix: diglossia without bilingualism; bilingualism without diglossia; and ‘undifferentiated’ speech communities with neither one nor the other. Fishman, pp. 541-551.

<sup>37</sup> Romaine, p.xiv. Also: ‘Linguistic characteristics of minority languages such as diglossia [sic] and bilingualism are just the linguistic manifestations of unequal access to power in society.’ Romaine, p. 323.

<sup>38</sup> May, *Language and Minority Rights*, pp. 216, 219.

‘one size fits all’ – and opponents felt that the needs of children were being subordinated to politics.

However, the Proposition won the support of 61% of voters and became law. It led to the ‘English only’ policy being linked to anti-Hispanic and anti-immigration attitudes.<sup>39</sup> This approach to language policy is perhaps not far removed from Colonial Secretary Beattie’s speech about the scouts’ choice of language in pre-war Gibraltar,<sup>40</sup> or John Stewart’s failure to adopt a constructive approach to Gibraltar’s code-switching Yanito.<sup>41</sup> All these examples show misunderstanding about what bilingualism entails. Perhaps, in sociolinguistic terms, there is a kind of denial practised towards it by those who are, by nurture or choice, resolutely monolingual - this in itself is worthy of a separate study. The assumption of this thesis is in line with Romaine’s belief that bilingualism is ‘a resource to be cultivated rather than a problem to be overcome’.<sup>42</sup>

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Gibraltar’s present bilingualism evolved through a combination of demographic change and popular and official language requirements. Chapter I set out to describe how Genoese, Spanish and English coexisted in the early period after the British conquest and how the nineteenth century and the pre-Second World War period saw changes in the balance between the languages of Gibraltar. These changes were a reflection of Britain’s imperial role and presence, of developments in education and of the pattern of migration to Gibraltar.

Kramer has described the general abandonment of Genoese by the local population and its replacement by Spanish, an important linguistic shift underlining the

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid, pp. 221, 219-223. However, see Romaine for *earlier* litigation concerning the rights of bilingual students, p. 277. Then again, in 2006, the issue ‘returned with a vengeance’. A group of legislators representing Hispanics ‘blocked funding for the state’s board of education as part of their campaign to reinstate bilingual teaching’. The ensuing debate was ‘rancorous and partisan’. This information and some in the main text taken from Dan Glaister’s article, ‘California Split over Teaching’, in *The Guardian Weekly*, p. 3 of ‘Learning English’ supplement, 11 August 2006.

<sup>40</sup> See pp. 53-54 above.

<sup>41</sup> Romaine remarks on anglophone nations’ lack of enthusiasm for bilingualism, p. 324. See Stewart, pp. 70-71.

<sup>42</sup> Romaine, p. 7.



fluctuating demographic character of the fortress-colony in its early years. In examining the gradual language shift from Genoese to Andalusian Spanish in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, he notes the Genoese peculiarities that were retained.<sup>43</sup>

Determining when Gibraltar became bilingual will depend on our understanding of the term. If we mean use of Spanish and English in interaction between different sections of the community (even when relatively few spoke both languages) this goes well back. Howes states that, with Spanish established around the mid – nineteenth century, ‘the Jews had led the population in speaking English whenever possible, realising the value of bilingualism in a British fortress colony’.<sup>44</sup>

Kellermann herself attributes ‘the first seeds of Gibraltarian Spanish–English bilingualism’ to the denominational schools of the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>45</sup> In her contribution at a conference in Évora she examined the growing dominance of Spanish in the nineteenth century; then the ‘partial language shift towards English’ in the second half of the twentieth, its voluntary adoption by the Gibraltarians and its role as an identity marker. Kellermann discussed its increasingly important role in all domains as a result of Spanish restrictions from the 1960s, showing also how it coexisted with the increasing emphasis on ‘Gibraltarianness’ since the 1980s.<sup>46</sup> She sums up the ‘striking process’ of the shift in this period:

Gibraltar’s predominantly monolingual Spanish-speaking classes became bilingual.<sup>47</sup>

Blinkhorn too observes the shift:

While the vernacular use of Spanish survived comfortably enough, it nevertheless yielded ground at various levels of intercourse to both Llanito [sic] and English.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> See below, p. 236.

<sup>44</sup> H.W. Howes, *The Gibraltarian*, p. 168. The Jews had also led in reintroducing Spanish earlier (see p. 27 above).

<sup>45</sup> Kellermann, *A New New English*, p. 90.

<sup>46</sup> Kellermann’s paper ‘When Gibraltarians speak’, ‘presents the results of [her] analysis of speakers’ sociolinguistic awareness’, using data from her research for her doctoral thesis, referred to above on numerous occasions, p. 73. Also: ‘the speech community’s deliberate partial shift to English [is] ... first and foremost an *act of identity*’, Kellermann, *A New, New English* p. 98.

<sup>47</sup> Kellermann, *A New New English*, p. 92.

Elena Errico, who writes about the ‘further shift’ that has occurred in the language of Gibraltar in the twentieth century, explains why English is used increasingly in the ‘non-official’ domain:

This is largely due to three capital events in Gibraltar’s recent history: evacuation in the forties, the overhauling of the school system at the end of the war and the closure of the frontier in 1969.<sup>49</sup>

And this tercet, more than Blinkhorn’s three specific episodes of ‘collective identity-formation’ constitutes the hypothesis of my thesis. As I have tried to show, the Evacuation exposed Gibraltarians to a wider world and, in the case of most of them, to an environment where English was the usual language. The Clifford Report, despite its ostensibly imperial approach, was radical in its implications for educational organisation in Gibraltar and the enhanced valuation of English. And the Spanish campaign and border closure united Gibraltarians more than ever in their loyalty to Britain and also gave added momentum to the language shift to English.<sup>50</sup>

In her own thesis, Michot, quoting official sources claiming Gibraltarians to be ‘perfectly’ bilingual, sees an evolution of language along the lines of political preference:

On peut, en effet, chercher à savoir s’ils ont un réel attachement pour l’anglais ou si son usage est surtout une arme politique contre les Espagnols. Car la façon dont ils appréhendent les langues semble également liée à la situation politique.

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<sup>48</sup> And he too sees this tendency strengthening as a result of the twentieth-century siege. Blinkhorn, pp. 58–59.

<sup>49</sup> Errico, p. 31. The same three causes were given by Melissa Moyer, ‘Analysis of Code-Switching in Gibraltar’ (doctoral thesis, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1992), pp. 123–124. Compare these ‘three capital events’ with Blinkhorn’s three ‘episodes’ in Gibraltar’s ‘collective identity-formation’. Blinkhorn conflates Moyer’s and Errico’s three events and adds a new, post-1985 layer of Gibraltarians’ ‘fear and mistrust’ of British ‘ambivalence’. His post-1985 episode is the ‘period of uncertainty’ after the British ‘withdrawal’. I have touched on this aspect, which mostly falls outside the years of my thesis. Blinkhorn, pp. 57–59.

<sup>50</sup> Kramer too accords much importance to the Evacuation in changing the linguistic pattern of Gibraltar and also to the Spanish restrictions in Franco’s time, although he states that the conditions of the Evacuation also led to ‘an increased emotional commitment to Spanish’. Kramer sees the degree of mastery of English varying widely. He uses Tomás Navarro, *El Español en Puerto Rico* (Rio Piedras, 1966), pp. 220–225, in illustrating different types of Anglicism in English-Spanish bilingualism. Kramer, pp. 19, 58–60.

[deux langues] ... ne veut pas dire qu'elles sont utilisées de manière égale.<sup>51</sup>

Indeed, as we are seeing throughout this thesis, they are not used in an 'equal' way.

In discussing language use, behaviour and attitude, Modrey, like others, notes the increase in the use of English, and the relegation of Spanish to the informal domain. This 'unequal' attitude to the languages is an indication both of official encouragement and, increasingly over the years, popular choice. Because of the role of English in marking identity, she sees no sign in Gibraltar of Spanish language loyalty (unlike, for example, in Puerto Rico, where Spanish exists in a different political context). In Gibraltar language is regarded 'as a powerful means of expressing an affiliation to Britain and also to clarify the separate identity from neighbouring Spain'.<sup>52</sup>

But in the course of this thesis the question has arisen how, with so much against it, the Spanish language has been maintained in Gibraltar. It would appear that the smooth continuum towards a predominantly English-speaking community that might have been envisaged early in the siege years, say in 1963, was not maintained in the following period of two decades and longer. Clearly, other factors played a part in this question.

The chief one is that there continued to be a *need* for Spanish for certain functions and at different levels. There was the relatively high proportion of Spanish women who had married Gibraltarians – even up to the time of frontier restrictions. Their influence on maintaining Spanish as a home language was bound to be strong. Apart from family ties, there is also the sheer amount of time language shift takes: Kellermann traces Gibraltar's over three or four generations. Again, there are extraneous factors which would retard this shift, even if policy, education and pragmatism give English every advantage. The influence of Spanish television, which met a need in Gibraltar not entirely answered by the local English-language service, became very strong - the growth of this medium coincided with the siege years. The importance of the

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<sup>51</sup> Michot, pp. 68-69.

<sup>52</sup> Modrey, p. 98.

language issue in broadcasting in Gibraltar has already been examined in Chapters IV and V.

And there are other reasons for the high degree of Spanish language maintenance. There is a human tendency to adopt in informal and affective discourse a language that functions well in the lower registers of diglossia, even if it has not always had a fully-recognised status, and which at times in the history of Gibraltar – and even very recently in some schools – has been effectively discouraged. This is another example of popular language behaviour not being suppressed by official policy. Moreover, this continuing contact with Spanish might suggest that there is a shred of anti-establishment nonconformity in this, some residue of ex-colonials' self-assertion. Indeed, commenting on the increased use of Spanish on leaving school by older youngsters among his informants, Levey refers to what Chambers calls a 'declaration of adolescence'.<sup>53</sup> This apparent refusal to go along with what has been formally expected from them at school previously may have its counterpart among some adults.<sup>54</sup> Later in this chapter I will try to explain further the reasons for Spanish language maintenance in Gibraltar.

Modrey emphasises the positive approach to bilingualism:

Nevertheless, Gibraltarians are very proud of the fact that they have two languages at their disposal.<sup>55</sup>

At this stage we should ask whether they have two languages or three.

#### 4. YANITO

Because it is the obvious example of popular language use in Gibraltar I would now like to consider the 'Yanito' dimension.

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<sup>53</sup> Levey, p. 68.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. reference to *Calpe News*, pp. 261-262 below.

<sup>55</sup> Modrey, p. 98.

The word ‘Yanito’ refers both to the form of Spanish associated with Gibraltar and to its inhabitants, probably based on the Genoese diminutive Gianni for Giovanni – a common and popular name which could have gained currency as a first-name ethonym for an inhabitant of Gibraltar.<sup>56</sup>

Spanish became established in Gibraltar with the arrival of Sephardic Jews from Morocco and of Spaniards who – as the memory of 1704 receded – came to live and work on the Rock, joining the Genoese population already there. For a time Spanish coexisted with Genoese, the language of the predominant civilian ethnic group, and eventually replaced it as the Spanish influx increased and the Genoese became assimilated in the early nineteenth century.<sup>57</sup> Yanito could have originated at the time Spanish became dominant, but when it was still subject to the influence of Genoese words and phrases.<sup>58</sup>

It is therefore a Gibraltarian ‘dialect’ with its base in Andalusian Spanish, with many Genoese, English and other lexical, grammatical and phonetic influences. Kellermann regards it as the Gibraltarian vernacular - this is an important point, because it suggests a distinction between Yanito and Spanish as Gibraltar’s lower-register, informal, ‘language of the heart’. She sees as the base of Yanito:

a local variety of Spanish, which has been infiltrated ... by English elements, including isolated loans and phrases and whole sentences. Yanito can ... be seen as a continuum with at one end a largely AndSp-based dialect, here referred to as Gibraltarian Spanish (GibSp), and at the other, an English-Spanish code-switching style.<sup>59</sup>

Kellermann calls Yanito ‘the Low variety in the community’s diglossic/didalic language situation’, because it is the language used in appropriate lower register

<sup>56</sup> Ballantine adopts the spelling Llanito, Cavilla comes out in favour of Yanito. Cavilla, *Gib*, pp. 112 - 115. Other sources have been suggested (cf. Kramer et al.), such as a derivation from the English ‘Johnny’, and from ‘llano’, plain. The origin and form of the name are often disputed.

<sup>57</sup> Although Genoese retained its influence, for example, in the village of Catalan Bay for several decades. Cf. pp. 29-30 for reference to the last proclamation by a Governor in Genoese in 1836.

<sup>58</sup> The beginnings of ‘Yanito’ are sometimes traced back (by Ballantine for example) to the increase in the number of arrivals from Genoa in the second half of the eighteenth century. Sergius Ballantine, *GHI*, 7 (2000), p. 116.

<sup>59</sup> Kellermann, *A New, New English*, p. 135.

situations but occasionally ‘promoted’ to higher and more serious levels of expression (hence, ‘didalic’).<sup>60</sup>

The lexicon of Yanito and its character have been well studied in recent years. My main interest is its influence on English and Spanish in Gibraltar, whether it is a separate entity, and its role as a signifier of Gibraltarian identity.

I have consulted Manuel Cavilla’s *Diccionario Yanito* (1978) and Tito Vallejo’s more recent *Yanito Dictionary* (2001).<sup>61</sup> Cavilla had identified ‘some four hundred words, half of them corruptions of English words and about half of them of Genoese and Italian origin or derivations from them’. But he also found a sprinkling of Portuguese, Hebrew and Arabic words, understandable because of the geography and history of Gibraltar. Sergio Ballantine points out that whole expressions and phrases in English are used too in Yanito. Some changes of vocabulary occur: ‘marca’ for ‘[school] marks’, ‘pompa’ for ‘pump’, and so forth.<sup>62</sup> All these words differ from the Spanish, and many Yanito words in this category have been adopted from the Genoese (such as ‘marchapie’, ‘pavement’, from Genoese - and Italian - ‘marciapiede’). There are also many colloquial usages, often arising from localised pronunciations of the English – in this category ‘quequi’ for ‘cake’ and ‘arishu’ for ‘Irish stew’ are often quoted. And F. Becker has used Gibraltar newspapers from 1967-68 for examples of Yanito words, phrases and constructions. He too has made a study of the spoken language and gives an impressive list of hybrid terms, literal translations and adaptations, and proverbs.<sup>63</sup>

With regard to Gibraltarian phonetics, Cavilla points out differences of pronunciation with standard Spanish, such as ‘s’ before consonants,<sup>64</sup> and the production of ‘s’ in a plural word before a vowel, unlike in Andalusian Spanish (‘Las Ala’ for ‘the wings’ and not ‘Lahala’). These differences are significant because they remind us of the

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, pp. 278-279. Also, Kellermann, ‘When Gibraltarians speak, we’re quite unique’, pp. 76–77.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. p. 30 above, footnote 84.

<sup>62</sup> Ballantine, *GHJ*, 7 (2000), p. 119.

<sup>63</sup> E.g. Bodega Royal, Laguna estate, suficient, conections, comparsas, adding wood to the fire, mañana-land. Becker optimistically believes that ‘después de una possible integración de Gibraltar a España, sería muy probable que el inglés siguiera como “dialecto” durante algunas generaciones para ser absorbido después por el español’. Franz Becker, ‘La influencia del español sobre el inglés en Gibraltar’, *Boletín de Filología Hispánica*, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (1970), 19–27.

<sup>64</sup> ‘Invariably’ preceded with an ‘e’ in Spain: ‘eski’ for ‘ski’, ‘estop’ for ‘stop’ etc. Cavilla, p. 119.

separate dialectical character of Yanito. They survive despite the short distance (and now again, close contact) between Gibraltar and the neighbouring Spanish towns. This survival reminds us that in the formative years of ‘Yanito’ the inhabitants of Gibraltar were sufficiently cut off from Spain to develop a vernacular of a different character.

There is no lack of scholarship on the subject. Kramer, in his examination of the role of Jewish Sephardic Spanish and Genoese in Gibraltar’s linguistic history, has used a questionnaire from the *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* (1962) to give an idea of the phonetic characteristics of Yanito, comparing the sound of Gibraltarian words with the Spanish of Manilva and Tarifa. He points out instances of yeísmo, the aspirate ‘h’ and the disappearance of intervocalic ‘d’; he finds differences between Yanito and Andalusian in seseo, and the pronunciation of final n, r, l. Kramer states that the Andalusian spoken by the ‘first linguistic converts ... had retained some Genoese peculiarities (“Andaluso in bocca Genoese”)’ and describes the language shift between these two languages as ‘massive’.<sup>65</sup>

However, what immediately strikes many scholars and visitors to Gibraltar is the presence of elements of both English and Spanish in normal conversation, an obvious manifestation of Yanito. Francisco Oda–Ángel writes:

Hablan una especie de Spanglish que, además, también afecta a la comarca del Campo de Gibraltar con el uso de terminos ingleses adaptados a la fonética castellana.<sup>66</sup>

Michot calls Yanito ‘ce méli-mélo anglo-hispanique arbitré par l’Italie’.<sup>67</sup> Another French source, this time an article in *Liberation* entitled ‘Querelle Coloniale à Gibraltar’, asks ‘Do you habla Spanglish?’:

Totalement bilingue, le vrai Gibraltarien parle un ‘spanglish’, aussi appelé ‘yanito’: un melange de dialecte andalou, d’anglais et d’italien.

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<sup>65</sup> Kramer, pp. 81–87.

<sup>66</sup> Oda – Ángel, pp. 57–58.

<sup>67</sup> Michot, pp. 91, 95–6, 99, 102. Michot refers to an article by Jean-Louis Perrier, ‘Gibraltar, “finis terrae” de l’Europe’, *Le Monde*, 14 December 1991, p. 25.

The author states that since the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 the official language on the Rock has been that of Shakespeare, ‘obligatoire à l’école’ (in fact, as we have seen, English did not become obligatory in school until much later). We are told that in the street and at home Gibraltarians even today speak:

Un espagnol émaillé d’anglicismes, à la syntaxe souvent britannique: on va manger un aristu [sic], [Yanito for ‘Irish stew’].<sup>68</sup>

While the comment on syntax is not strictly accurate, and I shall return to this use of the word ‘Spanglish’ later in the chapter, this statement fairly represents the first impact Yanito would make on an outsider. EG succinctly sums up this vital aspect of Gibraltar’s identity:

It’s a peculiarity of Gibraltar life that you switch from English to Spanish automatically without even thinking.<sup>69</sup>

Indeed, the use of code-switching is one of the most striking features of speech in Gibraltar, servicing the ‘unofficial’ and lower registers for the majority of Gibraltarians, and it is to this that I now turn.<sup>70</sup>

## 5. YANITO AND CODE-SWITCHING

Romaine adopts Gumperz’s definition of code-switching as

The juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub-systems.<sup>71</sup>

With practically every household having two languages, even if these are in a functional imbalance, the use of code-switching in day-to-day discourse in Gibraltar

<sup>68</sup> Article ‘Querelle Coloniale à Gibraltar’, *Liberation*, 25 October 1991, pp. 21-23.

<sup>69</sup> Interview, January 2008.

<sup>70</sup> The ‘Yanito’ influence has also affected language in the neighbouring Campo de Gibraltar. Cf. p. 259, footnote 136, for recent research about this.

<sup>71</sup> Romaine, quoting Gumperz, *Discourse Strategies*, p. 59. She emphasises it can ‘occur in both monolingual and bilingual communities’, and draws a distinction with diglossia, ‘where two languages or varieties co-exist and are specialized according to function’. In diglossic situations ‘only one code is usually employed at any one time’. Romaine, p. 121.



merits some examination. As in other bilingual communities, code-switching is used for a variety of reasons. For instance, one use according to Romaine:

To redefine interaction as appropriate to a different social arena or to avoid, through continual code-switching, defining the interaction in terms of any social arena.<sup>72</sup>

This very much applies to Gibraltar, where as we have seen language choice is often value-laden for social, historical and functional reasons. And a consequence of this is that, by combining elements of two languages, code-switching reinforces a local identity – this is another dimension of language loyalty.

The work of some other writers who have seen Yanito as an expression of Gibraltarian identity is worth examining at this stage. Moyer has studied bilingual conversation in Gibraltar extensively:

Gibraltar is an ideal language laboratory for undertaking research on conversational code-switching ... English and Spanish are used on a daily basis in almost every verbal interaction. The population has a balanced linguistic competence ... variety and richness of communication strategies [are] available to bilingual members of the community.<sup>73</sup>

She takes the view that code-switching is ‘by far the most common linguistic manifestation of fluent bilingual speakers ... the result of highly proficient bilinguals with a comparable linguistic competence in both languages’.<sup>74</sup> I am not sure that the code-switcher has to have comparable competence in both languages, as opposed to access to vocabulary and loan-words and structures in each of them. However, there is no doubt that much of Yanito is based on English-Spanish code-switching and Moyer is right in linking it with advantages of fluency, proficiency and self-definition of identity.<sup>75</sup>

Ballantine gives such examples of code-switching as ‘Voy a un meeting’, ‘Han subido el income tax,’ ‘He hecho question ten and eleven’, to show that Spanish is the base

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<sup>72</sup> Romaine, p. 166.

<sup>73</sup> Melissa Moyer, ‘Bilingual Conversation Strategies in Gibraltar’ in *Code-Switching in Conversation: Language, Interaction and Identity*, ed. Peter Auer (London, Routledge, 1998), pp. 215-234 (p. 215).

<sup>74</sup> Moyer, *Analysis of Code-Switching in Gibraltar*, pp. 2, 5-6.

<sup>75</sup> See below pp. 248-249 for Moyer’s link between code-switching and political loyalties.

of Yanito, with English contributions often being verbal nouns or gerunds ('Hoy no tenemos training').<sup>76</sup> Kellermann herself describes Yanito as 'a continuum' where a varying degree of English elements is inserted into an Andalusian Spanish basis, seen by young Gibraltarians particularly as a code-switching phenomenon, not as a 'localized Spanish'.<sup>77</sup>

A scholarly analysis of Gibraltarian code-switching has also been provided by Mark Stannard –Yera, who regards Yanito as a mixed language, 'using the grammars of the two languages without simplification'. He writes that, whilst usually the matrix language provides structure and the embedded language lexis, and 'whilst it is true that more Spanish sentences are spoken [in Gibraltar], it does not seem very reliable to count the sentences to find the matrix language – there must be other criteria than simply quantity':

Although the majority consider English to be their first language, a vast majority admit to speaking a mix of languages at home and when asked which language is easier there is no clear consensus.<sup>78</sup>

He quotes Ballantine (1986) that 'as a language Yanito's core is the Spanish language'. Hence Stannard-Yera, using a total of 35 sentences, both heard in the street and recorded, concludes that, whenever English provides a lexical item ('a content morpheme') Spanish provides the determiner ('a system morpheme').

He suggests that code-switching sentences generally fit into a Spanish grammatical frame:

There were no examples [in these 35 sentences] of an English determiner being inserted with the noun in a Spanish sentence, although of course there were various cases of EL islands, where English was spoken for long periods of time and during which obviously English determiners were used with English nouns. There were also no examples of Spanish nouns being inserted with English determiners.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Ballantine, *GHJ*, 7 (2000), p. 119.

<sup>77</sup> Kellermann, 'When Gibraltarians speak, we're quite unique', p.77; and *A New New English*, pp. 134–139.

<sup>78</sup> M. Stannard-Yera, 'Grammatical Constraints on Code-switching in Gibraltar' (MA dissertation, University of Surrey, 2001), pp. 14–15.

More recently, in his study of language in Gibraltar, Levey states that code-switching there is ‘subject to social, situational and equivalence constraints with the grammatical rules and conventions of both languages usually being respected’.<sup>80</sup>

Gibraltarian code-switching, very much a feature of Yanito, therefore, certainly lends itself to linguistic analysis. My main concern is how it manifests identity. In Gibraltar it has been well to the fore in both the content and the form of many of the interviews I conducted. Its function as an identifier has been extensively studied and referred to.<sup>81</sup> Its practical uses too, in compensating for the lack of the *mot juste* in one of the languages (usually in the technical, specialised areas in Spanish, and sometimes in the language of informality and spontaneity in English) have all been discussed in previous chapters. It is clearly not consonant with standard English or Spanish and to that extent it can be said to be in conflict with traditional language policies. But it is fully consistent with what has been said about markers of Gibraltarian identity.

We should consider how code-switching affects other communities.

## 6. CODE-SWITCHING: A WIDER CONTEXT; ANALYSIS AND REFERENCE TO GIBRALTAR

John Gumperz has studied bilingualism and code-switching in Spanish and English in several areas of the United States. Following an intensive study of a Puerto Rican neighbourhood in New York, he observed the free use of code-switching styles and ‘extreme forms of borrowing in everyday talk as well as in more formal gatherings’. Spanish was spoken with very small children and older family members but, interestingly, some residents spoke Spanish ‘only on formal occasions’ (when, in an equivalent situation in Gibraltar, English would have been used). But here too ‘attitudes to speaking as well as members’ self-reports differ systematically from

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid, quotations from pp. 12, 14–16. There is a catalogue entry under M. Stannard-Yera of a University of Surrey MA thesis, (2002), ‘Testing Myers-Scotton’s matrix language frame: the case of Yanito’.

<sup>80</sup> Levey, p. 3.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. references in this chapter: e.g. Kellermann, *A New New English*, pp. 134–139; Levey, pp. 1–2.

actual usage'. He also sees the code-contrast as symbolising varying degrees of speaker involvement:

Spanish statements are personalized, while English reflects more distance. The speaker seems to alternate between *talking about* her problem in English and *acting out* her problem through words in Spanish.<sup>82</sup>

Code-switching is not, as we have seen from Gibraltar, a laborious or unnatural process. However, as has been stated with reference to Stannard-Yera and other writers there are constraints and principles of government and grammar.

It has been described as:

a response to each conversant's assessment of the other's ethnic identity, age, sex, degree of solidarity or confidentiality ... a switch to Spanish is a device for indicating such personal feelings as affection, loyalty ... Conversely a switch to English often signals a speaker's feelings of detachment, objectivity, alienation ... or it may reflect a shift of topic to matters typically Anglo-American.<sup>83</sup>

This alternation between languages illustrates the notion behind the perhaps oversimplistic assertion that, both in Gibraltar and certain bilingual communities in the USA and elsewhere, English is often the language of the head, and Spanish of the heart.

Researching the use of Spanish and English in Hispanic communities in the USA  
Poplack comments:

[Puerto Rican] community members themselves appear to consider various bilingual behaviours to be defining features of their identity.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Gumperz, *Discourse Strategies*, p. 81, also pp. 40–57; and 'The Sociological Significance of Conversational Code-Switching' (University of California: Berkeley, 1977), pp. 8, 19–20. Cf. interview with BL about use of Spanish in his union, p. 412 below.

<sup>83</sup> Lenora A. Timm, 'Spanish-English Code-Switching: El Porqué y How-Not to', *Romance Philology* 28, no. 2 (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1974–75), 473–482 (p. 475).

<sup>84</sup> Sheila Poplack, 'Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish ...' *Linguistics*, 18 (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1980), 581–618 (p. 588). Lipski states that '“code-shifting” often conveys connotations of ingroup identity, ethnicity and solidarity'. John M. Lipski, 'Linguistic Aspects of Spanish-English Language Switching', special studies no. 25 (Arizona State University: Center for Latin American Studies, 1985), p. 10.

Drawing these quotations together one can see much that applies to Gibraltar, and they confirm what has already been said in this chapter about code-switching. Convergence and divergence are aspects whereby code-switching is employed (or ‘happens’) when Gibraltarians are indicating belonging to ‘the tribe’, in JB’s words.<sup>85</sup> Gumperz’s and Pfaff’s conceptions of code-switching (which they also see as alternation between English and Spanish) have their counterparts in Gibraltar, where Spanish, as I have tried to show, is often used with the very young and the very old; and also for personal and affective orientation, as opposed to more objective, formal discourse. Social and personal issues are intrinsic to code-switching, as Timm indicates: a speaker is flagging an attitude towards a collocutor, an emotional or rational response, depending on choice of language. Identification and solidarity, and ‘the lessening of social distance’ (or its increase), which are functions of code-switching pointed out by other commentators above, are key features of the use of Yanito.<sup>86</sup>

An often-noted phenomenon in code-switching is that it is used within a group of similarly linguistically equipped individuals. This comes out from some of the quotations above and is a feature in Gibraltar. Part of the reason for this, as pointed out by some of my interviewees (JSe and DP) is pragmatic – a Yanito word of English derivation, say where it was a substitute for a technical Spanish word, would save trouble to a Gibraltarian, even though it would not be understood by a Spaniard.<sup>87</sup> The same would apply in reverse with Spanish- (or Genoese-) derived loan-words not being understood by monoglot English speakers. In this respect, it is fair to speak of Yanito code-switching as amounting to an in-group language, which lends credence to the view that Gibraltarians can always identify one another by their speech.

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<sup>85</sup> Interview with JB, April 2009.

<sup>86</sup> Carol Pfaff has written, with reference to Spanish communities in the USA: ‘Domain or situational switching has evolved into metaphorical use of Spanish to express a personal or affective orientation to the content of speech, in contrast to a more objective or impersonal use of English’. Carol W. Pfaff, ‘Constraints on Language Mixing: Intrasentential Code-Switching and Borrowing in Spanish/English Language’, *Journal of the Linguistic Society of America*, 55, 1 (1979), 291-318 (p. 294). I have already quoted Fernández Martín’s comment that Spanish has a ‘carácter familiar’, whereas English has ‘carácter de superioridad’. Fernández Martín, p. 6.

<sup>87</sup> DS suggested that even ‘top people’ in Gibraltar have difficulties with technical Spanish nowadays. Interview, April, 2008.

While agreeing with Moyer that code-switching gives advantages of enrichment, I have questioned her notion that an individual's command of two languages should be equal for code-switching to occur.<sup>88</sup> After all, code-switching may well show the speaker supplementing gaps within particular contexts in one of the languages. Besides, it is convincingly argued that code-switching occurs even in monolingual contexts, as we see in the following pages.

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At this point, turning from the general to the particular, I quote an informed individual's experience about the role of Yanito and code-switching in a political and social context.

JB, former Chief Minister of Gibraltar, in our interview of April 2009 discussed Yanito as a *register*:

In a monolingual society there are what are called registers. There is 'railway station English' ... if you hear a voice announcing something in a particular tone you can tell it's a railway station ... even in a monolingual situation the use of particular words indicated the context in which the communication is taking place, like there used to be the so-called BBC English before.

He referred to the sociological dimension of language and paralinguistic features which convey the cultural context of a language:

What we do in Gibraltar is that we actually instead of using a variant of one language in the home, and another variant of that same language in an official setting, what we do is switch from one language to another. So what we are doing is using 'Yanito'.<sup>89</sup>

Romaine herself makes a clear distinction between monolingual register- or style-shifting and bilingualism: she points out the enrichment of having two languages for the purpose.

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<sup>88</sup> See p. 238 above.

<sup>89</sup> Interview with JB, April 2009. Cf. pp. 257-258 below for his comments in the same interview on Yanito as a dialect or language.

Although it is popularly believed by bilingual speakers themselves that they mix or borrow because they don't know the term in one language or another, it is often the case that switching occurs most often for items which people know and use in both languages ... Mixing and switching for fluent bilinguals is thus in principle no different from style shifting for the monolingual. The bilingual just has a wider choice – at least when he or she is speaking with bilingual speakers ... in effect, the entire second language system is at the disposal of the code-switcher.<sup>90</sup>

This aspect of the 'wider choice' provided by bilingualism certainly applies to Gibraltar, and we have seen how choice can embrace the use of both Spanish and English according to the type of discourse, the degree of formality and the urge to proclaim identity; there is also sometimes a *necessity* for code-switching between one language and another, contrary to what Romaine suggests. However, what Romaine is also saying is that choice of register, while providing enrichment, does not absolutely need two languages. This is true, if we bear in mind that the register for formal, technical Spanish and written and read Spanish is thinly served in Gibraltar: some Gibraltarians need to fall back on English in these areas, just as others will need Spanish for more personal or emotive or everyday discourse. Thus, different individuals will have different needs from bilingualism. Bilingualism does enrich, but is not needed to cover all needs at all times. This is one issue that I hope is emerging from this thesis.

## 7. CODE-SWITCHING AND LANGUAGE AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

According to Romaine, a feature of code-switching is that it 'may allow speakers to tread a more neutral path between opposing identities symbolized in two languages'.<sup>91</sup> In the normal way, Gibraltarians would feel that their ethnolinguistic identity could be established by the use of either English or Spanish on given occasions – that the one would confer certain status, but the other might dissociate them from a 'British' or even 'Gibraltarian' identity, unless used in certain prescribed functions and contexts. (These could be legitimate use of a 'lower' register, such as informal or joking use, humour and 'off-the-record' remarks, but also prayer and emotion – the language of

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<sup>90</sup> Romaine, p. 143. But cf., for example, interview with JSe for the supplementary or 'top-up' role that is sometimes assigned to Yanito.

<sup>91</sup> Romaine, p. 301.

spontaneous feeling.)<sup>92</sup> In this way choice of language can function as an ‘excluding’ device, which can have a connecting role for Gibraltarians while excluding others.<sup>93</sup> When Yanito code-switching occurs this process is taken further.

We are often reminded of the strong connection between language and cultural identity. Romaine, for instance, points out how language and dialect are potent symbols in the process of differentiation. There are parallels with Gibraltar in her research carried out in a Panjabi / English bilingual community in Britain. Romaine states:

Without exception all of our Panjabi- and Urdu- speaking respondents said that language and culture were closely related, and that culture could not be preserved without language.<sup>94</sup>

However, she adds:

all the informants recognized the prestige value of English in affecting the bilingual speaker’s choice of language.<sup>95</sup>

This particularly affected mother-language retention among the young, a source of embarrassment for both children and elders when the former had difficulty with Panjabi.

Similar issues affect children’s retention of Spanish in Gibraltar. Some children, especially in the higher socio-economic groups, would have difficulty communicating with grandparents in Spanish. (We can see this, for example, from Levey’s research, where he discusses language shift involving young people.)<sup>96</sup>

Nevertheless Romaine stresses that each group will have certain features that it regards as core values, and language may or may not be among those, depending on

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<sup>92</sup> Cf. interviews with BC, HC, April 2009.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Martens, p. 198 above, for her suggestion that Spanish is sometimes used as the language of exclusion in Gibraltar to isolate UK individuals, even spouses.

<sup>94</sup> Romaine, p. 304. Modrey writes that a ‘speech community cannot be defined by language alone’. Moyer had previously stated this, in *Analysis of Code-Switching in Gibraltar*. Modrey adds that language has a social as well as a linguistic component. Modrey, p. 38; Moyer, p. 15.

<sup>95</sup> Romaine, p. 305.

<sup>96</sup> See Appendix II, pp. 276-278.



the group. While some cultural groups have consistently stressed their language as the principal carrier of their culture, other things can take the place of language.<sup>97</sup> Certainly not all commentators take the link between language and identity as a given. In what appears a conflicting opinion Benedict Anderson comments:

It is always a mistake to treat languages ... as emblems of nation-ness, like flags, costumes, folk-dances and the rest ... language is not an instrument of exclusion; in principle, anyone can learn any language ... Nations can be imagined without linguistic communality.<sup>98</sup>

Any attempt to give historical depth to nationality via linguistic means faces insuperable obstacles.<sup>99</sup>

Anderson traces the European powers' dissemination of their languages in the course of their colonial expansion, particularly involving the administration of those territories and the education systems set up for the colonial peoples. The aim of this dissemination was mainly to strengthen the hold of the metropolis and presumably the 'civilising mission' as well.<sup>100</sup> But he develops the theme that nationalism was no less real for the adoption of the language of the colonisers - with examples from Ghana and Mozambique. Use of an acquired colonial language was not inconsistent with nationalist political loyalty.

In fact there have been times when Gibraltar has also provided an example of inconsistency between language loyalty and political loyalty, although this has worked in a rather different way. As we have seen, the currency of English at a time when many did not command it – when Spanish was the 'mother' or 'native' language - did not mean that loyalty to Britain was weaker. This was a time when the predominant use of Spanish was part of the Gibraltarians' identity as a people; yet loyalty to the metropolis was always clear. The pressures for the language shift for

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<sup>97</sup> 'Outside an ethnicity's defining territory' – she gives the example of the lack of Welsh language among Welsh Australians. Romaine, p. 304.

<sup>98</sup> Anderson, pp. 133-135.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid, p. 197. Also Weinreich, 'Language contact is considered by some anthropologists as but one aspect of culture contact', Uriel Weinreich, *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems* (Columbia University: Mouton, The Hague, 1963), p. 5.

<sup>100</sup> And, as Stephen May argues, English becomes, within many education systems, 'one of the most powerful means of inclusion ... or exclusion from further education, employment or influential social positions ... particularly evident in many post-colonial countries where small English-speaking elites have continued the same policies as their former colonisers in order to ensure that (limited) access to English-language education acts as a crucial distributor of social prestige and wealth'. May, *Language and Minority Rights*, pp. 203-204.

English were rather different from those that operated in the colonies, as described by Anderson.<sup>101</sup>

As part of this shift, Blinkhorn notes how, in early colonial days in Gibraltar, English gradually became ‘in the upwardly-striving ...at least a second language’ and had ‘socio-cultural precedence over Spanish’.<sup>102</sup> Indeed, as I have been exploring in this thesis, the adoption of English obviously had many advantages, but its acquisition was not solely motivated by motives of gain or status.

There are very different views about the effects of an imposed colonial language. For example, Kachru writes that ‘in code-mixing [sic] ... English is being used to neutralize identities one is reluctant to express by the use of native languages or dialects’; and this would have applied not simply to code-switching. Moreover, the ‘civilising mission’ theme (although, as we have seen in Chapters I and III in particular, it was more or less subtly applied to Gibraltar too) had different resonances in other parts of the Empire. In the nineteenth century Thomas Macaulay had written:

The languages of Western Europe civilised Russia. I cannot doubt that they will do for the Hindoo what they have done for the Tartar.

And, surely enough, modern writers refer, not always favourably, to ‘the continued use of European languages in many developing countries as one of the most important aspects of neo-colonialism’.<sup>103</sup>

There are still a number of Gibraltarians who are not fluent in English (say recent wives from Spain), just as there are some English-language monoglots (having one or two UK British parents, or having been isolated from bilingualism by, for example, a

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<sup>101</sup> Levey, p. 28, quotes I. Benyunes to show that ‘natural and political allegiance was separable from social and ethnic identity’. Benyunes refers to the Spanish cultural and social flavour in Gibraltar in the 1930s coexisting with a strong allegiance to British rule and institutions. ‘This ambivalence was also reflected in our cultural life. In spite of the fact that our schooling was in English most people preferred to read Spanish.’ Isaac Benyunes, ‘Gibraltar during the Spanish Civil War’, *GHJ* 2 (1994), 49-54 (p.50).

<sup>102</sup> Blinkhorn, p. 50.

<sup>103</sup> P.G. Altbach, ‘Education and Neocolonialism’, *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, ed. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (London and New York: Routledge, 1995) p. 454. The two previous references in this paragraph are also in this book: B. J. Kashru, ‘The Alchemy of English’, p. 292; and Macaulay, ‘Minute on Indian Education’, p. 430.

public school education in England and by resisting sociolinguistic absorption). But both they, and the greater proportion of non-English speaking Gibraltarians of previous years, would resent any allegation that they were less Gibraltarian or British on account of their language choice or diversity.<sup>104</sup>

For such loyalty could be expressed in Spanish too. HC told me about the popular reaction to the referendum of 2002, held by the Gibraltar Government in response to the Blair government's offer to Spain of shared sovereignty. The rejection of this proposal by the people of Gibraltar was overwhelming - close to 99% of the voters. HC recalls that members of the public spontaneously shouted when the result was announced '¡Los Yanitos, los Yanitos, vivan los Yanitos!'<sup>105</sup>

Moyer too comments on the political implications of language choice. As she puts it, in Gibraltar code-switching expresses 'a speaker's desire to simultaneously index their English and Spanish identities'.<sup>106</sup> (Perhaps one should say British Gibraltarian rather than English.) She states that code-switching in context, combining with 'additional textual resources such as topic, alignment of speakers and humour', can represent the 'ambivalent and multifaceted identity of Gibraltarians' and 'Gibraltarians' need to reaffirm their uniqueness because of the Spanish Government'. But, apart from aligning and identifying themselves with the British, she believes:

they also need to distinguish themselves from British colonial power and resist the second-class citizen status they sometimes are assigned.

This is perhaps somewhat overstated, for the pro-British aspect of Gibraltarian identity has always been strong. But, on a lower key, Moyer is right that Gibraltarians have felt the need to assert their individuality and strive for parity of treatment. This has always been the case, as for example in the post-war tussles with the colonial government.<sup>107</sup> Possibly this feature became more marked in the nineties and beyond,

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<sup>104</sup> 'The language and identity link cannot be understood in isolation from other factors of identity, nor from the specific political conditions in which it is situated.' May, *Language and Minority Rights*, p. 135.

<sup>105</sup> Interview with HC, April 2009.

<sup>106</sup> Melissa Moyer, 'Negotiating agreement and disagreement in Spanish-English bilingual conversations with *no*', *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 4, no. 4 (Dec. 2000), 485-504 (p. 486).

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Chapter IV above on the disputes surrounding constitutional development.

when Moyer wrote, because of the political frustrations of the time – some of them directed at Britain.

She makes a number of comments about the use of code-switching in Gibraltar which emphasise its connection with identity and political loyalty:

A hybrid culture and identity [is] manifested linguistically by bilingual code-switching – a behaviour which is sometimes viewed negatively and a source of some joking and irony ... code-switching strategies, humour generated by code-switching, and the alignment of participants with members of the community and with the Spanish are the main resources used to construct and reproduce the duality of the Gibraltarian identity.

The frequent switching of language is a deliberate strategy to reinforce local identities and avoid [the] Spanish or British.

Code-switching carries a hidden prestige.<sup>108</sup>

Ballantine too states that code-switching avoids ‘a situation where the Gibraltarian could be identified’ with either Britain or Spain. This is Romaine’s ‘neutral path between opposing identities’.<sup>109</sup>

There is much truth in these comments. But, while accepting Moyer’s analysis that code-switching ‘strategies’ help to ‘construct’ the Gibraltarian identity, one would suggest that often code-switching usually operates much more automatically and informally. And Moyer is right to stress the humour code-switching generates – once again, the ‘Calentita’ column in *Panorama* can be mentioned.

And, where prestige is concerned, how far is Gibraltar’s code-switching *prestigious* language?

## 8. YANITO AND LANGUAGE ‘QUALITY’ IN GIBRALTAR.

The matter of ‘quality’ often comes up in discussion about language in Gibraltar. This is not surprising, because for many years language policy has been directed to the

<sup>108</sup> Moyer, pp. 215-216, 220-221.

<sup>109</sup> Ballantine, *GHJ*, 7(2000), p. 122. Reference to Romaine p. 244 above.

primacy of English, and there is often criticism of the standard both of English and other language varieties in Gibraltar. Sometimes these criticisms are home-grown. Vallejo writes:

The Gibraltarian in general speaks a sterile English but has the ability to copy or mimic whichever accent he comes into contact with.<sup>110</sup>

However, more often they are from a ‘colonial’ perspective. I look back now to how Gibraltarians and their language choice and competence were seen by a senior official in the employment of the Colonial Government in Gibraltar. J.D. Stewart, an Ulsterman with a literary background, was chief civil engineer and deputy commissioner of works to the Gibraltar Government from 1952 to 1961. He wrote *Gibraltar: the Keystone*, published in 1967, some years after he had left the Rock. As a keen social observer he gave much attention to the language situation in Gibraltar. It is worth quoting him in some detail:

Their [the old merchants’] descendants are the rich urbane and sophisticated product of English public schools and universities ... anglo-English, more self-consciously English than the English themselves ... at the other end of the scale there are people who are almost indistinguishable from the unfortunate working class of southern Spain ... who speak, think and eat Spanish.

At the top they speak English – except to their wives and mothers – in ... a ‘Cork Street accent’ – Cork Street, Mayfair. At the bottom they speak a debased Andalusian Spanish, gobbling the letters as they go. The Spaniards call this lingo *Llanito*, and find it hard to follow ... because it is heavily peppered with English words and phrases. These intrude into the Spanish grotesquely, for instance: ‘*Vamos tomarnos un pint of beer*’ – since they do not serve litres, nor *cerveza* in Gibraltar ... the Gibraltarian seems to prefer to use his English, or mongrel, term. He will say: ‘*He trabajado mucho overtime en el dockyard*’...

Another factor in this strange jargon is pure ignorance ... the average man has to skip about from one language to the other to put his meaning across.<sup>111</sup>

Later on, Stewart writes about the slow progress made in education:

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<sup>110</sup> Vallejo, p. 10.

<sup>111</sup> Stewart, pp. 70-71.

There ... is, in this matter of education, a special difficulty to be overcome – the English language. Since it is ... the medium of teaching, every subject is stultified by the Gibraltarian's limited vocabulary in this language, by his difficulty in using and comprehending it. Everything one says in Gibraltar is half understood; everything said to one is half expressed. Every [sic] Gibraltarian you meet is using his second language ...

Unfortunately, English and Spanish ... are highly incompatible. They have divergent roots, the one Teutonic, the other Latin. Spanish is regular, phonetic, pure ... English is so irregular ...<sup>112</sup>

Stewart's comments predate the advances made since in the study of bilingualism, diglossia and code-switching (much of this in the context of bilinguals in English and Spanish in the USA). The notion of 'incompatibility' and 'divergent roots' would find little favour today. Some of his observations may have had some truth in the 1950s; today, with the high standard of education in Gibraltar and the language shift, they are only of historical, not to say archaic, interest. They suit his purpose in holding up a number of Gibraltarians, including his work colleague, to what he might have thought was affectionate ridicule, but ridicule nonetheless. His book, rich in its evocation of many aspects of the history and geography of Gibraltar, furnishes us with a fine example of an attitude to language and people which is now thankfully less common. While Stewart's book has been used by researchers, it contributes little to an analysis of Gibraltar's bilingualism. Witty aphorisms like everything being 'half-understood' and 'half-expressed' are no substitutes for sociolinguistic awareness, or for a recognition of the world-wide phenomenon of English-Spanish bilingualism.

The research of another critic of Gibraltarians' grasp of English, John Lipski, limited in scope and dating back to 1983, failed, according to Kellermann, 'to interrelate attitudes and language behaviour, playing down extralinguistic and social-psychological factors'. She also saw it as 'impressionistic'.<sup>113</sup> Lipski regarded Gibraltarians as being less competent in English and preferring to speak Spanish, not just among themselves but also to strangers. As we have seen, Kellermann disputes this in her own study.

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid, pp. 182-183.

<sup>113</sup> Kellermann, *A New, New English*, p. 50. Errico refers to Kramer's more accurate and generous approach than Lipski's in discussing English in Gibraltar, p. 40.

Among Lipski's conclusions about language in Gibraltar are the following. It is difficult to categorise these inaccuracies in any order, but they indicate a total unawareness of linguistic reality in Gibraltar (nos.1,3,6,7 in points below); a fantasy as to why bilingual education is not implemented (2); a plunge into historical time-warp (4); a departure from demographic fact (5).

- 1) Aun los oriundos del Reino Unido que se trasladan a Gibraltar suelen adoptar el español como una consecuencia natural de su estadia en la colonia, y sus hijos aprenden este idioma con la mayor facilidad
- 2) El gobierno británico ha rechazado toda propuesta de educación bilingüe, amparandose en la hipótesis de que el reconocimiento oficial del idioma español fomentaría un sentimiento anexionista entre el pueblo gibraltareño de habla española
- 3) La proporción de la población que no domina el inglés es sorprendentemente alta
- 4) El dialecto genovés sobrevive aun entre algunos residentes del poblado de Catalan Bay
- 5) La mayoría de los hogares gibraltareños de habla española tienen como origen la emigración de trabajadores españoles de baja condición socioeconómica
- 6) Los gibraltareños acogen con agrado al forastero que les habla de entrada en castellano
- 7) Los residentes ... mantienen más contacto con variantes prestigiadas del español que con variedades legítimas del inglés<sup>114</sup>

Lipski's survey was therefore worse than superficial. The strictures of this otherwise distinguished scholar must be seen in the context of his misconceptions and very incomplete and inaccurate knowledge. There are, however, many recent views on language quality in Gibraltar that need to be taken into account.

For instance, a much better informed researcher, Melissa Moyer, writes that bilingual code-switching, 'while it serves to reinforce local identity ... is also viewed negatively as an imperfect way of speaking'. It carries a 'covert prestige' among

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<sup>114</sup> 'Sobre el Bilingüismo Anglo-Hispano en Gibraltar', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 87 (1986), 414–427, pp. 1-6 (quotations taken from photostat pages in Garrison Library, Gibraltar). Indicative of Lipski's distance from the true situation is his view that the British Government believes recognising Spanish would lead to separatist / annexionist feelings (p. 6).

Gibraltarians, but they are unwilling to code-switch with people from outside the community.<sup>115</sup> This is a significant comment on Yanito as an identity-marker and an in-group language, which to some at least conveys the notion of imperfection.

Allied to this is the phenomenon that Gibraltarians, while often assertive about their English, are quite open in admitting deficiencies in their Spanish. These often relate to technical and specialised vocabulary, the result of an English-medium education and the strength of British institutions; for the same reasons, there is little writing or reading in Spanish in Gibraltar. Moreover, Gibraltarians will also downgrade their Spanish for reasons of group-loyalty. Easily the majority of Kellermann's informants fitted into this pattern.<sup>116</sup>

Yanito itself, as opposed to the Andalusian Spanish on which it is built, does not escape criticism. For instance, describing interviews with Gibraltarians, Michot quotes Tito Vallejo's belief that true Yanito is dying, and his conception of what the young are speaking nowadays:

mélange d'anglais et d'espagnol, appelé Spanglish aux Etats-Unis, qui ne contient plus de termes spécifiquement Gibraltariens.<sup>117</sup>

Vallejo laments the decline of the old Yanito as attributable to the improvements in education, which is now doing away with the need 'for invention' (of new words to fill gaps in meaning) as was the case once.<sup>118</sup>

The case now is not ingenuity as before but laziness. We can think fluently at least in English and Spanish so we tend to use the word that comes to mind first, this to me becomes SPANGLISH and not LLANITO [sic] ... It is therefore my wholehearted opinion that true LLANITO should only be understood by the native Gibraltarians.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>115</sup> Moyer, *Analysis of Code Switching*, p. 42.

<sup>116</sup> Kellermann, *A New, New English*, Chapter 4, 'The sociolinguistics of Gibraltar', especially pp. 119–170; and also section on 'the Spanish Substratum : Yanito', pp. 299–306.

<sup>117</sup> Michot, p. 99. 'Spanglish' is the term used, sometimes loosely, in North America to denote English - Spanish code-switching.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. interview with JSe, Chapter IV above.

<sup>119</sup> Vallejo, p. 19. There is certainly less use of older-type Yanito. How many, for instance, now use the old popular street names of Gibraltar as opposed to the 'official', English-language ones? The *Gibraltar Directory*, ed. Benedict R. Miles (Gibraltar: Garrison Library, 1916) gives a full list of these names. Examples: Police Barracks Lane – Callejón de Chiappi; Cornwall's Parade – Plaza de la



But in Gibraltar loan words from one language (usually English) are still often used in the other, often to supplement a gap in vocabulary. Indeed, when Silva-Corvalán writes that ‘bilinguals develop strategies aimed at making lighter the cognitive load of having to remember and use two different linguistic systems’ we recognise some of these strategies in the employment of Yanito in its complementary, compensatory mode.<sup>120</sup> There are more valid grounds for the employment of Yanito than mere laziness.

In Spanglish, in Levey’s use of the term, ‘literal (mis)translations of English are hispanicized or transferred or modified to Spanish’ (‘Dame un ring’, ‘darle una apología’, ‘chitera’) so this is a rather different perception.<sup>121</sup> However, even if one does not agree with all aspects of Vallejo’s analysis, he is right on two counts: one, that there is now less need to use Yanito as a ‘top-up’ to cover deficiencies in English and Spanish; and two, that Yanito has undergone, if not a weakening, at least semantic change over the years.<sup>122</sup>

I now go back to Michot, who writes:

« ... ni l’espagnol ni l’anglais qu’on entend parler à Gibraltar ne sont très purs, mais truffés d’anglicismes et d’hispanismes » [here she is quoting ‘Gibraltariens’, in Abel and Yvonne-Delphée Miroglio, *L’Europe et ses populations; vues d’ensemble et dictionnaire descriptif* (La Haye: Marinus Hijhoff, 1978), p. 340] car la majeure partie de la population ne maîtrise pas parfaitement les deux langues, ce qui est un lourd handicap quand les Gibraltariens partent à l’étranger et qu’ils doivent se faire comprendre des Britanniques ou des Espagnols. Ils ont des lacunes de vocabulaire dans chacune des langues et se trouvent donc limités lorsqu’ils doivent n’en utiliser qu’une pour s’exprimer. Ceci est surtout vrai pour l’espagnol ... le Gibraltarien est un peu un étranger aussi bien en Espagne qu’en Angleterre (p. 69).<sup>123</sup>

This last is a strong statement indeed about Gibraltarians’ identity, but not entirely without foundation.

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Verdura; Victualling Office Lane – Callejón del Perejil; Turnbull’s Lane – Detrás de los Cuartos; and so on. *Directory*, p. 41.

<sup>120</sup> C. Silva-Corvalán, *Language Contact and Change: Spanish in Los Angeles* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 207.

<sup>121</sup> Levey, p. 5.

<sup>122</sup> See p. 259 below for its presence in the Campo area.

<sup>123</sup> Michot, pp. 68–69. She quotes Stewart, and also Kramer’s remark, ‘the mother tongue is regarded as dangerous to the lifestyle the Gibraltarians have chosen’ (p. 83).

There is much disagreement as to what is ‘correct’ and ‘incorrect’ language. In some respects the comments above, and those of Stewart and other earlier commentators, are understandable. But why, as Kellermann has argued, should there be more acceptance of Yanito and ‘Gibraltarian English’ today? Clearly a great change has taken place in recent decades in attitudes to language varieties, as indeed to much else, and it is worth pausing for a moment to look at this.<sup>124</sup>

## 9. LANGUAGE AND DIALECT: REVALUATION.

Fishman comments that those, including psychologists, who in the past had viewed bilingualism as basically ‘unnatural’ ‘had to discover some “price”, some toll had to be revealed in comparison with monolingual normality ... the natural state of languages was supposedly one of pristine purity and separation’.<sup>125</sup> However, there has been much greater acceptance of local language, dialect, speech forms and accent in the last 30-40 years than at the time when formal correctness in language held sway;<sup>126</sup> and also more recognition of bilingualism.

This acceptance has gone hand in hand with greater respect accorded to the rights of individuals, nations and ethnic and language groups, although there is disagreement about how the identities of these groups are constructed.<sup>127</sup>

In Gibraltar, the argument for association with Britain and dissociation from Spain has been accompanied, as argued throughout this thesis, by a consolidation of the English language. This has particularly been the case since the border restrictions and

<sup>124</sup> On ‘correct’ language cf. Antonio Narbona, Rafael Cano and Ramón Morillo, *El español hablado en Andalucía* (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel S.A., 1998) for reference to ‘falsos tópicos y estereotipos’ about, and discrimination against, Andalusian speech (pp. 8 and 14 footnote).

<sup>125</sup> Fishman, p. 605. Sociologists too ‘treated bilingualism as an element in culture conflict’ and saw ‘some of the consequences of linguistic heterogeneity as a societal phenomenon’: Romaine, p. 8. Also: ‘There was a time when the progress of research required that each community should be considered linguistically self-contained and homogeneous ... a language community is *never* homogeneous and hardly ever self-contained’. André Martinet, preface to Weinreich, *Languages in Contact*, p. vii. Pfaff too refers to critics of code-switching displaying a ‘“double standard” requiring linguistic purity in both languages’, Pfaff, (p. 293).

<sup>126</sup> This has been the case in education (e.g. the National Curriculum for England and Wales encouraged investigation into the flexible use of language, even at primary level) as well as in the media and arts: the BBC’s more accepting approach to language variety is often cited.

<sup>127</sup> See, for instance, Stephen May, *Language and Minority Rights*, pp. 19–48.

closure. It has, more problematically, also been accompanied by complicated attitudes to Yanito and Spanish. Just as use of English has come to represent dissociation from Spain, so Yanito has become more acceptable in some contexts in recent years – the later years of the siege and beyond - as Gibraltarians developed a sense of nationhood. This acceptability has obviously been at a popular and informal level, in the language registers already discussed. Initially, the use of Yanito in written form, at any rate, was regarded as a source of humour.<sup>128</sup> There has been a humorous cookery programme on Gibraltar TV which uses Yanito; and for many years the ‘Calentita’ column in *Panorama*, quoted by Moyer and Kellermann, has been a popular example of comic journalism.<sup>129</sup> More seriously, ‘Talk about the Town’, in which a panel and guest explore topical matters, has become a regular television programme – regarded, it must be added, with a certain disapproval by a number of viewers. This may be a question of Yanito not yet gaining its final garland of respectability.<sup>130</sup>

However, there is what Kellermann calls the ‘glorification’ of Yanito, which enjoys prestige (covert or overt) with many people. Since, as we have seen, code-switching is very much a feature of Yanito, she applies to Gibraltar Gumperz’s comment that ‘when political ideology changes, attitude to code-switching may change also’. Thus, there is less stigmatisation of Yanito now, as it has become ‘a valued symbol of ingroup pride’ and a marker of identity. ‘Pride in local code-switching may become symbolic of ... ethnic values.’<sup>131</sup>

In normal day-to-day transactions, in colloquial speech and informally, Yanito, with its use of Genoese (and other) loan words and code-switching, has been a marked feature of Gibraltar’s life for a very long time. And it can be powerful at an emotional level.

When I interviewed him in April 2009, JB, former Chief Minister of Gibraltar and trade union and party leader, emphasised the solidarity which was facilitated at union and party meetings by the use of Yanito:

<sup>128</sup> For example, Vallejo has a section of humorous Yanito anecdotes in his Dictionary.

<sup>129</sup> In it ‘Gibraltarians are portrayed as a homogeneous group which is counterposed to the Spanish’. Moyer, p. 221.

<sup>130</sup> I appeared by invitation on this programme in January 2008.

<sup>131</sup> Kellermann, quoting other sources, section on ‘Glorification of Yanito’, *A New New English*, pp. 134-139 (p. 139).

I think that we need to be conscious that when we are speaking what sounds like Spanish we are not speaking in Spanish at all – we are speaking our own particular dialect [sic] here ...

Communicating with people in our own dialect is always more effective in the party meetings ... like the one I had yesterday. I speak predominantly in Yanito to the membership ... Even today, because there is an entire generation that communicates better in Yanito than in English ... If you are making jokes, for example, at the expense of a political opponent, doing it in our own local dialect gives it a different flavour which reaches people that otherwise would not be the case. I mean, in language humour is something that is very distinctive culturally, and consequently, you know, the people can have perfect English and miss the humour in an English joke ...

I quite often have [at a meeting] the guy who used to be my shop steward 32 years ago and his children and his grandchildren ... So there is that continuity which means effectively that I am using more of the language that people use at home, which still is Yanito, even though it is less than it was before.<sup>132</sup>

This is a cogently argued case. However, it holds up well even if Yanito is regarded as a dialect rather than a language; indeed, some of the functions attributed to it here are akin to the role of a register. Despite the variations noted in vocabulary, construction, syntax, idiom and phonetics, the common ground with Spanish – Andalusian Spanish as spoken in the Campo area, at any rate – in all these aspects is so great that we do not take away from the significance (or status) of Yanito by seeing it as a dialectical variant of Spanish, embracing all the other influences discussed above. The common language ground which JB argues brings people together could also be applied to speakers of any other common dialect. Such a dialect would distinguish them from speakers of other (extraneous?) dialects or regional variants of the same language. And of course, as we can see from JB's comments, Yanito also offers a statement of differentness vis-à-vis another language altogether – English.

While not accepting that Yanito is 'another language', HC spoke of how people reverted to it in periods of emotional significance. I have already referred to his description of the reception given to the result of the 2002 referendum:

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<sup>132</sup> A switch to Yanito for informality shows 'We belong to the same tribe'. Interview with JB, April 2009.

Everybody shouted in Spanish ... Los resultados salieron ahí y todo el mundo, ‘Los yanitos, [etc.]’ – all shouted in Spanish ... I don’t think they know how to shout in English.<sup>133</sup>

I found these endorsements of the role of oral Yanito in recent times quite significant. I would, however, add some caveats:

JB is talking of Yanito as a dialect / language, and HC more as a dialect. In both cases, this suggests that they regard Gibraltar Spanish as the Yanito base. Other interviewees, such as BL and BC, when discussing language choice in trade union and church ritual respectively, were referring to ‘Spanish’ as the accessible language, not Yanito.<sup>134</sup> Probably this is a matter of readily available description rather than a linguistic definition.

In regard to this aspect, and contrary to what Kellermann writes, I believe that not all Gibraltar Spanish need be regarded as Yanito. While it may be true that many, or all, Gibraltarians can and do adopt the ‘lower’ Yanito register - using the term unpejoratively and to denote a code of informality or group cohesion - there is no doubt that ‘good’ or standard spoken Spanish is not alien to Gibraltar. Many would claim that what they speak – or can speak in given contexts - is Spanish, perhaps Andalusian Spanish, or even Gibraltarian Andalusian Spanish; that their use of Spanish vocabulary, grammar or pronunciation do not – or need not - deviate from the Spanish norm. Some of the Spanish recordings and transcripts of my visits to Gibraltar in 2008 and 2009 may bear witness to this.

It is probably not accurate to speak of Yanito as a separate language (although I myself referred to it as such when interviewed by a newspaper about my research in Gibraltar).<sup>135</sup> Its characteristics, however, make it a separate language from English and, as I have pointed out, a version, with all the added elements that have been described, of Andalusian Spanish. David Levey, in his recent study of language in Gibraltar, does not consider Yanito as an autonomous language as such and sums up:

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<sup>133</sup> Interview with HC, April 2009.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. interviews, April 2009.

<sup>135</sup> And the quotation was used as a headline (‘Yanito is a Very Interesting Language’). I was interviewed by Brian McCann for *Panorama*, 1 February 2008, pp. 14–15.

Although for some it is a reflection of local identity, its linguistic proximity to Spanish gives it, to use Hangen's (1966) terminology, heteronomous status in that it is a language variety which is socially or culturally dependent on an autonomous one. It rarely appears in written form and can perhaps best be described as an Andalusian Spanish-dominated form of oral expression which integrates mainly English lexical and syntactic elements as well as some local vocabulary.<sup>136</sup>

There is another important factor that must be taken into account when discussing Gibraltarians' speech forms: the acceptance or otherwise of 'Gibraltar English'. Kellermann centres her thesis on Gibraltarian English being 'a *new* New English'. This recognition in itself confers acceptance and respectability, and some immunity from qualitative stricture.

But at the same time, Kellermann has stated elsewhere, the 'new English' enables Gibraltarians to distinguish themselves from Britain as a colonial power while expressing their own identity:<sup>137</sup>

As the examination of covert prestige attributions has shown, the feeling that 'Gibraltarian English' and 'good English' are contradictions in terms is gradually disappearing, and the stigma of the LFE is subsiding.<sup>138</sup>

In her final extensive chapter Kellermann examines Gibraltarian English and its dynamics, concentrating on sound ('phonetic-acoustic analysis'), and stressing that

<sup>136</sup> David Levey, pp. 2–3. Traffic is not all one-way. The journal *Almoraima*, which examines the culture and history of the Campo de Gibraltar, has included material about Yanito and its currency in the Campo. Raquel Benítez Burraco describes different forms of borrowings and code-switching in the speech of Gibraltar. Raquel Benítez Burraco, 'El habla de Gibraltar: notas para un estudio léxico-semántico', *Almoraima: Revista de Estudios Campogibaltareños*, no. 18 (Octubre 1997), pp. 79–88. Purificación Golpe Trelles explains the background to Yanito and how its use spread into the Campo, noting that the closure of the frontier brought about a decline in Yanito in the area. She discusses the work of three authors from the Campo who have used Yanito vocabulary and constructions in their work, thereby producing a written record of Yanito terms which would probably have disappeared from everyday speech. She analyses the role of Yanito vocabulary in this literature, pointing out its use for informality and humour, and praises these authors for seeing a 'seña de identidad en nuestra habla'. Golpe Trelles values the preservation of this language of 'experience and feeling' as 'parte de nuestra educación sentimental'. Her conclusion is that 'homogeneización lingüística ... siempre es empobrecedora'. Purificación Golpe Trelles, 'Aportaciones a las Peculiaridades Léxicas Comarcales en la narrativa actual del campo de Gibraltar', *Almoraima*, no. 22 (Octubre 1999), pp. 205–208. Francisco Oda-Ángel also gives examples of how 'el idioma del Campo de Gibraltar se ha impregnado de palabras de origen inglés en su uso habitual'. Oda - Ángel, p. 187.

<sup>137</sup> Kellermann, 'When Gibraltarians Speak', pp. 76–77.

<sup>138</sup> Kellermann, *A New, New English*, pp. 151–152. The following references, given in the main text, are also from this book.

deviations from the British English norms, while formerly treated as ‘faults’ and ‘mistakes’, are now seen more as innovations and localised features (p. 281).

She points out the high variability (including phonetic variability and intonation) of the English spoken in Gibraltar, illustrating its dependence on many factors – personalities, phonetic mimicry, linguistic proficiency etc. ‘Deviations from BrE source are manifest at all phonetic-phonological levels of GibE speech’ (p. 400), such as prosody, single vowel characteristics, consonant realisations etc. (pp. 306–307, 414). She states that standard English and Gibraltarian English coexist alongside Yanito but that in ‘an overtly diglossic situation’ there is no hostile colonial attitude towards the ‘high’ variety, and that this loyalty to English is political. This should not surprise us. In fact, some of Kellermann’s informants, and Levey’s, clearly regarded the ‘high’ variety as the model to be followed. This would, of course, have satisfied language policies going back to the pre-war education inspections.

However, she goes on to say:

The recognition of a Gibraltarian form of English is directly related to Gibraltarians’ more recent aspirations to emancipate themselves from the colonial power (pp. 139, 421).

As an identity marker, such a new Gibraltarian English will have two functions in that it may become an expression of Gibraltarian integrative and dissociative orientations: its *English* element dissociates Gibraltarians from Spain and associates them with Britain, while its *Gibraltarian* element, underlines the growing emancipation from the colonial power (p. 414).

But not all scholars regard the development of English in Gibraltar in this way and one needs to point out that the concept of this ‘new’ English is very much Kellermann’s own theory – fascinating and advanced in its field-work, its analytical method and its theoretical framework, but not necessarily shared. Thus, Levey looks on Gibraltar’s English more as an evolving organism (he writes that the standard is ‘improving’) and he perceives:

a notable shift in pronunciation amongst many of the younger informants away from the traditional Spanish infused speech towards a Southern British model.

He also found little evidence of Kellermann's 'strategies of integrative orientation' underlying Gibraltar English and concluded that 'English RP / Standard British English was preferred to a "local accent / dialect"'.<sup>139</sup>

So once again we are looking at a conscious language choice and one which incidentally is moving back to language policy in its most traditional manifestation.

## 10. THE POLITICS OF LANGUAGE IN GIBRALTAR

I have already discussed (Chapters I and III) the adoption of English as a 'mother' tongue in Gibraltar; a 'mother' tongue, but not a first language. This is because the educational and social imperatives were powerful enough to bypass the home language in a child's early years.<sup>140</sup> It is a trend that, a quarter of a century after the period covered by this thesis, is being consolidated with the growing number of children now speaking English at home. But, as some educationalists and researchers have observed, it continues to present problems for the early stages of educational development of children from Spanish-speaking homes.<sup>141</sup>

Calls have been made periodically for recognition of the importance of Spanish, in education particularly. I have referred to Sergio Ballantine's strong belief that many Gibraltarian children are educationally disadvantaged by early immersion in English. There is an article in the now-defunct autonomist periodical *Calpe News*, written at the height of the period of frontier closure. Although not necessarily authoritative, the article gives a clear glimpse into an alternative reaction to language policy. In 'Bilingualism – A Myth', the anonymous writer is critical of the low status given to Spanish. The loss of daily contact with Spain had consolidated the 'suppression' of the language. However, at the time of writing, Spanish was no longer 'taboo' in most schools. But some teachers, the writer adds:

still expect a child's natural expression to die with the sound of a bell.

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<sup>139</sup> Levey, pp. 81, 85-86.

<sup>140</sup> In Kellermann's analysis of the languages in early childhood, the largest group, 23 out of 60, were initially monolingual in Spanish. Kellermann, *A New New English*, p. 222. Thus, 'granting English the status of "mother tongue" is ... a statement about identity.' Ibid., p. 122. See above, pp. 197 and 218.

<sup>141</sup> Among them Traverso and Archer, p. 96; Archer, p. 114; Ballantine, 'A Study of the Effects of English-medium Education', pp. 16-17, 63-64; Levey, pp. 58, 66, 69.



Yanito (spelled Llanito here) is

largely based on mispronunciation [sic] or misuse of both the current languages here. The Gibraltarian should be able to switch from English, to Spanish, back to English because he *chooses* to, NOT because he *needs* to.<sup>142</sup>

Knowledge of both English and Spanish, the writer argues, should be developed.<sup>143</sup>

We have seen how Moyer, Fernández Martín, Kellermann and others have discussed Gibraltarians' awareness of their different approaches to the two languages, upgrading and downgrading English and Spanish respectively; and how the growing use of English in the period of this thesis and beyond was a result of social, educational and political imperatives. This has become apparent too from many of the interviews.

The role of a language as a marker of identity, of association / dissociation, can present a complex picture. As already seen, Gibraltarians tend to admit more readily to flaws in their Spanish than their English; to downplay their command of Spanish. Even among those Gibraltarians brought up with Spanish as the main language in the early years of childhood – a diminishing number, but still a considerable proportion – the role of Spanish is minimised.

So, in this situation, heavily weighted towards pro-Britishness and the English language at the expense of Spanish language and culture, is there any note of discordance, flaws in the glass as it were?

We cannot predict what the next stage of the language shift will be like when the generation mentioned above has gone. I have included in an appendix Levey's recent research into language practice in Gibraltar among the young. If the home domain continues to be challenged as a pocket of Spanish this will give a further impetus to language shift.<sup>144</sup> Arguably, if the border blockade had persisted, and Spanish TV not

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<sup>142</sup> *Calpe News*, 12 October 1979, pp. 4-5.

<sup>143</sup> The following week's *Calpe News* (19 October 1979, p. 5) has an item deploring the 'unequal treatment of languages, stunting the growth of Gibraltarians as individuals'.

<sup>144</sup> Cf. Romaine's comments on the Welsh language. Romaine, p. 42.

existed, the outlook for Spanish in Gibraltar might be very bleak. Oral Spanish, the special role of Yanito notwithstanding, might have been relegated to a status comparable to that long borne by written Spanish.<sup>145</sup> That is, few would make use of it. But history cannot be made up of imagined narratives, and both TV and the reopening of the border, facilitating movement of workers and residents in both directions, are potent factors in maintaining at least spoken Spanish in Gibraltar. The authorised use of Spanish as a medium for teaching the subject, and the eventual agreement to establish a branch of the Instituto Cervantes in Gibraltar will be further factors in its maintenance. Are we now moving to a situation in which language policy, so strong in Gibraltar over the years in consolidating English and discouraging Spanish, is now operating in some degree towards helping in its maintenance?

I would like to return briefly to what some other Gibraltarians have said about the role of Spanish. In his interview EG sounded a warning note that it would be a great loss if Spanish were to disappear in Gibraltar, given its historic role and its universal significance as illustrated by its growth in the USA:

So I feel it extremely important that Gibraltar should retain Spanish, the ability to speak Spanish, and also the Yanito, which ... displays our character and our culture, because, you know, we are not Spanish, we are not English, we have evolved I think our own identity and Yanito is part of that identity ... I don't think we should study Spanish in school here as a foreign language.<sup>146</sup>

DS said he had felt able to introduce some Spanish into the *Gibraltar Chronicle* in the late eighties, continuing the paper's evolution that I have been tracing in different chapters. Hitherto its use of Spanish had been rare: in its very early editions at the beginning of the nineteenth century and in 1936, when there had been special editions at the start of the Spanish Civil War.<sup>147</sup> He had been conscious of the difficulties faced by Gibraltarian media personnel when adapting to professional and technical Spanish, and of course the political implications of so doing.

<sup>145</sup> Levey quotes Fernández Martín, *An Approach to Language Attitudes in Gibraltar* (2003), who writes that 83% of the local population read only in English. Levey, p. 88.

<sup>146</sup> One of the roles EG performed in the mid-90s was as Chair of the Gibraltar Heritage Trust, an active body dedicated to the preservation and study of many aspects of Gibraltar's history, arts, culture and architecture. In his interview he emphasised that heritage in Gibraltar is not only Gibraltarian but English / British as well. He spent much time when he was Chair 'trying to convince people in the UK' of this. Interview with EG, January 2008.

<sup>147</sup> See p. 38 above.

By the time he had become editor of the paper, after the Spanish blockade, many changes had taken place in Gibraltar, internally and in its relations with Britain and Spain. So there was greater acceptance of Spanish.

There is also the experience of GV of the Gibraltar Broadcasting Corporation. He described the earlier resistance to Spanish language programmes (discussed in Chapter V):

if it's coming from our station it can't be Spanish ... sort of seen like the enemy at the door.

Language policies were eventually relaxed and some Spanish was used:

At one stage we took the view as the situation with Spain eased that there were more items of news value coming into Gibraltar from Spain, that if you had something important to impart ... but you only spoke Spanish, why should we preclude you from speaking in the bulletin?

So there would be a soundtrack spoken over in English, and in the course of time electronic tabbing and captions.<sup>148</sup>

## 11. ENGLISH, SPANISH AND YANITO, 1985.

On the basis of the preceding chapter, the key points of the interrelationship of Gibraltar's languages can be summarised thus:-

- The use of English and Spanish (and Yanito) in Gibraltar in the past represented a conflict between language theory and practice. The Evacuation and the post-war decades brought about a change in the balance of the languages, but continuing use of them in their respective roles.

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<sup>148</sup> Interview with GV, January 2008.

- English is predominant in terms of political loyalty and pragmatism. It holds a high valuation and prestige in Gibraltar, for historical reasons. This is apparent from the work of researchers and my own observations and interviews.
- The border restrictions and fifteenth siege had a considerable effect in strengthening the position of English.
- Spanish is strongly maintained as an oral language: in Gibraltar it fulfils the role of a lower-register language, often for spontaneous expression of emotion, humour, informality.
- Its lower-register use in Gibraltar corresponds to that in other Anglo-Hispanic bilingual communities. Diglossia occurs in language use in Gibraltar as in other communities where more than one language is in regular use.
- Oral Spanish remains strong because of cultural, and sometimes family reasons, and because of the proximity of Spain and also Spanish television.
- The character of Yanito as a dialect contributes to, and is a signifier of, Gibraltarians' expression of identity, in relation to both Spain and Britain.
- Yanito has changed considerably over the years, and has gained respectability when used in certain registers.
- Apart from its vocabulary, originally influenced by Genoese, code-switching is one of its prominent features.
- As in other bilingual (and English–Spanish speaking) communities, code-switching occurs for complex reasons and can be a potent feature of language.
- Bilingualism in Gibraltar has a strong political character.

- In Gibraltar's bilingualism English and Spanish are often complementary, rather than parallel, and can sometimes 'fill gaps' in the use of each other.
- As elsewhere, more respect is now accorded to language variation in Gibraltar, although standard R.P. English is seen as the form to uphold.
- The importance of Spanish in Gibraltar was usually recognised by educators, if not always by officialdom.
- The use of Spanish in literary, writing and technical fields has diminished over the years and will need educational measures to resuscitate it.

## CONCLUSION

My aim in this thesis has been to examine the importance of the period 1940 – 1985 in the development of language and identity in Gibraltar. This is a crucial period because it includes the Evacuation in the Second World War, regarded as a watershed in the Gibraltarians' awareness of themselves as a people, the post-war political and educational reforms, which were central in consolidating this awareness, and the period of Spanish restrictions and border closure, which not only strengthened Gibraltar's solidarity with Britain, but also saw the development of a greater sense of nationhood.

In my first chapter I explored the background to Gibraltar, from the conquest of 1704 to the eve of the Evacuation in 1940. I looked at the fluctuations and changing composition of the population, at issues arising from the fortress-colony role, education and religion, and at the very limited political rights of the people. The social, economic and language differences between the working class on the one hand and the colonial and military establishment and the merchant elite on the other were also briefly discussed.

Prior to 1940, English was largely the preserve of this governing class (and its 'subaltern' elite); and official policy (as exemplified by Colonial Secretary Beattie and Governor Hunter) demanded the use of English as a condition of patriotism. By the early nineteenth century Spanish had taken over (from Genoese) as the spoken popular language. But well before the Second World War, there was a demand, by individuals and public bodies and a trade union, for raising the standard of English. This was linked to political and vocational aspirations, but pre-war education reports too emphasised the need for improvement.

In my second chapter I dealt with the Evacuation.

I see no reason to disagree with all those who have seen the importance of the Evacuation in terms both of political and identity awareness, and of educational and English-language development. These two aspects are linked, for the increased

contact with English showed the way to political and social empowerment. My conclusion here is that the Evacuation was greatly significant in accelerating and consolidating trends that were already developing in the previous decade or two, both in politics and language use. But the acquisition or improvement of English language skills in the Evacuation was largely context-driven, depending on the circumstances of different individuals – their age and background, environment, opportunities for schooling, and spheres of social activity. There are statements from officials about the need to anglicise and transmit British values among the evacuees, and also some practical moves like the provision of English classes for adults. However, my research strongly indicates that whatever improvements occurred in these areas were not mainly the result of official policy or conscious language planning.

On the other hand, the Evacuation provided the young with an education, however fragmented because of wartime conditions, that was totally in English. So although most families continued to speak Spanish at home, young evacuees, exposed to only English at school, underwent a new linguistic experience. We are told, for example, that their proficiency in English was much praised by their hosts. Before the war, women in Gibraltar could be regarded as largely Spanish-speaking monolinguals: their place had been regarded as the home, and their curriculum had been gender-specific. For many of them, English would have been less prominent in their education. Most Spanish women who had married Gibraltarian men would have had little contact with English. Now all this was changing. Apart from girls receiving schooling in English, many of the older ones and young women were getting jobs in London and there was shopping and day-to-day contact with people too. The experience has been described by a French scholar as ‘un véritable bain linguistique’.<sup>1</sup>

The effect of the Evacuation on language was to enhance greatly, and speed up, a trend that was already in progress. It did not have a radical effect where older people were concerned.

These points all emerged strongly during the interviews I conducted among former evacuees. But another important effect of the greater exposure to the language and culture of Britain (and indeed also in the British schools in Madeira and in Jamaica)

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<sup>1</sup> Michot, p. 90.

was that it quickened the pace of educational reform on repatriation. This was true also of political aspirations, largely frustrated before the war but kept alive, as we have seen, in the Evacuation centres. Gibraltarians were brought more closely together as a people in crisis in wartime conditions while, in Gibraltar from 1942, the AACR was playing the leading part in continuing to fight for empowerment of the people, and for improving conditions for evacuees in UK and elsewhere. The new sense of collective identity experienced by Gibraltarian evacuees was now linked to demands for greater political participation.

In Chapter III I described the Clifford Report of 1944 as a fundamentally crucial document, for it not only established the English language fully in education (under the perhaps obligatory genuflection to colonial values); it provided advanced educational opportunities for its time. I argued that it was a remarkably enlightened document and must be seen as part of the process that also led to constitutional reforms in the late 40s and 50s. The language changes resulting from Clifford affected representative politics, broadcasting and the media, culture and religious worship.

The Report emerges as a revolutionary document which was the logical complement to the Evacuation. In establishing a state system of education and the primacy of the English language it coincided with the call for political emancipation and representation which was gaining momentum at the time. In both spheres, English was the means that facilitated progress and eventually radical change. The educational reforms went further and were more ahead of their time than political progress at the rate allowed by the colonial authorities: for example, it was not until 1950 that a Legislative Council with limited powers was inaugurated. This contrast was largely a reflection of attitudes held by civil servants and educationalists at the Colonial Office on the one hand and of military Governors and their administrators in Gibraltar on the other. The extent of progressive educational thinking in the Colonial Office, illustrated in this chapter, may well surprise believers in colonial stereotypes.

Moreover, it is unlikely that Gibraltarian representative political institutions would have developed as they did without the move towards more English. It would have been a much slower process. Although we have seen that the expectation of fluency in



English among candidates for election could exclude some of the older and less educated individuals, this was a case again of official policy reflecting Gibraltarians' preferences. After all, we are aware from the evidence in the work of recent researchers of the high valuation placed on English in Gibraltar. For, as we have also seen, from well before the war many Gibraltarians had clamoured for improved teaching of the English language. In this sense, therefore, Clifford was also responding to the demands of the people.

In the Report there were strong and candid statements about Gibraltarians' difficulties with English. However, there was also recognition of the importance of Spanish, and no wish to 'oust the Spanish language from the Colony'.<sup>2</sup> This valuation of Spanish, despite intolerance to its dialectical form in Gibraltar, and the radical recommendation that it should be taught in all schools from 11-plus – although emphatically it should never be a medium of instruction for any other subject – is further evidence of a broadmindedness not always apparent at the time, or for many years later.

From the end of the war to the mid-60s the new education system and gradual constitutional development, with a greater elective element in the City Council and a Legislative Council, began to bear fruit. The English language was consolidated in education and politics, partly in Radio Gibraltar, totally in TV and increasingly in the printed media (but the contrast between the *Chronicle* and *El Calpense* in readership, language and attitudes to Gibraltar rights – discussed in several chapters – was still quite marked early in this period). Without the officially sanctioned pre-eminence of the English language Gibraltar would have been very different. I examined this situation in Chapter IV.

At the same time, the work of the British Council serves as an example of the promotion of imperial values that could be encountered until well after the Second World War. While Spanish, outside school hours and official scenarios, was still the oral language of choice for the majority, it is clear that, two decades after the war, an incomplete grasp of English remained a big disadvantage in politics and other areas.

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<sup>2</sup> Clifford Report, p. 11, par. 21, original submission.

My research reveals the paradoxes of imperial rule from the mid-twentieth century. Clifford's (and Dr Howes') educational reforms, although emphasising the need for anglicisation and for loyalty and pride in the ideal of empire (and for producing 'new and responsible leaders'<sup>3</sup>), were in fact empowering the people for greater participation in the processes of government and political articulation. Moreover, the movement towards English in the media and other cultural forms showed a convergence of language policy and practice. This is one of the central issues to emerge in this thesis.

Inevitably, the Spanish restrictions from the mid-60s to 1985, leading to border closure, consolidated the move of language and culture towards greater anglicisation. Gibraltarians adapted to a siege mentality, as often before in the Rock's history, developing even greater solidarity with Britain and among themselves. There was enhanced status and use for the English language too, because in this period those who had benefited from the post-war educational reforms came of age. Educational policy encouraged more English (schools sometimes tried to enforce English outside the classroom). My discussion of this period in Chapter V also touched on the greater self-sufficiency Gibraltarians were now called upon to show as Britain's international commitments altered.

There were many changes in Gibraltar as a result of this fifteenth siege, social, economic and cultural. The closure of the dockyard and defence cuts created a new climate which might explain the early glimpses of Gibraltarian 'nationalism' and the emergence of short-lived autonomist parties. Nevertheless, Spanish survived as a spoken language. My research has made clear how strong oral Spanish remained (whether we regard it as Yanito or the Gibraltarian version of Andalusian). Despite its low profile in non-oral forms, and the advantages enjoyed by English, spoken Spanish has proved remarkably resilient for reasons explored above. Television, proximity to Spain and renewed contact with Spaniards with an open border since 1985 go some way to explain this phenomenon. But its strong hold in many homes, and its role as a language of informality, emotion and lower register go beyond sheer practicality.

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<sup>3</sup> Clifford Report, pp. 30-31, par. 58, original submission.

In my interviews some educationalists made a case for giving it a more prominent place in schools. Unions still use it at ‘shop-floor’ level; the Church often in sermons, if not often in services; and clearly Spanish has had a very marked influence in culture and the performing arts.

We can agree with what some of our sources have said about Gibraltarians’ advantage in having the enrichment of two (or three) languages, in different functions for different needs. But we have seen the problem in the lack of technical and literary Spanish and perhaps in some registers of English as well. Even before the war visiting British educators were advocating giving more importance to the teaching of Spanish, as did Clifford, without in any way challenging the primacy of English. This awareness of the advantage of a second language was, once again, a sign of forward thinking by the Colonial Office, but it is significant that in the period covered by this thesis the overall valuation of Spanish was not such as to give it the profile envisaged. However, some have argued for greater use of Spanish in early-years teaching.

In my closing chapter, I discussed bilingualism in Gibraltar, and the character of Yanito and its codeswitching, because they are so expressive of Gibraltar’s identity. Language shift, driven by population movement over the years, and issues of language valuation were also surveyed. I made an attempt to relate these aspects to a more universal background, also trying to explain the reasons for Spanish language maintenance. My study has taken into account work about language published in very recent years, in Gibraltar and elsewhere.

In my examination of language in this final chapter I have accepted that Yanito has a role as a signifier of identity, and I accept that there is use of it by the media at a lower-register level, but I do not see it supplanting English in any sense. It is possible to exaggerate its role, although its codeswitching aspect is of linguistic and sociolinguistic significance. Nor do I see the concept of a *new* New English as more than an intermediate stage in the move to a standard form. At the same time, Spanish may gain new status in education and in cultural forms (this may be a role for the Instituto Cervantes). In some ways it might appear that the identity and language patterns of the Gibraltarian are now established, as are the political status of the Rock and the rights of its inhabitants. However, we cannot regard any community or nation

or indeed any identity as ‘settled’ – and perhaps particularly one like Gibraltar, which has undergone over the years such numerous and great changes in all the areas explored in this thesis. What language and other changes will take place in Gibraltar in the next four and a half decades, the equivalent time to that examined in the thesis, is for some future researcher to determine.

## APPENDIX I: POPULATION MOVEMENTS AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE

Sir William Jackson has collated census details. The 1725 census records:

	[Garrison 1,200 + families]
	British 113
	Jews 137
	Moors 5
	Genoese 414
	Spanish 400 (incl. Catalans who had been wartime allies)
	French 23
	Dutch 21
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Total	1,113 civilians

By 1754, there were 1,733 civilians (and a garrison of 3,000 and 1,426 family): 351 British, 597 Genoese, 575 Jews, 185 Spaniards and 25 Portuguese. Total = 6,159.

In 1777, two years before the beginning of the Great Siege, the population is recorded by Jackson as: garrison etc. 5,400, British civilians 519, Jews 863 and Roman Catholics (sic) 1,819 - these included Spanish, Portuguese and other Mediterranean. (In the later eighteenth century censuses 'Catholics' average roughly two thirds of the civilian population.) Finlayson's chart for the civil population of 1777 records a separate category of 1,661 'natives', signifying born in Gibraltar as opposed to newly arrived Genoese, civilian British, foreign Jews, Spaniards etc. Finlayson observes that this could be the beginning of 'the Gibraltarian'— although the term is not used in official correspondence for a long time.<sup>4</sup> Jackson notes that the description 'Gibraltar-born' has begun to appear in the census.<sup>5</sup>

The average proportions of the civilian population in the eighteenth century, up to the time of the French Revolutionary War, is calculated as: Genoese 44%, Jews (principally Jews originating in Morocco) 26%, British 16%, Spaniards 12%;

<sup>4</sup> Jackson, p. 153. Finlayson, 'The Gibraltarians since 1704', talk to the Gibraltar Heritage Society, c. 2000, pp. 6-7 of script. Also see above, pp. 3-4.

<sup>5</sup> Jackson, p. 246. Also cf. Aliens Order pp. 10-11 above.

Portuguese 2%.<sup>6</sup> Numbers in the garrison, and their families, tended to fluctuate, but Jackson puts the average for the eighteenth century at around 5,000. New arrivals from Genoa following its annexation by Napoleon in 1807 helped to increase the civilian population to 7,501. By 1813 it was 2½ times the size of the garrison – 12,423. Despite occasional epidemics and the period of recession after the Napoleonic war, the population grew throughout the nineteenth century.

The census of 1891 records ‘16,670 British subjects’, including ‘14,244 natives of Gibraltar’ and 695 Maltese; also 2,341 ‘foreigners’, including 1,341 Spanish women. These statistics show the considerable number of Maltese men who were recruited as construction workers for the expansion of the great dockyard at the end of the century and that many Spanish women were settling in Gibraltar either as brides or as domestic labour.

Another factor about the nature of the population is that its development is a kind of chart of British imperial history. For instance, the rise of the Portuguese element of the population to 20% is attributed by Jackson to ‘the close links between the British naval bases at Lisbon and Gibraltar’ that led to Portuguese workers settling in Gibraltar; so it was with Spain when Anglo-Spanish relations improved as a result of the Peninsular War against Napoleon. The small influx of Minorcans and the much larger one of Maltese also reflected Britain’s developing naval power in the Mediterranean. And, underlying these demographic changes and historical trends, and of crucial relevance to my study, the English language establishes a strong presence in Gibraltar, even though for many years that presence is of an official kind.

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<sup>6</sup> These figures are taken from Jackson, pp. 126, 143, 224–227. See also Constantine, p. 29, and Finlayson, *GHJ*, 9 (2002), pp. 32–33.

## APPENDIX II: LEVEY'S RESEARCH AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE

I have noted in this thesis how there is concern that the younger generation is 'losing' its Spanish, as a result of educational policy and the encouragement for English in all spheres. Levey set out in his book, published in 2008, 'to analyse the role and use of English within the speech of young Gibraltarians' and the language attitude and phonology of a new generation of Gibraltarians.<sup>7</sup> I need to quote some of his statistics because they shed light on several key issues.

Levey concentrated on young people aged between 9 and 19 (72 in all, 38 in the 13 – 19 age-group and 34 from age 9 to 12 (p. 9). There were 36 from each sex. His sample included some from the Jewish, Indian and Moroccan 'ethnic minorities'. He asked himself why the Spanish language had remained 'so prevalent' despite 'increasing pressure to reflect identity and allegiance in linguistic terms' (p. 10). Like many others and myself he sees the language shift in Gibraltar as 'accelerated as a result of the closure of the border ... a result seen and consolidated in the linguistic make-up of their children' (p. 12). His findings confirmed that 'an intergenerational linguistic shift is taking place in Gibraltar' (p. 8). However, even though English was home language in 37% of households, only 23.6 % of parents used English when speaking together ... 'monolingual Spanish was the principal inter-parental means of communication in 44.4% of households yet only 25% of parents spoke to their children in that language' (p. 8). Levey's research showed that young Gibraltarians had moved 'even further away from Spanish towards English' than Kellermann had shown ten years earlier (p. 59).

Many informants spoke Spanish to their grandparents only, indicating a total change of language pattern – as we have already seen – over four generations (p. 60).

It is not unusual for members of the same nuclear family to vary their language behaviour depending on which family member they are speaking to (p. 63).

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<sup>7</sup> Levey, p. 8. Page references to this book are in the main text.

Levey remarked on the increasing number of young Gibraltarians ‘whose early language development is in English’ and the difficulties of some younger speakers with Spanish (pp. 63–64).<sup>8</sup> More working-class children spoke Spanish at home, but here too the shift was towards English (p. 67). Levey showed that at school English was never used as an ‘inter student language’ (ISL) among the working class ; but this figure rose by class divisions, reaching 71.43% in the upper middle class (42.6%, leaving out ethnic minorities) (pp. 72–73).<sup>9</sup> However, English was used as an ISL by three times more males than females, the difference being even more marked in the 13–19 group: only 8.33% of girls in it used English as an ISL.<sup>10</sup>

Levey found a ‘more relaxed attitude to language and its enforcement at secondary school’ (where 29% spoke English across the classroom as opposed to 52.9% in middle school) (p. 68).

This implies that English is, to a certain extent, artificially enforced, with many speakers reverting to more comfortable language forms at a later stage. This contention is supported by some interview data (p. 69).<sup>11</sup>

One of Levey’s most striking findings was in establishing the ‘most comfortable language’ (MCL) and how discrepancies exist between language use, language choice and language preference (p. 75). While over 50% of his informants were most comfortable in English, the ‘autochthonous’ majority – i.e. the ‘Gibraltar’ majority (‘for want of a better term’) and excluding the Jewish, Indian and Moroccan communities - preferred Spanish or Yanito, no less than 64.5% (pp. 75–76). This statistic reflected the strong English-language preference of the first two ‘ethnic minority’ communities.

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. Romaine’s comments on some Sikh children’s lack of confidence and reluctance in using Panjabi in front of their elders. Romaine, p. 305.

<sup>9</sup> Levey also quotes Labov’s research in New York in 1966, demonstrating ‘the importance of social stratification in language variation’. ‘The social (or socio-economic) class variable has been a mainstay of modern sociolinguistics’. Levey, p. 46.

<sup>10</sup> Ballantine, in his 1985 survey, found that 24.5% of children preferred English as opposed to 75.5% preferring Spanish for ‘interpersonal’ communication; but ‘in a formal situation’ the split was 87% for English; 13% Spanish. Ballantine, *GHJ*, 7(2000), p. 122.

<sup>11</sup> On the subject of English-enforcement outside lessons opinions and experiences vary: cf. interviews with DS, AT and DP, Chapter IV above; and MP Derek Walker Smith’s, question to the minister in 1955 and subsequent official correspondence within Gibraltar, also Chapter IV. Some of my informants referred to the compulsory use of English outside the classroom, although it is obvious that this was not easily enforceable.



Preferences were also affected by age and gender. Taking the group as a whole:

Whereas 63.89% of pre-adolescent and adolescent males chose English as their MCL, the female figures were 50% lower ... pre-adolescent and adolescent males [were] approximately 60% more likely to adopt English as their MCL than their respective female counterparts. However, it was the 9 – 12 year old boys who, once again, showed by far the strongest preference for English (p. 78).

Perhaps surprisingly, Levey, combining age and sex variables, found that 50% of males in the autochthonous group were most comfortable in English compared to 20.8% of females:

MCL findings once again showed that in GibM (the autochthonous element) Spanish language maintenance ... was most evident among teenage girls, whereas English language shift was strongest amongst pre-adolescent boys (p. 79).

The tendency to move away from English with age, more marked in girls but also apparent in adolescent males, is reminiscent of HC's experience when he was addressed in Spanish by former pupils whom he had previously only communicated with in English.<sup>12</sup>

Levey's conclusions are valuable in explaining Spanish-language maintenance in Gibraltar. His research confirms and consolidates Kellermann's conclusions about the increasing shift towards English. However, his findings about 'the most comfortable' language go some way towards answering the question 'Why and how does Spanish survive in Gibraltar?', at least while there is still a generation of elders who communicate with the young primarily in that language.<sup>13</sup> Clearly, however, as argued in this thesis throughout, the post-war educational reforms, and the whole experiential process set in motion by the war and the Evacuation, have had a decisive effect in establishing English.

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. interview with HC, April 2009.

<sup>13</sup> HC's experience after the referendum results of 2002 were announced goes some way towards answering this question. Interview with HC, April 2009.

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## THE INTERVIEWS

1. The purpose of the interviews was to provide first-hand accounts of Gibraltarians' experience of language and associated issues in the Evacuation and also in post-war Gibraltar. Recollections and memories going back over 70 years are bound to contain unwitting distortions, inaccuracies and contradictions; and oral history as such has its own difficulties. However, I was greatly impressed by the clarity of most of my informants' recollection. What many of them said about language and identity, whether as evacuees or as residents of Gibraltar playing their part in many spheres of post-war life, was generally consistent with each others' account and with available documentation: I hope this fact has emerged in the thesis.

2. I also hope that the thesis has presented, together with conclusions based on scholarly research, some insight into the human as well as the historical issues of the time. Thus, I did not discourage my informants from speaking freely and sometimes at some length, or from entering anecdotal territory. In that sense the interviews were unstructured.

3. I did, however, follow a pattern; the evacuees were asked:-

- i How fluent were you when evacuated in 1940?
- ii When evacuated, what were your thoughts about being in a place where everyone outside the Evacuation centres spoke English?
- iii What was your language experience in:
  - (a) Shopping and day-to-day living – travel, meeting people, teachers, doctors, church etc?
  - (b) Entertainment, film, radio etc?
  - (c) Reading – newspapers, books and magazines?
- iv What problems with English (and therefore day-to-day living) did other people you knew have?
- v How might people's treatment of evacuees depend to some extent on their fluency in English?
- vi What opportunities did you have to practise English and what help did you have with your English?
- vii How did your attitude to English vary after repatriation to Gibraltar in the post-war years?
- viii Do you think there could be a link between power and a good command of English in Gibraltar?

Except for the last question, which was too vague and unconsidered for some of my informants, I think that the responses met my aims. But one rule I followed was that the questioning was adapted to the individuals. I felt there had to be flexibility. This was particularly true of my interviews with what might loosely be called ‘policy-makers’, that is, men and women who had worked in the media, the civil service, finance, politics and the trades union, who had written about Gibraltar; and also of my interviews with members of the public who would not claim particular influence.

I have tried to make my transcripts as accurate as possible, verbatim, only summarising long digression in one of them. Square brackets denote my interventions, and they give just a brief, not a full, indication of what I said. These interventions were like promptings, which were not in fact always needed.

4. Some of the interviews took place in cafés or bars, usually at the interviewees’ choice, some in homes for old people – many in fact *were* with old people. Consequently reception on my voice recorder was not always good, even when subsequently amplified on computer.

I have tried to indicate these passages of difficulty (or omissions or hesitations) in the transcripts ( ... ).

5. In choosing my sample for interviews I was guided both by previous knowledge of my informants in a private or official capacity, and by helpful recommendations. Sometimes I chose on grounds of age and Evacuation experience; hence my approach to two old people’s care homes.

6. There is, of course, no attempt to group interviews between men and women separately. Inevitably, because more women than men were evacuated, there are more interviews with them, particularly in the higher age-group.

7. I have used initials rather than full names for the transcripts and references. However, there are some occasions when the main narrative is made more fluent and logical by giving the full name in the text. All my informants gave me permission to use their material freely.

[The interview transcripts are not available in the online version of this thesis]