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**The Jewish Impact on the Social and Economic Manifestation of the Gibraltarian Identity.**

By

Andrea Hernandez

Accepted in Partial Completion  
Of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

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Moheb A. Ghali, Dean of the Graduate School

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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Chair, Dr. Helfgott

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## **MASTER'S THESIS**

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Andrea Hernandez

November 11, 2011

## *Abstract*

*The diverse fabric of life which comprises Gibraltar encompasses various ethnic backgrounds including but not limited to; Maltese, East Indian, Moroccan, Italian, Spaniard, and Sephardic Jews. The aim of this thesis is to examine the contribution of the Sephardic Jew in respect to the cultural and economic development of the Gibraltarian. This is accomplished by highlighting the historical relationships between the countries of Spain, England, and Morocco with their Jewish population, and secondly by using both primary and secondary research materials to delve into the daily life of a Sephardic Jew during the early colonial development of Gibraltar between 1704 to the mid nineteenth century when the social identity of the Gibraltarian manifested. Gibraltar's unique cultural identity is further examined by applying various components of cultural theorist's philosophies creating a distinct cultural ideology exclusive to Gibraltar. It is precisely the uniqueness of Gibraltar which makes it such a difficult area to categorize and yet such an intriguing region to study.*

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*Para mi Papa y Jeremy*

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## **Introduction**

### **The Jewish Impact on the Social and Economic Manifestation of the Gibraltarian Identity**

Gibraltar's continual existence defies modern notions of national independence. The very existence of Gibraltar could easily represent an archaic time when colonialism represented feats of grandeur to those nations who conquered uncivilized and or weaker communities than their own. To Spain and perhaps other nations, Gibraltar is a reminder of British Imperialist desires for power which in previous centuries meant land acquisition and the enslavement of entire peoples. This narrow focus however fails to acknowledge exceptions to preconceived notions of colonialism and the people who constitute members of their conquered state. Gibraltar represents a European colony, the very last European colony, which would rather remain an entity of her colonial sovereign, Great Britain, than revert to her original possessor Spain. In order to understand this phenomenon a brief discussion concerning the broader scope of the development of Gibraltarian identity is necessary and will be examined in this introduction. After which attention will shift to the Jewish community of Gibraltar.

As Benedict Anderson notes, the inception of mass print production helped spread ideas of a community's common belief system and helped solidify a sense of pride in communities where regular publications were distributed and read. Gibraltar remained no exception to this rule as May 15, 1801 marked the first publication of the *Gibraltar Chronicle*. Although the newspaper appeared nearly 100 years after the capture of Gibraltar, it largely influenced and helped shape Gibraltarian identity. The *Chronicle* acted as both a tool for disseminating news concerning Great Britain, and also reported



information of local significance. By reporting on both the colony and her sovereign, the *Chronicle* helped to create the dual identity that the people of Gibraltar eventually embraced. The newspaper also reflected the ethnic diversity of Gibraltar. This is exemplified in the paper's first editor Charles Bouisson, a Frenchman who immigrated to Gibraltar in 1794.

The *Chronicle* was effectively able to shape the dual formation of the colonist's identity by reporting events specific to Great Britain and concurrently reporting on local incidents, a practice still common in contemporary times. Local Gibraltarians were not only notified of British activities but often honored such events much in the same fashion as their British counterparts. For example Gibraltar engaged in a royal salute and lined the streets in celebration during the 1821 coronation of King George IV. Seventeen years later in 1838 the colonists engaged in festivity which included parades and celebratory gunfire upon the arrival of former British Queen Adelaide.<sup>1</sup>

The dedication to the British crown was not limited to the Anglo-Saxon residents of the colony. Newspaper articles such as the one printed in 1897 give testament to the Jewish support and engagement of British holidays. Such is the case when the *Gibraltar Chronicle* reported that the Hebrew population of Gibraltar "sent messages of congratulations and loyalty to the queen."<sup>2</sup> Subscribers to the *Chronicle* held tangible proof of their connection to the British crown. The printed stories reinforced the commitment of Great Britain to the colony while at the same time reporting the commitment of Gibraltarians to Great Britain. Loyalty to Great Britain thus implied the colonists continued loyalty to Gibraltar. The dual loyalty of the colonists led to the

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<sup>1</sup> Steven Constantine, "Monarchy and Constructing Identity in 'British' Gibraltar, c. 1800 to the Present." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 34, no. 1 (2006) 25.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 28.

emergence of the social identity of the Gibraltarian, an identity although rooted in a British framework remained independently Gibraltarian.

This thesis will first examine the historical relationships between the English, Moroccan, and Spaniards with their Jewish population, determining how their historical relationships determined their future interactions during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Secondly, this paper will examine the role of the Jewish population in Gibraltar during times of conflict. The last section of this paper will examine what it meant to be Gibraltarian by examining precisely the opposite. This will be accomplished by drawing from not just one theorist's interpretation of societal structure but rather many, with the understanding that Gibraltar and her cultural identity are unique and does not fit into any one paradigm of thought. A brief epilogue will conclude this thesis which will discuss the role of Gibraltar's Jewish population in contemporary times.

The documentation of Gibraltar as a place of strategic importance due to its physical location is noted even in times of antiquity. Gibraltar's position on the Iberian Peninsula often acted as the first obstacle for an invading nation to overcome on its quest for European dominance. The natural eastern Rock wall facing Africa and the Mediterranean Sea was virtually impossible to scale and lookout points built by subsequent ruling Muslim forces helped ensure the fortress's security from potential threats. After the combined Dutch and British forces overcame the Spaniards in 1704, which ushered in a new period of occupation over the Rock, additional fortifications were constructed, ensuring the continued existence of British presence over the area. The latest fortifications proved to be successful as they endured two major sieges, one which persisted for over three years.

The fortress walls proved almost entirely impenetrable leading the Spaniards to revert to a less, but more mundane strategy of warfare which included but not limited to starving the colony out by use of a boycott. Due to the location of the Rock, British forces remained at bay which meant that provisions to ensure the livelihood of the colony were provided largely by the colony's Jewish and Moroccan inhabitants. The dependence on 'foreigners,' often outraged Englishmen from Great Britain, but for the men and women who resided in Gibraltar reliance on 'foreigners' was necessary for the colony's continuing existence. The British colonist understood that without Jewish and Moroccan assistance, the colony of Gibraltar would cease to exist. In any case early Gibraltar-British history was largely surrounded by its continually threatened security which included a certain level of duress. This duress would bond the colony's inhabitants and along with their shared experiences helped lead to the creation of the Gibraltarian national consciousness.

The first chapter of this thesis discusses at length the complex historical relationships of the Jews with their British, North African, and Spanish counterparts. Chapter One sheds light on why Jews and Moroccans would immigrate to Gibraltar after being forcefully removed from the area in 1492 following the Spanish capture of Granada. The fall of Granada effectively ended the 700 years of Muslim rule in Andalucía, ushering in the unification of Catholic Spain. 1492 also denotes the rise of the Spanish Inquisition which had disastrous effects on the Jewish population of Spain. When Jews immigrated to Gibraltar in 1704 the Inquisition was still in effect ending only with an order of abolition in 1808. So why then would they willingly relocate to Spanish soil?

For centuries after the Diaspora Sephardic Jews remained in Spain and other areas of the Mediterranean leaving only after their forceful removal due to the Inquisition. Jews sought refuge in Leghorn, Portugal and North Africa.<sup>3</sup> The Jews who immigrated to Gibraltar all derived from these areas, and thus they were the descendants of Spanish Jews. Perhaps it was because of this connection that the Jews felt a calling to resettle the land of their Sephardi ancestors. Sephardic Jews shared a history with Spain both prior to and during the Inquisition. Historically, Spanish Jews were relied upon to collect taxes, finance loans and often times acted as advisors to both their Muslim and Catholic heads of State. Therefore Jews held an important place in the history of pre-unified Catholic Spain and perhaps a return to Spanish soil would seem like reunion of sorts with their past.

Gibraltar also offered opportunities to the Jews incomparable to that of other European countries during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. As previously discussed Jews were prohibited from residing in Spain. Many Jews fled Spain crossing into Portugal only to endure the Portuguese Inquisition in 1535. Jewish expulsion was not anomalous to only Spain and Portugal. Countries across Europe actively expelled their Jewish population. One Chronicler reported that “Jews residing in 18<sup>th</sup> century France were tolerated by the crown for their economic usefulness.”<sup>4</sup> Jews fared better in Poland, which boasted the largest Jewish population in Europe during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> The sizeable number of Jews in Poland did little to change the negative Polish attitude towards them. Polish writings argued that, “Jews could be useful citizens without converting to Christianity if

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<sup>3</sup> Sharman Kadish, *Jewish Heritage in Gibraltar: An Architectural Guide*, (Reading, U.K.:Spire Books Ltd., 2007), 11.

<sup>4</sup> Daniel Stone, “Jews and the Urban Question in late Eighteenth Century Poland,” *Slavic Review* 50, no. 3 (Autumn 1991): 533.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 533.

they made some changes in their way of life, such as abandoning their traditional way of clothes and Hebrew language”.<sup>6</sup> In Poland and other European countries Jews were considered an alien component of the population. In contrast Gibraltar had no real preexisting population. The immigrants arriving to Gibraltar were all considered alien. Perhaps it is because of this that the immigrants including, Jews, were not asked to abandon their traditional way of dress, religion or language. The immigrating Jews of Gibraltar indeed were needed for their economic usefulness, as in other European countries, but more importantly the immigrants were vital for the continued existence of the colony. Jews took advantage of the economic opportunities and religious freedom that immigration to Gibraltar afforded them, such niceties unavailable to them in other European countries. The Jewish population continued to grow and by 1777 one-third of all residential homes were owned by Jews.<sup>7</sup>

The high number of Jewish ownership exasperated the British, but by 1819 the legal right for both Jews and Catholics to own property in the colony was confirmed by an Order in Council.<sup>8</sup> Aaron Cardozo a prominent Gibraltarian Jew during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century is credited with reforming Gibraltarian legislation when he formally requested that the British government to uphold Jewish land ownership in Gibraltar. His presence in Gibraltar is testimony to not only the substantial Jewish existence in the colony but also that the Jewish population actively participated in shaping colonial legislation. The Jews of Gibraltar held property rights, but more important they were allowed to practice their

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<sup>6</sup> Daniel Stone, “Jews and the Urban Question in late Eighteenth Century Poland,” *Slavic Review* 50, no. 3 (Autumn 1991): 533.

<sup>7</sup> Tito Benady, *The Sephardi Heritage Vol. II: The Western Sephardim*, ed. Richard Barnett & Walter Schwab (Grendon, U.K.: Gibraltar Books Ltd., 1989), 156.

<sup>8</sup> Sharman Kadish, *Jewish Heritage in Gibraltar: An Architectural Guide*, (Reading, U.K.:Spire Books Ltd., 2007), 15.

religion with no attending political, social or economic restrictions. Jews often faced discrimination from their originating countries; many were marginalized from the societies in which they lived. It is no wonder that Jews immigrated to Gibraltar in such large numbers and continued to reside thereafter.

A second motivation for Jewish immigration to Gibraltar was the colony's need for merchant trade. Therefore the second chapter of this thesis examines how during times of warfare, specifically during the Siege of 1727 and the Great Siege of 1779-1783, Jewish community members contributed to the colony's well-being. During the Sieges Jewish ties to North Africa proved invaluable to the continued existence of the colony. The lack of British men willing to relocate to Gibraltar allowed Jewish immigrants the opportunity to establish Gibraltar as their home by actively taking part in the economic development of the colony. The Jewish ability to procure food stock and other provisions not only bolstered their place within Gibraltarian society but demonstrated their commitment to the successful development of the colony. Jews also acted as liaisons between Gibraltar and North African government officials. It is due to the active Jewish involvement in both the early stages of colonial Gibraltar and during times of war that the 'foreign' Jews became synonymous with the Gibraltarian social identity of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. This occurred because in Gibraltar one could be Jewish, Anglo-Saxon or Italian and yet still be viewed by fellow colonial members as Gibraltarian.

Continued colonial loyalty to Great Britain is unheard of in colonial history thus making Gibraltar unique. Rather than rally against their sovereign nation Gibraltar has continuously rallied against being returned to Spain. Perhaps this is due to the ethnic makeup of Gibraltar which during the 18<sup>th</sup> century remained somewhat devoid of a

Spaniard population. The development of the Gibraltarian national conscience is largely due to the unique ethnic makeup deriving from the varied religious beliefs and cultural tolerance of the population. Gibraltar remained openly devoted to Great Britain, but at the same time was forming an independent Gibraltarian identity separate from her colonial sovereign. Because of this it is hard to apply only one type of social theory to the phenomenon of the Gibraltarian. Consequently the third chapter of this thesis will draw upon various theoretical discourses in order to describe the development of Gibraltar's social history.

Indeed it is hard at times to explain how the social identity of the Gibraltarian people coalesced. Even more difficult is determining what national body is more important to the Gibraltarian, Great Britain or Gibraltar? Gibraltar's interwoven ideas of what it meant to be both a member of the British Crown and yet also Gibraltarian are blurred at times but the social identity prevalent in the nineteenth century was constructed over the period between 1704-1783. During this time wars, social functions, and the basic infrastructure of the Garrison were taking place. This meant that by the end of the nineteenth century a clear Gibraltarian identity separate from their British identity had solidified. Nowhere is the nineteenth century Gibraltarian concept of true Gibraltarian illustrated than in the treatment of those ethnicities who arrived after 1850. The newly arriving immigrants although subjects of the British crown, arrived in Gibraltar after a firm Gibraltarian identity was established which excluded new immigrants such as those from Malta.

As previously stated, this narrow understanding of Gibraltarian identity was constructed over a period of roughly 100 years. Commencing with the combined British-

Dutch takeover of Gibraltar from Spain in 1704, and was firmly cemented in Gibraltarian national consciousness by the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805. This transformation requires that one must first understand the uniqueness of the physical makeup of Gibraltar.

Gibraltar is relatively small in terms of habitable landmass totaling 2.25 square miles and less if one counts only the area within the perimeter of the Garrison itself.<sup>9</sup> The Gibraltarian community conflicts with Benedict Anderson's notion of community formation. Anderson discusses in his, *Imagined Communities* the idea that communities are largely imagined in part because although they may share the same belief, interests and ideas of nation, they will never actually know every member of their community.<sup>10</sup> In contrast, limited space and a small population allowed Gibraltarians to interact personally with one another.<sup>11</sup> Both physical space constraints and the interdependence on one another made their daily personal interactions a reality. This closeness helped create an even purer form of the comradeship that Anderson discusses and is addressed later in this thesis.

The construction of the Garrison walls included a second effect as well. By keeping the Spaniards out, the walls simultaneously kept the population in. The wall then acted as a physical and very real reminder and representation of who was considered to be a member of Gibraltarian society and conversely who wasn't. Those residing within the Garrisons walls were considered Gibraltarian. Those who remained outside the walls were not. Ironically, while the walls were constructed to keep the Spaniards out during

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<sup>10</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York, NY: Verso, 2006) 6.

<sup>11</sup> Gibraltar's population in 1817 consisted of 10,136. By 2001 the population grew to number only 27,495. In contrast the population of Seville, Spain in 2009 numbered at 710,000. Of course there is no room for urban growth in Gibraltar like Seville, but the numbers are quoted to substantiate the limited growth in Gibraltar in comparison with neighboring cities. The limited growth in population allowed for personal level of contact with Gibraltar's residents.



times of war they would also act as a tangible barrier to other ethnicities who attempted relocation in later years to the Rock as was demonstrated with the treatment of the Maltese during the mid to late 1800's. The walls then served a dual purpose, first they were rather effective in keeping the "non-Gibraltarian" out, while at the same time their very presence reinforced the notion of a close knit community defined by the confines of their physical location on the Iberian Peninsula, and their shared struggles. Both attributes gave Gibraltar's populace a sense of national pride, a pride that was produced through their unique colonial experience.

## **Historiography**

Little published work exists with regards to Gibraltar. The social identity of Gibraltar is almost completely ignored in scholarly discussions. Since 1950, a handful of works dedicated to Gibraltar's military history were written but even those remain few in number. The focus of many historians centered on the military history of the Rock, as virtually every aspect of the colony is embedded with some aspect of the military. Cannons still sit in various locations throughout the colony, war memorials, including those of evacuation routes are strategically placed within the Garrisons walls, statues of military men adorn street corners, casemates act as visible reminders of what happened to enemies of war and the cemetery located in the middle of the colony is full of men who lost their lives during the various Sieges. But perhaps the biggest attribute of Gibraltar's military presence is the staggering walls which surround the colony.

Gibraltar's inevitable saturation of military significance persisted into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. During WWII massive caves were carved out of the Rocks limestone walls as the

threat of Operation Felix<sup>12</sup> loomed in the minds of those in the colony. In contemporary times the caves act as an underground war museum. The military core of Gibraltar's historical narrative tends to obscure its social history. This thesis was written in the hopes of exploring the role of the local Jewish community of Gibraltar.

Until 2002, little documentation regarding the social history existed. Works such as Ernle Bradford's *Gibraltar: The History of a Fortress* concentrate on the history of Gibraltar's epic battles explored chronologically from the pre Arab era to British rule of the area. Bradford's book published in 1971 provides the reader with a historical narrative regarding the military history of Gibraltar. His book serves as a complete although sometimes biased account of Gibraltar's history of occupation. From his work the reader can glean information concerning the formation of Gibraltar's social identity. This is accomplished by what Bradford doesn't implicitly state, but rather through his documentation and description of ethnic groups and materials acquired during warfare.<sup>13</sup>

In 1990 William Jackson attempted to tackle the daunting task of combining the military history of Gibraltar with that of the community members themselves. His work is one of the first attempts at addressing the ethnic makeup of Gibraltar. Aptly titled *The Rock of the Gibraltarians: A History of Gibraltar*, Jackson gives a comprehensive chronological history of Gibraltar which again is focused around Gibraltar's military history. Although Jackson broaches the topic of Gibraltar's ethnic makeup, he does so only in regards to census records and various ethnic groups' roles within the community. He fails to make the connection of just how those roles contributed to the overall social

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<sup>12</sup> Operation Felix is the code name for the proposed Axis invasion of Gibraltar during WWII. The plan never came into fruition largely due to Francisco Franco's reluctance to side with the Axis powers. Still Gibraltar evacuated in the face of a possible German invasion.

<sup>13</sup> Throughout Bradford's book, the reader gets a sense of British superiority especially over that of the "Moorish Race."

identity of the Gibraltarian. Still as Jackson was Governor of Gibraltar from 1978-1982, his first hand insight is most valuable in regards to how a non-native British transplant views Gibraltarian society. His chapter dedicated to the twentieth century and WWII is especially moving but unfortunately the chapter covers a time period out of the scope of this thesis.

An even earlier work exists of another man who experienced firsthand the daily life of the Gibraltarian. H.W. Howes, the first Director of Education published his book entitled, *The Gibraltarian: The Origin and Evolution of the People of Gibraltar*. Howes book accurately describes the ethnic makeup of the colony, and argues that Gibraltarians formed a distinct social group detached from her colonial sovereign. Attention was given to the varying ethnic groups and their origin by using census and other colonial records.

Although Howe gives an in-depth ethnographic study of each group on Gibraltar, he still fails to determine how the diverse ethnic groups came together to form a Gibraltarian society. Still Howe's work in not only describing but also recognizing ethnic groups other than those of Anglo Saxon descent is invaluable to the continued study of Gibraltarian social identity. Like many authors Howe's work was ahead of his time. The first printing of his book was very limited as it was printed in Gibraltar to an even more limited audience. The second edition printed after his death was well received and only then recognized as a significant contribution to the social history of Gibraltar.

Howe's work led the way for a more comprehensive study of the social identity of the Gibraltarian. In 2002, the history department of Lancaster University was received a grant from the Arts and Humanities Research Council, to explore the demographic, economic and social history of Gibraltar in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, ushering in a

period of scholarly study concerned with the social history of Gibraltar. The journal articles of then PhD student Stephen Constantine, properly addressed how the Gibraltarian identity was formed focusing on overarching themes, but did not focus in depth on any particular ethnic group in their entirety. Constantine's work helped rectify a chasm in the colonial history of Gibraltar. The culmination of his research ended with the 2009 publication of his book entitled, *Community and identity: The making of modern Gibraltar since 1704*.

Constantine's book is perhaps the most comprehensive written work on the overall population of Gibraltar. His book focuses on the actual population of Gibraltar by researching previously unknown or unused archival materials. Constantine's study uses a chronological thematic approach from 1704 to contemporary times. He covers a range of topics including government, civilian population and Gibraltarian economy. Due to the extended time span he covers, much like his previous journal articles, there is little in-depth dedication to any particular ethnic group although various ethnic groups are recognized. Constantine's book is the newest addition to a small collection of works dedicated to the history of Gibraltar. Much like Howe's before him, his book provides priceless insight on the continued academic study of Gibraltar and her people.

As the focus of scholars shifts from the military history of Gibraltar towards the colonial history of the people, specific ethnic groups and their impact on Gibraltar's society will be revealed. The purpose of this thesis focuses primarily on Gibraltar's Jewish population, a population largely un-researched at the very least by scholars outside the local Jewish community. The Jewish immigration to Gibraltar, and the proceeding generations who identified Gibraltar as their home, contributed largely to the

social history of Gibraltar. They not only helped shape the history of Gibraltar, they were critical to the continued existence of the colony. It is for these reasons alone that Jewish history in regards to Gibraltar be documented, even more so because without such documentation the social history of Gibraltar would remain incomplete. It is not enough to merely document the Jewish presence in Gibraltar, rather this thesis strives to flesh out how the Jewish presence in Gibraltar actively participated in the construction of the Gibraltarian identity during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

## **Chapter One Part One- Gibraltar in Antiquity**

Prior to the 711 Moorish takeovers, the rock of Gibraltar is mentioned in the writings of antiquity, commonly referred to as one of the pillars of Heracles, the area serving as a major trade port which connected the western and eastern world trade routes. The Pillars of Heracles were first documented and described by the Phoenicians in circa 590 B.C. The Phoenicians and later the Carthaginians used Gibraltar as their port of trade and harbor to repair their shipping vessels.<sup>14</sup>

Although the Rock of Gibraltar is recognized as the entrance into the Mediterranean, or as historian Ernle Bradford is quoted as saying, “a gateway and stepping stone,” in times of antiquity the Pillars of Hercules represented the opposite. During antiquity, Gibraltar was thought to be the end of the known world. This belief acted as a scare tactic that both the Phoenicians and later the Portuguese would use to stave off both their commercial competition and possible enemies.

Herodotus and later Plato described Gibraltar as an important point of trade for the Phoenicians with the natives of North Africa.<sup>15</sup> Gibraltar developed into an important epicenter of trade for those who enforced their influence over the area and served as a resting point for those travelers and merchants merely passing through the straits from the Western world towards Africa and the East. Overall Gibraltar represented a necessary crossroads for the many cultures of antiquity, an epicenter of economic importance which Gibraltar continued to maintain well into the mid nineteenth century, albeit sporadically depending on what national body occupied the region. The importance of Gibraltar’s

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<sup>14</sup> Ernle Bradford, *Gibraltar The History of a Fortress* (New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), 19.

<sup>15</sup> Herodotus and Plato describe Gibraltar as an important point of trade, but disagree to the extent of maritime routes, regarding the depth of the strait.

economic role and her strategic location lessened in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century when the Egyptian Viceroy, Said Pasha, granted Frenchmen Ferdinand de Lesseps a contract to construct the Suez Canal. The completion of the Suez Canal in 1869 effectively connected the Mediterranean and the Red Sea which lessened Gibraltar's strategic importance in trade and place of rest for traveling merchants. Nevertheless in times of war, the tactical location of the Rock and hence its possession, remained a top aspiration for all parties involved.

After the fall of Carthage in 146 B.C., the Rock entered a period of Roman control, although the area was largely ignored. Activity in the region remained minimal throughout the fall of Rome and into the Vandal conquest of Carthage in 439 A.D.. The Vandals used Roman controlled Gibraltar as a place of rest before crossing the Mediterranean on their final approach towards conquering North Africa including Carthage. Activity in Gibraltar subsided once again until 711 A.D., when Tariq ibn Zayyad a Moorish general used Gibraltar as the entry into conquering Spain. Gibraltar is named after Tariq, his name translated means the mountain or rock in Arabic. After the Moorish conquest of Spain, Gibraltar once again fell in to a period of minimal use as little information exists on the area. Seven hundred years later the Moors would leave Spain following the same route in which they arrived, fleeing Spain through Gibraltar and other Andalucían port towns.

The Moorish rule of Andalucía formally ended in 1492 during the Spanish Reconquista. Spanish Monarchs used Gibraltar as a prison site which comprised a small community up until the 1703 Dutch-British capture. Records dated from 1566 attest to both the negligent conditions and inhospitably of the Rock when Christian and Moorish



prisoners attempted and accomplished a successful prison break fleeing to Algiers, upon arrival informing the Corsairs of the deteriorating condition of the Fortress.<sup>16</sup> Spanish neglect of the Fortress allowed for the constant harassment of the area from pirates of the Barbary Coast.

The most legendary and notorious of the Corsairs was the Turkish Admiral Khair al-Din or to some legendary pirate Barbarossa. He led his crew of two thousand soldiers in the capture and ransacking of the town of Gibraltar in 1540. Barbarossa left Gibraltar shortly thereafter, taking 75 prisoners.<sup>17</sup> The capture and imprisonment of 75 resident Gibraltarians effectively removed a significant percent of Gibraltar's population. The fact that Barbarossa's prisoners consisted of young boys and girls meant that he ultimately eliminated the town of almost an entire generation of Gibraltarians. Barbarossa's attack on Gibraltar also illustrates a continuing problem for Gibraltar's resident population which seemed to be under foreign attack or undermined by disease. Two factors making it difficult to maintain a stable population.

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<sup>16</sup> William Jackson, *The Rock of the Gibraltarians*, (Grendon, U.K.: Gibraltar Books Ltd., 1987), 73.

<sup>17</sup> Ernle Bradford, *Gibraltar The History of a Fortress* (New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), 38.

**CHAPTER ONE- PART TWO- THE INCEPTION OF A GIBRARLTAIN  
IDENTITY**

The colony of Gibraltar is unique in that the populace does not consist of a colonized people. The population of Gibraltar prior to the 1703 Dutch-British occupation remained removed from Spanish mandate. The remoteness of the area meant that it lacked a thriving population. When the combined Dutch and British forces captured the Rock the small number of residents living in the area abandoned their homes, churches, community, and thus their way of life relocating across the Spanish border. This meant that Gibraltar was devoid of a civilian population.<sup>18</sup> The number of Spaniards who continued to reside in Gibraltar is quoted by government officials at the time as “very few men and only one woman.”<sup>19</sup> The mass exodus of Spaniards, coupled with the British occupation left Gibraltar deprived of a population, allowing foreign workers the opportunity for gainful employment.

Sephardic Jews and Moroccan men from North Africa responded to the colony’s need by working as merchants and laborers. Many of the Sephardic Jews who immigrated to Gibraltar included the descendants of those banned from Spain in 1492 who had relocated to North Africa. These Sephardic Jews could trace their ancestry to regions of Andalucía, having been victims of the Spanish expulsion, therefore their return to Spanish soil may have been a reunion of sorts. While this scenario is probable, no official government archival documentation of a Jewish presence in Gibraltar exists prior to the 1704 Dutch-British capture. The absence of documentation maybe because of the Catholic Inquisitions occurring first in Spain and in neighboring Portugal during the years prior to Dutch-British takeover. The expulsion and subsequent unification of Spain effectively eradicated both the Jewish and Muslim population and documentation of their

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<sup>18</sup> Peter Gold, *Gibraltar British or Spanish?* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2005), 6.

<sup>19</sup> Ernle Bradford, *Gibraltar The History of a Fortress* (New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), 46.

existence in Spain and neighboring Portugal. Those who remained did so as “conversos” or new Christians, many of who practiced Judaism in secret.

Some speculation of a Jewish presence in Gibraltar prior to 1704 is drawn through a reference which states that Jews were allowed residence in Gibraltar in 1474. A charter issued in 1474 by the Duke of Medina Sidonia stated that 4,000 Jews who converted to Christianity (conversos)<sup>20</sup> were allowed residence in Gibraltar, safe from the persecution of old Christians, meaning Jews who relocated to the area could potentially avoid the harassment of the Catholic Church and its followers. The date is telling because it predates the Catholic Monarchs unification of Spain. Yet the charter only affirms the Duke’s act of granting permission for the Jews to inhabit Gibraltar, while no evidence of any Jewish resettlement was documented.

More compelling evidence of a Jewish population in Gibraltar prior to 1704 is the order to renounce the Duke’s charter in 1474. The Duke’s charter to relocate Spanish Jews to areas of the Iberian Peninsula lasted only two years. He feared the non-Jewish residents of the region, primarily Catholics, would oppose the nature of the “conversos friendly” legislation and side with King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile who at the time sought to unify Spain into one country under a Catholic throne. In fear of losing his regional support and to thwart the Catholic Monarchs attempt of complete rule, the Duke reversed his initial decision and proceeded to expel all Jewish inhabitants from his domain. These areas included provinces in Andalusia and all of Gibraltar.

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<sup>20</sup> Conversos are defined as Jews forced to convert to Christianity many practicing Judaism in secret. <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Judaism/Marranos.html>

Records do document Jews residing in the neighboring Spanish Iberian cities of Seville and Cordova.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps many Jewish members of Seville and Cordova were representative of the massive population transfer from other areas of Spain, areas which were heavily engulfed in the Inquisition. Prior to the reconquista,<sup>22</sup> both cities were occupied by the Moors where the Jewish population once thrived. While the Duke failed in his attempt to retain control over his territory, his anti-Jewish measures helped lay the foundation for the impending Inquisition. These expulsion orders may explain the lack of evidence of a Jewish population in Gibraltar prior to 1704. The population of Gibraltar consisted primarily of soldiers, Spaniard felons, and Moorish prisoners of war.<sup>23</sup>

The Jewish population residing in Gibraltar after the 1704 transfer from Spain to Britain, descended primarily from North Africa, while a handful arrived from Portugal, Italy, and Great Britain. Many of the Jews who immigrated to Gibraltar traced their heritage back to Spanish soil belonging to an ethnic group known as Sephardi or Sephardic Jews.<sup>24 25</sup>

Historically, Sephardic Jews often held high positions within the Muslim dominion in North Africa and numerous provinces within Spain under Muslim rule. During 711-1469, Muslim rulers controlled much of Central Spain and the Iberian

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<sup>21</sup> Tito Benady, *The Sephardi Heritage Vol. II: The Western Sephardim*, ed. Richard Barnett & Walter Schwab (Grendon, U.K.: Gibraltar Books Ltd., 1989), 144.

<sup>22</sup> Reconquista is translated as: Reconquest

<sup>23</sup> William Jackson, *The Rock of the Gibraltarians*, (Grendon, U.K.: Gibraltar Books Ltd., 1987), 72.

<sup>24</sup> The relationship between Sephardic Jews and the Spaniards whom they lived amongst is complex and a significant amount of time in this paper will be spent addressing the historical relationship between the two ethnic groups, although this paper will begin discussing the relationship between the Jews and the Muslim inhabitants of Spain which is undeniably interwoven and thus influences the Spaniard-Jewish relationship.

<sup>25</sup> Sephardic Jews, unlike their European Ashkenazi counterparts denote Jews who maintain cultural and geographical ties, with Eastern Europe, the Mediterranean, and limited regions in North Africa and claim Spanish heritage.

Peninsula. The very name of Gibraltar is testament to the Muslim reign of power in Southern Spain.

**CHAPTER ONE PART THREE- JEWISH RELATIONSHIPS WITH  
NORTH AFRICA, SPAIN, AND GREAT BRITIAN**

## North African and Jewish Relationships

The Rock regained its strategic importance in 711 A.D. This year denotes the extension of the Arab conquest into North Africa, the Mediterranean, and several regions of Roman ruled Spain. During this period the Rock acquired her current name of Gibraltar. Tariq successfully conquered the entire region of the Iberian Peninsula of Southern Spain known as Andalucía. He accomplished this feat in less than three years. Soon after the completion of the Moorish conquest of Spain he was recalled to Damascus where he died. The Moors would continue to control areas of Andalucía including Gibraltar until 1492.

The Muslim rule of Spain benefitted the Jewish communities living within the region. The Jewish inhabitants acted as the liaisons to foreign communities and held powerful positions within the Muslim governmental infrastructure. The Jews living in the area of Andalucía Spain openly practiced their religion without fear of Muslim persecution. This arrangement allowed for the rich cultural development of Sephardim throughout Spain. Samuel the Nagid, eventual advisor to the vizier of Granada during the eleventh century, and his son are evidence of the relationships between the Muslim and the Jewish communities.

Nagid first occupied the position of tax collector in Granada and witnessed the rising feuds between the Berber tribes of Sinadja, and the newly arriving Berber Zenata tribes.<sup>26</sup> Power struggles between the tribes was an ongoing dilemma which haunted Nagid throughout his life. To convolute matters further, regional control of Andalucía was divided between Arab heads of state and the Berbers. Nagid acted as advisor for the

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<sup>26</sup> Eliyahu Ashtor, *The Jews of Moslem Spain* (Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979), 58.



Sinadja tribes during the 1030's and delicately orchestrated peace negotiations between the Muslim parties.

The titles that Nagid and later his son held within Muslim ruled Spain are less important than what their titles indicate. Nagid, like many of his Jewish compatriots, held positions of great influence for many heads of states. During Nagid's career, not only was he physically engaged in battles against other Arab and Berber armies, but he helped direct the strategic execution of such battles. Thus Nagid helped establish and therefore shape the role of Jewish people in both Muslim history, and all of Spain. The confidence Muslim leaders placed in Nagid and other Jews as advisors and peace negotiator would reoccur with other prominent Sephardic Jews and Spanish Monarchs, and in later centuries the Gibraltarian government. Jews held positions of scribes to members of Muslim royalty, which further added to the Jewish influence within areas of Muslim ruled Spain. In return for Jewish loyalty, Muslim governments in Southern Spain sheltered the Jewish population from much of the anti-Jewish sentiment which permeated Europe until 1398.

The animosity displayed toward residential Jews and immigrating Jews is most evident during the early stage of Spanish-Jewish cultural development. The importance of national pride, if only regionally, seemed to take precedence over their shared religion. For instance, Nagid faced prejudice from "old-time Jewish inhabitants" of Granada.<sup>27</sup> Eliyahu Ashton author of, *The Jews of Moslem Spain*, explains, "...such was the nature of Jews in the Diaspora...anyone who struck roots in a country thought of it as his true

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<sup>27</sup> Eliyahu Ashtor, *The Jews of Moslem Spain* (Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979), 59.

fatherland. A Jew coming from another land was considered an alien who disturbed the serenity of relations between the local Jews and the non-Jews.”<sup>28</sup>

The differences between the established and new Jewish immigrants were marked by the level of formal education, and breadth of cultural and religious exposure. Most Jews who resided in Spain had done so for centuries, many as farmers, and local business men who practiced their faith and culture in relative tranquility. The new wave of immigrating Jews who relocated throughout the Muslim domain often arrived well educated, informed, and more knowledgeable about the Muslim culture and custom than the local Jewish population.<sup>29</sup> Many newly arriving Jews were simply worldlier than their Spanish Jewish counterparts and thus represented competition in regards to positions of employment within the Muslim infrastructure. This competition ultimately acted as the catalyst for the rivalry between the two groups.

The differences between the two Jewish populations led to a rift within the Jewish community and developed a general level of resentment from the native Jewish population towards the newcomers. The recently immigrated Jews of higher education and with greater cultural exposure found service with the governing powers within their new homeland. Some Jews achieved the role of advisor to high ranking Muslim government officials.

Granada located in the southernmost part of Andalucía remained the only Muslim strong hold left in Spain during the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Other Muslim cities such as Seville were conquered by the monarchy in previous years. The collapse of Muslim ruled Granada in 1492, signaled the final expulsion of Muslim law and population in Andalucía,

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<sup>28</sup> Eliyahu Ashtor, *The Jews of Moslem Spain* (Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979), 66.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 66.

effectively removing all opposition to the Spanish Monarchy. Granada's collapse had devastating effects on the Jewish population of the city. This is because the collapse affected anyone who held religious beliefs other than Spanish Catholicism. This meant that the once thriving Jewish communities of Spain lost the protection of the former Muslim rulers. With the relocation of both the Muslim and Jewish communities, of Spanish Catholicism would dominate Spain, and extend to areas of Portugal, remaining so for centuries. Spanish soil would remain void of both ethnicities and their religions until 1704, returning to Gibraltar under the protection of the Dutch and British.

### **Spaniard and Jewish Relationships**

The Catholic Monarchy of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, which is credited with the expulsion of Jews from Spanish soil with the recommencement of the Spanish Inquisition in 1478, relied heavily and entrusted many Jewish men with matters of the Spanish state. Prior to the unification of Spain, Jews represented a large percentage of the total population in Spain. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century Jews accounted for a fifth of the population in Spain. Jews conducted business in virtually all aspects of Spanish life including tax collecting, advisors to Catholic and Islamic overlords, and the usury trade. Jewish business especially flourishing in the usury trade, due in large part that both Catholic and Islamic religion denounced the act of money lending. Major pogroms directed toward Spanish Jews occurred in the summer of 1391. The Pogroms forever changed Jewish life in Spain. For Spanish Jews it represented an irrevocable alteration to their way of life and in many ways represented an eerie foreshadowing of the 1492 expulsion. At this time that many Jews converted to Catholicism, even if under false pretenses. Their conversion provided the Jews a period of relative calm which lasted until 1474 when the Inquisition

was formally reinstated upon the union of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile. Their union effectively united Spain which would lead to the eventual expulsion of the Jewish population.

After 1474, and the unification, many of the newly united Spanish communities consisted of large groups of Jewish conversos, Jews who prior to unification converted to Catholicism to avoid persecution.<sup>30</sup> Under the influence of the Church's Dominican Order, former Jewish communities, throughout Spain experienced mass interrogation of their Catholic beliefs and faced the subsequent attacks of the Inquisition. Former Jewish community members, many who under duress converted to Catholicism years earlier, faced the Inquisition's wrath and were accused of secretly practicing Judaism. The credibility of their previous Catholic conversion was often questioned. An entry from a Catholic Chronicler effectively demonstrates the prevailing sentiment towards the conversos in Spain during the height of the Inquisition, "They did not believe in giving reward to god by means of virginity and chastity, all their efforts was to grow and multiply and in general for the most part, they were profiteering people, with many arts and deceits, because they all lived from idle jobs and they had no conscience when buying or selling with Christians, they had no conscience about profit and usury."<sup>31</sup> The Catholic Chronicler's entry, written in 1492, portrays members of the Seville Jewish population as an ethnic group whose main concern centered around population expansion and cheating the Christians, by any means necessary. The chronicler continues with accusations of Jewish community members infiltrating the Catholic Church via corrupt

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<sup>30</sup> Haim Beinart, *The Expulsion of the Jews From Spain* (Oxford, U.K.:The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2002), 1.

<sup>31</sup> John Edwards, *The Jews in Western Europe 1400-1600*(Manchester. United Kingdom: Manchester University Press, 1995), 75.

converso nuns. Perhaps the most damning proclamation of the chronicler is what is implied in the entry, that such sentiment was not specific to the Jewish community of Seville but to anyone with Jewish ancestry. No man, women, child, or converso, evaded the wrath of the chronicler's written assault even if ones family decades earlier converted from Judaism to Catholicism. His message was simple, if Jewish blood flowed through your body, you were considered an enemy to the Catholic state. The idea that Jews were systematically out to destroy the Catholic Church ultimately unified an entire country to turn against their Jewish population. The Jews not only faced persecution throughout the Spanish realm, but more importantly such persecution was now justified.

The repeated writings of slanderous material and prevailing anti-Jewish attitudes allowed for the practices of the Inquisition to be accepted by the status quo. The Inquisition engaged in torturous acts of starvation, water dunking, and body mutilation, all under the pretext of discovering the true religious beliefs of those being tortured. Most victims who tried to prove the credibility of their Catholic conversion, did so only posthumously through death or by confession of heresy. Other Jews who continued to practice Judaism were forced to convert, face death, or expulsion from Spain. In short, the Inquisition led to the mass interrogation and subsequent terror of Jewish communities throughout Spain.

With the signing of the Edict of Expulsion on March 31, 1492, the Catholic Inquisition was reinstated.<sup>32</sup> The persistent persecution of Jews still practicing Judaism caused entire communities to fall apart. Regardless of the religious standings of the community, many faced segregation, resettlement and in most cases expulsion. Many

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<sup>32</sup> Haim Beinart, *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Oxford, U.K.: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2002) 33.

Jews attempted to relocate to Portugal where King Joao gave promises of shelter and freedom from religious persecution. Solace in Portugal remained short-lived as conditions in the country proved less than hospitable and many found the same dire conditions as in Spain. Jews were either forced to baptize into Catholicism or expelled from Portugal in 1497. The formal Portuguese Inquisition did not take place until 1540 with authorization from Pope Clement VII.<sup>33</sup> There was little that the Jews could do to escape the Inquisition, a tragedy which the world would not witness again until centuries later with the rise of fascist Germany. Even the highest esteemed Jews who acted as advisors to the Monarchy were unable to escape the wrath of the Inquisition.

The Abrabanel family name was of unparalleled importance in Spain decades prior to the Inquisition. Like other highly placed Jewish families, generations of Abrabanel acted as advisors and tax collectors for the Spanish and Portuguese heads of states. Isaac Abrabanel, destined to the same fate as his predecessors, worked for the Portuguese crown, prior to 1484 but later fled to Spain with the collapse of the Portuguese Monarchy. Once in Spain, the Catholic Monarchs requested his services and appointed him state treasurer. As State Treasurer, Abrabanel assumed the position as the Queens financial advisor. Abrabanel served in this position from 1484-1492 during the Inquisition, only relinquishing his title at the height of the Inquisition. Abrabanel attempted to have the monarchs reverse their decision to expel Jewish communities from Spain by offering the Monarchy large sums of money in an attempt to revoke the Alhambra Decree. His attempts would prove futile, yet ironic in that the monarchy would

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<sup>33</sup> Weiner, Rebecca. The Jewish Virtual Library, *Portugal* (accessed Jan 3, 2011) <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourc/vjw/Portugal.html>

later need monetary assistance amidst financial ruin from years of war incurred during the Inquisition.<sup>34</sup>

A second example of the influence Jews maintained on the Catholic Monarchs is demonstrated with the Isabella and Ferdinand's employment of Luis de Santangel. Santangel acted as finance minister to the Catholic Monarchy throughout the duration of the Inquisition. Santangel's grandfather converted to Christianity and thus Santangel proclaimed to be Christian. Like other families with Jewish ancestry, Santangel faced persecution from the Catholic Church during the Inquisition prompting King Ferdinand to issue a royal decree in 1497 which proclaimed exemption of Santangel and his family from the Inquisition. The decree represented tangible evidence of the Monarchy's belief of Santangel's loyalty to the crown. An example of such is illustrated with his involvement in the financing of the voyage of Christopher Columbus. Columbus tired of the uncertainty of procuring Spanish funding turned to the French Court for aid. Upon hearing such, Santangel convinced the Spanish Monarchy to fund the exploration. Coincidentally enough six conversos convoyed Columbus on his expedition which unintentionally brought Judaism to the new world.<sup>35</sup>

Abraham Senior is a third example of the Jewish influence on the Catholic Monarchs. Abraham Senior held a position in the Spanish Court for decades, even prior to the unification of Spain. He assisted in the arrangement of marriage between Isabella and Ferdinand, the union that led to the virtual guarantee of a unified nation. Abraham Senior held the position of court Rabbi and Supreme Court ruler of the Jews in Castile.

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<sup>34</sup> Sol Scharfstein & Dorcas Gelabert, *Understanding Jewish History: To the Patriarchs to the Expulsion from Spain* (Hong Kong, China: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1996), 156.

<sup>35</sup> Seymour B. Liebman, *The Sephardi Heritage Vol. II: The Western Sephardim*, ed. Richard Barnett & Walter Schwab (Grendon, U.K.: Gibraltar Books Ltd., 1989), 475.

Abraham Senior served as factor general to the Spanish army which defeated the Muslim forces in Granada, ending centuries of Moorish rule in Spain. Yet even with his wartime accomplishments, because of his faith he was a condemned man. After much persecution and constant persuasion from the Catholic Monarchs he succumbed and along with many members of his family converted to Christianity.<sup>36</sup> Senior changed his name to Fernando Munez Coronel in 1492 during the height of the Inquisition.<sup>37</sup>

While the Monarchs were able to convert Abraham Senior, Abrabanel refused conversion to Christianity. The Monarchs confronted Abrabanel with an order to convert or be expelled from Spain. Abrabanel, unlike his fellow Jewish advisors, remained true to his faith and escaped the Inquisition a broken and penniless man. In the years after expulsion Abrabanel served as advisor first to King Ferdinand of Naples, a position which King Ferdinand of Spain unsuccessfully attempted to thwart, and later serving on the Council of State in Venice.<sup>38</sup>

The narratives of the three men illustrate the complicated relationships between Spain and the Jews living within her borders. The lives of these three men reflect not only Jews in power, but also of those who maintained everyday lives practicing Judaism. Furthermore the narratives demonstrate the extent that Spanish Jews would subject themselves in order to continue their way of life within Spain. Each man and his story describe a conversion, a renouncement, or an expulsion, but each are bound together by the roots of Judaism. These lives represent Marranos, Conversos, and Jews who would rather face expulsion than denounce their faith, all scenarios which the entire Jewish

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<sup>36</sup> Haim Beinart, *The Expulsion of the Jews From Spain* (Oxford, U.K.:The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2002), 207.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 207.

<sup>38</sup> Chabad.Org Jewish History“ Isaac Abrabanel,” accessed: November 1, 2010, [http://www.chabad.org/library/article\\_cdo/aid/111855/jewish/Isaac-Abravanel.htm](http://www.chabad.org/library/article_cdo/aid/111855/jewish/Isaac-Abravanel.htm).



population encountered. These Jews would immigrate to other regions of the world, many settling in the Northern region of Africa.

When the Catholic Monarch, Queen Isabella, formally incorporated Gibraltar into Spanish dominion in 1502, she presented the town with a coat of arms.<sup>39</sup> The coat of arms representing the inhabitants of the Rock both symbolized and reflected the Monarchs belief that Gibraltar represented the “key” into Spain. Ironically, Isabella included the Muslim castle as part of the coat official insignia, which re-conquering Muslim forces constructed in 1333.<sup>40</sup>

The bright red coat of arms, places the castle behind two keys which represented the belief that Gibraltar held the key into the rest of Europe. Isabella’s incorporation of the castle illustrates the notion that Spain represented power and the Muslim castle remained as part of Gibraltar’s official history for purposes of aesthetic beauty and that beauty was now conquered by Catholic Spain. Spain now controlled the key into Europe. This theory seems probable due to the unlikelihood the Spanish Monarchs would build a Cathedral over or around the Muslim castle, as the castle did not embody an inherent religion, as was the case of other regions of Spain, where cathedrals were constructed on top of or around Muslim Mosques.

The Monarch’s decision to display the castle and not to destroy the edifice demonstrates Spain’s total power over the regained territory. The castle remains to this

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<sup>39</sup> Ernle Bradford, *Gibraltar The History of a Fortress* (New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), 37.

<sup>40</sup> Upon conquering many regions in Andalucía, the Monarchs constructed elaborate Catholic Cathedrals on the sites of pre-existing Islamic Mosques. An example of such is in Seville, Spain, where the Cathedral of Saint Mary was constructed on the site of the Almohad Mosque in a show power of the Reconquista over the territory. The minaret or the Giralda tower, the given name, is the only remaining Islamic structure at the site, one of three remaining Almohad Islamic structures in the world. The tower serves as a bell tower for the Christian faith of Catholicism. <http://www.unescoworldheritagesites.com/cathedral-alcazar-archivo-de-indias-in-seville-spain.htm>

day a defining and highly visible geographical feature of Gibraltar. As much as Gibraltar once signified the key into Spain, historically Gibraltar is more representative of the stone in Spain's shoe due in part to its strategic location. Gibraltar acts as an Achilles heel of sorts with access into the Iberian Peninsula. Acting as a gateway into the European continent and the entrance to the Mediterranean Sea, Gibraltar represented a valuable asset upon capture.

The oppressive relationship developed by the Spanish Monarchy and their Jewish population during the Inquisition, strengthened by the ideology conveyed through the doctrine of the Inquisition, inevitably shaped the cultural and religious animosity felt between future generations of Spaniards and Jews. The negative perception that Spaniards carried towards Jews permeated throughout Spain for hundreds of years after the end of Inquisition. This is exemplified through Spanish legislation during the Treaty of Utrecht which aimed at keeping Jews and Moors from inhabiting Spanish soil.<sup>41</sup>

### **British and Jewish Relationships**

An Ashkenazi Jewish community existed in England prior to 1290. Jews living in England enjoyed the protection of the Monarchs in power. This changed in 1290 when Edward I expelled all Jews from English soil. A small number of Jews emigrated from Spain during the height of the Spanish Inquisition in 1492.<sup>42</sup> The Sephardic Jews arrived and built communities in Great Britain, but practiced Judaism in secrecy as Marranos,

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<sup>41</sup> Stephen Constantine, *Community and Identity: The Making of Modern Gibraltar since 1704*, (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 2009), 21.

<sup>42</sup> R.D. Barnett, *The Sephardi Heritage Vol. II: The Western Sephardim*, ed. Richard Barnett & Walter Schwab (Grendon, U.K.: Gibraltar Books Ltd., 1989), 5.

outwardly conforming to British religious conventions. In 1609 the monarchy issued a royal decree ordering all suspected Marranos to be expelled from England.<sup>43</sup>

Despite the decree, a Crypto Jewish community continued to exist in England. This mandate was in effect for forty years, until Oliver Cromwell established the short lived, British Commonwealth. In 1649 the new British government, the Commonwealth, allowed the crypto Jews to openly practice Judaism. The Jewish population converted a house on Cree Church Lane into London's first official synagogue in 1657 and thus the establishing the Jewish congregation Shar Asamaïm.<sup>44</sup>

The significance of openly practicing the Jewish faith in England cannot be overemphasized. The Jewish community in England benefited both directly and indirectly from the shift in religious thought spreading throughout Europe. The establishment of Protestantism in England demonstrated one's right to choose their own religious practices. No longer did the observance of a religion other than Catholicism seem like heresy. The implementation of the Protestant religion in England benefited the Jewish community because the acceptance of Protestantism acknowledged that other religious beliefs demanded the same rights and observance as Catholicism. The English therefore set a precedence demonstrating one should have the opportunity to practice without fear of death as a repercussion for ones' religious beliefs even if full religious equality for Jews in England didn't occur until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The rejection of Catholicism as England's official religion and the subsequent replacement of Protestantism ensured conflict with Catholic Spain, the country responsible for initiating the Inquisition which subsequently denounced any religious

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<sup>43</sup> Cecil Roth, *History of the Jews In England*, London, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1964), 144.

<sup>44</sup> R.D. Barnett, *The Sephardi Heritage Vol. II: The Western Sephardim*, ed. Richard Barnett & Walter Schwab (Grendon, U.K.: Gibraltar Books Ltd., 1989), 7.

belief other than Catholicism. Suddenly, the relationship amongst British and Spanish Jews, Protestant British, and Catholics Spaniards became even more complicated. By the time of the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, both Jews and Moors were living in Gibraltar. Although Great Britain agreed to the terms in the Treaty, which barred Jews and Moors from residing in Gibraltar, its enforcement was determined by the whims of both the local and British governments.

## **CHAPTER TWO PART ONE- THE INCEPTION OF BRITSH RULE**

Gibraltar was initially captured in 1704 under the flag of Archduke Charles of Austria, with men employed to ensure the continued control over the area, consisting primarily of British naval officers. At that time the British civilian population consisted of only a third of the colony's population.<sup>45</sup> Although the flag that flew above Gibraltar was Dutch, few Dutch men actually resided in Gibraltar. During the transition to British rule, Gibraltar began to rebuild with the help of a diverse ethnic population. The diversity that helped rebuild Gibraltar directly helped shape what is now the Gibraltarian identity. This led to the initial consummation of the Gibraltarian identity. A blend of not just two national identities as in most cases when a foreign land is conquered, but rather a mixture of Dutch, British, and numerous other foreign immigrants. Gibraltar was conquered in the name of the Dutch, yet ruled and occupied primarily by men from Great Britain. Perhaps this multi-cultural foundation led to the strong national bond Gibraltar shares with Britain while leaving room for an independent Gibraltarian identity.<sup>46</sup>

Even though a third of the civilian population consisted of British men and a small number of women, Great Britain failed to attract much enthusiasm for any significant British immigration to the colony. This may be due perhaps to the weather and physical location of Gibraltar. Colonists complain of the Viento de Levante wind in numerous instances. "The Viento de Levante wind is the natural enemy of those who inhabit the area."\* The wind blows continually night and day for approximately 150 days

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<sup>45</sup> Tito Benady, *The Sephardi Heritage Vol. II: The Western Sephardim*, ed. Richard Barnett & Walter Schwab (Grendon, U.K.: Gibraltar Books Ltd., 1989), 145.

<sup>46</sup> Benedict Anderson would describe Gibraltar as a type of imagined community, not through a shared language, religion, or political boundaries but rather an identity through the shared experience of the initial conception of the colony but more importantly through their ongoing struggle for survival.

\* The Levante wind can act both as a cooling and a muggy suffocating agent. At times the Levante cloud formations can block all sun from entering the Rock, while Spain just north and west, basks in sunlight. The wind also carries an unpleasant smell. Historically the wind is blamed for various bouts of diseases such as yellow fever, cholera, and diarrhea.

out of the calendar year.”<sup>47</sup> The wind served as a natural nuisance which proved at a minimum an irritant to the men living within the Garrison, but in times of an epidemic the Viento de Levante functioned as a messenger of death, as the wind quickly carried disease and sickness throughout the Garrison. This meant that the population of Gibraltar was often under attack, whether from foreign opposition or Mother Nature. These natural and human disasters came with such force and frequency that Gibraltar was often left uninhabited, deterring Spanish, Moorish, and subsequent conquering powers from establishing a large resident population. This scenario is exemplified through the effortless Dutch-British capture of Gibraltar in 1703. What is for certain is the general consensus amongst the array of conquering powers is that in order to gain control of trade routes and conquer the countries within greater Europe the control of Gibraltar was paramount.

The lack of British men willing to immigrate to Gibraltar remained an issue well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Great Britain ideally envisioned a colony in the Mediterranean composed entirely of Anglo British men and women for strategic military purposes and trading commerce.<sup>48</sup> The attraction of Gibraltar to Moors and Jews who immigrated to Gibraltar may explain why at times during the early occupation of Gibraltar both Britain and Spain attempted to restrict any residence or immigration of Sephardic Jews and Moroccan Muslims.

The religious shift in Great Britain coupled with the Britain’s need to maintain a fresh stock of provisions in Gibraltar, especially during the two later Sieges, provided the

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<sup>47</sup> Ernle Bradford, *Gibraltar The History of a Fortress* (New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), 14.

<sup>48</sup> E.G. Archer, “An Imperial Legacy-British by Inclination: Socialization, Education and a Gibraltarian Sense of Identity,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 22, no. 4 (2005): 583.

Gibraltarian Jews with an opportunity that afforded them a virtual safe haven. The stipulations in the Treaty of Utrecht were ignored as British relied heavily on the Jewish community for securing supplies to the Garrison. The Jewish involvement in the Great Siege especially, all but guaranteed the Jewish presence in Gibraltar. Although the symbiotic relationship between the two was met with Spanish protest and binding legal stipulation which the British had once agreed to with the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht, both British and Gibraltarian government officials, ultimately out of the interest of the colony of Gibraltar, defied treaty stipulations.

The Jews and the Moors who immigrated to the Iberian Peninsula arrived to a colony under Dutch-British rule in 1704. Ancestors of those from the Sephardic and Islamic Diaspora returned to Spanish soil for the first time in centuries. Both ethno-religious groups migrated to Gibraltar as merchants while some also worked as diplomats for the British and Moroccan government. Jewish loyalty to Gibraltar was not a new phenomenon. Jewish conduct of business and trade can be traced prior to the 1704 British occupation of the rock. In the late fifteenth century the British traded with the Moroccans on a regular basis largely using a mediator of Jewish descent.<sup>49</sup> Much of the Mediterranean trade was operated by Jews and a mutually beneficial relationship continued until the British eventually abandoned Tangier as a place of trade. Many Jews maintained both cultural and business associations with North Africa's Barbary Coast, which proved to be a valuable commodity concerning trade in Gibraltar.<sup>50</sup>

This was especially the case of the Jewish population from North Africa who still spoke in a dialect of Judaeo-Spanish called "Ladino." Ladino is described as a Hebrew

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<sup>49</sup> Lorraine Madway, "Sefarad But Not Spain: The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar," *Espacio Tiempo y Forma* 5, no.6 (1993): 221.

<sup>50</sup> Sharman Kadish, *Jewish Heritage In Gibraltar* (Reading, U.K.: Spire Books Ltd., 2007), 12.



syntax but uses Spanish words.<sup>51</sup> Many of these Jewish immigrants returned to Gibraltar, whose ancestors previously lived as marranos or *moriscos* in Catholic ruled Spain and Portugal. Marranos or Moriscos meant those who converted to Christianity to avoid exile and crypto Jews, who avoided persecution outwardly by claiming themselves Christians but secretly practiced Judaism. The majority of Jews arrived to Gibraltar from the Barbary Coast, an area located on the Northern tip of Africa.<sup>52</sup> The Jews, who returned to previous Spanish soil via immigration to Gibraltar after 1704, were allowed to practice Judaism by the English without the threat of Spaniard retaliation. The Jewish immigrants of Gibraltar held their services in the private home of Jewish community members until July 1, 1724 when land was granted to Isaac Netto where he built a one room establishment that would later become a synagogue.<sup>53</sup>

The specifications in the Treaty of Utrecht concerning the resident Moorish population however met with little British protest. Only with the Moroccan- British signing of the 1721 treaty would Jews and Moors be allowed to return to Gibraltar without the threat of forced deportation. Even if legally allowed residency, the British seemed to detest the Moorish population in the colony. Moors were described as less than human, often referred to as savage and barbaric.<sup>54</sup>

During the British-Spanish peace negotiations of 1712 anti-foreigner stipulation, specifically regarding Moroccan foreigners was met with little protest from Great Britain. The disdain for Moroccan residents of the Barbary Coast originates much earlier than the

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<sup>51</sup> Paul Wexler, *The Non-Jewish Origins of the Sephardic Jews* (New York, New York: State University of New York Press., 1996), 93.

<sup>52</sup> Tito Benady, *The Sephardi Heritage Vol. II: The Western Sephardim*, ed. Richard Barnett & Walter Schwab (Grendon, U.K.: Gibraltar Books Ltd., 1989), 144.

<sup>53</sup> Tito Benady, "The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar, 1704-1783," *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* Special Edition (2005):85.

<sup>54</sup> Ernle Bradford, *Gibraltar The History of a Fortress* (New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), 59.

1703 takeover of Gibraltar, the strained relationship spanning decades involving the British trade route through the Mediterranean. The British trade route was plagued by frequent Barbary Pirate attacks. The British government would draft treaties and provide monetary payoffs to the Moroccan government all of which were to guarantee British vessels safe passage through the Straits.

Peace negotiations between the British and Moroccan governments occurred frequently, mainly due to the Moors inability or unwillingness to honor previous treaties or to control the pirates of the Barbary Coast. The failure of the Moroccan government to adhere to established agreements led the British to distrust it.

The Treaty of Utrecht, which ended the War of the Spanish Succession, specified that Spain, although reluctantly, signed away any authority over Gibraltar. The British and Spanish signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 set the tone for animosity between the two countries. While Spain formally released control of Gibraltar, it was with the recognition and enforcement of the demands declared in the Treaty. This paper is most concerned with Article 10 of the Treaty. Article 10 banned Moors and Jews from taking residence within Gibraltar. The Treaty also restricted them from conducting business or docking their ships in the harbor.<sup>55</sup> The Treaty stated that, “Her Britannic Majesty, at the request of the Catholic King, does not consent and agree that no leave shall be given under any pretext whatsoever, either to Jews or Moors to reside or have their dwellings in the said town of Gibraltar.”<sup>56</sup>

The enforcement of the Treaty of Utrecht, and Article 10 specifically, depended largely on the political atmosphere during the early 1700’s. Britain adhered to the treaty

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<sup>55</sup> Tito Benady, *The Jewish Community of Gibraltar*, ed. Richard Barnett & Walter Schwab (London: Plaistow Press Ltd, 1989), 148.

<sup>56</sup> Treaty of Utrecht 1713. Article 10.

during times of peace with Spain, and largely ignored it in periods of turmoil. Britain's dedication to the treaty requirements clearly swayed with the climate of their political relationship with Spain. British adherence to Article 10 also depended heavily on the local Gibraltarian government in power, the power of which rested solely with the governor of Gibraltar. Thus the more corrupt the Governor, the greater likelihood that Moors and Jews were allowed to conduct business in and remain in Gibraltar, a situation that proved to test the patience of the Moroccan Sultan and British officials. Payoffs at all levels to Gibraltarian government officials became common practice throughout Gibraltar.<sup>57</sup> Replacement of government officials did little to stop the corruption of early British occupied Gibraltar. It was understood that Jews of Gibraltar would rather quietly pay more money to Gibraltarian officials rather than face forced removal. The Jews maintained a profitable economic enterprise in the colony and viewed the local extortion of Gibraltarian Government officials as a necessary evil to maintain their presence in Gibraltar.<sup>58</sup>

The products and supplies the Jews and Moors provided the Garrison generally allowed them to withstand the ethical or unethical whims of the Gibraltarian government. The foreign dependence of Gibraltar in order to maintain the colony's existence was difficult for British civilians and enlisted military to accept. Perhaps this is why most British scholarly work pertaining to Gibraltar until recently focuses on the events of the numerous Sieges which took place against the Garrison, thus ignoring the specific people behind such events. That is not to say that such a history ceases to exist, rather it is

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<sup>57</sup> A.B.M. Serfaty, "The Jews of Gibraltar Under British Rule," *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* Special Edition (2005):12.

<sup>58</sup> Tito Benady, *The Sephardi Heritage Vol. II: The Western Sephardim*, ed. Richard Barnett & Walter Schwab (Grendon, U.K.: Gibraltar Books Ltd., 1989), 146.

largely ignored. Census records, military and civilian journals give testimony to the mood of the men and women who participated in the daily happenings of the Garrison.

For example, shortly after the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht, British general Cornwall, visiting from Great Britain, complained to both Gibraltar and British government officials concerning the large number of Jews residing in Gibraltar. Cornwall aghast with the direct violation of the Treaty ordered Gibraltar government officials to enforce the stipulations in the Treaty which would remove Jews residing in Gibraltar. For the time being Gibraltar government officials disregarded Cornwall's concern.<sup>59</sup>

Initially, Great Britain remained passive about the stipulations in the Treaty concerning Gibraltar's foreign inhabitants. The Jewish population who held British citizenship along with the Jews who emigrated from Holland, Livorno and Morocco were treated as one ethnicity as they were all of Jewish ancestry. This meant that even British Jewish nationals, who immigrated to the Rock from Great Britain, were categorized as Jews rather than British because of their Jewish lineage. In some respects Gibraltar's Anglo population maintained the same attitude towards Gibraltar's Jewish population, that is to say the Jewish population regardless of cultural divides, Ashkenazi or Sephardic, British or Italian, were first and foremost identified as Jews. The major difference between how the British in Great Britain versus the British Gibraltar population viewed the Jews related to the role that the Jewish population of Gibraltar played in the economic development of the colony. Gibraltarians saw the Moors and especially the Jews as vital to the colony's welfare, a necessary element of Gibraltar. The

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<sup>59</sup> Tito Benady, "The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar, 1704-1783," *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* Special Edition (2005):79.

British however, viewed the foreigners as violations to the Treaty of Utrecht. This was conflicting opinion marked the beginning of disconnect the between the British and the colonists of Gibraltar and when the Gibraltarians began to see themselves as part yet separate from their British heritage. This shift of thought allowed for the foundations of an ethnic mix of peoples to flourish in Gibraltar which would ultimately culminate into the social identity of the Gibraltarian.

The disconnect in thought towards Jews in Gibraltar between the British from Great Britain and those British residing in Gibraltar is exemplified through Manuel Diaz Arias. Arias, a British Jewish citizen, emigrated from Great Britain to Gibraltar with other fellow British men at the request of their government. Arias resided in Gibraltar and conducted business in the city both personally and on behalf of his London business associates. When the orders of Jewish expulsion were issued from Great Britain, Arias asked his government for a personal exemption or an extension to stay in Gibraltar. He explained to British government officials that such an immediate departure would not only place him in financial ruin, but also his London business partners.<sup>60</sup>

In a letter of protest sent to the Governor of Gibraltar and the British Secretary of State, Arias argues that he relocated to Gibraltar “Upon the Incouragement that the Latte Majesty Queen Ann Pleased to Grant to Merchts, and Traders,” but also that... “he is a **free** English men.” Unlike most of the English men who relocated to the Garrison, the latter statement distinguishing Arias from the convicts working in the dockyard as indentured laborers. Arias continues to differentiate himself even from the Garrison’s British Gibraltarians by emphasizing his role in supplying the Garrison with economic

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<sup>60</sup> Tito Benady, “The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar, 1704-1783,” *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* Special Edition (2005):78.

means, a task his fellow British men fail to conduct. He states, “Distinguish me from all the Rest Being English Man and freeman of London. That I doe and have supplied Mr. Vere, Agent Victualer.....with the money they wanted towards The Subsistence of the Garrison.”<sup>61</sup> Arias capitalizes the words, subsistence and Garrison, to emphasize in his message to Great Britain that he considers Gibraltar his home, a home in which he vests a great interest in its continued livelihood. Furthermore Arias maintains that his relocation to Gibraltar years prior was encouraged by the same government who was now demanding his expulsion.

In his letter, Arias emphasizes his British citizenship rather than his Jewish ethnicity. His citizenship defines him as an individual above all else. Aria’s Jewish ancestry was inconsequential, in his own words he asserts himself a British citizen, therefore the laws designed to protect the basic rights of British men applied to him regardless of ancestry. His devotion to both England and Gibraltar was an internal conflict shared by many colonists of foreign descent. Although the British government denied Arias’s request, Governor Cotton of Gibraltar, understanding the need for Jewish merchants, did little at first to enforce England’s initial decision and Arias continued to reside in Gibraltar.

A second illustration which demonstrates the difference between Gibraltarians and those British from Great Britain is exhibited through the Gibraltarian tolerance and respect for the varying religious practices of the colonists. Aboab Isaac, also known as the “King of Gibraltar,”<sup>62</sup> immigrated to Gibraltar in the early seventeen hundreds from the Northern Moroccan city of Tetuan, to engage in the merchant trade business. In 1777

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<sup>61</sup> Tito Benady, “The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar, 1704-1783,” *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* Special Edition (2005):79.

<sup>62</sup> Oral History Interview-December 24<sup>th</sup> 2008-Joshua Marshad

Isaac is listed in the Gibraltarian Government archives as age 65, and 57 years in living in the Garrison.<sup>63</sup> The extent of Gibraltar's tolerance reveals itself with the next few entries which are handwritten underneath the information concerning Isaac. The first entry under Isaac's name refers to his marital status. The census lists him as husband to Hannah Isaac. Mrs. Isaac's resident status and age are documented as lifelong and 50. It is in Mrs. Isaac's age which exemplifies the acceptance and tolerance of the Anglo sector towards the Jews of the Gibraltarian community. For beneath the census record for Mrs. Isaac is a second record, which corresponds to Aboab Isaac for a second Mrs. Isaac. Simha Isaac, country of residence Tetuan, age twenty eight, years in the Garrison 15.<sup>64</sup> Upon first observation Simha might appear to be the child of Mr. and Mrs. Isaac, but this was not the case.

Age thirty five and unable to bear children, Hannah Isaac followed Sephardic custom which allowed for her husband to take a second wife if the first wife was unable to conceive. As Isaac was originally from Tetuan, he returned to his homeland with the intention of bringing a second wife back to Gibraltar. Taking on a second wife Isaac was committing polygamy, an offense according to British law. Simha arrived in Gibraltar in 1782 at the age of thirteen. Simha Isaac lived the remainder of her life in Gibraltar until her death, her final resting place at Jews Gate, the Jewish designated cemetery located at the south end of Gibraltar.<sup>65</sup> The life of Simha is chronicled by the Spanish writer Ayala. Although the writer's dates conflict with the Gibraltar Government records, he does provide the same explanation to why Isaac traveled to Tetuan to bring home a second

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<sup>63</sup> Gibraltar Government Archives-Census Records, 1777 Gibraltarian Census Records-accessed December 22<sup>th</sup>, 2008.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., GGA.

<sup>65</sup> Oral History Interview December 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2008 Joshua Marshad.

wife. Ayala also spends a great deal amount of time writing about the girl's beauty. "She was notorious for her great beauty, her lack of hair which makes her have to wear a wig and her husband's bigamy."<sup>66</sup> Although largely an Ashkenazi tradition, many Orthodox Sephardic Jews were encouraged to cover their natural hair with wigs as to not arouse their husbands or other men and is considered a form of modesty.<sup>67</sup> Ayala's description reveals his lack of knowledge pertaining to Jewish religious customs, an ignorance that once recorded helped shape the Spaniard biased perception of the Jewish population living across the border. Even after the death of her husband Simha remained in Gibraltar, rather than returning to Tetuan, a decision that reflected her dedication to her new homeland. The importance of Simha perhaps only due to her husband's work in Gibraltar is revealed with the distinct shape of her tomb in Jews Gate. Raising upwards as opposed to flat it is a constant reminder of the Jewish presence and contribution in Gibraltar.

The intriguing aspect of the census record to some would be the youth of Isaac's new bride. At thirteen the age difference between the newlyweds is markedly wide but a larger issue remains the Gibraltarian government's failure to uphold and therefore ignored the law of her mother country. The failure of the Gibraltarian Government to uphold British law demonstrates the clear chasm between Great Britain and her colony. Although Gibraltar may not have consisted of strictly Anglo Church of England residents, the local Gibraltarian government embraced their diverse population. Britain lacked the understanding of the inner workings of her colony. Rather than shun the beliefs of other religions, Gibraltar's governing powers respected others beliefs.

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<sup>66</sup> Excerpt "Isaac and Aaron Two Magnates," *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* Special Edition (2005):128.

<sup>67</sup> Barton Gellman, "Orthodox Jews Go Beyond Splitting Hairs Over Wigs," *The Seattle Times*, May 19 1995, sec. Business.



Therefore the polygamous relationship of Aboab Isaac was accepted. Isaac's commitment to the Garrison, demonstrated through his economic contributions to the general welfare of Gibraltar's population proved to be a loyalty much more important to maintain than loyalty to laws mandated from overseas.

The tolerance of Gibraltar's government paved the way for a colony consisting of vastly different religious beliefs and cultures. Moreover their early acceptance of other cultures helped shape and define what it meant to be Gibraltarian. At precisely this point during the mid to late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the socio-economic stability of the Garrison superseded the distant law of Great Britain, and an independent social identity separate from Great Britain was established. This identity continued to recognize the political ties with the colonial sovereign, but also maintained its own cultural identity and way of life. The new Gibraltarian identity was formed by a merging of transplanted British and Jewish populations contributed to the betterment of the colony.

Following signing of the Treaty of Utrecht, in Madrid, British Ambassador Lord Lexington boisterously demanded that all the Jews be expelled from Gibraltar. As previously mentioned the Jews were a necessity and his request fell on deaf ears as there is no evidence that such an expulsion occurred. A second expulsion attempt occurred in 1717 by the Spanish Ambassador in London.<sup>68</sup> The British had no choice but to recognize the second demand and by the end of 1717 Colonel Stanhope Cotton, Gibraltar's lieutenant governor reported that the articles in the Treaty of Utrecht were being upheld.<sup>69</sup> Less than a year later the decree affected even the Jewish merchants and

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<sup>68</sup> Joshua Marrache, *The Flemish Synagogue of Gibraltar Kahal Kadosh Nefusot Yehudah* (Gibraltar, U.K.: Gibraltar Books Ltd, 2000), 1.

<sup>69</sup> Tito Benady, "The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar, 1704-1783," *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* Special Edition (2005):79.

in the beginning of 1718 all merchant traders were deported. In an act of protest the Sultan and thus the Moroccan government banned all trade with England and Gibraltar. The official expulsion of the Jews remained in place from 1718-1720 and led to a tenuous compromise where the British run Gibraltar government depended largely on the Spaniards for supplies. Less than a year later on August 11, 1718 the British quietly allowed Jews to reenter Gibraltar due to the British-Spanish engagement of the Battle of Cape Passaro.<sup>70</sup>

The Battle of Cape Passaro saw the destruction of the Spanish fleet of Admiral's Antonio de Gaztaneta and Fernando Chacon's fleet by the British Navy at the hands of Admiral Byng. The battle occurred due to the Quadruple Alliance between Great Britain, Austria, France, and the Netherlands in regards to Italian territory that the Spaniards were attempting to capture. By attempting to claim the Italian territory, Spain essentially gave Great Britain permission to break the Treaty of Utrecht, as she was allied with Austria, France and the Netherlands. Once Great Britain honored the quadruple alliance and positioned herself against Spain, Gibraltar allowed for the return of Jewish merchants and trade. Secondly, the British involvement in the Battle also led to the Spaniard's closure of the frontier border which only further served to reinforce Gibraltar's dependence on Jewish merchants from both Great Britain and North Africa. In short the Jews were once again allowed to live and conduct business in Gibraltar. Three years after the battle the British formally granted the Jewish population a permanent residence in Gibraltar.

In 1721 a new treaty was formally drafted between Morocco and the British government permitting both Jews and Moors to live and conduct business in Gibraltar.

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<sup>70</sup> Stetson Conn, *Gibraltar in British Diplomacy in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1942), 36.

During the Treaty negotiations the Moroccan government official, Sultan Mulay Ismael and his associate Moses Ben-Hatter went to great lengths to protect the rights of the Moors and Jews residing in Gibraltar.<sup>71</sup> More telling of the occurrences surrounding the treaty signing was the intermediate role of Ben-Hatter. Hatter, a Jewish diplomat facilitated discussions between the Christian and Muslim population. Ben-Hatter served as a bridge between Great Britain and Morocco thus earning him the respect of both countries. This confidence led to a continuing role in diplomatic matters involving future British-Moroccan disputes. Both the Sultan and his mediator stood to gain financially from conducting business ventures and open trade with Gibraltar. Both men carefully drafted the new treaty demanding the equal rights of Moors and Jews. The men drafted language in the treaty that specified clear legal protection of the two ethnic groups. Specifically this occurred in article 9 of the treaty which states that only a Moor could judge a Moor in the court of law and likewise for the Jews. Language in the treaty also addresses the right of citizenship. “Whether Spaniard, English or otherwise living or residing there, shall be esteemed as his natural born subjects.”<sup>72</sup> The Moroccans sought to assure that their livelihood and those of the Jews would not be marginalized by British policy. The signing of the 1721 treaty formally recognized the right of the Jewish population to reside legally in Gibraltar, effectively abolishing the stipulations in the Treaty of Utrecht. The drafting of the treaty in 1721 reflected the Gibraltarian dependence on North Africa for material goods. In addition to everyday trade such as clothes and food, The British government also needed timber, bricks, and other

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<sup>71</sup> Coincidentally Ismael’s diplomat, Ben-Hatter, a Sephardic Jew from North Africa would later have descendants who made Gibraltar their home under the name Benatar. A.B.M. Serfaty, “The Jews of Gibraltar Under British Rule,” *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* Special Edition (2005):10.

<sup>72</sup> Joshua Hassan, “The Treaty of Utrecht 1713 and the Jews of Gibraltar” (lecture, The Jewish Society of England, London UK, May 15, 1963). Reprinted in 1970. pg. 1.

provisions to fortify the garrison from any future Spanish attack. Recognizing this need Queen Anne agreed with the terms of the treaty siding with the Moroccan government.<sup>73</sup> By agreeing to the Moroccan Treaty, Queen Anne declared it legal for Jewish and Moroccan immigrants to reside in Gibraltar ultimately guaranteeing their continued presence in the British colony

The Jewish presence in Gibraltar from that point forward flourished. Jews were granted land rights to construct homes and synagogues. Through land granted to the Jews consisted mainly of wasteland unwanted by the English. It would be on such wastelands that the first synagogues were erected. While opportunities expanded and as the Jewish population grew due to changing perceptions amongst British Gibraltarians, perception of Jews in Great Britain remained unchanged. English visitors, appalled by the high number of Jews, actively tried to persuade the British government to uphold the Treaty of Utrecht.<sup>74</sup> Their intolerance is in contrast to the understanding and acceptance of the British colonists towards the Jewish population in Gibraltar and is an example of the opposite views felt between British visitors and the British Gibraltarians. The British Gibraltar understood that the large percentage of foreigners was a result of the lack of any substantial immigration of British men from Great Britain. The lack of immigration from Britain, coupled with the inability of Great Britain to provide the colony with essential supplies and commerce ensured the continued existence of a foreign population in the colony. This led to the reliance on foreigners such as the Jews and Moors whose presence proved vital in maintaining socio-economic stability in Gibraltar. While visiting

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<sup>73</sup> Daniel J. Schroeter, *The Sultans Jew: Morocco and the Sephardi World* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), 44.

<sup>74</sup> Tito Benady, "The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar, 1704-1783," *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* Special Edition (2005):78.

British generals, governors, and commoners may have detested seeing Gibraltar and consequently England represented by a mosaic of foreigners, the British visitors were forced to “turn the other cheek” for the sake of preserving Gibraltar’s livelihood and eventually by British law through the signing of the 1721 Treaty with Morocco.

Historian E.G. Archer reasons in his contemporary work entitled, *Gibraltar Identity and Empire*, that the desire of the British government for a predominantly Anglo-Saxon population in Gibraltar was tied largely to religion.<sup>75</sup> The British government felt that the fewer Jews, Muslims and Catholics residing in Gibraltar, the stronger the bond between the British crown and hence the Church of England. The anti-foreigner stance of the British government failed to recognize that Catholics and Jews actively contributed to the betterment and thus livelihood of the colony. Their proven loyalty to Gibraltar, and thus Great Britain was displayed through the procurement of goods and services which would prove vital in later times of war.

Jewish loyalty to Gibraltar is validated through correspondence between government officials in Gibraltar and officials in Great Britain. In a letter addressed to Governor Bland of Gibraltar from the Duke of Bedford on May 12<sup>th</sup> 1749, the Duke ordered Governor Bland to reduce property rental rates for the tenants of Protestant descent and raise the rent of Jews, Moors, and Papists of other nations, whom the Duke felt “may prove dangerous to the town.”<sup>76</sup> The Duke’s letter further exemplifies the chasm between Great Britain’s homeland subjects and her subjects living in Gibraltar. Bedford goes so far as to differentiate Protestants of Great Britain and those living in Gibraltar. “Protestants, if encouraged, would prove a strengthening to the Garrison since

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<sup>75</sup> E.G. Archer, *Gibraltar, Identity And Empire* (London, U.K.: Routledge, 2006), 98.

<sup>76</sup> A.B.M. Serfaty, “The Jews of Gibraltar under British Rule,” *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* Special Edition (2005):13.

they were more to be relied on than then the papists though born here.”<sup>77</sup> The chasms between the two versions of Protestant are identified in the last three words of Bedford’s statement, “though born here.” He suggests Protestants of Gibraltar are somehow less than and at the very least are different than those of Great Britain. The Duke’s harsh indictment of those who he considered non-British is just one example of the mentality of the British during the said period concerning the colonist of Gibraltar. His opinion serves to illustrate the opposing views of the British Government compared to the Gibraltarian colonists.

There is little evidence that the Duke’s requests were officially met. Even when orders arrived from Great Britain ordering Gibraltarian government officials not to rent to foreigners, Gibraltarian government officials found ways around such orders. As few Protestant men could afford the means to purchase land, Gibraltarian government officials worked around the suggestions of their British government by simply allotting land to Protestants who then would either sell or give the land to members of the Jewish community.<sup>78</sup> This arrangement led to 20% of Gibraltar’s property belonging to members of the Jewish community by 1756. By 1777, the number increased to 25%.<sup>79</sup> Gibraltarian Historian Tito Benady points out that during the period from 1756-77, the population of Gibraltar decreased seven percent but that property owned by Jews increased. Benady doesn’t state that such progress illustrates the colony’s acceptance of the Jews as part of Gibraltarian society and conversely the Jewish populations’ decision to establish Gibraltar as their permanent home. Although this understanding benefited the

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<sup>77</sup> A.B.M. Serfaty, “The Jews of Gibraltar under British Rule,” *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* Special Edition (2005): 15.

<sup>78</sup> Sharman Kadish, *Jewish Heritage In Gibraltar* (Reading, UK: Spire Books Ltd, 2007), 15.

<sup>79</sup> Tito Benady, *The Sephardi Heritage Vol. II: The Western Sephardim*, ed. Richard Barnett & Walter Schwab (Grendon, U.K.: Gibraltar Books Ltd., 1989), 156.

Jewish community, which ultimately enabled the Jewish population whose members were not legally allowed to own land, to acquire holdings, it makes for poor historical evidence when trying to determine legal ownership of said properties. Nevertheless officially or unofficially certain lands were owned by Jews or in Jewish possession prior to 1819 when Jews were legally granted the right to own property in Gibraltar.<sup>80</sup> In fact by 1822, one quarter of all houses in Gibraltar were owned by members of the Jewish community.<sup>81</sup>

In reality the ethnicity of Gibraltar's inhabitants was seldom a basis for inflating rental rates or adjusting costs of other garrison services. As previously explained government officials found ways to work around British directives. In Gibraltar, especially during the Sieges, the population relied on one another for their very livelihood, which proved to reinforce Gibraltarian identity separate from that of their colonial sovereign. The first land permit after the Duke's decree was issued by the Governor to Abraham Namias, a resident Jew in August of 1749. It seemed then that the governing parties of Gibraltar disregarded the orders from Great Britain, granting land permits to whoever could afford the purchase price.

Although the Jewish population was treated fairly by the Anglo members of the colony, instances of corruption did occur. One governor during the early development of the colony was known for his corruption and greed. With property both limited and scarce due to Gibraltar's size, corruption in the process of gaining land was common during the early years of the colony prior to the formal establishment of Gibraltar. An example illustrating this point is demonstrated by the actions of Gibraltarian Governor

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<sup>80</sup> The same order also made it legal for Catholics to hold property ownership rights.

<sup>81</sup> Tito Benady, *The Sephardi Heritage Vol. II: The Western Sephardim*, ed. Richard Barnett & Walter Schwab (Grendon, U.K.: Gibraltar Books Ltd., 1989), 66.

General John Shrimpton who was in charge of the colony from 1704-1709.<sup>82</sup> Shrimpton taxed both Moors and Jews high housing rent in order to maintain their residency.<sup>83</sup> Such activity was not endorsed by Great Britain but she did little to prevent the corruption. Extortion was also practiced in the arena of merchant trade where Jews were often extorted into lining the pockets of the governor with 'key-money.' Joshua Hassan, the first Jewish mayor of Gibraltar from 1964-69 and elected again in 1972-1987, speculates that the early development of the Jewish population was dually reinforced by the corruption of the local authorities and the need of provisions from Morocco.<sup>84</sup>

In a census conducted prior to the first siege of 1727, the number of Jewish residents accounted for 12% of the total population. By the mid-eighteenth century the Jewish population accounted for 1/3 of the population of Gibraltar.<sup>85</sup> The unwavering support of the Jews in regards to the defense of the colony continued through the eighteenth century, seemingly coinciding with the burgeoning Jewish population. During the Siege of 1727, and even more so during the Great Siege of 1779-1783, Protestants, Catholics, and Jews fought alongside one another in the name of the English crown against the attacking Spaniards. The engagement of the Jewish population during combat serves as a third example of how the Jews of Gibraltar were becoming fully integrated and thus treated equally in Gibraltarian society.

## **CHAPTER TWO PART TWO: THE SEIGE OF 1727**

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<sup>82</sup> Sir William Jackson, *The Rock of the Gibraltarians* (Grendon, U.K.: Gibraltar Books Ltd., 1990), 113.

<sup>83</sup> Tito Benady, "The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar, 1704-1783," *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* Special Edition (2005):78.

<sup>84</sup> Sir Joshua Hassan, *The Treaty of Utrecht and the Jews of Gibraltar* (London, UK: Mass Market Press, 1970), 1.

<sup>85</sup> Gibraltar Government Archives, 1777 Gibraltarian Census Records-accessed December 23, 2008.



Jewish contribution and dedication to the Colony is demonstrated both in times of war and diplomacy. Accounts of Jewish involvement in Gibraltar's political affairs are noted as early as 1727, during the second British-Spanish siege which started September 5<sup>th</sup> of the same year.<sup>86</sup> The second siege lasted a mere four months ending with a truce between the two countries.<sup>87</sup> The Spanish Siege of Gibraltar failed due to the unlikely alliance of the Hapsburgs and Bourbon. These two families historically had fought against each other over various European thrones. When their relationship deteriorated once again in 1727, the Treaty of Seville was enforced, solidifying the British rule over Gibraltar.<sup>88</sup> Even with the Siege's short duration of four months, the event exemplified the symbiotic relationship between the British and Gibraltar's foreign population. Both the Jews and the Moors used the Siege as an opportunity to monopolize trade in Gibraltar, an arrangement which Gibraltar's Colonial government largely encouraged, and British policy ignored.<sup>89</sup>

During the Second Siege from 1779-1783, even after the forced Jewish deportation of their community ten years earlier, the Jewish population remained committed to the English cause of maintaining Gibraltar as an English territory. For example the Jews provided both supplies and services to the British military, and as historian Lorraine Madway points out, "The services and supplies which Jews furnished to the Garrison during the siege of 1727 helped them achieve what no treaty could provide or negate, acknowledgement of the importance of their presence and even

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<sup>86</sup> E.R. Kenyon *Gibraltar Under Moor, Spaniard, and Briton* (London, U.K.: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1938), 42.

<sup>87</sup> Phillip Dennis, *Gibraltar and its People* (London, UK: David & Charles Publishers, 1990), 28.

<sup>88</sup> Wilbur C. Abbott, *An Introduction to the Documents Relating to the International Status of Gibraltar 1704-1934* (New York, N.Y.: The Macmillan Company, 1934), 13.

<sup>89</sup> Tito Benady, "The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar, 1704-1783," *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* Special Edition (2005):87.

respect.”<sup>90</sup> Historically Jews had faced mass discrimination throughout Europe. In Gibraltar however, Jews were not only relied upon during times of war, but were also highly respected for their loyalty to the crown. These attributes helped to shape the emerging identity of the Gibraltarian.<sup>91</sup> Their loyalty to the crown during the sieges became an important component in gaining the respect of British Gibraltarians as even those men born under the crown proved unreliable soldiers. There are however numerous accounts of soldiers whose loyalty to the crown remained in question.

Diary entries from soldiers discuss tales of abandonment and treachery. In 1929 *The Times London* periodically republished various diary entries of the men stationed in Gibraltar during the Great Siege. The diary entries printed during the period of the Siege describe the often mundane yet sometimes colorful life of the men living and working in the Garrison during the Siege and provide an insight to the conditions of the everyday life of a Gibraltarian soldier. A soldier identified only as S.H., describes tales of desertion, drunkenness, and the sordid accounts of debauchery concerning the Garrison’s female residents. Other accounts such as those written by a British General focus primarily on the Moors who resided in Gibraltar.

While the entries of the British General focus on his view of the Moors, soldier S.H. does discuss, the Cameronians.<sup>92</sup> These entries suggest that regardless of race, ethnicity or religion, loyalty to the Garrison was of first priority. This meant that Gibraltar was anomalous relative to other European countries of the eighteenth century.

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<sup>90</sup> Lorraine Madway, “Sefarad But Not Spain: The Settlement of Jews in Gibraltar,” *Espacio Tiempo y Forma* 5, no.6 (1993):6.

<sup>91</sup> A.B.M. Serfaty, “The Jews of Gibraltar Under British Rule,” *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* Special Edition (2005):11.

<sup>92</sup> Cameronians are defined as Scottish men opposed to the union of England and Scotland. Cameronians are followers of Richard Cameron and separated from the church forming the religious denomination Reformed Presbyterians.

The racial stereotypes prevalent in Europe during the eighteenth century largely failed to manifest in Gibraltar, individuals being judged equally on their merit and or actions rather than their ethnicity. It is not to say that one's ethnicity was not a determining factor on how one was treated in Gibraltar, but rather that proven loyalty to the colony superseded any negative connotations regarding ethnicity, race or religion. The language used by the soldiers in the siege describing foreign men of the colony may seem colorful, but the modern historian cannot use contemporary notions of societal standards to judge those of the past.

S.H. recalls the “scandalous acts” of the Cameronians twice in his entries. The Cameronians Scottish descendants formed a division of the Gibraltarian Garrison. It was not the longstanding feud between the Scottish and British causing S.H. to defame the Cameronians, rather the fact that the men attempted desertion. The diary entries of S.H. are effective in capturing the anger of the law abiding soldiers of the garrison towards the soldiers who attempted to abandon their military duties.

Last night a Cameronian attempting to desert came into the Prince's Line and would inveigled a centinel there to go too, but being missed by chance from his duty he was pursued and taken. He was condemned to have a halter put around his neck, to be whipped under the Gallows, at the New Mole, South Port, Market Place and Water Post, in all 500 lashes by the common hang man: after which he was drummed out of town with the Rouge's March and rope about his neck, then naked as he was, put on board a ship designed for the West Indies, then to be set on shore as a slave in one of the plantations and never to be redeemed.<sup>93</sup>

The entry finishes with the author justifying the fate of the Cameronian, “This was the deserved reward for the villainous Cameronian to attempt to betray the garrison

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<sup>93</sup> Sir John Fortescue, Gibraltar Under Siege III-Neglect of the Army, *Times London*, August 21, 1929, 13.

and all the blood of his fellow soldiers.”<sup>94</sup> S.H. shows complete disdain for his fellow soldier due to the Cameronian’s disloyalty to the Garrison. Beside the colorful language S.H. used to describe his fellow soldier’s act of betrayal, the length of the diary entry is in itself telling. Over the span of the siege, the daily diary entries of S.H. rarely extend beyond a few lines, yet when a British soldier’s desertion occurs, his entries span five or six lines, in some instances amounting to multiple paragraphs. Even when a somewhat salacious act occurs in the Garrison, his entries remain short. For example S.H. writes of a fellow soldier who was pronounced dead and after being placed in his coffin in preparation for burial who was suddenly found to have a faint heart beat and breathing, yet the entry length is a mere third of the length of the entry concerning the Cameronian deserter. Even the entries regarding Spaniard deserters who crossed British lines attempting to escape the deplorable trench conditions of the Spanish front never consume more than three lines in his diary. Loyalty to the Garrison then, proved to be the main concern and held above all else a soldier’s most defined attribute. If you were loyal to the British cause of Gibraltar, you essentially proved to be worthy of defining yourself as Gibraltarian, for the most part regardless of ethnicity. This loyalty to the Garrison and thus Gibraltar helped define what it meant to be a Gibraltarian.

The sense of British cultural supremacy over those from the East and Africa largely escaped the Jews residing in Gibraltar. However this was not true for Gibraltar’s resident Moorish population who faced continuous acts of prejudice. The tendency to blame ones’ race or ethnicity for unlawful behavior is especially rapid during the sieges of Gibraltar. Evidence of such prejudicial thought is found in both newspaper articles and journal entries written by Gibraltarian residents.

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<sup>94</sup> John Fortescue, Gibraltar Under Siege III-Neglect of the Army, *Times London*, August 21, 1929, 13.

Even though most resentment was focused on disloyalty to the British cause rather than differences in ethnicity, during times of war racist undertones were not easily disguised. English Historian Ernle Bradford quotes a *Times London* article which featured highlights of the day to day occurrences of a Gibraltar colonial soldier. The author of the passage is a British general who shows his disdain for the “Moorish race”. The general describes an incident where the skin of two Moors accused of working as spies for the Spaniards, hung on poles on display for anyone who might attempt treachery.<sup>95</sup> He continues describing the skin mass of the two men as ghastly sights due to the “large size” of the Moorish race. Even more disturbing is the general’s next passage, “After the Siege they were very much lessened by our curiosity of our people, who cut out a great many pieces of them to bring to England.”<sup>96</sup> Bradford continues with his own analysis of the incident determining that the “skin of the Moors” seems an agreeable novelty”.<sup>97</sup> Although the incidents are horrific in themselves, the significance lies within the Gibraltar’s written description of the accounts. The men were attacked first because of their disloyalty to the British cause of maintaining the colony, and only secondly because of their ethnic background.

The journal entries provide an understanding of not only the soldier’s mindset but also the everyday life of the men and women civilians who lived and worked in Gibraltar, including an inside viewpoint of the attitudes of the men in the military toward the diverse number of ethnicities living in Gibraltar. More important, one gains an understanding of everyday life from not only from what the entries contain but also what

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<sup>95</sup> Ernle Bradford, *Gibraltar The History of a Fortress* (New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), 78.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 78.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 78.

they omit. None of the numerous diary entries complain of Jewish misconduct and or disloyalty. In fact there is not a single account of Jewish disloyalty during the sieges.

## **CHAPTER TWO PART THREE- THE GREAT SIEGE**

The last military siege between Gibraltar and Spain in the 18<sup>th</sup> century occurred from 1779-1783. This last siege is known historically as the Great Siege. At the inception of the Great Siege, the Jewish population numbered approximately 1,000.<sup>98</sup> Census records list the majority of Jews as males working as shopkeepers and brokers. Once the battle with Spain became imminent, the garrison's population banded together to fortify the Rock from invasion. Many Jews were given the task of leveling the areas of the Rock which acted as natural protective barriers against any Spaniard advancement. The Jews flattened large areas of land mass on the perimeter areas around and beyond the rock, making it hard for Spanish forces to find cover while under British fire.

On May 1<sup>st</sup> 1779, Lieutenant Governor and Mayor of Gibraltar, Elliot arranged transportation for anyone wanting to leave the garrison for England.<sup>99</sup> The majority of men and women left Gibraltar in the months prior to engagement, but those who were too destitute and could not shoulder the burden of relocation, or those whose only possession was the land they owned, decided to stay. Along with the British that left Gibraltar were those Jewish and Moroccan merchants who did not ever fully consider themselves Gibraltarian, feeling that life on the Barbary Coast or in Portugal afforded a better way of

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<sup>98</sup> E.G. Archer, *Gibraltar, Identity and Empire* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006), 38.

<sup>99</sup> A.B.M. Serfaty, "The Jews of Gibraltar under British Rule," *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* Special Edition (2005):15.

life.<sup>100</sup> Their departure left those who maintained residence in the Garrison to form an even tighter bond.

Jews who remained in Gibraltar helped solidify their national ties with Great Britain and the colony of Gibraltar. The Jews relocated to an area known as New Jerusalem constructing wooden shacks beyond the reach of Spanish forces.<sup>101</sup> The resident Jews relied heavily on their relationships with the Jews of the Barbary Coast and continued to conduct trade using their contacts to obtain products now unavailable to them from Spain. The Jews who chose to stay with their British counterparts endured all the hardships including hunger and death caused by the Great Siege.

The Great Siege formally started on June 21, 1779, when Spain declared War on England. This would mark the beginning of an almost four year Siege which ended victoriously for the English. It also should be noted that the British were not only positioned against Spain during the Great siege, but also France, as a year prior she had declared war on England during the American Revolution. Hence the English faced a possible united Franco-Spanish attack.

The garrisons combined forces of Hanoverians and British were led by George Augustus Eliott who would later be deemed First Baron Heathfield for his exploits during the siege. The early stages of the Siege consisted primarily of Spanish bombardments as France was otherwise occupied in the American Revolutionary War, concerned with regaining formally territories lost to Great Britain in America. This meant that Britain faced a three front war. Great Britain fought American forces in North America, and Spaniard forces in Minorca, and Gibraltar. The conflict in Gibraltar remained a war of attrition

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<sup>100</sup> Ernle Bradford, *Gibraltar The History of a Fortress* (New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), 77.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid, 16.

when the French and Spanish Navies successfully blocked all reinforcements from entering Gibraltar in an attempt to starve out the garrison's residents.<sup>102</sup>

Unknown to the French and Spanish, Gibraltar was well supplied for the Siege as they knew an enemy attack was imminent. Prior to the Great Siege, the Gibraltar government vigorously renewed trade with Morocco, preparing the whole of Gibraltar to be without imports for three or four months. The abundance of provisions did little to quell the colonist's fears and by August only two months into the siege, many Jewish, English and Genoese residents left for England or the Barbary Coast.<sup>103</sup> At the beginning of the conflict some residents including those of Jewish descent took refuge in Minorca, which at the time was securely under the rule of the British flag as stipulated in the Spanish-British peace treaty of 1763.

As the Great Siege continued, Minorca eventually fell once again under Spanish rule. The Jewish population that had earlier fled Gibraltar to avoid hardships from the Great Siege, found themselves being evacuated for a second time from the now Spanish ruled colony. The thirteen Jewish members of the evacuated entourage arrived at the Rock in a dire state. Governor Eliott refused the group admittance into the garrison not due to their ethnicity but due to the garrison's short supply of food items. Members of the local Jewish community came to their aid, providing them with enough funds for a passage to England.<sup>104</sup> As the Great Siege continued and shortages became common,

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<sup>102</sup> Ernle Bradford, *Gibraltar The History of a Fortress* (New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), 100.

<sup>103</sup> H. W. Howes, *The Gibraltarian: The Origin and Evolution of the People of Gibraltar* (Gibraltar, UK: Mediterranean SUN Publishing Co Ltd., 1991), 16.

<sup>104</sup> A.B.M. Serfaty, "The Jews of Gibraltar Under British Rule," *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* Special Edition (2005): 109.



additional residents evacuated the Rock. The evacuees shared in a common Gibraltarian experience intertwining with the history of the colony.

The shared evacuation experience of Gibraltar's residents only strengthened the bond between them. Defense of the home front, evacuation, and subsequent return to the Rock, was experienced by all members of the colony regardless of ethnic background and created bond manifested in a culturally unified front.

Four months passed and soon winter rationing was necessary. Diseases such as two outbreaks of small pox and scurvy occurred, scurvy becoming all too common as the siege continued due to the shortages of fresh produce. The first outbreak of small pox occurred in the Jewish quarters. Once identified, Elliot quarantined an estimated 300 Jews to the north end of the garrison.<sup>105</sup> The commonly shared diseases and constant isolation felt by the men living in the colony started to take affect on overall moral. Men deserted on both sides, the Spaniards more so as they sought the basic necessity of shelter that the British soldiers enjoyed, in comparison to the exposed trenches of the Spanish troops. The harsh conditions and isolation included the side effect of bringing the men and women closer to one another, effectively acting as catalyst bonding the Gibraltarian population. The length of the siege bonded the residents through enduring hardships and against the Spanish enemy.

As long as Spain remained an enemy to Great Britain, Jews remained in Gibraltar. A declaration of war on Great Britain also meant war on Gibraltar and meant a Spanish declaration of war on fellow Gibraltarian Catholics, Moors, and Jews. Identifying one's self as Jewish, Catholic, Muslim or Protestant was of little consequence, because all of

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<sup>105</sup> Ernle Bradford, *Gibraltar The History of a Fortress* (New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), 78.

these identifying factors were components of the Gibraltarian identity. In Gibraltar people could be equally British and Jewish because at the core they were both Gibraltarian. Therefore Spain's declaration of war on Great Britain created a unified front of all ethnicities living in Gibraltar at the time.

On May 1781, the Jewish synagogue fell under a barrage of Spanish fire effectively destroying the building. Death and injury rates increased significantly in 1781 in comparison to the first two years of the Siege. Before the close of the year the Government recorded 45 disabled, 400 wounded and 122 soldier deaths. Stories document the indiscriminating fire of the Spaniards. By directing the bombardment on the unprepared civilian population rather than the soldiers it created mass hysteria as residents could not move out of the range of fire fast enough and many perished. In their unorganized efforts to relocate to the North end of the Garrison, many left their valuable possessions which included jewelry, money, and religious artifacts. This proved to be disastrous as disgruntled British soldiers began to loot the deserted homes.<sup>106</sup>

The British soldier's involvement in the looting of the Jewish homes and their subsequent punishment demonstrates that the Gibraltarian government's viewed the Jewish Gibraltarian community as equal to the Anglo Gibraltarian community. Equality between the Jewish and the Anglo population is demonstrated in non-conventional forms which may seem to illustrate discrimination rather than equality, but it is the punishment of the perpetrators which demonstrate the equal status of Jews in Gibraltar. Acts of violence during the Siege were common and were not solely directed at the Jewish population, but rather at anyone who happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong

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<sup>106</sup> Ernle Bradford, *Gibraltar The History of a Fortress* (New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), 102.

time. When Jews were targeted for acts of violence the offender was heavily condemned and penalized in the same way if the victim were of Anglo Saxon decent.

The British soldiers did not discriminate, as Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish homes were all targets of ransacking. In the Levantine quarter many Moors and Jews were attacked due to the belief that they hoarded valuable food supplies. In some instances the suspicion of the soldiers proved to be well founded as hidden supplies were discovered. Upon the revelation of the goods, such as swine and poultry, the soldiers immediately killed and roasted the loot on the spot.<sup>107</sup>

In response to his soldier's actions, Elliot ordered that the soldiers involved in the looting be sentenced to death. The soldiers were hanged in the casemates at the north end of the Garrison or in visible door frames on public display for their crimes. The sentences and subsequent punishment of the soldiers sent two clear messages to the men and women of Gibraltar. To Elliott, insubordination in any form, even if by his own British soldiers was deemed intolerable. Secondly the punishment of British soldiers for destroying Jewish property was the same punishment for destroying British property, which only reinforces the idea that the British and the Jews were both considered Gibraltarians. Therefore, Elliot's actions not only reinforced the position of the Jews as members of Gibraltarian society he also reinforced the notion of equality of all Gibraltarians.

In a second reported incident occurring during the Great Siege British soldiers attacked and beat a Jewish man in a back alley. The significance of the event is not that British soldiers attacked a Gibraltarian Jew, but rather the punishment administered

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<sup>107</sup> Ernle Bradford, *Gibraltar The History of a Fortress* (New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), 103.

by the government against the attackers. The men were fined thirty guineas for their conduct.<sup>108</sup> By punishing the British men, the authorities of Gibraltar demonstrated that any illegal activity against a member of the Gibraltarian population would not be tolerated regardless of ethnic background. Furthermore the punishment both formally and legally served to confirm the equal status of the Jewish population in regards to punishment for misconduct in Gibraltar. Perhaps the Gibraltarian government's understanding of the local Jewish populations contributions to the Siege influenced the governor's decision to discipline the British soldiers. Gibraltarian Jews contributed to war efforts not only with provisions but also engaged in combat fighting. Jews fought voluntarily, as British law did not require them engage in combat activities.

Abraham Hassan and Issac Netto are two examples of Gibraltarian Jews who voluntarily enlisted into the Garrison's combat. In recognition of Hassan's service to the colony, General Eliott awarded Hassan a house on Southport Street for the term of twenty one years. The property was later transferred to Hassan permanently. Eliott is quoted as saying, "he having voluntarily offered himself to do the duty of a private soldier in which character he behaved in a very spirited an exemplary manner."<sup>109</sup> Jewish involvement in combat was not a rare occurrence.

Netto not only engaged in combat activities but also helped secure provisions during the Great Siege. Netto personified both loyalty to Gibraltar and his Jewish faith. Isaac Netto, and other members of the Jewish community preformed various acts of

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<sup>108</sup> A.B.M. Serfaty, "The Jews of Gibraltar under British Rule," *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* Special Edition (2005):16.

<sup>109</sup> A.B.M. Serfaty, "The Jews of Gibraltar under British Rule," *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* Special Edition (2005):16. (as quoted from a letter from General Eliott to Abraham Hassan)

community services such as digging trenches and creating barricades on the Spanish front in preparation for the Great Siege of 1779-1783.

Eventually Netto, became the first officially recognized leader of the Hebrew community by the Gibraltar government. Netto, born in Leghorn, Italy was familiar with the Mediterranean and Barbary Coast. He used his contacts in Morocco to import food supplies into the town during the earlier Sieges, during the Great Siege. Netto's father was a well-established Rabbi in London, having created the first Jewish congregation in the city with the building of the Bevis Marks synagogue.<sup>110</sup> Many of these congregation members immigrated to Gibraltar bringing their English Jewish trade connection ties with them. Historian Tito Benady speculates that because of Netto's services, he was given a plot of wasteland where he then proceeded to build the first synagogue in Gibraltar called Shar HaShamayim which translates into Gate of Heaven.<sup>111</sup> An officer stationed in Gibraltar during the Great Siege credits the Jewish population as being "nothing but serviceable; they wrought in the most indefatigable manner and spared no pains where they could be of any advantage either in the siege or after it.

The Great Assault, one of the longest continuous periods of assault during the Great Siege, commenced on September 13, 1782. The assault proved to be the largest Franco-Spanish attack against Gibraltar during the Great Siege. Nearly the entire town abandoned their homes and shops as the Spaniard and French forces relentlessly bombarded the garrison. This particular bombardment invoked so much panic because up until this point in European warfare a code of conduct, assumed a mutual understanding that civilians were not to be part of warfare's casualties. Everyone in the

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<sup>110</sup> Tito Benady, *The Sephardi Heritage Vol. II: The Western Sephardim*, ed. Richard Barnett & Walter Schwab (Grendon, U.K.: Gibraltar Books Ltd., 1989), 151.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

Garrison was affected by the Spanish bombardment. The official ending of the Great Siege occurred on January 20, 1783, with the signing of the peace treaty in Paris, and so the British saying "As Solid as the Rock."<sup>112</sup>

One wonders why the Jewish population would engage in combat fighting and risk injury or death in the name of Great Britain, as the country had previously demanded their expulsion. Three possibilities exist for their loyalty to the British crown. First the Jewish population had become fully integrated in Gibraltarian society due in part to the importance of the merchant role they assumed in the Garrison. Second, perhaps partially because of their integration, the Jews felt a bond with their fellow British residents, and third the Spanish acted as a collective enemy of the British and Jewish populations which encouraged a mutually beneficial relationship for both ethnicities. For clarification to better understand the relationship between the Jews and the British Gibraltarians during battle one can turn to scholar Benedict Anderson. Anderson argues that "*regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings.*"<sup>113</sup> The Jewish population had developed a camaraderie with the British from their shared experiences of fighting and defending the British crown. They may have been fighting individually as Jews and British patriots but collectively the two ethnicities both fought for their livelihood as Gibraltarians

Anderson also discusses the possibility that dying for one's nation is perceived as the ultimate sacrifice one can endure, because to die for one's nation is a pure example of

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<sup>112</sup> Ernle Bradford, *Gibraltar The History of a Fortress* (New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), 103.

<sup>113</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York, NY: Verso, 1991), 7.

loyalty.<sup>114</sup> By the end of the Great Siege the Jewish population proved to be both loyal to the British cause, and Gibraltarian in their identity, as the Jews of Gibraltar not only engaged in British warfare but also provided the garrison with much needed supplies. During the Sieges Jewish men and women died while attempting to defend the Rock from Spanish attack. Thus at least by Anderson's criteria, members of the Jewish population demonstrated the ultimate sacrifice of dying for one's nation, for the Jews of Gibraltar this meant dying for Great Britain.

The third example illustrating Jewish unwavering support for Gibraltar's continuing existence is revealed through the continued hostile relationship between Great Britain and Spain. The relationship between the two countries remained tolerant at best and openly hostile during the Sieges. The hostility between the two country's contributed to the British need to find both laborers and provisions for the colony outside of Spain. Therefore Britain continued to rely heavily on their Jewish population for such contributions reinforcing the symbiotic relationship between Gibraltar and the Jews residing therein.

The two Sieges served to strengthen the bond among all of Gibraltar's residents. The confines of the colonists living space combined with their interdependence on one another created the beginning of a shared or common identity. This is particularly true during the Great Siege which lasted from 1779-1783. The Great Siege served to act as a foundation towards the forging of the Gibraltarian national identity.

### **POST GREAT SIEGE**

According to census records taken in the late 1700's post Great Siege, by the local police force, Jewish Gibraltarians were employed in a varying degree of trades. While

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid, 144.

many Jews were hawkers and porters, others were prominent merchants and influential men within government and political circles.<sup>115</sup> Such statistics reveal little change in occupation from earlier records taken between 1725 and 1727 which indicate the Jewish enterprises, except that members of the Jewish community now held more sway within the Gibraltar government. Another position which Jews retained yet remained undocumented concerned the area of money lending. Jewish-Gibraltar historian Tito Benady states Jews were often in the practice of lending money to the various governors of Gibraltar.<sup>116</sup> Money lending then only served to strengthen Jewish ties to Gibraltar. By lending money to Gibraltar's politicians, the Jewish community demonstrated an investment in the wellbeing of the colony. The mutual inter-dependence on one another reinforced the notion that everyone inhabiting the colony served the same greater purpose, ultimately the continued British control of the Rock. In order to accomplish such a feat, compliance from all residents, regardless of ethnicity, was expected.

Accounts of the positive influence Jews created on the rest of Gibraltar's residents are found in documents such as journals, and government reports. A Gibraltar historian states, "As a community they have also provided a good model to follow and from an early date there have been various formal structures designed to resolve problems and to aid the needy."<sup>117</sup> Jews of Gibraltar were able to exercise freedoms not afforded to Jews from other areas of the world. This put Gibraltar Jews in an advantageous position allowing them to aid Jews in the Diaspora who remained disenfranchised and often

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<sup>115</sup> Hawker is defined as a peddler. Many Jews were considered hawkers in early colonial Gibraltar because they acquired goods from North Africa and sold them in Gibraltar. Definition taken from: <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view.jsp?artid=381&letter=H>, accessed Jan 11, 2011.

<sup>116</sup> Tito Benady, *The Sephardi Heritage Vol. II: The Western Sephardim*, ed. Richard Barnett & Walter Schwab (Grendon, U.K.: Gibraltar Books Ltd., 1989), 153.

<sup>117</sup> A. B. M. Serfaty, *The Jews of Gibraltar Under British Rule* (Gibraltar, UK: Malin & Company Printers, 1933), 30.



persecuted for their cultural and religious beliefs. Evidence documents Gibraltarian Jews efforts in aiding international Jews with travel and food expenses.<sup>118</sup> The loyalty to the International Jewish community, Gibraltar, and to the wellbeing of Great Britain is further demonstrated with the Jewish contribution to British Naval fleets participating in the Battle of Trafalgar.

### **TRAFALGAR-October 21, 1805**

Although the men of Gibraltar were not required to fight in the Battle of Trafalgar, Gibraltar and its inhabitants assumed an important role due to the geographic location of the Rock. Jewish residents contributed largely to the British forces with the garnering of supplies for the British fleet and the repairing of British vessels under Lord Nelson's command. Perhaps one of the most tangible monuments of Jewish support towards the engagement is the current City Hall building located in Macintosh Square.

The City Hall building formally belonged to Aaron Cardozo, a prominent Jewish merchant and the governor appointed representative of the Hebrew inhabitants. Cardozo used the building as his family residence. He was granted the property for his heroic contributions and personal interactions with Lord Nelson, who is reported as saying, "If I survive, Cardozo, you shall no longer remain in this dark corner of the world."<sup>119</sup> Cardozo, like those Jewish residents before him, supplied the garrison with provisions during the numerous epidemics which occurred. Oftentimes Cardozo would temporarily relocate in Oran in order to avoid illness, yet he still continued to provide the garrison with supplies from afar and never failed to return after the epidemic subsided.

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<sup>118</sup> E. G. Archer, *Gibraltar, Identity & Empire* (London, UK: Routledge, 2006), 35.

<sup>119</sup> Tito Benady, *The Sephardi Heritage Vol. II: The Western Sephardim*, ed. Richard Barnett & Walter Schwab (Grendon, U.K.: Gibraltar Books Ltd., 1989), 162.

Cardozo served as a diplomat between Morocco and Gibraltar on several occasions in order to secure the Garrison with provisions.<sup>120</sup> During the Battle of Trafalgar he successfully secured the release of British captives who were held prisoners for speaking to Moorish women.<sup>121</sup> His dedication to Gibraltar's well-being coupled with the high esteem Nelson afforded him, served to legitimize his and other Jewish community members' prominence, presence and continued loyalty to Gibraltar. Even after Nelson's death Cardozo continued to supply the British Navy with supplies during the battle.

With the conclusion of the Battle of Trafalgar, Gibraltar entered a period of relative calm and prosperity, as did the Jewish population. In 1860 there was a mass Jewish immigration to the Rock from Tetuan, Morocco, when the region was captured by the Spaniards.<sup>122</sup> The newly arriving Jews quickly assimilated into Gibraltarian daily life. With the naval victories of the British, the Mediterranean was open for British trade, a situation which Great Britain took full advantage to the benefit of Gibraltar and her colonists.

### **ARISING ISSUES- IN SICKNESS AND VOCATION**

Two major issues characteristic in nineteenth century Gibraltar's history include outbreaks of cholera and the increasing smuggling of tobacco. Around 1837, an outbreak of cholera forced the relocation of the garrison's cemetery. Scientific advancements during the 1800's linked the spread of diseases such as cholera with infected drinking water. The practice of burying the dead beneath the churches and subsequent

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<sup>120</sup> Tito Benady, *The Sephardi Heritage Vol. II: The Western Sephardim*, ed. Richard Barnett & Walter Schwab (Grendon, U.K.: Gibraltar Books Ltd., 1989), 162.

<sup>121</sup> A.B.M. Serfaty, "The Jews of Gibraltar under British Rule," *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* Special Edition (2005):17.

<sup>122</sup> Paloma Diaz-Mas, *Sephardim* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 55.

decomposition entering the soil contaminated the town's drinking water supply. The Catholic Church in Gibraltar, for example, for generations adhered to the practice of burying the dead bodies in a pit underneath the church and then covering them in lime.<sup>123</sup> The numerous cholera outbreaks resulted in the decision to move all the Garrison's cemeteries, including the Jewish cemetery, to the northern perimeter of the Rock.<sup>124</sup> The governor designated the new Gibraltar cemetery to the north end of the garrison near the Spanish border. His choice for location was met with vehement opposition by the Jewish population who feared that a Spanish re-conquest of Gibraltar and would lead to desecration of their graves. Jews believed that when the Messiah returns to earth, entrance into the kingdom of heaven included the resurrection of the body.<sup>125</sup> If the Jewish gravesites were desecrated, the Jews would be unable to enter. Wanting to ensure secure passage into heaven for those lost before them, the Jews refused movement of their Jewish cemetery.

The fear was not unwarranted due to the fact that Spain still considered the practice of Judaism as heresy. Prior to the Anglo-Dutch capture of the Rock in 1704, any Jew found to be in Gibraltar was to be burned at the stake.<sup>126</sup> Records dating as late as 1799 from the city of Seville, suggest that the Catholic Church continued to uphold the practices of the Inquisition and condemnation occurred for those found guilty of secretly engaged in Jewish rituals.<sup>127</sup> In any case, the decision of the Governor to side with the

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<sup>123</sup> Ernle Bradford, *Gibraltar The History of a Fortress* (New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), 54.

<sup>124</sup> Harold Mytum, "Public Health and Private Sentiment: the Development of Cemetery Architecture and Funerary Monuments from the Eighteenth Century Onwards," *World Archeology* 21, no. 2 (1989): 293

<sup>125</sup> Leonard Helfgott, "Iberian Jewish History" (lecture Western Washington University, Bellingham, WA, September 2009).

<sup>126</sup> E. G. Archer, *Gibraltar, Identity & Empire* (London, UK: Routledge, 2006), 38.

<sup>127</sup> Oddly enough there is also documentation that foreign Jews were allowed to trade within Spain, but only with the accompaniment of a member of the Catholic Church.

Jews and change the location of the Jewish Cemetery demonstrated not only cultural sensitivity but also that Jewish concern was recognized and addressed.

The new cemetery called Jews Gate was used until 1848, and to this day is tucked away from the bustle of the Rock. The cemetery is a tangible symbol of how much the Jewish population of Gibraltar was both respected and ingrained in the society of Gibraltar even as early as 1746. The designation of the cemetery to a suitable burial site coupled with the construction of Shar HaShamayim synagogue demonstrates recognition by Gibraltarian authorities of how Jewish-Gibraltarians were woven into the fabric of Gibraltarian identity. The construction of Jews Gate and Shar HaShamayim, also conveyed to the rest of the Gibraltarian community that the Jews were residents of Gibraltar, laying their dead to rest and erecting the foundation of their faith which further contributed to the social identity of the Gibraltarian.<sup>128</sup>

The black market trade in tobacco and alcohol served to encourage the tensions between Spain and Gibraltar. Spain denounced the free port status of Gibraltar, citing that such a policy hurt Spanish business. Still Spain could do little to combat the free port's status which further demonstrates Spain's weakness and inability to control the activities outside her borders. To this day Gibraltar continues to be a free port for the last 170 years and remaining a cause of contention for the Spanish government. Still many

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<sup>128</sup> It must be noted however, that there seems to be a discrepancy with dates regarding the issue of land permits and the actual construction of the Shar HaShamayim synagogue. A point to keep in mind is the destruction of buildings and records during times of warfare. During the Battle of the Great Siege the evidence and therefore the dates of Jewish issued building permits quickly became a causality of war. During the Second Siege of 1727, making matters more complicated, the governing powers in England gave specific orders to the governor of Gibraltar to favor Protestants over Catholic and Jews when issuing land permits. The British attempted to enforce such policies even twenty years after the Second Siege.

Spaniards take full advantage of the tax free status today. Smuggling, especially of tobacco, continues to be a problem.<sup>129</sup>

The smuggling successes of the nineteenth century were exacerbated by the large number of unemployed men and women within the garrison. Much like the earlier British unwillingness to relocate to the Rock, Gibraltarian men refused certain modes of employment even though doing so placed them in virtual poverty. This is especially the case concerning dock work, which many Gibraltarians may have felt was beneath them.<sup>130</sup> In order to fill the labor void the governor requested the use of British convicts.

Instituted in 1842, convict labor continued in Gibraltar until 1875. The program ended due to poor conduct and the bad quality of work the convicts performed.<sup>131</sup> Convict labor reinforced the divide from the population of Gibraltarian and outsiders even those who were British convicts. Spaniard laborers soon replaced the British convicts. The idea permeated throughout the Garrison was that if you were Gibraltarian you held yourself at higher standard than foreign immigrants. This notion only perpetuated and solidified the idea of what it meant to be a Gibraltarian. The Gibraltarians saw themselves apart from those not native to Gibraltar. This attitude is further exemplified in the writings of H.W. Howes, who is quoted, “even merchants from England were often regarded as intruders by the military.”<sup>132</sup> Howes writing during this time period illustrates the idea that the native Gibraltarian population felt that they were above work in the manual labor sectors.

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<sup>129</sup> E. G. Archer, *Gibraltar, Identity & Empire* (London, UK: Routledge, 2006), 54.

<sup>130</sup> H.W. Howes, *The Gibraltarian: The Origin and Evolution of the People of Gibraltarian* (Gibraltar, UK: MedSun Publishing Company Ltd, 1951), 129.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

The calm between Spain and Great Britain during the remainder of the eighteenth century affected the population of Gibraltar in a number of ways. With regard to Mediterranean trade, Gibraltar ceased to be of importance as the relations between Spain and Great Britain improved during the eighteenth century, which led to direct trade agreements not only with Spain but also with North African countries such as Morocco.

As previously mentioned the majority of native Gibraltarians felt that dock work was beneath them which caused the majority of the civilian population to remain unemployed. A report given by the Attorney General in 1871 calculated the number of foreigners at 6,908 and a native population of 10,116. Census records suggest several oddities. Records indicate that foreigners accounted for more than half of the native Gibraltarian population but perhaps even more unfathomable is the 7,877 unemployed native Gibraltarians.<sup>133</sup> This meant there were more unemployed men and women in the civilian population than were foreigners who remained employed in Gibraltar. Upon the termination of the convict employment program, and still unable to arouse any local Gibraltarian interest in working in dock work, the governor advocated for foreign workers from Spain to fill the void. It would seem that unemployed Gibraltarians would remain so, rather than gain employment in the labor sectors.

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<sup>133</sup> H.W. Howes, *The Gibraltarian: The Origin and Evolution of the People of Gibraltar* (Gibraltar, UK: MedSun Publishing Company Ltd, 1951), 133.

**CHAPTER THREE-EXMAINING THE NEWLY ARRIVING  
IMMIGRANTS TO UNDERSTAND THE FULL INTERGRATION OF THE  
JEWS IN THE GIBRALTARIAN  
SOCIAL INDENTITY**

The stagnation in Gibraltar's commerce and trade remained an issue throughout the nineteenth century. Even the advent of steam power which brought a large number of ships to Gibraltar's dock yard did little to boost the local economy as the shipping activity failed to filter into the Gibraltar's economy. Prior to the decision to incorporate foreign (Spaniard) labor, workers from elsewhere in the British Empire were selected to fill the void. The majority of laborers arrived on Gibraltar from the British Island of Malta. By 1871, 331 Maltese resided and worked in the Garrison. The number increased substantially during 1871 to over 700 workers.<sup>134</sup>

The treatment of other ethnic groups by the government and press cast light on the integration of Jews as full-fledged Gibraltarians. Perhaps in order to see how fully integrated the Jewish population was, This thesis will examine the way in which other ethnic groups were treated by the Gibraltarian government and press. The written history of Gibraltar portrays a clear picture of what occurred in the colony when members who embody the social identity of Gibraltar are juxtaposed against those who do not, even if both sides are subjects of the British crown. Although the Jewish population of Gibraltar consisted largely of foreigners to the British crown, they embodied what it meant to be Gibraltarian due to their longstanding economic roles and their loyalty to the colony. Such notions are substantiated by government records and personal diaries. The opposite scenario occurred with the Maltese immigrants who arrived in the late 1800's. The Maltese faced mass discrimination and were tolerated only out of necessity.

Gibraltarians blamed the Maltese for the overcrowding and general decline in hygiene within the colony. However, records state that many Maltese resided in caves

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<sup>134</sup> H.W. Howes, *The Gibraltarian: The Origin and Evolution of the People of Gibraltarian* (Gibraltar, UK: MedSun Publishing Company Ltd, 1951), 133.



along Catalan Bay and thus could not be held responsible for the overcrowding in the actual Garrison. Gibraltar as previously mentioned faced an economic downturn and the Maltese were most likely a scapegoat for Gibraltar's decline. An article aimed at examining the rising prostitution trade in Gibraltar during the nineteenth century accuses an array of ethnic groups including, newly immigrating Jews, Genoese, and Portuguese as contributing factors to the overpopulation in Gibraltar which reinforces the idea that Maltese emigration could not be the sole reason for the Garrison's overcrowding. Yet neither the new Jews, Genoese, nor those who immigrated from Portugal faced the same extent of indignation from the British residents as did the Maltese immigrants.

The issue of overcrowding reached a pinnacle in the mid eighteenth hundreds, when Governor Sir Robert Gardiner declared that all marriages taking place in the Garrison would only be legal with his permission. The Governor's attempt of absolute authority aimed to halt non-native men from marrying native Gibraltar women, who would subsequently procreate adding to the colony's overpopulation. At times marriages were only approved if the couple in question agreed to relocate before the birth of their first child.<sup>135</sup> The governor went so far as to create a mandate requiring that any female native Gibraltarian marrying a foreigner must relinquish her British nationality in favor of her husbands. The governor's mandate was in direct violation of British law at the time. The British Naturalization Act of 1844 granted even foreigners the liberty to rights of nationality and land ownership.<sup>136</sup> Unfortunately the Act did not extend to Great Britain's colonies and hence Gibraltarians remained under the caprices of the Governor. The

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<sup>135</sup> Phillip Howell, "Sexuality, Sovereignty and Space: law, government and the geography of prostitution in colonial Gibraltar," *Social History* vol.29, no.4 (2004): 449.

<sup>136</sup> "How Lord Astor's British Title Came to Him: Court Decision Last Month Removed All Obstacles That Apparently Stood in the Way of the Bestowal of a Peerage Upon a Naturalized Subject," *New York Times*, March 17, 1870, wed page 4.

Governor's actions then serve to further the idea that Gibraltar, even if technically a British sovereign, remained independent of certain aspects of British law.

Both local church leaders and the Gibraltarian government, including the Governor placed most of the blame of overcrowding on the Maltese. British Legislation passed during the said time period actually favors immigrant entry which went against local Gibraltarian opinion. Even members of the Catholic Community wrote letters protesting prior legislation such as the Aliens Order in Council of 1873 which allowed and even encouraged immigrants to enter and reside in England's numerous colonies including Gibraltar.<sup>137</sup>

The Count Vicar Apostolic Dr. J.B. Scanedella is quoted in response to the situation,

this city with numerous emigrants from Malta, the dregs of that island, to whom public opinion attributes the majority, if not all the robberies whereof we have lately been the victims, and who have contributed very considerably to that overcrowding of which the Commission complains, in a manner prejudicial to the public health inasmuch as the greatest indigence in caves unfit for animals, and are filthy in their dwellings, in their dress and in their food.<sup>138</sup>

Gibraltar's population, unlike her mother country, remained largely Catholic, therefore opinions deriving from the Catholic Church were taken as the direct word from God. The doctrine that Scanedella's professed would largely affect the opinions of those in the colony.

The view points of the Memorialists reinforce this view. They are as quoted as stating,

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<sup>137</sup> H.W. Howes, *The Gibraltarian: The Origin and Evolution of the People of Gibraltarian* (Gibraltar, UK: MedSun Publishing Company Ltd, 1951), 132.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 132.

In former times, we had a very limited number of Maltese, all of them principally employed as goatherd, continuing with some honorable exceptions only the scum of that people betakes themselves hither; the worthless..<sup>139</sup>

It is curious that the basic necessities for life were not afforded to the Maltese immigrants when charity from both within the Catholic and Jewish community is frequently documented amongst the Gibraltarian population. Examples such as providing clothing and food for those in need abound. In both times of peace and war Gibraltarians worked together to provide for those in need. Locally the Jewish residents and the Gibraltarian Government raised money to construct a Jewish school.<sup>140</sup> Jews provided non-Gibraltarian immigrants with supplies and ship fare in order to reach their final destinations of London and Palestine.<sup>141</sup> Why is it then that the Maltese were treated so poorly?

Upon closer examination of the Maltese one may see the eerily similar situations of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Maltese and the 18<sup>th</sup> century Jews. Both ethnic parties held no rights to property, both sides felt unwarranted prejudice, but unlike the Maltese, the Jews who arrived post 1704 contributed to not only the social identity of the Garrison, but through trade, commerce, labor and with their own blood helped defend, construct, and maintain Gibraltar as an individual entity. These activities helped solidify the Jewish contribution to the identity of Gibraltar. In fact during the time in question an English travel guide writer is quoted stating, “The Native Jews formed the most quiet and orderly part of the

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<sup>139</sup> H.W. Howes, *The Gibraltarian: The Origin and Evolution of the People of Gibraltar* (Gibraltar, UK: MedSun Publishing Company Ltd, 1951), 132.

<sup>140</sup> Tito Benady, *The Sephardi Heritage Vol. II: The Western Sephardim*, ed. Richard Barnett & Walter Schwab (Grendon, U.K.: Gibraltar Books Ltd., 1989), 172.

<sup>141</sup> A.B.M. Serfaty, “The Jews of Gibraltar under British Rule,” *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* Special Edition (2005):28.

population.”<sup>142</sup> No mention is given of the Barbary Jews who contributed to 240 of the Garrison’s population, perhaps the due in part to the low number in comparison to the 1,385 British and Native Jews that the 1844 census records list.<sup>143</sup> The Maltese, however, arrived late in the game, when the basic infrastructure and social makeup was already established. They arrived destitute and without the commercial contacts and networks that characterized Jewish immigration in previous years. Therefore, rather than helping to create an identity, they arrived with one already intact. This meant starting at the bottom of the economic and social chain and attempting to both assimilate and maintain their cultural heritage within the colony.

The anti-immigration attitudes which dominate even modern social commentary seem to be as prevalent in the nineteenth century as they are today. The argument against foreign immigration is only slightly different. Overcrowding, taking jobs and blatant racist language formed the core arguments against the Maltese. However, upon further examination each charge is easily deconstructed. The argument for overcrowding is weak. As previously stated the Maltese immigrants resided in caves along the unoccupied front. Second, the Maltese gained employment in occupations such as dockyard hands, occupations which Native Gibraltarians refused to enter. Finally, by labeling the Maltese emigrants as filth only adds rhetoric to the first two arguments, meaning such language is used to both cloud perceptions and disparage their immigrant status.

Many Maltese who immigrated to Gibraltar, like the Jews before them, even amidst persecution, remained in the colony. The plight of the Maltese shifted

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<sup>142</sup> H.W. Howes, *The Gibraltarian: The Origin and Evolution of the People of Gibraltarian* (Gibraltar, UK: MedSun Publishing Company Ltd, 1951), 121. in An Old Inhabitant, “The Travelers’ hand-book for Gibraltar,” London 1844. pg. 15

<sup>143</sup> Gibraltar Government Archives, 1844 Gibraltarian Census Records-Accessed December 23, 2008.

dramatically in the nineteenth century. During the latter part of the nineteenth century the Association of Lay-Helpers was established to encourage temperance and inner-cooperation amongst the existing religious groups in the community.<sup>144</sup> The Maltese population accounted for 8% of the total Gibraltar population in 1995 surpassing the Jewish constituent. Their former label as trouble-makers, and unskilled laborers ceased to exist as even Gibraltar's Chief Minister Caruana, is of Maltese origin.<sup>145</sup>

Still the fact that such attitudes previously existed are revealing because they support the idea that even people belonging to the British Empire were considered unworthy to reside in Gibraltar. This meant that the native Gibraltarians who arrived prior to the Sieges created a unique bond and identity that set them apart from virtually everyone un-established in the Garrison. Although the plight of the Maltese is not the subject of this thesis, the way in which the native Gibraltarian population treated and subsequently dealt with the Maltese is revealing to the social identity of the Gibraltarian.

### **Said**

To understand how such phenomena occurs it is helpful to use Edward Said's discourse pertaining to Orientalism. According to Said, Orientalism is "a manner of regularized (Orientalized) writing, vision, and study, dominated by imperatives, perspectives, and ideological biases ostensibly suited to the Orient."<sup>146</sup> For the purpose of this thesis we will focus on Said's second point, vision. The native population of Gibraltar envisioned themselves as something distinctly different from the Maltese immigrants. Much like Said's notion of, "Orientals living in their own world, and we

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<sup>144</sup> E.G. Archer, *Gibraltar, Identity And Empire* (London, U.K.: Routledge, 2006), 100.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 42.

<sup>146</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1978), 44.

lived in ours,”<sup>147</sup> the Gibraltarians which at this point included the Jewish population understood their world in such terms. In the case of Gibraltar the Orientals who lived in their own world were the Maltese, and the dominating Western side i.e. the Gibraltarian lived in theirs. By deeming the Maltese as the other or in the very least not Gibraltarian, the native population of Gibraltar effectively placed the population against or at the very least labeled the Maltese different as those residing in the Garrison. This only served to reinforce the idea that the Gibraltarian populace identified itself solely with the community members who maintained residence in the Garrison prior to the mid eighteenth hundreds. This perception manifested early in the colony’s inception and was completely solidified by the arrival of the Maltese emigrants. Again the point of this comparison is not to vilify the population of Gibraltar, but to reinforce the notion that a unique Gibraltarian identity, one that incorporated the Jewish element, emerged early on in the British history of Gibraltar. Coincidentally enough, the plight of the Maltese immigrant follows the same path as those of the early Jewish inhabitants. The sole difference being that the Maltese faced persecution from Gibraltarians and yet were encouraged by Great Britain through legislation to immigrate to the colony. The early Jewish immigrants on the other hand faced persecution from the British from Great Britain rather than British Gibraltarians.

Census records located in the Gibraltarian Government Archives document the number of residents in the Garrison from 1777. Although H. W. Howes does record in his book titled *The Gibraltarian: The Origin and Evolution of the People of Gibraltar*, an entry from a 1753 census record, he gives no citation of where such record is located. The

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<sup>147</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1978), 44.

census records document the growing population of Gibraltar. The residents are identified by their ethnic and religious backgrounds. For example depending on the census year, members of the Jewish community were listed as Hebrew, Jew, or as in the earliest census records, categorized with the Moorish inhabitants, without distinguishing the two ethnicities from one another. Such poor record keeping fits nicely into the Foucauldian paradigm of power constructs.

**Foucault- “Power without Limitation is directly related to Madness”<sup>148</sup>**

The treatment of the Maltese immigrants by the Jews and Anglos can be explained using Foucault’s theory on power but even more so by applying his dogma proposed in his work *The Order of Things*. Foucauldian theory would dictate that the census records could act as a construct of power, thus the cataloging of people by religious beliefs may or may not later serve as a tool of power over them. By grouping both the Jews and Moors together and therefore failing to recognize the vast differences among the two ethnic groups the British, even if unknowingly, demonstrated their belief that the Jews and the Moorish population were unworthy of any official individual acknowledgment. As Jews became accepted into the Gibraltarian social identity this started to change. Examples of such change is demonstrated with subsequent census records which are delineated with much detail separating ethnic groups residing in the Garrison even down to the degree of illustrating the origin of each resident. For example records from the 1777 census read as follows: British Blood-Native Protestant= 220, Alien Blood-Native-Jew=267, Alien Blood-Non-Native-Jew=596.<sup>149</sup> The

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<sup>148</sup> James Miller, “Foucault’s Politics in Biographical Perspective,” *Salmagundi*, no. 97 (1993): 39.

<sup>149</sup> Gibraltar Government Archives, 1777 Gibraltarian Census records. Accessed December 23, 2008.

meticulousness of these early census records helped lay the foundation for Gibraltarian social identity.

Foucault argues that record and data collecting reflects power relationships. The census records demonstrate the unique opportunity for the establishment of a Jewish community within previously owned Spanish land, land which at the time was still involved in the practice of Jewish expulsion just miles north of the Garrison. The Jewish community of Gibraltar benefited in many aspects of daily life that only those Jews residing in the British Colonial Periphery could enjoy. As mentioned the Jewish community accounted for 1/3 of the total Gibraltarian population by the year 1753.<sup>150</sup> This meant that the ethnic foundations of Gibraltar's physical makeup and thus initial social identity included a large Jewish component.

Having been part of the initial social structure, the Jews, even if discriminated against in the early stages of Gibraltarian social identity, ingrained themselves in the idea of what it meant to be Gibraltarian, much like the way the Irish developed a sense of belonging and equality in America after years of initial mistreatment. Both the Jews and the British inhabitants of the Garrison over an extended period of time developed a sense of what it meant to be Gibraltarian. Unfortunately for the Maltese this type of Gibraltarian entitlement was lost to the newly arriving Maltese who lacked both an economic and social history with the Rock, a history which the Jews maintained for generations and indeed were active participants in its creation. The idea of Gibraltarian entitlement can be examined by loosely applying Foucauldian theory in relation to his work entitled *The Order of Things*.

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<sup>150</sup> Gibraltar Government Archives, 1777 Gibraltar Census records. Accessed December 23, 2008.



In Foucault's *Order of Things*, he argues that every time period develops a certain notion of what constitutes one belief as a norm or truth, and that the human population is thus bound by these notions, until proven otherwise. Each generation can build upon or discredit the truths of previous generations, but nevertheless each period in time operates under the opus of its period. Whether such discourses are actually "true" remain irrelevant, the importance relying on the general populations belief that such notions are true. The order of things can change by discoveries or advancement in a field of study. Foucault uses an example in the preface of his book which quotes a classification system in a Chinese encyclopedia. The passage lists the classification system for animals. The encyclopedic classifications range from; sirens, tame, belonging to the emperor and that from a long way off look like flies.<sup>151</sup> He uses the absurdity in which the animals are classified to further his argument that belief systems which seem completely logical in one time period are completely illogical in others. For example the idea that the earth was flat was once in the popular consciousness. The belief persisted until Christopher Columbus disproved the belief. Therefore the conditions for truth and their discourses change to fit into the new paradigm of thought. A second example which is fleshed out using Foucault's epistemes<sup>152</sup> is the belief that different races are biologically inferior to others. This type of mindset was once the norm, now fortunately disproven, but nevertheless allowed for the subjugation of many. Deeming certain races or ethnic groups as less worthy than others allowed for a relationship of power which ensured the livelihood of some at the of detriment others. This mode of thought or norm is verified with the treatment of the Maltese immigrants in Gibraltar. Upon arriving in Gibraltar, the

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<sup>151</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (New York, NY: Random House, Inc. 1994), xv.

<sup>152</sup> An episteme is defined as a different system of thought.

Maltese faced the hierarchy of the Gibraltarian society and failed to hold any clout over the two most important components of the colony, that of trade and commerce. This lack of power and influence acted as a hindrance to the Maltese and reinforced the inferior position and status of the new immigrants while reinforcing the position of influence and power of the more established Jew and British colonists.

The ironic element in regards to the treatment of the Maltese is that Gibraltar was largely formed with dependence on foreigners and foreign countries, especially prior and during the Sieges. This dependence manifests in issues of both commerce and basic employment throughout the Garrison. For example, Gibraltar depended largely on Morocco for food goods and convicted labor to fill employment voids in the colony's dockyard. For reasons ranging from location, and pride, Gibraltar not only needed but also depended on the help of outsiders in order to sustain their livelihood.

### **Gramsci**

Perhaps even more than Foucault, Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony provides a clear analysis of divisions within a society. In Gibraltar the divide within society occurred in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the arrival of the Maltese. Under Gramsci's terms the Maltese would represent the exploited members of society. The Jews and Anglo's would represent the oppressive class or group of people. To fully understand the divide between Gibraltarians and the Maltese it may be useful to incorporate pieces of Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony but replacing class for ethnicity. To Gramsci the idea of cultural hegemony encompassed many aspects of society, most importantly

religion, education, government, and the bourgeoisie.<sup>153</sup> Nevertheless, these entities worked together to create a universal ideology, even if unbeknownst to them, that saturates the entire populace. The ideology created acted as a divisor within the society it's actively controlling. A major component of this ideology is what Gramsci terms "hegemonic culture."

In cultures dominated by capitalism, fascism, or in the case of Gibraltar which although was ruled by imperialism, largely relied upon local government policies, the dominating class (those who were established and laid the foundation for manifested as the Gibraltarian social identity) controls or in a way brainwashes all classes into thinking that both the upper classes and the lower classes of society have common goals. The goal of obtaining a greater Gibraltar even at the expense of the exploited Maltese laborers would appear effective, as little to no documentation exists of a Maltese revolt against the upper classes of Gibraltarians; upper classes which by this point in time included Jews. The lower classes which included the Maltese and Moroccans retained their lower class status and thus place in the hierarchy of Gibraltarian society. In short Gramsci believed that a community's cultural identity was not something that existed naturally in a given society but rather was a creation of the dominate upper classes regardless of ethnicity, who then imposed their ideas on to subsequent generations, which overtime became ingrained into societal belief.<sup>154</sup> Gramsci blames this evolution of culture on both the governing administration and educational institutions. In the case of Gibraltar the local government's role in creating societal differences is glaringly obvious, while the

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<sup>153</sup> Marcia Landy, "Culture and Politics in the Works of Antonio Gramsci," *Boundary 2*, no. 3 (1986): 53.

<sup>154</sup> Peter Worsley, *Culture Counterculture Subculture Knowledge* (New York, New York: The Press, 1997), 265.

educational system remained less a factor as the diverse religious groups often maintained schools for their own individual religious creeds.

To Gramsci both politics and culture are intertwined, a large part of the existing hegemonic culture being perpetuated within the upper classes of society. Although Gramsci credits the “intellectuals” of society as main perpetrators of forming culture, such “intellectuals” are absent from 18<sup>th</sup> century Gibraltarian society. Instead the intellectuals are replaced by a large merchant and political contingency that together shaped what it meant to be Gibraltarian, while at the same time determining what it meant to be opposite. Gramsci believed in the absolute need to break down the paradigms in which the ruling upper class and the lower classes actively participated. Of course in the paradigm in which Gramsci was working, change in societal thought would begin with deconstructing the current educational system which he believed ‘brainwashed’ young society with encyclopedic knowledge. In the case of Gibraltar, change would stem from a shift of thought within the merchant and political class.

The “Intellectuals” of Gibraltar consisted of two prominent ethnic groups. The first group, British Anglos who years earlier secured Gibraltar as a British Territory, and the second group, Sephardic Jews who provided the Territory with food, weapons, and other supplies, ensuring British control and longevity over the area. Over time the two ethnic groups, perhaps because of their mutual dedication to the Garrison, formed a sense of superiority over the newcomers arriving in Gibraltar. This superiority manifested in what Gramsci would consider an “intellectual.” To Gramsci such a view point lacks credibility because he believed that every man could potentially be considered an intellectual in his field, “the worker or the proletariat is not specifically characterized by

his manual or instrumental work, but by performing work this work in specific conditions and specific social relations.”<sup>155</sup> In other words society doesn’t necessarily place the same value on an engineer and the laborer which is needed in order to construct his vision. In the same terms the Gibraltarians did not respect the Maltese Dock workers even though their labor was vital to the colony’s livelihood.

In Gramscian terms this type of thinking would be explained or labeled as class hegemony. For the purposes of this study which focuses primarily on ethnicity such a phenomenon would be considered ethnic hegemony. Over time the British and the Jewish members of the colony’s population, who held ties or connections with the initial founding of the colony, created their own national sentiments and therefore identity which became their norm. They then imposed such an ideology on succeeding immigrants such as but not limited to the Maltese.

Gramsci believed in two types of intellectuals. The first type he called the “urban intellectual.” The urban intellectuals are men tied to industry and are identified with positions of power. These men were not truly intellectuals and most lack a scholarly background. Examples of such men are journalists, or politicians, or in previous generations the land owners who held sway over the peasants who worked their land. In Gibraltar members of the Jewish merchant class would fit into this category and historically would represent Jews who acted as tax collectors for their respected forms of government.

The second category of an intellectual is the traditional or organic intellectual. This group is so embedded in society as intellectuals that even changing the political and

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<sup>155</sup> Henry Giroux, *Stealing Innocence* (New York, New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000) 124.

cultural structure has no effect on their intellectual status.<sup>156</sup> It is important to note that these groups of men are connected with the first group of intellectuals by means of the aristocracy. In other words for reasons so embedded in cultural society, men of the first group of intellectuals, look up to this group, put them on an untouchable pedestal and strive to be like them. In Gibraltar men are represented from this group as Rabbi's, and those who arrived from Great Britain from the upper echelons of society play this role.

The role of the two types of intellectuals in society is to create a popular culture in which all society believes to be reasonable or simply put "the way things are."<sup>157</sup> thus creating a cultural hegemony. Once this is accomplished there is little resistance or even a desire for change from the general population. This lack of resistance places the proletariat, or in the scenario of Gibraltar the laboring Maltese in a stagnate condition in relation to Gibraltarian upper class rule.

The dominate ruling classes of Gibraltar effectively subjugated and maintained rule over the Maltese by what Gramsci terms as "common sense," or "folk lore." Common sense is a controlling intellectual tool that the ruling class uses against the laborer. Gramsci uses the two terms interchangeably and defines them as, "containing fragmentary ideas, a collage of opinions and beliefs, giving the illusion of a coherent world view and of acting which is not at all coherent and certainly not critical."<sup>158</sup> An example of such rhetoric was demonstrated with the previously mentioned doctrine of Count Vicar Apostolic Dr. J.B. Scanedella who held a position of power within Gibraltarian society, therefore influencing the population of such. Gramsci speculated

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<sup>156</sup> Peter Worsley, *Culture Counterculture Subculture Knowledge* (New York, New York: The New Press, 1997), 266.

<sup>157</sup> Marcia Landy, "Culture and Politics in the Works of Antonio Gramsci," *Boundary 2*, no. 3 (1986): 55.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

that perhaps folklore was a means that the proletariat or laborer could justify their oppressive conditions. Thus Gramsci viewed “common sense” and “folklore” as another tool in which modern society implored to keep the lower classes both passive and complacent.

In order for the Maltese to change their position in society, they would need to create a counter culture within themselves. In order to change their existing conditions of oppression they themselves would need to implement changes within their class.

(Laboring class) This counter hegemony is the only mode of action that can effectively change an ideology within a given society. The inability of the Maltese to recognize this need, served to benefit the upper classes of Gibraltarian society primarily composed of Anglo and Jewish members.

According to Gramsci’s theory of cultural hegemony, he challenges pre-existing definitions of intellectualism by stating that is possible for any man to be termed an intellectual if such a man is given the proper means to achieve so. The challenge for the laborer and in this case the Maltese is getting them to think outside his normal mindset. Gramsci uses the term “contradictory consensus” to explain this phenomenon.

Contradictory consensus entails the idea that, “the active man of the masses works practically, but has no clear theoretical consciousness of his work that also knows the world in order to transform it.”<sup>159</sup> In other words mans notion of self in regards to his place in society has made him a passive being, for he is not even aware that he is being oppressed. Gramsci having been well versed in the writings of Niccolo Machiavelli used his iconic views regarding politics to further his ideology. Machiavelli author of the

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<sup>159</sup> Antonio Gramsci, “Intellectuals and Education” in David Forgacs (ed) *The Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916-1935* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 333.

*Prince* stated, “A prince could rule simply on the basis of naked force. A really clever and more flexible prince though would be better advised to use both force and fraud.”<sup>160</sup>

The idea of what constituted as the Gibraltarian identity was so firmly embedded in the classes who actively created and maintained Gibraltar’s societal norms that the Maltese, even if unbeknownst to them, helped reinforce such creation by failing to act against it.

The complacency of the Maltese when by failing to create a counter culture only reinforced the idea of Anglo and Jewish supremacy. Their failure subsequently perpetuated the upper class notion of who and what constituted the Gibraltarian, an identity that didn’t include sectors of the manual labor working class, or those who had little to do with the initial inception of British dominance over the region, even though such classes, as the Maltese, were subjects of the British crown. The purpose of this thesis is to examine the Gibraltarian identity in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries and the Jewish influence on such. By examining the ethnic groups of those who didn’t fit in to the idea of what it meant to be Gibraltarian, one gets a clearer picture of what it meant to those who did. The Jewish population represented the members of Gibraltarian society who fit into the understood Gibraltarian identity, which exemplifies the fact that Jews were not only accepted as Gibraltarians but also help shape Gibraltarian social identity. The Jewish population had become part of the status quo representing what it meant to be Gibraltarian.

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<sup>160</sup> Worsley Peter, *Culture Counterculture Subculture Knowledge*(New York, NewYork: The New Press, 1997), 267.



## **Conclusion**

The Jewish contribution in the formation of the Gibraltarian social identity cannot be ignored. Because of Jewish ties to merchant networks in North Africa and elsewhere they were able to influence and shape what it meant to be Gibraltarian in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. They accomplished this by providing support to the colony in both times of warfare and peace. Jews provided the basic staples for daily life and helped the colony maintain its livelihood.

During the Siege of 1727, Jews actively participated in combat alongside other Gibraltar colonists. By doing so they began to construct a sense of camaraderie with their English counterparts. Jewish contributions during the Great Siege of 1779-1783, cemented their place in Gibraltarian social identity. Jews negotiated with Moroccan merchants in order to ensure that the Garrison would have enough food and other goods during the Siege for survival. The negotiations proved to be critical during the Spanish blockades.

The presence of the synagogues and numerous Jewish owned properties throughout Gibraltar during the 18<sup>th</sup> century such as Aaron Cardoza's residence, which was later converted into the colony's government headquarters, serve as tangible evidence that Jews were not only present in Gibraltarian society but were also held an significant part in its creation.

This thesis has shown in both periods of conflict and peace, how the construction of the Gibraltarian social identity materialized. Through diplomacy, merchant trading, and lastly through the engagement of combat, the Jews of Gibraltar helped shape the Gibraltarian identity. Demonstrating that when Spain declared war on England and thus

Gibraltar, she only reinforced the symbiotic relationship between the British and the Jews, a relationship that over time blurred the lines of the two ethnicities which manifested in a new Gibraltarian identity, an identity constructed by the original colonists of Gibraltar. Spanish writer Ayala, commented on the unique conditions of Gibraltar's diverse population marveling at how such a mix of cultures lived in relative harmony amongst one another, "the lack of violence and criminality in a place where so many religions co-existed and when due to such diversity of religions, customs, and conflicting interests of the habitants.." <sup>161</sup>

Even as the Jewish community of Gibraltar moves towards seclusion, Ayala's statement rings true in contemporary times. Testament to such is given in a June 1997 article which states, "During their long and distinguished residence in Gibraltar, the Jewish community has forged their good standing by having the foresight and acumen to develop a strong sense of a Gibraltarian identity while maintaining heart-felt adherence to traditional Jewish values." <sup>162</sup> And as the Solomon Levy the current mayor of Gibraltar who can trace his Jewish heritage to the Rock as early as 1704, states, "Gibraltar is an example to the World." <sup>163</sup> Indeed what an example.

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<sup>161</sup> A.B.M. Serfaty, "The Jews of Gibraltar under British Rule," *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* Special Edition (2005):15.

<sup>162</sup> E.G. Archer, *Gibraltar, Identity And Empire* (London, U.K.: Routledge, 2006), 98.

<sup>163</sup> Solomon Levy, Interview by Andrea Hernandez, written recording, Gibraltar, U.K., 24 December 2008.

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