Wilbur C. Abbott

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF GIBRALTAR 1704-1934

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BY

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PREFACE

A NUMBER of years ago, in the course of preparing a report on the status of Gibraltar in international as well as in British imperial affairs, it appeared that there existed no adequate list of books and references to that important and interesting subject. As the first step in preparing such a report, therefore, it seemed necessary to draw up some guide to the considerable literature which has grown up around the Rock, the town and the harbor in their various capacities. From that has developed this present Introduction to the Documents relating to Gibraltar as an International Problem. Naturally it has come to include a large number of items not directly connected with either war, diplomacy, or commerce, which, for various reasons—and among them completeness—it has seemed advisable to note.

In consequence it takes account of various manuscript materials, chiefly historical in their nature, a large number of popular articles and books, lists of Parliamentary papers and the like, as well as the negotiations, the controversies, and the conflicts to which Great Britain's possession of Gibraltar has given rise during the past two centuries. It is, therefore, a guide not merely to the political, diplomatic, military, imperial, and international literature of the subject, but, in so far as possible, to all the writings of the period of British occupation, as well as to a few selected items of an earlier time. Inevitably some of these may seem trivial at first sight. But if any lesson emerges from the list, it is that—apart from perhaps purely scientific

discussions — almost every one of these apparent *trivia* has at some time or another been the source of discussion, disagreement, and even of diplomatic negotiation. And, as it was observed long since, great events arise from great causes but small incidents. If, then, one wishes a complete picture of such a subject as this, it is not wise to ignore even such apparently insignificant trifles. One never knows how great a fire a little flame may kindle, especially in international affairs, and one never knows upon what trifle great events may turn.

It only remains to express the author's appreciation of the generosity of the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College in making possible the publication of this contribution, and especially of the kindly assistance and advice of its Chairman, Professor George Grafton Wilson of Harvard University, whose suggestions have been both wise and helpful.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

CAMBRIDGE,
August, 1934.

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INTRODUCTION

Of all the strongholds in the world, the Rock of Gibraltar is probably the most striking and impressive. Partly by virtue of its strategic position at the entrance to the Mediterranean; partly by virtue of its imposing appearance; partly by virtue of its historical associations, it has at all times made a powerful appeal to the imagination. From the day when as Calpe, one of the Pillars of Hercules, which marked the limits of the known European world, it was the subject of myth and legend, to the present time, it has become a synonym for strength and for stability, a symbol of firmness and immutability and trustworthiness.

However far removed from the ancient myths, the modern popular concept of Gibraltar is scarcely less mystical. Its possession has come to typify empire. From the time when, some twelve hundred years ago, Tarek-el-Zaid led his fierce Arab followers across the Straits to the conquest of the Visigothic kingdom, until now, Jeb-el-tarek, the Hill of Tarek, has been a token of power. It is only natural that it should have been so regarded. When the Visigoths wrested it from Rome, the Roman dominance was broken in the Iberian peninsula. When it fell into Arab hands, its passing foreshadowed the fall of the Visigothic kingdom, and its recapture by the Christian powers of the peninsula ended Arab domination there. When it came into English hands, its fall seemed to mark the end of the greatness of Spain.

Even now there are millions who believe that if it slipped from England's grasp, its loss would mean the end of British empire everywhere. It is small wonder that the English have clung to it so tenaciously, or that the Spaniards have clung with equal tenacity to the hope of regaining it; for it is a symbol of sovereignty unmatched in the world.

It is something more than a symbol. For many centuries it was regarded as an impregnable fortress; and the fact that, despite its many sieges, it changed hands scarcely half a dozen times in fifteen hundred years, lent force to the tradition of its impregnability. In recent years its strength and its value have been questioned. Its geographical and strategic position is important; its mass impressive; its outline romantic; its guardianship of the harbor at its foot is of value. It is a more or less convenient stopping-place on the way to India. Since the building of the Suez Canal, it has become one of the chain of posts on that new route to the East. It still has considerable importance with relation to the Straits. It is a thorn in the side of any power which controls the adjacent portions of the Iberian peninsula. Yet it has been argued often in more recent years that its value in war, or even in commerce, is not of decisive importance. There are positions opposite it on the Straits, like Ceuta, which seem more useful and more defensible. There are harbors in the Mediterranean, like Port Mahon or Palma, which have been regarded as more valuable. There are naval bases, like Valetta, which have seemed to many more essential than that of Gibraltar. Yet Gibraltar remains, in one respect at least, the greatest of them all. It is one of those things in the world whose possession

may not be of supreme importance but whose loss would be incalculable; for it would be a blow to sentiment and prestige which few, if any, governments could survive. Whatever military experts and politicians may argue, to the world at large that loss would mean irreparable catastrophe. Nor is that sentiment confined to its English masters. For more than two centuries Gibraltar has been, in more senses than one, a matter of international interest; so that it is not surprising that, especially since the last great war, proposals have been made to turn that interest into fact.

And there is one thing more. Apart from its political, military and diplomatic importance, few areas of its size have ever enlisted the abilities of so many and such different kinds of men. Its fauna, its flora, its geology, its oceanography, its apes, its butterflies, its caves, its plagues and epidemics, have attracted the attention of scientists of all sorts. Its problems of housing, sanitation, education and convicts; its churches, cathedral, religious issues, even its cemetery, have been the concern of sociologists, engineers, educators and ecclesiastics. Its harbor, docks, banks, warehouses, piracy, tariff regulations and trade, have been the province of the whole world of commerce and finance. Its fortifications, its artillery, its garrison, its problems of defence, have absorbed the attention of military and naval experts and authorities. Even the sportsmen have had their say about the place.

But, naturally, most of all, its status as an international problem has been its chief distinction. Standing as it does at one of the great crossroads of the world, its very nicknames—the Gate, the Key, the Lock, the Keeper,

the Watchdog, the Guardian, the Sentinel of the Mediterranean—reveal the reasons for that long concern. It may be that the Rock is really none of these. It may be that the masters of the Mediterranean might not even hold the place—though were they the real masters of that sea, they doubtless would. But no expert advice, no argument, no military, naval, diplomatic, commercial or political reasoning can lessen the importance of Gibraltar in that popular opinion which, in the last resort, is the most powerful force in politics. It is a great, outstanding factor in the British Empire; and no discussion of that wide subject, of naval power, or even of international problems, can ignore that little area. It is more than a great natural phenomenon, more than a fortress or a naval base, it is a symbol of sovereignty.

It has not always borne such an international character. Before the capture of the Rock by the English in 1704, it played no part in international affairs or their discussion. Thereafter, for nearly a century, it was a focal point of war and diplomacy, a burning issue of eighteenth century international affairs. During the past century and a half, thanks to the naval strength of Great Britain and her declaration that her possession of the place could form no part of any diplomatic discussion, it seemed to disappear from politics. It finds small mention or none in the despatches and memoirs of statesmen and diplomats. It has been the subject of few negotiations, save as they related to matters not connected with her title to the Rock. Yet the question remained, and still remains, not far beneath the surface of affairs. From time to time it has been the basis of discussion in the press of at least three European countries, of popular agitation, and, if one

may judge from certain indications, even of diplomatic "conversations" in the years before and during the last war.

In view of this, it is of interest to consider the history of the place in previous centuries; for that history has parallels and lessons of importance to the problems which Gibraltar presents to warfare and diplomacy even in our day.

It is not necessary to rehearse its older history. For six hundred years it was in Arab hands; then for a century and a half it was contended for between the Moorish and the Christian powers. It endured ten sieges in that period; and not until the middle of the fifteenth century did it come finally into Spanish hands. At the beginning of the sixteenth century it became a crown possession. It was fortified till it was deemed impregnable. It beat off attacks of the Algerian pirates; it overawed the Straits; and for a century and a half it stood all but unthreatened as the guardian of Spain against her enemies.

It might be supposed that with the decline of Spanish power and the rise of England as a colonizing and commercial state in the century following the Armada, especially with the development of English commerce in the Mediterranean, English thoughts would have turned toward a fortress and a harbor so well suited to their purposes as Gibraltar. It would have been a threat to England's enemy, Spain; and, more important still, to those Algerian pirates concerning whose depredations the English merchants were so vocal in complaint. Yet for many years that did not seem the case, nor is the reason far to seek. James I was anxious to be at peace with Spain; Charles I had troubles nearer home; and it is

notable that the great naval strategist of the time, Sir William Monson, in all his numerous and varied plans and projects, makes no mention of any design for securing Gibraltar as a naval base.

The issue was first raised in Cromwell's time, and, curiously enough, almost at the same moment by the Protector and Montague, his "general at sea." Writing to Montague and Blake on April 28th, 1656, Cromwell notes among the possibilities of attacking Spain at "Pontall" or Cadiz, "Whether any other place be attemptable; especially that of the town and castle of Gibraltar, which, if possessed and made tenable by us, would it not be both an advantage to our trade and an annoyance to the Spaniard; and enable us, without keeping so great a fleet on that coast, with six nimble frigates lodged there to do the Spaniard more harm than by a fleet, and ease our charge?"

The same idea occurred almost simultaneously to Montague and his colleagues. "I perceive," he wrote in a letter of April 20–29, 1656, to the Protector, "much desire that Gibraltar should be taken." In words prophetic of the capture of the place fifty years later he adds, "My thoughts as to that are, in short, these: That the likliest way to get it is, by landing on the sand and quickly cutting it off between sea and sea, or so secure our men there as that they may hinder the intercourse of the Town with the Main; frigates lying near, too, to assist them:—and it is well known that Spain never victualleth any place for more than one month. This will want Four or Five thousand men, well formed and officered."

Were it not for the fact that the peculiar formation

of the rock fortress virtually forces a besieger to adopt such a design for attacking it, Montague's foreshadowing of the later operation would seem more remarkable. His plan came to nothing. The men and the supplies were not forthcoming, and Blake and Montague went on to overawe Algerian pirates and Italian coasts in pursuit of Cromwell's Protestant, commercial policy. It would appear that Montague's suggestion was not the only project for the capture of the place. In that same year of 1656 it was proposed to cut the Rock off from the mainland; and Samuel Pepys records in his *Naval Minutes* that either Sir Richard Haddock or Sir John Narborough once told him that "had not the ship which was sent by Oliver with spades and wheelbarrows been taken, he had certainly taken Gibraltar and made it an island."

Whatever the truth of that story, no attempt was made then or thereafter in the seventeenth century. With Cromwell's death the Anglo-Spanish rivalry virtually disappeared, and Pepys's silence as to Gibraltar is as significant as that of Monson earlier. With the marriage of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza, the possession of Tangier, which came as a part of her dowry, seems to have realized English ambitions for a port at the entry to the Mediterranean. Not until they came to blows again, in the War of the Spanish Succession, did the question of Gibraltar arise; and with that war it assumed the character which it has since maintained.

The capture of Gibraltar by the English in 1704, though its circumstances are well, even minutely, known, was not, as some continental writers have assumed, the result of carefully worked out, far-reaching plans. It was rather in the nature of an accident, an after-thought, or a

byproduct, of a larger design. So far from being due to deliberate purpose, it was accomplished, as it has been said of the conquest of India, "in a fit of absence of mind."

The story is simple, if romantic. In February, 1704, the English admiral, Sir George Rooke, was commissioned to carry to Lisbon the Hapsburg Archduke Charles, whose claims to the Spanish throne were supported by England as a member of the Grand Alliance against those of Louis XIV's grandson, Philip of Anjou. Besides this, it was suggested that Charles should land in Barcelona, whose inhabitants were reported to be favorable to his cause against the rest of Spain, then largely in Philip's hands. In consequence Rooke's fleet of some twenty-three ships carried some sixteen hundred Dutch and English soldiers or marines under Prince George of Hesse for land operations. On May 16th the fleet reached Barcelona to find that the steps taken for its defence made its capture by such a force out of the question. The marines were landed, but were re-embarked by Rooke, who, finding it impossible, as he hoped, to block the junction of the French fleet from Brest with the Toulon squadron, turned again toward Lisbon, having failed in both his enterprises. On the way he met Sir Cloudesley Shovell with another fleet sent out to reinforce him, and the force being thus increased to some fifty-nine vessels, English and Dutch, a council of war was held to determine what could be done with it.

Orders from home prevented an attempt to land on the Spanish coast without consent of Charles and the King of Portugal; and neither of these having at his command sufficient force for such an enterprise, three alternatives

presented themselves to the fleet's commanders. The first was to renew the attack on Barcelona; the second was to attempt Cadiz; the third was to prevent the French fleet under the Count of Toulouse from leaving Toulon and making an attack on the Italian coast. The first alternative was not considered feasible; the Archduke's plan to seize Cadiz seemed equally impracticable; and, fearing to return with no accomplishment, on July 17th a council of war determined to attempt the seizure of Gibraltar.

Accordingly, four days later, Rear-Admiral Byng appeared before that stronghold and was joined almost at once by Rooke with the main fleet. After a demand for surrender had been refused by the Spanish governor, the marines were landed, covered by the fleet; the ships were brought into position almost against the land; and the siege began. It lasted just two days, when the little garrison of five hundred men surrendered and marched out with honors of war. How slight the operation was may be determined by the fact that the loss of the besiegers was some sixty killed and two hundred wounded; how ill-prepared for such an enterprise the Spaniards were, one may judge by the fact of the size of the garrison and the feeble resistance. In such fashion was Montague's prevision justified, even to the question of supplies.

The place was not, however, won at such small cost. Within three weeks the French endeavored to cut off the English fleet and recover the stronghold. On August 13th a fierce but indecisive battle was fought between the French and English fleets. Each side drew off. The Rock remained in English hands; and their ships, returning to

Gibraltar, shot off most of the ammunition they had left to celebrate their retention of the place.

With this and Marlborough's victory of Blenheim, Great Britain reached the height of her successes in the war. But Spain did not easily accept the loss of her great fortress. In October, 1705, a force of French and Spaniards under the Marquis de Villadarias made a determined effort to retake the place. The siege which lasted until March of the following year was raised by the defeat of a French squadron by an English, Dutch and Portuguese force under Admiral Leake. No further effort to regain Gibraltar was made during the war; and when the Peace of Utrecht was drafted, despite the efforts of the Spanish diplomats, it left Gibraltar in English hands.

The treaty which confirmed it to them was signed on July 13th, 1713. It gave the Rock, the harbor and the town to England, reserving to Spain the territory round about. Free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion was guaranteed to the inhabitants; but Moors and Jews were denied the right of refuge in the place and stringent regulations were drawn up to prevent it being used as a center of smuggling into Spain. In that connection one curious article was inserted into the treaty. While ceding the town and castle to England, it provided that the English should have no jurisdiction over the import of goods. The meaning seems obscure, the possibilities of friction obvious; yet, for whatever reason, the strange provision seems never to have been a cause of disagreement between the powers concerned.

In such fashion Gibraltar came into English hands and began its long diplomatic history. That history was for many years in part bound up with the fortunes of the

Treaty of Utrecht; in part with the ambitions of the Spanish Bourbon king, Philip V, and his wife Elizabeth Farnese.

In spite of its renunciation of the place, the Spanish crown did not relinquish the hope of its recovery. From the moment that Philip V and his wife, "the termagant of Spain," ascended the throne, a determined effort began to revise the Treaty of Utrecht and restore Spain to something like her former positon in European politics. With this went the dynastic ambitions of the Italian princess to set her sons upon Italian thrones. With this went a design to make a breach between the great powers, find allies for Spain and even, if possible, overthrow George I and restore the Stuart heir, James III, with the aid of Sweden, Russia and Prussia, perhaps even France. Such was the grandiose project of the Spanish minister, Alberoni; and it was impossible that the recovery of Gibraltar should not form a part of his project.

To this, the foreign minister Stanhope and George I, with his eyes fixed on general European politics, and more especially on his own position in Great Britain and in Germany, seemed not wholly averse, provided the compensation was adequate. In 1718 the Spanish government approached Great Britain with a proposal to that effect. It was not discouraged, and Stanhope even seems to have suggested the matter in the Congress of Cambrai a year later. The French Regent, the Duke of Orleans, offered to mediate; but in spite of that—perhaps partly because of that—no English minister could be found who was brave, or rash, enough to bring the question before Parliament, and the matter dropped. Meanwhile Great Britain, Holland, France and the Empire signed the

Quadruple Alliance against the plans of Alberoni and Elizabeth Farnese. Upon that rock the ambitions of the minister were wrecked. The merest mention of the surrender of Gibraltar raised a storm of protest in England, and Philip withdrew his suggestion. The proposal to exchange the place for Florida seemed equally preposterous to Spain; and though George I wrote to Philip in 1721 offering his aid in the recession of the stronghold, nothing came of it.

Meanwhile Philip, who had fancied that his acquiescence in the signature of the Quadruple Alliance and his diplomacy would enable him to regain the place, refused to fulfill his obligations in the Treaty of Utrecht, especially his agreement to renew the license of the South Sea Company to trade with South America. A warning that the Marquis of Leda, under pretence of attacking Ceuta across the Straits, was contemplating an attempt on Gibraltar, foiled that design, if it ever existed, and for four years, despite the efforts of the Spanish government and George I's promises, nothing came of either.

In 1725 the matter took another turn. Then, as a result of Charles VI's efforts to secure the Hapsburg possessions to his daughter, Maria Theresa, by the so-called Pragmatic Sanction, he signed the Treaty of Vienna with Philip V. He agreed to recognize the reversion of the Italian duchies to Don Carlos, the son of Philip and Elizabeth, and to aid in the recovery of Gibraltar in return for Spain's support of the Pragmatic Sanction and the recognition of the imperial Ostend Company, by which his Belgian subjects prepared to challenge the long supremacy of the Dutch and English East India companies in Asia and Africa.

Against this Hapsburg-Bourbon alliance, Great Britain,

France and Prussia joined in the Treaty of Hanover; and as one of the results of this shifting of European alliances there came an attack on Gibraltar in February, 1727. Twenty thousand men under the Count de las Torres pressed the siege with more or less vigor, till peace negotiations began in the following June. The Treaty of Seville which resulted from those negotiations broke down the unnatural alliance of Hapsburg and Bourbon, and restored the old balance of power to something like its former status; while, incidentally, it gave what seemed a permanent guarantee to England's possession of Gibraltar.

The real guarantee of any such possession, however, then as now, lies in the ability to hold the place; in and this case the power of the British fleet and the determination of the people assured its grasp. The very suggestion of its re-cession produced a burst of protests from commercial and municipal bodies throughout Great Britain, and the question was ignored. Spain still retained its hopes, however, and where Alberoni and Ripperda had made it a matter of negotiation, Patiño, it is said, kept open on his desk a map of the place and its recovery remained a part of Spanish policy. By the Treaty of the Escurial in 1733 —which, like so many treaties, came to nothing—France even agreed to help Spain regain Gibraltar in return for Spain's abrogation of English trading privileges. Philip V, Elizabeth Farnese and their ministers disappeared from the European scene, the Treaty of Utrecht receded into relative obscurity, but the question of Gibraltar remained.

Yet when England and Spain drifted into war in 1739 its recovery seems to have played no part in Spanish plans, doubtless owing more to weakness than to lack of desire. It was not until the Seven Years' War broke out

that it once more took its place in naval and military operations. Then Byng abandoned Minorca to protect Gibraltar—and so found his way to his execution and Voltaire's epigram.

Its masters were not so strenuous to maintain their hold; and perhaps the most extraordinary episode in the diplomatic negotiations which centered in the English possession of the fortress was, strangely enough, in the time of Pitt. The campaign of the Duke of Cumberland on the continent in 1757 had been so unsuccessful that he had signed the Convention of Klosterzeven which virtually abandoned Hanover to the French and their allies. Byng had lost Minorca; and so low had English fortunes sunk in the minds of Pitt and his colleagues that on August 18th, 1757, they actually proposed to exchange Gibraltar for Minorca. The matter was kept secret and was proposed not for negotiation but for immediate acceptance. Whether the Spanish thought the recovery of Gibraltar was hopeless, or bought at too great a price; whether they feared that their argument with England would lead to war with France; or whether they believed that it might fall into their hands with the success of France and the decline of British power, the offer was rejected. Nothing came of the proposal save a violent protest in the form of addresses to the British crown from many quarters against its re-cession. When Great Britain and Spain went to war in 1762, the Spaniards made no effort to retake the place, again doubtless from weakness, and it played no part in the ensuing Treaty of Paris.

Not until the War of the American Revolution did it come again into the view of politics. In June, 1779, the Spanish government reached an arrangement with France

to take part in the war against Great Britain. Gibraltar was promptly blockaded and later in the year the siege began in form. This final, desperate effort to regain the place lasted until the signature of the preliminaries of the general peace in February, 1783. It was a notable event, properly reckoned among the great sieges of history, remarkable not only for its length but for the measures taken to capture the fortress. The extraordinary violence of the artillery fire was noted as being the heaviest, most sustained and vigorous known until that time; the floating batteries were the marvel of military and naval engineers; the tenacity of besiegers and besieged alike was remarked by all observers. The great siege failed. The fortress was relieved by British naval successes under Rodney; and it served only to demonstrate once more that so long as the defenders of the Rock could command the sea, the place was virtually impregnable.

But the gallant defence of the heroic garrison under command of General Sir George Augustus Eliott had one further result. It so increased the pride and interest of the English in their possession that, apart from other considerations, it made an end, once and for all, apparently, of all possibility of its ever being surrendered, short of national collapse. Though the Spaniards demanded it as a condition of signing the peace of 1788, the British commissioners declared that, being in their possession, it was not the subject of negotiation, and it was excluded from discussion and instrument alike.

That position has since been maintained, and in consequence the second chapter of Gibraltar's history was that of undisturbed possession. During the nineteenth century but one voice of any consequence in the

world of politics, that of Cobden, was raised in favor of abandoning it; and that was raised in vain. With England's acquisition of Malta in 1815, and, more especially of a controlling interest in the Suez Canal, its strategic position was strengthened. Almost alone of European territories, its very name virtually disappeared from negotiations for more than a century.

Yet though it has formed no part of practical politics for a hundred years and more; though it has found no mention in treaties, nor even in memoirs; Gibraltar has not lost its interest as an imperial, even an international, problem. Time after time—notably in 1863, 1882, 1915, 1918, 1923, and from 1924 to 1926—it was the subject of discussion in unofficial, semi-official, and, doubtless, even in official, circles. It has long been a land debatable in the controversies of military and naval experts and engineers. It has, above all, been a favorite topic of popular contributions to the arguments of empire, mastery of the sea, imperial defence, commerce and sovereignty. These arguments, like those of the experts, culminated in the years during and following the Boer War and the last European conflict.

But as a result of those events the arguments have been greatly modified. It is no longer possible to contend that the width of the Straits makes it impossible to command the entrance to the Mediterranean by artillery fire. It is no longer possible to argue, on the other hand, that Gibraltar is impregnable from the land side; for the improvement of artillery has changed the whole situation of affairs—and to this the development of aviation has added another element of uncertainty. The reconstruction of the harbor and works between 1905 and 1915

which involved huge expenditures and provided a harbor and a basin better suited to the needs of the port, though still not wholly satisfactory from a military standpoint—if anything ever is, or ever can be—have improved the position of Gibraltar as a port of call. What facilities as a coaling-station it is not able to provide, have been supplied by ports on the coast opposite. Its direct commercial value, like that of similar strongholds, is virtually negligible. It produces nothing of itself; it is dependent in large part even for its food upon supplies from England or adjacent and non-English territory; it is not a port of entry or export for the country behind it; and, so far from possibilities of expansion, it has always been one of the great problems of its administration to keep the population within the bounds of sanitary possibilities. Though a far more agreeable place of residence, it is not unlike Aden.

It is essentially a military post with military government; and its future, like its past, must depend upon that circumstance so long as it remains in English hands. Even so, its strength lies almost wholly in things outside itself. Its history during the past two centuries has demonstrated that, while it might hold out for a considerable time without naval support, its fate is sealed once that support is gone. Like many of its kind, it is part of a whole which is more than the sum of its parts. It is one of the important links of a great chain of such strongholds whose strength rests on that mastery of the sea, to which, in turn, possession of such posts is an essential part, especially in these days of coal and oil. On that depends the importance of Gibraltar, commercially, diplomatically, and, above all, in naval, imperial and international affairs.

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537 Abstract of accounts relating to commissaries upon foreign stations, viz. . . . Gibraltar, *etc.*

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538 Account of all sums which have been received into the commissariat chest, and which have been paid out of the same.

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539 Annual report on the convict establishments at Bermuda and Gibraltar.

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1877–9	1880	48	c. 2598
1878–9	1880	48	c. 2730
1879	1881	64	c. 2829
1879–80	1881	64	c. 3094
1879–81	1882	44	c. 3218
1881	1882	44	c. 3388
1880–82	1883	45	c. 3642
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1882–84	1884	54	c. 4193
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For 1885–86	in 1887	vol. 57,	no. c. 5239
1884–87	1888	72	c. 5249
1887–89	1889	54	c. 5620
1889	1890	48	c. 5897–20

545 Return of the names of all governors of the different colonies, stating their salaries, dates of appointments, and places of residence; and distinguishing those who have served in the army and navy.

1849	34	3	1862	36	475
1854	43	487	1864	40	561
1854–5	36	164	1867	49	575
1857	28	237	1867–8	48	4022
1860	45	569			

546 Statistical abstract for the several colonial and other possessions of the United Kingdom.

1870	71	469	1910	113	355
1880	83	140	1914	102	479
1889	89	354	1914–16	85	439
1904	112	368	1916	35	153
1911	104	351			

547 Statistical tables relating to the colonial and other possessions of the United Kingdom.

For 1850–4	in 1856	vol. 57,	no. 2127
1855	1857	40	2284–4
1856	1857–8	58	2441
1857	1859	31	2565
1858	1860	65	2741
1859	1861	61	2893
1860	1862	57	3065
1861	1863	69	3219
1862	1864	60	3396
1863	1866	73	3650
1864–5	1867	72	3879
1866	1867–8	71	4030
1867	1868–9	63	4194
1868–70	1874	70	c. 1038
1871–5	1878	78	c. 2029
1876–8	1881	94	c. 2867
1879–81	1884–5	83	c. 4519
1882–4	1888	105	c. 5508
1885–7	1890–1	90	c. 6449

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1900	1902	114	c. 1324
1901	1903	81	c. 1728
1902	1904	104	c. 2184
1903	1905	95	c. 2629
1904	1906	131	c. 3107
1905	1907	95	c. 3706
1906	1908	119	c. 4315
1907	1909	101	c. 4881
1908	1910	107	c. 5295
1909	1911	99	c. 5906
1910	1912	104	c. 6400
1911	1913	75	c. 7024
1912	1914–16	77	c. 7667

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548 Bordick, *Don* Diego. Proyecto ofensivo y defensivo para tomar á Gibraltar. (Archivo de Simancas.)

549 Bravo, Luis. Gibraltar fortificado por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor, D. Philippe III . . . año de 1627. (Brit. Mus.)

550 Cuestión política sobre si á la Inglaterra conviene restituir á España los puertos de Gibraltar y de Mahón. (Biblioteca Nacional.)

551 Diario del Campo de Gibraltar, desde la llegada del teniente General D. Martín Alvarez de Sotomayor, en 1° de Julio de 1779, hasta 11 de Febrero de 1783 en que se levantó el sitio por las tropas Españolas. (Brit. Mus.)

552 Diario del sitio de Gibraltar en 1727. (Biblioteca de Ingenieros.)

553 Diario del sitio de Gibraltar en 1779 y 1780. (Biblioteca de Ingenieros.)

554 Diario del sitio de Gibraltar por el Duque de Crillon desde el 31 de Diciembre de 1782 hasta el 31 de Marzo de 1783. (Biblioteca de Ingenieros.)

555 Extractos de *Le Courrier de l'Europe* sobre la destrución de las baterias flotantes por la artilleria de aquella plaza. (Brit. Mus.)

556 Fernández del Portillo, *Don* Alonso. Historia de . . . Gibraltar. 1600. (Biblioteca Nacional. Largely copied by Ayala, especially in the earlier part.)

557 Iglesia, *Don* Antonio. Historia militar de la plaza de Gibraltar. 1820. (Biblioteca de Ingenieros.)

558 Norris, John. Papers of Sir John Norris: 1711–1741, relating to the war with Spain. (Brit. Mus.)

559 Noticia de lo ocurrido en el campo di San Roque desde el día 12 de Junio al 2 de Julio de 1781. Idem desde el 3 de Julio de 1781 hasta el 2 Enero de 1782. Idem desde el 1 de Enero de 1782 hasta el 21 de Febrero. (Brit. Mus.)

560 Orden de batalla del ejército del Rey en el campo de Buenavista, debajo de Gibraltar, *etc.* (D. Manuel Rico y Sinobas.)

561 Papeles impresos y manuscritos y apuntamientos tocantes á la guerra de 1780 á 1782 contra Inglaterra. (Brit. Mus.)

562 Papeles militares sobre el sitio y bloqueo de Gibraltar.

563 Papeles y cartas del General Rainsford, relatives á Gibraltar, desde 1757 hasta 1760 y desde 1762 hasta 1769. (Brit. Mus.)

564 Plan de ataque á la plaza y peñón de Gibraltar con navíos marchantes de 64 cañones transformados en baterías flotantes incombustibles é insumergibles. (D. Manuel Rico y Sinobas.)

565 Plano, perfil y elevacíon de las lanchas coñoneras construidas bajo la dirección del jefe de escuadra D. Antonio Barceló, durante el bloqueo de la plaza de Gibraltar, año de 1780.

566 Plaza de armas de San Carlos (porte de Gibraltar, 1782). (D. Manuel Rico y Sinobas.)

567 Protesta que hicieron los ingenieros directores del ataque de Gibraltar . . . 1727. (Biblioteca de Ingenieros.)

568 Reason why we ought not on any account to part with Gibraltar. (Bibl. del General Marques de San Roman.)

569 Romero, Juan. History of Gibraltar.

570 Trincheras frente de Gibraltar, 1779–1783.

571 Verbon, *Don* José Próspero. Descripción del sitio donde se hallan los vestigos de las antiguas y célebres cuidades de las Algeciras, la de sus contornos y bahía de Gibraltar: en que se hace relación de la consistencia de su fortaleza y población en los pasados siglos, y de algunos asedios que en varias ocasiones tuviera, y la causa de su destrucción, según se ha podido investigar. 1726.

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