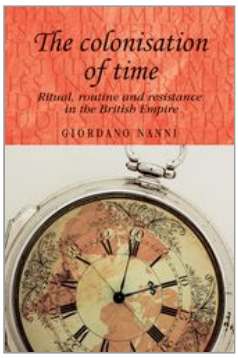


The Colonisation of Time: Ritual, Routine and Resistance in the British Empire
Giordano Nanni

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# Introduction

Giordano Nanni

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## [–] Abstract and Keywords

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Much of the world today is governed by the clock. Its presence is so often taken for granted and its internationally spoken language of hours, minutes and seconds has become so familiar that an alternative consciousness of time seems scarcely conceivable. And yet, not so long ago, clock-time represented but one of the countless vernaculars devised by humans as a means of expressing the concept of time. Clocks, it is often forgotten, do not keep *the* time, but *a* time.

The phenomenon has not gone unnoticed. Since the mid-twentieth century scholars have investigated in ever greater detail the various factors – from the monastery to the railway – which have shaped the distinctive, dominant perception of time in Western society and the rituals and routines it now performs, quite literally, around the clock. But the manner in which 'the *rest*' of the world came to share the 'West's' dominant view of time has received much less attention. Who were the first emissaries of the culture of the clock to clock-less societies? What inspired their visions of a world marching to the beat of a single drum? And, most importantly, by what means did they gain a following? Whilst we have attained some measure of knowledge regarding the role of time as the location of power and struggle within western European societies, we have not benefited as much from an understanding of its extension to other parts of the world.

Such a path of enquiry leads us back to the period of nineteenth-century European colonial expansion, during which projects to eliminate, subsume and reform – and thus in effect 'colonise' – alternative cultures of time were first deployed by European societies as a means of establishing control over other lands and peoples. From a practical perspective, there is little doubt that the globally interconnected society to which colonialism gave rise by the end of the nineteenth century necessitated a common discourse of time – a temporal *lingua franca*. 'If time is to be shared as an intersubjective social reality', claims sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel, 'it ought to be standardized'.[1] For if people 'had no homogeneous concept of time, space, causality, **(p.2)** number, and so on', as Émile Durkheim commented at the start of the twentieth century, 'then any agreement between minds, and therefore all common life, would become impossible'.[2] If this is so, then any nascent global society must inevitably ask itself the following question: whose definition of time should provide the standard whereby all others can share in this 'intersubjective social reality'?

The most unequivocal answer to this question, from an occidocentric perspective, came in 1884 with the official deployment of Greenwich Mean Time (GMT) – the corollary of Western, temporal imperialism – which at the height of the colonial era effectively sought to replace the miscellany of 'local times' around the world with a single, centralised and standardised notion of – rather aptly named – 'mean time'.[3] Computed and calculated at the geographic heart of imperial London where the world's most accurate clocks ticked-off the hours, GMT is a clear sign, and a daily reminder, that European global expansion in commerce, transport and communication was paralleled by, and premised upon, control over the manner in which societies abroad related to time. The project to incorporate the globe within a matrix of hours, minutes and seconds demands recognition as one of the most significant manifestations of Europe's universalising will.

As the imagery suggests, the conquests of space and time are intimately connected. European territorial expansion has always been closely linked to, and frequently propelled by, the geographic extension of its clocks and calendars. From as early as the fifteenth century, through the search for an exact spatio-temporal method for calculating longitudinal positions at sea, the science of horology was instrumental in the exploration and charting of oceans and in the

‘discovery’ of the so-called New World. The invention of the mechanical clock towards the end of the Middle Ages, historian David Landes maintains, was one of the technological advances that ‘turned Europe from a weak, peripheral, and highly vulnerable outpost of Mediterranean civilization into a hegemonic aggressor’; and which ‘made possible, for better or for worse, a civilisation attentive to the passage of time, hence to productivity and performance’.[4]

But the story of Europe's rise to global temporal dominance is not exclusively – as many traditional histories of Western time have implied – about the technological advances of indefatigable clockmakers. Deep ideological currents were also at play: the widespread belief that non-European societies were somehow ‘not attentive enough’ to the passage of time, for instance, functioned as a powerful legitimising discourse for colonial and missionary projects and therefore European hegemony. Indeed, whilst societies the world over were just as attentive to time (to the notions of time and productivity that mattered to **(p.3)** them), it was partly by *imagining* itself as a time-conscious civilisation in opposition to a timeless Other, that western Europe staked its claim to universal definitions of time, regularity, order; hence also to definitions of knowledge, religion, science, etc. In a very real sense, this temporal hubris, together with the mathematically abstracted idea of time which was distilled into the mechanical clock, created the necessary culture of time for building empires.

On the other hand, the path towards global temporal standardisation was not paved solely through global events and grandiloquent gestures of imperialism, such as the proclamation of GMT. The process also entailed a series of worldwide, localised assaults on alternative cultures of time, whose perceived ‘irregularity’ threatened the colonisers' dominant notions of order with conflicting attitudes towards life, time, work, order and productivity. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler note that ‘social transformations are a product of both global patterns and local struggles’ – while Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff describe ‘the colonial encounter’ as being ‘first and foremost an epic of the ordinary’.[5] It is with these local, everyday struggles that this book is primarily concerned; for here – particularly during the course of the evangelisation, education and employment of colonised peoples – Christianising and ‘civilising’ entailed imposing the temporal rituals and routines of the dominant society, whilst disempowering, subsuming and reforming competing modes of temporal practice and perception.

As we will see, it was partly by interrupting the cycles of Indigenous and local seasons and calendars, and replacing them with the colonisers' rituals and routines, along with a new calendar for counting the days, months and years, that heathens were visibly Christianised, and that idle hands were put to productive work. Missionaries, settlers and colonial officials adopted different means, while also pursuing different ends in their attempt to reform the world and its inhabitants. But whether it was a case of securing regular and disciplined labourers for farms, mines and plantations, legitimating the dispossession and displacement of nomadic populations, or advancing ‘savages’ along the scale of civilisation or securing souls for the kingdom of heaven, all such projects relied on forms of temporal conversion and the establishment of a specific language and consciousness of time. In assuming the authority to determine when other societies could work, rest and play, the emissaries of the clock worked daily, and hourly, in their quests to bring about a sense of worldwide ‘order’, by exporting their ways of structuring the flow of time to distant lands, and by preaching to their inhabitants new ways of thinking about what time itself is. Such efforts were driven by significant cultural, as well as concrete **(p.4)** economic, imperatives. Without a shared sense of time, there could be only a limited degree of communication and exchange of commodities in the rapidly-expanding networks of capitalism and Christianity – no synchronisation of labour rhythms and meshing of industrial timetables; no

sense of uniting all the world's peoples under one God. At the most fundamental level, therefore, time was both a tool and a channel for the incorporation of human subjects within the colonisers' master narrative; for conscripting human subjects within the matrix of the capitalist economy, and ushering ‘savages’ and superstitious ‘heathens’ into an age of modernity.

For colonised societies, the overall process entailed nothing less than a series of cultural curfews and a collective reorientation in the understanding of what constituted the permissible time for each and every activity, even including movement across the land. Despite all this, however, we will see that the colonisation of time did not go uncontested on the ground. Even though imperial fictions such as GMT could be imposed, with the stroke of a pen from the top-down, attempts to institute a new rhythm of life and a new consciousness of time among colonised societies were consistently challenged – or appropriated, and often repeatedly thwarted – before the clock succeeded in attaining a measure of dominance. And even then, colonial timetables, rituals, clocks and bells always remained prone to their observers' tardiness, sluggishness, dissent, defiance, resistance and procrastinations. From the outset, the ‘colonised’ shaped the new tempo of colonial society – whether by flouting the missionaries' Sabbath, by negotiating compromises between new and old rituals or by exploiting the temporal discourses of their self-styled reformers to their own advantage. The history which is recounted in this book is not about the imposition of one culture's temporality over another, therefore, but about the everyday struggles and negotiations which occurred during the colonial encounter as regards the dominant perception of time in society.

Just as the history of colonialism is often written without much reference to time, the history of time is frequently narrated without due reference to colonialism. By bringing the two subjects together, therefore, this book aims at a twofold objective. In the first place, it seeks to add new depth to our understanding of imperial power and of the ways in which such power was exercised and limited. Given that colonialism is generally conceived of primarily, and sometimes solely, as a spatial project, recovering its temporal facet provides an additional dimension through which to better understand this phenomenon and its ongoing cultural legacies. Acknowledging and extending the invaluable work of various scholars which has preceded it,[6] this book **(p.5)** seeks to revitalise and refine the enquiry into time and colonisation. Rather than focusing on a single location, moreover, it explores the relationship between temporal discourse, power and resistance across two British settler-colonies – Victoria (Australia) and the Cape Colony (South Africa) – in order to illustrate how ‘the colonisation of time’, whilst tending towards global centralisation and uniformity, unfolded in ways which varied in response to localised objectives, challenges and circumstances.

On a secondary level, this book emphasises the centrality of empire within the history of Western time. All too often, as noted, the history of Western time has been narrated without reference to European colonialism, seemingly oblivious to the extent to which these two subjects are imbricated.[7] And yet, from 1492, these narratives should be regarded as virtually inseparable; for the global expansion of western Europe's clocks was often explicitly contingent, as we will see, on the interruption, elimination and reform of ‘other’ cultures of time. This represents a central, oft-forgotten chapter in the making of the global temporal order which today we find in full bloom.

## Time, Culture and Identity

‘What is time?’

In contrast to investigations which seek to understand what time *is*, this study is concerned primarily with the manner in which time has been constructed and understood, with the meanings and values that have been attached to it, and with the ways in which these have operated as a means of crafting identities and civilities. St Augustine's ancient question – 'what is time?' – need not worry us excessively therefore. For, after all, the ways in which time is imagined, from the idea of a flowing river to concepts of its loss and redemption, may well be the only way in which time exists at all. 'Time is nothing', Immanuel Kant wrote in his *Critique of Pure Reason*, 'but the form of inner sense, that is, of the intuition of ourselves and of our inner state.'[8] The same might be said of the temporal artefacts – from sundials to digital wristwatches – which humans have devised and adopted over the ages to express and communicate the idea of time. Often perceived as time *per se*, these too are merely avatars of 'time' – material embodiments of the time-consciousness of the societies that created them. ('Because our inner intuition yields no shape', Kant suggests, 'we endeavour to make up for this want by analogies.')

One of the most recognised 'analogies' of time today is, of course, the clock. Designed and corresponding to the laws of classical mechanics **(p.6)** , its internal cogs, levers and springs are a fitting incarnation of Isaac Newton's theoretical projection of an 'absolute, true and mathematical time [which] flows equably without regard to anything external'.[9]('A clock' as Norman Mailer proposed, 'is a philosophical fiction among men'.[10]) But not all embodiments of time are of the material and mechanical sort. Rituals, whether sacred or mundane, are another manifestation of a collective time sense, and are particularly relevant to this study given that their function is to reaffirm and renew the shared sentiments of 'order' upon which all human societies depend.[11] Consider the example of the seven-day week, a ritual which silently affirms and reactualises the underlying master narrative of Judeo-Christian mythology ('And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it: because that in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made' Genesis 2:3), whilst synchronising the rhythms of capital and labour. As the word itself implies, rituals (from the Proto-Indo-European base *re(i)* -'to count, number') rely on a common understanding of time and regularity. This is why temporal exactitude is an important dimension of life, not just in Western, industrial-capitalist culture, but in all cultures; for punctuality effectively embodies the site of authority that ensures a collective sense of social regularity and wellbeing.

This book is accordingly based on two key premises; firstly: that time, being above all an idea, is embodied in the various rituals, routines, calendars, discourses and devices which provide a sense of regularity and rhythm and which orientate human collectives towards an accepted source of temporal authority, whether they be the celestial motions of the stars or the mechanical ticking of clocks. Secondly, that the experience of time is a human universal – one that all societies share in common – but the ways in which that experience is measured, perceived and conceptualised can vary widely from culture to culture.[12] ('Times are not the same; only clock times are all the same'.[13]) This explains why the meanings of notions such as 'punctuality', 'regularity' and 'order' can differ considerably from culture to culture; and in fact, also within cultures, since every society contains values and standards of time that differ from dominant understandings.[14]

Despite the chimerical nature of time itself, notions about how it should be kept, counted, patterned, measured and communicated have long had a very real and concrete impact on humanity. Rituals and calendars, for example, have helped to define and separate entire nations and religions. Consider the example of the seven-day week and how the early Christians sought to distinguish themselves from the Jews by celebrating the Sabbath on Sunday rather than

Saturday; how Muslims chose Friday as their gathering day to differentiate themselves from **(p.7)** both; and how French revolutionaries attempted to secularise time altogether by abolishing the seven-day week and the Sabbath, *tout court*. Time, clearly, is both cultural *and* political.

As this suggests, the ways in which time is embodied and ritualised in society are a powerful determining factor in the construction of collective identities. In Zerubavel's words: 'a temporal pattern that is unique to a group contributes to the establishment of social boundaries that distinguish as well as actually separate group members from "outsiders"'.[15] Of course, the opposite also holds true: rituals can operate as mechanisms of inclusion and assimilation when used to absorb 'outsiders' within the temporal culture of the dominant society. An apt illustration of this phenomenon, and one that will be examined closely throughout this book, is the case of the zealous missionaries who traversed the British Empire preaching the gospel of the seven-day week – a ritual that was unique to Europeans in the colonies, where, as we will see, the act of Christianising and civilising 'heathens' entailed, as a first step, the conscripting of 'outsiders' within a group that distinguished itself by its practice of ordering the days in groups of seven. But we will return to missionaries later on.

Given that time is a key marker of identity it is not surprising that humans have shown a keen interest in how other cultures 'keep' theirs. Such concern stems from the fact that time is often treated – like other universal categories of perception – as a mirror wherein we presume to see reflected key aspects of another culture's values and beliefs. ('Time', as anthropologist Johannes Fabian observes, 'is a carrier of significance, a form through which we define the content of relations between the Self and the Other'.[16]) Time's mirrored image, however, is often lost in translation given that its meaning is interpreted according to a different set of values and beliefs about what makes time 'temporal'. Under such conditions, time can easily become a node of conflict and misunderstanding, particularly when a perceived absence of 'punctuality' and 'regularity' is associated with a lack of knowledge, respect and entitlement – as was often the case during colonial encounters.

Throughout this book we will in fact see how the rhythms and rituals which provided local populations around the world with a sense of social order and regularity were interpreted by Europeans through the culturally convex lenses of colonial discourse in altogether opposite terms – as irregularity, capriciousness, aimlessness and superstition. 'The relative absence of specialised timekeeping technology', as Carol Greenhouse points out, 'does not in itself mean that time is of no interest or concern.'[17] Yet it was on this very count that colonial discourse portrayed non-European temporalities as primitive, irrational and heathen – a perception which was exacerbated by the **(p.8)** apparent absence of an abstract language of time (years, weeks, hours, minutes) which, to the exclusion of all other units, constituted *the* time. 'The Hottentot has a constitutional inability to compute time', a popular natural-history book – *The Uncivilized Races of Men in All Countries of the World* – informed British readers in 1878. 'A travellercan never discover the age of a Hottentot,' the book claimed, 'partly because the man himself has not the least notion of his age, or indeed of annual computation at all, and partly because a Hottentot looks as old at thirty-five as at sixty-five.'[18] By way of a similar line of reasoning, British missionaries in the colonies interpreted the absence of the seven-day week and a sacred day of rest among Indigenous populations as evidence of their state of sin and superstition, and their ignorance of true religion.

Thus, in order to understand the temporal standards by which nineteenth-century Europeans came to measure and judge the validity of ‘other’ cultures, we will require an understanding of the colonisers' own temporal culture. With this in mind, Chapter 1 sets out to provide a broad historical introduction to the socially dominant time-consciousness of nineteenth-century Britain. Whilst covering familiar ground for the reader who might already be acquainted with the existing historiography on this topic, this chapter emphasises the extent to which British identities and civilities came to be defined to a significant extent by certain rituals, routines and attitudes towards time. In the British metropolis, as we will see, obedience to the clock, a strict respect for the Sabbath ritual and the principles of time-thrift came to be correlated with dominant ideas of morality, foresight and discipline – in short, with middle-class, Protestant notions of ‘civilisation’ – whilst deviations from the dominant understandings of ‘regularity’ and thus ‘normality’ came to be associated with symptoms of sin, vice and degeneracy. Since representations of societies as lacking in an adequate degree of reverence for time came to function as a means of expressing their inferiority, discourse of temporal *absence* and *lack* permeated bourgeois perceptions of working-class temporalities in much the same way as they featured in colonial portrayals of African and Aboriginal attitudes towards time. As this suggests, the correlation between civilisation and correct notions of time was also a product of the colonial encounter, which brought Europeans into contact with different temporal cultures against which they could define their own identities and civilities. Reverberating between colony and metropole, therefore, discourses of time were central to the process of defining and maintaining nineteenth-century British notions of identity, religion, class and – ultimately – civilisation.

## **(p.9)** Time and the irregular Other

Accusations of ‘irregularity’, abundant in colonial representations of Indigenous societies, suggest that conceptualisations of the Other were often framed within discourses of temporal aberrance. Of course, ‘irregularity’ only makes sense in relation to its opposite (‘regularity’, ‘uniformity’, ‘order’), of which the exemplars in nineteenth-century colonial discourse generally were: the mechanical tempo of a functioning clock, the astronomical logic of the Christian calendar and the biblical authority of the seven-day week. The opposition between ‘regularity’ and ‘irregularity’ is one example among several temporal dichotomies prevalent in colonial discourse which, combined, formed a familiar pattern of cultural negations and of positive versus negative attributes, the whole versus the incomplete, the human versus the savage, and ultimately, the Saved versus the Fallen. The following paradigm outlines some of the time-related dichotomies of colonial discourse which this book explores:

| The Self | is to | the Other |
|---|---|---|
| as Time | is to | Time-less |
| as Regular | is to | Irregular |
| as Uniform | is to | Erratic |
| as Rational | is to | Irrational |
| as Modern | is to | Primitive |
| as Christian | is to | Heathen |
| as Knowledge | is to | Superstition |
| as Human | is to | Nature/the savage |

As we will see in Chapters 2 and 4 – devoted to the British settler-colonies of Victoria and the Cape, respectively – the notion of the ‘savage’ was constructed partly upon the belief that to be ‘human’ entailed separating man's rituals and routines from the rhythms and cycles of nature. According to a similar logic, settlers' work and Christians' devotions were to a great extent set apart from the labour and lore of ‘savages’ and ‘heathens’ through the logic that ordered their rhythms: the former were idealised as uniform, regular and continuous; the latter as nature-oriented; and hence irregular, irrational and superstitious. Thus, portrayals of Indigenous populations as lacking, to varying degrees, the qualities of order and regularity and as ignorant of time, both as a measure of duration and as an object of value, helped **(p.10)** construct an irregular Other against which Europeans could identify – invariably to their own advantage.

Here the book's approach is clearly indebted to Edward Said's deconstruction of otherness in his seminal text, *Orientalism* (1978), which has shown how images of the ‘Other’, in Said's words, ‘help the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatizing the distance and difference between what is close to it and what is far away’.[19] By way of comparison with other temporalities, colonists were able to craft and maintain their own sense of who they were. Whether British or Dutch, men or women, of working-class or bourgeois stock, the perception of the ‘timeless’ Other helped define their own civilities in relative terms of regularity, productiveness, modernity, etc. Time thus contributed to the construction of an evolutionarily distant ‘Other’; for the gulf between the mechanical rationality of clocks and the nature-oriented calendars of Indigenous societies was perceived to be as vast as the epochs separating the Stone Age from the steam-engine. Europeans indeed came to associate a failure to keep time with an inability to keep up *with* time.

Representations of non-European people as lacking suitable practices and perceptions of time contributed to the establishment of the nascent nineteenth-century discipline of anthropology as ‘a science of other men in another Time’.[20] Societies which became the objects of enquiry in the proto-anthropologies of European explorers, travellers and missionaries were depicted as belonging not so much to the present, of which Europe was sole denizen, as to a previous stage of development through which Europe had already passed. This ‘denial of coevalness’ – a term coined by Johannes Fabian in his seminal critique of contemporary anthropology, *Time and the Other* (1983) – was a means for Europe to reserve for itself terms such as ‘modern’ and ‘progressed’, allowing it to depict other societies as being in an embryonic, or immature, state of development, rather than as fully-fledged cultural systems in their own right. As we will see in Chapters 2 and 4, the perception that African and Aboriginal societies had failed to ‘keep’ time by mastering the science and language of abstract time-reckoning, contributed to their denial of coevalness and subsequent portrayal as ‘primitive’ and pre-modern. Lucien Lévy-Bruhl provided an early-twentieth-century example with his claim that ‘the primitive's idea of time, which above all is qualitative, remains vague; and nearly all primitive languages are … deficient in methods of rendering the relations of time’.[21]

But such discourses were circulating even before anthropology had established itself as a formal discipline. The idea of evolutionary time flowing along a single, unidirectional line (a trope already prevalent in **(p.11)** biblical time-consciousness) was channelled and popularised through British society thanks to the theories of progress and evolution developed by eighteenth-century Enlightenment *philosophes*. Thus, according to the evolutionist theories popularised by Turgot, Adam Smith and other stadial theorists, all societies necessarily progressed through determined stages of economic and social development, each with greater divisions of labour and more complex social organisation: first, the Age of Hunters; second, the

Age of Shepherds; third, the Age of Agriculture; and fourth, the Age of Commerce.[22] According to this world-view, Australia's Aborigines belonged to the first age and were thus classed as belonging to the distant, and thus most primitive, past. The mixed farmer-agricultural Xhosa-speaking peoples of the Cape Colony, on the other hand, who had 'progressed' on this fictive timeline to the 'Age of Agriculture', were understood as belonging to a more recent period of evolution, and thus a higher level of civilisation – though still distinctly pre-modern in relation to industrialised Europe. Naturally, according to the proponents of the stadial theories, the fourth stage of progress against which all other societies were measured, was exemplified by contemporary bourgeois Europe. (We still hear distinct echoes of this evolutionist world-view today when people talk of the 'developed' and the 'developing' world.)

Enlightenment ideas about progress and evolution underpinned notions of human perfectibility by characterising the growth of civilisation as advancement through time: a conquest of time itself. Civilisation and modernity could be understood in terms of a society's ability to husband, harness and cultivate not only animals and plants but also the resource of time. Since time was a marker of civilisation, certain societies were seen to possess a more developed sensibility towards it than others – i.e.: one that resembled that of its European advocates more closely. Thus, Europeans were better able to recognise evidence of a 'developed' time-consciousness in those societies oriented around pastoral and agricultural economies and their relative calendars. This is because, as William Grossin notes, 'there is a correspondence, a correlation between the economy of a society, the way on which labour is organized, the means used for the production of its goods and services and the representation of time in the collective consciousness'.[23] In societies that did not measure and 'keep' time, however, Europeans perceived a kind of *status naturae* as prevailing, since the degree of separation of human-time from nature's time operated as a measure of a society's progress in the quest to transcend natural limitations. Hunter-gatherer rituals and nomadic lifestyles were labelled as primitive and savage partly because they were seen as being guided not by a rational, linear and man-made calendar and clock but by 'unpredictable' **(p.12)** and 'irregular' cues dictated by the natural environment: the rising of a specific star, the phases of the moon or the seasonal appearance of flora and fauna. ('Primitive man', an early anthropologist wrote, 'rises and goes to bed with the sun.'[24]) A distinctly European epistemology determined what counted as true and false time. According to this world view, the hunter-gatherer did not keep time at all; nature did – 'the savage' merely followed.

In colonial discourse, the ways in which non-European societies related to time became a measure of their humanity as well as their morality and civility. The Western humanist conception of time is aptly conveyed in the workings of the clock and the seven-day week – two quintessentially man-made inventions whose claim to superiority in their colonial observers' eyes, was their apparent abstraction and separation from the rhythms of nature. Consider how the clock acts as an intermediary between humans and nature in the computation of time: emulating the sun's diurnal passage across the sky, it communes with the human subject through a man-made interface, the *dial* - from the Latin *dies*, 'day' – a *memento* of nature which digital clocks abandoned entirely through the adoption of ciphers in the twentieth-century. In a similar vein – and despite its apparent, natural inevitability, as Zerubavel points out – the seven-day week is 'totally oblivious to nature, resting on mathematical regularity alone', an artificial unit of time which conveniently fills the gap between natural lunar-months and solar-days.[25] In the colonies, as we will see, the idea of the clock's civility and of the Sabbath's sacredness were forged in opposition to the 'savagery' and 'sin' of those societies whose rituals and routines were determined solely by nature's time.

These are some of the key themes explored in Chapters 2 and 4, which examine the manner in which colonial perceptions of 'Aboriginal time' and 'African time' shaped Europeans' attitudes to the societies they encountered in Australia and southern Africa, respectively. Drawing upon nineteenth-century discourses of race, human nature, modernity and civilisation, they explore how representations of supposedly anomalous attitudes to time across colonial locations helped to define and maintain a sense of the 'otherness' of Indigenous societies, whilst helping to forge a trans-colonial discourse of civilisation, Christianity and modernity. In turn, these chapters suggest some of the ways in which such representations advanced settler-colonial projects and missionary agendas by undermining the validity of 'alternative' temporalities. As we will see, discourses of 'Aboriginal time' and 'African time' would benefit their advocates by justifying the need to 'civilise the natives', whilst at the same time legitimising their dispossession.

However, it is important to note that neither chapter seeks to offer **(p.13)** an anthropological commentary on Indigenous knowledge systems; the object is rather to understand how Europeans themselves viewed Indigenous temporalities. After all, colonisers were bent on reforming what they themselves had construed as 'Aboriginal time' and 'African time'.

## Settler-colonisation: time, land and labour

Time is a dimension through which the fundamental tenets of a culture are learnt, disseminated and held to be true. As such it provided one of the key standards of knowledge and models of behaviour against which Europeans sought to reform their Others in the colonies – operating simultaneously as a category for establishing the cultural and racial inferiority of local populations and as a channel for reforming the latter into so-called modern, civilised and Christian subjects. Accordingly, whilst the first part of each case-study in this book deals with the 'othering' process produced by discourses of time, the second part goes on to consider time's role as a tool of colonial reform.

The colonisation of time, however, was not a uniform or homogeneous process; for the ways in which European agents sought to reform alternative temporal cultures in the two British colonies under consideration – the Cape Colony and Victoria – was determined to a significant extent by the structural relationship which framed the colonial encounter in each setting. It is important to note from the outset therefore that Britain's colonies in Australia – like others in Canada and New Zealand (and, to some extent, South Africa and the United States) – were characteristic of a particular colonial formation: that of settler-colonialism. As distinct from franchise colonial formations (e.g. India and the Dutch East Indies) and colonies based on chattel-slavery (e.g. the West Indies), where the relationship between colonisers and colonised was centered primarily on labour, the economic interest in settler-colonies was vested primarily in the *land*.[26] Settlers, as the word implies, had come to stay. This is not to imply that Indigenous labour was superfluous in these places. As we will see, Aboriginal labour was valued in Victoria on a seasonal basis, while the demand for African labour in the Cape Colony by far exceeded the supply. Nevertheless, in purely structural terms, the relationship between colonisers and colonised in both settings was centered primarily on the land. The primary logic of settler-colonisation, as historian Patrick Wolfe maintains, can therefore be characterised as one of 'elimination': settler-colonialism seeks to replace 'the natives' physically on their land.[27]

Chapter 3 examines how the colonial curtailment of Aboriginal **(p.14)** temporalities complemented this logic of elimination by helping to contain, absorb and effectively remove an Indigenous presence in the colony of Victoria. As Deborah Bird Rose points out, all the 'native' had to do to get in the way of settler colonisation was to stay at home.[28] To a very real extent,

however, it was the rhythmical itinerancy of Aboriginal life which also defined ‘home’ and thus ‘got in the way’ of settler interests. Aboriginal migrations – guided as they were by seasonal rhythms which determined the availability of flora and fauna – implied a notion of ‘home’ that was defined temporally as well as spatially. Thus the sedentary logic of settler-colonisation, implicit in the very notion of ‘settling’ in a land, and the relatively perpetual movement that hunter-gatherers considered as the norm, placed the rhythms of these two civilisations onto a direct collision course. Colonisation was about temporal, as well as spatial, invasion and displacement.

Towards the second half of the nineteenth-century, when mission stations and government reserves were established to contain and control the surviving Aboriginal population of Victoria, missionaries and colonial authorities certainly emphasised the importance of reforming ‘Aboriginal time’ within the context of philanthropy. However, as Aboriginal labour was generally superfluous to colonial interests other than for seasonal demands, justifying their dispossession as a primitive culture characterised the primary function of temporal discourse in Victoria; whilst subsuming the presence of Aboriginal people within the colonisers' temporal landscape contributed to rendering the previous occupants of the land less visible within colonial space. In the institutionalised environment of the mission station, time served this agenda well: the calendars and schedules of pastoralism and agriculture were enforced, displacing the seasons of the hunter-gatherer economy; Sabbaths, Christmases, and Easters interrupted the regular flow of the rituals and routines which had renewed and reaffirmed Aboriginal family and kinship bonds; bells and seven-day weeks imposed curfews on, and boundaries between, work-time and leisure-time, which relegated Aboriginal modes of production to the status of pastimes. The overall process complemented the logic of elimination that underpinned settler-colonisation by suppressing and subsuming the vestiges of rituals and temporalities that confirmed the existence of a sovereign Indigenous presence – a presence which itself embodied a direct threat to the newcomers' claims of exclusive sovereignty over the land.

Whereas Victoria witnessed the frontier spreading swiftly across the land as settlers soon outnumbered the Indigenous population, the Cape Colony experienced a very different scenario. There the advancement of settlement was much slower – particularly on the eastern frontier, where Europeans would always be vastly outnumbered by African **(p.15)** populations. Unlike their counterparts in Victoria who were quickly immured by the settlers' landed interests, British missionaries at the Cape effectively became the cultural vanguards of settler-colonisation, often operating well beyond the colonial frontier, surrounded by the people they aimed to evangelise and reform. Chapter 5 illustrates how, in these circumstances, time played a different but nevertheless crucial role in planting the first seeds of a European cultural order in that part of the world. As the sound of the bell was imported to places where it had never been heard before, and as the temporal jurisdiction of the seven-day Sabbath ritual was extended in so-called heathen lands, the rituals and routines of Christian time became a cultural frontier in themselves, precursors to the physical settler-colonial frontier. Daily and weekly, missionaries preached the gospels of work and the Sabbath, the virtues of sedentary life and agriculture, housing and hygiene, ‘artificial wants’ and – implicit in all of these – a new consciousness of time. In so doing, they helped to establish the institutional rhythms and ideological groundwork for the social order which would later be entrenched under formal colonisation.

Chapter 6 extends the African case-study in order to explore the continued significance of temporal reform among the Xhosa-speaking peoples, against the backdrop of the labour crisis which afflicted the Cape Colony during the second half of the nineteenth century, once the Xhosa

had been dispossessed and forced into the colonial labour economy. Whereas in Victoria the labour power of Indigenous peoples was generally superfluous compared with the wealth derived from territorial acquisition alone, a vast demographic disparity between Europeans and Africans, and a heavy reliance on the agricultural (and later, mineral) wealth of the land, meant that the Cape Colony also came to depend to a large extent on the exploitation of Indigenous (as well as imported) labour. In this context, 'African time' was identified as a clear culprit amidst the chronic labour shortages which affected the Cape's economy. Part of the problem was one of guaranteeing the security of a colonial economy which had to operate all-year-round, even if 'the native' did not. The incentive to reform the time-and work-ethic of African workers in the Cape subsequently led to far more intensive, and expensive, attempts to reform Indigenous temporalities than it did in Victoria. Chapter 6 thus explores attempts to reform 'African time' in the missionary-run schools and industrial institutions that sprang up along the Cape's eastern frontier from the 1850s, focusing on one of the Colony's most famous schools – the Lovedale Institution – where it was hoped that a supposedly ineffective, inefficient and irregular population would be remoulded into a time-disciplined, clock-oriented African working class. The effects of institutional education **(p.16)** on Indigenous time-consciousness were profound. However, little did missionaries and colonial authorities imagine that such education would also help nurture and empower a generation of African intellectuals and leaders who would one day lead the South African nation to democracy.

## Bells, Bibles and the civilising mission

Missionaries deserve a special early mention given that they were key agents of cultural reform both in the Cape Colony and Victoria – playing a fundamental role in shaping domestic perceptions of Indigenous temporal cultures, as well as in attempting to reshape the latter around the order of the clock and the seven-day week. Often the earliest, and decidedly the most zealous, emissaries of a new order of time to the colonies, they were often seriously preoccupied with temporal matters – both existential and horological. Indeed, a penchant for temporal accountability, coupled with a passionate set of convictions as to the virtues and liberating potential of their way of life, placed them at the frontline in the colonisation of time.

By following the sound of bells on the missionary trail, we will gain a measure of understanding of how the order of the clock and the seven-day week were first introduced among Indigenous societies. If the clock was an avatar of Western time, the bell was its amplifier, and next to the Bible it became one of the missionaries' most practical instruments for establishing centralised temporal control – a function which the bell had long since played in Europe's monasteries, factories and schools, where it acted as a precursor to the clock. In a geographic act of temporal extension, the sounds of bells, which had been responsible for carrying the canonical hours of the day throughout Western Christendom during the middle ages, were transported to the rest of the world thanks to the work of Christian missionaries in the nineteenth century. Colonial missions became replicas of the medieval Benedictine monasteries, whose bells, timetables and temporal asceticism had left no corner of European society untouched. Symbolically, it was common for patrons and supporters of the missionary enterprise to donate bells as gifts once new mission stations were established in the colonies, making them one of the many cultural artifacts to be shuttled through the emerging networks of empire and Christianity during the nineteenth century. Thus the bell which tolled the hours of work and prayer for Aboriginal people at Ebenezer – a Moravian mission in Victoria – hailed from Saxony; while the bell calling the Khoikhoi to worship at the Wesleyan mission of Lily Fountain in the **(p.17)** northern Cape was donated by a patron in Bristol. The Berlin Missionary Society at the Cape received two bells

from Hamburg (their special status was even acknowledged by the Colonial Office, which waived the regular custom duties for their importation to the Colony).[29]

We have already noted some of the key interests and circumstances which framed settler agendas in the Cape Colony and Victoria. A different set of interests – both moral and economic – also inspired and motivated British missionaries in their quest to reform Indigenous temporalities. On the one hand, the great religious revival that had swept across England from the mid-eighteenth century led to a heightened sense of Christian vocation and to the subsequent birth and expansion of the non-conformist missionary movement: strict Sabbath observance and temporal austerity, as we will see in Chapter 1, became central tenets for leading virtuous lives, along with a desire to civilise and reform the calendars and rituals of supposedly popish, pagan and superstitious peoples – both in England and in the colonies. On the other hand, the missionary mandate in the colonies was deeply influenced by the liberal doctrines of Britain's leading Evangelicals who, during the 1820s and 1830s, had turned their attention from their anti-slavery campaigns in the West Indies to the rights of Indigenous peoples across the Empire. As an alternative to practices prevailing in the colonies, many of the leading missionary societies came to proffer an alternative, 'humanitarian' model of imperialism, premised on the *cultural* reformation of Indigenous societies instead of their coercionand enslavement. Christianity and civilisation, the Evangelicals argued, were the panacea that would reconcile Britain with the debt owed to the 'natives' for the trail of violence, destruction and dispossession left in the wake of its imperial expansion. Simultaneously, they would transform those same natives into producers and consumers who, motivated by the prospect of personal betterment, would make better workers and hence better profits for those who employed them.[30] As the *Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements)* put it in 1837, summing up the views of Britain's Evangelicals: 'We have had abundant proof that it is greatly for our advantage to have dealings with civilized men rather than with barbarians. Savages are dangerous neighbours and unprofitable customers'.[31]

As 'proof' of the benefits of the civilising mission, and as a measure of their success in converting 'savages', missionaries frequently cited their ostensible success in establishing 'regular' timetables and rituals – particularly the Sabbath – among their followers. The observance of the Sabbath (and, consequently, of the seven-day week) was treated as evidence of progress in the humanitarian mission in reports from across the Empire – from the Khoikhoi at the Kat River Settlement, to the **(p.18)** Maori on the North Island of New Zealand.[32] The River Credit Mission in North America was held up as another such model of acculturation: 'About ten years ago', the British Select Committee on Aborigines was told, the 'Indians' there had 'no houses, no fields nor horses … Each person could carry all he possessed on his back, without being much burthened'. But after being Christianised and civilised they could be found living in houses replete with 'tables, chairs, bedsteads … closets for their cooking utensils, cup-boards for their plates', and many other indicators of an improved manner of living: 'Some', the Committee was told, even 'have clocks and watches'.[33]

All such reforms were intended to transform 'natives' into producers and consumers of commodities – of which time was one. But not all colonial agents shared this view. Indeed, whilst missionaries and humanitarians attributed evidence of temporal acculturation to the redeeming effects of Christianity, their settler critics often discredited such achievements by popularising the stereotype of the incurably lazy 'native' – a stereotype so profuse in the colonial imagination that it hardly requires examples. Powerful settlers' interests across the British Empire generally deemed it more convenient and profitable to justify the dispossession and exploitation of

Indigenous peoples by portraying the latter as irredeemable savages who were immune to the ameliorative effects of Christianity, civilisation and education. Accordingly, time became yet another dimension within the broader propaganda war of representations, as historian Alan Lester terms it, which was ‘fought out across trans-imperial networks of communication … over the definition and determination of “proper” relations between British colonists and their others’.[34]

In the light of all this, what missionaries ultimately aimed at in this process, was ideological conversion: a total remaking of culture, rather than merely a superficial reform. Theirs, in effect, was a quest for hegemony – to persuade rather than coerce the natives into becoming vassals of the clock. Missionaries and their metropolitan allies understood well that if the humanitarian vision of imperialism were to prevail – that is, if they were to prove to their critics that free labour and Christianity would be more productive and profitable than slavery and coercion – their converts would have to internalise the ideologies of middle-class, Protestant-evangelical culture truly. Only by ensuring hegemony could missionaries and humanitarians achieve their vision of sober and docile natives who would willingly accept their place in colonial society. Although not all missionaries were allied with the humanitarian cause, most perceived that true and lasting conversion to Christianity and civilisation entailed the internalisation of the clock's culture rather than its external imposition. Therefore, in their **(p.19)** daily efforts to reform the time-consciousness of Indigenous peoples entirely, this ideological reorientation of the mind was their ultimate objective.

## Resistance and hegemony

Time has long played a role as one of the channels through which defiance towards established order can be manifested. ‘One recurrent form of revolt within Western industrial capitalism, whether bohemian or beatnik,’ as E. P. Thompson points out, ‘has often taken the form of flouting the urgency of respectable time-values.’[35] This also applied to colonial scenarios, where respectable time-values were regularly flouted, both in spectacular and in clandestine ways, as a means of expressing defiance towards the colonial presence; and where the colonisers' notions of order and regularity became particularly vulnerable to subversions, interruptions and delays at the hands of the colonised, whose unapproved breaches of temporal authority turned into an effective means of frustrating colonial and missionary order.

Undoubtedly, having been displaced from their lands, deprived of access to its resources and refused the same social and political rights as those enjoyed by white men, the vast majority of colonised peoples had little choice but to conform in some shape or form to the rituals, routines and regimes of the colonisers' temporal order. But obeying the visible order of the weekly ritual and the clock's regime did not necessarily entail imbibing the culture that came with them. (Time, as noted, is above all an *idea*.) Whilst colonial reformers often succeeded in imposing an outward appearance of order and uniformity, their mission to inculcate their specific ideas of time, order and regularity was widely challenged and determined by the resistance and agency of colonised peoples themselves. Therefore, the narrative of resistance which runs parallel with the colonisation of time can help us form a more complete picture by revealing the limitations, as well as the reach, of colonial power and agency. Indeed, the continuing existence of various forms of resistance towards the temporal mores of western European culture is a sign that the colonisation of time was an incomplete project – one which is accordingly best understood as a case of ‘dominance without hegemony’; that is, of rule through coercion rather than consent.[36] A lack of success in terms of implanting the values of a middle-class, industrial-capitalist time-

consciousness among colonised peoples meant that the clock's dominance would have to be introduced and maintained through coercion – whether direct or indirect.

**(p.20)** Resistance towards the imposition of a new order of time manifested itself in numerous ways, sometimes overtly and confrontationally, at other times covertly and furtively. We tend to recognise resistance most clearly when expressed openly – and, as we will see, it often was: the history of colonialism is littered with damaged bells, broken curfews and desecrated Sabbaths – suggestive of the fact that time was a cultural arena in which the colonial struggle was consciously fought out. But ‘resistance’ also includes responses other than a straightforward refusal to march to the colonisers' drum. Colonisation was a process of intense cultural upheaval, and produced a range of responses among the colonised that was far more varied and complex than simply offering a choice between accepting or refusing new practices and beliefs. Time became a channel for negotiating compromises between new and old customs; Christian rituals and capitalist notions of time provided discourses that could be appropriated and redeployed in order to bargain for better working and living conditions. In short, time became not simply the conduit of colonial power and anti-colonial resistance but also provided avenues for people to forge bridges between the new and the old.

Colonisers, however, rarely interpreted such behaviour as signs of resistance or Indigenous agency. In order to lend credence to the extent of their hegemony, they habitually coded resistance within a discourse of the ‘pathological’, attributing refusals or reluctance to conform to their temporal demands to the racial inferiority of local populations. As discourses of madness and deviance were deployed in the metropolis to rationalise the working classes' aversion towards bourgeois timetables and schedules, so did discourses of ‘superstition’ and racial inferiority function as their counterparts in the colonial context, where – as Frantz Fanon observed – anti-colonial sentiments were routinely ‘attributed to religious, magical, fanatical behavior’.[37] To recover narratives of resistance, therefore, we will need to read between the lines of colonial discourse: here, as Fanon hinted, the native's ‘laziness’ often emerges as ‘the conscious sabotage of the colonial machine’.[38]

We conclude with a vignette, in which Frantz Fanon observed the whole process unfolding in a microcosm, in the medical rooms of colonial Algeria where he worked during the 1950s. There he witnessed how ‘colonised Algerian’ patients expressed their resentment of colonial domination by refusing to obey the temporal instructions issued by the French ‘colonising doctors’. He noticed that ‘the Algerian’ had developed a reputation among doctors for being incapable of taking his medicine ‘regularly’, for taking the wrong doses and ‘fail[ing] to appreciate the importance of periods of visits’; and, in spite of being told to return to the clinic at ‘regular intervals’, for refusing to meet the ‘definite **(p.21)** appointment with the doctor for a fixed date’.

> The patient, in fact, comes back five to six months or sometimes a year later. Worse still, he has failed to take the prescribed medicine. An interview with the patient reveals that the medicine was taken only once, or, as often happens, that the amount prescribed for one month was absorbed in a single dose.[39]

The French doctors interpreted the Algerian patient's intransigence as fanatical adherence to superstitious beliefs; but Fanon understood them as symptoms of the patient's struggle to reconcile two incompatible cultural spheres – in this case those of Western and traditional medicine. ‘Sometimes the patient gives evidence of the fear of being the battleground for different and opposed forces’, Fanon observed; psychologically he ‘has difficulty, even here in

the presence of illness, in rejecting the habits of his group and the reactions of his culture'. In the end, the patient opts for a practical compromise: he accepts the colonisers' medicine, but not the temporal instructions for administering it. 'Swallowing the whole dose in one gulp', Fanon concludes, 'is literally getting even with it.'

Such were some of the subtler ways in which time could act as one of the dimensions of life which colonised people inhabited: not solely as victims but also as agents who negotiated cultural compromises, grappling their way through the pressures and expectations of two often-conflicting worlds. Furthering our understanding of this process may help to explain why, amongst societies that experienced, and physically survived European colonisation, we find that 'alternative' attitudes to time still survive, despite being marginalised, maligned and targeted by continuing attempts to further their assimilation within the temporal landscape of the dominant, clock-governed society.

Notes

Notes:

(1) Eviatar Zerubavel, 'The Standardization of Time: A Sociohistorical Perspective', *American Journal of Sociology*, 88:1 (1982), 1–23, p. 2.

(2) Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1912), trans. Carol Cosman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 18–19.

(3) Dan T. Nguyen, 'The Spatialization of Metric Time: The Conquest of Land and Labour in Europe and the United States', *Time and Society*, 1:1 (1992), 29–35; Maureen Perkins, *The Reform of Time: Magic and Modernity* (London: Pluto Press, 2001), pp. 19–25.

(4) David Landes, *Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge. Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), pp. 1, 7.

(5) John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution, Volume 2: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 35; Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, 'Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda', in F. Cooper and A. L. Stoler (eds), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1997), p. 4.

(6) The first academic studies to focus exclusively on time within colonial/imperial contexts are: Jean Comaroff, 'Missionaries and Mechanical Clocks: an Essay on Religion and History in South Africa', *Journal of Religion*, 71 (1991): 1–17; Frederick Cooper, 'Colonizing Time: Work Rhythms and Labor Conflict in Colonial Mombasa', in Nicholas B. Dirks (ed.), *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan Press, 1992); and Dan Thu Nguyen, 'The Spatialization of Metric Time', all of which deal with different aspects of time's function as an instrument of colonial/ imperial control. Following this, there seems to have been a flurry of studies which probed deeper into the significance of time's role in the colonial context: Keletso E. Atkins' brilliant analysis of the reform of African time-discipline in Natal, '*The Moon is Dead, Give us our Money!' The Cultural Origins of an African Work Ethic: Natal, South Africa, 1843–1900* (London: Currey, 1993) is one of the only monographs dedicated exclusively to time in a settler-colony; Janet Hoskins in *The Play of Time: Kodi Perspectives on Calendars, History and Exchange* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1993) offers a perceptive ethnographic account of missionary impact on local time-consciousness and calendars on the island of Sumba

(Indonesia);Graeme Davison's *The Unforgiving Minute: How Australia Learnt to Tell the Time* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1993) is a very readable accountof the clock's importation to Australia, albeit strangely devoid of explanations of how Aborigines supposedly ‘learnt’ to tell ‘the’ time. (Davison's choice of subtitle seems to imply that there was only one way of ‘telling the time’ – the colonisers'.) After decades of literature written *by* Europeans about the time of the Other, Joseph K. Adjaye's edited volume, *Time in the Black Experience* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994), offers a welcome response from African scholars on the subject of time in Africa and the Black Diaspora. Mike Donaldson in *Taking Our Time: Remaking the Temporal Order* (Perth: University of Western Australia Press, 1996), is one of fewauthors to emphasise the resistance of Aboriginal people towards the colonisation of their time.Carol Greenhouse's *A Moment's Notice: Time Politics Across Cultures* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), is a highly original ethnographic account of time, employing a comparative approach that often engages questions of imperial power. Another meticulous work is Mark M. Smith's *Mastered by the Clock: Time, Slavery, and Freedom in the American South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), framed in the context of plantation slavery of the antebellum American South. (Despite this, it curiously misses the opportunity to engage the question of how the clock impacted on Indigenous peoples in North America, whose notions of time preceded the arrival both of masters and slaves.) Aimed at a less academic readership, Jay Griffith's *Pip Pip: A Sideways Look at Time* (London: Flamingo, 1999) provides one of the most varied, entertaining and insightful analyses of time's role in the context of cultural imperialism. Finally, Maureen Perkins' *The Reform of Time* stands out for its brilliant postcolonial analysis on European discourses of the ‘timeless cultures’, and its enlightening comparative approach between colony and metropole. Several other studies have, of course, contributed to the field in less specialised ways and still other works which have focused on time and empire might not have come to my attention.

(7) As a few examples among many, see the otherwise-meticulously written histories by Landes (*Revolution in Time*);G. J. Whitrow, *Time in History: The Evolution of Our General Awareness of Time and Temporal Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); and Anthony Aveni, *Empires of Time: Calendars, Clocks and Cultures* (New York: Kodansha Globe, 1989). Many sociological studies also tend to operate in a vacuum that is apparently impervious to narratives of colonisation. A few writers do of course stand out; Barbara Adam, for instance, in her *Time* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 2004), pp. 136–43, includes a section describing time's function as ‘a most effective colonizing tool’.

(8) Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason* (1787), trans. Norman K. Smith (London: Macmillan, 1929), p. 77.

(9) Isaac Newton, *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (1689), trans. Andrew Motte (1729), in Florian Cajori (ed.), *Principia*, vol. 1 (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1934), p. 6.

(10) Norman Mailer, *Cannibals and Christians* (New York: Dial, 1966), p. 267.

(11) Alfred R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society: Essays and Addresses* (London: Cohen & West, 1952), p. 167; Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (1957) (Orlando, Fla.: Harcourt, 1987), p. 81; cf. Lewis Mumford, *The*

*Myth of the Machine: Technics and Human Development* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1967), p. 62.

(12) Barbara Adam, *Timewatch: The Social Analysis of Time* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), p. 29. See also Edward T. Hall, *The Dance of Life: The Other Dimension of Time* (New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1984); Donald Brown, *Human Universals* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1991); Carol Greenhouse, *A Moment's Notice: Time Politics Across Cultures* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996). It is generally accepted that humans experience time culturally, for to speak of perceiving time in any physiological way immediately begs the question: which of our senses is responsible for the perception of time?

(13) Karlheinz A. Geißler, 'A Culture of Temporal Diversity', *Time and Society*, 11:1 (2002), 131–40, p. 133.

(14) See Perkins, *The Reform of Time*, p. 12; E. P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism', *Past and Present*, 38:1 (1967), 56–97.

(15) Eviatar Zerubavel, *The Seven Day Circle: The History and Meaning of the Week* (New York: The Free Press, 1985), p. 22.

(16) Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. ix.

(17) Greenhouse, *A Moment's Notice*, p. 88.

(18) John G. Wood, *Uncivilized Races of Men in All Countries of the World: Being a Comprehensive Account of their Manners and Customs, and of Their Physical, Social, Mental, Moral and Religious Characteristics* (Hartford, Conn.: J. B. Burr Publishers,1878), vol. 1, p. 239.

(19) Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon), 1978, p. 55.

(20) Fabian, *Time and the Other*, pp. 143, 147.

(21) Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *Primitive Mentality* (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1923), pp. 445–6.

(22) P. Stein, *Legal Evolution: The Story of an Idea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 24–36; R. L. Meek, *Smith, Marx and After: Ten Essays in the Development of Economic Thought* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1980), pp. 18–32.

(23) William Grossin, 'Technological Evolution, Working Time and Remuneration', *Time and Society*, 2:2 (1993), 159–77, p. 160.

(24) Martin Nilsson, *Primitive Time-Reckoning: A Study in the Origins and First Development of the Art of Counting Time among the Primitive and Early Culture Peoples* (Lund: Gleerup, 1920), p. 128.

(25) Zerubavel, *Seven Day Circle*, p. 4.

(26) Patrick Wolfe has been a key figure in theorising settler-colonisation as a land-based project. See his *Settler-Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and*

*Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London: Cassell, 1999), p. 29; and his‘Land, Labour and Difference: Elementary Structures of Race’, *American Historical Review*, 106:3 (2001), 866–905, pp. 867–70.

(27) Wolfe, ‘Land, Labor and Difference’, pp. 868, 870.

(28) Deborah B. Rose, *Hidden Histories: Black Stories from Victoria River Downs, Humbert River and Wave Hill Stations* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 1991), p.46.

(29) KAB, CO 4105, Ref. S18, memo, C. M. Schwabe to Colonial Secretary, ‘Duty on Bells at the Berlin Missionary Society’, 10 Feb. 1858.

(30) *The Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements) with the Minutes of Evidence*, British Parliamentary Papers, 1837, VII [hereafter: *Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements)*, 1837], pp. 3–15, 74–6; see also Julie Evans et al., *Equal Subjects, Unequal Rights: Indigenous Peoples in British Settler Colonies, 1830–1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp.26–34. For the remarkable story behind the *Report* itself, see Zoë Laidlaw, ‘“Aunt Anna's Report”: The Buxton Women and the Aborigines Select Committee, 1835–37’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 32:2 (2004), 1–28.

(31) *Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements)*, 1837, p. 45.

(32) *Ibid*., pp. 53, 54, 71.

(33) *Ibid*., p. 47.

(34) Alan Lester, ‘Humanitarians and White Settlers in the Nineteenth Century’, in Norman Etherington (ed.), *Missions and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 64.

(35) Thompson, ‘Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism’, p. 95.

(36) Following Guha – see Ranajit Guha, ‘Dominance Without Hegemony and Its Historiography’, in R. Guha (ed.), *Subaltern Studies IV: Writings on South Asian History and Society* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 281, 296–9, 307 – this study adapts Antonio Gramsci's concept of *egemonia* to the colonial setting, where hegemony is understood as being a condition of dominance such that rule through consent/persuasion outweighs the need for coercion.

(37) Frantz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism*, trans. H. Chevalier (London: Penguin, 1970), pp. 41, 102–10; cf. Guha, ‘Dominance without Hegemony’, pp. 265–6; Alamin Mazrui and Lupenga Mphande, ‘Time and Labor in Colonial Africa: The Case of Kenya and Malawi’, in J. K. Adjaye (ed.), *Time in the Black Experience* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994), p. 115.

(38) Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. C. Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1963), p. 239.

(39) Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism*, pp. 109–10.