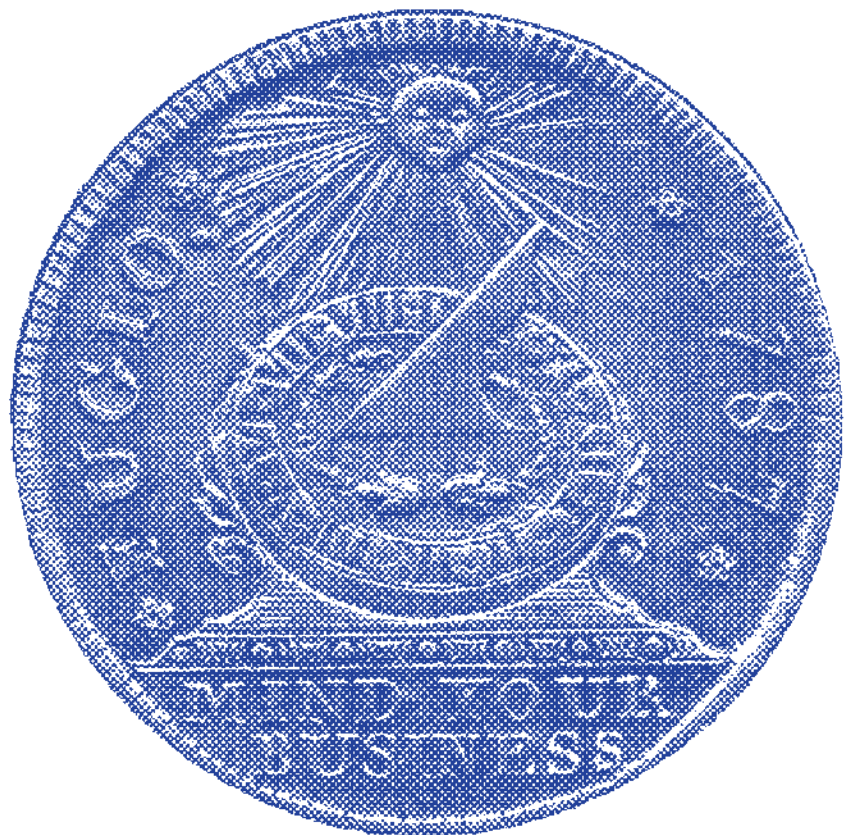






The time of production, time-as-commodity, is an infinite accumulation of equivalent intervals. It is irreversible time made abstract: each segment must demonstrate by the clock its purely quantitative equality with all other segments. This time manifests nothing in its effective reality aside from its *exchangeability*. It is under the rule of time-as-commodity that “time is everything, man is nothing; he is at the most time’s carcass” (*The Poverty of Philosophy*). This is time devalued—the complete inversion of time as “the sphere of human development.” Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* §147

Benjamin Franklin inspired American coin.



January

- Adae-Kese
- Australian Open Tennis
- Barbados Jazz Festival
- Cape Minstrels' Carnival
- Doo Dah Parade
- Hadaka Matsuri (Naked Festival)
- Iroquois Midwinter Festival
- Papa Festival
- Peyote Dance (Hikuli Dance)
- Sundance Film Festival

January 01

- Bom Jesus dos Navegantes
- Christmas (Syria)
- Circumcision, Feast of the
- Cotton Bowl Game
- Cuba Liberation Day
- Emancipation Day (United States)
- First Foot Day
- Haiti Independence Day
- Junkanoo Festival
- New Year's Day
- New Year's Day (Denmark) (Nytaarsdag)
- New Year's Day (France)
- New Year's Day (Germany)
- New Year's Day (Lithuania)
- New Year's Day (Malta)
- New Year's Day (Portugal) (Ano Novo)
- New Year's Day (Romania) (Anul Nou)
- New Year's Day (Russia)
- New Year's Day (Switzerland) (Neujahrstag)
- New Year's Day (Netherlands) (Nieuwjaarsdag)
- Orange Bowl Game
- Oshogatsu (New Year's Day)
- Polar Bear Swim Day
- Rose Bowl Game
- Slovak Republic Independence Day
- St. Basil, Feast of
- Sudan Independence Day
- Sugar Bowl Classic
- Ta'u Fo'ou
- Tournament of Roses (Rose Parade)

January 01–02

Sol

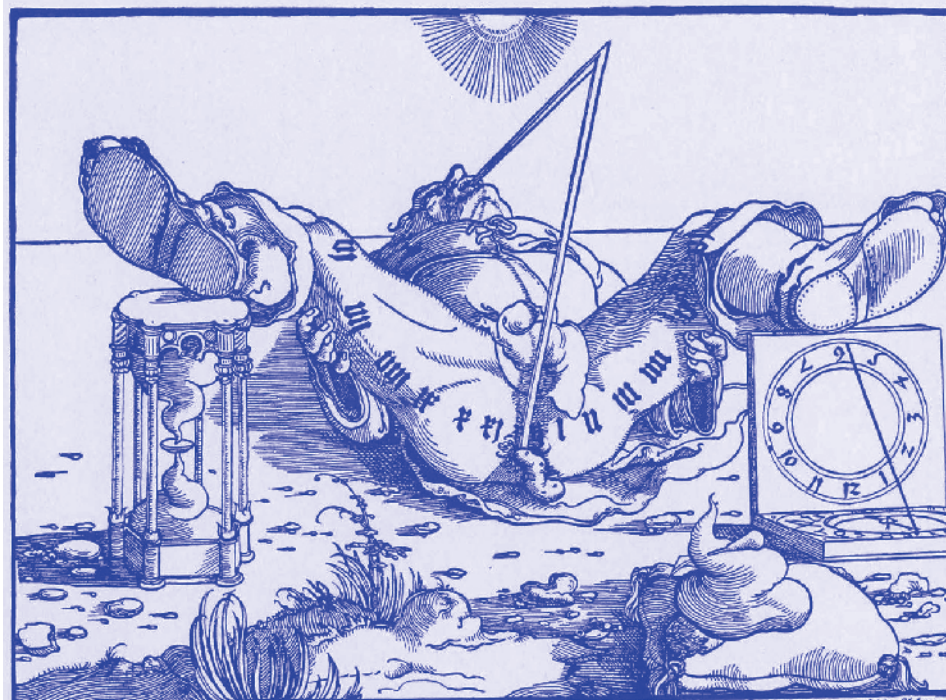
January 01–05

Pilgrimage to Chalma

January 01–09

Black Nazarene Fiesta

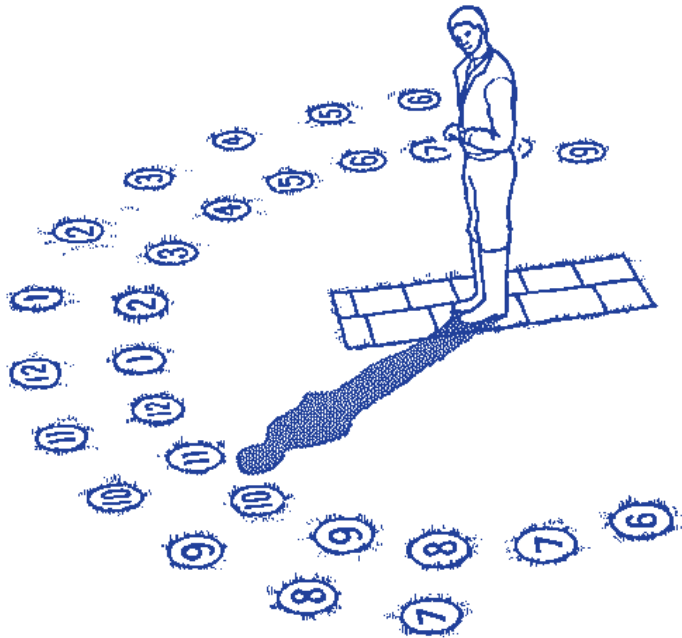
The gods damn that man who first discovered the hours, and—yes—who first set up a sundial here, who's smashed the day into bits for poor me! You know, when I was a boy, my stomach was the only sundial, by far the best and truest compared to all these. It used to warn me to eat, wherever—except when there was nothing. But now what there is, isn't eaten unless the sun says so. In fact the town's so stuffed with sundials that most people crawl along, shriveled up with hunger. Plautus (Roman playwright, 3rd c. BCE)



What a devil hast thou to do with the time of day. Unless hours were cups of sack, and minutes capons, and clocks the tongues of bawds, and dials the signs of leaping-houses and the blessed sun himself a fair hot wench in a flame-colored taffeta, I see no reason why thou shouldst be so superfluous to demand the time of day. William Shakespeare, Henry IV, Part I

- January 02**
- Berchtold's Day
- Haiti Ancestors' Day
- January 02–08 in alternate years**
- Carnival of the Devil
- January 03**
- Ball-Catching Festival (Tamaseseri)
- January 04**
- Myanmar Independence Day
- St. Elizabeth Ann Seton, Feast of
- January 04–06**
- Carnival of Blacks and Whites
- January 05**
- Befana Festival
- Epiphany Eve (Austria)
- Epiphany Eve (France)
- January 05–06**
- Día de Negritos and Fiesta de los
Blanquitos
- Twelfth Night
- January 05–February 04**
- Harbin Ice and Snow Festival
- January 06**
- Día de los Tres Reyes
- Epiphany (Germany) (Dreikönigsfest)
- Epiphany (Labrador)
- Epiphany (Portugal) (Día de Reis)
- Epiphany (Spain) (Día de los Reyes
Magos)
- Epiphany (Sweden) (Trettondag Jul)
- Epiphany, Feast of the
Epiphany, Christian Orthodox
- Haxey Hood Game
- Maroon Festival
- New Year's Parade of Firemen (Dezome-
shiki)
- Perchtenlauf
- Three Kings Day in Indian Pueblos
- January 06 or 07**
- Old Christmas Day
- January 06–07**
- Daruma Ichi (Daruma Doll Fair)
- January, Sunday after Epiphany**
- Baptism of the Lord, Feast of the
- January 06, Sunday after**
- Holy Family, Feast of the
- January; first Monday after Epiphany**
- Plough Monday
- January; 7–10 days ending the
second Sunday after Epiphany**

To indicate the time of day the Cross River natives use the lengths of shadows. They have however in most of their houses a curious species of sun-dial, a plant about 50 cm high, with violet-white flowers. The flowers gradually begin to open at sunrise, by noon they are wide open, and they gradually close again between noon and sunset.



The ancient Athenians seems to have indicated time by measuring off with the foot the length of the shadow cast by their bodies upon the level ground before them as they stood. At all events the length of shadows served to indicate time, cp. Aristophanes, *Ekkles.*, 652, “when the staff is ten feet, go perfumed to dinner.” The gnomon which, according to Herodotus II, 109, the Greeks borrowed from the Babylonians was an upright stick the shadow of which was measured: it was also an important instrument for astronomical observations. Martin P. Nilsson, *Ancient Time Reckoning*

Bonfim Festival (Festa do Bonfim)

January 07

Cambodia Victory Day (Victory over Genocide Day, Nation Day)

Christmas (Russian Orthodox)

Distaff Day

Ganna (Genna)

Nanakusa Matsuri (Seven Herbs or Grasses Festival)

January 08

Battle of New Orleans Day

Gynaecocrazia

St. Gudula's Day

January 09

Agonalia

January 10

Benin National Vodoun Day (Traditional Religions Day)

January 11

Burning the Clavie

Carmentalia

Hostos Day

Juturnalia

January 12

Zanzibar Revolution Day

January 12, first Monday after

Handsel Monday

January 13

Old Silvester

St. Hilary's Day

St. Knut's Day

Togo National Liberation Day

January 13, Sunday nearest

Foster (Stephen) Memorial Day

January 14

Ratification Day

St. Hilary's Day

St. Sava's Day

January 14, around

Lohri

Magh Sankranti

January 14, every hundred years

Mallard Ceremony

January 15

Black Christ of Esquipulas, Day of the Carmentalia

Chilembwe (John) Day

King (Martin Luther, Jr.), Birthday

Suminuri Matsuri

Underwater Tug-of-War Festival

It was this human artifact [the gnomon], a concrete reflection both of human posture and of *chronos* as the rectilinear movement of time in the human life span, that revealed the heavenly *kosmoi* as cyclical and temporal. It is because of the *gnomon*, the mediating upright, that Plato was able to assert in the *Timaeus*, nearly 200 years after the *gnomon's* introduction to Greece, that “Time [*chronos*] came into existence along with the Heaven [*ouranos*],” and that God created the sun, the moon, and the planets “for the determining and preserving of the numbers of Time.” Until the advent of the *gnomon* there could be no image, no *eidos*, of these numbers. Indra Kagis McEwen, *Socrates' Ancestor*



The question remains: how do we know [*Gr. gi-gnos-kein*] the time? By the planetary movements, or by their earthly measurements? By the shadow, or the shadow's shadow? ☺☺☺☺☺☺

Life is a passing shadow, says the Scripture. Is it the shadow of a tower? of a tree? a shadow that prevails for a while? No, it is the shadow of a bird in his flight—away flies the bird, and there is neither bird nor shadow. Talmud

The pursuit of forms is only a pursuit of time, but if there are no stable forms, there are no forms at all. We might think that the domain of forms is similar to that of writing: if you see a deaf-mute expressing himself you notice that his mimicry, his actions are already drawings and you immediately think of the passage to writing as it is still taught in Japan, for example, with gestures performed by the professor for students to capture calligraphically. Likewise, if you're talking about cinematic anamorphosis, you might think of its pure representation which would be the shadow projected by the staff of a sundial. The passing of time is indicated,

Wakakusayama Yaki (Mount Wakakusa Fire Festival)

January 17
Franklin's (Benjamin) Birthday
Polish Liberation Day

St. Anthony the Abbot, Feast of

January 17–25
St. Sebastian's Day

January 18
Christmas Eve (Armenia)

Four an' Twenty Day
St. Peter's Chair, Festival of

January 18–25
Prayer for Christian Unity, Week of

January 19
Epiphany, Christian Orthodox
Epiphany (Russia)

January 19–20
Timqat (Timkat)

January 20
Azerbaijan Day of the Martyrs
Babin Den

El Pochó Dance-Drama
Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde National
Heroes' Day

Inauguration Day
St. Agnes's Eve

St. Sebastian's Day

January 21
Barrow (Errol) Day
St. Sarkis's Day

January 21, week before Sunday nearest
Santa Inés, Fiesta of

January 22
St. Vincent's Day
Ukraine Unification Day (National
Reunification Day)

January 22–23
San Ildefonso Firelight Dances

January 24
Alasitas Fair

January 24, weekend nearest
California Gold Rush Day

January 25
Burns (Robert) Night
Cow, Festival of the

St. Paul, Feast of the Conversion of

January 26
Australia Day
Duarate Day



according to the season of the year, not only by the position but also by the invisible movement of the form of the shadow of the staff or of the triangle on the surface of the dial (longer, shorter, wider, etc.).

Furthermore, the hands of the clock will always produce a modification of the position, as invisible for the average eye as planetary movement; however, as in cinema, the anamorphosis properly speaking disappears in the motor of the clock, until this ensemble is in turn erased by the electronic display of hours and dates on the black screen where the *luminous emission* substitutes entirely for the original effect of the shadow. Paul Virilio, *The Aesthetics of Disappearance*

The Cross River natives of Southern Nigeria indicate the time by pointing to the position in the heavens which the sun occupies at that time of day. When someone asked a Swahili what time it was, he answered, "Look at the sun," although this tribe knew other ways of indicating time. Nilsson, *Ancient Time Reckoning*

Busy old fool, unruly Sun,
Why dost thou thus,
Through windows, and through curtains, call on us?
Must to thy motions lovers' seasons run?
Saucy pedantic wretch, go chide
Late schoolboys, and sour prentices,
Go tell court-huntsmen that the King will ride,
Call country ants to harvest offices;
Love, all alike, no season knows, nor clime,
Nor hours, days, months, which are the rags of time.

John Donne, from *The Sun Rising*

India Republic Day
MacArthur (Douglas) Day
St. Polycarp's Day
Uganda Liberation Day
January 26, on or near
Hobart Cup Day
January 27
Mozart (Wolfgang Amadeus), Birthday of
January 28
Albania Republic Day
St. Charlemagne's Day
January 29, Sunday nearest
Paine (Thomas) Day
January 30
Abdullah's (King) Birthday in Jordan
Roosevelt (Franklin D.) Day
St. Charles's Day
Three Archbishops, Day of the
January 31
Nauru Independence Day
January, early
Compitalia
January, first Monday
Handsel Monday
January, first week
Sarasota Circus Festival and Parade
January, second Sunday
Meitlisonntag
Saturnalia Roman Festival
January, second Monday
Seijin-no-Hi (Adults Day; Coming-of-Age Day)
January, second or third weekend, usually
MadFest Juggling Festival
January, mid-
Pongal
Utakai Hajime (Imperial Poem-Reading Ceremony)
Western Stock Show, National
January, mid- through mid-February
Edison (Thomas) Festival of Light
January, third Sunday
World Religion Day
January, third Monday
King (Martin Luther, Jr.), Birthday
King (Martin Luther, Jr.) Drum Major for Justice
Parade, Battle of the Bands & Drum Line



The shady side of a sundial: Of course it only functions at sunshine. However, are you working twenty four hours a day? ☺☺☺☺☺☺

The sundial is also ancient, but it traces a longer time-span (all daylight) than either the hourglass or the clepsydra [water clock, literally “water thief”], and has direct legacies for the clock. One is clockwise rotation: in the northern hemisphere, the shadow on a sundial moves from west to north to east, and this motion was retained for the hands on mechanical clocks. (The morning hours on a clock face, 6 to 12, indicate that the sun is in the east, and the afternoon hours of 12 to 6 that it is in the west.) Another legacy is the dial itself: from the Latin word dies (day), a dial is a readout divided into twelve hours, a division of the day that started in ancient Egypt around 2100 BCE and may have something to do with the 12 parts of the zodiac. (An even remoter legacy may be the twelve-fold touchtone telephone dial today.) It has long been customary to adorn sundials with lapidary mottos about the fleetingness of time such as “ultima multis” (the last day for many) or “lente hora, celeriter anni” (slowly the hour, quickly the years), and sometimes sundials were mounted on gravestones. All time-keeping devices implicate questions of time and eternity. John Durham Peters, *Calendar, Clock, Tower*

- Extravaganza, National
- Lee (Robert E.) Day
- January, third week**
- Ati-Atihan Festival
- January, third weekend
- Sinulog Festival
- January, third full weekend**
- Texas Citrus Fiesta
- January, last Sunday**
- Mount Cameroon Race
- January, usually last Sunday**
- Super Bowl Sunday
- January, last Tuesday**
- Up-Helly-Aa
- January, last Thursday**
- Dicing for the Maid’s Money Day
- NASA Day of Remembrance
- January, last week**
- Cowboy Poetry Gathering, National
- Mozart Week (Mozartwoche)
- January, last week, to first week in February**
- St. Paul Winter Carnival
- January, last weekend**
- Dinagyang
- Gasparilla Pirate Festival
- January, last two weeks**
- North American International Auto Show
- Southwestern Exposition Livestock Show & Rodeo
- January, late, to early February**
- Hurston (Zora Neale) Festival of the Arts and Humanities
- Ullr Fest
- January or February**
- Itabashi Suwa Jinja Ta-Asobi
- January–February**
- Bermuda Festival
- Firecracker Festival
- Iyomante Matsuri (Bear Festival)
- Lemon Festival
- Muscat Festival
- Perth International Arts Festival
- January–March**
- Sun Pageant Day
- Tsagaan Sar (Mongolian New Year)
- January–October**
- Macker (Gus) Basketball
- January–December, 24th day of each month**



TIME AND HISTORY: CRITIQUE OF THE INSTANT AND THE CONTINUUM

FROM INFANCY AND HISTORY:
THE DESTRUCTION OF EXPERIENCE

GIORGIO AGAMBEN

I

Every conception of history is invariably accompanied by a certain experience of time which is implicit in it, conditions it, and thereby has to be elucidated. Similarly, every culture is first and foremost a particular experience of time, and no new culture is possible without an alteration in this experience. The original task of a genuine revolution, therefore, is never merely to 'change the world', but also – and above all – to 'change time'. Modern political thought has concentrated its attention on history, and has not elaborated a corresponding concept of time. Even historical materialism has until now neglected to elaborate a concept of time that compares with its concept of history. Because of this omission it has been unwittingly compelled to have recourse to a concept of time dominant in Western culture for centuries, and so to harbour, side by side, a revolutionary concept of history and a traditional experience of time. The vulgar representation of time as a precise and homogeneous continuum has thus diluted the Marxist concept of history: it has become the hidden breach through which ideology has crept into the citadel of historical materialism. Benjamin had already warned of this danger in his 'Theses on the Philosophy of History'. We now need to elucidate the concept of time implicit in the Marxist conception of history.

II

Since the human mind has the experience of time but not its representation, it necessarily pictures time by means of spatial images. The Graeco-Roman concept of time is basically circular and continuous. Puech writes:

Dominated by a notion of intelligibility which assimilates the full,

Jizo Ennichi

February

Aztec Rain Festival

Black Diaspora Film Festival

Black History Month

Buena Vista Logging Days

Buffalo's Big Board Surfing Classic

Candelaria (Peru)

Cruft's Dog Show

Dartmouth Winter Carnival

Daytona 500

Hadaka Matsuri (Naked Festival)

Hobart Royal Regatta

Matriculation, Feast of the

Mihr, Festival of

Native Islander Gullah Celebration

Powamú Ceremony

Premio Lo Nuestro Latin Music Awards

Special Olympics

Thorrablót (Thorri Banquet)

Tohono O'odham Nation Rodeo

Trigo, Fiesta Nacional del (National

Wheat Festival)

Winterlude

World Championship Crab Races

Yukigassen Festivals

February 01

Cross-Quarter Days

Fire Festivals

Freedom Day, National

Imbolc (Imbolg)

Rwanda National Heroes' Day

St. Bridget's Day

February 01, Saturday nearest

Gable (Clark) Birthday Celebration

February 01 or February 14 (varies)

St. Tryphon's Day (Montenegro and

Bulgaria) (Trifon Zarezan)

February 01–08

Yaya Matsuri (Shouting Festival)

February 01–15

Nombre de Jesús

February 02

Candelaria (Bolivia)

Candlemas

Cock Festival

Groundhog Day

Yemanjá Festival

February 03

St. Blaise's Day

INFANCY AND HISTORY

authentic being to what is in him and corresponds to him, to the eternal and the immutable, the Greek regards movement and becoming as inferior degrees of reality, where correspondence is at best only understood as permanence and perpetuity, in other words as return. Circular movement, which guarantees the unchanged preservation of things through their repetition and continual return, is the most direct and most perfect expression (and therefore the closest to the divine) of the zenith of the hierarchy: absolute immobility.

In Plato's *Timaeus* time is measured by the cyclical revolution of the celestial spheres and defined as a moving image of eternity: 'The creator of the world constructed a moving image of eternity, and, in ordering the heavens, from eternity one and unshifting he made this image which ever moves according to the laws of number and which we call time.' Aristotle confirms the circular nature of time in these terms:

... and so time is regarded as the rotation of the sphere, inasmuch as all other orders of motion are measured by it, and time itself is standardized by reference to it. And this is the reason of our habitual way of speaking; for we say that human affairs and those of all other things that have natural movement ... seem to be in a way circular, because all these things come to pass in time and have their beginning and end as it were 'periodically'; for time itself is conceived as coming round; and this again because time and such a standard rotation mutually determine each other. Hence, to call the happenings of a thing a circle is saying that there is a sort of circle of time ...¹

The first outcome of this conception is that time, being essentially circular, has no direction. Strictly speaking, it has no beginning, no middle and no end – or rather, it has them only in so far as its circular motion returns unceasingly back on itself. A singular passage in Aristotle's *Problemata* explains that from this point of view it is impossible to say whether we are before or after the Trojan War:

Do those who lived at the time of the Trojan War come before us, and before them those who lived in an even more ancient time, and so on to infinity, those men most remote in the past coming always before the rest? Or else, if it is true that the universe has a beginning, a middle and an end; that what in ageing reaches its end to find itself therefore back at the beginning; if it is true, on the other hand, that

TIME AND HISTORY

the things that are closest to the beginning come before, what then prevents us from being closer to the beginning than those who lived at the time of the Trojan War? ... If the sequence of events forms a circle, since the circle has indeed neither beginning nor end, we cannot, by being closer to the beginning, come before them any more than they can be said to come before us.

But the fundamental character of the Greek experience of time – which, through Aristotle's *Physics*, has for two millennia determined the Western representation of time – is its being a precise, infinite, quantified continuum. Aristotle thus defines time as 'quantity of movement according to the before and the after', and its continuity is assured by its division into discrete instants [*tò nūn*, the now], analogous to the geometric point [*stigmē*]. The instant in itself is nothing more than the continuity of time [*synécheia chrónou*], a pure limit which both joins and divides past and future. As such, it is always elusive, and Aristotle expresses its paradoxically nullified character in the statement that in dividing time infinitely, the now is always 'other'; yet in uniting past and future and ensuring continuity, it is always the same; and in this is the basis of the radical 'otherness' of time, and of its 'destructive' character:

And besides, since the 'now' is the end and the beginning of time, but not of the same time, but the end of time past and the beginning of time to come, it must present a relation analogous to the kind of identity between the convexity and the concavity of the same circumference, which necessitates a difference between that with respect to which it bears the other.²

Western man's incapacity to master time, and his consequent obsession with gaining it and passing it, have their origins in this Greek concept of time as a quantified and infinite *continuum* of precise fleeting instants.

A culture with such a representation of time could have no real experience of historicity. To state that Antiquity had no experience of lived time is, without doubt, a simplification, but there is equally no doubt that the locus in which the Greek philosophers deal with the question of time is always *Physics*. Time is something objective and natural, which envelops things that are 'inside' it as if in a sheath [*periechón*]: as each thing inhabits a place, so it inhabits time. The beginning of the modern concept



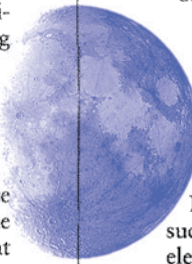
of history has often been traced back to the words with which Herodotus opens his *Histories*: 'Herodotus of Halicarnassus here puts forth the fruit of his researches, so that time may not erase men's undertakings ...'. It is the destructive character of time which the *Histories* wish to combat, thereby confirming the essentially ahistorical nature of the ancient concept of time. Like the word indicating the act of knowledge [*eidénai*], so too the word *historia* derives from the root *id-*, which means to see. *Hístōr* is in origin the eyewitness, the one who has seen. Here too the Greek supremacy of vision is confirmed. The determination of authenticity as 'present before the look' rules out an experience of history as what is already there without ever appearing before our eyes as such.

III

The antithesis of this in many respects is the Christian experience of time. While the classical representation of time is a circle, the image guiding the Christian conceptualization of it is a straight line. Puech writes:

In contrast with the Hellenic world, for the Christian the world is created within time and must end within time. At one end, the account of Genesis, at the other, the eschatological perspective of the Apocalypse. And the Creation, the Last Judgement, and the intermediary period between these two events are unique. This uniquely fashioned universe which began, which endures and which will end within time, is a finite world enclosed by the two edges of its history. Its duration comprises neither the eternal nor the infinite, and the events which unfold within it will never be repeated.

Moreover, in contrast with the directionless time of the classical world, this time has a direction and a purpose: it develops irreversibly from the Creation to the end, and has a central point of reference in the incarnation of Christ, which shapes its development as a progression from the initial fall to the final redemption. Thus Saint Augustine can oppose the *falsi circuli* of the Greek philosophers with the *via recta* of Christ, and the eternal repetition of paganism, where nothing is new, with Christian *novitas*, in which everything always occurs only once. The history of humanity thus appears as a history of salvation,



the progressive realization of redemption, whose foundation is in God. And in this, every event is unique and irreplaceable.

Despite its apparent scorn for 'epoch', it is Christianity which has laid the foundation for an experience of historicity, rather than the ancient world, attentive though it was to events. Indeed, Christianity resolutely separates time from the natural movement of the stars to make it an essentially human, interior phenomenon. 'Supposing the lights of heaven were to cease,' writes Saint Augustine, in singularly modern-sounding phraseology,

and the potter's wheel moved on, would there not be time by which we could measure its rotations and say that these were at equal intervals, or some slower, some quicker, some taking longer, some shorter? Let no one tell me that the movement of the heavenly bodies is time. . . . I see time as in some way extended. But do I see it? Or do I only seem to see it? Thou wilt show me, O Light, O Truth.³

None the less, time thus interiorized remains the continuous succession of precise instants of Greek thought. The whole of the eleventh book of Augustine's *Confessions*, with its anguished and unresolved interrogation of fleeting time, shows that continuous, quantified time has not been abolished, simply displaced from the paths of the stars to interior duration. Indeed, it is precisely his preservation of the Aristotelian concept of the precise instant which prevents Augustine from reaching a conclusion about the question of time:

But the two times, past and future, how can they be, since the past is no more and the future is not yet? On the other hand, if the present were always present and never flowed away into the past, it would not be time at all, but eternity. But if the present is only time, because it flows away into the past, how can we say that it is? For it is, only because it will cease to be . . .

If we conceive of some point of time which cannot be divided even into the minutest parts of moments, that is the only point that can be called present: and that point flees at such lightning speed from being future to being past, that it has no extent of duration at all. For if it were so extended, it would be divisible into past and future: the present has no length.⁴

The experience of a fuller, more original and tangible time, discernible in primitive Christianity, is thereby overlaid by the



mathematical time of classical Antiquity. With it there inevitably returns the ancient circular representation of Greek metaphysics, assimilated first through Neoplatonizing patristics, and later through scholastic theology. Eternity, the regime of divinity, with its static circle, tends to negate the human experience of time. The discrete, fleeting instant becomes the point where time intercepts the wheel of eternity. 'To achieve an image of the relation between eternity and time,' we read in Guillaume d'Auvergne's *de Universo*:

try to imagine eternity as an immense wheel, and within this wheel the wheel of time, so that the first touches the second at a single point. For you know that if a circle or a sphere touches another circle or another sphere, whether outside or inside, this contact can take place only at a single point. Since eternity is entirely motionless and simultaneous, as I have said, whenever the wheel of time touches the wheel of eternity the contact occurs only at a regular point in its rotation; this is why time is not simultaneous.⁵

IV

The modern concept of time is a secularization of rectilinear, irreversible Christian time, albeit sundered from any notion of end and emptied of any other meaning but that of a structured process in terms of before and after. This representation of time as homogeneous, rectilinear and empty derives from the experience of manufacturing work and is sanctioned by modern mechanics, which establishes the primacy of uniform rectilinear motion over circular motion. The experience of dead time abstracted from experience, which characterizes life in modern cities and factories, seems to give credence to the idea that the precise fleeting instant is the only human time. Before and after, notions which were vague and empty for Antiquity – and which, for Christianity, had meaning only in terms of the end of time – now become meaning in themselves and for themselves, and this meaning is presented as truly historical.

As Nietzsche had already grasped, with Hartmann's 'process of the world' ('only process can lead to redemption'), the idea governing the nineteenth-century concept of history is that of 'process'. Only process as a whole has meaning, never the precise fleeting *now*; but since this process is really no more than a

simple succession of *now* in terms of before and after, and the history of salvation has meanwhile become pure chronology, a semblance of meaning can be saved only by introducing the idea – albeit one lacking any rational foundation – of a continuous, infinite progress. Under the influence of the natural sciences, 'development' and 'progress', which merely translate the idea of a chronologically orientated process, become the guiding categories of historical knowledge. Such a concept of time and history necessarily expropriates man from the human dimension and impedes access to authentic historicity. As Dilthey and Count Yorck had observed ('That school was by no means a historical one, but an antiquarian one, construing things aesthetically, while the great dominating activity was one of mechanical construction'⁶), behind the apparent triumph of historicism in the nineteenth century is hidden a radical negation of history, in the name of an ideal of knowledge modelled on the natural sciences.

This leaves ample scope for the Lévi-Straussian critique, which points to the chronological and discontinuous nature of historiographical codification, and denounces fraudulent pretensions to any objective historical continuity independent of the code (with the result that history ultimately assumes the role of a 'thorough-going myth'). Lévi-Strauss rejects the equation of history and humanity, which is thrust upon us with the undeclared aim of 'making history the last refuge of transcendental humanism'.

But it is not a question of abandoning history; rather, of achieving a more authentic concept of historicity.

V

Hegel thinks of time in terms of the Aristotelian model of the precise instant. Against the Aristotelian *nŷn*, he sets the *now* in correspondence; and, as Aristotle conceived the *nŷn* as *stigmĕ*, so he conceives the *now* as a point. This now, which 'is nothing other than the passage of its being into nothingness, and from nothingness into its being', is eternity as 'true present'. The conjunction of spatial representations and temporal experience which dominates the Western concept of time is developed in Hegel as a conception of time as negation and dialectical dominion of space. While the spatial point is a simple indifferent



negativity, the temporal point – that is, the instant – is the negation of this undifferentiated negation, the overcoming of the ‘paralysed immobility’ of space in becoming. It is therefore, in this sense, negation of negation.

Defining time in this way as a negation of negation, Hegel cannot avoid taking to its extreme conclusion the nullification of experience by time implicit in its determination as a continuous succession of precise instants. ‘Time’, he writes in a passage from the *Encyclopaedia* which still resonates with an – albeit subdued and consciously assumed – Augustinian anxiety in the face of time’s fleeting essence, ‘is the thing existing which is not when it is, and is when it is not: a half-glimpsed becoming.’ As such, this negative being which ‘is what is not and is not what is’ is formally homologous to man. Indeed, perhaps it is because Hegel thinks of time in terms of the metaphysical model of the precise instant that it can form such a part in his system of that ‘power of the negative’, which he sees at work in the human spirit and makes the central motor of the dialectic. What the Hegelian system expresses in the formal correspondence of time and the human spirit, both of these construed as negation of negation, is the as yet unexplored link between the annulled experience of time for Western man and the negating power of his culture. Only a culture with such an experience of time could render the essence of the human spirit as negation, and the true sense of the Hegelian dialectic cannot be understood unless it is related to the concept of time to which it is integral. For the dialectic is above all what makes possible the containment and unification [*dia-légesthai*] of the continuum of negative fleeting instants.

Nevertheless, in Hegel the origin of time and the sense of its formal correspondence with the spirit are not interrogated as such. Time appears simply as the necessity and the destiny of the unfulfilled spirit. The spirit must *fall* into time. ‘It is in keeping with the concept of the spirit’, he writes in *Reason in History*, ‘that the evolution of history be produced in time.’ But since time, as we have seen, ‘is the thing existing which is not when it is, and is when it is not’, the Absolute can be true only as an ‘outcome’; and history, which is ‘the spirit alienated in time’, is essentially *Stufengang*, a gradual process. As the alienation of alienation, it is the ‘calvary’ and the ‘discovery’ of the absolute spirit, the ‘foam’ which rises forth for him from the ‘chalice’ of his own infinitude.⁷

Like time, whose essence is pure negation, history can never be grasped in the instant, but only as total social process. It thereby remains at one remove from the lived experience of the single individual, whose ideal is happiness. ‘In considering history one can also adopt the viewpoint of happiness, but history is not the site of happiness.’ Hence the emergence, in the Hegelian philosophy of history, of the sombre figure of ‘great historical individuality’ in which is incarnated ‘the soul of the world’. ‘Great men’ are merely instrumental in the forward march of the universal Spirit. Like individuals, ‘they do not know what is commonly held as happiness’. ‘Once they have reached their goal, they sag like empty sacks.’ The real subject of history is the State.

VI

Marx’s conception of history has an altogether different context. For him history is not something into which man *falls*, something that merely expresses the being-in-time of the human mind, it is man’s original dimension as *Gattungswesen* (species-being), as being capable of generation – that is to say, capable of producing himself from the start not merely as an individual, nor as an abstract generalization, but as a universal individual. History, therefore, is determined not, as it is in Hegel and the historicism which derives from him, by an experience of linear time as negation of negation, but by *praxis*, concrete activity as essence and origin [*Gattung*] of man. *Praxis*, in which man posits himself as origin and nature of man, is at once ‘the first historical act’, the founding act of history, to be understood as the means by which the human essence becomes man’s nature and nature becomes man. History is no longer, as in Hegel, man’s destiny of alienation and his necessary fall within the negative time which he inhabits in an infinite process, but rather his *nature*; in other words, man’s original belonging to himself as *Gattungswesen*, from which alienation has temporarily removed him. *Man is not a historical being because he falls into time, but precisely the opposite; it is only because he is a historical being that he can fall into time, temporalizing himself.*

Marx did not elaborate a theory of time adequate to his idea of history, but the latter clearly cannot be reconciled with the Aristotelian and Hegelian concept of time as a continuous and



infinite succession of precise instants. So long as this nullified experience of time remains our horizon, it is not possible to attain authentic history, for truth will always vie with the process as a whole, and man will never be able concretely, practically, to appropriate his own history. The fundamental contradiction of modern man is precisely that he does not yet have an experience of time adequate to his idea of history, and is therefore painfully split between his being-in-time as an elusive flow of instants and his being-in-history, understood as the original dimension of man. The twofold nature of every modern concept of history, as *res gestae* and as *historia rerum gestarum*, as diachronic reality and as synchronic structure which can never coincide in time, expresses this impossibility: the inability of man, who is lost in time, to take possession of his own historical nature.

VII

Whether it is conceived as linear or circular, in Western thought time invariably has the point as its dominating feature. Lived time is represented through a metaphysical-geometric concept (the discrete point or instant), and it is then taken as if this concept were itself the real time of experience. Vico had observed that the concept of the geometric point is a metaphysical concept, which furnished the *malignum aditum*, the 'evil opening' through which metaphysics had invaded physics. Vico's words on the geometric point could also be applied to the instant as a 'point' in time. This is the opening through which the eternity of metaphysics insinuates itself into the human experience of time, and irreparably splits it. Any attempt to conceive of time differently must inevitably come into conflict with this concept, and a critique of the instant is the logical condition for a new experience of time.

The elements for a different concept of time lie scattered among the folds and shadows of the Western cultural tradition. We need only to elucidate these, so that they may emerge as the bearers of a message which is meant for us and which it is our task to verify. It is in Gnosticism, that failed religion of the West, that there appears an experience of time in radical opposition to both the Greek and the Christian versions. In opposition to the Greek circle of experience and the straight line of Christianity, it

posits a concept whose spatial model can be represented by a broken line. In this way it strikes directly at what remains unaltered in classical Antiquity and Christianity alike: duration, precise and continuous time. The cosmic time of Greek experience is denied by Gnosticism in the name of the world's absolute estrangement from a god (God is the *allótrios*, the supreme other), whose providential work cannot be a matter of preserving cosmic laws, but of breaking them. The impetus towards redemption of Christian linear time is negated because, for the Gnostic, the Resurrection is not something to be awaited in time, to occur in some more or less remote future; it has already taken place.

The time of Gnosticism, therefore, is an incoherent and unhomogeneous time, whose truth is in the moment of abrupt interruption, when man, in a sudden act of consciousness, takes possession of his own condition of being resurrected ('statim resurrectionis compos'). In keeping with this experience of interrupted time, the Gnostic attitude is resolutely revolutionary: it refuses the past while valuing in it, through an exemplary sense of the present, precisely what was condemned as negative (Cain, Esau, the inhabitants of Sodom), and expecting nothing from the future.

In Stoicism, too, the twilight of Antiquity seems to overcome its own concept of time. This appears as a refusal of the astronomical time of the *Timaeus*, image of eternity, and of the Aristotelian notion of the mathematical instant. For the Stoics, homogeneous, infinite, quantified time, dividing the present into discrete instants, is unreal time, which exemplifies experience as waiting and deferral. Subservience to this elusive time constitutes a fundamental sickness, which, with its infinite postponement, hinders human existence from taking possession of itself as something full and singular ('maximum vitae vitium est, quod imperfecta semper est, quod ali quid in illa differtur'). Against this, the Stoic posits the liberating experience of time as something neither objective nor removed from our control, but springing from the actions and decisions of man. Its model is the *cairós*, the abrupt and sudden conjunction where decision grasps opportunity and life is fulfilled in the moment. Infinite, quantified time is thus at once delimited and made present: within itself the *cairós* distils different times ('omnium temporum in unum collatio') and within it the sage is master of himself and at his



ease, like a god in eternity. This is 'the final hand' dealt every time to life, which radically removes man from servitude to quantified time ('qui cotidie vitae suae summam manum imposuit, non indiget tempore').

VIII

It is certainly no accident that every time modern thought has come to reconceptualize time, it has inevitably had to begin with a critique of continuous, quantified time. Such a critique underlies both Benjamin's 'Theses on the Philosophy of History' and Heidegger's incomplete analysis of temporality in *Being and Time*. This coincidence in two thinkers so far apart is a sign that the concept of time which has dominated Western culture for nearly two thousand years is on the wane.

There moves in Benjamin that same Jewish messianic intuition which had led Kafka to write that 'the Day of Judgement is the normal condition of history' and to replace the idea of history developing along infinite linear time with the paradoxical image of a 'state of history', whose key event is always unfolding and whose goal is not in the distant future, but already present. Taking up these themes, Benjamin seeks a concept of history corresponding to the statement that 'the state of emergency is the rule'. Instead of the nullified present of the metaphysical tradition, Benjamin posits 'a present which is not a transition, but in which time stands still and has come to a stop'. Instead of the social democratic and historicist notion of the historical progress of humankind, which 'cannot be sundered from the concept of its progression through a homogeneous, empty time', he puts forward the revolutionaries' 'awareness that they are about to make the continuum of history explode'. Against the empty, quantified instant, he sets a 'time of the now', *Jetzt-Zeit*, construed as a messianic cessation of happening, which 'comprises the entire history of mankind in an enormous abridgement'. It is in the name of this 'full time', which is 'the true site of historical construction', that Benjamin, faced with the Nazi-Soviet pact, pursues his lucid critique of the causes behind the European Left's disastrous failure after the First World War. The messianic time of Judaism, in which every second was the 'strait gate through which the Messiah might enter', thus becomes the

model for a conception of history 'that avoids any complicity with the thinking to which politicians continue to adhere'.⁸

But it is in Heidegger's thought that the conception of precise, continuous time is subjected to a radical critique within the terms of repetition-destruction which invade Western metaphysics as a whole. From the start, Heidegger's research was directed towards a siting of history that would overcome vulgar historicism, and in which, 'with the thesis that "*Dasein* is historical", one has in view not just the Ontical Fact that in man we are presented with a more or less important "atom in the workings of world history ..."⁹ Thus, at the very point when they were seen to be inadequate, he took up Dilthey's efforts towards a historical foundation for the human sciences independent of the natural sciences. But the originality of *Sein und Zeit* is that the foundation of historicity takes place in tandem with an analysis of temporality which elucidates a different and more authentic experience of time. At the heart of this experience there is no longer the precise, fleeting *instant* throughout linear time, but the *moment* of the authentic decision in which the *Dasein* experiences its own finiteness, which at every moment extends from birth to death ('A *Dasein* which no longer exists ... is not past, in the ontologically strict sense; it is rather *having-been-there*'),¹⁰ and, throwing itself forward in care, it freely assumes the destiny of its primordial historicity. Man does not fall into time, 'but exists as primordial temporalization'. Only because he is in his being both anticipatory and having-been can he assume his own thrownness and be, in the moment 'of his own time'.

It would be easy to show how this foundation of historicity as care in the being of man is in no way opposed to the Marxist foundation of historicity in praxis, albeit in a different area, with both located as polar opposites to vulgar historicism. Thus Heidegger, in his *Letters on Humanism*, was able to write that 'the Marxist concept of history is superior to any other historiography'. It is perhaps more interesting to note that in his later writing, when *Sein und Zeit*'s project of conceptualizing time as the framework for understanding being was abandoned, Heidegger's thought is focused on how, given that metaphysics had now been overtaken, human historicity could be conceived in a totally new way. This is not the place to attempt an explanation of the concept of *Ereignis* (Event), which designates both the centre and the extreme limit of Heidegger's thought after *Sein*



und Zeit. From the perspective which interests us here we must, however, at least acknowledge that it allows the Event to be conceived no longer as a spatio-temporal determination but as the opening of the primary *dimension* in which all spatio-temporal dimensions are based.

IX

Yet for everyone there is an immediate and available experience on which a new concept of time could be founded. This is an experience so essential to human beings that an ancient Western myth makes it humankind's original home: it is pleasure. Aristotle had realized that pleasure was a heterogeneous thing in relation to the experience of quantified, continuous time. 'The form [*eĩdos*] of pleasure' – he writes in the *Nicomachean Ethics* – is perfect [*téleion*] at any moment', adding that pleasure, unlike movement, does not occur in a space of time, but is 'within each now something whole and complete'. This lack of correspondence between pleasure and quantified time, which we seem to have forgotten, was so familiar in the Middle Ages that Aquinas could answer in the negative to the question 'utrum delectatio sit in tempore'; and it was this same awareness which upheld the Provençal troubadours' Edenic project of a perfect pleasure [*fin'amors, joi*] outside any measurable duration.

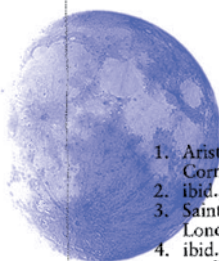
This does not mean that pleasure has its place in eternity. The Western experience of time is split between eternity and continuous linear time. The dividing point through which the two relate is the instant as a discrete, elusive point. Against this conception, which dooms any attempt to master time, there must be opposed one whereby the true site of pleasure, as man's primary dimension, is neither precise, continuous time nor eternity, but history. Contrary to what Hegel stated, it is only as the source and site of happiness that history can have a meaning for man. In this sense, Adam's seven hours in Paradise are the primary core of all authentic historical experience. For history is not, as the dominant ideology would have it, man's servitude to continuous linear time, but man's liberation from it: the time of history and the *cairós* in which man, by his initiative, grasps favourable opportunity and chooses his own freedom in the moment. Just as the full, discontinuous, finite and complete time

of pleasure must be set against the empty, continuous and infinite time of vulgar historicism, so the chronological time of pseudo-history must be opposed by the *cairological* time of authentic history.

True historical materialism does not pursue an empty mirage of continuous progress along infinite linear time, but is ready at any moment to stop time, because it holds the memory that man's original home is pleasure. It is this time which is experienced in authentic revolutions, which, as Benjamin remembers, have always been lived as a halting of time and an interruption of chronology. But a revolution from which there springs not a new chronology, but a qualitative alteration of time (a *cairology*), would have the weightiest consequence and would alone be immune to absorption into the reflux of restoration. He who, in the *epochē* of pleasure, has remembered history as he would remember his original home, will bring this memory to everything, will exact this promise from each instant: he is the true revolutionary and the true seer, released from time not at the millennium, but *now*.

NOTES

1. Aristotle, *Physics*, IV, XIV, transl. Philip H. Wickstead and Francis Cornford, London: Heinemann 1929.
2. *ibid.*, IV, XIII.
3. Saint Augustine, *The Confessions*, Book Eleven, XXIII, transl. F.J. Sheed, London: Sheed & Ward 1944.
4. *ibid.*, XIV.
5. Guillaume d'Auvergne, *De Universo*, in *Magistrum divine*, Orléans 1674.
6. In M. Heidegger, *Being and Time*, transl. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson, Oxford: Basil Blackwell 1967, p. 452.
7. Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit*, transl. A.V. Miller, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1977, p. 493.
8. W. Benjamin, 'Theses on the Philosophy of History', in *Illuminations*, transl. Harry Zohn, Glasgow: Fontana 1973.
9. Heidegger, p. 433.
10. Heidegger, p. 432.



“Most of the first clocks were not so much chronometers as exhibitions of the pattern of the cosmos...Clearly the origins of the mechanical clock lie in a complex realm of monumental planetaria, equatoria, and geared astrolabes.” Carlo M. Cipolla, *Clocks*

and *Culture 1300-1700*

Time was seen as a means of contemplating the movements of the spheres and divining their supernal portents; clocks were spiritual luxury goods before they became shackles of time management. ☼☼☼☼☼☼

Curious automata, strange little personae with their “faces” and “hands,” clocks say the same thing over and over again, and yet the information they provide is always fresh. They tell you where the “now” falls in the day. In this locating function clocks do for time what compasses, sextants, and GPS devices do for space. [...] As compass is to map, so clock is to calendar. Clocks are ultimately pointers of celestial position and today are governed by astronomical calculation. John Durham Peters, *Calendar, Clock, Tower*

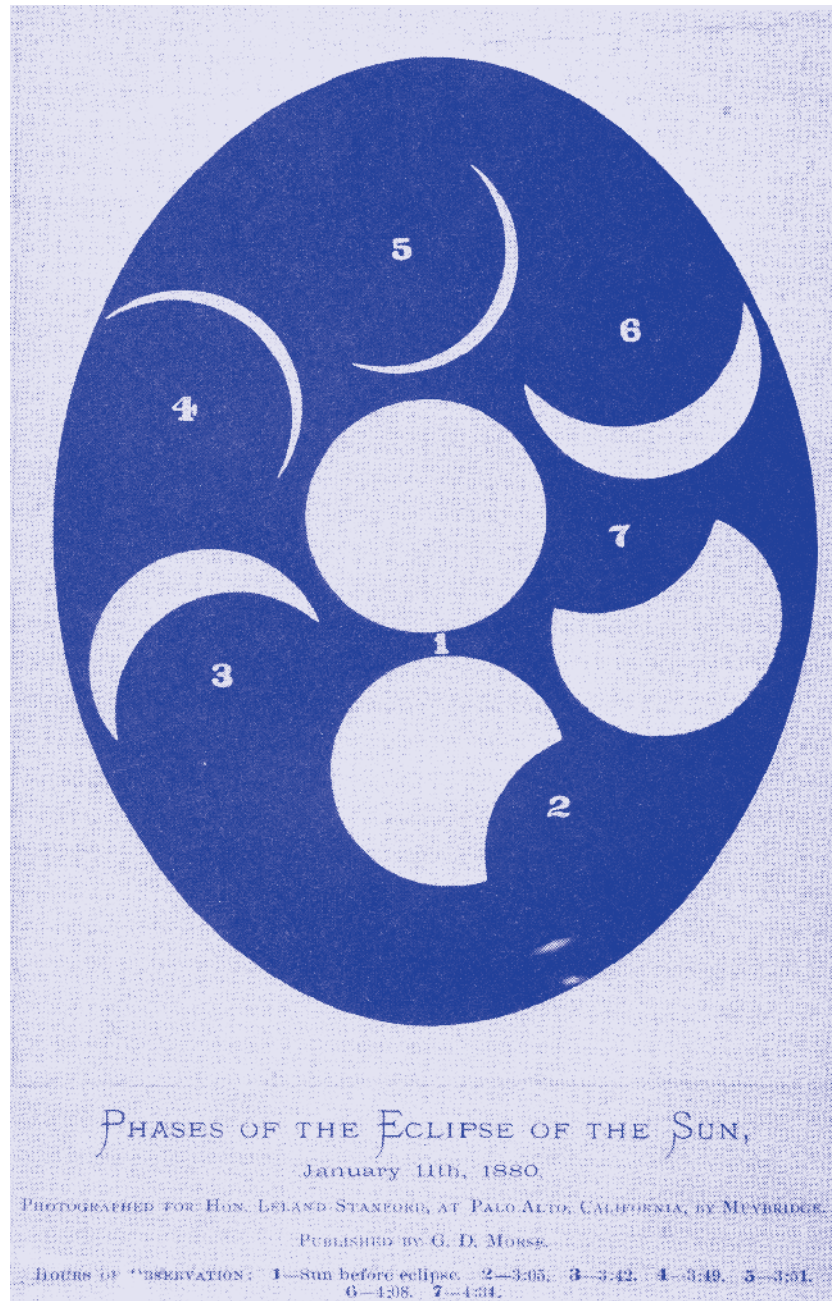
We are both storytellers. Lying on our backs, we look up at the night sky. This is where stories began, under the aegis of that multitude of stars which at night filch certitudes and sometimes return them as faith. Those who first invented and then named the constellations were storytellers. Tracing an imaginary line between a cluster of stars gave them an image and an identity. The stars threaded on that line were like events threaded on a narrative. Imagining the constellations did not of course change the stars, nor did it change the black emptiness that surround them. What it changed was the way people read the night sky. John Berger, *And Our Faces, My Heart, Brief*

as *Photos*



San Blas, Fiesta of
February 03 or 04
Setsubun (Bean-Throwing Festival)
February 03–05
St. Agatha Festival
February 03, Monday after
Hurling the Silver Ball
February 04
Sri Lanka National Day
February 04 or 05
Li Ch'un
February 05
Runeberg (Johan Ludvig), Birthday of
San Marino Liberation Day (Feast Day
of Saint Agatha)
Williams (Roger) Day
February 05, Sunday nearest
Igbi
February 06
Sàmi National Holiday
Waitangi Day
February 06, week of
Marley's (Bob) Birthday
February 07
Grenada Independence Day
February 08
Boy Scouts' Day
Hari-Kuyo (Festival of Broken Needles)
February 09
St. Maron's Day
February 10
St. Paul's Shipwreck, Feast of
February 11
Cameroon Youth Day
Edison's (Thomas) Birthday
Iran Victory Day of the Iranian Revolution
Japan National Foundation Day
Liberia Armed Forces Day
Our Lady of Lourdes, Feast of
February 12

Edward Muybridge, Phases of the Eclipse of the Sun, January 11, 1880



- Amazon & Galapagos Day
- Balsérias
- Georgia Day
- Lincoln's (Abraham) Birthday
- Myanmar Union Day
- February 12, Sunday nearest**
- Race Relations Sunday
- February 12, 13, 14**
- Borrowed Days
- February 13**
- Faunalia
- Parentalia
- February 13–15**
- Namahage Festival
- February 14**
- Allen (Richard), Birthday of
- Douglass (Frederick) Day
- Valentine's Day
- Vinegrower's Day
- February 15**
- Anthony (Susan B.) Day
- Lupercalia
- Maine Memorial Day
- Serbia Statehood Day of the Republic
- February 15–17**
- Kamakura Matsuri (Snow Hut Festival)
- February 16**
- Lithuania Independence Day
- February 16–17**
- Bonden Festival (Bonden Matsuri)
- Kim Jong-Il, Birthday of
- February 17**
- Fornacalia
- Quirinalia
- February 18**
- Gambia Independence Day
- Nepal Democracy Day
- February 19**
- Bombing of Darwin, Anniversary of the
- February 21**
- Feralia
- Shaheed Day
- Vanuatu Father Walter Lini Day
- February 22
- Abu Simbel Festival
- St. Lucia Independence Day
- Washington's (George) Birthday
- February 23**
- Brunei National Day
- Terminalia

ASTROLOGY AND RELIGION AMONG THE GREEKS AND ROMANS

FRANZ CUMONT

the horizon the same stars. All things that are subject to death are also subject to change, the years glide away, and lands become unrecognisable, each century transforms the features of nations, but Heaven remains invariable, and preserves all its parts; the flight of time adds nothing to them, nor does age take aught from them. It will remain the same for ever, because for ever it has been the same. Thus it appeared to the eyes of our forefathers, thus will our descendants behold it. It is God, for it is unchangeable throughout the ages.

Men did not stop there, but separating eternity from the stars and from heaven, whose loftiest quality it was, they adored that eternity itself as a divinity. Here is not a mere abstraction, like Equity or Clemency or one of the many other abstractions which the Romans had conceived and fervently worshipped, notwithstanding the fact that they figured *Aeternitas* on their coins. The path which led to this worship is more intricate, and its beginnings go back to a very early stage of thought. Time, when this notion, which is lacking among many savages, appeared, was not defined as a conception of the reason, or in Kant's phrase, "*a priori* form of conception." This is a being who has an existence *per se*, who is even regarded sometimes as a material body, and who is

February 24

Estonia Independence Day
N'cwala
St. Matthias's Day

February 25

Fiesta sa EDSA (People Power
Anniversary)
Kuwait National Day

February 25–March 01

Ayyam-i-Ha
February 26

Kuwait Liberation Day

February 27

Dominican Republic Independence Day
Ecuadoran Civicism & National Unity Day
Equirria

February 28

Arbaeen Pilgrimage
Kalevala Day
Taiwan Peace Memorial Day

February 28–March 01

Marzas

February 29

Leap Year Day
Lee (Ann) Birthday
February, early
Fiesta Day

Quebec Winter Carnival
World Championship Hoop Dance
Contest

February, first Sunday
Homstrom

February, begins first Thursday

Great Sami Winter Fair

February, first weekend

Finnish Sliding Festival
Tulsa Indian Arts Festival

February, first full weekend

Ice Worm Festival

February, first week

Beargrease (John) Sled Dog Marathon

February, first half

Washington's (George) Birthday
Celebration (Los Dos Laredos)

February, first new moon

Bianou

**February, weekend including
second Sunday**

Namahage Festival

February, begins second Friday

endowed with an activity of his own. "Zeno," says Cicero,¹ "attributed a divine power (*vis divina*) to the stars, but also to the years, the months, and the seasons." We have here a very ancient belief, which is found for instance in Egypt. The magic idea of a power superior to man is connected, from the very beginning, with the notation of time. Calendars had a religious before acquiring a secular significance: their original object was not to secure the measurement of the gliding moments, but to indicate the recurrence of propitious or unpropitious dates separated by periodic intervals. It is an empirical fact that the return of fixed moments is associated with the appearance of certain phenomena: it is easy to believe that the one is the cause of the other. They have therefore a peculiar efficacy, a sacred character.² Astronomy fixed the duration of these periods with an ever increasing accuracy: it not only distinguished the sequence of days and nights, but also that of the months, corresponding to the revolutions of the moon, and that of the years, corresponding to those of the sun. Its progress led to a division

¹ Cic., *Nat. Deor.*, ii., 63 (=Zenon. fr. 165 von Arnim).

² See above, Lecture I., p. 31.

of the day into two periods of twelve hours each. All these durations continued to be regarded as having a definite influence, as being endowed with a magic potency, and astrology sought to codify these activities, by placing each division of time under the protection of a star in its system of "chronocratories."

When the idea of an Eternity arose, more vast than the sum-total of years and centuries, it was regarded likewise as a divinity. "General opinion," says Proclus,¹ "makes the Hours goddesses and the Month a god, and their worship has been handed on to us: we say also that the Day and the Night are deities, and the gods themselves have taught us how to call upon them. Does it not necessarily follow that Time also should be a god, seeing that it includes at once months and hours, days and nights?"

In fact infinity of Time was elevated to the dignity of Supreme Cause not only by individual thinkers, but by Oriental cults. You all know by name Zervan Akarana, "Time Unlimited," which a sect of Persian Magi regarded as the First Principle. This doctrine, which was developed in

¹ Proclus, *In Timæum*, 248 D.

Anchorage Fur Rendezvous

February, mid

Elephant Festival

Great Backyard Bird Count

Jorvik Viking Festival

Sapporo Snow Festival (Yuki Matsuri)

February, mid, begins

Holetown Festival

February, mid-, weekend in

Battle of Olustee Reenactment

February, mid-late

Hala Festival

February, mid-, to early March

Houston Livestock Show & Rodeo

February, third Monday

Presidents' Day

Washington's (George) Birthday

February, third Monday and

preceding weekend

Washington's (George) Birthday

Celebration

(Alexandria, Virginia)

February, third week

Brotherhood/Sisterhood Week

Sundiata, Festival

Viña del Mar International Song Festival

February, last full week

Vaqueros, Fiesta de los

February, last week

Shahi Durbar

February, last weekend

American Birkebeiner

February, late

Nenana Ice Classic

February, late, three-day weekend

Fisher Poets Gathering

February, late, or March

Golden Shears World Shearing and

Wool-handling

Championships

February, late, to first Sunday in March

Vasaloppet

February, late-early March, even-

numbered years

New Zealand Festival

Tango Festival

February or March

Ku-omboka

February-March

Anthesteria

Mesopotamia, was adopted by the mysteries of Mithra and passed with them into the West, where this god was represented in the form of a monster with the head of a lion, to indicate that he devours all things. As might have been expected, the worship of Time was there closely combined with that of "the eternal Heaven" (*Caelus aeternus*), whose revolutions marked its everlasting course, and, as the master of all things, it was sometimes identified with Destiny, whose irresistible activity was exerted to produce the endless motion of the stars.

Each portion of Infinity brings on some propitious or unpropitious movement of the heavens, which is anxiously watched, and these motions incessantly modify the earthly world. The Centuries and the Years, each subject to the influence of a star or a constellation, the Seasons which are related to the four winds and to the four cardinal points, the twelve Months over which the signs of the zodiac preside, the Day and the Night, the twelve Hours, are all personified and deified, as being the authors of all the changes of the universe.

The allegorical figures invented by astrological cults to represent these abstractions came into

common use under the Empire. This symbolism did not even die out with idolatry: it was adopted by christianity, in spite of the fact that it was in reality contrary to its spirit, and up to the Middle Ages these symbols of the fallen gods were reproduced *ad infinitum* in sculpture, mosaics, and miniatures, and it may be said that the old superstitions of the Chaldeans are still perpetuated by modern art.

Like the divisions of Time, numbers were divine for a similar reason. The ancients said that they had been revealed to mankind by the motions of the stars.¹ In fact the progress of mathematics must often have been a result of the progress of astronomy, and the former participated in the sacred character of the latter. Certain numerals were thus considered for astronomical reasons as endowed with an especial potency: seven and nine, which are the fourth and the third part of the month, seven again and twelve, because they correspond to the planets and to the signs of the zodiac, three hundred and sixty, because that was the approximate number of days in the year. To these figures was attributed a peculiar efficacy; thus it

¹See above, Lecture I., p. 30; II., p. 50.

Argungu Fishing Festival
 Cherry Blossom Festival (Hawaii)
 Eleusinian Mysteries
 Hola Mohalla
 Hong Kong Arts Festival
 Napa Valley Mustard Festival
 Phra Buddha Bat Fair
February–March, 10 days in even-numbered years
 Adelaide Festival
February–March, three weeks in even-numbered years
 Adelaide Fringe Festival
February–March, two weeks in
 Saudi Arabia National Heritage and Folk Culture Festival (Janadriyah Festival)
February–April
 Corn-Planting Ceremony
 Simadan Festival
February–November, various weekends
 Pickett (Bill) Invitational Rodeo
March
 Aztec Rain Festival
 Nyepi
 Sebring 12-Hour Race
 Shishi Odori (Deer Dance)
 Spring of Culture
 Whale Festivals (California)
 Xipe Totec, Festival of Yukigassen Festivals
March 01
 Chalanda Marz (First of March)
 Marshall Islands Memorial and Nuclear Victims Day
 Martenitza
 Matronalia
 Swallow, Procession of the Samil-jol (Independence Movement Day)
 St. David's Day
 Whuppity Scoorie
March 01–03
 Drymiais
March 01–14
 Omizutori Matsuri (Water-Drawing Festival)
March 02
 Ethiopia Victory of Adwa Commemoration Day

Names for times of day among the Nandi (Kenya)

- 2 a.m., the elephants have gone to the waters
- 3, the waters roar
- 4, the land (sky) has become light
- 5, the houses are opened
- 5.30, the oxen have gone to the grazing-ground
- 6, the sheep have been unfastened
- 6.30, the sun has grown
- 7, it has become warm
- 7.30, the goats have gone to the grazing-ground
- 9, the goats have returned from the grazing-ground
- 10, the goats have arisen, the oxen have returned
- 10.30, the oxen sleep
- 11, untie the cattle, i.e. let the calves get their food, the goats feed
- 11.30, the oxen have arisen
- 12 noon, the sun has stood upright, the goats sleep in the woods
- 12.30, the goats have drunk water
- 1 p.m., the sun turns, i.e. goes towards the west, the cattle have drunk water
- 1.30, the drones hum
- 2, the sky continues to go towards the west, the oxen feed
- 3, the goats have been collected
- 4, the oxen drink water for the second time, the goats have returned
- 4.30, the goats sleep
- 5, the eleusine grain has been cleaned for us, take the goats home, shut up the calves

Libya Declaration of Jamahiriya Day
(Declaration of the People's
Authority Day)
Myanmar Peasants' Day
Texas Independence Day
March 03
Bulgaria Day of Liberation from Ottoman
Domination
Hina Matsuri (Doll Festival)
Malawi Martyrs' Day
March 03–04
Daruma Ichi (Daruma Doll Fair)
March 04
Fox (George), Death of
March 05
Boston Massacre Day
Vanuatu Custom Chiefs Day
March 05, about
Excited Insects, Feast of
March 06
Alamo Day
Magellan (Ferdinand) Day
March 07
Burbank Day
March 07–08
San Juan de Dios, Fiesta of
March 08
Women's Day, International
March 09
Baron Bliss Day
Forty Martyrs' Day
St. Frances of Rome, Feast of
March 10
Jousting the Bear
March 11
King's Birthday (Denmark)
Lithuania Restoration of Statehood Day
Moshoeshoe's Day
March 12
Girl Scout Day
Mauritius Independence Day
St. Gregory's Day
March 12–19
St. Joseph's Day
March 13
Kasuga Matsuri
March 14
Equirria
Mamuralia
St. Vincent and the Grenadines National

5.30, the goats have entered the kraal
 6, the sun is finished, the cattle have returned
 6.15, milk, (sc. the cows)
 6.45, neither man nor tree is recognizable, cattle-doors have been closed,
 7, the heavens are fastened,
 8, the porridge is finished
 9, those who have drunk milk are asleep
 10, the houses have been closed
 11, those who sleep early wake up
 12, the middle of the night

(adapted from Nilsson's *Primitive Time-Reckoning*)

The basic pulse of alternating day and night seems at some level to be built into all living beings. Oysters, potatoes, fruit flies, and bees—among many other creatures—can track the sun, locate themselves in geomagnetic fields, or consume oxygen in accordance with ancient daily rhythms. *John Durham Peters, Calendar, Clock, Tower*

On top of this scientists have rediscovered biological rhythms, biorhythms, perfectly familiar to breeders, botanists and the common gardener for centuries...As far back as the sixth century BC, for instance, the philosopher Parmenides held that mental images, our memory, resided in a unique relationship between light and heat, cold and dark, located in the centre of our bodies. If this relationship were disturbed, amnesia, the forgetting of the visible world, resulted. Professor Alain Reinberg explains: 'Each living being adapts itself to periodic variations in the world around it, these variations being essentially caused by the rotation of the earth about its axis every twenty-four hours and by its rotation around the

Heroes Day

March 15

Anna Parenna Festival
 Hungary Revolution and Independence Day

Jackson's (Andrew) Birthday
 Quarter Days

Roberts's (Joseph Jenkins) Birthday

March 15, Sunday after

Buzzard Day

March 16

Congo National Days

St. Urho's Day

March 17

Camp Fire Founders' Day

Evacuation Day

Liberalia

St. Patrick's Day

St. Patrick's Day (Ireland)

St. Patrick's Day Parade (Savannah, Georgia)

March 17, weekend nearest

St. Patrick's Day Encampment

March 18

Sheelah's Day

March 19

San José Day Festival

Swallows of San Juan Capistrano

March 20

Tunisia Independence Day

March 20, on or near

Ibu Afo Festival

March 20 or 21, week including

Higan

March 21

Burning of the Socks

Elimination of Racial Discrimination,

International Day for the

Shunbun-no-Hi (Vernal Equinox Day)

Vernal Equinox (Chichén Itzá)

March 21, around

Nawruz (Kazakhstan)

March 21, begins about

Nawruz (Naw roz; No Ruz; New Year)

March 21 or 22

Vernal Equinox

March 21 or 22, five days including

Sacaea

March 21, Saturday or Sunday nearest

Marzenna Day

sun every year.' It is as though the organism possessed 'clocks' (for want of a better word) and kept setting them back at the right time in terms of signals coming from the environment, one of these essential signals being the alternation between darkness and light, night and day, as well as noise and quiet, heat and cold, etc. Nature thus provides us with a sort of programming (here again, the term is merely provisional) that regulates our periods of activity and rest, each organ working differently, more or less intently, all in its own good time. Our bodies in fact contain several clocks that work things out among themselves, the most important being the hypothalamic gland located above the optic commissure (where the optic nerves cross). The same thing happens with the pineal gland, which depends largely on the alternation of light and dark. The Ancients were familiar with the phenomenon and Descartes, in particular, talks about it. In short, if the Theory of Relativity maintains that the intervals of time properly supplied by clock or calendar are not absolute quantities imposed throughout the universe, the study of biorhythms reveals them to be the exact opposite: a variable quantity of sensa (primary sensory data) for which an hour is more or less than an hour, a season more or less than a season. Paul Virilio, *The Vision Machine*

A Philadelphia psychologist named Stuart Albert recently proved that subjective, conscious time awareness, and possibly deep brain time, could be tinkered with. He shut two groups of volunteers into two separate rooms over a period of several days. Unbeknownst to the volunteers, he had modified the wall clocks. In one room, the clock ran at half speed; in the other, at double speed. Not only did the volunteers turn out to be unaware of the temporal sleight-of-hand, but Albert also discovered that their mental functions automatically adjusted to the two different paces. In memory tests, the average rate of forgetting, usually regarded as a

March 22
World Day for Water
March 22, around
Ostara
March 23
Pakistan Day
March 24
Argentina National Day of Memory for
Truth and Justice
March 25
Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary,
Feast of the (Belgium)
Annunciation of the Lord
Greece Independence Day
Hilaria
Lady Day
Lady Day among Samis
Maryland Day
San Marino Anniversary of the Arengo
St. Dismas's Day
Tichborne Dole
March 26
Bangladesh Independence Day
March 26, Monday on or near
Kuhio (Prince) Day
March 27
Myanmar Armed Forces Day
March 28
Teachers' Day in the Czech Republic
March 29
Boganda Day
Madagascar Martyrs' Day
(Commemoration Day,
Insurrection Day)
March 29, 30, 31
Borrowed Days
March 30
Doctors' Day
Spiritual Baptist (Shouters) Liberation Day
March 31
Malta Freedom Day
Transfer Day
March, usually
Nguillatun
March, early
Iditarod Trail Sled Dog Race
NAACP Image Awards
North Pole Winter Carnival
March, first Sunday
Kyokusui-no-En

brain function independent of the clock, was faster in the speedy group. And likewise, when asked to estimate various durations, the answers corresponded to each group's relative time frame. It would be interesting to see what would happen if the experiment were to run longer. Would the circadian clocks eventually rebel? And what would happen if the subjective abstraction of clock time was removed altogether? The answer lies beneath the ground.

In January 1989, a young Italian volunteer named Stefania Follini began a solo four-month deep-cave sojourn to determine how our internal sense of time is affected if there are no clocks and no alternations of day and night. Stefania ate, slept and worked in a windowless twelve-by-twenty-foot room built within a cave in New Mexico. Within weeks her days had lengthened to twenty-five hours, and by the end of her sojourn she was staying awake up to forty hours at a time and sleeping between fourteen and twenty-two hours. After being in the cave for over four months, and just before the researchers told her that it was May and time to end the experiment, she was asked to estimate how much time had passed. "Two months," she guessed. Her internal clock had reset its own rhythm to a tempo much slower than everyone else's. It seems that without constant resetting by the alternation of night and day, our internal clocks drift, and hers had drifted wildly. The final result, for her, was equivalent to time travel. She was transported two months into the future. No wonder her first words—when, sun-dazzled, she faced the reporters and waved to the waiting crowd—were, "Wow, man." Christopher Dewdney, *The Soul of the World*



March, first Monday
Eight-Hour Day

March, first Tuesday
Town Meeting Day

March, first Saturday
Bal du Rat Mort (Dead Rat's Ball)

March, first Friday
World Day of Prayer

March, first week
Motorcycle Week (Bike Week)

March, first weekend
Bridge Crossing Jubilee
Jonquil Festival

March, first two full weeks
Carnaval Miami

March, first new moon in
Alahamady Be

March, week including second Sunday
Holmenkollen Day

March, second Monday
Commonwealth Day
Eight-Hour Day

March, second week
Fairbanks Winter Carnival

March, second weekend
Sweetwater Rattlesnake Round-Up

March, mid-
Macon Cherry Blossom Festival

March, mid-, to mid-April
Houses and Gardens, Festival of

March, third Monday
Canberra Day

March, third Thursday
Kiplingcotes Derby

March, third Saturday
Bering Sea Ice Golf Classic

March, third week
Dodge National Circuit Finals Rodeo

March, third weekend
Nuuk Snow Festival
Russell (C. M.) Auction

March, last Monday
Seward's Day

March, last Sabbath
Sabbath of Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise

March, last weekend
Caribou Carnival and Canadian
Championship
Dog Derby

March, late



“I love the sun,” said Follini, 27, as she smiled for a small army of newspeople. One of the first things that struck her when she returned to the surface was “the smell of other people,” which she found “beautiful.”

An unlikely mole, Follini, who works as an interior decorator in Ancona, Italy, admits she has little interest in the science behind the study. Motivated instead by a desire to get to know herself better, she gamely made herself at home 30 feet underground in a constantly lit 10-foot-by-20-foot wood-and-Plexiglas box. Her hideaway included a pair of computers—her only two-way communication link to the surface—a metal folding chair, a bedroll, a two-burner hot plate and a privy. Follini decorated her lair with construction-paper cutouts of grass, a tree and a cat.

- Academy Awards Ceremony
- Los Isleños Fiesta
- Reindeer Driving Competition
- Smithsonian Kite Festival
- Tok Race of Champions Dog Sled Race
- Williams (Tennessee) New Orleans
Literary Festival
- March, late, or early April**
- Boat Race Day (Thames River)
- March, late, to early April**
- Cherry Blossom Festival, National
- FeatherFest
- Ten Days on the Island
- March, late to mid-April**
- Melbourne International Comedy Festival
- March, full moon day**
- Phagwa
- March or April**
- Costa Rica National Arts Festival
- Cow Fights
- March-April**
- Bermuda College Weeks
- Crane Watch
- Dipri Festival
- Florida Heritage Festival
- Hanami
- Lac Long Quan Festival
- Natchez Spring and Fall Pilgrimages
- Spoken Word Festival, Calgary
International
- Spring Break
- Thay Pagoda Festival
- March-May**
- Keukenhof Flower Show
- March-July**
- Holy Ghost, Feast of the
- March, or in some areas October**
- Ngmayem Festival
- March-November**
- Grand Prix
- Spring**
- Daedala
- Nyambinyambi
- Sabantui
- Stickdance
- Tangata Manu (Birdman Ceremony)
- Spring, early**
- Cree Walking-Out Ceremony
- Eagle Dance
- Paro Tsechu

The project and its findings are already of interest to NASA, which is contemplating a manned mission to Mars that would take at least two years. Cut off from sunlight, Follini's body abandoned normal day-to-day rhythms and switched to an internal clock. Without realizing, she took to staying awake for 24 hours at a stretch, then sleeping for 10. Change in hormonal production caused her to stop menstruating. Time, as she perceived it, ceased to be broken into increments but became "a continuous moment." *People magazine*, 12 June, 1989

I look at my watch and try to recall what day it is. By those acts alone I re-enter the reality of daily life. *Peter L. Berger & Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality*

A clock signifies occupations and undertakings, movements and the start of transactions. For men keep their eyes on the time in all that they do. And so, if **a clock falls apart or is broken**, it means bad luck and death, especially for the sick. But it is always better to count the hours before **the sixth hour** than those after it. *Artemidorus,*

Oneirocritica (The Interpretation of Dreams), 2nd c. CE

Quitting Your Job: On my last day at my previous job I was given a watch stopped at 4pm ("Quittin' Time"), as a farewell gift. It's beautiful to be in possession of a broken clock that's right not only twice a day but always, or more precisely, never, with an intimation of always. I have it on the windowsill beyond my computer & I move my eyes from the face of that watch to whatever I'm doing on the screen, just as I once flashed my eyes from the screen to the working clock above the office door. *Dana Ward*

A correspondent for *The Organ of the Inquisitive and the Curious* reported that Baudelaire had removed the hands from his clock and written on the face: 'It's later than you think!' *Walter Benjamin, The Arcades Project*

Spring, first Month

Isthmian Games

Spring, during full moon in Sagittarius

World Invocation Day (Festival of

Goodwill)

Spring and Fall

Green Festivals

April

Billboard Latin Music Awards

Birmingham International Festival

Cherry Blossom Festival (Northern

California)

Confederados Reunion

Dogwood Festival

Geranium Day

Great Moonbuggy Race

Istanbul Festivals, International

Land Diving

Latin Festival (Feriae Latinae)

Poetry Month, National

Nganja, Feast of

Osaka International Festival

Road Building

Royal Shows

Seville Fair

Tako-Age (Kite Flying)

Tribeca Film Festival

Winston 500

April 01

April Fools' Day

Greek Cypriot National Day

April 01 and October 01

San Marino Investiture of New Captains

Regent

April 02

Children's Book Day, International

Pascua Florida Day

April 03

Cambodia National Culture Day

Guinea Second Republic Day

April 04

Megalesia

San Isidro of Seville, Feast of

Senegal Independence Day

Shellfish Gathering (Shiohi-gari)

April 04-10

Ludi

April 06

Chakri Day

Latter-Day Saints, Founding of the

**A
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The Clock (*L'Horloge*)

Clock! sinister god, appalling, unperturbed, whose hand threatens and says to us: “*Remember!* shooting Pains will soon land in your terror-filled heart as into a target;

“nebulous Pleasure will flee toward the horizon like a sylphide into the wings; each instant devour a morsel of your delight, which each man is allotted in his season.

“Three thousand six hundred times per hour the Second-hand whispers: *Remember!* —Rapidly, with its insect voice, Now says: I am Long Ago, and I have sucked dry your life with my filthy proboscis!

“*Remember! Souviens-toi*, prodigal! Esto memor! (My metal throat speaks all languages.) Minutes, playful mortal, are the ore which you should not chuck before extracting the gold!

“*Remember* that Time is an avid gambler who wins every time without cheating! That’s the law. Day declines; night swells; *remember!* The void is always athirst; the waterclock runs dry.

“Soon will sound the hour when divine Chance, when majestic Virtue, your virgin spouse, when Repentance itself (ah! the last shelter!) when everything will tell you: Die, old coward! it is too late!” Charles Baudelaire

Church of

April 06, Saturday after

Candle Auction

April 07

Armenia Motherhood and Beauty Day

April 08

Hana Matsuri (Flower Festival)

Vesak (Wesak; Buddha’s Birthday)

April 09

Appomattox Day

Bataan Day

Budget Day

April 10

Salvation Army Founder’s Day

April 12

Cosmonauts Day

Halifax Day

Liberia National Redemption Day

April 12–15

Songkran

April 12–19

Ludi

April 13

Jefferson’s (Thomas) Birthday

April 13 or 14

Bisket Jatra

Sinhala Avurudu

April 14

Pan American Day

April 14–15

Takayama Matsuri

April 15

Kim Il-Sung, Birthday of

Robinson (Jackie) Day

April 16

Emancipation Day (Washington, D.C.)

Margrethe’s (Queen) Birthday

April 17

Madara Kijinsai (Demon-God Event)

Syria National Day

Verrazano (Giovanni da) Day

April 18

Zimbabwe Independence Day

April 19

Cerealia (Cerialia)

Primrose Day

Venezuela Independence Day

April 19 and 25, Thursday between

First Day of Summer (Iceland)

April 21

Allegory of Temperantia (Temperance), 15th century. "Tempus", the Latin word for time, (Eng. "temporal", "temporary") often conveyed notions of "measure/proper mixture/moderation" – hence the clock atop Temperance's head.



[In Brussels, Baudelaire] was safe from his creditors but had little to live on. And he couldn't settle his hotel bill at the Hôtel du Grand Miroir, where he lived in a small cell of a room. Since the room had no clock on the mantelpiece and his watch was at the pawn shop, he told time by the church bells. Norman R. Shapiro, Introduction to *Les Fleurs du Mal*

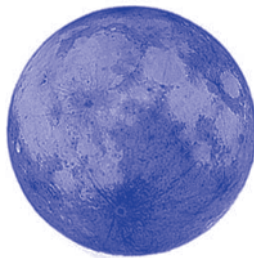
The first mechanical clocks ... were simply automatic bell ringers designed to rouse pious monks from bed and keep them on schedule. ... In the Judeo-Christian heritage, time has always belonged to God. According to Genesis, God began time by dividing light from dark and setting the heavens moving. And since Adam and Eve's eviction from Eden, God's ownership has demanded hard labor—time on earth must be spent working, to earn our daily bread. If you believe God intended you to work, then it follows that the harder you work, the more you please God. Time in this sense is like a loan from God: men and women have an obligation to use it wisely, to "improve the time," as the Puritans put it. Michael O'Malley, *Keeping Watch: A History of American Time*

- Kartini Day
- Parilia (Palilia)
- San Jacinto Day
- April 21, week including**
- Inconfidência Week
- April 21, 10 days including**
- San Antonio, Fiesta
- April 21–May 02**
- Ridvan, Feast of
- April 22**
- Arbor Day
- Auntie Litter's Annual Earth Day Parade and Celebration
- Earth Day
- Oklahoma Day
- April 22–24**
- Moors and Christians Fiesta
- April 23**
- Children's Day
- Green George Festival
- Shakespeare's (William) Birthday
- St. George's Day
- St. George's Day (Syria) (Id Mar Jurjus)
- Turkey National Sovereignty and Children's Day
- Vinalia
- April 23, on or near**
- Peppercorn Ceremony
- April 23, week including**
- Conch Republic Independence Celebration.
- April 24**
- Armenian Martyrs' Day
- Children's Day
- April 25**
- Africa Malaria Day
- Anzac Day
- Italy Liberation Day
- Portugal Liberation Day
- River Kwai Bridge Week
- Robigalia
- Sinai Liberation Day
- St. Mark's Day
- St. Mark's Day (Hungary)
- April 26**
- Audubon Day
- Tanzania Union Day
- April 27**
- Santo Toribio Fiesta
- Sierra Leone Independence Day

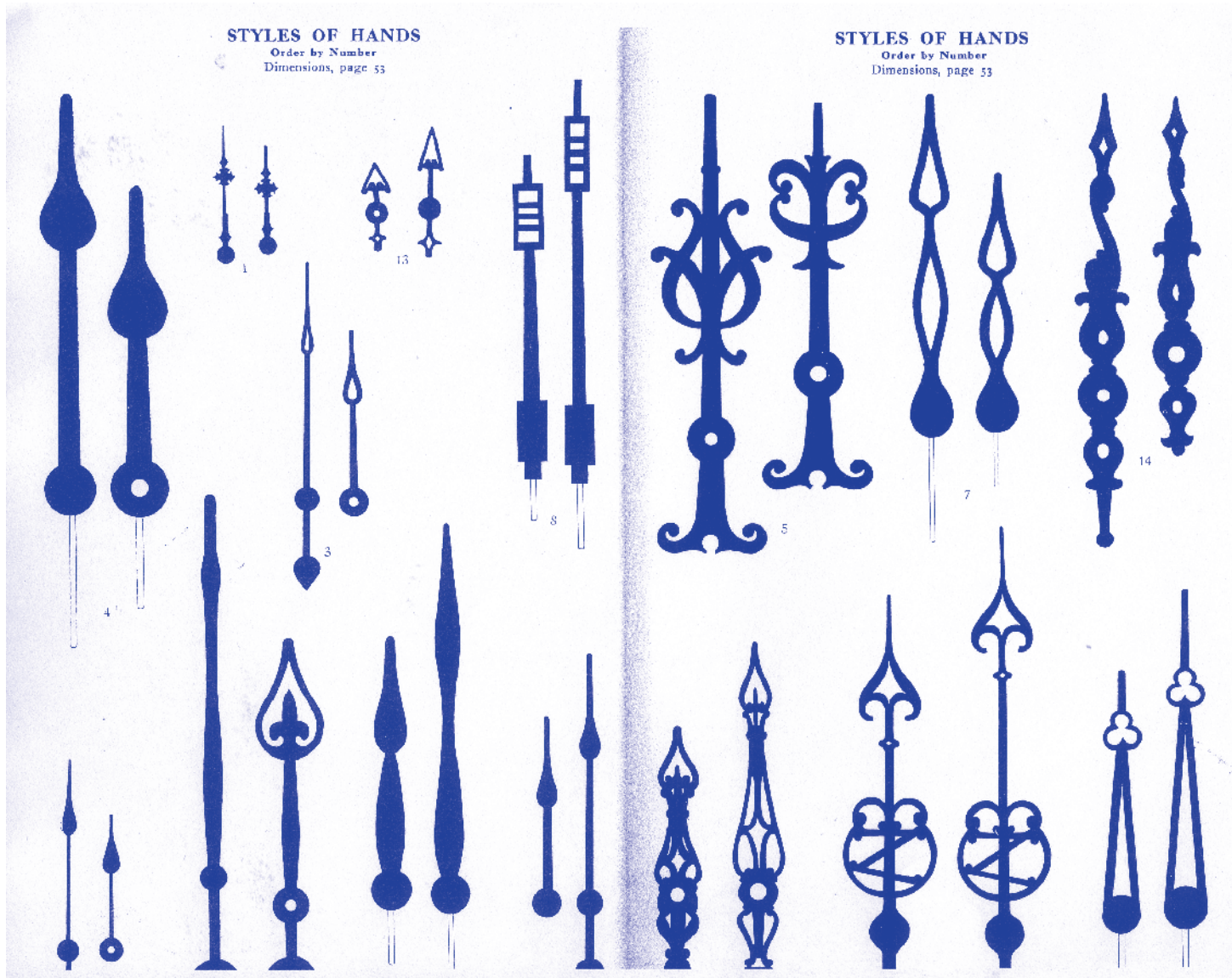
In times before industrial noise pollution, the ringing of the town bell was audible at the city limits, and indeed sometimes served to demarcate the boundary between neighboring villages. (The French word for ‘bell’ [*cloche*] came to mean ‘clock’ as well.) Particular town clocks were envied for their ornateness or beauty but rarely for their accuracy (no minute hands). Into the seventeenth century, many town clocks were still regularly reset by sundials. ☹☹☹☹☹☹

At home I live in a tower where at dawn and at sunset every day a very big bell rings out the *Ave Maria*. This jangling frightens my very tower; to me, it seems unendurable at first, but in a short time it has me tamed, so that I hear it without a disturbance and often without awakening. *Michel de Montaigne, Of custom*

Bells were not mere time-keepers; they were among the central media of religious and civic communication in late medieval and early modern Europe. Bells were located in either church steeples or municipally owned towers, often with custody battles between church and state (see more on bells below). Again we see the truism in the history of time-keeping that whoever sets the time controls the society. Today the state has won decisive control over the time, or to be more precise, the military, as in the U. S. Naval Observatory, which sets the official time in the United States. Physicists are the new priests. *John Durham Peters, Calendar, Clock, Tower*



South Africa Freedom Day
Togo Independence Day
April 27–May 03
Floralia
Ludi
April 28
Freedom of Entry Ceremony
April 29
Greenery Day
Kyokusui-no-En
April 29–May 03
Uesugi Matsuri
April 30
May Day Eve (Ireland)
May Day Eve (Italy)
May Day Eve (Switzerland)
(MaitagVorabend)
May Day Eve (Czech Republic)
Juliana's (Queen) Birthday
Saigon Liberation Day
St. James's Day
Walpurgis Night (Walpurgisnacht)
April 30–May 01
Minehead Hobby Horse Parade
April, biennially
Awuru Odo Festival
April, three days
Sandburg Days Festival
April, early
Chinhae Cherry Blossom Festival
Hitachi Fuyumono
Sealing the Frost
April, early, Saturday in
Great Falls Ski Club Mannequin Jump
April, early, to mid–May
Ombashira Matsuri
April, first Saturday
Grand National
April, first full week
Masters Golf Tournament
April, first weekend and Monday
Tater Days
April, second Friday
Liberian Fast and Prayer Day
April, mid–
Arctic Circle Race
Chhau Mask-Dance Festival
French Quarter Festival
Kiribati National Health Day
Santamaría (Juan) Day



- Thingyan
 Water-Splashing Festival (Dai New Year)
 Wildlife Film Festival, International
April, mid-, to early May
 St. Mark, Fair of (Feria de San Marcos)
April, mid-, to late September
 Tivoli Gardens Season
April, third Monday
 Boston Marathon
 Patriots' Day
April, third Monday, eve of
 Annual Lantern Ceremony
April, third Monday and preceding Sunday
 Sechseläuten
April, third week
 Whistlers Convention, International
April, third weekend
 Kewpiesta
 New England Folk Festival
April, fourth Monday
 Fast Day
April, fourth Thursday
 Take Our Daughters to Work Day
April, last Sunday
 Landsgemeinde
April, first weekend after last Wednesday
 Butter and Egg Day
April, last Friday
 Arbor Day
April, last Saturday
 Cynonfardd Eisteddfod
 Maryland Hunt Cup
April, begins Sunday before last weekend
 University of Pennsylvania Relay Carnival
April, last full week
 Administrative Professionals Week
 World's Biggest Fish Fry
April, last week
 Tucson International Mariachi Conference
April, last full weekend
 Shad Festival
April, last weekend
 Landing of d'Iberville
 Stockton Asparagus Festival
 Vermont Maple Festival
 Vidalia Onion Festival

A feeling for the value of time, notwithstanding all “rationalization,” is not met with even in the capital of Russia. Trud, the trade-union institute for the study of work, under its director, Gastiev, launched a poster campaign for punctuality. From earliest times a large number of clockmakers have been settled in Moscow. Like medieval guilds, they are crowded in particular streets, on the Kuznetsky Bridge, on Ulitsa Gertsena. One wonders who actually needs them. “Time is money”—for this astonishing statement posters claim the authority of Lenin, so alien is the idea to the Russians. They fritter everything away. (One is tempted to say that minutes are a cheap liquor of which they can never get enough, that they are tipsy with time.) If on the street a scene is being shot for a film, they forget where they are going and why, and follow the camera for hours, arriving at the office distraught. In his use of time, therefore, the Russian will remain “Asiatic” longest of all. Once I needed to be wakened at seven in the morning: “Please knock tomorrow at seven.” This elicited from the *Schweizar*—as hotel porters are called here—the following Shakespearean monologue: “If we think of it we shall wake you, but if we do not think of it we shall not wake you. Actually we usually do think of it, and then we wake people. But to the sure, we also forget and are under no obligation, of course, but if it crosses our mind, we do it. When do you want to be wakened? At seven? Then we shall write that down. You see, I am putting the message there where he will find it. Of course, if he does not find it, then he will not wake you. But usually we do wake people.” The real unit of time is the *seichas*. This means “at once.” You can hear it ten, twenty, thirty times, and wait hours, days or weeks until the promise is carried out. By the same token, you seldom hear the answer no. Negative replies are left to time. Time catastrophes, time collisions are therefore as much the order of the day as *remonte* [the constant, frantic rearranging and replacing of activities, offices and bureaus in Soviet life]. They make each hour superabundant, each day exhausting, each life a moment. Walter Benjamin, “Moscow”

April, last weekend—first weekend in May
 Buccaneer Days
April, last two weeks
 Carnival (U.S. Virgin Islands)
April, late
 Crosses, Festival of the (Fiesta de las Cruces)
 Georgia Harmony Jubilee
 Jazzkaar Festival
April, late, to early May
 New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival
April or May
 Aboakyer Festival
 Diamond Head Crater Celebration
 Moro-Moro Play
 Spamarama
April—May
 Stanford Antigua Sailing Week
 To Kill a Mockingbird Annual Production
April—May, every 4–6 years
 Floralties
April and June, between
 Blessing of the Bikes
April—October, every 10 years
 Floriade
April and October, two events
 Morija Arts and Cultural Festival
April—November
 Stratford Festival
May
 Burning of the Ribbons (Queima das Fitas)
 Cannes Film Festival
 Ch'un-hyang Festival
 Dhungri Fair
 Elisabeth (Queen) International Music Competition
 Fleet Week (New York City)
 Geranium Day
 Jammolpur Ceremony
 Land Diving
 Lilac Festival
 May Festival, International
 Mayfest, International
 Mayoring Day
 Memphis in May International Festival
 Mille Miglia
 Monaco Grand Prix
 Pike Festival, National
 Punjabi American Festival

**M
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Y**



THE SEVEN-DAY WARS

FROM THE SEVEN DAY CIRCLE:
THE HISTORY AND MEANING
OF THE WEEK

EVITAR ZERUBAVEL

CHAPTER TWO

The Seven-Day Wars

THE STORY of both Christian and Moslem weeks helps to shed some light on the political significance, as well as use, of the calendar, indicating how dramatic political changes are often accompanied by equally radical changes in the social structuring of time.¹ This "political" dimension of the weekly cycle will now be further explored.

While both Christianity and Islam have deliberately modified the internal structure of the original Jewish week by shifting its "peak," they have nevertheless both preserved its basic seven-day rhythmic form. However, throughout history, there have been a couple of very serious attempts to totally obliterate the seven-day "beat" through the introduction of alternative weekly cycles of an entirely different length altogether.

In the establishment of the length of the week and its diffusion throughout the world, religion was clearly the dominant force. The story of the two attempts to crush the seven-day week is, therefore, a story of Kulturkampf, the struggle of the modern state to overthrow traditional religious authority. Religion, however, may be the most resilient component of any tradition, and eliminating the seven-day week once it has been established as a regulator, as well as symbol, of religious life becomes next to impossible. The complete failure

27

Rodgers Festival, Jimmie
Simbra Oilor (Sheep Counting)
Tako-Age (Kite Flying)
Wall Street Rat Race
Washington State Apple Blossom
Festival

May 01

Beltane
Bona Dea Festival
Cheese Rolling
Cross-Quarter Days
Fire Festivals
Law Day
Lei Day
Loyalty Day
Marshall Islands Constitution Day
May Day
May Day (France)
May Day (Scandinavia)
May Day (Spain)
May Day (Czech Republic) (Prvého Máje)
Moving Day
St. Evermaire, Game of
St. Joseph the Worker, Feast of
St. Tammany's Day
Vappu

May 01, begins first Thursday after

Calendimaggio

May 01-04

Sant' Efsio, Festival of

May 01-15

San Isidro in Peru, Fiesta of

May 01-31

Flores de Mayo (El Salvador)

May 01-July 31

Wicklow Gardens Festival

May 03

Aymuray (Song of the Harvest)

Día de la Santa Cruz (Day of the Holy
Cross)

Exaltation of the Cross, Feast of the
Polish Constitution Day

May 03-04

Hakata Dontaku

May 03-05

Tako-Age (Kite Flying)

May 04

Cassinga Day

Kent State Memorial Day

Restoration of Independence of the

of the two boldest attempts to accomplish precisely that only makes the success of this seven-day religious cycle all the more impressive.

The French Ten-Day *Décade*

On December 20, 1792, the new assembly ruling France, the National Convention, authorized the Committee of Public Instruction to consider a general reform of the existing calendar. The committee essentially adopted a proposal originally made four years earlier by Pierre-Sylvain Maréchal,² and proceeded to recommend the establishment of a new calendar based on twelve new 30-day months, each of which would be divided into precisely three 10-day weekly cycles called *décades*.³

On October 10, 1793, only five days after the committee had presented its report to the convention, the official *Journal de France* discontinued its practice of dating issues using the traditional day of the week. Three weeks later, it began designating days by the committee's newly proposed names: Primidi, Duodi, Tridi, Quartidi, Quintidi, Sextidi, Septidi, Octidi, Nonidi, and Décadi. More significantly, on October 6, the convention had resolved to fix all public officials' rest days on Décadi. That resolution became an official decree on November 24, 1793, the day the entire new Revolutionary calendar was put into effect.⁴

A child of the Enlightenment, the French Revolution was supposed to inaugurate a new Age of Reason. As a symbol essentially representing its true spirit,⁵ the new calendar was thus expected by its architects to help promote clarity and precision and substitute "the reality of reason for the visions of ignorance."⁶ It was by no mere coincidence that some of the eminent scholarly authorities they consulted—such as the mathematicians Joseph Louis Lagrange and Gaspard Monge—were also members of the committee that had just introduced the metric reform of the traditional system of measures and weights. The French Republican calendrical reform was essentially an extension of the latter, and the day was to become the functional analogue of the meter and the gram. The new system of units of time was largely based on the decimal principle, which is one of the cornerstones of Western mathematics. Along with the introduction of the new ten-day week, the reformers divided the day into ten hours, each of those into 100 "decimal minutes," and each of the latter into 100 "decimal seconds," so that practically all the new units of time shorter than the month were interrelated in decimal terms! The architects of the reform were fully aware of the tremendous symbolic significance of that. When trying to legitimize the

introduction of the *décade*, they were careful to emphasize the "clear reason" underlying the "rational" and "scientific" decimal system, particularly in contrast to the supposedly superstitious astrological basis of the seven-day week.⁷

The real target of the reform campaign, however, was the Christian, rather than the astrological, seven-day week, and, from a symbolic standpoint, the abolition of the seven-day "beat" expressed the wish to de-Christianize France far more than the attempt to make life there more "rational." Whereas the traditional calendar had been associated with the priesthood and with "Catholic superstition," the new calendar was supposed to be a civil calendar, divested of any religious associations.⁸ As Maréchal had originally proposed, "the calendar of the French Republic . . . must not resemble in any respect the official annuals of the apostolic and Roman Church."⁹ It is, therefore, hardly surprising that his original reform proposal, his *Almanach des Honnêtes Gens*, had actually been burnt by the Bourbon government as "impious, sacrilegious, blasphemous, and tending to destroy religion."¹⁰

Hence the particular symbolic significance of the abolition of the Saints' Days, the replacement of the Christian Era by a Republican Era that began in 1792, and the substitution of September 22 for January 1 as New Year's Day.¹¹ Yet the most significant calendrical contribution to the attempt to de-Christianize France was undoubtedly the obliteration of the seven-day week and, along with it, Sunday. Thus, when the chief architect of the new calendar, Charles-Gilbert Romme, was asked what the main purpose of the new calendar was, he could reply unequivocally: "To abolish Sunday."¹² The *décade*—or, rather, to be more precise, its "peak day," Décadi—came to be the single most important symbol of the de-Christianization of France. The Kulturkampf waging in France during the 1790s was thus largely a struggle between "Dominicans" (from *dies dominica*, the Latin for "Sunday") and "Decadists,"¹³ and, indeed, it was often portrayed by the pamphleteers of that period as a struggle between Monsieur-Dimanche ("Mr. Sunday," representing the Church) and Citizen Décadi ("Citizen Décadi," representing the State).¹⁴

During the period commonly known as the Reign of Terror, the French Republic made great efforts to obliterate the seven-day rhythm, which was associated symbolically as well as practically with church-attending practices. Churches were allowed to open only on Décadi, and citizens were forbidden to close their stores on Sunday and wear their *habits du dimanche* ("Sunday best").¹⁵ However, while systematically destroying the traditional seven-day rhythm, the revolutionary authorities were also busy trying to have it replaced by an alternative weekly rhythm, based entirely on the *décade*. As soon

Republic of Latvia
Rhode Island Independence Day
May 04–05
Dutch Liberation Day
May 05
Cinco de Mayo
Ethiopia Patriots' Victory Day
Japan Constitution Memorial Day
Kodomo-no-Hi (Children's Day)
Napoleon's Day
Tango-no-Sekku (Boys' Day Festival)
Thailand Coronation Day
Urini Nal (Children's Day)
May 06
Hidrellez Festival
Martyrs' Day (Lebanon)
St. George's Day (Bulgaria)
Syria Martyrs' Day
May 07
Tagore (Rabindranath), Birthday of
May 07–08
St. Nicholas's Day (Italy)
May 08
Blavatsky (Helena Petrovna), Death of
Helston Flora Day
Nabekamuri Matsuri (Pan-on-Head Festival)
May 09
Lemuralia
St. Christopher's Day
St. Joan of Arc, Feast Day of
Victory Day (Russia)
May 10
Golden Spike Anniversary
May 11
Lemuralia
May 11–13
Frost Saints' Days
May 12
Garland Day
May 12, week including
Hospital Week, National
May 13
Jamestown Day
Our Lady of Fátima Day
May 14
Carabao Festival
Liberia National Unification Day
May 14–15
Paraguay Independence Day

as the Revolutionary calendar was put into effect, they introduced a new set of civil holidays into French public life. These holidays were all based on this new weekly rhythm, and were appropriately called "decadal festivals" (*fêtes décadales*).

Some of these holidays were already celebrated in late 1793,¹⁶ yet the idea that every Décadi would be celebrated is associated with the rise of Maximilien Robespierre to absolute power in 1794. On April 6 (a day after the introduction of a new civil-religious cult was first recommended by the Committee of Public Safety, and also the day on which his archrival Danton was executed), he proposed that decadal festivals, to be celebrated on successive Décadis, be established on a regular basis.¹⁷ Then, on May 7, he issued a decree introducing thirty-six decadal festivals—corresponding to the thirty-six Décadis of the new calendar year—each of which was to be dedicated to some abstract idea (such as patriotism or filial piety).¹⁸ The celebration of the Festival of the Supreme Being throughout France on June 8, 1794—with Robespierre himself presiding over the festivities in the gardens of the Tuileries—was supposed to inaugurate this new annual cycle of weekly festivals, the observance of which was to be based entirely on the new ten-day rhythm.

As a functional substitute for the Church's Lord's Day, Décadi was essentially part of a "decadal religion,"¹⁹ and was to be celebrated in holy temples (which later would indeed be called "decadal temples"²⁰), opening and closing with the singing of hymns.²¹ The only significant difference between this new ten-day weekly cult and the seven-day weekly cult which it was obviously supposed to replace was that it was to be consecrated to the French Republic rather than to Christ. Thus, for example, the hymn that would close the celebration of Décadi was the patriotic *l'hymne des Marseillais*, which would later become the French national anthem.

It took four years, however, before Robespierre's dream actually came true. On July 27, 1794, only seven weeks after the celebration of the Festival of the Supreme Being, he was overthrown and executed, his downfall marking the end of the Reign of Terror and the beginning of a relatively moderate three-year period. Some of the festivals being observed in France during that period—especially after the enactment of the Law of National Festivals on October 25, 1795—were still celebrated on Décadi.²² Particularly noteworthy are the six so-called "moral festivals"—dedicated to Youth, Spouses, Gratitude, Agriculture, Liberty, and the Old, respectively—which were observed on the first Décadi of each of the last six months of the Republican calendar year. However, major annual holidays such as the commemorative anniversaries of the execution of King Louis XVI, the destruction of the Bastille, the storming of the Tuileries,

the foundation of the French Republic, and the fall of Robespierre were all fixed on annual dates that never coincided with Décadi.²³ (The permanent correspondence between particular annual dates and particular days of the *décade* will be discussed later.) With not all Décadis being observed as national holidays, as Robespierre had envisioned it, the significance of the new weekly rhythm was obviously declining.

All that changed dramatically soon after the coup d'état of September 4, 1797, when the ruling Directory essentially reinstated the 1793–94 de-Christianization policy, among the major victims of which were Sunday and the seven-day week. The ten-day *décade*, originally proposed in 1788 and officially introduced in 1793, was to reach its heyday during 1798 and 1799, when it came to be at the very center of a major cult that was actually even named after it.

Part of an attempt to establish a rationalistic national "church" similar to the one envisioned by Robespierre, the so-called "decadal cult" (*culte décadaire*) was a product of Theophilanthropy, a civil religious movement that flourished among the Republican intelligentsia and the Parisian bourgeois elite and was actually patronized by one of the most influential members of the Directory, La Révellière-Lépeaux.²⁴ Yet the man who ought to get the full credit—or blame—for introducing and implementing it was Merlin de Douai, who actually presided over the Directory and was personally responsible for authoring the decree of April 3, 1798, which, for the first time, made the observance of the ten-day week mandatory.²⁵

The decree—later ratified through the laws of August 4 and September 9²⁶—constituted the first rigorous attempt ever to obliterate the seven-day week through the enforcement of the use of an alternative weekly cycle. To be sure, during the Reign of Terror, the authorities compiled lists of heads of families who did not participate in the decadal festivals, and Sunday-observers were condemned as non-Republicans as well as dangerous enemies of liberty, equality, and the poor.²⁷ However, legal sanctions against those who defied the *décade* were usually not enforced. That was to change dramatically in 1798, when severe fines and even jail sentences were applied to such violations as opening one's store on Décadi or closing it on Sundays that did not coincide with Décadi. The laws of 1798 made the closing of all stores, government offices and tribunals, and public as well as private schools on Décadi (as well as on Quintidi afternoon) mandatory. The dominance of the new weekly rhythm was also felt in commerce, as all fairs and markets were fixed on particular days of the *décade*. The laws also prohibited the use of the traditional designations of the days of the week in journals, contracts, and posters.

May 15

Aoi Matsuri

Lemuralia

Race of the Ceri

San Isidro the Farmer, Feast of

St. Dymphna's Day

May 15, Sunday after

St. Gens, Festival of (La Fête de St. Gens)

May 16

St. Brendan's Day

May 17

Mut I-ard

Norway Constitution Day (Syttende Mai)

May 17, weekend nearest

Syttende Mai Fest

May 17–18

Toshogu Haru-No-Taisai (Great Spring Festival of the Toshogu Shrine)

May 18

Haiti Flag and University Day

May 18, weekend near

Sanja Matsuri (Three Shrines Festival)

May 19

Atatürk Remembrance (Youth and Sports Day)

Ho Chi Minh's Birthday

Malcolm X's Birthday

St. Dunstan's Day

May 20

Cameron National Day

East Timor Independence Day

Emancipation Day (Tallahassee, Florida)

Mecklenburg Independence Day

May 21

Chile Battle of Iquique Day (Día de las Glorias Navales)

May 21–23

Anastenaria

May 22

Biological Diversity, International Day for

Maritime Day, National

Santa Rita, Fiesta of

Yemen Independence and National Days

May 22–23

Bab, Declaration of the

May 24

Bermuda Day

Bulgarian Culture Day

Commonwealth Day

Eritrea Independence Day

The Directory's main goal was obvious—to pull the entire social and economic life of France outside the sphere of the traditional Christian weekly rhythm, so as to make the latter absolutely irrelevant to daily life. Just as we would find it most difficult—as we shall see later—to adhere to a ten-day rhythmic pattern of activity in a social world dominated by the ubiquitous seven-day “beat,” so would the French find it almost impossible to even keep track of the days of the seven-day week when almost their entire affairs would be regulated by a ten-day rhythm of activity. Furthermore, how would anyone be able to preserve the traditional Christian way of life and attend church regularly every Sunday, when stores could be closed only on Décadis and Quintidi afternoons? Similarly, given that fish markets were held only on Duodi, Quintidi, and Septidi,²⁸ how would citizens be able to keep eating fish every Friday?

The manner in which French citizens were supposed to celebrate the decadal festivals, which began to reappear at least since January 1798,²⁹ was formally spelled out in yet a third law, which the Directory passed on August 30, 1798.³⁰ Essentially reintroducing rites that had been practiced back in 1794 yet which had never been enforced as mandatory,³¹ this law revolved around the “decadal reunion” (*réunion décadaire*), a patriotic celebration of the French Republic, that was to take place regularly every Décadi, as Robespierre had envisioned it. Since the new weekly rhythm associated with the cult of France was essentially meant to be the functional substitute for the traditional weekly rhythm associated with the cult of Christ, some parallels between the weekly celebration of the French Republic every Décadi and the traditional weekly celebration of the Lord's Day every Sunday might be expected. And, indeed, as we learn from actual descriptions of decadal reunions held during 1798 and 1799,³² they were essentially modeled after the traditional Sunday gatherings of the Church, which they were obviously designed to replace.

From August 30, 1798, all wedding and adoption ceremonies, as well as all official announcements of births, deaths, and divorces, had to take place at the decadal reunions, and were thus tied to the new weekly rhythm of French collective life. At those reunions, magistrates would also deliver sermonlike moral lectures on citizenship and read to their communities the recent news as well as the laws that were passed during the preceding *décade*. These, along with the major themes emphasized in the moral lectures, would normally be provided in circulars which supplemented the periodic “biweekly” of the decadal cult, namely the *Bulletin décadaire des affaires générales de la République*. Those circulars were issued regularly by the Minister of the Interior, François de Neufchâteau, whose particular sensitivity to minute details such as music and decor³³ makes

him worthy of being remembered as the actual producer, as well as “director,” of the decadal reunions.

While the *décade* and Décadi were being praised in popular songs since 1793,³⁴ they were also the obvious targets of satire. Thus, for example, in the 1796 Parisian comedy *Nicodème à Paris, ou la décade et le dimanche* (“Nicodeme in Paris, or the Ten-Day Week and Sunday”), the struggle between the revolutionary spirit and traditionalism is aptly captured in two youngsters' dilemma whether to get married on Sunday or 'on Décadi.³⁵ Yet the defiance of the *décade* by the French people obviously involved much more than mere satire, as many continued to rest on Sunday rather than observe Décadi.³⁶ Note, in this regard, that, until the decree of April 3, 1798, which explicitly outlawed the practice of “double dating,” even the official *Moniteur* would still parenthetically insert the traditional designation of the day of the week after the decadal one on its date line.³⁷ That people would need to know whether a particular Octidi was a Wednesday or a Sunday clearly seems to indicate that the seven-day week never really lost its calendrical dominance as the major rhythm regulating the collective life of the essentially traditionalistic French population.

Given all that, the Republican authorities must have regarded the 1798 laws as absolutely necessary. And yet, as they were soon to learn, implementing those laws and replacing Sunday by Décadi turned out to be next to impossible.³⁸ Thus, for example, many couples who would go through a civil wedding on Décadi would still also have their marriage sanctioned by a priest on Sunday. As for the mandatory Décadi rest, it was often defied by private schools run by former monks, nuns, and priests, as well as by merchants who would take off both Décadi and Sunday! (The defiance of the Décadi rest was primarily symbolic. The transition from a seven-day week to a ten-day week did not entail a reduction in the number of rest days, since the 1798 laws also allowed for a Quintidi afternoon rest.) All in all, with the main exception of Paris and the department of Yonne, the *décade* proved to be a complete failure and, particularly among the rural population, never managed to replace the seven-day week.

Bishop Henri Grégoire was right when he prophetically told the calendrical reformers back in 1793, “Sunday has existed before you, and it will survive you.”³⁹ Long before its official discontinuation, the decadal cult was already dying, and, following Merlin de Douai's and La Révellière-Lépeaux's resignation from the Directory on June 18, 1799, it all but completely disappeared in many parts of France.⁴⁰ However, as a child of the First Republic, the *décade* was also destined to die with it, and, at least officially, it would survive until

May 24, Sunday nearest

Aldersgate Experience

May 24, Monday nearest

Bonfire Night

May 24–25

Stes. Maries, Fête des

May 25

African Liberation Day

Argentine National Day

Jordan Independence Day

Lebanon Resistance and Liberation Day

Moving Day

May 25, week beginning

Week of Solidarity with the Peoples of

Non-Self-Governing Territories

May 26

Georgia Independence Day

Guyana Independence Day

May 27

Children's Day

May 27–June 03

Reconciliation Week, National

May 28

Armenia First Republic Day

Azerbaijan Independence Days

Ethiopia National Day

May 29

Baha'u'llah, Ascension of

Founder's Day

Garland Day

Shick-Shack Day (Shik-Shak Day,

Shicsack Day, Shig-Shag Day)

May 30

Indian Arrival Day

St. Joan of Arc, Feast Day of

May 30–31

Kaamatan Festival

May 31

Flores de Mayo (Philippines)

Royal Brunei Armed Forces Day

South Africa Republic Day

Visitation, Feast of the

May, biennially

Greenville Treaty Camporee

May, odd-numbered years

Islamic Festival

May, early

Royal Ploughing Ceremony

Shenandoah Apple Blossom Festival

May, three weeks

the appearance of Napoleon Bonaparte on the French national scene.

Soon after Napoleon's coup d'état on November 9, 1799, the *Bulletin décadaire* was discontinued. Then, on December 8, the new Minister of the Interior, Pierre Simon Laplace, annulled the decree that had forced "decadal temples" to close on any day other than Décadi, thus essentially allowing them to resume functioning as churches.⁴¹ An announcement made three weeks later by Napoleon's brother, Lucien Bonaparte, indicated that the anniversaries of the foundation of the Republic and of the destruction of the Bastille were to be the only festivals involving mandatory observance.⁴² The indirect implication was that the observance of Décadi was no longer mandatory, which soon led most of the French population living outside Paris to abandon the decadal festivals altogether.⁴³ Then, on July 26, 1800, Napoleon and his two assisting consuls issued a decree announcing that, with the single exception of public officials, who would still be bound by the mandatory Décadi rest, French citizens were free to rest on whatever days they wished.⁴⁴ On the following Décadi, only half of Paris's storekeepers kept their stores closed, and many of them were already condemned publicly as "Jacobins."

Following that, the fixing of markets and fairs on particular days of the *décade* and the fact that marriages were still being considered valid only from Décadi were the only significant remaining traces of the ten-day week in the life of French citizens other than public officials. People soon abandoned the decadal rhythm altogether, and on April 18, 1802 even the *Moniteur* went back to using the traditional designation of the day of the week on its date line.⁴⁵ Finally, on September 9, 1805, the official Sunday rest—along with the Gregorian calendar—was legally reinstated, and the restoration of the seven-day "beat" was completed.

The seven-day week was restored only after the conclusion of the concordat between Napoleon and the Pope, which essentially reestablished the Church in France. Just as introducing the *décade* was part of a general attempt to de-Christianize France, the restoration of the seven-day week was an integral part of Napoleon's general policy of reconciliation with the Church. The failure of the decadal experiment must therefore be understood within the context of the overall failure of the Revolution to de-Christianize France.

The introduction of the *décade* was undoubtedly one of the boldest attempts in history to obliterate the seven-day week, and the years 1793-1805 were definitely the darkest days of the latter since having been introduced to the West. The complete failure of this most impressive calendrical adventure ought to teach us a striking lesson about the tremendous resilience of tradition in general and of religion in particular. To further appreciate that lesson, we shall now examine

an even more radical attempt; made some 140 years later in the Soviet Union, to destroy the seven-day week.

The Soviet Five-Day *Nepreryvka*

In May 1929, at the Fifth Congress of the Soviets of the Union, a major reform of the existing workweek, which would involve the introduction of a so-called "uninterrupted production week," was proposed by delegate Larin.⁴⁶ The proposal attracted relatively little attention at the congress itself, yet Larin soon managed to get Joseph Stalin interested in it, and, within a couple of weeks, the Soviet press was already raving about his plan. By June, when Larin's proposal was examined by the "Rationalization Section" of the Supreme Economic Council, the Commissar of Labor, Ouglanov, was already its only remaining significant opponent, and, by late July, any opposition to the uninterrupted production week was ideologically crushed as "counterrevolutionary bureaucratic sabotage." Finally, on August 26, 1929, the Council of People's Commissaries of the Soviet Union officially announced that, starting from October 1, a major transition of all productive enterprises as well as offices from the traditional interrupted workweek to a continuous production week would be put into effect.⁴⁷

A year earlier, when the Soviet government launched its first "five-year plan," a socialist program of speedy industrialization, maximizing output growth was clearly one of the top items on its agenda. That obviously presupposed exploiting industrial equipment to its utmost, and the authorities resolved to reduce waste by making sure that the expensive machines would be utilized incessantly and never stand idle. The introduction of a continuous working day, based on a multiple-shift system that allowed production to proceed in an uninterrupted fashion even during nighttime, was an obvious product of this new Soviet emphasis on the continuity of industrial production. The traditional workweek, however, still involved an unproductive, wasteful weekly day of rest on which the output of the expensive equipment was precisely zero. Hence the various attempts, since 1927, to experiment with a *continuous workweek*.⁴⁸ These experiments clearly led to the introduction of the *nepreryvka* ("uninterrupted") in October 1929.

Maximizing output growth must have been Larin's main objective, as one can tell from the title of his original reform proposal, "Three Hundred or Three Hundred and Sixty,"⁴⁹ which obviously alluded to the prospect of exploiting industrial equipment sixty more days every year. It was also the main rationale provided by the Coun-

Prague Spring International Music Festival

May, first Sunday

Chongmyo Taeje (Royal Shrine Rite)

Cosby Ramp Festival

Sunday School Day

May, begins first Sunday

Family Week

May, first Monday

Eight-Hour Day

May, first Saturday

Kentucky Derby

Prague Kolache Festival

Seagull-Calling Contest

May, first full week

Be Kind to Animals Week

May, first week, through mid-July

Boston Pops

May, first full weekend

Irrigation Festival

May, first weekend

Blessing of the Shrimp Fleet

Crawfish Festival (Breau Bridge, Louisiana)

Iris Fest (Fete de l'Iris)

Kelly (Emmett) Clown Festival

Mushroom Festival

Nations, Festival of (Minnesota)

May, first weekend, biennial

Richmond Fossil Festival

May, second Sunday

Kattestoet (Festival of the Cats)

Mother's Day

May, second Sunday, to third

Sunday in June

Family Month, National

May, second weekend

Bar-B-Q Festival, International

Bun Bang Fai (Boun Bang Fay; Rocket Festival)

Downtown Hoedown

Tulip Time

May, mid-

St. Isidore, Festival of

Tejano Conjunto Festival

May, third Saturday

Armed Forces Day (United States)

Preakness Stakes

May, third weekend

Black Ships Festival

cil of People's Commissaries of the Soviet Union in their decree of August 26, 1929. And yet, if the concern with economic waste were indeed the only factor motivating the calendrical reform, the Soviet authorities could have easily preserved the seven-day week and simply replaced the traditional common weekly day of rest by seven different rest days all staggered vis-à-vis one another, just like the various shifts in the multiple-shift system. However, the introduction of a continuous workweek turned out to be only one component of an essentially twofold reform of the week. On September 24, 1929, a week before the *nepreryvka* was put into effect, the Council of People's Commissaries of the Soviet Union modified its original decree of August, adding that the new workweek would be a five-day, rather than a seven-day, cycle, with workers resting every fifth, rather than every seventh, day.⁵⁰

To appreciate the antireligious significance of this move, note that, originally, the days of the week were even supposed to retain their traditional names, with only Saturday and Sunday being removed from the weekly cycle.⁵¹ A satirical cartoon published in a Russian émigrés' newspaper from that period shows the same two days being shot by a Soviet soldier "for their bourgeois origins."⁵² These two weekly bastions of Judeo-Christian religious sentiments were clearly the main targets of a regime vehemently determined to fulfill the Marxist dream of crushing the "opiate of the masses." In fact, when the Commissar of Labor expressed his concern about the future of Sunday, he was told explicitly that the calendrical reform was introduced essentially to "combat the religious spirit."⁵³

As in France 140 years earlier, the main purpose of abolishing the seven-day week in the Soviet Union was to destroy religion there.⁵⁴ (Interestingly enough, shortly after the 1917 Revolution, a few attempts were made to follow the spirit of the French Revolution and introduce the ten-day *décade* to the Soviet Union.⁵⁵) Altering the length of the weekly cycle was supposed to pull the entire social and economic life of the Soviet Union outside the sphere of relevance of the traditional seven-day rhythm associated with its three major religions (Christianity, Islam, and Judaism), so as to make that rhythm of no use for any purpose whatsoever (and, thus, both obsolete and dispensable). In a social world where one's most important affairs would all be regulated in accordance with a five-day rhythm of activity, it would be most difficult to keep track of the traditional seven-day cycle and not to lose count of one's days of religious worship. More significantly, only once every thirty-five days, when the traditional and new weeks would coincide, would a Soviet worker be able to actually attend church on Sunday, mosque on Friday, or synagogue on Saturday. Thus, on any given traditional weekly day

of public worship, only one fifth of the entire Soviet work force (and not the same people every week) would be able to attend services, the other 80 percent being at work!

The days of the new weekly cycle were originally supposed to either retain their traditional Monday-through-Friday names or assume "revolutionary" names such as Trade Union, Soviet, Lenin, Komsomol, Party, Hammer, and Sickle, yet very soon they came to be known simply as "first day," "second day," and so on.⁵⁶ However, on some calendars as well as on slips indicating to workers the days on which they were off duty, particular days of the week soon also came to be associated with particular colors—the first day with yellow, the second with peach, the third with red, the fourth with purple, and the fifth one with green. It was also not uncommon that, in address books, people would add to the names of friends and acquaintances the color corresponding to the day of the week on which they were off duty.⁵⁷

The considerable salience of days off must be understood within the context of the peculiar temporal organization of the Soviet society from October 1929. It was quite understandable that one would become associated with one's regular weekly day off work, since the latter would be shared by only one fifth of the rest of the Soviet society. Soviet workers may have rested more often than their Western counterparts (once every five, rather than seven, days), yet they certainly did not rest together, as one society, since 80 percent of the entire Soviet working population would be at work on any given day.

In order to guarantee the continuous operation of productive enterprises, the Soviet authorities made a calendrical experiment that was essentially much more radical than the French reform of the week. Rather than merely alter the length of the week from a seven-day cycle to a five-day one, they essentially tried to destroy the idea of a common societal weekly cycle by abolishing the traditional Judeo-Christian institution of a single, uniform weekly day of rest that is commonly shared by the entire society.

Within Judaism, Christianity, or Islam, a single weekly rhythm also involves a single weekly cycle. However, a brief glance at the relations among those religions reminds us that such a state of affairs should not be taken for granted. Even within the Soviet Union itself, Christians, Moslems, and Jews had always adhered to the very same seven-day weekly rhythm while, at the same time, living in accordance with three distinct weekly cycles of activity that would peak on Sunday, Friday, and Saturday, respectively. (Likewise, within contemporary American society, the fact that many restaurant and museum employees are normally off on Mondays ought to remind us

Calaveras County Fair and Frog Jumping Jubilee
 Dulcimer Days
 Kingsburg Swedish Festival
 Maifest
May, second to last Sunday
 Cavalcata Sarda
May, begins last week
 Annapolis Valley Apple Blossom Festival
May, last Sunday
 Big Singing
May, last Monday
 Fiji Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna Day
 Memorial Day
May, last weekend
 DC Black Pride Festival
 Maytime Festival, International
May, Memorial Day weekend
 Alma Highland Festival and Games
 Coca-Cola 600
 Dakota Cowboy Poetry Gathering
 Detroit Electronic Music Festival
 General Clinton Canoe Regatta
 I Madonnari Italian Street Painting Festival
 Italian Festival
 Mule Days
 Northwest Folklife Festival
 Ole Time Fiddlers and Bluegrass Festival
 Polka Festival, National
 Sasquatch! Music Festival
 Tubman (Harriet) Annual Pilgrimage
 Ute Bear Dance
 Vandalia Gathering
May, Sunday before Memorial Day weekend
 Neighbor Day
May, Sunday of Memorial Day weekend
 Indianapolis 500
May, late
 Chelsea Flower Show
 Chestertown Tea Party Festival
 Regatta of the Great Maritime Republics
May, late Saturday
 Memorial Day Luminaria at
 Fredericksburg National Cemetery
May, late, during the week following
 Victoria Day
 Calgary International Children's Festival

that a seven-day work/rest "beat" does not necessarily mean having a regular day off on Sundays.)

The main social theme underlying the introduction of the *nepreryvka* was the obliteration of *temporal symmetry*, a traditional form of coordination that involves synchronizing the activities of different individuals so that they would take place together.⁵⁸ The Soviet reformers essentially tried to replace temporal symmetry with *temporal complementarity*,⁵⁹ an alternative pattern of coordination which involved staggering the activities of Soviet social life.⁶⁰ They replaced the seven-day week by no less than five new weeks, which, despite being of the same length, were nevertheless separate cycles that revolved around five different weekly days of rest. In short, by introducing the *nepreryvka*, the Soviet authorities essentially divided the entire society into five separate working populations, staggered vis-à-vis one another like the different voices in a polyphonic, five-voice fugue!

The "togetherness" brought about by temporal symmetry clearly enhances social solidarity, and Soviet workers who shared the same days off work were tied to one another by a special bond, quite like the one that exists among night-shift workers.⁶¹ That one would tend to choose one's friends from among those who shared the same days off is quite understandable, particularly given that, on days when workers had a day off, only about 20 percent of the people they knew would be available for socializing, the other 80 percent being at work. The problems inherent to trying to get together with people whose work schedules are essentially out of phase with one's own are obvious.

However, as indicated by the following complaint, which appeared in the official newspaper *Pravda* on the very day the *nepreryvka* was put into effect, such problems were dwarfed by the actual disruption of family life brought about by the reform: "What is there for us to do at home if our wives are in the factory, our children at school, and nobody can visit us. . . ? It is no holiday if you have to have it alone."⁶² Some degree of temporal symmetry is necessary for maintaining healthy family relationships, and the new emphasis on temporal complementarity obviously disrupted family life in the Soviet Union. The impossibility of bringing an entire family together other than after a long day's work or on the few annual holidays must have contributed considerably to the erosion of Soviet family life in this period.

Given the traditional Marxist aversion toward the family, it is quite conceivable that the eventual destruction of the family may have even been on the actual agenda of the architects of the Soviet calendrical reform.⁶³ Lenin's widow Nadia Krupskaya, for example,

explicitly regarded Sunday family reunions as a good enough reason for abolishing that day.⁶⁴ However, even if that had indeed been the case, workers' widespread discontent soon led the authorities to reconsider the matter, and, on March 16, 1930, the "Government Commission of the Council of Labor and Defense on the Transition of Enterprises and Offices to a Continuous Production Week" began recognizing families' requests for synchronized days off work as a legitimate factor to be considered upon designing work schedules.⁶⁵

Thus, in introducing the *nepreryvka*, the Soviet authorities were probably motivated not only by their wish to maximize output growth, but also by their aversion toward religion as well as the family. One other motivating factor may have been their inclination toward the *divide et impera* ("divide and rule") form of political dominance. The fact that only 20 percent of the entire Soviet work force would share a day off together on any given day probably made it most difficult for any serious political organization to get off the ground.

Along similar lines, the institutionalized absence of one fifth of the work force from work on any given day also ruled out the possibility of ever having general workers' meetings (which, ironically, had always been regarded by Marxists as necessary for the development of a strong class consciousness among the proletariat). The fact that, on any given day, only 80 percent of the workers would be at work also caused considerable problems in the management of work itself.⁶⁶ Most disruptive, however, were the problems of having to organize replacements for workers on the days they were off, and of maintaining the continuity of work despite the obvious discontinuities created daily by workers leaving for, or coming back from, their weekly days off. (Note also the peculiar situation of returning from one's day off work and having to catch up with one's fellow workers, who had been working in the meantime, a situation which most of us, who rest on the very same days that our fellow workers do, normally do not confront.)

The Soviet authorities recognized these problems and tried to address them.⁶⁷ In an attempt to alleviate the problem of continuity, they introduced special "transition periods"⁶⁸ designed to allow for a relatively gradual process of picking up as well as handing over responsibilities. Workers occupying highly specialized or executive functions were allowed to take off only the second or the fourth day of the new week. The third day could thus serve as a sort of "bridge" on which those who were just about to leave for their "week-end" would brief those who had just returned from theirs on current developments at work. Also, all important meetings were scheduled only for the first, third, and fifth days of the week, so that those

May, late, or early June

Bath International Music Festival
Bergen International Festival
DanceAfrica
Gawai Dayak
Hay-on-Wye Festival of Literature
Waila Festival
West Virginia Strawberry Festival

May, late—early July

Barnum Festival

May or June

Bachok Cultural Festival
Choctaw Trail of Tears Walk

May or June, even-numbered years

Roots Festival

May—June

Alpaufzug
Carnival Memphis
Fes Festival of World Sacred Music
Florence Musical May (Maggio Musicale
Fiorentino)

French Open Tennis

Gaspee Days

Gyangzê Horse-Racing Festival

Israel Festival

Istanbul Festivals, International

Rose Festival

Ruhr Festival

Shinran-Shonin Day

Sofia Music Weeks

Spoletto Festival USA

Thargelia

Vienna Festival

May—June, even-numbered years

Reykjavik Arts Festival (Listahátí
íReykjavík)

May—August

Banff Festival of the Arts

Glyndebourne Festival Opera

May—September

Byblos Festival

Graveyard Cleaning and Decoration Day

Jodlerfests (Yodeling Festivals)

Wolf Trap Summer Festival Season

May—September, Sunday

Pied Piper Open Air Theater

May—October, every 10 years

Oberammergau Passion Play

May—October, full moon nights

Ramayana Ballet

specialists and executives would never have to miss any of them. All other workers were divided into five roughly equivalent groups, each of which would rest on a different day of the week. Industrial plants often also employed "flying squads," consisting of supplementary workers with special "transferable" skills that allowed them to switch rapidly from one type of function to another. All these devices were part of a general attempt to depersonalize occupational functions so as to make more workers easily replaceable on a regular weekly basis. In facilitating the interchangeability and substitutability of workers, impersonality is probably the most distinctive characteristic of all bureaucratic systems.⁶⁹ Its particular indispensability for institutions that operate on a continuous basis⁷⁰ accounts for its special significance for the organization of Soviet labor after the introduction of the continuous production week.

One of the dangers of impersonalizing occupational functions, however, is the phenomenon of "floating responsibility,"⁷¹ whereby, when a particular responsibility may be assumed by more than one person, it is very often not assumed at all. And indeed, following the introduction of the *nepreryvka*, when workers were being replaced regularly by some other workers on one out of every five days and would thus no longer assume full responsibility for any task or equipment, there was a sharp decline in personal responsibility among Soviet labor. As early as spring 1930, even official organs were already reporting slower work and worse service, and attributing these to the continuous production week.⁷²

The connection between irresponsibility and impersonality (both of which are denoted in Russian by one and the same word, *obeslichka*) is made explicit in a 1931 cartoon, captioned "Go away, a pass without a personal picture is invalid," and portraying irresponsibility as a faceless old woman being chased out of an industrial plant.⁷³ The cartoon was published very shortly after Stalin's speech on the Soviet economic policy before a conference of business managers and industrial administrators on June 23, 1931. In that speech, Stalin singled out irresponsibility as the most urgent problem and the worst enemy that had "crept into our enterprises as an illegitimate companion of the continuous workweek":

many of our enterprises went over to continuous production too hastily, without preparing the necessary conditions, without properly organizing the shifts, so that they should compare more or less favorably in skill, without establishing the responsibility of each worker for a given task. As a result of this the continuous workweek, left to take its natural course, has led to irresponsibility. . . . As a result we have the lack of any sense of responsibility for work, careless handling of machines, mass breakage, and the absence of an incentive to increase the productiv-

ity of labor. . . . It follows from this that some of our comrades have been in too great a hurry in some places in introducing the continuous work week, and in their haste perverted the continuous work week by transforming it into a reign of irresponsibility.⁷⁴

Claiming that "it would, however, be incorrect to say that the continuous working week inevitably leads to irresponsibility in production," Stalin was clearly not ready to admit that the idea of introducing a continuous workweek might have been a mistake. However, being unable to figure out how to pour out the water without also spilling the baby, he recommended abandoning the *nepreryvka* altogether. He promised to restore "a real continuous work week without irresponsibility" when Soviet industry would be more adequately prepared for its successful reintroduction. In fact, as late as 1933, there were still some who seriously believed that the discontinuation of the *nepreryvka*—which had already been adopted by almost the entire Soviet industry⁷⁵—was only temporary.⁷⁶ As it turned out, however, the decree issued by the Council of People's Commissaries of the Soviet Union on November 23, 1931⁷⁷ came to mark the actual death of that calendrical experiment, only slightly more than two years after its inception. Following that decree, with the exception of a few instances where it was retained for several more years (for example, in public transportation, cooperative stores, and dining halls), the *nepreryvka* soon disappeared from the pages of history forever.

The discontinuation of the five-day week, however, by no means marked the restoration of the seven-day week. As we have already seen, more than just economic considerations had been responsible for the Soviet reform, and, indeed, as soon as the economic rationale for the abolition of the seven-day week disappeared, the much deeper antireligious sentiments of the reformers surfaced. The new cycle that came to replace the *nepreryvka* reinstated temporal symmetry through the reestablishment of a single weekly day of rest that was commonly shared by the entire Soviet society as a whole. However, while no longer being derived from a five-day weekly rhythm, neither was it based on the traditional seven-day rhythm associated with religion. From December 1, 1931, with very few exceptions, work throughout the Soviet Union was structured in accordance with a new, six-day week, the *chestidnevki*.⁷⁸

Between December 1931 and June 1940, every sixth day was regarded in the Soviet Union as a common day of rest. (To compensate workers for the considerable reduction in the number of rest days, the number of daily working hours was reduced accordingly.⁷⁹) As the reformed Soviet calendar year consisted of thirty-day months, these rest days were permanently fixed on the sixth, twelfth, eighteenth, twenty-fourth, and thirtieth days of each month. The restora-

May–November

Flanders Festival

May (Main Festival) and December (Winter Weekend Festival)

Jacob's Ladder

June

Aldeburgh Festival of Music and the Arts

Alexandra Rose Day

Anchorage Festival of Music

Black Music Month

Broadstairs Dickens Festival

Bulu Festival

Bumba-Meu-Boi Folk Drama

Carifest

Common Ridings Day

Egungun Festival

Encaenia Day

Golden Chariot and Battle of the Lumecon, Procession of the

Golden Orpheus

Holland Festival

Jewish Cultural Festival

Joust of the Saracens

Juvenalia

Laytown Strand Races

Le Mans Motor Race

Lewis and Clark Festival

Native American Ceremonies in June at Devils Tower

Ovoo Worship Festival

Portland Rose Festival

Elizabeth II (Queen) Birthday

Sanno Matsuri

Strawberry Festival

Superman Celebration

Tsunahiki Matsuri

White Nights

June 01

Kenya Madaraka Day

Samoa Independence Day

Young's (Brigham) Birthday

June 02

Malaysia Birthday of SPB Yang di-Pertuan Agong

St. Elmo's Day

June 03

Uganda Martyrs Day

June 04

Tiananmen Square Anniversary

Tonga Emancipation Day

tion of the Gregorian calendar, however, reintroduced seven 31-day months and one 28-day month that could no longer be "neatly" subdivided into precisely five 6-day weeks. As no uniform arrangement was officially implemented, most offices and industrial plants chose to close on both the thirtieth and thirty-first days of thirty-one-day months. As for the end of February—some of them would close on March 1, thus allowing for two 4-day workweeks between February 24 and March 6; whereas others would operate continuously for nine days (or ten, on leap years) between those two days.⁸⁰

While many Soviet citizens were rapidly losing count of the days of the seven-day week,⁸¹ even leading official organs such as *Pravda* did not seem to be able to ignore the traditional cycle and found it necessary to keep printing its days on their mastheads.⁸² As in France 140 years earlier, it was the essentially traditionalistic rural population who spearheaded the movement to preserve the seven-day week. When the authorities insisted that they rest in accordance with the new secular weekly rhythm, many peasants followed the example set by their French predecessors and sabotaged their efforts by taking off both the official rest days and their traditional weekly days of worship, which they defiantly marked on the official calendars issued by the government's printers. Economic life in the countryside was also still tied to the traditional seven-day rhythm, and, throughout the 1930s, Saturday nights could be easily recognized by the heavy traffic of peasants' carts packing the roads on their way to the traditional markets, which were still being held regularly on Sundays. The authorities soon acknowledged their failure to defeat the seven-day week in the countryside when they decided to fix election days on official rest days which also coincided with Sunday (or, in the case of the predominantly Moslem republics, with Friday).⁸³

The Soviet calendrical adventure finally came to an end on June 26, 1940, when the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet abolished the *chestidnevki* and restored the seven-day week.⁸⁴ The official rationale offered for the prolongation of the weekly cycle was, not surprisingly, the need to increase production. A closer examination, however, reveals that economic considerations, which had played only one part in the decision to abolish the seven-day week in 1929, were also only partly responsible for its restoration in 1940.

Given the peasants' success in resisting the government's attempt to secularize the week, the Soviet Union was slowly becoming two distinct societies, completely out of phase and temporally uncoordinated with one another—the city living in accordance with the official civil six-day rhythm, and the country stubbornly sticking to the traditional religious seven-day cycle. The coexistence of these two conflicting weekly rhythms obviously eroded social solidarity at the societal

level, aside from being a most conspicuous testimony of the government's failure to assert its authority.

To appreciate the role played by religious sentiments in the downfall of the *chestidnevki*, note that, along with their restoration of the seven-day weekly cycle, the Soviet authorities also reestablished Sunday as the official weekly day of rest. Had it not been for powerful religious pressures which it apparently could not resist, the government could have easily chosen any of the other six days of the restored cycle, particularly given the fact that Sunday—the religious associations of which resonate even in its name, *Voskresen'e*, which literally means "Resurrection"—had officially been dead for almost eleven years!

The complete failure of the eleven-year Soviet calendrical experiment, just like that of its French predecessor 140 years earlier, attests to the tremendous resilience of tradition in general and of religion in particular. In both France and the Soviet Union, some desperate attempts were made by two of the most ruthless totalitarian regimes in history to completely destroy the Judeo-Christian seven-day week. In both societies, to this day, it still remains the dominant "beat" of social life.



3. French revolutionary clockface, showing division into 24 hours (outer ring) and 10 hours (inner ring)

June 05

Congo National Days
Seychelles Liberation Day
World Environment Day

June 06

D-Day
South Korea Memorial Day
Swedish Flag Day

June 07

Bahamas Labor Day
Malta Sette Guigno (Commemoration of Uprising of June 7, 1919)

June 08

St. Médardus's Day

June 09

Denmark Constitution Day
St. Columba's Day
Uganda National Heroes Day

June 10

Portugal National Day
Time Observance Day

June 11

Matralia
St. Barnabas's Day

June 12

Philippines Independence Day

June 13

St. Anthony of Padua, Feast of

June 14

Flag Day
Malawi Freedom Day
Rice-Planting Festival at Osaka
St. Vitus's Day

June 15

Chagu-Chagu Umakko
Magna Carta Day
Valdemar (King) Day

June 16

Bloomsday
South Africa Youth Day

June 17

Bunker Hill Day
Children's Day
Iceland Independence Day
Saigusa Matsuri
South Korea Constitution Day
World Day to Combat Desertification and Drought

June 18

Cambodia Queen Sihanouk's Birthday

All of us and perhaps all of you read in childhood, while in school, that greatest of all monuments of ancient literature, the Official Railroad Guide. [...] Every morning, with six-wheeled precision, at the same hour, at the same minute, we wake up, millions of us at once. At the very same hour, millions like one, we begin our work, and millions like one, we finish it. United into a single body with a million hands, at the very same second, designated by the Tables, we carry the spoons to our mouths; at the same second we all go out to walk, go to the auditorium, to the halls for the Taylor exercises, and then to bed. I shall be quite frank: even we have not attained the absolute, exact solution of the problem of happiness. *Yevgeny Zamyatin, We*

A Day in the Life of a Musician

An artist must regulate his life.

Here is a time-table of my daily acts. I rise at 7.18; am inspired from 10.23 to 11.47. I lunch at 12.11 and leave the table at 12.14. A healthy ride on horse-back round my domain follows from 1.19 pm to 2.53 pm. Another bout of inspiration from 3.12 to 4.7 pm. From 5 to 6.47 pm various occupations (fencing, reflection, immobility, visits, contemplation, dexterity, natation, etc.)

Dinner is served at 7.16 and finished at 7.20 pm. From 8.9 to 9.59 pm symphonic readings (out loud). I go to bed regularly at 10.37 pm. Once a week (on Tuesdays) I awake with a start at 3.14 am.

Seychelles National Day

June 19

Juneteenth

New Church Day

June 19, Saturday nearest

Departure of the Continental Army

Election of the Mayor of Ock Street

June 20

Argentina Flag Day

Argentine National Day

Eritrean Martyrs' Day

West Virginia Day

June 20–26, Saturday between

Juhannus (Midsummer Day)

June 21

Aboriginal Day, National

Greenland National Day

Lismore Lantern Parade

Midnight Sun Festival

June 21, weekend nearest

Fyr-Bál Fest

June 21 or 22, Saturday nearest

Bawming the Thorn Day

June 21–22

Summer Solstice

Winter Solstice

Ysyakh

June 22

St. Alban's Day

June 22, begins

Lily Festival (Festa dei Giglio)

June 22, eight days beginning

Croatia Anti-Fascist Resistance Day

(Anti-Fascism Day)

Xilonen, Festival of

June 23

Bonfire Night

Calinda Dance

Druids' Summer Solstice Ceremony

Estonia Victory Day

Luxembourg National Day

So Joo Festival: The Eve of St. John's

Feast Day

St. John's Eve (Denmark)

St. John's Eve (France) (La Vielle de la Saint Jean)

St. John's Eve (Germany)

(Johannisnacht)

St. John's Eve (Greece)

St. John's Eve (Ireland)

My only nourishment consists of food that is white: eggs, sugar, shredded bones, the fat of dead animals, veal, salt, coco-nuts, chicken cooked in white water, mouldy fruit, rice, turnips, sausages in camphor, pastry, cheese (white varieties), cotton salad, and certain kinds of fish (without their skin). I boil my wine and drink it cold mixed with the juice of the Fuschia. I have a good appetite but never talk when eating for fear of strangling myself.

I breathe carefully (a little at a time) and dance very rarely. When walking I hold my ribs and look steadily behind me.

My expression is very serious; when I laugh it is unintentional, and I always apologise very politely.

I sleep with only one eye closed, very profoundly. My bed is round with a hole in it for my head to go through. Every hour a servant takes my temperature and gives me another. *Erik Satie*

Between 1883 and 1918, when the new time [the time of the railroad] was being enacted by private industry without having been established by federal laws, there were frequent outcries from localities. “**Let us keep our own noon,**” demanded the prestigious Boston Evening Transcript as word of the railroad’s plan spread. The Louisville Courier Journal referred to standardization as “a monstrous fraud,” “a compulsory lie,” and “a swindle.” *Robert Levine, A Geography of Time*

St. John’s Eve (Spain)
Wianki Festival of Wreaths
June 23–24
St. John’s Eve and Day (Latvia)
(JanuVakars)

June 24
Human Towers of Valls
Inti Raymi Fiesta
Kupalo Festival
Ladouvane
Midsummer Day
Quarter Days
San Juan and San Pedro Festivals
San Juan Pueblo Feast Day
St. Hans Festival
St. John’s Day
St. John’s Day (Guatemala)
St. John’s Day (Portugal)
St. John’s Day (Puerto Rico)
Venezuela Battle of Carabobo Day

June 24, Monday nearest
Newfoundland Discovery Day

June 25
Croatia Statehood Day
Mozambique Independence Day
Slovenia National Day

June 25, weekend nearest
Little Big Horn Days

June 26
Madagascar Independence Day

June 27
Djibouti Independence Day
Martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith
Stonewall Rebellion, Anniversary of the
Tajikistan Day of National Unity

June 28
Ukraine Constitution Day

June 28–29
Palio of the Goose and River Festival

June 29
Mnarja (Imnarja; Feast of St. Peter and
St. Paul)

San Juan and San Pedro Festivals
Seychelles Independence Day
St. Peter’s Day (Belgium)
Sts. Peter and Paul Day

June 29, weekend nearest
St. Peter’s Fiesta

June 30
Democratic Republic of Congo

Stock photograph tagged with "time."



At noon on November 18, 1883, standard time was imposed on the United States. American cities, towns, and villages abandoned approximately forty-nine local or sun-regulated times in favor of four scientific, clock-defined zones. This new time was regulated not only by Greenwich mean time but by the Gilded Age marriage between money-grubbing telegraph companies and scientific, astronomical observatories. The telegraph, not the sun, now communicated time to a temporally unified nation and, in the process, helped pave the way for the globalization of abstract, decontextualized world time. Mark M. Smith, *Mastered by the Clock: Time, Slavery and Freedom in the*

American South

Independence Day
Guatemala Army Day
June, even-numbered years
Newport to Bermuda Race
June, odd-numbered years
Humor and Satire Festival, International
Moravian Music Festival
Paris Air and Space Show
June, two weeks
Connecticut Early Music Festival
June, early
Casals Festival
Crazy Horse Ride and Veterans' Powwow
Derby Day
Miami/Bahamas Goombay Festival
Texas Folklife Festival
June, early, in odd-numbered years
Black and White Ball
June, early, Saturday or Sunday
Blackbeard Pirate Festival
June, early, one week in
Lanimer Festival
June, early, weekend
Rock Ness
June, early, three day weekend
Hatfield and McCoy Reunion Festival and
Marathon
June, early, to mid-July
Festival-Institute at Round Top,
International
June, first Sunday
Sjomannadagur (Seaman's Day)
June, first Monday
Davis's (Jefferson) Birthday
June, first Friday
Bahamas Labor Day
June, begins first Friday
Agriculture Fair at Santarém, National
June, first Saturday
Caricom Day
Appleseed (Johnny), Birthday of
June, first full week
Bowlegs (Billy) Festival
Carillon Festival, International
June, first week
Sun Fun Festival
June, first weekend
Chicago Gospel Music Festival
Elfreth's Alley Fete Day
Raid on Redding Ridge

“Now in an artificial world like ours, the soul of man is further removed from its God and the Heavenly Truth, than the chronometer carried to China, is from Greenwich. And, as that chronometer, if at all accurate, will pronounce it to be 12 o’clock high-noon, when the China local watches say, perhaps, it is 12 o’clock mid-night; so the chronometric soul, if in this world true to its great Greenwich in the other, will always, in its so-called intuitions of right and wrong, be contradicting the mere local standards and watch-maker’s brains of this earth.

Bacon’s brains were mere watch-maker’s brains; but Christ was a chronometer; and the most exquisitely adjusted and exact one, and the least affected by all terrestrial jarrings, of any that have ever come to us. And the reason why his teachings seem folly to the Jews, was because he carried that Heaven’s time in Jerusalem, while the Jews carried Jerusalem time there. Did he not expressly say— My wisdom (time) is not of this world? [...]

Of what use to the Chinaman would a Greenwich chronometer, keeping Greenwich time, be? Were he thereby to regulate his daily actions, he would be guilty of all manner of absurdities:—going to bed at noon, say, when his neighbors would be sitting down to dinner. And thus, though the earthly wisdom of man be heavenly folly to God; so also, conversely, is the heavenly wisdom of God an earthly folly to man. Literally speaking, this is so. Nor does the God at the heavenly Greenwich expect common men to keep Greenwich wisdom in this remote Chinese world of ours...” *Herman Melville, Pierre*

Standard observatory time made it possible for a centralized railroad organization to oversee and synchronize its many moving parts, human and otherwise...Like standard money, this new time also lent itself to circulation. Easily transmitted by telegraph, it could be bought and used by anyone whose line of work demanded it...

Rogers (Roy) Festival
 Sea, Festival of the (Seamen’s Day,
 Sjomannadagur)
 Yukon International Storytelling Festival
June, usually first weekend
 Yale-Harvard Regatta
June, first three weeks
 Sitka Summer Music Festival
June, second Sunday
 Children’s Day
 Race Unity Day
 Wood (Grant) Art Festival
June, second Monday
 Kamehameha (King) Celebration
June, second week
 New Zealand National Agricultural
 Fieldays
 Telluride Hang Gliding Festival
June, second weekend
 Canadian International Military Tattoo
 Dulcimer and Harp Convention
 Morris Rattlesnake Roundup
 Red Earth Native American Cultural
 Festival
 Sea Music Festival
 Spock Days/Galaxyfest
**June, second weekend and third
 week**
 Frankenthuth Bavarian Festival
June, mid–
 Country Music Fan Fair, International
 Great American Brass Band Festival
 Arab International Festival
 Heidi Festival
 NEBRASKAland DAYS
 Royal Ascot
 Schubertiade
 Struga Poetry Evenings
 Tako-Age (Kite Flying)
 Turtle Days
 Viking Festival
June, mid Saturday
 Vinegar Festival, International
June, mid to late
 Jackalope Days
June, mid–, through July
 Andersen (Hans Christian) Festival
June, mid–, through mid–August
 Caramoor International Music Festival
June, third Sunday



[An entrepreneur] compared standard time to standardized denominations of currency—an apt comparison, since telegraphed standard time facilitated the same exchange of goods and information that money encouraged. Standard time, like standard money, was a universal solvent dissolving the glue of local tradition and custom. *Michael O'Malley, Keeping Watch*

Time, cabman's slang for money. If they wish to express 9s. 9d. they say that "it is a quarter to ten;" if 3s. 6d., half-past three; if 11s. 9d. a quarter to twelve. Cab-drivers can hardly have originated a system which has been in existence as long as the adage, "Time is money." They have, however, the full use of the arrangement, which is perhaps the simplest on record.

Time, TO DO, to work out a sentence of imprisonment. Time is the generic term for all quantities of incarceration, whether short or long. Sometimes stir-time (imprisonment in the House of Correction) is distinguished from the more extended system of punishment which is called "pinnel (penal) time."

Time o' day, a dodge, the latest aspect of affairs; "that's your TIME O' DAY," *i.e.*, that's well done; to put a person up to the TIME O' DAY, or let him know "what's o'clock," is to instruct him in the knowledge needful for him.

In the 1840s, the individual English railway companies proceeded to standardize time, but did not coordinate their efforts; each company instituted a new time on its own line. The process was so novel that it was repeated daily, in the most cumbersome manner, as Bagwell describes, apropos of the Grand Junction Company's procedure: 'Each morning an Admiralty messenger carried a watch bearing the correct time to the guard on the down Irish Mail leaving Euston for Holyhead. On

Father's Day
June, four days ending third Sunday
 United States Open Championship in Golf
June, third Monday
 Argentina Flag Day
June, third Saturday
 Alabama Blueberry Festival
 Hollerin' Contest, National
 Jousting Tournament
 Bunch (Madam Lou) Day
June, third full week
 Oldtime Fiddlers' Contest and Festival, National
June, third week
 Five-Petalled Rose Festival
June, third weekend
 Kiamichi Owa-Chito (Festival of the Forest)
 Okmulgee Pecan Festival
June, Father's Day weekend
 Manly Man Festival and Spam Cook-Off, National
June, fourth Sunday
 Svenskarnas Dag
June; fifth Saturday after first Saturday in May
 Belmont Stakes
June, last Sunday
 Gioco del Ponte
June, last Tuesday and Wednesday
 Windjammer Days
June, last full week
 Kiel Week
June, last week, through first week of July, 10 days
 Taste of Chicago
June, last full weekend
 DC Caribbean Carnival
 Watermelon Thump
June, last weekend
 Idaho Regatta
 Keller (Helen) Festival
 Kingdom Days
 St. Martha's Day
 Verdur Rock
June, last weekend, through first week in July
 Montreal Jazz Festival
June, last weekend, to first weekend

arrival at Holyhead the time was passed on to officials on the Kingston boat who carried it over to Dublin. On the return mail to Euston the watch was carried back to the Admiralty messenger at Euston once more.’ Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey*

Ruth Belville

Elizabeth Ruth Naomi Belville (5 March 1854–7 December 1943), also known as the Greenwich Time Lady, was a businesswoman from London. She, her mother Maria Elizabeth, and her father John Henry, sold people the time. This was done by setting a watch to Greenwich Mean Time, as shown by the Greenwich clock, and then selling people the time by letting them look at their watch.

History

Ruth Belville’s father, John Henry Belville, created a service for 200 clients in 1836. Each morning, John Henry went to Greenwich Observatory, where he worked, and set his watch to Greenwich Mean Time. He would then set off in his buggy and would set the clocks correctly for clients subscribed to the service. John Henry continued this service up until his death in 1856. His widow, Maria, was granted the privilege of carrying on the work as a means of livelihood and continued the business until her retirement in 1892, when she was in her eighties. Ruth Belville then took over the business. She continued the business up until 1940, by which time World War Two had started. Belville was in her eighties when she retired and at the age of 86 she was still able to journey about twelve miles from her home and attend at the Observatory by 9 a.m. She died at the age of 90.

The watch used by the business was a John Arnold pocket chronometer No. 485/786, nicknamed “Arnold”. It was originally made for the Duke of Sussex and had a gold case. When it was given to John Henry, he changed the case to silver because he was worried thieves might steal a gold watch. When Ruth died, the watch was left to the Worshipful Company of Clockmakers.



in July
American Folklife, Festival of
June, late
Gorilla Naming Ceremony (Kwita Izina)
Marbles Tournament, National
Sioux Sun Dance
Utah Arts Festival
June, late, including midsummer’s eve
Jutajaiset Folklore Festival
June, late, or early July
World’s Largest Salmon Barbecue
June, late, to early July
Freedom Festival, International
Wooden Boat Festival
June, late, to early July; begins six weeks before first Monday in August
Wimbledon
June, late, to July
Tartu Hanseatic Days
June, late, through early July
South Africa National Arts Festival
(Grahamstown Festival)
June, late, to late July, every four years
Landshut Wedding
June, late, to mid-August
Central City Opera Festival
June, late, to late August
Aspen Music Festival
June, late, to early September
Tell (William) Play
June, late, through September; rainy season
Geerewol Celebrations
June, end of
Acadian Festival
Bouphonia (Bouphonia)
New Yam Festival
June, end of, through August
Santa Fe Opera Festival
June, end of, through September
Athens Festival
June or July, usually
Hemis Festival
June–July
Istanbul Festivals, International
London, Festival of the City of
Music and Dance Festival, International
Poetry Festival of Medellín, International
Special Olympics

Maria Belville, mother of Ruth Belville,
The Greenwich Time Lady.



Martial Bourdin, Anarchist



Martial Bourdin

Martial Bourdin (1868 - 1894) was a French anarchist, who died on 15 February 1894 when the chemical explosives he carried prematurely detonated outside the Royal Observatory in Greenwich Park.

Although Bourdin sustained massive injuries, he remained alive and able to speak. He did not, however, reveal his name, specific target, or motives. He was carried to the Seamen's Hospital nearby, where he died 30 minutes later.

Later, police investigators discovered that Bourdin had left his room on Fitzroy Street in London and traveled by tram from Westminster to Greenwich Park. The police concluded that "some mischance or miscalculation or some clumsy bungling" had caused the bomb to explode in Bourdin's hand. Because he was found with a large sum of money, the police speculated that he had planned to leave for France immediately. The police later raided the Club Autonomie in London—a popular club for foreign anarchists, including Bourdin.

- Vincy Carnival
- Zurich Festival
- June–July, every four years**
- World Cup
- June–early July**
- Mozart Festival (Mozartfest)
- June–August**
- Black Hills Passion Play
- Jacob's Pillow Dance Festival
- Puccini Festival
- Saratoga Festival
- June–August, weekends**
- Mohawk Trail Concerts
- June–September**
- Caturmas
- Famadihana
- Medora Musical
- Nuits de Fourvière
- Ravinia Festival
- June–September, every five years**
- Great World Theatre
- June–October**
- Baile de las Turas (Dance of the Flutes)
- Charlottetown Festival
- Midimu Ceremony
- Midsummer**
- Cronia (Kronia)
- Idaho International Dance and Music Festival
- Summer**
- Baltic Song Festivals
- Route 66 Festival
- Summer, varies**
- Toronto Caribana (Toronto Caribbean Carnival)
- Summer, early**
- Footwashing Day
- Summer, mid–**
- Arapaho Sun Dance
- Summer, late**
- Creek Green Corn Ceremony
- Wheat Harvest (Transylvania)
- Summer or Fall**
- Folk Festival, National
- Summer, full moon night**
- Nevis Tea Meeting
- July**
- Anjou Festival
- Avignon Festival
- Baltic-Nordic Harmonica Festival

**LET THE PEOPLE OF CINCINNATI
STICK TO THE TRUTH
AS WRITTEN BY THE SUN,
MOON AND STARS**

Cincinnati Time Store

The Cincinnati Time Store was a successful retail store that was created by American individualist anarchist Josiah Warren to test his theories that were based on his strict interpretation of the labor theory of value. The experimental store operated from May 18, 1827 until May 1830. It is considered to be the first use of notes for labor and as such, the first experiment in mutualism.

Warren embraced the labor theory of value, which says that the value of a commodity is the amount of labor that goes into producing or acquiring it. From this he concluded that it was therefore unethical to charge more labor for a product than the labor required to produce it. Warren summed up this policy in the phrase “Cost the limit of price,” with “cost” referring the amount of labor one exerted in producing a good. Believing the labor is the foundational cost of things, he held that equal amounts of labor should, naturally, receive equal material compensation. He set out to examine if his theories could be put to practice by establishing his “labor for labor store.” If his experiment proved to be successful, his plan was to establish various colonies whose participants all agreed to use “cost the limit of price” in all economic transactions, hoping that all of society would eventually adopt the tenet in all economic affairs.

In the store, customers could purchase goods with “labor notes” which represented an agreement to perform labor. The items in the store were initially marked up 7% to account for the labor required to bring them to market with the price increasing the longer the time that a customer spent with the shopkeeper, as measured by a timer dial; later this markup was reduced to 4%. Corn was used as a standard, with 12 pounds of corn being exchangeable with one hour of labor. The result of the system was that no one was able to profit from the labor of another—every individual ostensibly received the “full produce” of his labor. Adjustments were made for the difficulty and disagreeableness of the work

Bascarsija Nights
Calgary Exhibition and Stampede
Camel Market
Caribbean Festival (Feast of Fire)
Common Ridings Day
Curium Festival (Kourion Festival)
Dairy Festival
Dinosaur Days
Dundee International Guitar Festival
Flagstaff Festival of the Arts
Hortobágy Bridge Fair and International
Equestrian Festival
Istanbul Festivals, International
Jyvaskyla Arts Festival
Lammas Fair
Midnight Sun Intertribal Powwow
Montreux International Jazz Festival
Munich Opera Festival
Niman Festival
North American Solar Challenge
Northern Games
Oath Monday
Potato Blossom Festival
Puppeteers, Festival of
Reggae Sumfest
Royal Shows
Safari Rally
Schützenfest (Marksmen's Festival)
Tabuleiros Festival (Festa dos Tabuleiros)
Tour de France
Turkish Wrestling Championships
July 01
Botswana Sir Seretse Khama Day
Burundi Independence Day
Canada Day
Gettysburg Day
Ghana Republic Day
Hong Kong Special Administrative
Region Establishment Day
Most Precious Blood, Feast of the
Rwanda Independence Day
Somalia Independence Day
July 01 to last Sunday
Shembe Festival
July 01–15
Hakata Gion Yamagasa
July 02
Bahia Independence Day
Palio, Festival of the
July 03

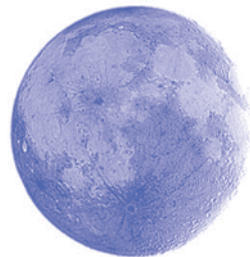
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performed, so that time was not the only factor taken into consideration. Warren also set up boards on the wall where individuals could post what kind of services they were seeking or had to sell so that others could respond, and trade among each other using labor notes.

After a rough initial period, the store proved to be very successful. Warren's goods were much cheaper than competitors', though he maintained that he was not trying to put other stores out of business. Another store in the neighborhood converted to Warren's methods. The fact that prices for goods rose the more time a customer spent with Warren resulted in very efficient transactions. Warren said that he was doing more business in one hour than normal businesses do in one day, leading him to close shop part of the day to rest. Though the store was successful, the problem of equal labor times for different difficulties of work was a concern for Warren. He was never able to reconcile the objectivity of his "labor for labor" prescription with the subjectivity employed in determining how much time used for one type labor entailed the same amount of work exerted during a different amount of time performing another type of labor. He settled to simply credit it with being a matter of individual judgment. Warren closed the store in May 1830 in order to depart to set up colonies based upon the labor-cost principle (the most successful of these being "Utopia"), convinced that the store was a successful experiment in "Cost the limit of price."

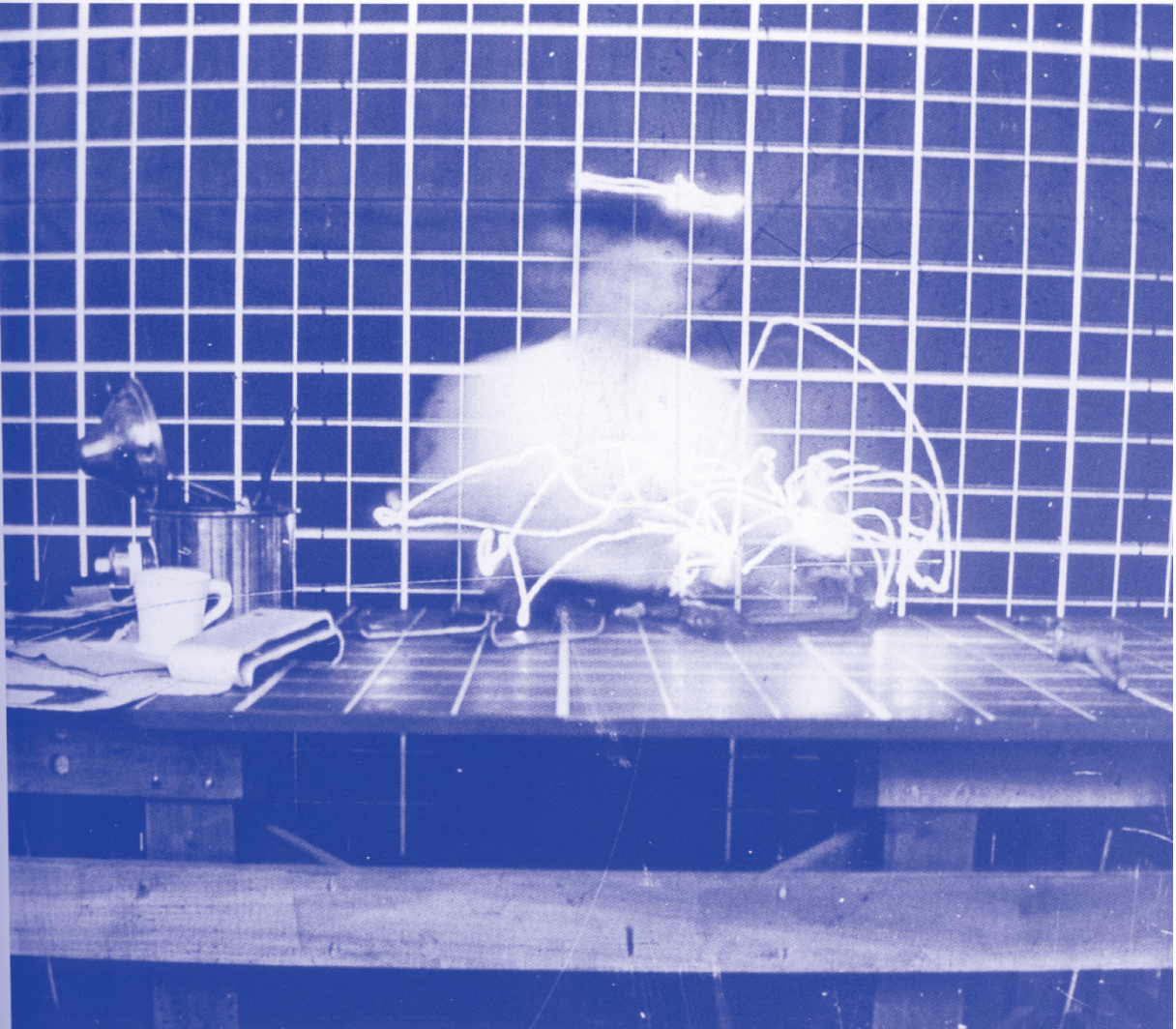
Asked at a trade union meeting why labor might not form a trust like Standard Oil, O'Connell recalled the story of the Pennsylvania Irishman, who when told that his train left at eight o'clock "standard time," inquired irascibly, "Well, that settles it." "Settles what?" queried the train's conductor. "Why, the whole of it," replied the stock Irishman. "They'll be gittin' the wind next, they've got the time now." Michael

O'Malley, *Keeping Watch*



Belarus Independence Day
St. Thomas's Day
July 03–August 11
Dog Days
July 04
Apache Maidens' Puberty Rites
Caricom Day
Coolidge (Calvin) Birthday Celebration
Esplanade Concerts
Fourth of July
Fourth of July (Denmark)
Rwanda Liberation Day
Santa Isobel, Fiesta of
Summer Festival
Turtle Independence Day
July 04, week including
Kutztown Festival
July 04, week of
Tom Sawyer Days, National
Tonga Heilala Festival
July 04, weekend near
Deep Sea Fishing Rodeo
Fillmore Jazz Festival
Smithville Fiddlers Jamboree and Crafts
Festival
Wampanoag Powwow
July 04, begins first Wednesday after
Choctaw Indian Fair
July 04, Thursday after
Vintners' Procession
July 05
Algeria Independence Day
Armenia Constitution Day
Cape Verde Independence Day
Tynwald Ceremony
Venezuela Independence Day
July 05, Sunday after
Giants, Festival of the (Fête des Géants)
July 05–31
LaborFest
July 06
Comoros Independence Day
Dalai Lama, Birthday of the
Hus (Jan) Day
Lithuania State Day (Coronation of King
Mindaugas)
Malawi Republic Day
July 06–13
Apollonian Games
Ludi

Frank Gilbreth employed time-lapse photography for the study of "work simplification." The resulting studies were implemented in businesses to eliminate wasted time in unnecessary action in labor.



“The stopwatch is equivalent to a whip.” As a whip cut the air and skin to discipline labor, Taylor’s stopwatch cut and sliced Time itself to impose the machine logic of scientific management on human movements. ^{Ibid.}

July 06–14

San Fermin Festival

July 07

Juno Caprotina, Festival of

Saba Saba Day

Solomon Islands Independence Day

Tanabata (Star Festival)

July 08

King's Birthday (Nepal)

July 09

Argentina Independence Day

Argentine National Day

Bab, Martyrdom of the

July 10

Bahamas Independence Day

Kiribati Gospel Day (National Church Day)

July 10–12

Kuwana Ishitori Matsuri

July 11

Flemish Community, Feast Day of the

St. Placidus Festival

World Population Day

July 11–13

Naadam

July 12

Kiribati Independence Day

Orange Day (Orangemen's Day)

São Tomé and Príncipe National Independence Day

Wedding Festivities (Galicnik, Macedonia)

July 13

Night Watch

Our Lady of Fátima Day

Tribute of the Three Cows

July 13–15

Obon Festival

July 13 and October 14

Svetitskhovloba

July 14

Bastille Day

Bastille Day (Kaplan, Louisiana)

Tekakwitha (Kateri) Feast Day

July 14, Saturday before

Cape Vincent French Festival

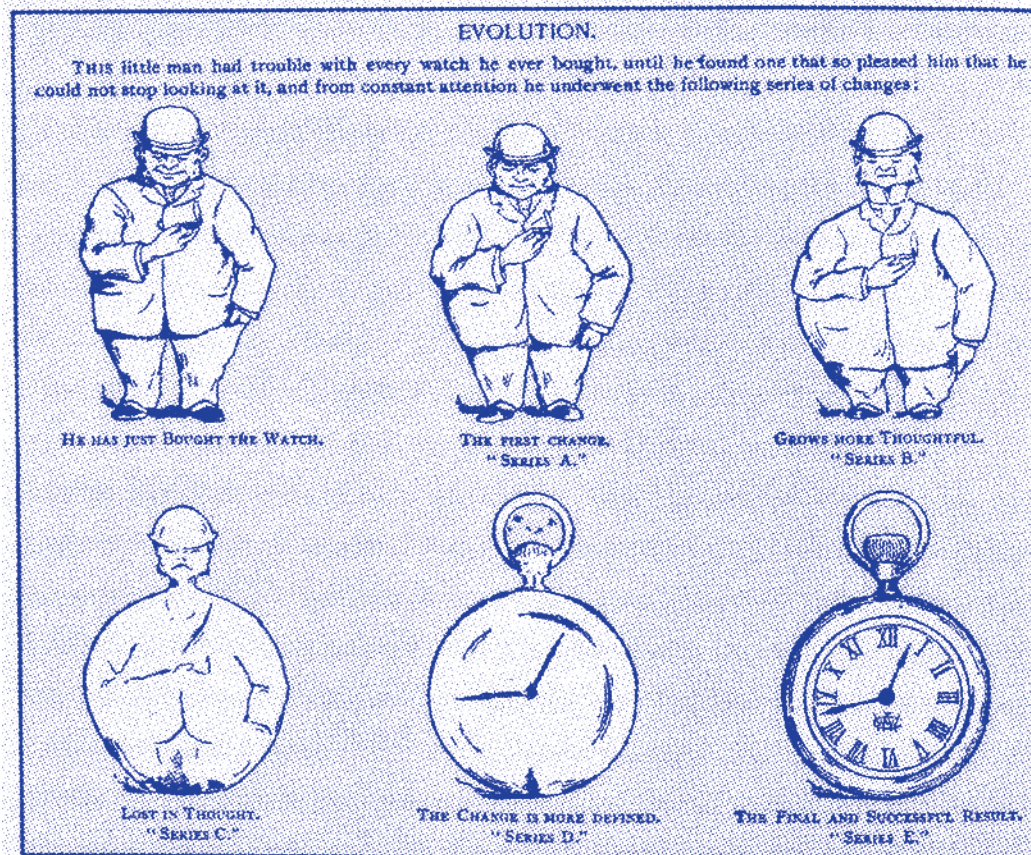
July 14, week of

Guthrie (Woody) Folk Festival

July 14, weekend nearest

Bastille, Festival de la

The *motion picture* “does for us what no other thing can do save a drug...it takes normal intervals of time and expands them one, two, or a thousand fold, or compresses them by the same ratio.” Enchanted by time, “we leave the theater with wonder in our hearts and admiration on our lips.” The article [from a 1915 issue of *Scientific American*] praised films’ ability to liberate the mind from its routinized time sense, to break down the standard time of everyday life and restore “the magic of our childhood,” **lost, presumably, when we joined the work force.** *ibid.*



- July 15**
Castor and Pollux, Festival of St. Swithin's Day
- July 15, Sunday near**
Také-no-Nobori
- July 16**
Eddy (Mary Baker), Birthday of La Paz Day
Nuestra Señora de Itatí
Our Lady of Carmel, Feast of Pilgrimage of Saut d'Eau
- July 16, about two weeks ending**
Giglio Feast
- July 16, week including**
Tirana, La
- July 16, two consecutive Mondays after**
Guelaguëtza, La
- July 17**
Gion Matsuri
King's Birthday (Lesotho)
Muñoz-Rivera Day
- July 18**
Uruguay Constitution Oath Taking Day
- July 19**
Myanmar Martyrs' Day
- July 20**
Colombia Independence Day
Elijah Day
Moon Day
- July 20-24**
Osorezan Taisai
- July 20-26**
Naadam
- July 21**
Belgium Independence Day
- July 21, week including**
Hemingway (Ernest) Days Festival
- July 22**
Fasinada
Gambia Revolution Day
Madeleine, Fête de la Polish Liberation Day
- July 22-24**
Warei Taisai
- July 22-25**
Wild Horse Festival (Soma-Nomaioi)
- July 23**
Egypt Revolution Day
Haile Selassie's Birthday
- July 23-25**



Nomaai Matsuri (Horse Festival)

July 24

Mormon Pioneer Day

July 24, closest weekend

Earhart (Amelia) Festival

July 24–25

Tenjin Matsuri

July 25

Furrinalia

Grotto Day

Puerto Rico Constitution Day

St. Christopher's Day

St. James's Day

Tunisia Republic Day

July 25, nearest Monday

Costa Rica Annexation of Guanacaste
Day (Guanacaste Day, Día de
Guanacaste)

July 25–27

Festivities for the Day of National
Rebellion

July 26

Cuba Liberation Day

Liberia Independence Day

Maldives Independence Day

St. Anne's Day

July 27

Korean War Veterans Armistice Day,
National

North Korea Victory Day

July 28, and other dates

Buffalo Soldiers Commemorations

July 28–29

Peru Independence Day

July 29

Moreska Sword Dance

St. Martha, Coffin Fiesta of

St. Olav's Day

July 31

Llama Ch'uyay

St. Ignatius Loyola, Feast of

Vanuatu Independence Day

July, usually

British Open

Sandcastle Competition

July, even-numbered years

Holy Queen Isabel, Festival of the

Sound Symposium

York Festival and Mystery Plays

July, over three consecutive three-

E.P. THOMPSON

TIME, WORK-DISCIPLINE, AND INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM

Tess . . . started on her way up the dark and crooked lane or street not made for hasty progress; a street laid out before inches of land had value, and when one-handed clocks sufficiently subdivided the day. *Thomas Hardy.*

I

IT IS COMMONPLACE THAT THE YEARS BETWEEN 1300 AND 1650 SAW within the intellectual culture of Western Europe important changes in the apprehension of time.¹ In the *Canterbury Tales* the cock still figures in his immemorial rôle as nature's timepiece: Chauntecleer —

Caste up his eyen to the brighte sonne,
That in the signe of Taurus hadde yronne
Twenty degrees and oon, and somewhat moore,
He knew by kynde, and by noon oother loore
That it was pryme, and crew with blisful stevene . . .

But although "By nature knew he ech ascensioun/ Of the equynoxial in thilke toun", the contrast between "nature's" time and clock time is pointed in the image —

Wel sikerer was his crowyng in his logge
Than is a klokke, or an abbey orlogge.

This is a very early clock: Chaucer (unlike Chauntecleer) was a Londoner, and was aware of the times of Court, of urban organization, and of that "merchant's time" which Jacques Le Goff, in a suggestive article in *Annales*, has opposed to the time of the medieval church.²

I do not wish to argue how far the change was due to the spread of clocks from the fourteenth century onwards, how far this was itself a symptom of a new Puritan discipline and bourgeois exactitude. However we see it, the change is certainly there. The clock steps on to the Elizabethan stage, turning Faustus's last soliloquy into a dialogue with time: "the stars move still, time runs, the clock will strike". Sidereal time, which has been present since literature began,

¹ Lewis Mumford makes suggestive claims in *Technics and Civilization* (London, 1934), esp. pp. 12-18, 196-9; see also S. de Grazia, *Of Time, Work, and Leisure* (New York, 1962); Carlo M. Cipolla, *Clocks and Culture 1300-1700* (London, 1967), and Edward T. Hall, *The Silent Language* (New York, 1959).

² J. le Goff, "Au Moyen Age: Temps de L'Eglise et temps du marchand", *Annales, E.S.C.*, xv (1960); and the same author's "Le temps du travail dans le 'crise' du XIV^e Siècle: du temps médiéval au temps moderne", *Le Moyen Age*, lxxix (1963).

has now moved at one step from the heavens into the home. Mortality and love are both felt to be more poignant as the "Snayly motion of the mooving hand"³ crosses the dial. When the watch is worn about the neck it lies in proximity to the less regular beating of the heart. The conventional Elizabethan images of time as a devourer, a defacer, a bloody tyrant, a scytheman, are old enough, but there is a new immediacy and insistence.⁴

As the seventeenth century moves on the image of clock-work extends, until, with Newton, it has engrossed the universe. And by the middle of the eighteenth century (if we are to trust Sterne) the clock had penetrated to more intimate levels. For Tristram Shandy's father — "one of the most regular men in everything he did . . . that ever lived" — "had made it a rule for many years of his life, — on the first Sunday night of every month . . . to wind up a large house-clock, which we had standing on the back-stairs head". "He had likewise gradually brought some other little family concerns to the same period", and this enabled Tristram to date his conception very exactly. It also provoked *The Clockmaker's Outcry against the Author*:

The directions I had for making several clocks for the country are countermanded; because no modest lady now dares to mention a word about winding-up a clock, without exposing herself to the sly leers and jokes of the family . . . Nay, the common expression of street-walkers is, "Sir, will you have your clock wound up?"

Virtuous matrons (the "clockmaker" complained) are consigning their clocks to lumber rooms as "exciting to acts of carnality".⁵

However, this gross impressionism is unlikely to advance the present enquiry: how far, and in what ways, did this shift in time-sense affect labour discipline, and how far did it influence the inward apprehension of time of working people? If the transition to mature industrial society entailed a severe restructuring of working habits — new disciplines, new incentives, and a new human nature upon which these incentives could bite effectively — how far is this related to changes in the inward notation of time?

³ M. Drayton, "Of his Ladies not Comming to London", *Works*, ed. J. W. Hebel (Oxford, 1932), iii, p. 204.

⁴ The change is discussed Cipolla, *op. cit.*; Erwin Sturzl, *Der Zeitbegriff in der Elisabethanischen Literatur* (Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie, lxxix, Wien-Stuttgart, 1965); Alberto Tenenti, *Il Senso della Morte e l'amore della vita nel rinascimento* (Milan, 1957).

⁵ Anon., *The Clockmaker's Outcry against the Author of . . . Tristram Shandy* (London, 1760), pp. 42-3.

day weekends

Wilder (Laura Ingalls) Pageant

July, early

Camel Cup Carnival

Cheltenham International Festival of

Music

Essence Festival

Roswell UFO Festival

Sata-Håme Accordion Festival

Wife-Carrying World Championships

July, begins early, in odd-numbered years

Transpac Race

July, early, five days in

Henley Royal Regatta

July, early, to early August

Aston Magna Festival

ImPulsTanz: Vienna International Dance Festival

Savonlinna Opera Festival

July, early, to late August

Carthage, International Festival of

July, first Sunday

Clipping the Church Day

July, first Monday

Zambia Heroes Day

July, first Tuesday

Zambia Unity Day

July, first Thursday and the previous Tuesday

Ommegang

July, first Friday

Marshall Islands Fishermen's Day

July, first Saturday

Cooperatives, International Day of

July, first week

Gettysburg Civil War Heritage Days

Great Schooner Race

Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Festival

July, first weekend

Basque Festival, National

Mariposa Folk Festival

July, first or second weekend

Red Waistcoat Festival

July, first week, to second week in August

Baths of Caracalla

July, second Sunday

II

It is well known that among primitive peoples the measurement of time is commonly related to familiar processes in the cycle of work or of domestic chores. Evans-Pritchard has analysed the time-sense of the Nuer:

The daily timepiece is the cattle clock, the round of pastoral tasks, and the time of day and the passage of time through a day are to a Nuer primarily the succession of these tasks and their relation to one another.

Among the Nandi an occupational definition of time evolved covering not only each hour, but half hours of the day — at 5-30 in the morning the oxen have gone to the grazing-ground, at 6 the sheep have been unfasted, at 6-30 the sun has grown, at 7 it has become warm, at 7-30 the goats have gone to the grazing-ground, etc. — an uncommonly well-regulated economy. In a similar way terms evolve for the measurement of time intervals. In Madagascar time might be measured by “a rice-cooking” (about half an hour) or “the frying of a locust” (a moment). The Cross River natives were reported as saying “the man died in less than the time in which maize is not yet completely roasted” (less than fifteen minutes).⁶

It is not difficult to find examples of this nearer to us in cultural time. Thus in seventeenth-century Chile time was often measured in “credos”: an earthquake was described in 1647 as lasting for the period of two credos; while the cooking-time of an egg could be judged by an Ave Maria said aloud. In Burma in recent times monks rose at daybreak “when there is light enough to see the veins in the hand”.⁷ The Oxford English Dictionary gives us English examples — “pater noster wyle”, “miserere whyle” (1450), and (in the New English Dictionary but not the Oxford English Dictionary) “pissing while” — a somewhat arbitrary measurement.

Pierre Bourdieu has explored more closely the attitudes towards time of the Kabyle peasant (in Algeria) in recent years: “An attitude of submission and of nonchalant indifference to the passage of time

⁶ E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer* (Oxford, 1940), pp. 100-4; M. P. Nilsson, *Primitive Time Reckoning* (Lund, 1920), pp. 32-3, 42; P. A. Sorokin and R. K. Merton, “Social Time: a Methodological and Functional Analysis”, *Amer. J. Sociol.*, xlii (1937); A. I. Hallowell, “Temporal Orientation in Western Civilization and in a Pre-Literate Society”, *Amer. Anthropol.*, new ser. xxxix (1937). Other sources for primitive time reckoning are cited in H. G. Alexander, *Time as Dimension and History* (Albuquerque, 1945), p. 26, and Beate R. Salz, “The Human Element in Industrialization”, *Econ. Devel. and Cult. Change*, iv (1955), esp. pp. 94-114.

⁷ E. P. Salas, “L'Évolution de la notion du temps et les horlogers à l'époque coloniale au Chili”, *Annales E.S.C.*, xxi (1966), p. 146; *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change*, ed. M. Mead (New York, UNESCO, 1953), p. 75.

which no one dreams of mastering, using up, or saving . . . Haste is seen as a lack of decorum combined with diabolical ambition”. The clock is sometimes known as “the devil's mill”; there are no precise meal-times; “the notion of an exact appointment is unknown; they agree only to meet ‘at the next market’”. A popular song runs:

It is useless to pursue the world, No one will ever overtake it.⁸

Syngé, in his well-observed account of the Aran Islands, gives us a classic example:

While I am walking with Michael someone often comes to me to ask the time of day. Few of the people, however, are sufficiently used to modern time to understand in more than a vague way the convention of the hours and when I tell them what o'clock it is by my watch they are not satisfied, and ask how long is left them before the twilight.⁹

The general knowledge of time on the island depends, curiously enough, upon the direction of the wind. Nearly all the cottages are built . . . with two doors opposite each other, the more sheltered of which lies open all day to give light to the interior. If the wind is northerly the south door is opened, and the shadow of the door-post moving across the kitchen floor indicates the hour; as soon, however, as the wind changes to the south the other door is opened, and the people, who never think of putting up a primitive dial, are at a loss . . .

When the wind is from the north the old woman manages my meals with fair regularity; but on the other days she often makes my tea at three o'clock instead of six . . .¹⁰

Such a disregard for clock time could of course only be possible in a crofting and fishing community whose framework of marketing and administration is minimal, and in which the day's tasks (which might vary from fishing to farming, building, mending of nets, thatching, making a cradle or a coffin) seem to disclose themselves, by the logic of need, before the crofter's eyes.¹¹ But his account will serve to emphasize the essential conditioning in differing notations of time provided by different work-situations and their relation to “natural” rhythms. Clearly hunters must employ certain hours of the night to set their snares. Fishing and seafaring people must integrate their lives with the tides. A petition from Sunderland in 1800 includes

⁸ P. Bourdieu, “The attitude of the Algerian peasant toward time”, in *Mediterranean Countrymen*, ed. J. Pitt-Rivers (Paris, 1963), pp. 55-72.

⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 179: “Spanish Americans do not regulate their lives by the clock as Anglos do. Both rural and urban people, when asked when they plan to do something, gives answers like: ‘Right now, about two or four o'clock’”.

¹⁰ J. M. Syngé, *Plays, Poems, and Prose* (Everyman edn., London, 1941), p. 257.

¹¹ The most important event in the relation of the islands to an external economy in Syngé's time was the arrival of the steamer, whose times might be greatly affected by tide and weather. See Syngé, *The Aran Islands* (Dublin, 1907), pp. 115-6.

Schutzengelfest (Festival of the Guardian Angel)

July, second Saturday

Durham Miners' Gala

Wayne Chicken Show

July, second week

Brady (Captain Samuel) Day

Cherry Festival, National

North American Indian Days

July, second full weekend

Grandfather Mountain Highland Games

and Gathering of Scottish Clans

July, second weekend

Fur Trade Days

Green River Rendezvous

Lindenfest

Moose Dropping Festival

Moxie Festival

Stång Games

Winnipeg Folk Festival

July, mid-

Chugiak-Eagle River Bear Paw Festival

Great Circus Parade

Marrakech Popular Arts Festival

Newport Music Festival

Pori International Jazz Festival

Ravello Music Festival

Saintes Festival of Ancient Music

South Carolina Peach Festival

Southern Ute Tribal Sun Dance

World Eskimo-Indian Olympics

July, mid, Friday and Saturday

Robin Hood Festival in Sherwood,

Oregon

July, mid, one Saturday

New Deal Festival

July, two weeks in mid- to late

Folkmoor

July, mid, weekend

Denver Black Arts Festival

July, mid, to mid-August

Dubrovnik Summer Games

Marlboro Music Festival

Quartier d'été

Tailte Fair (Teltown Fair)

July, mid, through early September

Menuhin Festival

July, third Sunday

Basset Hound Games

Maidens' Fair on Mount Gaina

the words “considering that this is a seaport in which many people are obliged to be up at all hours of the night to attend the tides and their affairs upon the river”.¹² The operative phrase is “attend the tides”: the patterning of social time in the seaport follows *upon* the rhythms of the sea; and this appears to be natural and comprehensible to fishermen or seamen: the compulsion is nature’s own.

In a similar way labour from dawn to dusk can appear to be “natural” in a farming community, especially in the harvest months: nature demands that the grain be harvested before the thunderstorms set in. And we may note similar “natural” work-rhythms which attend other rural or industrial occupations: sheep must be attended at lambing time and guarded from predators; cows must be milked; the charcoal fire must be attended and not burn away through the turfs (and the charcoal burners must sleep beside it); once iron is in the making, the furnaces must not be allowed to fail.

The notation of time which arises in such contexts has been described as task-orientation. It is perhaps the most effective orientation in peasant societies, and it remains important in village and domestic industries. It has by no means lost all relevance in rural parts of Britain today. Three points may be proposed about task-orientation. First, there is a sense in which it is more humanly comprehensible than timed labour. The peasant or labourer appears to attend upon what is an observed necessity. Second, a community in which task-orientation is common appears to show least demarcation between “work” and “life”. Social intercourse and labour are intermingled — the working-day lengthens or contracts according to the task — and there is no great sense of conflict between labour and “passing the time of day”. Third, to men accustomed to labour timed by the clock, this attitude to labour appears to be wasteful and lacking in urgency.¹³

¹² Public Rec. Off., W.O. 40/17. It is of interest to note other examples of the recognition that seafaring time conflicted with urban routines: the Court of Admiralty was held to be always open, “for strangers and merchants, and seafaring men, must take the opportunity of tides and winds, and cannot, without ruin and great prejudice attend the solemnity of courts and dilatory pleadings” (see E. Vansittart Neale, *Feasts and Fasts* [London, 1845], p. 249), while in some Sabbatarian legislation an exception was made for fishermen who sighted a shoal off-shore on the Sabbath day.

¹³ Henri Lefebvre, *Critique de la Vie Quotidienne* (Paris, 1958), ii, pp. 52-6, prefers a distinction between “cyclical time” — arising from changing seasonal occupations in agriculture — and the “linear time” of urban, industrial organization. More suggestive is Lucien Febvre’s distinction between “Le temps vécu et le temps-mesure”, *La Problème de L’Incroyance au XVI^e Siècle* (Paris, 1947), p. 431. A somewhat schematic examination of the organization of tasks in primitive economies is in Stanley H. Udy, *Organisation of Work* (New Haven, 1959), ch. 2.

Such a clear distinction supposes, of course, the independent peasant or craftsman as referent. But the question of task-orientation becomes greatly more complex at the point where labour is employed. The entire family economy of the small farmer may be task-orientated; but within it there may be a division of labour, and allocation of rôles, and the discipline of an employer-employed relationship between the farmer and his children. Even here time is beginning to become money, the employer’s money. As soon as actual hands are employed the shift from task-orientation to timed labour is marked. It is true that the timing of work can be done independently of any time-piece — and indeed precedes the diffusion of the clock. Still, in the mid-seventeenth century substantial farmers calculated their expectations of employed labour (as did Henry Best) in “dayworkes” — “the Cunnigarth, with its bottomes, is 4 large dayworkes for a good mower”, “the Spellowe is 4 indifferent dayworkes”, etc.;¹⁴ and what Best did for his own farm, Markham attempted to present in general form:

A man . . . may mow of Corn, as Barley and Oats, if it be thick, loggy and beaten down to the earth, making fair work, and not cutting off the heads of the ears, and leaving the straw still growing one acre and a half in a day: but if it be good thick and fair standing corn, then he may mow two acres, or two acres and a half in a day; but if the corn be short and thin, then he may mow three, and sometimes four Acres in a day, and not be overlaboured . . .¹⁵

The computation is difficult, and dependent upon many variables. Clearly, a straightforward time-measurement was more convenient.¹⁶

This measurement embodies a simple relationship. Those who are employed experience a distinction between their employer’s time and their “own” time. And the employer must *use* the time of his labour, and see it is not wasted: not the task but the value of time when reduced to money is dominant. Time is now currency: it is not passed but spent.

We may observe something of this contrast, in attitudes towards both time and work, in two passages from Stephen Duck’s poem,

¹⁴ *Rural Economy in Yorkshire in 1641 . . . Farming and Account Books of Henry Best*, ed. C. B. Robinson (Surtees Society, xxxiii, 1857), pp. 38-9.

¹⁵ G.M., *The Inrichment of the Weald of Kent*, 10th edn. (London, 1660), ch. xii: “A generall computation of men, and cattel’s labours: what each may do without hurt daily”, pp. 112-8.

¹⁶ Wage-assessments still, of course, assumed the statute dawn-to-dusk day, defined, as late as 1725, in a Lancashire assessment: “They shall work from five in the morning till betwixt seven and eight at the night, from the midst of March to the middle of September” — and thereafter “from the spring of day till night”, with two half hours for drinking, and one hour for dinner and (in summer only) half hour for sleep: “else, for every hour’s absence to default a penny”: *Annals of Agriculture*, xxv (London, 1796).

Redentore, Festa del

July, third Monday

Japan Marine Day

July, third Saturday

Idlewild Jazz Festival

Mollycckett Day

July, third full week

Kinderzeche (Children’s Party)

July, third week

Alpenfest

Golden Days

Kaustinen Folk Music Festival

Rondo Days Celebration

Swan Upping

July, 10 days including third full week

Minneapolis Aquatennial Festival

July, third weekend

Beiderbecke (Bix) Memorial Jazz Festival

Buffalo Days Powwow

Gold Discovery Days

United States Air and Trade Show

Yarmouth Clam Festival

July, begins third weekend

Hill Cumorah Pageant

July, third–fourth weekends

Michigan Brown Trout Festival

July, fourth Sunday

World Champion Bathtub Race

July, fourth Monday

Hurricane Supplication Day

July, fourth Saturday

Central Maine Egg Festival

July, fourth weekend

Virginia Scottish Games

July, last Sunday

Crom Dubh Sunday

Penitents, Procession of the (Belgium)

Reek Sunday

July, last Thursday, Wednesday

before

Chincoteague Pony Roundup and

Penning

July, last Saturday

Ghanafest

July, last full week

Cheyenne Frontier Days

RAGBRAI

July, last week

Days of ’76

“The Thresher’s Labour”. The first describes a work-situation which we have come to regard as the norm in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries:

From the strong Planks our Crab-Tree Staves rebound,
And echoing Barns return the rattling Sound.
Now in the Air our knotty Weapons Fly;
And now with equal Force descend from high:
Down one, one up, so well they keep the Time,
The *Cyclops* Hammers could not truer chime
In briny Streams our Sweat descends apace,
Drops from our Locks, or trickles down our Face.
No intermission in our Works we know;
The noisy Threshall must for ever go.
Their Master absent, others safely play;
The sleeping Threshall doth itself betray.
Nor yet the tedious Labour to beguile,
And make the passing Minutes sweetly smile,
Can we, like Shepherds, tell a merry Tale?
The Voice is lost, drown’d by the noisy Flail

Week after Week we this dull Task pursue,
Unless when winnowing Days produce a new;
A new indeed, but frequently a worse,
The Threshall yields but to the Master’s Curse:
He counts the Bushels, counts how much a Day,
Then swears we’ve idled half our Time away.
Why look ye, Rogues! D’ye think that this will do?
Your Neighbours thresh as much again as you.

This would appear to describe the monotony, alienation from pleasure in labour, and antagonism of interests commonly ascribed to the factory system. The second passage describes the harvesting:

At length in Rows stands up the well-dry’d Corn,
A grateful Scene, and ready for the Barn.
Our well-pleas’d Master views the Sight with joy,
And we for carrying all our Force employ.
Confusion soon o’er all the Field appears,
And stunning Clamours fill the Workmens Ears;
The Bells, and clashing Whips, alternate sound,
And rattling Waggons thunder o’er the Ground.
The Wheat got in, the Pease, and other Grain,
Share the same Fate, and soon leave bare the Plain:
In noisy Triumph the last Load moves on,
And loud Huzza’s proclaim the Harvest done.

This is, of course, an obligatory set-piece in eighteenth-century farming poetry. And it is also true that the good morale of the labourers was sustained by their high harvest earnings. But it would be an error to see the harvest situation in terms of direct responses to economic stimuli. It is also a moment at which the older collective rhythms break through the new, and a weight of folk-lore and of rural custom could be called as supporting evidence as to the psychic

satisfaction and ritual functions — for example, the momentary obliteration of social distinctions — of the harvest-home. “How few now know”, M. K. Ashby writes, “what it was ninety years ago to get in a harvest! Though the disinherited had no great part of the fruits, still they shared in the achievement, the deep involvement and joy of it”.¹⁷

III

It is by no means clear how far the availability of precise clock time extended at the time of the industrial revolution. From the fourteenth century onwards church clocks and public clocks were erected in the cities and large market towns. The majority of English parishes must have possessed church clocks by the end of the sixteenth century.¹⁸ But the accuracy of these clocks is a matter of dispute; and the sundial remained in use (partly to set the clock) in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁹

Charitable donations continued to be made in the seventeenth century (sometimes laid out in “clockland”, “ding dong land”, or “curfew bell land”) for the ringing of early morning bells and curfew bells.²⁰ Thus Richard Palmer of Wokingham (Berks) gave, in 1664, lands in trust to pay the sexton to ring the great bell for half an hour every evening at eight o’clock and every morning at four o’clock, or as near to those hours as might be, from the 10th September to the 11th March in each year

not only that as many as might live within the sound might be thereby induced to a timely going to rest in the evening, and early arising in the morning to the labours and duties of their several callings, (things ordinarily attended and rewarded with thrift and proficiency)

but also so that strangers and others within sound of the bell on winter nights “might be informed of the time of night, and receive

¹⁷ M. K. Ashby, *Joseph Ashby of Tysoe* (Cambridge, 1961), p. 24.

¹⁸ For the early evolution of clocks, see Carlo M. Cipolla, *Clocks and Culture, passim*; A. P. Usher, *A History of Mechanical Inventions*, rev. edn. (Harvard, 1962), ch. vii; Charles Singer *et al.* (eds.), *A History of Technology* (Oxford, 1956), iii, ch. xxiv; R. W. Symonds, *A History of English Clocks* (Penguin, 1947), pp. 10-16, 33; E. L. Edwards, *Weight-driven Chamber Clocks of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Altrincham, 1965).

¹⁹ See M. Gatty, *The Book of Sun-dials*, rev. edn. (London, 1900). For an example of a treatise explaining in detail how to set time-pieces by the sundial, see John Smith, *Horological Dialogues* (London, 1675). For examples of benefactions for sundials, see C. J. C. Beeson, *Clockmaking in Oxfordshire* (Banbury Hist. Assn., 1962), pp. 76-8; A. J. Hawkes, *The Clockmakers and Watchmakers of Wigan, 1650-1850* (Wigan, 1950), p. 27.

²⁰ Since many early church clocks did not strike the hour, they were supplemented by a bell-ringer.



July, last week, to first week in August

Merengue Festival (Festival de Merengue)

July, last full weekend

Black Ships Festival

Bologna Festival

Chief Joseph Days

Gilroy Garlic Festival

Nordic Fest

July, last weekend

Antique and Classic Boat Rendezvous

Lumberjack World Championships

Manitoba Sunflower Festival

Nicodemus Emancipation and

Homecoming Celebration

Pardon of Ste. Anne d’Auray

July, last two weekends, and first weekend in August

Song of Hiawatha Pageant

July, late

Just for Laughs Festival

Klondike Days Exposition

World Santa Claus Congress

July, late, in odd-numbered years

Bach Festival

July, late, one full week in

Cornouaille Festival

July, late, to early August

Carnival (Cuba)

Dodge City Days

Jerash Festival of Culture and Art

Tyre Festival

July, late, to early August

Robin Hood Festival in Nottinghamshire, England

July, late, to early August, weekend

Faces Etnofestival

July, late, to first Monday in August

Jamaica Festival

July, late, through August

Bayreuth Festival

July or August

Panathenaea

San Pedro International Costa Maya Festival

July–August

American West, Festival of the

Antigua Carnival

Baalbeck Festival

Beiteddine Festival

some guidance into their right way". These "rational ends", he conceived, "could not but be well liked by any discreet person, the same being done and well approved of in most of the cities and market-towns, and many other places in the kingdom . . .". The bell would also remind men of their passing, and of resurrection and judgement.²¹ Sound served better than sight, especially in growing manufacturing districts. In the clothing districts of the West Riding, in the Potteries, (and probably in other districts) the horn was still used to awaken people in the mornings.²² The farmer aroused his own labourers, on occasion, from their cottages; and no doubt the knocker-up will have started with the earliest mills.

A great advance in the accuracy of household clocks came with the application of the pendulum after 1658. Grandfather clocks begin to spread more widely from the 1660s, but clocks with minute hands (as well as hour hands) only became common well after this time.²³ As regards more portable time, the pocket watch was of dubious accuracy until improvements were made in the escapement and the spiral balance-spring was applied after 1674.²⁴ Ornate and rich design was still preferred to plain serviceability. A Sussex diarist notes in 1688:

bought . . . a silver-cased watch, w^{ch} cost me 3*ri* . . . This watch shewes ye hour of ye day, ye month of ye year, ye age of ye moon, and ye ebbing and flowing of ye water; and will goe 30 hours with one winding up.²⁵

Professor Cipolla suggests 1680 as the date at which English clock- and watch-making took precedence (for nearly a century) over European competitors.²⁶ Clock-making had emerged from the skills

²¹ *Charity Commissioners Reports* (1837/8), xxxii, pt. 1, p. 224; see also H. Edwards, *A Collection of Old English Customs* (London, 1842), esp. pp. 223-7; S. O. Addy, *Household Tales* (London, 1895), pp. 129-30; *County Folk-Lore, East Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. Mrs. Gutch (London, 1912), pp. 150-1, *Leicestershire and Rutland*, ed. C. J. Bilson (London, 1895), pp. 120-1; C. J. C. Beeson, *op. cit.*, p. 36; A. Gatty, *The Bell* (London, 1848), p. 20; P. H. Ditchfield, *Old English Customs* (London, 1896), pp. 232-41.

²² H. Heaton, *The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries* (Oxford, 1965), p. 347. Wedgwood seems to have been the first to replace the horn by the bell in the Potteries: E. Meteyard, *Life of Josiah Wedgwood* (London, 1865), 1, pp. 329-30.

²³ W. I. Milham, *Time and Timekeepers* (London, 1923), pp. 142-9; F. J. Britten, *Old Clocks and Watches and Their Makers*, 6th edn. (London, 1932), p. 543; E. Bruton, *The Longcase Clock* (London, 1964), ch. ix.

²⁴ Milham, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-26; C. Clutton and G. Daniels, *Watches* (London, 1965); F. A. B. Ward, *Handbook of the Collections illustrating Time Measurement* (London, 1947), p. 29; Cipolla, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

²⁵ Edward Turner, "Extracts from the Diary of Richard Stapley", *Sussex Archaeol. Coll.*, ii (1899), p. 113.

²⁶ See the admirable survey of the origin of the English industry in Cipolla, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-9.

of the blacksmith,²⁷ and the affinity can still be seen in the many hundreds of independent clock-makers, working to local orders in their own shops, dispersed through the market-towns and even the large villages of England, Scotland and Wales in the eighteenth-century.²⁸ While many of these aspired to nothing more fancy than the work-a-day farmhouse longcase clock, craftsmen of genius were among their numbers. Thus John Harrison, clock-maker and former carpenter of Barton-on-Humber (Lincs.), perfected a marine chronometer, and in 1730 could claim to have

brought a Clock to go nearer the truth, than can be well imagin'd, considering the vast Number of seconds of Time there is in a Month, in which space of time it does not vary above one second . . . I am sure I can bring it to the nicety of 2 or 3 seconds in a year.²⁹

And John Tibbot, a clock-maker in Newtown (Mon.), had perfected a clock in 1810 which (he claimed) seldom varied more than a second over two years.³⁰ In between these extremes were those numerous, shrewd, and highly-capable craftsmen who played a critically-important rôle in technical innovation in the early stages of the industrial revolution. The point, indeed, was not left for historians to discover: it was argued forcibly in petitions of the clock- and watch-makers against the assessed taxes in February 1798. Thus the petition from Carlisle:

. . . the cotton and woollen manufactories are entirely indebted for the state of perfection to which the machinery used therein is now brought to the clock and watch makers, great numbers of whom have, for several years past . . . been employed in inventing and constructing as well as superintending such machinery . . .³¹

Small-town clock-making survived into the nineteenth century, although from the early years of that century it became common for

²⁷ As late as 1697 in London the Blacksmith's Company was contesting the monopoly of the Clockmakers (founded in 1631) on the grounds that "it is well known that they are the original and proper makers of clocks &c. and have full skill and knowledge therein . . .": S. E. Atkins and W. H. Overall, *Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Clockmakers of the City of London* (London, 1881), p. 118. For a village blacksmith-clockmaker see J. A. Daniell, "The Making of Clocks and Watches in Leicestershire and Rutland", *Trans. Leics. Archaeol. Soc.*, xxvii (1951), p. 32.

²⁸ Lists of such clockmakers are in F. J. Britten, *op. cit.*; John Smith, *Old Scottish Clockmakers* (Edinburgh, 1921); and I. C. Peate, *Clock and Watch Makers in Wales* (Cardiff, 1945).

²⁹ Records of the Clockmaker's Company, London Guildhall Archives, 6026/1. See (for Harrison's chronometer) F. A. B. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³⁰ I. C. Peate, "John Tibbot, Clock and Watch Maker", *Montgomeryshire Collections*, xlviii, pt. 2 (Welshpool, 1944), p. 178.

³¹ *Commons Journals*, liii, p. 251. The witnesses from Lancashire and Derby gave similar testimonies: *ibid.*, pp. 331, 335.

Bregenz Festival
 Carinthian Summer Music Festival
 German-American Volksfest
 Grand Haven Coast Guard Festival
 Moreska Sword Dance
 Rainforest World Music Festival
 Salzburg Festival
 Santa Fe Chamber Music Festival
 Santander International Festival of Music
 and Dance
 Seafair
 Tanglewood Music Festival
 Trial of Louis Riel
 Triple Crown Pack Burro Races
July—first Monday in August
 Crop Over
July—August, Friday evenings
 'Ksan Celebrations
July—September
 Arts and Pageant of the Masters,
 Festival of
 Wood (Henry) Promenade Concerts
July—September, Sunday
 Maverick Sunday Concerts
July—September, weekends
 Epidaurus Festival
August
 Abbotsford International Air Show
 Acadian Day
 Belgian-American Days
 Busan Sea Festival
 Clown Festival, International
 Damba
 Edinburgh International Festival
 Floating Lantern Ceremony (Toro
 Nagashi)
 Gaelic Mod
 Garma Festival
 Great Battle of Hansan Festival (Hansan
 Daecheop)
 Harlem Week
 Hippokrateia Festival
 Homage to Cuauhtemoc (Homenaje a
 Cuauhtemoc)
 Hooverfest
 Hot Air Balloon Classic
 Looking Glass Powwow
 Maralal Camel Derby
 Miramichi Folk Song Festival
 Mount Isa Rodeo and Mardi Gras

the local clock-maker to buy his parts ready-made from Birmingham, and to assemble these in his own work-shop. By contrast, watch-making, from the early years of the eighteenth century was concentrated in a few centres, of which the most important were London, Coventry, Prescot and Liverpool.³² A minute subdivision of labour took place in the industry early, facilitating large-scale production and a reduction in prices: the annual output of the industry at its peak (1796) was variously estimated at 120,000 and 191,678, a substantial part of which was for the export market.³³ Pitt's ill-judged attempt to tax clocks and watches, although it lasted only from July 1797 to March 1798, marked a turning-point in the fortunes of the industry. Already, in 1796, the trade was complaining at the competition of French and Swiss watches; the complaints continue to grow in the early years of the nineteenth century. The Clockmakers' Company alleged in 1813 that the smuggling of cheap gold watches has assumed major proportions, and that these were sold by jewellers, haberdashers, milliners, dressmakers, French toy-shops, perfumers, etc., "almost entirely for the use of the *upper classes of society*". At the same time, some cheap smuggled goods, sold by pawnbrokers or travelling salesmen, must have been reaching the poorer classes.³⁴

It is clear that there were plenty of watches and clocks around by 1800. But it is not so clear who owned them. Dr. Dorothy George, writing of the mid-eighteenth century, suggests that "labouring men, as well as artisans, frequently possessed silver watches", but the

³² Centres of the clock and watchmaking trade petitioning against the tax in 1798 were: London, Bristol, Coventry, Leicester, Prescot, Newcastle, Edinburgh, Liverpool, Carlisle, and Derby: *Commons Journals*, liii, pp. 158, 167, 174, 178, 230, 232, 239, 247, 251, 316. It was claimed that 20,000 were engaged in the trade in London alone, 7,000 of these in Clerkenwell. But in Bristol only 150 to 200 were engaged. For London, see M. D. George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1925), pp. 173-6; Atkins and Overall, *op. cit.*, p. 269; *Morning Chronicle*, 19 Dec. 1797; *Commons Journals*, liii, p. 158. For Bristol, *ibid.*, p. 332. For Lancashire, *Vict. County Hist. Lancs.* (London, 1908), ii, pp. 366-7. The history of the eighteenth-century watch trade in Coventry appears to be unwritten.

³³ The lower estimate was given by a witness before the committee on watchmakers' petitions (1798): *Commons Journals*, liii, p. 328 — estimated annual home consumption 50,000, export 70,000. See also a similar estimate (clocks and watches) for 1813, Atkins and Overall, *op. cit.*, p. 276. The higher estimate is for watch-cases marked at Goldsmiths Hall — silver cases, 185,102 in 1796, declining to 91,346 in 1816 — and is in the *Report of the Select Committee on the Petitions of Watchmakers*, P.P. 1817, vi and 1818, ix, pp. 1, 12.

³⁴ Atkins and Overall, *op. cit.*, pp. 302, 308 — estimating (excessively?) 25,000 gold and 10,000 silver watches imported, mostly illegally, per annum; and Anon., *Observations on the Art and Trade of Clock and Watchmaking* (London, 1812), pp. 16-20.

statement is indefinite as to date and only slightly documented.³⁵ The average price of plain longcase clocks made locally in Wrexham between 1755 and 1774 ran between £2 and £2 15s. od.; a Leicester price-list for new clocks, without cases, in 1795 runs between £3 and £5. A well-made watch would certainly cost no less.³⁶ On the face of it, no labourer whose budget was recorded by Eden or David Davies could have meditated such prices, and only the best-paid urban artisan. Recorded time (one suspects) belonged in the mid-century still to the gentry, the masters, the farmers and the tradesmen; and perhaps the intricacy of design, and the preference for precious metal, were in deliberate accentuation of their symbolism of status.

But, equally, it would appear that the situation was changing in the last decades of the century. The debate provoked by the attempt to impose a tax on all clocks and watches in 1797-8 offers a little evidence. It was perhaps the most unpopular and it was certainly the most unsuccessful of all of Pitt's assessed taxes:

If your Money he take — why your Breeches remain;
And the flaps of your Shirts, if your Breeches he gain;
And your Skin, if your Shirts; and if Shoes, your bare feet.
Then, never mind TAXES — *We've beat the Dutch fleet!*³⁷

The taxes were of 2s. 6d. upon each silver or metal watch; 10s. upon each gold one; and 5s. upon each clock. In debates upon the tax, the statements of ministers were remarkable only for their contradictions. Pitt declared that he expected the tax to produce £200,000 per annum:

In fact, he thought, that as the number of houses paying taxes is 700,000, and that in every house there is probably one person who wears a watch, the tax upon watches only would produce that sum.

At the same time, in response to criticism, ministers maintained that the ownership of clocks and watches was a mark of luxury. The Chancellor of the Exchequer faced both ways: watches and clocks "were certainly articles of convenience, but they were also articles of luxury . . . generally kept by persons who would be pretty well able

³⁵ M. D. George, *op. cit.*, p. 70. Various means of time-telling were of course employed without clocks: the engraving of the wool-comber in *The Book of English Trades* (London, 1818), p. 438 shows him with an hour-glass on his bench; threshers measured time as the light from the door moved across the barn floor; and Cornish tinners measured it underground by candles (information from Mr. J. G. Rule).

³⁶ I. C. Peate, "Two Montgomeryshire Craftsmen", *Montgomeryshire Collections*, xlviii, pt. 1 (Welshpool, 1944), p. 5; J. A. Daniell, *op. cit.*, p. 39. The average price of watches exported in 1792 was £4: P.P. 1818, ix, p. 1.

³⁷ "A loyal Song", *Morning Chronicle*, 18 Dec. 1797.

New Jersey Offshore Grand Prix
Onwasato Festival
Pacific Northwest Festival
Robots at Play
Royal Shows
Senj International Summer Carnival
St. Rocco's Celebration (Rokovo)
Waratambar
Watts Festival
Whe'wahchee (He'dewachi; Dance of Thanksgiving)

August 01

Benin Independence Day
Cross-Quarter Days
Doggett's Coat and Badge Race
Fire Festivals
George Tupou V (King), Birthday of Lammats
Lughnasadh
Swiss National Day
Trinidad and Tobago Emancipation Day

August 01-02

Forgiveness, Feast of

August 01, or nearest Saturday

Emancipation Day (Canada)

August 02

Macedonian Ilinden (St. Elijah's Uprising Day)

Old Pecos Bull and Corn Dance

Our Lady of the Angels, Feast of

Virgen de Los Angeles Day

August 02-07

Nebuta Matsuri

August 04

San Francisco's Day (Lima, Peru)

August 05

Burkina Faso Independence Day

Croatia Victory and Homeland

Thanksgiving Day

Grotto Day

August 05-07

Hanagasa Odori

August 06

Bolivia Independence Day

Hiroshima Peace Ceremony

Transfiguration, Feast of the

August 06, Saturday nearest

Rushbearing Festival

August 06-08

Tanabata (Star Festival)

to pay . . .". "He meant, however, to exempt Clocks of the meaner sort that were most commonly kept by the poorer classes".³⁸ The Chancellor clearly regarded the tax as a sort of Lucky Bag; his guess was more than three times that of the Pilot:

Articles	Tax	Chancellor's estimate	Would mean
Silver and metal watches	2s. 6d.	£100,000	800,000 watches
Gold watches	10s. od.	£200,000	400,000 "
Clocks	5s. od.	£3 or £400,000	c. 1,400,000 clocks

His eyes glittering at the prospect of enhanced revenue, Pitt revised his definitions: a *single* watch (or dog) might be owned as an article of convenience — more than this were "tests of affluence".³⁹

Unfortunately for the quantifiers of economic growth, one matter was left out of account. The tax was impossible to collect.⁴⁰ All householders were ordered, upon dire pains, to return lists of clocks and watches within their houses. Assessments were to be quarterly:

Mr. Pitt has very proper ideas of the remaining finances of the country. The *half-crown* tax upon watches is appointed to be collected *quarterly*. This is grand and dignified. It gives a man an air of consequence to pay *sevenpence halfpenny* to support *religion, property, and social order*.⁴¹

In fact, the tax was regarded as folly; as setting up a system of espionage; and as a blow against the middle class.⁴² There was a buyer's strike. Owners of gold watches melted down the covers and exchanged them for silver or metal.⁴³ The centres of the trade were plunged into crisis and depression.⁴⁴ Repealing the Act in March

³⁸ The exemptions in the Act (37 Geo. III, c. 108, cl. xxi, xxii and xxiv) were (a) for one clock or watch for any householder exempted from window and house tax (i.e. cottager), (b) for clocks "made of wood, or fixed upon wood, and which clocks are usually sold by the respective makers thereof at a price not exceeding the sum of 20s. . .", (c) Servants in husbandry.

³⁹ *Morning Chronicle*, 1 July 1797; *Craftsman*, 8 July 1797; *Parl. Hist.*, xxxiii, *passim*.

⁴⁰ In the year ending 5 April 1798 (three weeks after repeal) the tax had raised £2,600: *P.P.*, ciii, *Accounts and Papers* (1797-98), vol. xlv, 933 (2) and 933 (3).

⁴¹ *Morning Chronicle*, 26 July 1797.

⁴² One indication may be seen in the sluggardly collection of arrears. Taxes imposed, July 1797: receipts, year ending Jan. 1798 — £300. Taxes repealed, March 1798: arrears received, year ending Jan. 1799, £35,420; year ending Jan. 1800, £14,966. *P.P.*, cix, *Accounts and Papers* (1799-1800), li, pp. 1009 (2) and 1013 (2).

⁴³ *Morning Chronicle*, 16 Mar. 1798; *Commons Journals*, liii, p. 328.

⁴⁴ See petitions, cited in note 32 above; *Commons Journals*, liii, pp. 327-33; *Morning Chronicle*, 13 Mar. 1798. Two-thirds of Coventry watchmakers were said to be unemployed: *ibid.*, 8 Dec. 1797.

1798, Pitt said sadly that the tax *would* have been productive much beyond the calculation originally made; but it is not clear whether it was his own calculation (£200,000) or the Chancellor of the Exchequer's (£700,000) which he had in mind.⁴⁵

We remain (but in the best of company) in ignorance. There were a lot of timepieces about in the 1790s: emphasis is shifting from "luxury" to "convenience"; even cottagers may have wooden clocks costing less than twenty shillings. Indeed, a general diffusion of clocks and watches is occurring (as one would expect) at the exact moment when the industrial revolution demanded a greater synchronization of labour.

Although some very cheap — and shoddy — timepieces were beginning to appear, the prices of efficient ones remained for several decades beyond the normal reach of the artisan.⁴⁶ But we should not allow normal economic preferences to mislead us. The small instrument which regulated the new rhythms of industrial life was at the same time one of the more urgent of the new needs which industrial capitalism called forth to energize its advance. A clock or watch was not only useful; it conferred prestige upon its owner, and a man might be willing to stretch his resources to obtain one. There were various sources, various occasions. For decades a trickle of sound but cheap watches found their way from the pickpocket to the receiver, the pawnbroker, the public house.⁴⁷ Even labourers, once or twice in their lives, might have an unexpected windfall, and blow it on a watch: the militia bounty,⁴⁸ harvest earnings, or the yearly

⁴⁵ *Craftsman*, 17 Mar. 1798. The one achievement of the Act was to bring into existence — in taverns and public places — the "Act of Parliament Clock".

⁴⁶ Imported watches were quoted at a price as low as 5s. in 1813: Atkins and Overall, *op. cit.*, p. 292. See also note 38 above. The price of an efficient British silver pocket watch was quoted in 1817 (*Committee on Petitions of Watchmakers, P.P.*, 1817, vi) at two to three guineas; by the 1830s an effective metal watch could be had for £1: D. Lardner, *Cabinet Cyclopaedia* (London, 1834), iii, p. 297.

⁴⁷ Many watches must have changed hands in London's underworld: legislation in 1754 (27 Geo. II, c. 7) was directed at receivers of stolen watches. The pickpockets of course continued their trade undeterred: see, e.g. *Minutes of Select Committee to Inquire into the State of the Police of the Metropolis* (1816), p. 437 — "take watches; could get rid of them as readily as anything else . . . It must be a very good patent silver watch that fetched £2; a gold one £5 or £6". Receivers of stolen watches in Glasgow are said to have sold them in quantities in country districts in Ireland (1834): see J. E. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland, 1798-1845* (Cork, 1943), p. 253.

⁴⁸ "Winchester being one of the general rendezvous for the militia volunteers, has been a scene of riot, dissipation and absurd extravagance. It is supposed that nine-tenths of the bounties paid to these men, amounting to at least £20,000 were all spent on the spot among the public houses, milliners, watch-makers, hatters, &c. In more wantonness Bank notes were actually eaten between slices of bread and butter": *Monthly Magazine*, Sept. 1799.

August 07

Colombia Battle of Boyacá Day
Côte d'Ivoire Independence Day
Kiribati Youth Day
Purple Heart Day
Zambia Farmers Day

August 09

Meyboom
Singapore National Day
South Africa Women's Day
Zimbabwe Heroes' Day

August 09, and two adjoining days

St. Herman Pilgrimage

August 10

Borglum (Gutzon) Day
Ecuador Independence Day
San Lorenzo, Día de

August 10-12

Perseids
Puck Fair

August 11

Chad Independence Day
St. Clare of Assisi, Feast of

August 12

Glorious Twelfth
Queen's Birthday (Thailand)

August 13

Central African Republic Independence Day
Nemoralia

August 13-15

Congo Independence Day Celebration
Obon Festival

August 14

Pakistan Independence Day
Torta dei Fieschi
V-J Day (Victory over Japan Day)

August 14-15

Mystery Play (Elche)

August 14-16

Pine Battle of Vinuesa

August 15

Assumption of Our Lady (Santa Marija)
Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary,
Feast of the
Assumption of the Virgin Mary,
Feast of the (Guatemala)
Assumption of the Virgin Mary,
Feast of the (Italy)

wages of the servant.⁴⁹ In some parts of the country Clock and Watch Clubs were set up — collective hire-purchase.⁵⁰ Moreover, the timepiece was the poor man's bank, an investment of savings: it could, in bad times, be sold or put in hock.⁵¹ "This 'ere ticker", said one Cockney compositor in the 1820s, "cost me but a five-pun note ven I bort it fust, and I've popped it more than twenty times, and had more than forty poun' on it altogether. It's a garjian haingel to a fellar, is a good votch, ven you're hard up".⁵²

Whenever any group of workers passed into a phase of improving living standards, the acquisition of timepieces was one of the first things noted by observers. In Radcliffe's well-known account of the golden age of the Lancashire handloom weavers in the 1790s the men had "each a watch in his pocket" and every house was "well furnished with a clock in elegant mahogany or fancy case".⁵³ In Manchester fifty years later the same point caught the reporter's eye:

No Manchester operative will be without one a moment longer than he can help. You see, here and there, in the better class of houses, one of the old-fashioned metallic-faced eight-day clocks; but by far the most common article is the little Dutch machine, with its busy pendulum swinging openly and candidly before all the world.⁵⁴

Thirty years later again it was the gold double watch-chain which was the symbol of the successful Lib-Lab trade union leader; and for fifty years of disciplined servitude to work, the enlightened employer gave to his employee an engraved gold watch.

IV

Let us return from the timepiece to the task. Attention to time in labour depends in large degree upon the need for the synchronization of labour. But in so far as manufacturing industry remained conducted upon a domestic or small workshop scale, without intricate subdivision of processes, the degree of synchronization demanded

⁴⁹ Witnesses before the Select Committee of 1817 complained that inferior wares (sometimes known as "Jew watches") were touted in country fairs and sold to the gullible at mock auctions: *P.P.*, 1817, vi, pp. 15-16.

⁵⁰ Benjamin Smith, *Twenty-four Letters from Labourers in America to their Friends in England* (London, 1829), p. 48: the reference is to parts of Sussex — twenty people clubbed together (as in a Cow Club) paying 5s. each for twenty successive weeks, drawing lots each for one £5 time-piece.

⁵¹ *P.P.*, 1817, vi, pp. 19, 22.

⁵² [C. M. Smith], *The Working Man's Way in the World* (London, 1853), pp. 67-8.

⁵³ W. Radcliffe, *The Origin of Power Loom Weaving* (Stockport, 1828), p. 167.

⁵⁴ *Morning Chronicle*, 25 Oct. 1849. But in 1843 J. R. Porter, *The Progress of the Nation*, iii, p. 5 still saw the possession of a clock as "the certain indication of prosperity and of personal respectability on the part of the working man".

was slight, and task-orientation was still prevalent.⁵⁵ The putting-out system demanded much fetching, carrying, waiting for materials. Bad weather could disrupt not only agriculture, building and transport, but also weaving, where the finished pieces had to be stretched on the tenters to dry. As we get closer to each task, we are surprised to find the multiplicity of subsidiary tasks which the same worker or family group must do in one cottage or workshop. Even in larger workshops men sometimes continued to work at distinct tasks at their own benches or looms, and — except where the fear of the embezzlement of materials imposed stricter supervision — could show some flexibility in coming and going.

Hence we get the characteristic irregularity of labour patterns before the coming of large-scale machine-powered industry. Within the general demands of the week's or fortnight's tasks — the piece of cloth, so many nails or pairs of shoes — the working day might be lengthened or shortened. Moreover, in the early development of manufacturing industry, and of mining, many mixed occupations survived: Cornish tanners who also took a hand in the pilchard fishing; Northern lead-miners who were also smallholders; the village craftsmen who turned their hands to various jobs, in building, carting, joining; the domestic workers who left their work for the harvest; the Pennine small-farmer/weaver.

It is in the nature of such work that accurate and representative time-budgets will not survive. But some extracts from the diary of one methodical farming weaver in 1782-83 may give us an indication of the variety of tasks. In October 1782 he was still employed in harvesting, and threshing, alongside his weaving. On a rainy day he might weave 8½ or 9 yards; on October 14th he carried his finished piece, and so wove only 4¾ yards; on the 23rd he "worked out" till 3 o'clock, wove two yards before sun set, "clouted [mended] my coat in the evening". On December 24th "wove 2 yards before 11 o'clock. I was laying up the coal heap, sweeping the roof and walls of the

⁵⁵ For some of the problems discussed in this and the following section, see especially Keith Thomas, "Work and Leisure in Pre-Industrial Societies", *Past and Present*, no. 29 (Dec. 1964). Also C. Hill, "The Uses of Sabbatarianism", in *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (London, 1964); E. S. Furniss, *The Position of the Laborer in a System of Nationalism* (Boston, 1920: repr. New York, 1965); D. C. Coleman, "Labour in the English Economy of the Seventeenth Century", *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., viii (1955-6); S. Pollard, "Factory Discipline in the Industrial Revolution", *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., xvi (1963-4); T. S. Ashton, *An Economic History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1955), ch. vii; W. E. Moore, *Industrialization and Labor* (New York, 1951); and B. F. Hoselitz and W. E. Moore, *Industrialization and Society* (UNESCO, 1963).

Black Madonna of Jasna Gora, Feast of the

Dozynki Festival

Korea Liberation Day

Prince's Birthday in Liechtenstein

Zimbabwe Defense Forces Day

August 15, Sunday nearest

Blessing of the Grapes (Haghoghgy Ortnootyoon)

August 15, Sunday after

Running of the Bulls in Mexico

August 16

Bennington Battle Day

Daimonji Okuribi (Great Bonfire Event)

Dominican Republic Independence

Restoration Day

Palio, Festival of the

St. Roch's Day

August 16, every three years

Neri-Kuyo

August 16, week including

Elvis International Tribute Week

August 16-18

Gabon Independence Day

August 17

Indonesia Independence Day

August 17, Monday after

San Martín Day

August 19

Aviation Day

Vinalia

August 20

Estonia Restoration of Independence Day

St. Stephen's Day (Hungary)

August 20, weekend nearest

Our Lady of Sorrows Festival

August 21

Consualia

August 22

Queenship of Mary

August 23

Vulcanalia (Volcanalia)

August 24

Bartholomew Fair

Liberia Flag Day

St. Bartholomew's Day

Ukraine Independence Day

August 24, Sunday of or after

Keaw Yed Wakes Festival

kitchen and laying the muck miding [midden?] till 10 o'clock at night". Apart from harvesting and threshing, churning, ditching and gardening, we have these entries:

January 18, 1783: "I was employed in preparing a Calf stall & Fetching the Tops of three Plain Trees home which grew in the Lane and was that day cut down & sold to John Blagbrough."

January 21st: "Wove 2½ yards the Cow having calved she required much attendance". (On the next day he walked to Halifax to buy a medicine for the cow.)

On January 25th he wove 2 yards, walked to a nearby village, and did "sundry jobbs about the lathe and in the yard & wrote a letter in the evening". Other occupations include jobbing with a horse and cart, picking cherries, working on a mill dam, attending a Baptist association and a public hanging.⁵⁶

This general irregularity must be placed within the irregular cycle of the working week (and indeed of the working year) which provoked so much lament from moralists and mercantilists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A rhyme printed in 1639 gives us a satirical version:

You know that Munday is Sundayes brother;
Tuesday is such another;
Wednesday you must go to Church and pray;
Thursday is half-holiday;
On Friday it is too late to begin to spin;
The Saturday is half-holiday agen.⁵⁷

John Houghton, in 1681, gives us the indignant version:

When the framework knitters or makers of silk stockings had a great price for their work, they have been observed seldom to work on Mondays and Tuesdays but to spend most of their time at the ale-house or nine-pins . . . The weavers, 'tis common with them to be drunk on Monday, have their head-ache on Tuesday, and their tools out of order on Wednesday. As for the shoemakers, they'll rather be hanged than not remember St. Crispin on Monday . . . and it commonly holds as long as they have a penny of money or pennyworth of credit.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ MS. diaries of Cornelius Ashworth of Wheatley, in Halifax Ref. Lib.; see also T. W. Hanson, "The Diary of a Grandfather", *Trans. Halifax Antiq. Soc.*, 1916. M. Sturge Henderson, *Three Centuries in North Oxfordshire* (Oxford, 1902), pp. 133-46, 103, quotes similar passages (weaving, pig-killing, felling wood, marketing) from the diary of a Charlbury weaver, 1784, etc., but I have been unable to trace the original. It is interesting to compare time-budgets from more primitive peasant economies, e.g. Sol Tax, *Penny Capitalism — a Guatemalan Indian Economy* (Washington, 1953), pp. 104-5; George M. Foster, *A Primitive Mexican Economy* (New York, 1942), pp. 35-8; M. J. Herskovits, *The Economic Life of Primitive Peoples* (New York, 1940), pp. 72-9; Raymond Firth, *Malay Fishermen* (London, 1946), pp. 93-7.

⁵⁷ *Divers Crab-Tree Lectures* (1639), p. 126, cited in John Brand, *Observations on Popular Antiquities* (London, 1813), I, pp. 459-60. H. Bourne, *Antiquitates Vulgares* (Newcastle, 1725), pp. 115 f. declares that on Saturday afternoons in country places and villages "the Labours of the Plough Ceast, and Refreshment and Ease are over all the Village".

⁵⁸ J. Houghton, *Collection of Letters* (London, 1683 edn.), p. 177, cited in Furniss, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

The work pattern was one of alternate bouts of intense labour and of idleness, wherever men were in control of their own working lives. (The pattern persists among some self-employed — artists, writers, small farmers, and perhaps also with students — today, and provokes the question whether it is not a "natural" human work-rhythm.) On Monday or Tuesday, according to tradition, the hand-loom went to the slow chant of *Plen-ty of Time, Plen-ty of Time*: on Thursday and Friday, *A day t'lat, A day t'lat*.⁵⁹ The temptation to lie in an extra hour in the morning pushed work into the evening, candle-lit hours.⁶⁰ There are few trades which are not described as honouring Saint Monday: shoemakers, tailors, colliers, printing workers, potters, weavers, hosiery workers, cutlers, all Cockneys. Despite the full employment of many London trades during the Napoleonic Wars, a witness complained that "we see Saint Monday so religiously kept in this great city . . . in general followed by a Saint Tuesday also".⁶¹ If we are to believe "The Jovial Cutlers", a Sheffield song of the late eighteenth century, its observance was not without domestic tension:

How upon a good Saint Monday,
Sitting by the smithy fire,
Telling what's been done o't Sunday,
And in cheerful mirth conspire,
Soon I hear the trap-door rise up,
On the ladder stands my wife:
"Damn thee, Jack, I'll dust thy eyes up,
Thou leads a plaguy drunken life;
Here thou sits instead of working,
Wi' thy pitcher on thy knee;
Curse thee, thou'd be always lurking,
And I may slave myself for thee".

The wife proceeds, speaking "with motion quicker/Than my boring stick at a Friday's pace", to demonstrate effective consumer demand:

"See thee, look what stays I've gotten,
See thee, what a pair o' shoes;
Gown and petticoat half rotten,
Ne'er a whole stitch in my hose . . .".

and to serve notice of a general strike:

"Thou knows I hate to broil and quarrel,
But I've neither soap nor tea;
Od burn thee, Jack, forsake thy barrel,
Or nevermore thou'st lie wi' me".⁶²

⁵⁹ T. W. Hanson, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

⁶⁰ J. Clayton, *Friendly Advice to the Poor* (Manchester, 1755), p. 36.

⁶¹ *Report of the Trial of Alexander Wadsworth against Peter Laurie* (London, 1811), p. 21. The complaint is particularly directed against the Saddlers.

⁶² *The Songs of Joseph Mather* (Sheffield, 1862), pp. 88-90. The theme appears to have been popular with ballad-makers. A Birmingham example, "Fudding Day, or Saint Monday" (for which I am indebted to Mr. Charles Parker) runs: (*contd. on p. 74*).

August 24, or following weekend

Schäferlauf

August 24, three weeks beginning

Stourbridge Fair

August 25

Uruguay Independence Day

August 26

Anthony (Susan B.) Day

Namibia Heroes Day

August 26, on or near

Mount Fuji Climbing Season, End of

August 26-27

Chochin Matsuri (Lantern Festival)

August 27

Moldova Independence Day

August 28

St. Augustine of Hippo, Feast of

August 29

St. John the Baptist, Martyrdom of

August 30

Long (Huey P.), Day

St. Rose of Lima's Day

Turkey Victory Day

August 30 and October 17

Flower Festivals of St. Rose and St.

Margaret Mary Alacoque

August 31

Great Montana Sheep Drive

Kyrgyz Independence Day

Merdeka Day

Moldovan Language Day

Polish Solidarity Day

Trinidad and Tobago Independence Day

August, usually

Fairhope Jubilee

August, varies

Emancipation Day Festival

August, probably

Nemean Games

August, every other year

Hopi Snake Dance

August, every four years

Pythian Games

August, every 20-25 years

Vignerons, Fête des (Winegrowers' Festival)

August, Fridays

Pilgrim Progress Pageant

August, early

Cuisinières, Fête des la

Saint Monday, indeed, appears to have been honoured almost universally wherever small-scale, domestic, and outwork industries existed; was generally found in the pits; and sometimes continued in manufacturing and heavy industry.⁶³ It was perpetuated, in England, into the nineteenth — and, indeed, into the twentieth⁶⁴ — centuries for complex economic and social reasons. In some trades, the small masters themselves accepted the institution, and employed Monday in taking-in or giving-out work. In Sheffield, where the cutlers had for centuries tenaciously honoured the Saint, it had become “a settled habit and custom” which the steel-mills themselves honoured (1874):

This Monday idleness is, in some cases, enforced by the fact that Monday is the day that is taken for repairs to the machinery of the great steelworks.⁶⁵

Where the custom was deeply-established, Monday was the day set aside for marketing and personal business. Also, as Duveau suggests of French workers, “le dimanche est le jour de la famille, le lundi celui de l’amitié”; and as the nineteenth-century advanced, its celebration was something of a privilege of status of the better-paid artisan.⁶⁶

(note 62 contd.)

Saint Monday brings more ills about,
For when the money’s spent,
The children’s clothes go up the spout,
Which causes discontent;
And when at night he staggers home,
He knows not what to say,
A fool is more a man than he
Upon a fuddling day.

⁶³ It was honoured by Mexican weavers in 1800: see Jan Bazant, “Evolution of the textile industry of Puebla, 1544-1845”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, viii (1964), p. 65. Valuable accounts of the custom in France in the 1850s and 1860s are in George Duveau, *La Vie Ouvrière en France sous le Second Empire* (Paris, 1946), pp. 242-8, and P. Pierrard, *La Vie Ouvrière à Lille sous le Second Empire* (Paris, 1965), pp. 165-6. Edward Young, conducting a survey of labour conditions in Europe, with the assistance of U.S. consuls, mentions the custom in France, Belgium, Prussia, Stockholm, etc. in the 1870s: E. Young, *Labour in Europe and America* (Washington, 1875), pp. 576, 661, 674, 685, &c.

⁶⁴ Notably in the pits. An old Yorkshire miner informs me that in his youth it was a custom on a bright Monday morning to toss a coin in order to decide whether or not to work. I have also been told that “Saint Monday” is still honoured (1967) in its pristine purity by a few coopers in Burton-on-Trent.

⁶⁵ E. Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 408-9 (Report of U.S. Consul). Similarly, in some mining districts, “Pay Monday” was recognized by the employers, and the pits were only kept open for repairs: on Monday, only “dead work is going on”, *Report of the Select Committee on the Scarcity and Dearthness of Coal, P.P.*, 1873, x, QQ 177, 201-7.

⁶⁶ Duveau, *op. cit.*, p. 247. “A Journeyman Engineer” (T. Wright) devotes a whole chapter to “Saint Monday” in his *Some Habits and Customs of the Working Classes* (London, 1867), esp. pp. 112-6, under the mistaken impression that the institution was “comparatively recent”, and consequent upon steam power giving rise to “a numerous body of highly skilled and highly paid workmen” — notably engineers!

It is, in fact, in an account by “An Old Potter” published as late as 1903 that we have some of the most perceptive observations on the irregular work-rhythms which continued on the older pot-banks until the mid-century. The potters (in the 1830s and 1840s) “had a devout regard for Saint Monday”. Although the custom of annual hiring prevailed, the actual weekly earnings were at piece-rates, the skilled male potters employing the children, and working, with little supervision, at their own pace. The children and women came to work on Monday and Tuesday, but a “holiday feeling” prevailed and the day’s work was shorter than usual, since the potters were away a good part of the time, drinking their earnings of the previous week. The children, however, had to prepare work for the potter (for example, handles for pots which he would throw), and all suffered from the exceptionally long hours (fourteen and sometimes sixteen hours a day) which were worked from Wednesday to Saturday:

I have since thought that but for the reliefs at the beginning of the week for the women and boys all through the pot-works, the deadly stress of the last four days could not have been maintained.

“An Old Potter”, a Methodist lay preacher of Liberal-Radical views, saw these customs (which he deplored) as a consequence of the lack of mechanization of the pot-banks; and he argued that the same indiscipline in daily work influenced the entire way-of-life and the working-class organizations of the Potteries. “Machinery means discipline in industrial operations”:

If a steam-engine had started every Monday morning at six o’clock, the workers would have been disciplined to the habit of regular and continuous industry . . . I have noticed, too, that machinery seems to lead to habits of calculation. The Pottery workers were woefully deficient in this matter; they lived like children, without any calculating forecast of their work or its result. In some of the more northern counties this habit of calculation has made them keenly shrewd in many conspicuous ways. Their great co-operative societies would never have arisen to such immense and fruitful development but for the calculating induced by the use of machinery. A machine worked so many hours in the week would produce so much length of yarn or cloth. Minutes were felt to be factors in these results, whereas in the Potteries hours, or even days at times, were hardly felt to be such factors. There were always the mornings and nights of the last days of the week, and these were always trusted to make up the loss of the week’s early neglect.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ “An Old Potter”, *When I was a Child* (London, 1903), pp. 16, 47-9, 52-4, 57-8, 71, 74-5, 81, 185-6, 191. Mr. W. Sokol, of the University of Wisconsin, has directed my attention to many cases reported in the *Staffordshire Potteries Telegraph* in 1853-4, where the employers succeeded in fining or imprisoning workers who neglected work, often on Mondays and Tuesdays. These actions were taken on the pretext of breach of contract (the annual hiring), for which see Daphne Simon, “Master and Servant”, in *Democracy and the Labour Movement*, ed. J. Saville (London, 1954). Despite this campaign of prosecutions, the custom of keeping Saint Monday is still noted in the *Report of the Children’s Employment Commission, P.P.*, 1863, xviii, pp. xxvii-xxviii.

Eisteddfod

Grant’s (Bill) Bluegrass Festival

Nisei Week

Old Spanish Days

Satchmo SummerFest

Spiedie Fest and Balloon Rally

August, early, Saturday

World Peace Festival

August, early, week in

Craftsmen’s Fair

August, first Sunday

Volksfest

August, begins first Sunday

Gualterianas, Festas

August, first Monday

British Columbia Day

Bahamas Emancipation Day

Jamaica Independence Day

Natal Day in Nova Scotia

New Brunswick Day

August, first Monday through

following Sunday

Sturgis Motorcycle Rally

August, first Thursday, Friday, and

Saturday

Asheville Mountain Dance and Folk

Festival

August, first Friday to second Sunday

Interceltique, Festival

August, first Saturday

All-American Soap Box Derby

Hambletonian Harness Racing Classic

August, begins first Saturday

Nations, Festival of (Montana)

August, first week

El Salvador del Mundo, Festival of

Great Wardmote of the Woodmen of

Arden

Handy (W. C.) Music Festival

Steinbeck (John) Festival

August, first full weekend

Czech Festival, National

Gift of the Waters Pageant

Twins Days Festival

August, first weekend

Billy the Kid Pageant

Blessed Sacrament, Feast of the

Dublin Irish Festival

Emancipation Day (Hutchinson, Kansas)

Icelandic Festival

This irregular working rhythm is commonly associated with heavy week-end drinking: Saint Monday is a target in many Victorian temperance tracts. But even the most sober and self-disciplined artisan might feel the necessity for such alternations. "I know not how to describe the sickening aversion which at times steals over the working man and utterly disables him for a longer or shorter period, from following his usual occupation", Francis Place wrote in 1829; and he added a footnote of personal testimony:

For nearly six years, whilst working, when I had work to do, from twelve to eighteen hours a day, when no longer able, from the cause mentioned, to continue working, I used to run from it, and go as rapidly as I could to Highgate, Hampstead, Muswell-hill, or Norwood, and then "return to my vomit" . . . This is the case with every workman I have ever known; and in proportion as a man's case is hopeless will such fits more frequently occur and be of longer duration.⁶⁸

We may, finally, note that the irregularity of working day and week were framed, until the first decades of the nineteenth century, within the larger irregularity of the working year, punctuated by its traditional holidays, and fairs. Still, despite the triumph of the Sabbath over the ancient saints' days in the seventeenth century,⁶⁹ the people clung tenaciously to their customary wakes and feasts, and may even have enlarged them both in vigour and extent.⁷⁰ But a discussion of this problem, and of the psychic needs met by such intermittent festivals, must be left to another occasion.

How far can this argument be extended from manufacturing industry to the rural labourers? On the face of it, there would seem to be unrelenting daily and weekly labour here: the field labourer had no Saint Monday. But a close discrimination of different work situations is still required. The eighteenth- (and nineteenth-) century village had its own self-employed artisans, as well as many employed on irregular task work.⁷¹ Moreover, in the unenclosed

⁶⁸ F. Place, *Improvement of the Working People* (1834), pp. 13-15; Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27825. See also John Wade, *History of the Middle and Working Classes*, 3rd edn. (London, 1835), pp. 124-5.

⁶⁹ See C. Hill, *op. cit.*

⁷⁰ Clayton, *op. cit.*, p. 13, claimed that "common custom has established so many Holy-days, that few of our manufacturing work-folks are closely and regularly employed above two-third parts of their time". See also Furniss, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-5, and the abstract of my paper in the *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History*, no. 9, 1964.

⁷¹ "We have four or five little farmers . . . we have a bricklayer, a carpenter, a blacksmith, and a miller, all of whom . . . are in a very frequent habit of drinking the King's health . . . Their employment is unequal; sometimes they are full of business, and sometimes they have none; generally they have many leisure hours, because . . . the hardest part [of their work] devolves to some men whom they hire . . .", "A Farmer", describing his own village (see note 77 below), in 1798.

countryside, the classical case against open-field and common was in its inefficiency and wastefulness of time, for the small farmer or cottager:

. . . if you offer them work, they will tell you that they must go to look up their sheep, cut furzes, get their cow out of the pound, or, perhaps, say they must take their horse to be shod, that he may carry them to a horse-race or cricket-match. (Arbuthnot, 1773)

In sauntering after his cattle, he acquires a habit of indolence. Quarter, half, and occasionally whole days are imperceptibly lost. Day labour becomes disgusting . . . (Report on Somerset, 1795)

When a labourer becomes possessed of more land than he and his family can cultivate in the evenings . . . the farmer can no longer depend on him for constant work . . . (*Commercial & Agricultural Magazine*, 1800)⁷²

To this we should add the frequent complaints of agricultural improvers as to the time wasted, both at seasonal fairs, and (before the arrival of the village shop) on weekly market-days.⁷³

The farm-servant, or the regular wage-earning field labourer, who worked, unremittingly, the full statute hours or longer, who had no common rights or land, and who (if not living-in) lived in a tied cottage, was undoubtedly subject to an intense labour discipline, whether in the seventeenth or the nineteenth century. The day of a ploughman (living-in) was described with relish by Markham in 1636:

. . . the Plowman shall rise before four of the clock in the morning, and after thanks given to God for his rest, & prayer for the success of his labours, he shall go into his stable . . .

After cleansing the stable, grooming his horses, feeding them, and preparing his tackle, he might breakfast (6-6-30 a.m.), he should plough until 2 p.m. or 3 p.m.; take half an hour for dinner; attend to his horses etc. until 6-30 p.m., when he might come in for supper:

. . . and after supper, hee shall either by the fire side mend shoes both for himselfe and their Family, or beat and knock Hemp or Flax, or picke and stamp Apples or Crabs, for Cyder or Verduyce, or else grind malt on the quernes, pick candle rushes, or doe some Husbandly office within doors till it be full eight a clock . . .

Then he must once again attend to his cattle and ("giving God thanks for benefits received that day") he might retire.⁷⁴

Even so, we are entitled to show a certain scepticism. There are

⁷² Cited in J. L. and B. Hammond, *The Village Labourer* (London, 1920), p. 13; E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1963), p. 220.

⁷³ See e.g. *Annals of Agriculture*, xxvi (1796), p. 370 n.

⁷⁴ G. Markham, *The Inrichment of the Weald of Kent*, 10th edn. (London, 1660), pp. 115-7.

Maine Lobster Festival
Marian Days
Oakley (Annie) Festival
Sheboygan Bratwurst Days
Sinjska Alka
Telluride Jazz Festival
Thjodhatid

August, second Sunday

Hora at Prislop
Mount Ceahlau Feast

August, second Thursday

Baby Parade
Bat Flight Breakfast
Battle of Flowers (Jersey, Channel Islands)

August, second Friday

Burry Man Day

August, second Friday and Saturday

Goschenhopen Historians' Folk Festival

August, second Saturday

Billiken (Bud) Day

August, second week

Fox Hill Festival
Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial
Old Fiddler's Convention

August, second full weekend

Ste. Genevieve, Jour de Fête à (Days of Celebration)

August, second weekend

Hope Watermelon Festival
Omak Stampede and Suicide Race

August, second and third weeks

Marymass Festival

August, mid-

Drachenstich (Spearing the Dragon)

Hobo Convention

JVC Jazz Festival

Kilkenny Arts Festival

Meskwaki Powwow

Sea Islands Black Heritage Festival

August, nine days in mid-

Hopi Flute Ceremony

August, ends third Sunday

Iowa State Fair

August, third Saturday

Woodward Dream Cruise

August, begins third or fourth Sunday

Shepherd's Fair

August, third and fourth Sunday;

every seven years

obvious difficulties in the nature of the occupation. Ploughing is not an all-the-year-round task. Hours and tasks must fluctuate with the weather. The horses (if not the men) must be rested. There is the difficulty of supervision: Robert Loder's accounts indicate that servants (when out of sight) were not always employed upon their knees thanking God for their benefits: "men can worke yf they list & soe they can loyter".⁷⁵ The farmer himself must work exceptional hours if he was to keep all his labourers always employed.⁷⁶ And the farm-servant could assert his annual right to move on if he disliked his employment.

Thus enclosure and agricultural improvement were both, in some sense, concerned with the efficient husbandry of the time of the labour-force. Enclosure and the growing labour-surplus at the end of the eighteenth century tightened the screw for those who were in regular employment; they were faced with the alternatives of partial employment and the poor law, or submission to a more exacting labour discipline. It is a question, not of new techniques, but of a greater sense of time-thrift among the improving capitalist employers. This reveals itself in the debate between advocates of regularly-employed wage-labour and advocates of "taken-work" (i.e. labourers employed for particular tasks at piece-rates). In the 1790s Sir Mordaunt Martin censured recourse to taken-work

which people agree to, to save themselves the trouble of watching their workmen: the consequence is, the work is ill done, the workmen boast at the ale-house what they can spend in "a waste against the wall", and make men at moderate wages discontented.

"A Farmer" countered with the argument that taken-work and regular wage-labour might be judiciously intermixed:

Two labourers engage to cut down a piece of grass at two shillings or half-a-crown an acre; I send, with their scythes, two of my domestic farm-servants into the field; I can depend upon it, that their companions will keep them up to their work; and thus I gain . . . the same additional hours of labour from my domestic servants, which are voluntarily devoted to it by my hired servants.⁷⁷

In the nineteenth century the debate was largely resolved in favour of

⁷⁵ Attempting to account for a deficiency in his stocks of wheat in 1617, Loder notes: "What should be the cause herof I know not, but it was in that year when R. Pearce & Alce were my servants, & then in great love (as it appeared too well) whether he gave it my horses . . . or how it went away, God onely knoweth". *Robert Loder's Farm Accounts*, ed. G. E. Fussell (Camden Soc., 3rd ser., liii, 1936), pp. 59, 127.

⁷⁶ For an account of an active farmer's day, see William Howitt, *Rural Life of England* (London, 1862), pp. 110-1.

⁷⁷ Sir Mordaunt Martin in *Bath and West and Southern Counties Society, Letters and Papers* (Bath, 1795), vii, p. 109; "A Farmer", "Observations on Taken-Work and Labour", *Monthly Magazine*, September 1798, May 1799.

weekly wage-labour, supplemented by task-work as occasion arose. The Wiltshire labourer's day, as described by Richard Jeffries in the 1870s, was scarcely less long than that described by Markham. Perhaps in resistance to this unremitting toil he was distinguished by the "clumsiness of his walk" and "the deadened slowness which seems to pervade everything he does".⁷⁸

The most arduous and prolonged work of all was that of the labourer's wife in the rural economy. One part of this — especially the care of infants — was the most task-orientated of all. Another part was in the fields, from which she must return to renewed domestic tasks. As Mary Collier complained in a sharp rejoinder to Stephen Duck:

. . . when we Home are come,
Alas! we find our Work but just begun;
So many Things for our Attendance call,
Had we ten Hands, we could employ them all.
Our Children put to Bed, with greatest Care
We all Things for your coming Home prepare:
You sup, and go to Bed without delay,
And rest yourselves till the ensuing Day;
While we, alas! but little Sleep can have,
Because our froward Children cry and rave . . .

In ev'ry Work (we) take our proper Share;
And from the Time that Harvest doth begin
Until the Corn be cut and carry'd in,
Our Toil and Labour's daily so extreme,
That we have hardly ever *Time to dream*.⁷⁹

Such hours were endurable only because one part of the work, with the children and in the home, disclosed itself as necessary and inevitable, rather than as an external imposition. This remains true to this day, and, despite school times and television times, the rhythms of women's work in the home are not wholly attuned to the measurement of the clock. The mother of young children has an imperfect sense of time and attends to other human tides. She has not yet altogether moved out of the conventions of "pre-industrial" society.

V

I have placed "pre-industrial" in inverted commas: and for a reason. It is true that the transition to mature industrial society demands analysis in sociological as well as economic terms.

⁷⁸ J. R. Jefferies, *The Toilers of the Field* (London, 1892), pp. 84-8, 211-2.

⁷⁹ Mary Collier, now a Washer-woman, at Petersfield in Hampshire, *The Woman's Labour: an Epistle to Mr. Stephen Duck; in Answer to his late Poem, called The Thresher's Labour* (London, 1739), pp. 10-11.

Assumption of the Virgin Mary, Feast of
the (Hasselt, Belgium)

August, third full week

Three Choirs Festival

August, third weekend

Chief Seattle Days

Crow Fair

Daimyo Gyoretsu

Down Home Family Reunion

Indian Market

Klondike Gold Discovery Day

Mohegan Homecoming

Payson Rodeo

Pickle Festival

August, fourth Sunday

First Fruits of the Alps Sunday

August, fourth weekend

Giants, Festival of the (Belgium)

Great American Duck Race

August, last Sunday

Plague Sunday

August, last Monday

Bog Snorkelling Championship, World

August, last Saturday

African Methodist Quarterly Meeting Day

August, last week

Corn Palace Festival

Mobile Phone Throwing World

Championship

Tomatina (Tomato Battle)

August, last full weekend

Rose of Tralee Beauty Contest

August, last weekend

Goombay!

Lochristi Begonia Festival

Parker (Charlie) Jazz Festival

Stiftungsfest

Wheat Harvest Festival (Provins, France)

August, late

Fleadh Cheoil

Grasmere Sports

Jeshn (Afghan Independence Day)

Little League World Series

Mount Hagen Show

August, late, Saturday in

WCSH Sidewalk Art Festival

August, late, one week in

Buskers' Festival

August, late, or early September

Obzinky

Concepts such as “time-preference” and the “backward sloping labour supply curve” are, too often, cumbersome attempts to find economic terms to describe sociological problems. But, equally, the attempt to provide simple models for one single, supposedly-neutral, technologically-determined, process known as “industrialization” (so popular today among well-established sociological circles in the United States)⁸⁰ is also suspect. It is not only that the highly-developed and technically-alert manufacturing industries (and the way-of-life supported by them) of France or England in the eighteenth century can only by semantic torture be described as “pre-industrial”. (And such a description opens the door to endless false analogies between societies at greatly differing economic levels). It is also that there has never been any single type of “the transition”. The stress of the transition falls upon the whole culture: resistance to change and assent to change arise from the whole culture. And this culture includes the systems of power, property-relations, religious institutions, etc., inattention to which merely flattens phenomena and trivializes analysis. Above all, the transition is not to “industrialism” *tout court* but to industrial capitalism or (in the twentieth century) to alternative systems whose features are still indistinct. What we are examining here are not only changes in manufacturing technique which demand greater synchronization of labour and a greater exactitude in time-routines in *any* society; but also these changes as they were lived through in the society of nascent industrial capitalism. We are concerned simultaneously with time-sense in its technological conditioning, and with time-measurement as a means of labour exploitation.

There are reasons why the transition was peculiarly protracted and fraught with conflict in England: among those which are often noted, England's was the first industrial revolution, and there were no Cadillacs, steel mills, or television sets to serve as demonstrations as to the object of the operation. Moreover, the preliminaries to the industrial revolution were so long that, in the manufacturing districts in the early eighteenth century, a vigorous and licensed popular culture had evolved, which the propagandists of discipline regarded with dismay. Josiah Tucker, the dean of Gloucester, declared in 1745 that “the *lower* class of people” were utterly degenerated. Foreigners (he sermonized) found “the *common people* of our *populous cities* to be the most *abandoned*, and *licentious* wretches on earth”:

⁸⁰ See examples below, notes 126 and 127, and the valuable critique by Andre Gunder Frank, “Sociology of Development and Underdevelopment of Sociology”, *Catalyst* (Buffalo, summer 1967).

Such brutality and insolence, such debauchery and extravagance, such idleness, irreligion, cursing and swearing, and contempt of all rule and authority . . . Our people are *drunk with the cup of liberty*.⁸¹

The irregular labour rhythms described in the previous section help us to understand the severity of mercantilist doctrines as to the necessity for holding down wages as a preventative against idleness, and it would seem to be not until the second half of the eighteenth century that “normal” capitalist wage incentives begin to become widely effective.⁸² The confrontations over discipline have already been examined by others.⁸³ My intention here is to touch upon several points which concern time-discipline more particularly. The first is found in the extraordinary Law Book of the Crowley Iron Works. Here, at the very birth of the large-scale unit in manufacturing industry, the old autocrat, Crowley, found it necessary to design an entire civil and penal code, running to more than 100,000 words, to govern and regulate his refractory labour-force. The preambles to Orders Number 40 (the Warden at the Mill) and 103 (Monitor) strike the prevailing note of morally-righteous invigilation. From Order 40:

I having by sundry people working by the day with the connivance of the clerks been horribly cheated and paid for much more time than in good conscience I ought and such hath been the baseness & treachery of sundry clerks that they have concealed the sloath & negligence of those paid by the day . . .

And from Order 103:

Some have pretended a sort of right to loyter, thinking by their readiness and ability to do sufficient in less time than others. Others have been so foolish to think bare attendance without being employed in business is sufficient . . . Others so impudent as to glory in their villany and upbraid others for their diligence . . .

To the end that sloath and villany should be detected and the just and diligent rewarded, I have thought meet to create an account of time by a Monitor, and do order and it is hereby ordered and declared from 5 to 8 and from 7 to 10 is fifteen hours, out of which take 1½ for breakfast, dinner, etc. There will then be thirteen hours and a half neat service . . .

This service must be calculated “after all deductions for being at taverns, alehouses, coffee houses, breakfast, dinner, playing, sleeping, smoaking, singing, reading of news history, quarelling, contention, disputes or anything forreign to my business, any way loytering”.

⁸¹ J. Tucker, *Six Sermons* (Bristol, 1772), pp. 70-1.

⁸² The change is perhaps signalled at the same time in the ideology of the more enlightened employers: see A. W. Coats, “Changing attitudes to labour in the mid-eighteenth century”, *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., xi (1958-9).

⁸³ See Pollard, *op. cit.*; N. McKendrick, “Josiah Wedgwood and Factory Discipline”, *Hist. Journal*, iv (1961); also Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-74.

Reed Dance

August, late, or September

Pilgrimage to Moulay Idriss

August, late, to early September

Freeing the Insects

Helsinki Festival

Shinju Matsuri Festival

August, late, to Labor Day

Flemington Fair

August, eight days before full moon in

Taungbyon Spirit Festival

August, week beginning day after full moon

Gai Jatra

August-September

Agwunsi Festival

Canadian National Exhibition

Carnea

Homowo

Lucerne International Festival of Music

Michigan Renaissance Festival

August-September, four days

preceding Labor Day

Chicago Jazz Festival

August-September, Labor Day weekend

Charleston Sternwheel Regatta

August-September, 11 days ending

Saturday before Labor Day

Tennessee Walking Horse National Celebration

August and September, in odd numbered years

Enescu (George) Festival

September

Ak-Sar-Ben Livestock Exposition and

Rodeo

Almabtrieb

Amherstburg Heritage Homecoming

Bad Durkheim Wurstmarkt (Sausage Fair)

Big Iron Farm Show and Exhibition

Bull Durham Blues Festival

Caruaru Roundup

Dean (James) Festival

Fleet Week (San Diego, California)

Grand Canyon Music Festival

Joust of the Saracens

Killing the Pigs, Festival of

Kuta Karnival

The Monitor and Warden of the Mill were ordered to keep for each day employee a time-sheet, entered to the minute, with "Come" and "Run". In the Monitor's Order, verse 31 (a later addition) declares:

And whereas I have been informed that sundry clerks have been so unjust as to reckon by clocks going the fastest and the bell ringing before the hour for their going from business, and clocks going too slow and the bell ringing after the hour for their coming to business, and those two black traitors Fowell and Skellerne have knowingly allowed the same; it is therefore ordered that no person upon the account doth reckon by any other clock, bell, watch or dyall but the Monitor's, which clock is never to be altered but by the clock-keeper

The Warden of the Mill was ordered to keep the watch "so locked up that it may not be in the power of any person to alter the same". His duties also were defined in verse 8:

Every morning at 5 a clock the Warden is to ring the bell for beginning to work, at eight a clock for breakfast, at half an hour after for work again, at twelve a clock for dinner, at one to work and at eight to ring for leaving work and all to be lock'd up.

His book of the account of time was to be delivered in every Tuesday with the following affidavit:

This account of time is done without favour or affection, ill-will or hatred, & do really believe the persons above mentioned have worked in the service of John Crowley Esq the hours above charged.⁸⁴

We are entering here, already in 1700, the familiar landscape of disciplined industrial capitalism, with the time-sheet, the time-keeper, the informers and the fines. Some seventy years later the same discipline was to be imposed in the early cotton mills (although the machinery itself was a powerful supplement to the time-keeper). Lacking the aid of machinery to regulate the pace of work on the pot-bank, that supposedly-formidable disciplinarian, Josiah Wedgwood, was reduced to enforcing discipline upon the potters in surprisingly muted terms. The duties of the Clerk of the Manufactory were:

To be at the works the first in the morning, & settle the people to their business as they come in, — to encourage those who come regularly to their time, letting them know that their regularity is properly noticed, & distinguishing them by repeated marks of approbation, from the less orderly part of the workpeople, by presents or other marks suitable to their ages, &c.

Those who come later than the hour appointed should be noticed, and if after repeated marks of disapprobation they do not come in due time, an account of the time they are deficient in should be taken, and so much of their wages stopt as the time comes to if they work by wages, and if they work by the piece they should after frequent notice be sent back to breakfast-time.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Order 103 is reproduced in full in *The Law Book of the Crowley Ironworks*, ed. M. W. Flinn (Surtees Soc., clxvii, 1957). See also Law Number 16, "Reckonings". Order Number 40 is in the "Law Book", Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 34555.

⁸⁵ MS. instructions, circa 1780, in Wedgwood MSS. (Barlaston), 26.19114.

These regulations were later tightened somewhat:

Any of the workmen forcing their way through the Lodge after the time allow'd by the Master forfeits 2/-d.⁸⁶

and McKendrick has shown how Wedgwood wrestled with the problem at Etruria and introduced the first recorded system of clocking-in.⁸⁷ But it would seem that once the strong presence of Josiah himself was withdrawn the incorrigible potters returned to many of their older ways.

It is too easy, however, to see this only as a matter of factory or workshop discipline, and we may glance briefly at the attempt to impose "time-thrift" in the domestic manufacturing districts, and its impingement upon social and domestic life. Almost all that the masters wished to see imposed may be found in the bounds of a single pamphlet, the Rev. J. Clayton's *Friendly Advice to the Poor*, "written and publish'd at the Request of the late and present Officers of the Town of Manchester" in 1755. "If the *sluggard hides his hands* in his bosom, rather than applies them to work; if he spends his Time in Sauntering, impairs his Constitution by Laziness, and dulls his Spirit by Indolence . . ." then he can expect only poverty as his reward. The labourer must not loiter idly in the market-place or waste time in marketing. Clayton complains that "the Churches and Streets [are] crowded with Numbers of Spectators" at weddings and funerals, "who in spite of the Miseries of their Starving Condition . . . make no Scruple of wasting the best Hours in the Day, for the sake of gazing . . .". The tea-table is "this shameful devourer of Time and Money". So also are wakes and holidays and the annual feasts of friendly societies. So also is "that slothful spending the Morning in Bed":

The necessity of early rising would reduce the poor to a necessity of going to Bed betime; and thereby prevent the Danger of Midnight revels.

Early rising would also "introduce an exact Regularity into their Families, a wonderful Order into their Oeconomy".

The catalogue is familiar, and might equally well be taken from Baxter in the previous century. If we can trust Bamford's *Early Days*, Clayton failed to make many converts from their old way of

⁸⁶ "Some regulations and rules made for this manufactory more than 30 years back", dated circa 1810, in Wedgwood MSS. (Keele University), 4045.5.

⁸⁷ A "tell-tale" clock is preserved at Barlaston, but these "tell-tales" (manufactured by John Whitehurst of Derby from about 1750) served only to ensure the regular patrol and attendance of night-watchmen, etc. The first printing time-recorders were made by Bundy in the U.S.A. in 1885. F. A. B. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 49; also T. Thomson's *Annals of Philosophy*, vi (1815), pp. 418-9; vii (1816), p. 160; Charles Babbage, *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufacturers* (London, 1835), pp. 28, 40; E. Bruton, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-6.

Marriage Fair
Maryland Seafood Festival
Miss America Pageant
Monkey God, Birthday of the
Mothman Festival

Netherlands Military Tattoo
Odwira

Okpesi Festival
Peace, International Day of
Royal Shows
United States Open Tennis
Warsaw Autumn Festival

September 01

Eritrean Start of the Armed Struggle Day
Evacuation Day
Hermit, Feast of the
Libya Revolution Day
Partridge Day

Uzbekistan Independence Day

September 01, Monday–Tuesday after Sunday following

St. Giles Fair

September 01–10

Bosra Festival

September 02

San Estevan, Feast of
Shinbyu

Vietnam National Day

V-J Day (Victory over Japan Day)

September 03

Cromwell's Day

Qatar Independence Day

St. Marinus Day

Taiwan Armed Forces Day

September 04, Monday after first Sunday after

Horn Dance

September 04–19

Ludi

Roman Games (Ludi Romani)

September 05–07

Ginseng Festival

September 05–09

How! Festival

September 06

Swaziland Independence Day

September 07

Brazil Independence Day

Mozambique Lusaka Agreement Day

September 07–09

life among the weavers. Nevertheless, the long dawn chorus of moralists is prelude to the quite sharp attack upon popular customs, sports, and holidays which was made in the last years of the eighteenth century and the first years of the nineteenth.

One other non-industrial institution lay to hand which might be used to inculcate “time-thrift”: the school. Clayton complained that the streets of Manchester were full of “idle ragged children; who are not only losing their Time, but learning habits of gaming”, etc. He praised charity schools as teaching Industry, Frugality, Order and Regularity: “the Scholars here are obliged to rise betimes and to observe Hours with great Punctuality”.⁸⁸ William Temple, when advocating, in 1770, that poor children be sent at the age of four to work-houses where they should be employed in manufactures and given two hours’ schooling a day, was explicit about the socializing influence of the process:

There is considerable use in their being, somehow or other, constantly employed at least twelve hours a day, whether they earn their living or not; for by these means, we hope that the rising generation will be so habituated to constant employment that it would at length prove agreeable and entertaining to them⁸⁹

Powell, in 1772, also saw education as a training in the “habit of industry”; by the time the child reached six or seven it should become “habituated, not to say naturalized to Labour and Fatigue”.⁹⁰ The Rev. William Turner, writing from Newcastle in 1786, recommended Raikes’ schools as “a spectacle of order and regularity”, and quoted a manufacturer of hemp and flax in Gloucester as affirming that the schools had effected an extraordinary change: “they are . . . become more tractable and obedient, and less quarrelsome and revengeful”.⁹¹ Exhortations to punctuality and regularity are written into the rules of all the early schools:

Every scholar must be in the school-room on Sundays, at nine o’clock in the morning, and at half-past one in the afternoon, or she shall lose her place the next Sunday, and walk last.⁹²

Once within the school gates, the child entered the new universe of disciplined time. At the Methodist Sunday Schools in York the teachers were fined for unpunctuality. The first rule to be learned by the scholars was:

I am to be present at the School . . . a few minutes before half-past nine o’clock

⁸⁸ Clayton, *loc. cit.*, pp. 19, 42-3.

⁸⁹ Cited in Furniss, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁹⁰ Anon. [Powell], *A View of Real Grievances* (London, 1772), p. 90.

⁹¹ W. Turner, *Sunday Schools Recommended* (Newcastle, 1786), pp. 23, 42.

⁹² *Rules for the Methodist School of Industry at Pocklington, for the instruction of Poor Girls in Reading, Sewing, Knitting, and Marking* (York, 1819), p. 12.

Once in attendance, they were under military rule:

The Superintendent shall again ring, — when, on a motion of his hand, the whole School rise at once from their seats; — on a second motion, the Scholars turn; — on a third, slowly and silently move to the place appointed to repeat their lessons, — he then pronounces the word “Begin”⁹³

The onslaught, from so many directions, upon the people’s old working habits was not, of course, uncontested. In the first stage, we find simple resistance.⁹⁴ But, in the next stage, as the new time-discipline is imposed, so the workers begin to fight, not against time, but about it. The evidence here is not wholly clear. But in the better-organized artisan trades, especially in London, there is no doubt that hours were progressively shortened in the eighteenth century as combination advanced. Lipson cites the case of the London tailors whose hours were shortened in 1721, and again in 1768: on both occasions the mid-day intervals allowed for dinner and drinking were also shortened — the day was compressed.⁹⁵ By the end of the eighteenth century there is some evidence that some favoured trades had gained something like a ten-hour day.

Such a situation could only persist in exceptional trades and in a favourable labour market. A reference in a pamphlet of 1827 to “the English system of working from 6 o’clock in the morning to 6 in the evening”⁹⁶ may be a more reliable indication as to the general expectation as to hours of the mechanic and artisan outside London in the 1820s. In the dishonourable trades and outwork industries hours (when work was available) were probably moving the other way.

It was exactly in those industries — the textile mills and the engineering workshops — where the new time-discipline was most rigorously imposed that the contest over time became most intense. At first some of the worst masters attempted to expropriate the workers of all knowledge of time. “I worked at Mr. Braid’s mill”, declared one witness:

⁹³ *Rules for the Government, Superintendence, and Teaching of the Wesleyan Methodist Sunday Schools, York* (York, 1833). See also Harold Silver, *The Concept of Popular Education* (London, 1965), pp. 32-42; David Owen, *English Philanthropy, 1660-1960* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), pp. 23-7.

⁹⁴ The best account of the employers’ problem is in S. Pollard, *The Genesis of Modern Management* (London, 1965), ch. v, “The Adaptation of the Labour Force”.

⁹⁵ E. Lipson, *The Economic History of England*, 6th edn. (London, 1956), iii, pp. 404-6. See e.g. J. L. Ferri, *Londres et les Anglais* (Paris, An xii), i, pp. 163-4. Some of the evidence as to hours is discussed in G. Langenfelt, *The Historic Origin of the Eight Hours Day* (Stockholm, 1954).

⁹⁶ *A Letter on the Present State of the Labouring Classes in America*, by an intelligent Emigrant at Philadelphia (Bury, 1827).

Piedigrotta, Festival of

September 08

Andorra National Day

Evamelunga

Literacy Day, International

Macedonian Independence Day

Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Feast of the (Germany)

Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Feast of the (Peru)

Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Feast of the

Nativity of the Theotokos

Victory Day (Our Lady of Victories Day)

September 08–15

Serreta, Festa da

September 08–18

Our Lady of Nazaré Festival

September 09

Democratic People’s Republic of Korea
Founding Day

Pilgrimage to Shrine of Father Laval

Tajikistan Independence Day

September 10

Belize National Day

Gibraltar National Day

September 11

Coptic New Year (Feast of El-Nayrouz)

Enkutatash

September 11–13

St. Nichiren’s Pardon, Festival of

September 12

Defenders’ Day

September 14

Día de los Charros

Exaltation of the Cross, Feast of the

Nicaragua Battle of San Jacinto Day

September 14–15

Tono Matsuri

September 14–16

Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine Matsuri

September 14, Sunday after

Pig’s Face Feast

**September 14, Wednesday, Friday,
and Saturday following**

Ember Days

September 15

Battle of Britain Day

Costa Rica Independence Day

El Salvador Independence Day

There we worked as long as we could see in summer time, and I could not say at what hour it was that we stopped. There was nobody but the master and the master's son who had a watch, and we did not know the time. There was one man who had a watch . . . It was taken from him and given into the master's custody because he had told the men the time of day . . .⁹⁷

A Dundee witness offers much the same evidence:

. . . in reality there were no regular hours: masters and managers did with us as they liked. The clocks at the factories were often put forward in the morning and back at night, and instead of being instruments for the measurement of time, they were used as cloaks for cheaterly and oppression. Though this was known amongst the hands, all were afraid to speak, and a workman then was afraid to carry a watch, as it was no uncommon event to dismiss any one who presumed to know too much about the science of horology.⁹⁸

Petty devices were used to shorten the dinner hour and to lengthen the day. "Every manufacturer wants to be a gentleman at once", said a witness before Sadler's Committee:

and they want to nip every corner that they can, so that the bell will ring to leave off when it is half a minute past time, and they will have them in about two minutes before time . . . If the clock is as it used to be, the minute hand is at the weight, so that as soon as it passes the point of gravity, it drops three minutes all at once, so that it leaves them only twenty-seven minutes, instead of thirty.⁹⁹

A strike-placard of about the same period from Todmorden put it more bluntly: "if that piece of dirty suet, 'old Robertshaw's engine-tenter', do not mind his own business, and let ours alone, we will shortly ask him how long it is since he received a gill of ale for running 10 minutes over time".¹⁰⁰ The first generation of factory workers were taught by their masters the importance of time; the second generation formed their short-time committees in the ten-hour movement; the third generation struck for overtime or time-and-a-half. They had accepted the categories of their employers and learned to fight back within them. They had learned their lesson, that time is money, only too well.¹⁰¹

VI

We have seen, so far, something of the external pressures which enforced this discipline. But what of the internalization of this

⁹⁷ Alfred [S. Kydd], *History of the Factory Movement* . . . (London, 1857), i, p. 283, quoted in P. Mantoux, *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1948), p. 427.

⁹⁸ Anon: *Chapters in the Life of a Dundee Factory Boy* (Dundee, 1887), p. 10. ⁹⁹ *P.P.*, 1831-32, xv, pp. 177-8. See also the example from the Factory Commission (1833) in Mantoux, *op. cit.*, p. 427.

¹⁰⁰ Placard in my possession.

¹⁰¹ For a discussion of the next stage, when the workers had learned "the rules of the game", see E. J. Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men* (London, 1964), ch. xvii, "Custom, Wages and Work-load".

discipline? How far was it imposed, how far assumed? We should, perhaps, turn the problem around once again, and place it within the evolution of the Puritan ethic. One cannot claim that there was anything radically new in the preaching of industry or in the moral critique of idleness. But there is perhaps a new insistence, a firmer accent, as those moralists who had accepted this new discipline for themselves enjoined it upon the working people. Long before the pocket watch had come within the reach of the artisan, Baxter and his fellows were offering to each man his own interior moral time-piece.¹⁰² Thus Baxter, in his *Christian Directory*, plays many variations on the theme of Redeeming the Time: "use every minute of it as a most precious thing, and spend it wholly in the way of duty". The imagery of time as currency is strongly marked, but Baxter would seem to have an audience of merchants and of tradesmen in his mind's eye:

Remember how gainful the Redeeming of Time is . . . in Merchandize, or any trading; in husbandry or any gaining course, we use to say of a man that hath grown rich by it, that he hath made use of his Time.¹⁰³

Oliver Heywood, in *Youth's Monitor* (1689), is addressing the same audience:

Observe exchange-time, look to your markets; there are some special seasons, that will favour you in expediting your business with facility and success; there are nicks of time, in which, if your actions fall, they may set you forward apace: seasons of doing or receiving good last not always; the fair continues not all the year . . .¹⁰⁴

The moral rhetoric passes swiftly between two poles. On the one hand, apostrophes to the brevity of the mortal span, when placed beside the certainty of Judgement. Thus Heywood's *Meekness for Heaven* (1690):

Time lasts not, but floats away apace; but what is everlasting depends upon it. In this world we either win or lose eternal felicity. The great weight of eternity hangs on the small and brittle thread of life . . . This is our working day, our market time . . . O Sirs, sleep now, and awake in hell, whence there is no redemption.

Or, from *Youth's Monitor* again: time "is too precious a commodity to be undervalued . . . This is the golden chain on which hangs a massy eternity; the loss of time is unsufferable, because irrecoverable".¹⁰⁵

Or from Baxter's *Directory*:

¹⁰² John Preston used the image of clock-work in 1628: "In this curious clocke-worke of religion, every pin and wheel that is amisse distempers all": *Sermons Preached before His Majestie* (London, 1630), p. 18. Cf. R. Baxter, *A Christian Directory* (London, 1673), i, p. 285: "A wise and well skilled Christian should bring his matters into such order, that every ordinary duty should know his place, and all should be . . . as the parts of a Clock or other Engine, which must be all conjunct, and each right placed".

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, i, pp. 274-5, 277.

¹⁰⁴ *The Whole Works of the Rev. Oliver Heywood* (Idle, 1826), v, p. 575.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, v, pp. 286-7, 574; see also p. 562.

Guatemala Independence Day
Honduras Independence Day
Keiro-no-Hi (Respect-for-the-Aged Day)
Nicaragua Independence Day
September 15, full moon nearest
Mid-Autumn Festival
Mid-Autumn Festival (Singapore)
September 15-16
Mexico Festival of Independence
September 15-October 15
Hispanic Heritage Month
September 16
Cherokee Strip Day
Preservation of the Ozone Layer,
International Day for the
Papua New Guinea Independence Day
September 17
Angola National Heroes Day
Chinkashiki (Fire Control Ceremony)
Citizenship Day
St. Kitts and Nevis National Heroes Day
Steuben (Baron Friedrich) Day
September 17, beginning week
Constitution Week
September 17, week of
Constitution Week (Mesa, Arizona)
September 18
Apparition of the Infant Jesus
September 18, Saturday after
Johnson (Samuel) Commemoration
September 18-19
Fiestas Patrias
September 19
San Gennaro, Feast of
San José Day Festival
St. Kitts and Nevis Independence Day
September 21
Armenia Independence Day
Belize Independence Day
Malta Independence Day
September 22
Bulgaria Independence Day
Mali Independence Day
September 22 or 23
Mabon
September 22-23
Autumnal Equinox
September 22-24
Aizu Byakko Matsuri
September 23 or 24, week including

O where are the brains of those men, and of what metal are their hardened hearts made, that can idle and play away that Time, that little Time, that only Time, which is given them for the everlasting saving of their souls?¹⁰⁶

On the other hand, we have the bluntest and most mundane admonitions on the husbandry of time. Thus Baxter, in *The Poor Man's Family Book* advises: "Let the time of your Sleep be so much only as health requireth; For precious time is not to be wasted in unnecessary sluggishness": "quickly dress you"; "and follow your labours with constant diligence".¹⁰⁷ Both traditions were extended, by way of Law's *Serious Call*, to John Wesley. The very name of "the Methodists" emphasizes this husbandry of time. In Wesley also we have these two extremes — the jabbing at the nerve of mortality, the practical homily. It was the first (and not hell-fire terrors) which sometimes gave a hysterical edge to his sermons, and brought converts to a sudden sense of sin. He also continues the time-as-currency imagery, but less explicitly as merchant or market-time:

See that ye walk circumspectly, says the Apostle . . . redeeming the time; saving all the time you can for the best purposes; buying up every fleeting moment out of the hands of sin and Satan, out of the hands of sloth, ease, pleasure, worldly business . . .

Wesley, who never spared himself, and until the age of eighty rose every day at 4 a.m. (he ordered that the boys at Kingswood School must do the same), published in 1786 as a tract his sermon on *The Duty and Advantage of Early Rising*: "By soaking . . . so long between warm sheets, the flesh is as it were parboiled, and becomes soft and flabby. The nerves, in the mean time, are quite unstrung". This reminds us of the voice of Isaac Watts' *Sluggard*. Wherever Watts looked in nature, the "busy little bee" or the sun rising at his "proper hour", he read the same lesson for unregenerate man.¹⁰⁸ Alongside the Methodists, the Evangelicals took up the theme. Hannah More contributed her own imperishable lines on "Early Rising":

Thou silent murderer, Sloth, no more
My mind imprison'd keep;
Nor let me waste another hour
With thee, thou felon Sleep.¹⁰⁹

In one of her tracts, *The Two Wealthy Farmers*, she succeeds in bringing the imagery of time-as-currency into the labour-market:

¹⁰⁶ Baxter, *op. cit.*, i, p. 276.

¹⁰⁷ R. Baxter, *The Poor Man's Family Book*, 6th edn. (London, 1697), pp. 290-1.

¹⁰⁸ *Poetical Works of Isaac Watts, D.D.* (Cooke's Pocket edn., London, [1802]), pp. 224, 227, 232. The theme is not new, of course: Chaucer's Parson said: "Sleepinge longe in quiete is eek a great notice to Lecherie".

¹⁰⁹ H. More, *Works* (London, 1830), ii, p. 42. See also p. 35, "Time".

When I call in my labourers on a Saturday night to pay them, it often brings to my mind the great and general day of account, when I, and you, and all of us, shall be called to our grand and awful reckoning . . . When I see that one of my men has failed of the wages he should have received, because he has been idling at a fair; another has lost a day by a drinking-bout . . . I cannot help saying to myself, Night is come; Saturday night is come. No repentance or diligence on the part of these poor men can now make a bad week's work good. This week is gone into eternity.¹¹⁰

Long before the time of Hannah More, however, the theme of the zealous husbandry of time had ceased to be particular to the Puritan, Wesleyan, or Evangelical traditions. It was Benjamin Franklin, who had a life-long technical interest in clocks and who numbered among his acquaintances John Whitehurst of Derby, the inventor of the "tell-tale" clock, who gave to it its most unambiguous secular expression:

Since our Time is reduced to a Standard, and the Bullion of the Day minted out into Hours, the Industrious know how to employ every Piece of Time to a real Advantage in their different Professions: And he that is prodigal of his Hours, is, in effect, a Squanderer of Money. I remember a notable Woman, who was fully sensible of the intrinsic Value of Time. Her Husband was a Shoemaker, and an excellent Craftsman, but never minded how the Minutes passed. In vain did she inculcate to him, *That Time is Money*. He had too much Wit to apprehend her, and it prov'd his Ruin. When at the Alehouse among his idle Companions, if one remark'd that the Clock struck Eleven, *What is that*, says he, *among us all?* If she sent him Word by the Boy, that it had struck Twelve; *Tell her to be easy, it can never be more*. If, that it had struck One, *Bid her be comforted, for it can never be less*.¹¹¹

The reminiscence comes directly out of London (one suspects) where Franklin worked as a printer in the 1720s — but never, he reassures us in his *Autobiography*, following the example of his fellow-workers in keeping Saint Monday. It is, in some sense, appropriate that the ideologist who provided Weber with his central text in illustration of the capitalist ethic¹¹² should come, not from that Old World, but from the New — the world which was to invent the time-recorder, was to pioneer time-and-motion study, and was to reach its apogee with Henry Ford.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, iii, p. 167.

¹¹¹ *Poor Richard's Almanac*, Jan. 1751, in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. L. W. Labaree and W. J. Bell (New Haven, 1961), iv, pp. 86-7.

¹¹² Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London, 1930), pp. 48-50 and *passim*.

¹¹³ Ford commenced his career repairing watches: since there was a difference between local time and standard railroad time, he made a watch, with two dials, which kept both times — an ominous beginning: H. Ford, *My Life and Work* (London, 1923), p. 24.

Higan

September 23, full moon nearest

Harvest Moon Days

September 24

Cambodia Constitution Day

Erau Festival

Guinea-Bissau Independence Day

Mercè, Festa de la

Schwenkfelder Thanksgiving

(Gedaechtnisz Tag)

South Africa Heritage Day

Trinidad and Tobago Republic Day

September 26

Applesed (Johnny), Birthday of

Yemen Revolution Days

September 26–October 04

San Francisco, Fiesta of

September 27

French Community, Feast Day of the (La fête de la Communauté française de Belgique)

Maskal

Sts. Cosmas and Damian Day

September 28

Confucius's Birthday (Teacher's Day)

Czech Statehood Day (St. Wenceslas Day)

St. Vaclav's Day

September 28, week including

Cabrillo Day and Festival

September 29

Election of the Lord Mayor of London

Michaelmas

Michaelmas (Norway)

Payment of Quit Rent

Quarter Days

San Miguel, Fiesta de

St. Michael's Day

Tura Michele Fair (Augsburg Day)

September 29–30

San Geronimo Feast Day

September 30–October 01

Botswana Independence Day

September, even-numbered years

Dodge (Geraldine R.) Poetry Festival

September, odd-numbered years

Outback Festival

September, three weeks

Bruckner Festival, International

September, early

VII

In all these ways — by the division of labour; the supervision of labour; fines; bells and clocks; money incentives; preachings and schoolings; the suppression of fairs and sports — new labour habits were formed, and a new time-discipline was imposed. It sometimes took several generations (as in the Potteries), and we may doubt how far it was ever fully accomplished: irregular labour rhythms were perpetuated (and even institutionalized) into the present century, notably in London and in the great ports.¹¹⁴

Throughout the nineteenth century the propaganda of time-thrift continued to be directed at the working people, the rhetoric becoming more debased, the apostrophes to eternity becoming more shop-soiled, the homilies more mean and banal. In early Victorian tracts and reading-matter aimed at the masses one is choked by the quantity of the stuff. But eternity has become those never-ending amounts of pious death-beds (or sinners struck by lightning), while the homilies have become little Smilesian snippets about humble men who by early rising and diligence made good. The leisured classes began to discover the “problem” (about which we hear a good deal today) of the leisure of the masses. A considerable proportion of manual workers (one moralist was alarmed to discover) after concluding their work were left with

several hours in the day to be spent nearly as they please. And in what manner . . . is this precious time expended by those of no mental cultivation? . . . We shall often see them just simply annihilating those portions of time. They will for an hour, or for hours together . . . sit on a bench, or lie down on a bank or hillock . . . yielded up to utter vacancy and torpor . . . or collected in groups by the road side, in readiness to find in whatever passes there occasions for gross jocularities; practising some impertinence, or uttering some jeering scurrility, at the expense of persons going by . . .¹¹⁵

This, clearly, was worse than Bingo: non-productivity, compounded with impertinence. In mature capitalist society all time must be

¹¹⁴ There is an abundant literature of nineteenth-century dockland which illustrates this. However, in recent years the casual labourer in the ports has ceased to be a “casualty” of the labour market (as Mayhew saw him) and is marked by his preference for high earnings over security: see K. J. W. Alexander, “Casual Labour and Labour Casualties”, *Trans. Inst. of Engineers and Ship-builders in Scotland* (Glasgow, 1964). I have not touched in this paper on the new occupational time-tables introduced in industrial society — notably night-shift workers (pits, railways, etc.): see the observations by “Journeyman Engineer” [T. Wright], *The Great Unwashed* (London, 1868), pp. 188-200; M. A. Pollock (ed.), *Working Days* (London, 1926), pp. 17-28; Tom Nairn, *New Left Review*, no. 34 (1965), p. 38.

¹¹⁵ John Foster, *An Essay on the Evils of Popular Ignorance* (London, 1821), pp. 180-5.

consumed, marketed, put to use; it is offensive for the labour force merely to “pass the time”.

But how far did this propaganda really succeed? How far are we entitled to speak of any radical restructuring of man’s social nature and working habits? I have given elsewhere some reasons for supposing that this discipline was indeed internalized, and that we may see in the Methodist sects of the early nineteenth century a figuration of the psychic crisis entailed.¹¹⁶ Just as the new time-sense of the merchants and gentry in the Renaissance appears to find one expression in the heightened awareness of mortality, so, one might argue, the extension of this sense to the working people during the industrial revolution (together with the hazard and high mortality of the time) helps to explain the obsessive emphasis upon death in sermons and tracts whose consumers were among the working-class. Or (from a positive stand-point) one may note that as the industrial revolution proceeds, wage incentives and expanding consumer drives — the palpable rewards for the productive consumption of time and the evidence of new “predictive” attitudes to the future¹¹⁷ — are evidently effective. By the 1830s and 1840s it was commonly observed that the English industrial worker was marked off from his fellow Irish worker, not by a greater capacity for hard work, but by his regularity, his methodical paying-out of energy, and perhaps also by a repression, not of enjoyments, but of the capacity to relax in the old, uninhibited ways.

There is no way in which we can quantify the time-sense of one, or of a million, workers. But it is possible to offer one check of a comparative kind. For what was said by the mercantilist moralists as to the failures of the eighteenth-century English poor to respond to incentives and disciplines is often repeated, by observers and by theorists of economic growth, of the peoples of developing countries today. Thus Mexican paeons in the early years of this century were regarded as an “indolent and child-like people”. The Mexican mineworker had the custom of returning to his village for corn planting and harvest:

His lack of initiative, inability to save, absences while celebrating too many holidays, willingness to work only three or four days a week if that paid for necessities, insatiable desire for alcohol — all were pointed out as proof of a natural inferiority.

He failed to respond to direct day-wage incentives, and (like the

¹¹⁶ Thompson, *op. cit.*, chaps. xi and xii.

¹¹⁷ See the important discussion of forecasting and predictive attitudes and their influence upon social and economic behaviour, in P. Bourdieu, *op. cit.*

Kakadu Mahbilil Festival
Limassol Wine Festival
Navajo Nation Fair at Window Rock
Pardon of Nossa Senhora dos Remedios
Zydeco Music Festival (Southwest
Louisiana)

September, early over four days

United Tribes International Powwow

September, early Saturday

Dally in the Alley

September, week before Labor Day

Old-Time Country Music Contest and
Festival, National

September, first Sunday

Historical Regatta

Pffiferdaj

September, week beginning first Sunday

San Roque, Fiesta of

September, first Monday

Bread and Roses Festival

Chile National Unity Day

Labor Day

September, first Saturday

Braemar Highland Gathering

September, beginning first Saturday

Århus Festival

September, first week

Annual Session of the National Baptist

Convention, USA

Toronto International Film Festival

September, first weekend

Burning Man Festival

Shinnecock Powwow

St. Gens, Festival of (La Fête de St. Gens)

September, Labor Day weekend

Bumbershoot

Cherokee National Holiday

Chuckwagon Races, National

Championship

Ellensburg Rodeo

Grape Festival

Hard Crab Derby, National

Hatch Chile Festival

Jubilee Days Festival

Louisiana Shrimp and Petroleum Festival

Mountain Man Rendezvous

Detroit International Jazz Festival

Skipjack Races and Land Festival

Southern 500

Telluride Film Festival

eighteenth-century English collier or tinner) responded better to contract and sub-contract systems:

Given a contract and the assurance that he will get so much money for each ton he mines, and that it doesn't matter how long he takes doing it, or how often he sits down to contemplate life, he will work with a vigour which is remarkable.¹¹⁸

In generalizations supported by another study of Mexican labour conditions, Wilbert Moore remarks: "Work is almost always task-orientated in non-industrial societies . . . and . . . it may be appropriate to tie wages to tasks and not directly to time in newly developing areas".¹¹⁹

The problem recurs in a dozen forms in the literature of "industrialization". For the engineer of economic growth, it may appear as the problem of absenteeism — how is the Company to deal with the unrepentant labourer on the Cameroons plantation who declares: "How man fit work so, any day, any day, weh'e no take absen'? No be 'e go die?" ("How could a man work like that, day after day, without being absent? Would he not die?")¹²⁰

. . . the whole mores of African life, make a high and sustained level of effort in a given length of working day a greater burden both physically and psychologically than in Europe.¹²¹

Time commitments in the Middle East or in Latin America are often treated somewhat casually by European standards; new industrial workers only gradually become accustomed to regular hours, regular attendance, and a regular pace of work; transportation schedules or the delivery of materials are not always reliable. . . .¹²²

The problem may appear as one of adapting the seasonal rhythms of the countryside, with its festivals and religious holidays, to the needs of industrial production:

The work year of the factory is necessarily in accord with the workers' demands, rather than an ideal one from the point of view of most efficient production. Several attempts by the managers to alter the work pattern have come to nil. The factory comes back to a schedule acceptable to the Cantelano.¹²³

¹¹⁸ Cited in M. D. Bernstein, *The Mexican Mining Industry, 1890-1950* (New York, 1964), ch. vii; see also M. Mead, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-82.

¹¹⁹ W. E. Moore, *Industrialization and Labor* (Ithaca, 1951), p. 310, and pp. 44-7, 114-22.

¹²⁰ F. A. Wells and W. A. Warmington, *Studies in Industrialization: Nigeria and the Cameroons* (London, 1962), p. 128.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 170. See also pp. 183, 198, 214.

¹²² Edwin J. Cohn, "Social and Cultural Factors affecting the Emergence of Innovations", in *Social Aspects of Economic Development* (Economic and Social Studies Conference Board, Istanbul, 1964), pp. 105-6.

¹²³ Manning Nash, "The Recruitment of Wage Labor and the Development of New Skills", *Annals of the American Academy*, cccv (1956), pp. 27-8. See also Manning Nash, "The Reaction of a Civil-Religious Hierarchy to a Factory in Guatemala", *Human Organization*, xiii (1955), pp. 26-8, and B. Salz, *op. cit.* (note 6 above), pp. 94-114.

Or it may appear as it did in the early years of the Bombay cotton-mills, as one of maintaining a labour force at the cost of perpetuating inefficient methods of production — elastic time-schedules, irregular breaks and meal-times, etc. Most commonly, in countries where the link between the new factory proletariat and their relatives (and perhaps land-holdings or rights to land) in the villages are much closer — and are maintained for much longer — than in the English experience, it appears as one of disciplining a labour force which is only partially and temporarily "committed" to the industrial way-of-life.¹²⁴

The evidence is plentiful, and, by the method of contrast, it reminds us how far we have become habituated to different disciplines. Mature industrial societies of all varieties are marked by time-thrift and by a clear demarcation between "work" and "life".¹²⁵ But, having taken the problem so far, we may be permitted to moralize a little, in the eighteenth-century manner, ourselves. The point at issue is not that of the "standard-of-living". If the theorists of growth wish us to say so, then we may agree that the older popular culture was in many ways otiose, intellectually vacant, devoid of quickening, and plain bloody poor. Without time-discipline we could not have the insistent energies of industrial man; and whether this discipline comes in the forms of Methodism, or of Stalinism, or of nationalism, it will come to the developing world.

What needs to be said is not that one way of life is better than the other, but that this is a place of the most far-reaching conflict; that the historical record is not a simple one of neutral and inevitable

¹²⁴ W. E. Moore and A. S. Feldman (eds.) *Labor Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas* (New York, 1960). Useful studies of adaptation and of absenteeism include W. Elkan, *An African Labour Force* (Kampala, 1956), esp. chaps. ii and iii; and F. H. Harbison and I. A. Ibrahim, "Some Labor Problems of Industrialization in Egypt", *Annals of the American Academy*, cccv (1956), pp. 114-29. M. D. Morris, *The Emergence of an Industrial Labor Force in India* (Berkeley, 1965) discounts the seriousness of the problems of discipline, absenteeism, seasonal fluctuations in employment, etc. in the Bombay cotton mills in the late nineteenth century, but at many points his arguments appear to be at odds with his own evidence: see pp. 85, 97, 102; see also C. A. Myers, *Labor Problems in the Industrialization of India* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), ch. iii, and S. D. Mehta, "Professor Morris on Textile Labour Supply", *Indian Economic Journal*, i, no. 3 (1954), pp. 333-40. Professor Morris's "The Recruitment of an Industrial Labor Force in India, with British and American Comparisons", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, ii (1960) flattens and misunderstands the British evidence. Useful studies of an only partially "committed" labour force are G. V. Rimlinger, "Autocracy and the early Russian Factory System", *Jour. Econ. Hist.*, xx (1960) and T. V. Von Laue, "Russian Peasants in the Factory", *ibid.*, xxi (1961).

¹²⁵ See G. Friedmann, "Leisure and Technological Civilization", *Int. Soc. Science Jour.*, xii (1960), pp. 509-21.

West Virginia Italian Heritage Festival
Tell (Wilhelm) Festival

**September, Labor Day weekend,
Saturday of**

Crandall (Prudence) Day

**September, Labor Day weekend,
Sunday of**

Klondike International Outhouse Race

**September, Labor Day, first Sunday
after**

Grandparents' Day

**September, Labor Day, weekend
after**

Camel Races, International

Ohio River Sternwheel Festival

Santa Fe, Fiesta de

Santa Rosalia Fishermen's Festival

September, second Sunday

Bilby Day, National

Watermelon-Eating and Seed-Spitting
Contest

**September, second Tuesday—
Saturday**

McClure Bean Soup Festival

September, second week

Vendimia, Fiesta de la

September, second weekend

Joust of the Quintain

Knabenschiesen

Yellow Daisy Festival

**September, second weekend in
even-numbered years**

Living Chess Game (La Partita a Scacchi
Viventi)

**September, begins second Friday
after Labor Day**

Eastern States Exposition

**September, four days ending second
weekend after Labor Day**

Air Races and Air Show, National
Championship

September, mid—

Pendleton Round-Up and Happy Canyon
September, mid, biennially

ManiganSes—Festival internationale des
arts de la marionette

September, third Sunday

Walloon Regional Day

September, third Tuesday

Prinsjesdag

technological change, but is also one of exploitation and of resistance to exploitation; and that values stand to be lost as well as gained. The rapidly-growing literature of the sociology of industrialization is like a landscape which has been blasted by ten years of moral drought: one must travel through many tens of thousands of words of parched a-historical abstraction between each oasis of human actuality. Too many of the Western engineers of growth appear altogether too smug as to the gifts of character-reformation which they bring in their hands to their backward brethren. The "structuring of a labour force", Kerr and Siegel tell us:

... involves the setting of rules on times to work and not work, on method and amount of pay, on movement into and out of work and from one position to another. It involves rules pertaining to the maintenance of continuity in the work process... the attempted minimization of individual or organised revolt, the provision of view of the world, of ideological orientations, of beliefs...¹²⁶

Wilbert Moore has even drawn up a shopping-list of the "pervasive values and normative orientations of high relevance to the goal of social development" — "these changes in attitude and belief are 'necessary' if rapid economic and social development is to be achieved":

Impersonality: judgement of merit and performance, not social background or irrelevant qualities.
Specificity of relations in terms of both context and limits of interaction.
Rationality and problem-solving.
Punctuality.
Recognition of individually limited but systematically linked interdependence.
Discipline, deference to legitimate authority.
Respect for property rights...

These, with "achievement and mobility aspirations", are not, Professor Moore reassures us,

suggested as a comprehensive list of the merits of modern man... The "whole man" will also love his family, worship his God, and express his aesthetic capacities. But he will keep each of these other orientations "in their place".¹²⁷

It need cause no surprise that such "provision of ideological orientations" by the Baxters of the twentieth century should be welcome to the Ford Foundation. That they should so often appear in publications sponsored by UNESCO is less easily explained.

¹²⁶ C. Kerr and A. Siegel, "The Structuring of the Labor Force in Industrial Society: New Dimensions and New Questions", *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, ii (1955), p. 163.

¹²⁷ E. de Vries and J. M. Echavarría (eds.), *Social Aspects of Economic Development in Latin America* (UNESCO, 1963), p. 237. See also my review of W. E. Moore, *Man, Time and Society* (New York, 1963), in *Peace News*, 26 June 1964.

VIII

It is a problem which the peoples of the developing world must live through and grow through. One hopes that they will be wary of pat, manipulative models, which present the working masses only as an inert labour force. And there is a sense, also, within the advanced industrial countries, in which this has ceased to be a problem placed in the past. For we are now at a point where sociologists are discussing the "problem" of leisure. And a part of the problem is: how did it come to be a problem? Puritanism, in its marriage of convenience with industrial capitalism, was the agent which converted men to new valuations of time; which taught children even in their infancy to improve each shining hour; and which saturated men's minds with the equation, time is money.¹²⁸ One recurrent form of revolt within Western industrial capitalism, whether bohemian or beatnik, has often taken the form of flouting the urgency of respectable time-values. And the interesting question arises: if Puritanism was a necessary part of the work-ethos which enabled the industrialized world to break out of the poverty-stricken economies of the past, will the Puritan valuation of time begin to decompose as the pressures of poverty relax? Is it decomposing already? Will men begin to lose that restless urgency, that desire to consume time purposively, which most people carry just as they carry a watch on their wrists?

If we are to have enlarged leisure, in an automated future, the problem is not "how are men going to be able to *consume* all these additional time-units of leisure?" but "what will be the capacity for experience of the men who have this undirected time to live?" If we maintain a Puritan time-valuation, a commodity-valuation, then it is a question of how this time is put to *use*, or how it is exploited by the leisure industries. But if the purposive notation of time-use becomes less compulsive, then men might have to re-learn some of the arts of living lost in the industrial revolution: how to fill the interstices of their days with enriched, more leisurely, personal and social relations; how to break down once more the barriers between work and life. And hence would stem a novel dialectic in which some of the old aggressive energies and disciplines migrate to the newly-industrializing nations, while the old industrialized nations seek to rediscover modes of experience forgotten before written history begins:

¹²⁸ Suggestive comments on this equation are in Lewis Mumford and S. de Grazia, cited note 1 above; Paul Diesing, *Reason in Society* (Urbana, 1962), pp. 24-8; Hans Meyerhoff, *Time in Literature* (Univ. of California, 1955), pp. 106-19.

September, third week

Idaho Spud Day

Maafa Commemoration

Nuestra Señora de Peñafrancia, Feast of

September, third weekend

Acadiens, Festivals

Castroville Artichoke Festival

Chilympiad (Republic of Texas Chili

Cookoff)

Clearwater County Fair and Lumberjack Days

Applesseed (Johnny) Festival

Wings 'n Water Festival

Wizard of Oz Festival

September, third or fourth weekend

Monterey Jazz Festival

September, fourth Saturday

Kiwanis Kids' Day

September, last Sunday

Gold Star Mother's Day

September, last Monday or first**Monday in October, weekend nearest**

Custer Buffalo Roundup and Arts Festival

September, last Friday

Marshall Islands Manit Day (Marshall Islands Custom Day)

September, last week

Applesseed (Johnny), Birthday of

Austen (Jane) Festival

Marshall Islands Lutok Kobban Alele

September, last full weekend

Candy Dance Arts and Crafts Faire

Jordbruksdagarna

Marion County Ham Days

Mayberry Days

Valley of the Moon Vintage Festival

September, last weekend

Artcar Fest

Galway Oyster Festival

Kunta Kinte Heritage Festival

Louisiana Sugar Cane Festival

September, last weekend, to first week in October

Mountain State Forest Festival

September, weekend after fourth Friday

Miwok Acorn Festival

September, late

Eleusinian Mysteries

... the Nuer have no expression equivalent to "time" in our language, and they cannot, therefore, as we can, speak of time as though it were something actual, which passes, can be wasted, can be saved, and so forth. I do not think that they ever experience the same feeling of fighting against time or of having to co-ordinate activities with an abstract passage of time because their points of reference are mainly the activities themselves, which are generally of a leisurely character. Events follow a logical order, but they are not controlled by an abstract system, there being no autonomous points of reference to which activities have to conform with precision. Nuer are fortunate.¹²⁹

Of course, no culture re-appears in the same form. If men are to meet both the demands of a highly-synchronized automated industry, and of greatly enlarged areas of "free time", they must somehow combine in a new synthesis elements of the old and of the new, finding an imagery based neither upon the seasons nor upon the market but upon human occasions. Punctuality in working hours would express respect for one's fellow workmen. And unpurposive passing of time would be behaviour which the culture approved.

It can scarcely find approval among those who see the history of "industrialization" in seemingly-neutral but, in fact, profoundly value-loaded terms, as one of increasing rationalization in the service of economic growth. The argument is at least as old as the industrial revolution. Dickens saw the emblem of Thomas Gradgrind ("ready to weigh and measure any parcel of human nature, and tell you exactly what it comes to") as the "deadly statistical clock" in his observatory, "which measured every second with a beat like a rap upon a coffin-lid". But rationalism has grown new sociological dimensions since Gradgrind's time. It was Werner Sombart who — using the same favourite image of the Clockmaker — replaced the God of mechanical materialism by the Entrepreneur:

If modern economic rationalism is like the mechanism of a clock, someone must be there to wind it up.¹³⁰

The universities of the West are today thronged with academic clocksmiths, anxious to patent new keys. But few have, as yet, advanced as far as Thomas Wedgwood, the son of Josiah, who designed a plan for taking the time and work-discipline of Etruria into the very workshops of the child's formative consciousness:

My aim is high — I have been endeavouring some master stroke which should anticipate a century or two upon the large-paced progress of human improvement. Almost every prior step of its advance may be traced to the influence of superior characters. Now, it is my opinion, that in the education of the greatest of these characters, not more than one hour in ten has been

¹²⁹ E. Evans-Pritchard, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

¹³⁰ "Capitalism", *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1953 edn.), iii, p. 205.

made to contribute to the formation of those qualities upon which this influence has depended. Let us suppose ourselves in possession of a detailed statement of the first twenty years of the life of some extraordinary genius; what a chaos of perceptions! . . . How many hours, days, months have been prodigally wasted in unproductive occupations! What a host of half formed impressions & abortive conceptions blended into a mass of confusion

In the best regulated mind of the present day, had not there been, & is not there some hours every day passed in reverie, thought ungoverned, undirected?¹³¹

Wedgwood's plan was to design a new, rigorous, rational, closeted system of education: Wordsworth was proposed as one possible superintendent. His response was to write *The Prelude* — an essay in the growth of a poet's consciousness which was, at the same time, a polemic against —

The Guides, the Wardens of our faculties,
And Stewards of our labour, watchful men
And skilful in the usury of time,
Sages, who in their prescience would controul
All accidents, and to the very road
Which they have fashion'd would confine us down,
Like engines¹³²

For there is no such thing as economic growth which is not, at the same time, growth or change of a culture; and the growth of social consciousness, like the growth of a poet's mind, can never, in the last analysis, be planned.

University of Warwick

E. P. Thompson

¹³¹ Thomas Wedgwood to William Godwin, 31 July 1797, published in David Erdman's important article, "Coleridge, Wordsworth, and the Wedgwood Fund", *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, lx (1956).

¹³² *The Prelude* (London, 1805 edn.), book v, lines 377-83. See also draft in *Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. E. de Selincourt and Helen Darbishire (Oxford, 1959), v, p. 346.

September, four days in late

Bonneville Speed Week

September, ten days in late

Carthaginians and Romans Fiesta

September, weekend in late

Bayfest

September, late, or early October

Cantaderas, Las

September, late, or early October, to mid-January

Kurijmoj

September, late, or October

Basket Dance

September, late, to early October

Bratislava Music Festival

Carnival of Flowers

Middfest International

Oktoberfest

Rumi Festival

State Fair of Texas

September or October

Cow Fights

Phchum Ben

Rally Day

Yam Festival at Aburi

September-October

Aloha Festivals

Budapest Music Weeks

Cure Salée

Thimphu Tsechu

September-November, odd-numbered years

Istanbul Festivals, International

September-December

Ayerre Festival

Paris Autumn Festival (Festival d'Automne)

Autumn

Aztec Rain Festival

Harvest Home Festival

Klo Dance

Min, Festival of

Ngoc Son Temple Festival

Autumn, late

Keretkun Festival

Autumn, late, or early Winter

Navajo Night Chant

Autumn, every four years

Folklore, National Festival of

OCTOBER

Fall and Spring

Green Festivals

October

Black Cowboys Parade

California Avocado Festival

Dahlonga Gold Rush Days

Fleet Week (Hampton Roads, Virginia)

Fleet Week (San Francisco, California)

Georgia Peanut Festival

Keene Pumpkin Festival

Latina, Fiesta

Misisi Beer Feast

Nagoya City Festival

Natchez Spring and Fall Pilgrimages

Nino Fidencio Festival

North American Wife-Carrying

Championship

October Feasts

Our Lady Aparecida, Festival of

Potato Days

Royal Shows

Shishi Odori (Deer Dance)

World Rock Paper Scissors

Championship

World Series

October 01

Cyprus Independence Day

Older Persons, International Day of

Nigeria National Day

Tuvalu Independence Day

October 01–02

China National Days

October 01 and April 01

San Marino Investiture of New Captains

Regent

October 02

Gandhi Jayanti (Mahatma Gandhi's

Birthday)

Guardian Angels Day

Guinea Independence Day

October 03

German Unification Day

Honduras Soldiers' Day

Korea National Foundation Day

Leiden Day

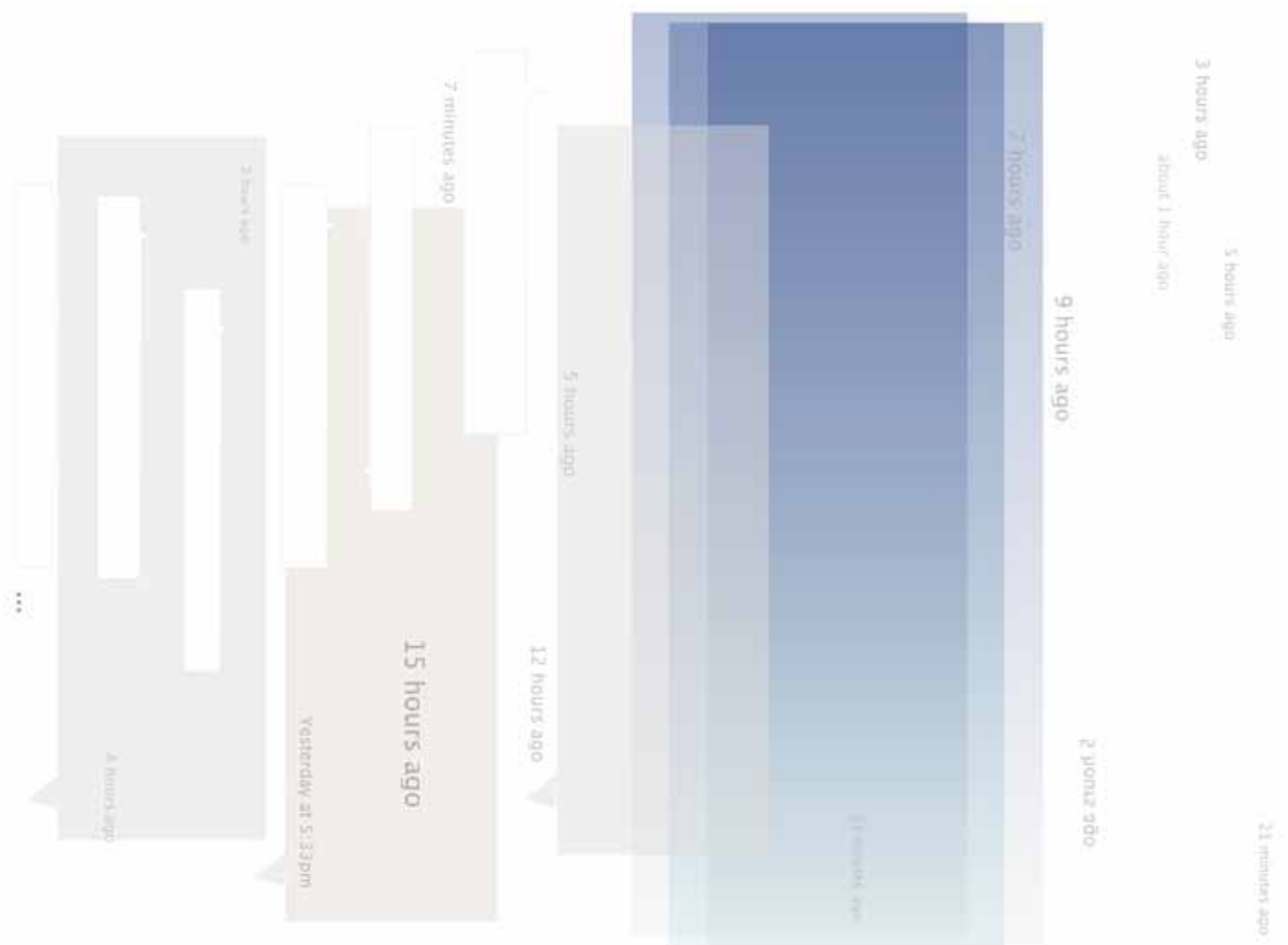
Wolfe (Thomas) Festival

October 03–04

St. Francis of Assisi, Feast of

October 04

Lesotho Independence Day



Fia Backström, Hours Ago, 2011

WHERE TIMING TRULY IS EVERYTHING INTERNET, CELL PHONES RELY ON MASTER CLOCK'S PRECISION

By Monte Reel
Washington Post Staff Writer
Tuesday, July 22, 2003; Page B01

Harold Chadsey spends his days helping determine the official time observed by the U.S. Department of Defense and, as a result, the rest of the country. He is working to develop clocks accurate to a few hundred trillionths of a second. He monitors the temperature around some of his more delicate pieces of timekeeping equipment because he fears even a half-degree swing might throw them out of whack.

But ask him what time his watch says.

"It's never right," said Chadsey, a physicist with the Time Service Department at the U.S. Naval Observatory. "Just as long as it's halfway close, so I don't miss a TV show or show up really late for work, I'm okay."

It's something of a smokescreen, the casual attitude toward his watch. Because Chadsey, as much as anyone, knows that a highly accurate measurement of time has become the invisible axis on which much of the modern world turns, an axis that no one could have foreseen when the Time Service Department became the de facto source of the nation's standard time in the late 1800s.

Back then, the most important application of accurate time-telling was ensuring that the arrivals and departures of ships were coordinated and that trains didn't crash into one another. But times—and the nature of time itself—have changed.

"When I ask people what their need is for precise time, most people say about one minute [off], and every once in a while someone might say one second," said Capt. Dave Gillard, superintendent of the Naval Observatory.

"And I say, 'Oh, really? You don't use the Internet? You don't use a cell phone?' All those things wouldn't work if our clocks didn't have this level of accuracy."

Mozambique Peace Day
Native American Music Awards
(Nammys)
San Francisco's Day (Lima, Peru)
October 04–06
Chochin Matsuri (Lantern Festival)
October 04–10
World Space Week
October 05
Han'gul Day
Portugal Republic Day
October 06
Armed Forces Day (Egypt)
German-American Day
Ivy Day
Kiribati World Teachers' Day
**October War of Liberation
Anniversary**
St. Thomas's Day
October 07–09
Okunchi Matsuri
October 08
Croatia Independence Day
St. Demetrius's Day
October 09
Hanagasa Odori
Leif Erikson Day
St. Denis's Day
Uganda Independence Day
October 09, week including
Fire Prevention Week, National
October 09–10
Takayama Matsuri
October 10
Double Tenth Day
Oklahoma Historical Day
Taiiku-no-Hi
October 10, Monday after
Cuban Anniversary of the Beginning of
the Wars of Independence
Fiji Day
Kenya Moi Day
Pack Monday Fair
Workers' Party of North Korea, Founding
of the
October 11
Macedonian National Uprising Day (Day
of Macedonian Uprising in 1941;
Macedonian Revolution Day)
Pulaski Day

The source of that accuracy is the country's Master Clock, which has a lot more in common with a collection of computer hard drives than with anything that might be found hanging on the kitchen wall. It blinks behind a windowed vault in Building 78 at the Naval Observatory and is connected to a network of more than 50 atomic clocks with estimated margins of error less than a billionth of a second per day. The Master Clock essentially represents the average of all of the clocks in the ensemble. The time determined by the Master Clock is then used, through a variety of methods, to set the time for the networks that control cellular telephone transmissions and those that regulate information flow on the Internet.

Why is that important? Well, for example, when someone makes a cellular telephone call, the sound of the speaker's voice is broken up into tiny packets of digitized data. Each of those packets is encoded with a time stamp. After the data packets are effectively shipped through the telephone network, computers reassemble them according to their time stamps. If one of the packets comes out of order, it isn't heard, and there is a tiny gap in the conversation. So to preserve the illusion of instantaneous transmissions, it's essential that the time stamps are accurate to a few millionths of a second.

There are military applications as well, and because this is a Department of Defense operation, the applications drive a lot of the research and development. New generation precision missiles are guided by the Defense Department's satellite-based NAVSTAR global positioning system. Each satellite in the system has four atomic clocks on board, and those clocks are compared with those in Building 78 twice a day to make sure they're accurate to the billionth of a second. If GPS used time scales less accurate, say to a thousandth of a second, its margin of error would equal roughly the distance between Washington and Richmond. As it is, the military's GPS is generally accurate to plus or minus 10 feet, said Geoff Chester, spokesman for the Naval Observatory.

There are about 50 other such timekeeping agencies in the world, but none has more atomic clocks than the Time Service Department. The clocks are spread out among several rooms at the Naval Observatory and tethered to computer lines that spill out from them in tangles. Twenty-seven scientists monitor them to make sure they're working properly.

Every month, readings from the office's atomic clocks are sent to the International Bureau of Weights and Measures in Sevres, France, where they are averaged in with readings from the world's other timekeeping agencies to compute Universal Time, formerly called Greenwich Mean Time.

October 12

Columbus Day

October 12, Sunday closest to
Italian Heritage Parade

October, Columbus Day weekend

Cranberry Harvest Festival

October, Columbus Day, first
weekend after

Half Moon Bay Art and Pumpkin Festival

October 12

Equatorial Guinea Independence Day

Virgin of the Pillar, Feast of the

October 13

Our Lady of Fátima Day

October 14

Yemen Revolution Days

October 14 and July 13

Svetitskhovloba

October 14–15

Kenka Matsuri (Roughhouse Festival)

October 14–15, every two years

Kawagoé Matsuri

October 15

October Horse Sacrifice

St. Teresa's Day

October 16

World Food Day

October 17

Black Poetry Day

Burgoyne's (John) Surrender Day

Eradication of Poverty, International Day
for the

Haiti Anniversary of the Death of Jean-
Jacques Dessalines

October 17 and August 30

Flower Festivals of St. Rose and St.

Margaret Mary Alacoque

October 18

Alaska Day

Azerbaijan Independence Days

October 18–28

Señor de los Milagros

October 19

Bettara-Ichi

Martyrs of North America, Feast of the

Yorktown Day

October 20

Bab, Birth of the

Ebisu Festival

Guatemala Revolution Day

“Because we operate more atomic clocks than any other single institution in the world, we constitute about 50 percent of the weighted average,” Chester said.

So, if these clocks are so important, what would happen if some disaster befell them? Would the Internet freeze and all cell phones be silenced? Would time as we know it stop?

They’re not that important, Chadsey said. For example, each hour the atomic clocks in Washington are used to synchronize 12 other atomic clocks in Boulder, Colo., at the National Institute of Standards and Technology, and those clocks easily could provide a backup if something happened to the clocks in Washington, he said.

“There’s a lot of redundancy and failsafe measures built in,” Chester said.

The atomic clocks work on the same principle as the watch Chadsey wears on his wrist. The watch tells time by counting the oscillations of a quartz crystal when an electrical current hits it and translating those oscillations into seconds. The oscillations in a quartz crystal tend to be fairly consistent, but they’re wildly erratic compared with the steady oscillations emitted by the highly predictable cesium atom, which is what atomic clocks count.

When the Time Service Department started, its scientists looked skyward to the stars to figure out the time, and then they dropped a large ball from atop the observatory’s roof at noon so the public could set timepieces to it. Back then, the department was in Foggy Bottom along the Potomac River, and ship captains relied on the ball drop to maintain accurate chronometers used for navigation.

Over the next century, the dissemination of the department’s official time evolved. In the late 1800s, the office began sending a time signal over Western Union telegraph lines, which kept the nation’s railroads synchronized.

In the early 1900s, time signals from a Naval Observatory clock first were sent via radio towers near Fort Myer in Virginia, a system that was improved and automated throughout the century. Now, disseminating the standard time as determined by the Master Clock is most commonly done via GPS or over digital networks such as the Internet, Chester said.

“Nobody envisioned that there would ever be a need to figure time precisely to the nanosecond (a billionth of a second) when we started,” Gillard said. “Now we’re at the point where people are starting to knock on the door and say, ‘Hey, have you got anything better?’”

Want the official time? Call 202-762-1401.

Kenyatta Day
October 21
Black Christ, Festival of the
Trafalgar Day
October 22
Abu Simbel Festival
Hi Matsuri (Fire Festival)
Jidai Matsuri (Festival of the Ages)
October 23
Chulalongkorn Day
Hungary Republic Day
Swallows of San Juan Capistrano
October 24
Pennsylvania Day
United Nations Day
World Development Information Day
Zambia Independence Day
October 24–30
Disarmament Week
October 25
Grenada Thanksgiving Day
St. Crispin’s Day
October 26
Angam Day
Austria National Day
St. Demetrius’s Day
October 27
St. Vincent and the Grenadines
Independence and Thanksgiving
Day
October 27–28
Turkmenistan Independence Day
October 28
Czechoslovak Independence Day
Ochi Day
St. Jude’s Day
October 29
Turkey Republic Day
October 29–31
Sihanouk’s (King) Birthday (Former
King’s Birthday and King Sihanouki
Coronation Day)
October 30
Angelitos, Los
October 31
Apple and Candle Night
Halloween
Halloween (Ireland)
Halloween (New Orleans, Louisiana)
Halloween (Scotland)

Fractalisation, Despair and Suicide

In the net economy flexibility has evolved into a form of the fractalisation of labour. Fractalisation means fragmentation of time-activity. The worker does not exist any more as a person. He is just the interchangeable producer of micro-fragments of recombinant semiosis which enters into the continuous flux of the network. Capital is no longer paying for the availability of the worker to be exploited for a long period of time, is no longer paying a salary covering the entire range of economic needs of a working person. The worker (a mere machine possessing a brain that can be used for a fragment of time) is paid for his punctual performance. The working time is fractalised and cellularised. Cells of time are on sale on the net, and the corporation can buy as many as it needs. The cell phone is the tool that best defines the relationship between the fractal worker and recombinant capital.

Cognitive labour is an ocean of microscopic fragments of time, and cellularisation is the ability to recombine fragments of time in the framework of a single semi-product. The cell phone can be seen as the assembly line of cognitive labour. This is the effect of the flexibilisation and fractalisation of labour: what used to be the autonomy and the political power of the workforce has become the total dependence of cognitive labour on the capitalist organisation of the global network. This is the central nucleus of the creation of semicapitalism. What used to be refusal of work has become a total dependence of emotions, and thought on the flow of information. And the effect of this is a sort of nervous breakdown that strikes the global mind and provokes what we are accustomed to call the dotcom-crash.

The dotcom-crash and the crisis of financial mass-capitalism can be viewed as an effect of the collapse of the economic investment of social desire. I use the word collapse in a sense that is not metaphorical, but rather a clinical description of what

Halloween (Isle of Man)

Reformation Day

October 31–November 02

All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day

(Guatemala)

October, even-numbered years

Shilla (Silla) Cultural Festival

October, Sunday

Our Lady of the Rock, Festival of

October, each Sunday

Pilgrimage of Our Lady of Valme

October, three weeks

Cervantes Festival, International

October, early

Chamizal Festival

October, first Sunday

Agua, La Fiesta de

Grandparents' Day

Pulaski Day

River to Reef Festival

Rosary, Festival of the

St. Michael's Day

October, first Monday

Eight-Hour Day

October, begins first Thursday

Riley (James Whitcomb) Festival

October, first Friday

Lantern Night at Bryn Mawr College

October, first Saturday

Battle of Germantown, Reenactment of

Red Flannel Festival

Tarantula Fest and Barbecue

October, first full week

Albuquerque International Balloon Fiesta

Boone (Daniel) Festival

October, first full weekend

Paul Bunyan Show

Whole Enchilada Fiesta

October, first weekend

Great Locomotive Chase Festival

Marino Wine Festival

Storytelling Festival, National

October, first weekend, usually

Shiprock Navajo Nation Fair

October, first two weeks

Sibelius Festival

October, second Sunday

Círio de Nazaré

Jousting Tournament

St. Dismas's Day



is going on in the western mind. I use the word collapse in order to express a real pathological crash of the psycho-social organism. What we have seen in the period following the first signs of economic crash, in the first months of the new century, is a psychopathological phenomenon, the collapse of the global mind. I see the present economic depression as the side-effect of a psychic depression. The intense and prolonged investment of desire and of mental and libidinal energies in labour has created the psychic environment for the collapse which is now manifesting itself in the field of economic recession, in the field of military aggression and of a suicidal tendency.



The attention economy has become an important subject during the first years of the new century. Virtual workers have less and less time for attention, they are involved in a growing number of intellectual tasks, and they have no more time to devote to their own life, to love, tenderness, and affection. They take Viagra because they have no time for sexual preliminaries. The cellularisation has produced a kind of occupation of life. The effect is a psychopathologisation of social relationships. The symptoms of it are quite evident: millions of boxes of Prozac sold every month, the epidemic of attention deficit disorders among youngsters, the diffusion of drugs like Ritalin among children in the schools, and the spreading epidemic of panic. Franco "Bifo"

Berardi

White Sunday
October, two weeks beginning
 second Sunday
 Festa da Luz (Festival of Light)
October, second Monday
 Columbus Day
 Thanksgiving
October, second Tuesday
 Cranberry Day Festival
October, second Saturday
 Eldon Turkey Festival
 Eo e Emalani i Alaka i Festival
 World Wristwrestling Championships
October, second week
 Frankfurt Book Fair (Buchmesse)
 Norsk Høstfest
October, second weekend
 Hunters' Moon, Feast of the
 Madison County Covered Bridge Festival
 Ozark Folk Festival
 Shrimp Festival, National
 Tucson Meet Yourself Festival
October, second weekend in odd-numbered years
 Swedish Homage Festival
October, mid-
 Heritage Holidays
 Open Marathon, International
 Peanut Festival, National
 Ukrainian Harvest Festivals
October, third Monday
 Hurricane Supplication Day
 Jamaica National Heroes Day
October, third Saturday
 Bridge Day
 Sweetest Day
October, third week
 Texas Rose Festival
October, third full weekend
 Boggy Bayou Mullet Festival
October, third weekend
 Bluegrass Fan Fest
 Moore (Billy) Days
 St. Mary's County Oyster Festival
October, fourth Sunday
 Mother-in-Law Day
October, fourth Friday
 Niue Peniamina Gospel Day
October, last Sunday
 Saffron Rose Festival

There again it's the same illusory ideology that when the world is reduced to nothing and we have everything at hand, we'll be infinitely happy. I believe just the opposite—and this has already been proven—that we'll be infinitely unhappy because we will have lost the very place of freedom, which is expanse. All current technologies reduce expanse to nothing. They produce shorter and shorter distances—a shrinking fabric. Now, a territory without temporality is not a territory, but only the illusion of a territory. It is urgent that we become aware of the political repercussions of such a handling of space-time, for they are fearsome. The field of freedom shrinks with speed. Paul Virilio and Sylvère Lotringer, *Pure War*

A clear principle in the history of calendar-making is that those in power make the calendar. A key sign of sovereignty is the power to declare a holiday. [...] Calendars negotiate between the heavens and the state, and orient us to time and eternity. Their basic unit is the year, as the basic unit of the clock is the day. Both devices mimic, with imperfect precision, the motions of the heavens and earth and thus fulfill, even in a secular world, the classic religious function of providing a meaningful orientation to the universe. John Durham Peters, *Calendar, Clock, Tower*

At the end of the year the one-acre farmer of long ago spent January, February, and March hunting rabbits in the hills. Though he was called a poor peasant he still had this kind of freedom. The New Year's holiday lasted about three months. Gradually this vacation came to be shortened to two months, one month, and now New Year's has come to be a three day holiday.

The dwindling of the New Year's holiday indicates how busy the farmer has become and how he has lost his easy-going physical and spiritual well being. There is no time in modern agriculture for a farmer to write a poem or compose a song. Masanobu

Fukuoka, *The One-Straw Revolution*

October, last Thursday
Punky (Punkie) Night

October, last Saturday
Guavaween

October, last week
London Bridge Days
Pirates Week

October, last weekend
World Creole Music Festival

October, late
Delaware Big House Ceremony
Impruneta, Festa del
Szüret
Voodoo Music Experience
Wexford Festival Opera

October, late, or November
Reversing Current, Festival of the (Water
Festival; Bonn Om Tuk)

October, late, through early November
Belfast Festival

October, Saturday nearest the full moon
Ironman Triathlon Championships

October–November
American Royal Livestock, Horse Show
and Rodeo
Punkin Chunkin World Championship
Quebec City Festival of Sacred Music
Styrian Autumn (Steirischer Herbst)
Thesmophoria
Warri Festival, National

October–November, every two years
Arts and Crafts Fair, International

October or November
Gwangju Kimchi Festival

October–December
Europalia

October and April, two events

November
American Indian Heritage Month
Arabic Music Festival
Black Storytelling Festival and
Conference, National
Haile Selassie's Coronation Day
Heurigen Parties
Kenya Skydive Boogie
Mobile International Festival
Tori-no-ichi (Rooster Festival)
Wangala (Hundred Drums Festival)
Wuwuchim

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Diagram showing the gradual elimination of holidays from workers' schedules in Ancien Régime France.

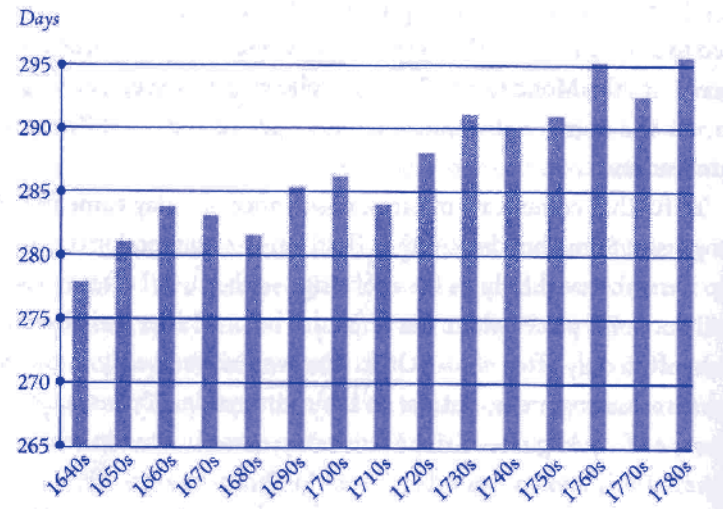


Figure 1. Average Number of Potential Workdays, 1642–1789



November 01

- Algeria National Day
- All Saints' Day
- All Saints' Day (France)
- All Saints' Day (Louisiana)
- Antigua and Barbuda Independence Day
- Author's Day, National
- Cross-Quarter Days
- Enlighteners, Day of the (Den na Buditelite)
- Fire Festivals
- Leaders of the Bulgarian National Revival Day (National Enlighteners Day)
- Samhain (Samain)

November 01–02

- All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day (Peru)

November 02

- All Souls' Day
- All Souls' Day (Cochiti Pueblo)
- Balfour Declaration Day
- Día de los Muertos

November 03

- Bunka-no-Hi (Culture Day)
- Dominica Independence Day
- Meiji Setsu
- Panama Independence Days
- St. Hubert de Liège, Feast of

November 04

- Mischief Night
- Rogers (Will) Day
- Tonga National Day

November 04–17

- Ludi
- Plebeian Games (Ludi Plebeii)

November 05

- Bonfire Night
- Día del Puno
- Fawkes (Guy) Day

November 05-11

- Veterans Homecoming (Branson, Missouri)

November 06

- Gustavus Adolphus Day (Gustaf Adolfsdagen)

November 06, or nearest weekend

- Leonhardiritt (St. Leonard's Ride)

November 07

- Bolshevik Revolution Day
- Tunisia New Era Day (Ben Ali's Accession to Power)

1866, 1870-71, to mention only a few, are well known. Still, the entire subsequent history of the nineteenth century did not reproduce anything analogous to the forms, rites, and concepts of the movement we have just discussed. Resistance, in a new stage, the immediate consequence of the revolutions of 1830, appeared in a very different form. It was like the similar movements of European liberalism everywhere. At the festival of Hambach on May 27, 1832 (usually contrasted, rightly or wrongly, to the ceremonies at Wartburg), everything was like the atmosphere of the banquets prior to February 1848. The same students (or their younger siblings) who, on the evening of Wartburg, had cried out their anathema against the Jews, in Hambach acclaimed the exiled Jew, Ludwig Börne. Aggressive nationalism had evolved in the direction of the glorification of a League of Nations. Once again the distinguished man—the lawyer, the academic, the bourgeois was making the decisions. His method was that of the traditional political liberal: the court and the free press, not direct action, not the dagger, not the ecstasy of those who swore by death and who swore to die.

This liberal, national bourgeois spirit, this national liberalism that is open to every shade, color, and tendency, from imperialism to pacifism, is indeed what characterizes the politics of the bourgeoisie of the Second Reich, the one that collapsed on November 9, 1918. It was then that this bizarre spectacle began again, this new proof of the law of the conservation of energy, this return of rites, methods, concepts that we had thought permanently outdated. Prepared already before the war, revived by the disgust felt by the youth in the prewar years over the waste of a bourgeois life, over William II's shining helmet and the fake Renaissance style, consecrated in the *Jugendbewegung* and by the death of those who wanted to go to war carrying *Faust* and *Zarathustra* in their packs, the spirit of 1819 once again begin to spread: the spirit of rebels, myth, and direct action. But history does not stop. What was progressive does not remain so eternally, and the Germany of 1933 is a far cry from the Germanic Confederation that came out of the Congress of Vienna.

Festival *Roger Caillois*

Tuesday, May 2, 1939

[This lecture is the counterpart of the one Bataille, following Caillois's notes in the latter's absence, delivered on the subject of power on February 19, 1938. Both of these correspond, in fact, to the two central chapters of L'Homme et le sacré (HS): the lecture on power to Chapter 3 ("Le Sacré de respect: théorie des interdits,") and the lecture on festival to Chapter 4 ("Le Sacré de transgression: théorie de la fête").

The lecture took place May 2. It is likely that it consisted in the more or less cursory reading of Chapter 4, in press at that time. L'Homme et le sacré was to appear shortly, the third volume of the collection "Mythes et religions" directed by P.-L. Couchaud at the publishing house E. Leroux; the first title in the series was Mythes et dieux des Germains by Dumézil. There is no publication date, but the foreword, dated March 31, 1939, is followed by a PS dated June 1939: Caillois, "prevented from correcting the proofs of this little book by a trip to South America," is grateful to Georges Dumézil for having taken on this thankless task.

Chapter 4 of L'Homme et le sacré would appear again, separately, in the December 1939-January 1940 NRF under the title "Théorie de la fête."

In 1950, L'Homme et le sacré was reissued by Gallimard with the addition of several appendixes. Bataille wrote his article "La Guerre et la philosophie du sacré" (Critique, February 1951) about this edition, one of whose appendixes was concerned with war.

I am publishing here the text of the chapter as it appears in the 1939 edition (HS, 1939). Because its end is significantly different both from the NRF version

November 08

Michaelmas

Saints, Doctors, Missionaries, and
Martyrs Day

St. Michael's Day

November 09

Cambodia Independence Day

Iqbal (Muhammad), Birthday of

St. John Lateran, Feast of the Dedication
of

November 09–10

Kristallnacht (Crystal Night)

November 10

St. Martin's Eve (Estonia) (Mardi Pâev)

November 10–11

Martinsfest

November 10, Sunday closest to

Edmund Fitzgerald Anniversary

November 11

Angola Independence Day

Concordia Day

Gansabhauet

Martinmas

Martinmas (Ireland)

Polish Independence Day

Quadrilles of San Martin

St. Martin's Day (Portugal)

St. Mennas's Day

Veterans Day

Vietnam Veterans Memorial Anniversary

November 11 and preceding week

Veterans Day (Emporia, Kansas)

November 11 through Shrove Tuesday

Karneval in Cologne

November 12

Baha'u'llah, Birth of

Stanton (Elizabeth Cady) Day

Sun Yat-sen, Birthday of

Timor Santa Cruz Massacre Day

(National Youth Day)

November 13

St. Frances Cabrini, Feast of

November 15

Brazil Proclamation of the Republic Day

German-Speaking Community, Feast

Day of the

King's Birthday (Belgium)

St. Leopold's Day

November 15 or nearest Sunday

Shichi-Go-San (Seven-Five-Three)

and from the version of 1950 (HS 1950), I am giving the successive texts of these final lines. Their pessimism changes key depending on whether they came before or after the break occasioned by the war. Before the war, Caillois was disgusted to see the modern world sinking into vacation, languishing in a slow, stagnating dance—never again to be shaken up by festival. After the war, he saw it on the contrary (and after the fact) doomed . . . to war. "Everything that does not consume itself rots." Those are practically the last words in *L'Homme et le sacré*. They could not find a better application than Caillois's conclusion, which from one edition to the next swings between "fascination with fire and the loathing of rot." In any case, unlike the experience some students had of the previous war, for this Luciferian who, certainly, was the very devil intellectually much more than physically, this war was only a particularly long vacation.

At the end of July, Sartre announced the latest gossip to Simone de Beauvoir: "Let me tell you, but I'm afraid you won't think this is funny enough, the beautiful Vittoria Ocampo has carried off Roger Caillois. Off they go—to Argentina." In the weeks following this lecture, Caillois indeed left for Argentina where *Le Mythe et l'homme* had just been translated (by Ricardo Baeza, Buenos Aires; published by SUR Editions on July 10, 1939). But he did count on returning, as Bataille expected him to do. Yet the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* would announce in its September-December 1939 issue, in the program of courses at the Hautes Études: "Comparative Mythology: Director of Studies, G. Dumézil, in the army. R. Caillois, upon his return from assignment, will give a series of lessons entitled *Le Vocabulaire religieux des Romains*." He was not to return until after the war. These five years in South America certainly warranted Caillois's going back over the last words of his "theory of the festival": It was not a vacation, it was war.

This lecture, it seems, was one of the "perfect moments," or at the very least an intense moment, in the history of the College. Through the intermediary of the published text, bit by bit, it became emblematic of the preoccupations that inspired it. Neither Sartre nor Simone de Beauvoir attended the sessions on the rue Gay-Lussac. However, the ex-dutiful daughter, toward the end of La Force de l'âge tells about the fêtes—what Leiris called "fiestas"—apparently worthy of Caillois's descriptions, that were organized, during the enthusiasm of the Liberation, around the alumni of the College (if Leiris and Bataille can still be described this way) and the new boys of existentialism. For his part, Caillois was still in Buenos Aires. But, carried away by the general jubilation, Simone de Beauvoir brought him in, at the bottom of a page in a footnote: "Caillois, in *Le Mythe de la fête* and Georges Bataille, in *La Part du diable* have analyzed these phenomena far more exhaustively." What she wrote was, in fact, bibliographically rather dubious because it is not the "mythe de la fête," but either *Le Mythe et l'homme* or "*Théorie de la fête*" (moreover, the latter is not in the

former) that Caillois wrote. As for *La Part du diable*, Denis de Rougemont wrote it, which is one thing (among others) that distinguishes it from *La Part maudite*.

In *La Littérature et le mal* Bataille would return once again to the "theory of transgression" developed by Caillois in "this important masterpiece," *L'Homme et le sacré*. And he expressly refers to chapter 4, "*Théorie de la fête*" (OC, vol. 9, p. 314 and note 3; see also OC, vol. 8, p. 250).]

In contrast with life that is regular, busy with everyday work, peaceful, caught inside a system of prohibitions, taken up by precautions, where the maxim *quieta non movere* keeps order in the world, is the ferment of the festival.* If only its external aspects are considered, festival presents identical characteristics no matter what the level of civilization. It implies a noisy and excited throng of people. These huge gatherings are eminently favorable to the birth and contagion of an intense excitement spent in cries and gestures, inciting an unchecked abandonment to the most reckless impulses. Even today, when anemic festivals stand out so little from the colorless background constituted by the monotony of present-day life, where they seem dispersed, scattered, nearly lost in this monotony, we can still distinguish in them a few pitiful vestiges of the collective eruption that characterized the ancient feasts. In fact, the disguises and few bits of boldness still permitted at Carnival, the drinking and street dances on July 14, even the carousing at the end of the Nuremberg Congress in national-socialist Germany, are evidence of the same social necessity and its continuation. There is no festival, even one that is by definition sad, that does not consist of at least the beginnings of excess and revelry: We have only to recall rural burial feasts. The festival of yesteryear or of today is always defined by dancing, singing, excitement, excessive eating and drinking. It is necessary to go all out, to the point of exhaustion, to the point of sickness. That is the very law of the festival.

I. Festival, Resorting to the Sacred

In the so-called primitive civilizations, the contrast is more marked. The festival lasts several weeks, several months, interrupted by four-to five-day periods of rest. Often several years are required to get together the quantity of food and wealth that will be not only ostentatiously consumed or spent but also destroyed and wasted pure and simple, because waste and destruction, as forms of excess, are rightfully part of the festival's essence.

* It is pointless to emphasize that this theory of the festival is far from exhausting its different aspects. Particularly, it needs to be connected to a theory of sacrifice. The latter, in fact, seems a sort of privileged contents of the festival. It has come to be something like the internal movement that sums it up or gives it its meaning. They appear together in the same relationship as soul and body. Unable to insist on this intimate connection (I had to choose), I have done my best to emphasize the *sacrificial atmosphere* that belongs to the festival, in the hope that the reader could thus appreciate that the dialectic of the festival duplicates and reproduces that of the sacrifice.

Festival)

**November 15, Sunday nearest, to
December 24**

Advent

November 17

Marshall Islands President's Day
Queen's Day (England)

Students' Fight for Freedom and

Democracy, Day of (Struggle for
Freedom and Democracy Day,
World Students' Day)

November 18

Haiti Battle of Vertières' Day
Latvia Independence Day
Morocco Independence Day

November 18–19

Oman National Day

November 19

Discovery Day
Equal Opportunity Day
Garifuna Settlement Day

November 20

Africa Industrialization Day

November 21

Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary,
Feast of the

November 22

Lebanon National Day

St. Cecilia's Day

November 23

Repudiation Day

St. George's Day

November 25

Bosnia and Herzegovina Statehood Day

Evacuation Day

Manger Yam

St. Catherine's Day

St. Catherine's Day (Estonia)

Suriname Independence Day

November 26

Baha'i Day of the Covenant

November 28

Abdu'l-Baha, Ascension of

Albania Independence Day

Chad Republic Day

Mauritania Independence Day

Panama Independence Days

Timor-Leste Proclamation of

Independence Day

November 29

The festival is apt to end frenetically in an orgy, a nocturnal debauch of sound and movement, transformed into rhythm and dance by the crudest instruments beating in time. According to an observer, the swarming mass of humanity undulates and beats the ground, pivots and jerks around a central pole. The excitement is expressed in any sort of display that will increase it. It is augmented and intensified by anything that will express it: the haunting beat of spears against shields, guttural, heavily accented chants, the jerking and promiscuity of dance. Violence erupts spontaneously. Fighting breaks out from time to time: The combatants are separated and strong arms lift them into the air where they are swung rhythmically until they are quieted. This never interrupts the dancing circle. By the same token, people suddenly leave the dance by twos and go off into the nearby woods, where they couple, then return to their places in the whirl that goes on till morning.

One can understand how festival, representing such a paroxysm of life and contrasting so violently with the petty concerns of daily existence, seems to the individual like another world, where he feels himself sustained and transformed by powers that are beyond him. His day-to-day activity, gathering, hunting, fishing or raising animals, only occupies his time and sees to his immediate needs. He applies his attention, his patience and his skill to it, but on a deeper level, he lives on the memory of one festival and in expectation of another because the festival for him, for his memory and his desire, represents the time of intense emotions and the metamorphosis of his being.

Advent of the Sacred

Durkheim has the honor of having recognized the important illustration afforded by the contrast between festivals and working days, of the distinction between the sacred and the profane. In effect, they oppose intermittent explosion to dull continuity, frenzied elation to daily repetition of the same material preoccupations, the powerful inspiration of common ferment to the tranquil labors in which each one makes himself busy alone, society's concentration to its dispersion, the fever of climactic moments to the quiet toil of the dull parts of his existence.¹ Moreover, the religious ceremonies that occasion them are deeply disruptive for the souls of the faithful. If festival is the time of joy, it is also the time of anguish. Fasting and silence are enforced before the final release. Habitual prohibitions are enforced and new restrictions are imposed. Excesses and extremes of every sort, ritual solemnity, and the prerequisite harshness of restrictions combine also to make the atmosphere of the festival into a special world.

In reality, the festival is often regarded as the actual reign of the sacred. A feast day, an ordinary Sunday, first of all is a time that is consecrated to the divine, a time when work is forbidden, when one must rest, rejoice, and praise God. In societies where the festivals are not spread throughout all of workaday

existence, but grouped in a real *festival season*, one can see even better the extent to which this season really constitutes the period in which the sacred is supreme. Mauss's study of Eskimo societies furnishes the best examples of violent contrast between these two sorts of life, which can always be perceived among peoples condemned by climate or economic organization to prolonged inactivity for part of the year. In winter, Eskimo society closes in: Everything takes place or is done in common, whereas during the summer each family, isolated in its tent in a huge desertlike expanse, is alone to find the essentials, with nothing intervening to reduce the role of individual initiative. Contrasted with life in the summer, one almost entirely secular, winter seems a time of "continuous religious exaltation," like a long festival.² Among the American Indians of the north, social morphology is no less seasonably variable. There too, summer's dispersion is succeeded by winter's concentration. The clans disappear and give way to religious brotherhoods that then perform the great ritual dances and organize the tribal ceremonies. It is the epoch of the transmission of myths and rites, when spirits appear to novices and initiate them. The Kwakiutl themselves describe it: "In summer the sacred is beneath and the secular on top; in winter, the sacred is on top, the profane beneath."³ It could not be put more clearly.

In ordinary life, the sacred, as we have seen, is almost exclusively manifested by prohibitions. It is defined as "reserved," as "separate"; it is set outside common usage, protected by prohibitions destined to prevent any attempts against the order of the world, any risk of unsettling it or introducing troublesome ferment. It appears hence to be essentially *negative*. That, in fact, is one of the basic characteristics most often recognized in ritual taboo. And the sacred period of social life is precisely one in which the rules are suspended and license is approved, as it were. One can no doubt deny that the excesses of the festival have a precise ritual sense, considering them simply as mere *discharges of energy*. "One is so far outside the ordinary conditions of existence," writes Durkheim, "and one is so conscious of this that one feels almost a need to place oneself above and beyond ordinary morality."⁴ Certainly, the unruly excitement and exuberance of the festival correspond to a sort of drive to detumescence. Confucius already made note of this when, in justification of Chinese peasant feasts, he said that one must not "always keep the bow drawn without ever releasing it, nor always released without ever drawing it."⁵ The excesses of collective rapture surely do fulfill this function *also*. Their coming is a sudden explosion after a long, strict containment. But that is only one of their aspects, more certainly their physiological mechanism than their *raison d'être*. And this characteristic is far from exhausting the nature of these excesses. The natives, in fact, see them as the condition for their festivals' effective magic. They are the early evidence of the ritual's success, and consequently, they promise indirectly that the women will be fertile, harvests rich, warriors brave, game plentiful, and fish abundant.

Liberian President W. V. S. Tubman's Birthday
 Solidarity with the Palestinian People, International Day of
 St. Andrew's Eve (Noc Swietego Andreja)
 Vanuatu Unity Day
November 30
 Barbados Independence Day
 Eton Wall Game
 St. Andrew's Day
 Yemen Independence and National Days
November 30, Sunday nearest to December 24
 Advent
 Advent (Germany)
November, usually
 Mani Rimdu
November, every four years
 Asian Games
November, early
 An tOireachtas
 Sango Festival
 State Opening of Parliament
 Veterans Pow Wow
November, early, to late January
 Winter Festival of Lights
November, first Sunday
 New York City Marathon
November, first Monday, begins Friday before
 Wurstfest (Sausage Festival)
November, first Tuesday
 Melbourne Cup Day
November, Tuesday after first Monday
 Election Day
November, Thursday after U.S. Election Day
 Return Day
November, first Saturday
 Sadie Hawkins Day
November, first Saturday, on or around
 Hogbetsotso Festival
November, first full weekend
 Terlingua Chili Cookoff
November, first weekend
 Vintage Computer Festivals
November, second Sunday
 Quintaine, La
 Stewardship Sunday
 Veterans Day

Excess, Remedy to Attrition

Excess, consequently, is not just a constant accompaniment to the festival. It is not a simple epiphenomenon of the excitement growing out of the festival. It is necessary to the success of the ceremonies celebrated and participates in their holy powers, contributing as they do to revitalizing nature or society. This, in fact, would seem to be the aim of festivals. Time is wearing and exhausting. It is what makes one grow old, what leads the way to death, what wears one down. (In fact, the root of the Greek and Iranian words designating time carries this meaning). Each year vegetation is renewed, and social life, like nature, begins another cycle. Everything that exists must be rejuvenated. The creation of the world must begin anew. This world acts like a *cosmos* ruled by a universal order, and it functions according to a regular rhythm. Rules and moderation sustain it. Its law is that everything has *its own* place and everything happens in *its own* time. This explains why the only manifestations of the sacred are interdictions, taboos, *protections* against anything that could threaten cosmic regularity or else they are expiations, *redress* for anything that might have disturbed it. There is a tendency toward immobility because any change, any innovation endangers the stability of the universe; the desire is to stop its evolution and destroy any chance of its death. But the seeds of its annihilation reside in its own functioning, which accumulates waste and entails the wearing down of its mechanism. There is nothing that seems not to be subjected to this law that is defined and confirmed by all of experience. The very health of a human body requires the regular evacuation of its "impurities," urine and excrement, as well as, for the woman, menstrual blood. Yet, in the end age weakens and paralyzes the body. In the same way, nature yearly passes through a cycle of growth and decline. Social institutions seem not to be exempt from this alternation. They too must be periodically regenerated and purified of the poisonous wastes that represent the harmful part left behind by every act performed for the good of the community, and this involves some pollution of the one who assumes responsibility for this regeneration.

Hence, the gods of the Vedic pantheon seek a creature onto whom they can transfer the impurity they contract by sprinkling blood during a sacrifice. This sort of purging generally takes place in the form of an expulsion or execution, either of a scapegoat who is charged with all the sins committed in that manner, or of some personification of the old year that is to be replaced. Evil, weakness and wear, all ideas that are more or less interchangeable, must be driven out. In Tonkin, rites are celebrated with the express aim of eliminating the impure residue of each event, especially acts of authority. They seek to neutralize the irritation and malevolence of the spirits of people condemned by the government to death for treason, rebellion, or conspiracy. In China, the sweepings, that is, the daily wastes of domestic existence, are piled up by the door of the house and

carefully disposed of during the festivals of yearly renewal because they contain, as does everything unclean, an active principle that can bring prosperity if used properly.

The elimination of the slag that every organism accumulates in its functioning, the annual liquidation of sins, the expulsion of the old year are not enough. They serve only to bury a crumbling and encrusted past *that has had its day* and that must give way to a virgin world whose advent the festival is destined to hasten.

Prohibitions have proven powerless to maintain the integrity of nature and society; so there is all the more reason that these prohibitions cannot make nature and society as young as they used to be. Nothing in rules makes them capable of reviving this integrity. It is necessary to invoke the creative powers of the gods and go back to the beginning of the world, turning to the forces that then transformed *chaos* into *cosmos*.

Primordial Chaos

The festival presents itself, in fact, as an actualization of the early stages of the universe, the *Urzeit*, the original, eminently creative era that saw everything, every creature, every institution become fixed in its traditional and definitive form. This epoch is none other than the one in which lived and moved the divine ancestors, whose story is told in *myths*. What is more, for the Tsimshians of North America, myths are distinguished from other legendary tales precisely because they are situated in this time gone by, when the world had not yet assumed its present appearance. Lévy-Bruhl has done an outstanding study of the characteristics of this mythical Great Age in Australian and Papuan cultures.⁶ Each tribe has a special term to designate it. For the Aruntas it is *altjira*; for the Aluridas, *dzugur*; for the Karadjeri, *bugari*; for the people of northwestern Australia, *ungud*, etc. These words often simultaneously designate dream, and at the same time, in general, anything that seems unusual or magic. They all are used to define a time when "the exceptional was the rule." The expressions used by observers all tend to bring out this aspect of the primordial age. For Dr. Fortune, this mythical time is the time when "creatures came into existence and natural history began." It is simultaneously set at the *beginning* and *outside* of evolution. Thus Elkin remarks that it is no less the present or the future than the past; "It is a state as well as a period," is his revealing comment.⁷ Basically, the mythical time is the origin of the other and continually emerges in it, producing everything disconcerting or inexplicable that arises there. The supernatural is constantly to be found lurking behind what one can perceive, and it tends to manifest itself through this medium. The primordial age is described with remarkable unanimity in the most diverse regions. It is the place of all metamorphoses, of all miracles. Nothing was yet stabilized, no rules had been pronounced, no forms

November, second Saturday

Lord Mayor's Show

Räben-Chilbi

November, mid-

Independence of Cartagena City Day

Jayuya Festival of Indian Lore

November, mid-, to January

Lights, Festival of

November, third Thursday

Great American Smokeout

November, third weekend

Elephant Round-Up

Tellabration

Trois Glorieuses

November, Sunday before Advent

Christ the King, Feast of

November, fourth Sunday

Umoja Karamu

November, fourth Monday

Bible Week, National

Zwiebelmarkt (Onion Market)

November, fourth Thursday

Immaculate Conception, Feast of the

Thanksgiving

**November; Friday and Saturday
after Thanksgiving**

Chittin' Strut

November, Thanksgiving week

World's Championship Duck-Calling

Contest and Wings Over the Prairie

Festival

November, Thanksgiving weekend

Bayou Classic

November, last ThursdayPilgrim Thanksgiving Day (Plymouth,
Massachusetts)**November, last week**

River Kwai Bridge Week

November, late

Angkor Photography Festival

Bard of Armagh Festival of Humorous
Verse

Grey Cup Day

November, late, or early December

Shalako Ceremonial

November, late, through New Year

Natchitoches Christmas Festival

November or December

Sahara National Festival

November-December

yet fixed. Things that have become impossible since then, at that time, were possible. Objects moved of their own accord, canoes flew on the breezes, men turned into animals, and vice versa. Instead of growing old and dying they shed their skins. The whole universe was plastic, fluid, and inexhaustible. Crops grew spontaneously and flesh grew back on animals as soon as it was cut off.

Creation of the Cosmos

Finally, the ancestors imposed upon the world an appearance that has not changed and laws that have been in force ever since that time. They created human beings, by bringing them out of earth or by transforming already existing creatures of a half-animal nature. At the same time they created or formed the different animal and vegetable species. In making each individual they changed all his descendants yet to come so they would resemble him, without their having to intervene again. They also fixed the sea, dry land, islands, and mountains in their places. They separated the tribes and instituted for each one its civilization, its ceremonies and ceremonial details, its rituals, its customs, and its laws. But because they contained each thing and each creature within given limits, limits that would from then on be *natural*, they deprived them of the magic powers that permitted them to realize instantly their desires and, without experiencing any obstacles, to become whatever they wanted to be on the spot. Order cannot, in fact, adapt to the simultaneous existence of all possibilities or the absence of all rules. The world then experienced insurmountable limitations that confined each species inside its proper being and prevented its getting out. Everything was immobilized and what was prohibited was established so that the new organization and law would not be disturbed. Last, death was introduced into the world, through the disobedience of the first man, or more often of the first woman, by the error of some divine messenger, through the stupidity of the blundering ancestor, The Bungler, who very commonly clumsily does his best to imitate the deeds of the Creator and whose idiotic stubbornness brings about results that are both comic and catastrophic. In any event, with death, like the worm in the apple, *cosmos* has emerged from *chaos*. The era of disorder is over, natural history begins, the rule of normal causality is instituted. Unbounded creative activity is succeeded by the vigilance required to keep the created universe in good order.

Chaos and Golden Age

We realize that mythical times seem cloaked in a basic ambiguity. It is presented, in fact, in antithetical aspects: Chaos and Golden Age. The absence of barriers is as seductive as the lack of order and stability is repulsive. Man looks with nostalgia toward a world where he had only to reach out his hand to gather delicious fruits that were always ripe, where crops obligingly gathered themselves without work, without sowing or harvesting, a world where harsh labor

was unknown, where desires were realized as soon as they were conceived without being mutilated, reduced, or annihilated by some material obstacle or social prohibition. The Golden Age, the childhood of the world like the childhood of man, corresponds to this conception of an earthly paradise where everything is provided at first. When this paradise is left behind, it is by the sweat of his brow that man must earn his bread. It is the reign of Saturn or Kronos, where there is no war, no commerce, no slavery or private property. But this world of light, calm delight, an easy and happy existence is, at the same time, a world of darkness and horror. Saturn's time is one of human sacrifices, and Kronos devoured his children. The spontaneous fertility of the soil itself is not without its underside. The first age is presented also as the era of exuberant and wild creations, of monstrous and excessive childbirths. Sometimes the two antagonistic depictions are inextricably merged, sometimes an intellectual effort at coherence separates them, and mythology can be seen to distinguish between and contrast the two, making Chaos and Golden Age successive. They appear as the two faces of a single imaginary reality, the reality of a world without rules from which the regulated world where human beings now live was to come. The world without rules is opposed to the regulated world just as the world of *myth* is opposed to the world of *history*, beginning when the former ends; just as the world of dream, as it is apt to be called, is opposed to the waking world; just as the time of leisure, abundance, and prodigality is opposed to the time of *work*, *lack*, and *thrift*. At the same time, more or less obscurely, this first age represents childhood. To establish this there is no need to invoke that heartfelt regret, that penchant of memory leading the adult to extreme embellishment of the memory of his early years, which suddenly seem to him to have been given over to games, and exempt from care, and which, against all evidence, he regards as the time of eternal celebration in a Garden of Eden. There is no doubt, however, that the two conceptions of the infancy of the world and of the *vert paradis des amours enfantines*, the green and cheeky paradise of children's love affairs, have rubbed off on each other.

Moreover, it is a fact that before the initiation ceremonies introducing him into a social framework, the young person's activity is not subjected to the prohibitions limiting that of an adult; similarly, before marriage, adolescent sexuality is generally as free as can be imagined. It seems that at that time, the individual is not yet included in the order of the world, and consequently does not risk bringing it harm by transgressing laws that do not concern him. He exists, so to speak, on the margins of the regulated universe just as he exists on the edge of organized society. He only half belongs to the cosmos; he has not yet broken every tie with the mythical universe, the beyond, from which the ancestors drew his soul in order to put it in the womb of a woman, his mother, where they make it be born again.

The infancy of the world, in contrast to order and to "natural history," rep-

Davis Cup
Dom Fair
Monkey Party
Ngondo Festival
November–December; Sunday

before Advent

Stir-Up Sunday

November–January

Kwafie Festival

November–February

Bella Coola Midwinter Rites

Kwakiutl Midwinter Ceremony

December

Capac Raymi

Country Dionysia

Ginim

Itul

Lighting of the National Christmas Tree

Santon Fair

December 01

Central African Republic Independence Day

Seton (Mother) Day

Portugal Restoration of Independence Day

Romania National Day

World AIDS Day

December 02

United Arab Emirates National Day

December 03

Disabled Persons, International Day of

December 04

Siaosi Tupou I (King) Day

St. Barbara's Day

December 05

Discovery Day

Faunalia

Volunteer Day for Economic and Social Development,

International

King's Birthday (Thailand)

St. Sava's Day

December 06

Finland Independence Day

St. Nicholas's Day

St. Nicholas's Day (Greece)

December 07

Armenia Earthquake Memorial Day

Burning the Devil

Pearl Harbor Day

resents a time of universal confusion that cannot be imagined without some anxiety. Among the Eskimo, the contradictory aspects of the primordial era seem intimately entwined. It possesses the characteristics of undifferentiated chaos: All was darkness, there was no light on earth. Neither continents nor seas could be seen. People and animals did not differ from each other. They spoke the same language, lived in similar houses, and hunted in the same way.⁸ Nevertheless, in the description of this epoch traits can be recognized that are usually used to depict the Golden Age: Talismans had considerable power then, and one could turn into an animal, a plant, or a pebble. The caribou's flesh grew back on its skeleton after it had been eaten. Snow shovels moved from one place to another by themselves, without one's bothering to carry them.⁹ This last possibility shows already, in a meaningful way, a mixture of regret and fear; it illustrates the desire for a world in which everything is accomplished effortlessly, and makes one dread that the shovels might come alive again and suddenly escape from their owners. Consequently, they can never be left unattended in the snow.

II. Recreation of the World

The earliest age—a nightmare for the same reasons that it is simultaneously a paradise—seems indeed to be the *period* and *state* of creative energy from which emerged the present world, which is subject to the vicissitudes of wear and tear and threatened by death. Consequently, it is by being born again, steeping itself again in that ever present eternity as if in an ever flowing fountain of youth, that the world has a chance of being rejuvenated, rediscovering the plenitude of life and strength that will allow it to brave a new cycle of time. That is the function fulfilled by the festival. It has already been defined as an actualization of the time of creation. To repeat Dumézil's apt phrase, it constitutes an *access to the Great Time*,¹⁰ the moment in which men leave evolution to enter the reservoir of ever new and omnipotent forces represented by the primordial age. It takes place in temples, in churches, in holy places that represent in the same way *access to the Great Space*, the one in which divine ancestors evolved, whose sites and sacred rocks are the visible landmarks still associated with the Creators' authoritative gestures. When there is a critical phase of the seasonal rhythm, a ceremony is performed; when nature seems to renew itself, when a change takes place that is visible to all eyes: at the beginning or end of winter in arctic or temperate climates, at the beginning or end of the rainy season in the tropics. With an intense emotion that comes from simultaneous anxiety and hope, a pilgrimage is made to the places formerly frequented by mythical ancestors. The Australian piously retraces their itinerary, stops wherever they stopped and carefully repeats their actions. Elkin has forcefully emphasized this vital religious bond that exists between the native and his country and goes beyond any mere geography. The land seems to him the route that leads to the invisible world, and puts him in contact

with "the powers dispensing life and benefiting man and nature."¹¹ If he must leave the land of his birth or if it is completely disrupted by colonization, he believes he is doomed to death and feels himself withering away because he is no longer able to regain contact with the sources that periodically give life to his being.

Incarnation of the Ancestor-Creators

Festival is thus celebrated in a mythical space-time, and it takes on the function of regenerating the real world. To that end the moment of vegetation's renewal and, if necessary, of the totem animal's reappearing in abundance is likely to be chosen. Everyone goes to the place where the mythical ancestor created the living type from which the group descends. The ancestor's ceremony of creation has been inherited by this group and it alone is able to carry this through to a successful conclusion. Actors mime the deeds and gestures of the hero. They wear masks that identify them with this half-man, half-animal ancestor. Often these props have shutters that, at a given moment, suddenly reveal a second face and thus permit the wearer to reproduce the instantaneous transformations that took place in the earliest times. What is important, in fact, is to make the beings of the period of creation be present and active; they alone have the magical power to confer the desirable effectiveness on the ritual. What is more, no clear distinction is made between "the mythical basis and the present ceremony." Among the Yuma of Colorado, as Daryll Forde has stated categorically, his informants never stopped confusing the ritual they habitually celebrated and the act by means of which the ancestors originally instituted it.

Several different procedures are employed concurrently to revive the fertile times of the dazzling ancestors. Sometimes the telling of myths is enough. These myths, by definition, are secret and powerful narratives that recount the creation of a species or the founding of an institution. They act like magic words. Just repeating them is enough to cause the repetition of the act they are commemorating. Another way of conjuring up the mythical period consists in retracing the rock paintings that represent their ancestors in remote underground passages.¹² By reviving their colors and periodically retouching them (they must not be completely redone at any one time or the continuity would be broken), the beings they represent are called back to life, they are *actualized*; so they will ensure the return of the rainy season, the multiplication of edible plants and animals, the burgeoning of spirit-children who make women pregnant and guarantee the tribe's prosperity.

Often a truly dramatic representation is resorted to. In Australia the War-munga imitate the life of each clan's mythical ancestor, for example, for the Black Serpent people, the life of their hero, Thalawalla, from the time he emerges from the ground to the time he goes back into it. The actors' skin is cov-

Timor-Leste Anniversary of the Indonesian Invasion

December 08

Beaches, Day of the (Día de las Playas) Hari-Kuyo (Festival of Broken Needles)

Immaculate Conception, Feast of the Immaculate Conception, Feast of the (Argentina)

Immaculate Conception, Feast of the (Malta)

Immaculate Conception, Feast of the (Mexico)

Uzbekistan Constitution Day

December 09

Antigua National Heroes Day

Tanzania Independence Day

December 10

Nobel Prize Ceremony

Thailand Constitution Day

December 11

Burkina Faso Republic Day

December 12

Jamhuri (Kenya Independence Day)

Our Lady of Guadalupe, Feast of (United States)

Our Lady of Guadalupe, Fiesta of

St. Spyridon (Spiridion) Day

December 13

Malta Republic Day

St. Lucy's Day

Susuharai (Soot Sweeping)

December 13, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday following

Ember Days

December 14

St. Spyridon (Spiridion) Day

December 14–28

Halcyon Days

December 14 to January 06

Christmas Bird Count

December 15

Bill of Rights Day

Consualia

Dukang Festival

December 16

Bahrain National Day

Bangladesh Victory Day

Reconciliation, Day of

December 16–24

Misa de Gallo

ered with down that flies off when they move. Thus they represent the dispersal of the life seeds escaping from the ancestor's body. By doing this they ensure the multiplication of Black Serpents. Men then are revived in turn; they are regenerated and confirmed in their intimate essence by consuming the sacred animal.¹³ We have seen that to do this, when it is a question of *respecting* the order of the world and not of *renewing* it, is sacrilegious and forbidden. But now the members of the clan are identified with the beings of the mythical epoch who know no prohibitions and who instituted these prohibitions in the form they will once again take. During the preceding period, the officiants have sanctified themselves through rigorous fasting and observation of many prohibitions that have made them progressively pass from the profane world into the domain of the sacred. They have become the ancestors: The masks and ornaments they wear are signs of their metamorphosis. Then they are able to kill and eat the animal, to gather and eat the plant of which they mystically partake. They realize, thus, their communion with the principle from which they draw their life and force. With it they absorb a new influx of energy. And then they leave it for the other clans. From this moment on they are not to eat freely of this species that they have resurrected and deconsecrated by being the first to make use of this sacred nourishment, identical with themselves, which they periodically need to taste in an act of life-giving cannibalism and fortifying theophagy. Feast and festival are ended, and *order* is established once again.

Fertility and Initiation Rites

These ceremonies of fertility are not the only ones. There are others whose goal is to bring young people into the society of men and assimilate them to the collectivity. These are rites of initiation. They seem to be exactly comparable to the preceding ones and are, like them, based on the representation of myths relating to the origins of things and institutions. They are absolutely parallel. Fertility ceremonies ensure the rebirth of nature, initiation ceremonies the rebirth of society. Whether they coincide or are celebrated separately, they both consist in making the mythical past be real and present in order to bring forth a rejuvenated world. In the *majo* cult of New Guinea, novices who enter the sacred place act as if they were newborn.¹⁴ They pretend to know nothing, and act as if they did not know how to use utensils and as if they were seeing for the first time the food they are given to eat. Then, for their instruction, actors who embody the divine ancestors present each thing to them, *in the order* in which the myths recount the ancestors' intervention to create these things. It would be impossible to point out any better the extent to which the ceremony signifies the return to primordial chaos and the establishment in detail of cosmic law. Order's coming into being does not take place all of a sudden; it is carried out in an *orderly* fashion.

According to Wirz, the *majo* ceremonies are identical, whether it is a case of

fertility or of initiation. They differ only in their goals. In fact, society always goes hand in hand with nature. The novice is like the seed buried in the ground, and like soil that has not yet been worked. In the beginning the ancestors transformed the monstrous creatures of the Great Time into men, whom they completed by giving them sexual organs, their sources of life and fertility. Initiation, in the same way, makes neophytes into real men. Circumcision *completes* their penes. The whole ceremony confers upon them various virile powers, particularly bravery, invincibility, and moreover the right and power to procreate. It brings the new generation of men to maturity, just as the rites performed for the reproduction of the totemic species assure the growth of the new crop or new animal generation.

What is more, in mythical times the two sorts of ceremony (initiation and fertility) were simply one. Strehlow is explicit about this in Australia,¹⁵ where, moreover, the rituals of these ceremonies are most clearly distinct from each other. The ancestors take their novices all over the Great Space, teaching at the same time as they *perform* the rites by means of which they created beings or fixed them in a stable morphology. They initiate these novices, hence, not through a "blank," ineffectual ceremony, but through the first, effective unfolding, the brand new gift of their act of creation.

Suspension of Marked Time

In any event, it is important first to actualize the primordial age: *the festival is Chaos rediscovered and shaped anew*. In China the wineskin that represents chaos is considered to be transformed when it has been pierced seven times by lightning. Similarly, human beings have seven facial openings, and a well-born individual has seven in the heart. A stupid person "without openings," with neither face nor eyes, personifies this wineskin-chaos. At the end of a feast the lightning pierces it seven times. Granet emphasizes that this is not to kill it but to make it be reborn to a higher existence, to *mold* it. The arrows drawn against the wineskin seem linked (in the ritual) to a winter festival, *the drinking bout of the long night*, that takes place during the last twelve days of the year and during which every excess, each more extreme than the last, is committed.¹⁶ This is a widespread custom; the festival brings back the time of creative license, the time preceding and engendering order, form and *prohibition* (the three ideas are linked and *together* are the opposite of the idea of chaos). This period has its place ready-made in the calendar, for example, when months are counted by moons and the year by the earth's turning around the sun, during the twelve days that remain in limbo at the end of the solar cycle and make it possible to reconcile the two ways of measuring time. These intercalary days belong to no month and to no year. They are outside time as it is marked off, and at the same time they seem wholly designated for the periodic regenerative return of the Great Time.¹⁷

Posadas

December 17

Wright Brothers Day

December 17–23

Newport Harbor Christmas Boat Parade

Saturnalia

December 17, week leading up to

Urs of Jalaluddin al-Rumi (Whirling

Dervish Festival)

December 18

Closing the Gates Ceremony

Niger Republic Day

Our Lady of Solitude, Fiesta of

St. Modesto's Day

December 19

Opalia

December 21

Doleing Day

Dongji (Winter Solstice)

St. Thomas's Day

December 21, on or around

Homeless Persons' Remembrance Day,

National

December 21, at least seven days

including

Chaomos

December 21 or 22

Forefathers' Day

Juul, Feast of

December 21–22

Summer Solstice

Winter Solstice

December 22

Soyaluna (Hopi Soyal Ceremony)

St. Frances Cabrini, Feast of

Tojji (Winter Solstice)

Yule

Zimbabwe National Unity Day

December 22, 23, and 24

Christmas Eve Bonfires

December 23

Festivus

Japanese Emperor's Birthday

Larentalia

New Year for Trees

Night of the Radishes

St. Thorlak's Day

Winter Solstice (China)

December 23–24

Giant Lantern Festival

These extra days are the equivalent of the entire year, its "replica," as the Rig-Veda calls the sacred days of midwinter in ancient India. Each of these days corresponds to each of the months, and what takes place during the former prefigures what is to happen in the latter; moreover, their names are the same and follow each other in the same order. If the counting is done in two and a half year cycles, as in the de Coligny Celtic calendar, the intercalary period is made up of thirty days that reproduce the twelve-month sequence repeated two and a half times.¹⁸

The Presence of Ghosts

This time, no matter how long it lasts, witnesses the merging of this world and the beyond; the ancestors or the gods, incarnated by masked dancers, come to mingle with men, and they violently interrupt the course of natural history. They are present in the Australian totemic festivals, in the New Caledonian *pilou* and the Papuan and North American initiation ceremonies. By the same token, the dead leave their abodes and invade the world of the living. For, during this suspension of universal order constituted by the changing of the year, all barriers are down and nothing keeps the dead from visiting their descendants. In Siam, a diabolical character opens the doors to the abyss and the dead return to spend three days in the sun. A temporary king rules the land with all the prerogatives of a true sovereign, while the people devote themselves to games of chance (a classic activity of risk and squandering, the direct opposite of slow and sure accumulation of wealth through work). Among the Eskimo, during winter festivals, spirits are reincarnated in members of the camp, thus confirming the solidarity and continuity of generations in the group. Afterward they are solemnly dismissed so that normal conditions of existence can resume their course. When the festival season is broken up and festivals are spread throughout the entire year, a period in which the dead are free to mingle in the society of the living is always evident. Then, at the end of the time allotted them for their annual invasion, they are sent back to their realm by an explicit exorcism. In Rome, on certain dates, the rock that closes the *mundus* is raised. This hole in the Palatine is held to be the entrance to the infernal world, a shrunken version of this world itself and, symmetrically, as its name indicates, the exact counterpart also of the living world. It is simultaneously the epitome of the Great Space in the presence of the area that is profane, and the orifice permitting their communication. When the rock is raised the spirits are free to wander in the city, as they do on three days in May. At the end of this time each head of a family chases them from his house by spitting beans, which ransoms him and his family from their incursion until the next year.

The return of the dead is still often linked to a time change. Throughout Europe it is mainly during Saint Sylvester's night, that is to say, during the last

night of the year, that ghosts, specters, and phantoms are free to hold sway among the living.

III. The Function of Debauchery

This interlude of universal confusion constituted by the festival seems thus to be the time during which the order of the world is suspended. This is why excesses are permitted then. It is important to act against the rules. Everything must be done backward. In the mythical era the course of time was reversed: One was born old and died a child. Two reasons converge here to make debauchery and indiscretion commendable in these circumstances. To be more certain of regaining the conditions of existence in the mythical past, a great effort was made to do the opposite of what one usually did. On the other hand, all exuberance displays additional energy that can only bring abundance and prosperity to the awaited spring. Both of these reasons lead to the violation of prohibitions and to immoderation, to profiting from the suspension of order so as to do the direct opposite of rules of prohibition and, with no restraint, abuse the rules of permission. Consequently, every prescription protecting a good natural and social organization is systematically violated. These transgressions, however, do not cease to be sacrilegious. They attack rules that yesterday seemed, and tomorrow will become, the holiest and most inviolate. They are really the greatest form of sacrilege.

Generally speaking, every circumstance in which society's and the world's existence seem to falter and require renewal through an influx of youthful and excessive energy is *assimilated* to the moving moment in which time changes. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that liberties that are similar or identical to the ones practiced on the intercalary days are resorted to in order to compensate for some plague. One Australian tribe is reported to do this during epidemics, and another during displays of *aurora australis*, which the natives regard as a celestial fire threatening to consume them. The elders order the exchange of wives at such times.

When one observes the actions of the Fijians, there can be no doubt that the natives feel they are restoring the universe that has been attacked in its very being. When there is a poor harvest and they fear a shortage of food, they perform a ceremony they call "creation of the earth." The earth has just shown that it is exhausted, and it must be rejuvenated, brought back to life, while warding off the ruin that lies in wait for the world and men.

Social Sacrileges at the Death of a King

When the life of society and of nature is epitomized in the sacred person of a king, it is the hour of his death that determines the critical moment and releases the ritual license.¹⁹ This license then assumes characteristics corresponding ex-

December 24

Christmas Eve
Christmas Eve (Baltics)
Christmas Eve (Bethlehem)
Christmas Eve (Denmark) (Juleaften)
Christmas Eve (Finland) (Jouluaatto)
Christmas Eve (France) (Veille de Noël)
Christmas Eve (Italy) (La Vigilia)
Christmas Eve (Moravian Church)
Christmas Eve (Switzerland) (Heiliger Abend)
Christmas Shooting
"Silent Night, Holy Night" Celebration
Tolling the Devil's Knell
Vigilia

December 24–25

Koledouane

December 24-26

Grande, Fiesta

December 25

Christmas
Christmas (Greece)
Christmas (Malta)
Christmas (Marshall Islands)
Christmas (Puerto Rico)
Christmas (Romania) (Craciun)
Christmas (South Africa)
Christmas (Spain) (Pascua de Navidad)
Christmas (Sweden) (Juledagen)
Christmas (Syria)
Crossing of the Delaware
Quarter Days
Yule

December 25, around

Ass, Feast of the

December 25, weekend before

Christmas

Carriacou Parang Festival

December 25–26

Christmas (Norway)

December 25–January 05

Russian Winter Festival

December 25–January 06

Christmas Pastorellas (Mexico)

Yancunú, Fiesta del

December 26

Boxing Day

Flight into Egypt

Junkanoo Festival

St. Stephen's Day

actly to the catastrophe that has occurred. The sacrilege is of a social nature. It is perpetrated at the expense of majesty, hierarchy, and power. There is no case in which it can be asserted that the unleashing of long-repressed passions is making the most of an inevitable weakness of government or temporary absence of authority. Not the least resistance is opposed to this popular frenzy: It is considered as necessary as obedience to the deceased monarch. In the Hawaiian Islands, when the crowd learns of the king's death, they commit every act that in ordinary times would be considered criminal. They burn, pillage, and kill, and the women are required to prostitute themselves publicly. Bosman reports that in Guinea, as soon as the people learn of the king's death, "each one tries to outrob his neighbor" and these thefts continue until a successor is proclaimed.

In the Fiji Islands the facts are even clearer: The chief's death is the signal for pillage. The tribes that are his subjects invade the capital and commit every sort of violent robbery and depredation. To avoid this, it is often decided to keep the king's death a secret, and when the tribes come to ask if the king is dead (in the hope of devastating and sacking) they are told that his body has already decomposed.²⁰ Then they leave—disappointed, but docile, because they came too late. This example shows clearly that the time for license is exactly that of the *decomposition* of the king's body, that is, the acute period of infection and defilement that death represents, the time in which it is utterly, obviously virulent, highly active and contagious. By demonstrating its vitality, society must protect itself from this danger, which comes to an end only with the complete elimination of the parts of the royal body that can rot, when nothing is left of the remains but a hard, sound, incorruptible skeleton. The dangerous phase is then judged to be over and things can resume their usual course. A new reign begins after the time of uncertainty and confusion during which the flesh of the Guardian was melting away.

The king, in fact, is essentially a *Guardian*, whose role consists in maintaining order, moderation, and rules. These are all principles that wear out, age, and die with him, and at the same time as his physical integrity decreases, their strength and *efficacious power*, are lost. Consequently, his death opens a kind of interregnum of a reverse *efficacious power*, that is, the principle of disorder and excess that generates the ferment from which a new, revived order will be born.

Dietary and Sexual Sacrilege

In a totemic society, sexual and dietary sacrilege, similarly, aim at guaranteeing food and fertility for the group during a *new* time period. License is tied to the ceremony newly reviving the sacred animal or to the one integrating young people into the adult society. In fact, these rites open a new vital cycle and consequently play exactly the same role as the time change in more differentiated civilizations. They constitute a return to chaos, a phase in which the existence of the

universe and of legality is suddenly put in question. The prohibitions normally ensuring that institutions function correctly and that the world runs smoothly, separating what is allowed from what is forbidden, are violated. The group kills and eats the species they revere, and, in a parallel with the great dietary crime, they commit the great sexual crime: the law of exogamy is broken. Under cover of darkness and dancing, in defiance of kinship ties, the men have sexual relations with the wives of the complementary clan who, because they came originally from the same clan, are taboo for these men. Among the Warramunga, when the Uluuru phratry celebrates their initiation ceremony, they take their women in the evening to the men of the Kingilli phratry (who, we recall, made all the preparations for the festival). The Kingilli then have sexual relations with these women, who, nonetheless are members of their phratry.²¹ Ordinarily, these incestuous unions rouse a shiver of terror and loathing, and the guilty ones are dealt the harshest punishments. During the festival these unions are both permitted and obligatory.

It must be emphasized that these sacrilegious acts are held to be as ritual and holy as the very prohibitions they violate. Like these prohibitions they fall within the province of the *sacred*. Leenhardt reports that during the great New Caledonian festival, the *pilou*, a masked character appears who breaks all the rules by doing their opposite.²² He does everything the others are forbidden to do. As the incarnation of the ancestor with whom his mask identifies him, he mimes and repeats the actions of his mythical patron who "pursues pregnant women and overturns emotional and social notions."

Myth and Incest

Once again it is a matter of adopting the behavior that conforms with the legendary example set by the divine ancestors—who practiced incest.²³

In most instances, the original couple were brother and sister. This is true for numerous Oceanic, African, and American tribes. In Egypt, Nut, the sky goddess, came every night to couple with her brother Keb, the earth god. In Greece, Kronos and Rhea also are brother and sister, and if Deucalion and Pyrrha, who repopulate the world after a flood, are not, they are at least the sort of cousins kept apart by the law of exogamy. Even better, incest is characteristic of chaos: One implies the other. Chaos is the time of mythical incest, and incest as we have seen, is commonly considered to unleash cosmic catastrophes. Among the African Ashanti, if someone who has sexual relations with a forbidden woman, thus compromising the universal order, has not been punished as he should, hunters are no longer able to kill anything in the forests, crops do not grow, women no longer give birth and the clans become mixed and cease to exist. The observer makes the clear conclusion: "Everything in the world is only Chaos then." Among the Eskimo, the dissolute sexuality is a distinct manifestation of a

Sumamao, Fiesta de

December 26–January 01

Kwanzaa

December 27

Fossey (Dian) Day

St. John the Evangelist's Day

December 28

Holy Innocents' Day

Holy Innocents' Day (Belgium)

(Allerkinderendag)

December 28, around

St. Gabriel, Feast of

December 28–January 01

Fools, Feast of

December 29

Black St. Benito, Fiesta of the

December 30

Rizal Day

December 31

Candlewalk

Christmas Shooting

First Night (Boston, Massachusetts)

Hogmanay

Ladouvane

New Year's Eve

New Year's Eve (Brazil)

New Year's Eve (Ecuador)

New Year's Eve (Germany)

(Silvesterabend)

New Year's Eve (Spain)

Old Silvester

Omisoka

St. Sylvester's Day

St. Sylvester's Day (Madeira)

Watch Night (Bolden, Georgia)

Watch Night Service

December, early, through December 24

Christkindlesmarkt

December, first Friday

Ghana Farmers' Day

Marshall Islands Gospel Day

December, begins first Friday

Wrangler National Finals Rodeo

December, first Saturday

Country Christmas Lighted Farm

Implement Parade

Greenwood (Chester) Day

Noel Night

December, first weekend

Wilderness Woman Competition

return to the mythical period. Orgies take place during the festival of extinguishing the lights celebrated at the winter solstice. All the lamps in the camp are simultaneously extinguished and then relighted. The time change is made visible; it is localized and illustrated. During the darkness that symbolizes chaos, the couples have sexual relations under the deep bench lining the walls of the winter house. An exchange of all the wives is initiated.²⁴ Sometimes the principle determining these temporary unions is understood. In Alaska and at Cumberland Sound, a masked actor, personifying the goddess Sedna, matches the men and women according to their names, that is, as the ancestors for whom they are named were matched.²⁵ Thus the disappearance of the ordinary rules that regulate sexual behavior is no less than a temporary *surfacing* of the long ago time of creation.

The myths of incest are myths of creation. In general, they explain the origin of the human race. The power of a union that is both forbidden and characteristic of the Great Time is added to the normal fertility of sexual union. Erotic practices are especially important to the Kiwai and Marind-Anim of Papua: They only reproduce the ones that the ancestors used to create the useful plants. In the festival, as Lévy-Bruhl remarks, debauchery takes effect through sympathetic magic as well as through participation in the creative power of the beings of ancient times.²⁶

The Value of Sexual License

The sexual act already inherently possesses a fecundating power. It is *hot* as the Thonga say; that is, it deploys an energy that is capable of increasing all the forces seen in nature. The orgy of virility occasioned by the festival helps it perform its function simply by encouraging and reviving cosmic forces. But this result could also come from any other excess, any other debauchery. There is clearly not one of these without its role in the festival.

Just as order, which preserves but wears out, is founded on moderation and distinction, disorder, which regenerates, entails excess and confusion. In China, a continuous barrier of prohibitions separates the sexes in all the events of public or private life. Man and woman work separately at distinct occupations. What is more, nothing belonging to one is to come in contact with anything connected with the other. But for the festival, for sacrifices, for ritual labor, for melting metals, for any form of creation, the joint action of man and woman is required. "Collaboration of the sexes," writes Granet, "was all the more efficacious because it was sacrilegious normally and saved for sacred moments."²⁷ Thus, the winter festivals end in an orgy in which men and women fight and tear off each other's clothes. This was, doubtless, less to be bare than to put on the clothes they had won. In fact, the exchange of clothing, as symbol of reverse values, seems to be the mark of a state of chaos. It took place during the Babylonian

Sacaea, and during the orgiastic festival of Purim among the Jews, in direct violation of the law of Moses. No doubt these rites must be connected with the double disguise of Hercules and Omphale.²⁸ In any case, in Greece the Argive festival when boys and girls exchange clothes, is significantly named *hubristika*. And *hubris* represents an attack on the cosmic and social order, undue excess. Texts describe it as characteristic of the Centaurs, mythological monsters who are half-man half-animal, who carry off women and eat raw flesh. Centaurs, Dumézil has remarked, are incarnated by members of the confraternity at initiations and by masked figures who make an abrupt appearance at the year change and who, following the example of their legendary counterparts, typically violate every prohibition.²⁹

Fertile Excesses

Fertility is born of excess. To the sexual orgy the festival adds the monstrous ingestion of food and drink. "Primitive" festivals, prepared well in advance, display to a high degree this characteristic, still strikingly persistent in more sophisticated civilizations. At the Athenian Anthesteria each one was given a goatskin of wine, and a contest began whose victor was the first to empty his bottle.³⁰ During Purim, the Talmud indicates one should drink until it is impossible to distinguish between the two cries specific to the festival: "Cursed be Haman" and "Blessed be Mordecai."³¹ In China, if the texts are to be believed, food was accumulated "in piles heaped higher than a hill"; ponds were dug and filled with wine where boats could have spun around just as a chariot race could have been held on the pile of food.

Everyone was required to stuff himself as full as possible, filling himself like a distended wineskin. This exaggeration of the traditional descriptions demonstrates another aspect of ritual excesses: the barrage of chatter and boasting that accompanies the waste of these piles of wealth that are *sacrificed*. The role of bragging duels in the feasts and drinking bouts of the Germans, Celts and many other peoples is well known. The prosperity of the next harvests must be forced by lavishly spending the food stores and by going the deed still one better with words. There are open-ended, ruinous competitions for whoever forfeits the most, in a sort of wager with fate to force it to return what it has received with hundredfold interest. Everyone expected to obtain, according to Granet's commentary on the Chinese practices, "better remuneration, a higher return from his future work."³² The Eskimo make the same calculation. The exchanges and distribution of presents that accompany the festivals of Sedna or the sending back of spirits into the beyond, possess a mystical efficacy. They make the hunt fruitful. "Without generosity there is no luck," Mauss emphasizes,³³ basing this on observation that makes it specific that "the exchange of gifts has the effect of producing the abundance of wealth." The exchange still currently in practice in

December, second Saturday

Old Saybrook Torchlight Parade and Muster

December, mid-

Mevlana, Festival of

December, mid-, weekend in

Escalade (Scaling the Walls)

December; third Sunday before

Christmas

Children's Day (former Yugoslavia)

December, week after Christmas

Turon

December, last week in

Cali Fair (Sugar Cane Fair, Salsa Fair)

December, late, or early January

Haloa

December or January

Ncwala

December, January, or February

Elfstedentocht

December-January

Hmong New Year

Kalakshetra Arts Festival

Rogonadur

December-January; beginning of Advent to Sunday after Epiphany

Blowing the Midwinter Horn

December-February, weekend in

Bishwa Ijtema

December-April

Adam's Peak, Pilgrimage to

December-August, biannually

Odo Festival

December (Winter Weekend Festival) and May (Main Festival)

Jacob's Ladder

Winter, end of

Navajo Mountain Chant

Chronological Index

Movable Days

The index below lists entries that are observed according to the dates of non-Gregorian calendars, including the Jewish calendar and Hindu calendar, as well as movable Christian holidays that depend on the date of Easter. Hindu dates

Europe, and precisely on the occasion of the *New Year*, seems a weak vestige of a dense circulation of all the treasures that once was destined to invigorate cosmic existence and to test the cohesion of social existence. *Economy, accumulation*, and *moderation* define the rhythm of profane life; *prodigality* and *excess* define that of the festival, the periodic and exhilarating interlude of sacred life that cuts in and restores youth and health.

By the same token, the steady routine of work allowing provisions to be amassed is contrasted to the frenetic turmoil of the banquet where they are devoured. In fact, the festival is made up not simply of *debauches of consumption* involving the mouth or sex, but also *debauches of expression* involving words or deeds. Shouts, mockery, insults, the give-and-take of crude jokes (obscene or sacrilegious) between the public and a procession passing through it (like on the second day of the Anthesteria, at the Lenaeon celebrations, at the Great Mysteries, at carnival and at the medieval festival of Fools), jeering assaults between the group of women and the group of men (like at the sanctuary of Demeter Mysia near Pellana of Achaia) constitute the most important verbal excesses. Movement, erotic and violent gestures, and pretend or real fighting are not left out. Baubo's obscene contortions, by making Demeter laugh, wake nature from her lethargy and make her fertile again. One dances until exhaustion and spins until dizzy. Violence is quickly resorted to: In the Warramunga's fire ceremony twelve participants grab flaming torches. One of them charges his counterparts, using his firebrand as a weapon, and soon there is a general melee where crackling torches strike heads and shower the combatants' bodies with burning sparks.³⁴

Parody of Power and Sanctity

Forbidden and excessive acts do not seem sufficient to mark the difference between the time of release and the time of order.³⁵ There are additional *upside-down acts*. Every effort is made to behave in a manner that is exactly the opposite of normal behavior. The inversion of all relationships seems clear proof of a return of chaos, of an epoch of fluidity and confusion. Festivals in which one is committed to reviving the infancy of the world, the Greek Kronia or Roman Saturnalia (whose names are significant), involve the reversal of social order. Slaves eat at the masters' table, order them around and mock them, while the masters serve the slaves, obey them and put up with affronts and reprimands. In each house a miniature State is established: The high functions, the roles of priests and consuls, are given to the slaves who then exercise an ephemeral parody of power. In Babylon also rank was reversed during the festival of Sacaea: In each family a slave dressed as king was head of the household for a limited time. An analogous phenomenon took place on the level of the State. In Rome a monarch was elected who gave his subjects for the day ridiculous orders, such as to

go around the house carrying on one's shoulders a woman playing the flute. Certain facts lead one to think that the false king in ancient times met with a tragic fate: He was permitted every debauchery and every excess, but he was put to death on the altar of the god-king Saturn, whom he had personified for thirty days. With the king of chaos dead everything returned to order, and the legitimate government was once again in charge of an organized universe, the cosmos. In Rhodes, at the end of the Kronia, a prisoner was made drunk and then sacrificed. At the Babylonian Sacaea a slave who, throughout the festival had filled the role of king of the city, using the king's concubines and giving orders in his place, providing the people with an example of orgy and lust, was hung or crucified. There is no doubt that these false kings, who were fated to die after having shown, during the annual *retirement* of legitimate power, that they are excessive, extreme, and dissolute tyrants, should be compared with Nahusha (similarly excessive, extreme, and dissolute) who rules over the heavens and earth during the *retirement* of Indra "to the other side of the ninety-nine rivers" after the murder of Vrita. They can be compared as well to Mithothyn, the usurping magician who rules the universe during Odin's *retirement*, when Odin goes into exile to be purified of the defilement contracted on account of his wife Freyja. That is to say, we can compare them more generally with the temporary sovereigns who, particularly in Indo-European myths, take the place of the real ruler of the gods when he must go do penance for the sins that the very exercise of authority has placed upon him.

Everything induces one to see the modern carnival as a sort of dying echo of ancient festivals like the Saturnalia. In fact, a cardboard figure representing a huge, comical, colorful king is shot, burned or drowned at carnival, following a period of jubilation. The rite no longer has any religious value, but the reason for this seems clear: The moment the human victim is replaced by an effigy, the ritual tends to lose its value for expiation or fertility, the double character by means of which it liquidates past defilement and creates a new world. It then takes on the nature of a parody; already this aspect is visible in the Roman festival, and it plays the major role in the medieval festival of the Fools or Innocents.

There is a period of rejoicing for the minor clergy, beginning around Christmas time. A pope, a bishop, or an abbot is elected who is to occupy the throne in travesty until the evening of Epiphany. These priests *wear feminine clothing*, chant obscene or grotesque refrains to the tunes of liturgical chants, transform the altar into a tavern table where they carouse, burning pieces of old shoes in the censer and, in a word, indulging in every imaginable *impropriety*. Finally, with great pomp, a donkey wearing a rich chasuble is led into the church, and the service is held in his honor. Beneath these sacrilegious and absurd parodies, the ancient preoccupation with annually overturning the order of things can be easily recognized. It is perhaps even more visible in the exchange of roles between nuns and pupils in the great convent of the Congregation of Notre-Dame, in

are approximate, since some Hindu sects begin reckoning new months at the new moon, while others begin reckoning from the full moon.

The listings for each month are followed by listings of other calendar dates, including those of the lunar Chinese and Buddhist calendars, and dates according to the Islamic and Zoroastrian calendars.

GREGORIAN DATES

JANUARY-FEBRUARY

January-February; Magh, (Sikh)
Maghi

January-February; Magha
Magh Sankranti

January-February; Magha, three to
12 days

Thaipusam (Thai Pooam)

January-February; Magha, fifth day
of waxing half

Vasanti Panchami (Basant Panchami)

January-February; Magha, eighth
day of waxing half

Bhishma Ashtami

January-February; Magha, night of
full moon

Float Festival

January-February; Magha, full
moon day

Magha Purnima

January-February; Magha, fourth
day of the waning half

Sakata Chauth

January-February; Magha, 14th and
15th day of waning half

Risabha's Nirvana and Mauni Amavasya

January-February; Magha, 15th day
of waning half

Mauni Amavasya

January-February; Magha, three to
12 days

Thaipusam (Thai Pooam)

January-February, every seven
years (2005, 2012, 2019, . . .)

Coopers' Dance

January-February; three weekends
before Shrove Tuesday

Nice Carnival

Paris, on the Holy Innocents' Day. The pupils dressed in the nuns' habits and taught classes while their teachers took their places on the benches and pretended to listen. The same festival at the Franciscan monastery in Antibes involved a *reversal* of functions between priests and laymen. The clergy replaced the lay brothers in the kitchen and the garden, while the latter said mass. They dressed for the occasion in ragged vestments turned *inside out*, and they read the holy books while holding them *upside down*.

Regulation and Infraction

No doubt these later manifestations should not be seen as much more than the automatic application to a new setting of a sort of mechanism of reversal, inherited from times when there was an intensely felt necessity to do everything backward or to excess at the moment of the year change. It seems that only the principle of the ritual has been retained, along with the notion of a temporary substitution of the power of comedy for legitimate power. Festival, as we have recognized, represents something far more complex as a whole. It involves the dismissal of time that is used up, the past year, and at the same time it involves disposing of wastes produced by the functioning of any economy, eliminating the defilement connected with the exercise of any power.

Furthermore, there is a return to the creative chaos, to the *rudis indigestaque moles*, from which the organized universe was born and will again be born. It begins a period of license during which the legitimate authorities have retreated. In Tonkin, the Great Seal of Justice was enclosed during this time inside a casket, *face down, to mark that law slept*. Courts are closed and of all crimes only murder is taken into account. Moreover, sentencing those who surrendered as guilty of murder was put off until the return of the rule of law. Meanwhile, power was entrusted to a monarch charged with violating every prohibition and abandoning himself to every excess. He personified the mythical sovereign of the Golden Age-Chaos. General debauchery rejuvenates the world, encourages the life-giving forces of nature that are threatened with death. When later it is time to re-establish order, to fashion the new universe, the temporary king is dethroned, expelled, sacrificed. This, perhaps, makes it easier to identify him with the envoy of ancient times in his incarnation as a scapegoat who was hunted down or put to death. The dead who have returned are sent back again. Gods and ancestors leave the world of men. The dancers who stood for them bury their masks and erase their paint. Barriers once again are erected between men and women, and sexual and dietary prohibitions are again in effect.

Once the restoration is complete, the forces of excess required for rejuvenation must give way to the spirit of moderation and docility, to this fear that is the beginning of wisdom, to everything that preserves and maintains. Frenzy is suc-

ceeded by work, excess by respect. The *sacred as regulation*, that of prohibitions, organizes the creation won by the *sacred as infraction*, and makes it last. One governs the normal course of social life, the other rules over its paroxysm.

Expenditure and Paroxysm

In its most complete form, in fact, the festival must be defined as the *paroxysm* of society, which it simultaneously purifies and renews. It is its culmination not simply from a religious point of view but also from an economic point of view. It is the moment of circulation of wealth, the occasion for the most important markets, and the prestigious distribution of accumulated treasure. It seems to be the *total* phenomenon, manifesting the glory of the collectivity and tempering its very being. The group then rejoices in the births that have occurred, which are proof of its prosperity and guarantee its future. It takes to its bosom the new members through an initiation that is to be the basis for their strength. It bids its dead farewell and solemnly swears its loyalty to them. This is the occasion, in hierarchical societies, for different social classes to fraternize. At the same time, in clan societies, it is the occasion for the complementary and antagonistic groups to mix together, attesting to their solidarity and making the mystical principles they incarnate (ordinarily scrupulously separated) collaborate in the work of creation.

One of the Kanaka explains: "Our festivals mark the movement of the awl that is used to bind together the bundles of thatch on a roof, to make there be a single roof, a single speech." Leenhardt does not hesitate to comment on this statement: "The summit of Kanaka society, consequently, is not the head of a hierarchy, a chief, it is the *pillou* itself. It is the moment of communion of the allied clans, who all together, in the fervor of speaking and dancing, exalt the gods, the totems, the invisible beings who are the source of life, the basis of power, and the prerequisite for society."³⁶ In fact, when these ruinous and exhausting festivals come to an end, through the influence of colonization, society has lost its bonds and comes apart.³⁷

Festivals everywhere appear, no matter how differently they are pictured and whether altogether in one season or spread out during the course of the year, to fulfill a similar function. They constitute a break in the obligation to work, a deliverance from the limitations and constraints of the human condition: It is the moment in which myth and dream are lived. One exists in a time and in a condition in which one's only obligation is to use things up and spend oneself. Motives of acquisition are no longer acceptable; one must waste, and everyone outdoes the other in squandering his gold, his provisions, his sexual or muscular energy. But it seems that societies, in the course of their evolution, tend to lose their differentiation, moving in the direction of uniformity, leveling, and relaxation of tensions. As it becomes more pronounced the complexity of the social

January–March; before Lent

Carnival

January 02 to Ash Wednesday night

Carnival (Martinique and Guadeloupe)

January 06 to Ash Wednesday

Carnival (Hungary) (Farsang)

January 16 and February 13,

between; Shevat 15

Tu Bishvat (Bi-Shevat; B'Shevat;

Hamishah Asar Bishevat)

January 26 and March 03, begins

between; week before Ash

Wednesday

Schemenlauf

January 29 and March 04, begins

between; Thursday before

Shrove Tuesday

Carnival Thursday

January 30 and March 05, begins

between; four days before Ash

Wednesday

Carnival (Brazil)

January 31 and March 04, begins

between

Charro Days Fiesta

January and March, begins

between; week before Carnival

Kiddies' Carnival

FEBRUARY–MARCH

February and March, between; week

before Ash Wednesday

Carnival of Ivrea Orange-Throwing Battle

Carnival of Oruro, Bolivia

February–March

Carnival (Argentina)

Carnival in Bolivia

Carnival (Mexico)

Carnival (Peru)

February–March; Magha, full moon day

Masi Magham

February–March; Phalguna, 11th

day of waxing half

Amalaka Ekadashi

February–March; Phalguna, 14th

day of waxing half

Holi

Shivaratri

February–March; Phalguna, full

moon day

Dol Purnima

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organism is less tolerant of the interruption of the ordinary course of life. Everything has to go on today just like it did yesterday, and tomorrow just like today.³⁸ Consequently, the period of relaxation has become individualized. The opposition between vacation and working days seems really to have taken over from the old alternation between feasting and work, ecstasy and self-control, that annually revived order out of chaos, wealth from prodigality, and stability from frenzy.³⁹

[NRF January 1940:]

A general ferment is no longer possible. The period of turbulence has become individualized. *Vacation* is the successor of the festival. Of course, this is still a time of expenditure and free activity when regular work is interrupted, but it is a phase of *relaxation* and not of *paroxysm*. The values are completely reversed because in one instance each one goes off on his own, and in the other everyone comes together in the same place. Vacation (its name alone is indicative) seems to be an empty space, at least a slowing down of social activity. At the same time vacation is incapable of *overjoying* an individual. It has been deprived of any positive character. The happiness it brings is primarily a result of a distraction and distancing from worries. Going on vacation, first of all, is escaping from one's cares, enjoying a "well-earned" rest. Rather than communication with the group in its moment of exuberance and jubilation, it is further isolation. Consequently vacation, unlike festival, constitutes not the flood stage of collective existence, but rather its low-water mark.⁴⁰ From this point of view vacations are characteristic of an extremely dissipated society in which no mediation remains between the passions of an individual and the State apparatus. In this case, it can be a grave and even alarming sign that a society should prove incapable of reviving some festival that expresses, illustrates, and restores it. Doubtless, there can be no question of bringing back the old alternation between feasting and labor, ecstasy and self-control that annually revived order out of chaos, wealth from prodigality, and stability from frenzy. But we should ask the harsh question. Is a society with no festivals not a society condemned to death? While suffering from the gnawing feeling of suffocation vaguely provoked in everyone by their absence, is not the ephemeral pleasure of vacation one of those false senses of well-being that mask death throes from the dying?

[L'Homme et le sacré (1950):]

So one must ask what brew of the same magnitude frees the individual's instincts, repressed by the requirements of organized existence, and at the same time results in a sufficiently wide-ranging, collective ferment. And it seems that from the time strongly established States appeared (and more and more clearly as their structure asserts itself), the old alternation between feast and labor, ecstasy and self-control that periodically revived order out of chaos, wealth from prodi-

gality, stability from frenzy has been replaced by an alternation of a completely different order, and yet the only thing offering the modern world a nature and intensity that are comparable. This is the alternation between peace and war, prosperity and destruction of the results of prosperity, stable tranquillity, and compulsory violence.

**February–March; before Ash
Wednesday**

Carnival Lamayote
Carnival (Malta)

**February–March; four days before
Ash Wednesday**

Carnival (Panama)

**February–March; Friday through
Tuesday before Ash
Wednesday**

Carnival (Colombia)

**February–March; Saturday
through Tuesday before Ash
Wednesday**

Carnival (Goa, India)

**February–March; two weeks before
Ash Wednesday**

Mardi Gras

**February–March, the week before
Ash Wednesday**

Butter Week (Russia)



**February–March; three days before
Ash Wednesday**

Carnival (Aruba)
Carnival (Haiti)
Carnival (Portugal)
Carnival (Spain)

In an early Elgin National Watch Company trademark, Father Time replaces his hourglass with a watch.



The Elgin National Watch Company, established 1864, closed its main factory in Elgin, Illinois one century later. The factory's clock tower was razed in 1966.



Carnival (Switzerland)

**February–March; Tuesday of
Carnival week**

St. Martin's Carnival

**February 02 and March 08,
between; Monday before Ash
Wednesday**

Fastelavn

Rose Monday

Shrove Monday

**February 02 and March 08, between;
Monday before Shrove
Tuesday**

Collop Monday

**February 02 and March 08, between;
Monday–Tuesday before Ash
Wednesday**

Trinidad and Tobago Carnival

**February 02 and March 08,
between; two days before Ash
Wednesday**

Fasching

**February 03 and March 09,
between; Tuesday before Ash
Wednesday**

Brauteln

**February 03 and March 09, begins
between, and ends on Shrove
Tuesday night**

Carnival (Venice)

**February 03 and March 09, begins
between, Tuesday or Thursday
before Lent**

Paczki Day

**February 03 and March 09, between;
before Shrove Tuesday**

Carnival of Binche

Fastens-een

Kopenfahrt (Barrel Parade)

Mardi Gras (France)

Pancake Day

Shrove Tuesday

Shrove Tuesday (Pennsylvania Dutch)

Shrove Tuesday (Bohemia)

Shrove Tuesday (Estonia)

Shrove Tuesday (Finland)

Shrove Tuesday (Netherlands)

**February 03 and March 09, between;
Sunday before Ash Wednesday**

Shrovetide (Norway) (Fastelavn)

XV.

The consciousness of exploding the continuum of history is peculiar to the revolutionary classes in the moment of their action. The Great Revolution introduced a new calendar. The day on which the calendar started functioned as a historical time-lapse camera. And it is fundamentally the same day which, in the shape of holidays and memorials, always returns. The calendar does not therefore count time like clocks. They are monuments of a historical awareness, of which there has not seemed to be the slightest trace for a hundred years. Yet in the July Revolution an incident took place which did justice to this consciousness. During the evening of the first skirmishes, it turned out that the clock-towers were shot at independently and simultaneously in several places in Paris. An eyewitness who may have owed his inspiration to the rhyme wrote at that moment:

*Qui le croirait! on dit,
qu'irrités contre l'heure
De nouveaux Josués
au pied de chaque tour,
Tiraient sur les cadrans
pour arrêter le jour.*

[Who would've thought! As though
Angered by time's way
The new Joshuas
Beneath each tower, they say
Fired at the dials
To stop the day.]”

Walter Benjamin, *Theses on the Concept of History*

February 04 and March 10, between
Ash Wednesday
Burial of the Sardine
February 04 and March 10, begins
between
Lent
February 04 and March 10,
between; Wednesday, Friday,
and Saturday following Ash
Wednesday
Ember Days
February 05 and March 11, between;
day after Ash Wednesday
Fritter Thursday
February 06 and March 12, between;
Friday following Shrove
Tuesday
Nippy Lug Day
February 08 and February 28,
between; Sunday before
Eastern Lent
Cheese Sunday
February 08 and February 28,
between; week before Lent
Cheese Week (Sima Sedmitza)
February 08 and March 14, between;
first Sunday in Lent
Chalk Sunday
Quadragesima Sunday
Buergsonndeg
February 25 and March 25, between;
Adar 14
Purim
February–April; weekends in Lent
Rara (Ra-Ra)
February–May, Sundays in Eastern
Orthodox Lent
Sunday of Orthodoxy
Sunday of St. Gregory Palamas
Sunday of the Holy Cross
Sunday of St. John Climacos
Sunday of St. Mary of Egypt
February–May, Saturdays in Eastern
Orthodox calendar
Soul Saturdays (Saturday of Souls)
MARCH–APRIL
March–April; Caitra, every 10–15 years
Mahamastakabhishekha (Grand Head-
Anointing Ceremony)

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For pleasure has only ever existed by default. To begin with it was shoved into the decent obscurity of night, into the cupboard, into your dreams, the inner world which is not abroad in the light of day, which is the measured light of work-time. But production quotas have ended up subjecting the secret world of desire to the scanners of their selfseeking science and, since it is impossible to abolish desire, economic necessity is instructed to obtain maximum profitable usage. The transformation, by constraint and work, of actions and behaviour which have long remained outside the immediate orbit of the economy, shows clearly enough that the mercantile process evolves only by appropriating life, and uncovering only what it can exploit. Nothing will escape its voracious appetite if humanity becomes increasingly strange to itself.

Do not tell me that you are celebrating the last days of the old world in advance. To wait patiently, even impatiently, for the final somersault of this society that gobbles us and drags us down the whirlpool of its long agony, is the way dead men pass the time. You promised yourselves the jubilee you are dying of waiting for so long ago, that all you have left is the desire to die. You spend as much time prophesying the apocalypse as a civil servant in calculating his future promotions. Like him, you have managed to find the market in boredom interesting. Raoul Vaneigem, *The Book of Pleasures*



March–April; Caitra
Hanuman Jayanti
March–April; Caitra, 10 days
Caitra Purnima
March–April; Caitra, 1st–18th days
Gangaur
March–April; Caitra, first day of waxing half
Gudi Padva
March–April; Caitra, eighth day of waxing half
Ashokashtami
Sitala Ashtami
March–April; Caitra, ninth day of waxing half
Ramanavami (Ram Navami)
March–April; Caitra, 13th day of waxing half
Mahavira Jayanti
March–April; Caitra, eight days before full moon
Caitra Parb
March–April; Caitra, 10 days including full moon day
Panguni Uttiram (Panguni Uthiram)
March–April; Nisan, first Wednesday every 28 years
Blessing the Sun (Birchat Hahamah)
March–April; fourth Sunday in Lent
Mothering Sunday
March–April; Palm Sunday weekend
Calico Pitchin', Cookin', and Spittin'
Hullabaloo
March–April; Monday before Easter
Señor de los Temblores Procession
March–April; Easter eve
Easter Fires
March–April, Easter weekend
Opal Festival
March–April; one week during the Easter season
Royal Easter Show
March–April; during the Easter season
Rand Show
March–April; week after Easter
Merrie Monarch Festival
March 01 and April 04, between; Laetare Sunday (three weeks before Easter)
Carnival of the Laetare

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- Groppenfasnacht (Fish Carnival)
- March 08 and April 07, between;**
- fourth Sunday in Lent**
- Mid-Lent (Italy)
- Pretzel Sunday
- March 08 and April 11, between**
- Carling Sunday
- March 08 and April 11, between;**
- fourth Sunday in Lent**
- Mi-Carême
- March 11 and April 15, begins**
- between; four successive**
- Thursdays before Orthodox**
- Easter**
- Springtime Festival
- March 15 and April 18, between;**
- Sunday before Easter**
- Fig Sunday
- Palm Sunday
- Palm Sunday (Austria)
- Palm Sunday (Finland)
- Palm Sunday (Germany) (Palmsonntag)
- Palm Sunday (Italy) (Domenica delle
- Palme)
- Palm Sunday (Netherlands)
- (PalmZondag)
- Palm Sunday (United States)
- March 15 and April 18, beginning**
- between, through between**
- March 22 and April 25;**
- Palm Sunday through Easter Monday
- Easter Festival (Osterfestspiele)
- March 15 and April 18, between**
- Holy Week
- Holy Week (Czech Republic)
- Holy Week (Haiti)
- Holy Week (Mexico)
- Holy Week (Panama)
- Holy Week (Portugal) (Semana Santa)
- Holy Week (Philippines)
- Moriones Festival
- March 15 and April 18, between;**
- during Holy Week**
- Semana Criolla (Gaucho Festival)
- March 15 and April 18, between;**
- Palm Sunday to Easter**
- Semana Santa (Guatemala)
- March 15 and April 18, between;**
- Tuesday before Easter**
- Prisoners, Feast of the



Points out
your **Unprofitable Employes**

Most employes
mean to be on time.

If they come late one morning they *intend* being on time the next; but experience shows that it is the same old story over and over again with the tardy ones.

The *only way* to make employes appreciate the value of lost time is to let them pay for it themselves. With an

INTERNATIONAL TIME RECORDING SYSTEM

March 19 and April 22, between;
Wednesday before Easter

Spy Wednesday

March 19 and April 22, between;
Thursday before Easter

Maundy Thursday

March 19 and April 22, between;
Thursday and Friday before Easter

Passion Play at Tzintzuntzan

March 19 and April 22, beginning
between; Thursday to Saturday
before Easter

Silent Days

March 20 and April 23, between;
Friday before Easter

Good Friday

Good Friday (Belgium) (Goede Vrijdag)

Good Friday (Bermuda)

Good Friday (England)

Good Friday (Italy)

Good Friday (Mexico) (Viernes Santo)

Good Friday (Poland) (Wielki Piątek)

Good Friday (Spain)

Pleureuses, Ceremony of

March 21 and April 24, between; day
before Easter

Carling Sunday

Holy Saturday

Holy Saturday (Mexico) (Sábado de Gloria)

March 22 and April 25, between;
Easter

Burning of Judas

March 22 and April 25, between
Easter

Easter (Yaqui Indians)

Easter (Bulgaria)

Easter (Chile)

Easter (Czech Republic)

Easter (Germany) (Ostern)

Easter (Hollywood, California)

Easter (Italy) (La Pasqua)

Easter (Norway) (Paske)

Easter (Poland) (Wielkanoc)

Easter (Spain)

Easter (Sweden) (Påskdagen)

Easter (Netherlands) (Paschen, Paasch Zondag)

March 22 and April 25, between;

Easter Sunday and Monday
 Vlögölen
March 23 and April 26, between;
Monday after Easter
 Bottle Kicking and Hare Pie Scramble,
 Annual
 Easter Egg Roll
 Easter Monday
 Easter Monday (Netherlands)
 Georgiritt (St. George's Parade)
 Moldova Memorial Easter (Moldova
 Grave-Visiting Day)
March 22 and April 25, between;
week after Easter
 Messiah Festival
March 26 and April 23, between;
Nisan 14
 Firstborn, Fast of the
March 26 and Apr 29, between;
Thursday after Easter
 Khamis al-Amwat
March 27 and April 24, begins
between; Nisan 15-21 (or 22)
 Passover
March 27 and Apr 30, between;
Saturday before Palm Sunday
 Lazarus Saturday
 St. Lazarus's Day
March 28 and Apr 25, between; day
after Passover
 Maimona (Maimuna)
March 28 and May 01 in the East,
between; Sunday before Easter
 Palm Sunday
March 28 and May 01, between
 Holy Week
March 29 and May 02, between;
Sunday after Easter
 Low Sunday
March and May, between; during
Caitra or Vaisakha
 Meenakshi Kalyanam (Chitrai Festival)
APRIL-MAY
April-May; Vaisakha
 Pooram
 Rato (Red) Machhendranath
 April-May; Vaisakha, first day
 Vaisakh
 April-May; Vaisakha, third day of waxing
 half

JUBILATING; OR, HOW THE ATLANTIC WORKING CLASS USED THE BIBLICAL JUBILEE AGAINST CAPITALISM, WITH SOME SUCCESS

by Peter Linebaugh

1: JUBILEE. Etymologically, jubilee comes from *yobel*, a Hebrew word meaning "ram's horn." Ever since, it's been associated with music, a horn, a cornet, a trumpet, and later with singing. The cornet descends from the shepherd's *cornu*; the trumpet and bugle from the Roman soldier's *buccina*; these horns are instruments of gathering and militance. In the West Indies and the South Sea Islands the spiral conch emits a very large sound. It was used by the Tritons of ancient mythology, and by the Haitian slaves on 21 August 1791 as a call to the war of liberation in the first successful slave revolt of modern history. The first thing about the jubilee, then, is that it is heard.

You shall send the ram's horn around. You shall send it through all your land to sound a blast, and so you shall hallow the fiftieth year and proclaim liberation in the land for all its inhabitants. Leviticus 25:9-10.

The second thing about jubilee is that it is old. You can find it explained in the Old Testament, mainly in Leviticus 25 but elsewhere too. It comprises seven ideas. First, it happens every fifty years. Second it promises the restitution of the land ("it shall then revert to the original owner." 25:28). Third jubilee calls for the cancellation of debts. Fourth it frees slaves and bond-servants ("when your brother is reduced to poverty and sells himself to you, you shall not use him to work for you as a slave." 25:39). Fifth, jubilee is a year of fallow ("it shall be a year of sacred rest for the land." 25:5). Sixth, it is a year of no work ("you shall not sow, and you shall not harvest the self-sown crop, nor shall you gather in the grapes from the unpruned vines, because it is a jubilee, to be kept holy by you"). Seventh, and for want of a

better expression, jubilee expresses divine sovereignty ("the land is mine, and you are coming into it as aliens and settlers." 25:23).

A prevailing view is that jubilee was an anti-accumulation device, similar to the pollach or the carnival, that actually preserved accumulation. In placing restrictions upon debt, slavery, and landownership, jubilee strengthened a social system based upon money, credit, and exploitation. It was the brake that kept the motor running. Westbrook writing in the *Israel Law Review* says jubilee summarized the release law, the redemption law, and the fallow law common to the Sumerians, Akkadians, and Babylonians as well as the Israelites. It was a normal legal and agrarian safety-valve of ancient times.

This reduces justice to the opinion of judges. The liberating righteousness that is the essence of jubilee becomes the pre-ridigating legalism José Miranda, the Mexican liberation theologian, warned against when analyzing the meaning of the Hebrew word, *mispar*, which signified justice or righteousness. Miranda would understand the critique of the American prisoners who say "in the halls of justice the only justice is in the halls." The theophany of the Old Testament arises only and exclusively from *mispar*, which itself arises from the cry of the oppressed, or *at aq'za aq*, a far cry from the "just us" of ruling cliques.

Jubilee has a revolutionary meaning in our struggle today, especially in the base communities of the world. This is suggested by two examples, Central America and Palestine. Many of the base communities in Central and South America follow liberation theology. One of its theologians, Gustavo Gutiérrez, in *A Theory of Liberation* (1971) wrote, "poverty contradicts the very meaning of the Mosate religion. Moses led his people out of slavery, exploitation, and alienation of Egypt." A liberation

Word for Word



Akshya Tritiya
Parshurama Jayanti
April–May; Vaisakha, beginning on third day of waxing half and lasting 42 days

Chandan Yatra
April–May; Vaisakha, ninth day of waxing half

Janaki Navami
April–May; 14th day of waxing half of Hindu month of Vaisakha

Narsimha Jayanti
April–May; Vaisakha, fifth or 10th day of waxing half

Shankaracharya Jayanti
April–May; Vaisakha, full moon day
Bun Bang Fai (Boun Bang Fay; Rocket Festival)

Vesak (Wesak; Buddha's Birthday)
April–May; second Monday after Easter

Blajini, Feast of the (Sarbatoreia Blajiniilor)

April–May; third through fifth Sundays after Easter

Octave of Our Lady, Consoler of the Afflicted

Apr 01 and May 05, between; Thursday before Easter

Maundy Thursday
Apr 04 and May 08, between
Easter
Easter (Cyprus)
Easter (Egypt)
Easter (Russia) (Paskha)
Easter (Ukraine)

Apr 05 and May 09, between; Monday after Coptic Easter
Sham el-Nessim

Apr 05 and May 09, between; second Monday to Tuesday after Easter

Hocktide
Apr 07 and May 18, between; third Tuesday after Easter

Ropotine (Repotini)
April 08 and May 06, between; Nisan 27

Holocaust Memorial Day
April 13 and May 17, between; 9th day

theologian from Palestine. Naim Sifian Ateek, writes in *Justice and Only Justice* (1989), "the land of Canaan really belongs to God" not to the Israelis. He explains further, "In Leviticus 25:23, the divine claim to the land is so strongly emphasized that the Israelites are regarded as strangers and foreigners themselves."

2: JUBILEE. To evaluate the Jubilee biblical text we need to know something of ancient Hebrew history. However before delving into that, let's sing a song. In England the suggested tune is "God Save the King." In America it is called "America."

HARK! how the trumpet's sound
Proclaims the land around
The Jubilee!
Tells all the poor oppress'd,
No more they shall be cess'd,
Nor landlords more molest
Their property.

Rents t'ourselves now we pay,
Dreading no quarter day,
Fraught with distress,
Welcome that day draws near,
For then our rents we share,
Earth's rightful lords we are
Ordain'd for this.

Now hath the oppressor cess'd
And all the world releas'd
From misery!
The fir-trees all rejoice,
And cedars lift their voice,
Ceased now the FELLER'S noise,
Long rais'd by thee.

The sceptre now is broke,
Which with continual stroke
The nations smote!
Hell from beneath doth rise,
To meet thy lofty eyes,
From the most pompous size,
Now brought to nought!

Since then this Jubilee
Sets all at Liberty
Let us be glad,
Behold each man return
To his possession
No more like drones to mourn
By landlords sad!

The song is called "The Jubilee Hymn: Or, A Song to be sung at the Commencement of the Millennium. If Not Sooner." It was composed in 1782 by Thomas Spence, "the unfed advocate of the disinherited seed of Adam." The origins of the tune are obscure. It may have originated from the Elizabethan composer Dr. John Bull, or it may have been a German beer-drinking tune. It became the British national anthem in 1745, the year of conquest of Jacobite Scotland, and therefore combines the fear of

defeat with the fervor of conquest, emotions also expressed by its galliard rhythm.

The tune has appealed to both high and low. French, American, English, and German soldiers sang it into battle during World War I, each with different words of course. Handel used it, as did Beethoven. Weber used it too in his *Overture of Jubilation* (1818), composed for the fiftieth anniversary of the accession of the King of Saxony. It is doubtful he had heard Spence's song. In fact, I think we can discern three jubilee traditions in modern history, the aristocratic jubilee (in the Vatican there is a "jubilee door," monarchs if they last fifty years have a jubilee for themselves), a bourgeois jubilee (which we will consider by and by), and a proletarian jubilee (which I believe Spence started up in recent times). A few remarks are necessary to explain Spence's version. "Quarter Day" is rent day which used to be paid four times a year. The first stanza quotes Leviticus. The third stanza quotes Isaiah 14: 4-8. The Isaiah verses are beautiful, because the social and the natural themes, or the red and the green, are logically related, as Spence understood.

See how the oppressor has met his end and his frenzy ceased!

The Lord has broken the rod of the wicked,
the sceptre of the ruler
who struck down peoples in his rage with unerring blows,
and persecuted nations in anger
and persecuted them unceasingly.
The whole world has rest and is at peace;
it breaks into cries of joy.

The pines themselves and the cedars
of Lebanon exult over you:
Since you have been laid low, they say,
no man comes to fell us.

Tommy Spence was born in 1750 in Newcastle-upon-Tyne on the north-east coast of England. Close to Scotland, it's streets were full of the defeated of the '45 and those dispossessed by the expropriations of Scottish land known as the "Clearances." His mother kept a stocking stall, and bore nineteen children. His father was a netmaker. While working he listened to his son read from the Bible and then questioned him. Thus Tommy Spence learned to think for himself. Amid the proletarian life of Newcastle's keelmen and waterside chares, young Spence joined a Glasgite congregation from whom he learned to take his religion in earnest, for John Glas (1695-1773), a Presbyterian schismatic, followed the primitive Christians as he understood them—no penal code, simplification of law, no accumulation of property, love feasts, Scotch broth, the gift of speech, and plenty of song.

3: JUBILEE. The jubilee story begins in the 13th century B.C. when, supposedly, Moses led the slaves out of Egypt. Three hundred years later Solomon and Saul formed the Israeli monarchy. Four hundred years after that, in 587, Jerusalem was destroyed and the Jews entered the Babylonian captivity. They returned at the end of the 6th century which commences the period of the postexile when the priests tried to put the pieces together again by collecting, editing, and copying various songs, laws, cultic practices, traditions, and oral memories. The Torah,

after Eastern Orthodox Easter

Radunitsa
April 15 and May 13, between; Iyyar 4
 Yom ha-Zikkaron
April 16 and May 14, between; Iyyar 5
 Israel Independence Day
Apr 18 and May 21, between; fourth
Friday after Easter
 Store Bededag
Apr 27 and May 31, between; Monday
before Ascension Thursday
 Going to the Fields (Veldgang)
Apr 29 and June 02, between; 25th day
after Easter
 Rousa, Feast of
Apr 29 and June 02, between; eve of
Ascension Day
 Planting the Penny Hedge
Apr 30 and June 03, between; 40 days
after Easter
 Ascension Day (Portugal)
 Ascension Day
 Festa del Grillo
 Holy Thursday
Apr 30 and June 03, between;
Ascension Day
 Banntag
 Dew Treading
 Holy Blood, Procession of the
Apr 30 and June 03, between; Monday
to Wednesday before Ascension
Day
 Rogation Days
MAY-JUNE
May-June; during the Sikh month
of Jaith
 Guru Arjan, Martyrdom of
May-June; Jyestha
 Ganga Dussehra
May-June; Jyestha, sixth day of
waxing half
 Sithinakha
May-June; Jyestha, eighth day of
waxing half
 Jyestha Ashtami
May-June; Jyestha, 11th day of
waxing half
 Nirjala Ekadashi
May-June; Jyestha, full moon day
 Poson

or "Law of Moses," the first five books of the Old Testament, was the result.

They merged several authorial traditions ("J," "E," "D," and "-P"). José Miranda distinguishes two political tendencies within these traditions: the exodic, libertarian or Kadesh tendency, and the legal, covenantal, or Sinaitic tendency. The former refers to the revolutionary time; the latter refers to the sociopolitical counter-revolution under the monarchy. As part of "P" or the Priestly Code, Leviticus was written during the postexilic age when Israel was under Persian domination. Leviticus stresses the uniqueness and antiquity of Israelic regulations and customs, and falls generally under the Sinaitic tendency. In 1877 Klostermann identified a separate "Holiness Code" (H) within "P." It begins with chapter 25, and it is part of the Kadesh tendency. The 25th chapter represents a memory not of the period of the monarchy but of the prior revolutionary period. Thus, Leviticus 25 is the condensed displacement into a law code of an egalitarian experience of five hundred years earlier. It may usefully be compared to the Bill of Rights which salvaged a little from the revolutionary times that otherwise were so completely extinguished by the U. S. Constitution of landlords, merchants, and SLAVOCRATS.

Under the Monarchy class differentiation took place. This was the period of prophetic denunciation, the wrath of Isaiah, the lamentations of Jeremiah, the scorn of Ezekiel. During this period the jubilee is expressed as part of a visionary poetics of denunciation when the prophets attempted to awaken the people from their numbness to the pride and idolatry of their rulers. Their denunciations were written in the eighth century, two or three centuries earlier than Leviticus, and therefore closer to the experience of the liberation of the 13th century. Isaiah denounces landlords and the agribusiness men who depopulate the land:

Shame on you! you who add house to house
 and joining field to field until not an acre remains,
 and you are left to dwell alone in the land. (5:8)

Micah identifies with the landless and he refers to an assembly of land distribution:

Shame on those who lie in bed
 planning evil and wicked deeds
 and rise at daybreak to do them,
 knowing that they have the power!
 They cover land and take it by force;
 if they want a house they seize it;
 They rob a man of his house and steal
 every man's inheritance. (2:1-2)

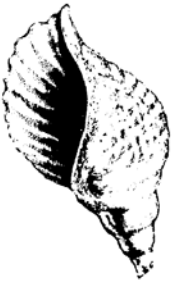
We are utterly despoiled: the land of the
 Lord's people changes hands.
 How shall a man have power to restore
 our fields, now parcelled out? Therefore there
 shall be no one to assign to you and portion
 by lot in the Lord's assembly. (2:4-5)

How did a visionary poetics become a legislative code? A class deal of some sort was made, that is, a weakening of the class of priests and landlords relative to the dispossessed, the

debtors, and the slaves whose cooperation against Persian domination was purchased by the acceptance of the practical possibility of jubilee, at least by the priests and scribes who would have put the Bible together.

What was the earlier period like? It is important that we not think of it in ethnic terms: this is a salient and indubitable contribution of recent scholarship. The term "Hebrew" derives from *'apiru* of the Egyptian language; it is a pejorative epithet for an outlaw, insubordinate, and opponent of Egyptian imperialism. The people survived by rain agriculture (grain, oil, wine) and a pastoral economy (bovine herds, sheep and goats). Iron implements in the highlands of Canaan, rock terracing, and slaked lime plaster for water cisterns were technological changes of the late 14th century which disturbed the social structures and land allotment systems. The productivity of the earth and preservation of the surplus permitted the indigenous development of classes and the formation of small city-states.

Scholars have proposed three models for the settlement of Canaan: 1) the invasion model which is the oldest and most familiar, 2) the model of immigration and infiltration which Alt suggested in 1925, and 3) the internal revolt model first proposed by Mendenhall in 1962. Norman Gottwald writes, "early Israel was an eclectic formation of marginal and depressed Canaanite and people including 'feudalized' peasants, *'apiru* mercenaries and adventurers, transhumant pastoralists, tribally organized farmers



and pastoral nomads, and probably also itinerant craftsmen and disaffected priests." The usual suspects in other words. He concludes, "A class *in* itself, hitherto a congeries of separately struggling segments of the populace, has become a class *for* itself" — Israel. The early literature of Israel, therefore, gives voice to the revolutionary consciousness of the Canaanite underclasses. Indeed, the earliest literature of Israel was a "low" literature both in its origins and in its subject matter.

The point is a major one and effects everything to follow. Liberation theology requires a re-assessment of Christian and Jewish religion. José Miranda gives a concise example. The Hebrew word, *sedakah*, signifies "justice." Yet since the sixth century A.D., it has been translated as "alms-giving" or "charity." The difference between justice and charity is the difference between equality and oppression, because charity is a relationship between unequals while justice is a relationship between equals. Fourteen centuries have passed where a single word's mistranslation has helped perpetuate the condescending, hypocritical piety of ruling classes who steal your cigarettes and either help you look for them or advise you to quit.

4: JUBILEE. Jubilee language is neither legal insistence nor didactic proposal. It is "a linguistic act that continues to have dangerous power in all sorts of contexts that are neither legislative nor didactic." Sharon Ringe argues. Its meaning is explicated through the experiences and struggles of the oppressed. With

- Sanghamita Day
- Snan Yatra
- May-June; Jyestha, 13th day of waning half**
- Savitri-Vrata (Savitri Vow)
- May-June; seventh Thursday after Easter**
- Semik
- May-June; Friday before Pentecost to Tuesday following**
- Pilgrimage of the Dew
- May-June; around Pentecost (50 days after Easter)**
- Divine Holy Spirit, Festival of the (Festa do Divino)
- May-June; Pentecost or Trinity Sunday, Sunday after Pentecost**
- Rousalii
- May-June; first Sunday after Pentecost**
- All Saints' Day
- May-June; second Saturday after the second Sunday after Pentecost**
- Immaculate Heart of Mary, Feast of the **MAY-JUNE**
- Pilgrimage to Qoyllur Riti
- May-June, Whit-Monday week**
- Walking Days
- May 03 and June 06, between; week preceding Pentecost**
- Penitents, Procession of the (Spain)
- May 08 and June 11, between; Pentecost**
- Meistertrunk Pageant (Master Draught Pageant)
- May 09 and June 06, between; Iyyar 28**
- Yom Yerushalayim
- May 09 and June 12, between; Saturday before Pentecost**
- All Souls' Day
- Kallemooi
- Luilak
- May 10 and June 13, between; 50 days after Easter**
- Cavalhadas
- Kataklysmos, Feast of (Festival of the Flood)
- Merchants' Flower Market
- Pentecost
- Pinkster Day
- May 11 and June 14, between;**

Jesus this immediately became clear. Her argument turns on Isaiah:

The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord has anointed me to bring good tidings to the afflicted; he has sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to those who are bound; to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor and a day of the vengeance of our God to comfort all who mourn. (61:1-2)

"The year of the Lord's favor," all commentators agree, is the jubilee. It is clear from this passage that jubilee is not a social-democratic deal of laws to preserve a system of commodity exchange against periodic revolt. Isaiah has enlarged jubilee's meaning from the ameliorist management of Leviticus to a day of vengeance on behalf of the afflicted, the bound, the broken-hearted, the captives, and the grieving. Isaiah speaks with a defeated class. The class no longer begs for reforms; it demands justice.

Isaiah's words were Jesus' first. When Jesus returned to Nazareth and began preaching, he opened the scroll in the synagogue to the prophet Isaiah and proclaimed the "acceptable year of the Lord." The Geneva Bible of 1560 noted in the margins to Jesus' first preaching, "He alludeth to the yere of Jubilee, which is mentioned in the Law, whereby this great deliverance was figured." Then he said "Today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing." This is the key. It is not a question of interpretation, but a matter of action. *The exchaton* is not of the future; it is present. Now. It has been proclaimed. Jesus was the trumpet. That is why they tried to throw him over a cliff.

So we go from Law (Leviticus), to Poetics (Isaiah), to Fulfillment (Luke). The liberation of jubilee is retained; remission of debts, liberation of the bonded, no work, divine sovereignty. However one thing is missing in this progression: namely, the material base. Nothing is said about the land. Is this a cop-out? Does it represent a defeat, substituting the talk of pie-in-the-sky for the walk of land seizures? If so, is this a reflection of the urban basis of early Christianity which after centuries of city living didn't believe it had a prayer in getting their land back? Jesus knew about proletarian exploitation. "Thus will the last be first and the first last," concludes a parable about the scheduling of wage payment to agrarian workers. They are also the words Nat Turner used in the great Southampton County, Virginia, revolt of 1831: "I should arise and prepare myself, and slay my enemies with their own weapons ... for the time was fast approaching when the first should be last and the last should be first."

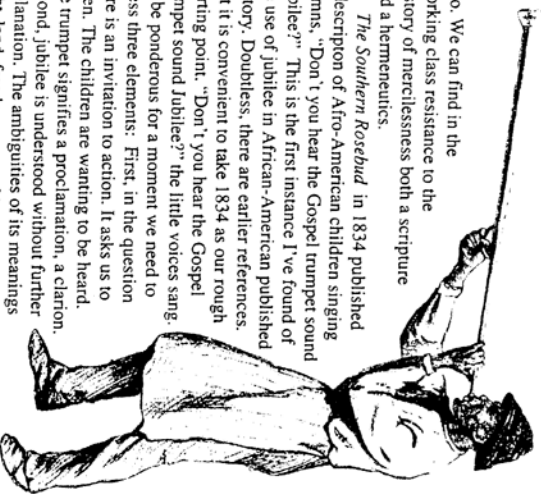
5: JUBILEE. "Don't never worry about work," says Jim Presley, the Florida homeboy whom Zora Neale Hurston listened to. "There's more work in de world than there is anything else. God made de world and de white folks made work." The her-meneutics of jubilee is not restricted to antiquity. The working class experience with jubilee is closer to home than the words and deeds of an illegitimate carpenter's son upon the periphery of the Roman Empire one thousand nine hundred and ninety years

ago. We can find in the working class resistance to the history of mercilessness both a scripture and a hermeneutic.

The Southern Rosebud in 1834 published a description of Afro-American children singing hymns, "Don't you hear the Gospel trumpet sound Jubilee?" This is the first instance I've found of the use of jubilee in African-American published history. Doubtless, there are earlier references. Yet it is convenient to take 1834 as our rough starting point. "Don't you hear the Gospel trumpet sound Jubilee?" the little voices sang. To be ponderous for a moment we need to stress three elements: First, in the question there is an invitation to action. It asks us to listen. The children are wanting to be heard. The trumpet signifies a proclamation, a clarion. Second, jubilee is understood without further explanation. The ambiguities of its meanings (debt, land, freedom, no work) were necessary politically in the slave south during the immediate aftermath of the Nat Turner's rebellion. It is assumed that listeners knew what jubilee meant. Third, the "good news" proclaimed by the Gospel links the old and new testaments. The good news is proclaimed now. Now is the time. It is not a question of the time being ripe, or of objective circumstances being ready; the trumpet has sounded. It is the voice of Ezekiel (7:14): "The trumpet has sounded and all is ready, but no one goes out to war."

The songs arose from the camp meetings and evangelical revivalism of 1800-1820. Exhorters, oboen-men, and ministers taught the workers the call-and-response style of singing. Rhythmic complexity, gapped scales, body movements, extended repetition of short melodic phrases characterized this singing and these "shouts." Musicologists see in them the influence of African songs, work songs, and Indian dances. "The practise of teaching the song and the scriptures by 'tuning out' assured a close relationship between leader and chorus. This contrasts with the singing of the overclass, whose hymnody was read rather than heard. This points to further contrasts between the religion of the oppressor and the religion of the oppressed: the former was of doctrine, the latter was of action; the former sat, the latter stood; the former were indoors, the latter outdoors. Leonardo Boff, the liberation theologian silenced by the Vatican, said "After 480 years of silence the oppressed and religious people have finally begun to speak and have broken the monopoly on speech that was once held by the experts in the church: the catechist, the priest, the bishop." He spoke of the 1980s; we hear the voices earlier. The theological problem is called *ecclesio-genesis*, how a church is born. It is a class question.

At the end of the 18th century, black and white congregations of the south were not segregated. The 1780 Baltimore conference of Methodists declared that "slavery is contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature." Within five years it suspended this in practise, permitting slave holders to join the congregations. George Lisle, an African-American, went from Savannah to Kingston, Jamaica, in 1782 and formed its first Baptist church



Monday after Pentecost

Cheese Rolling
Matrimonial Tea Party
Whit-Monday (Whitmonday)

May 12 and June 15, between; Whit Tuesday

Dancing Procession
Ram Roasting Fair

May 16 and June 13, between; Sivan 6-7

Shavuot (Shabuoth)

May 17 and June 20, between; Monday after Pentecost in East, Sunday after in West

Trinity Sunday

May 21 and June 24, between; Corpus Christi

Decorated Horse, Procession of the
May 21 and June 24, between; first Thursday after Corpus Christi

Lajkonik

May 21 and June 24, between; Thursday after Trinity Sunday

Corpus Christi

Corpus Christi (England)
Corpus Christi (Germany)
(Fronleichnamfest)

Corpus Christi (Mexico)
Corpus Christi (Switzerland)
(Fronleichnamfest)

Corpus Christi (Venezuela)

May 22 and June 25, between; Friday after Corpus Christi

Sacred Heart of Jesus, Feast of the
May 24 and June 27, between Pentecost

May 24 and June 27, between; 50 days after Easter

Kneeling Sunday

JUNE-JULY

June-July; Har (Sikh)

Guru Har Krishan, Birthday of

June-July; Asadha, second day of waxing half

Rath Yatra

June-July; Asadha, 10 days and nights prior to full moon day

Kataragama Festival

June-July; Asadha, full moon day

Guru Purnima

two years later: "Preaching took very good effect with the poorer sort, especially the slaves," he wrote. By the turn of the century Baptist congregations were segregated.

In 1800 Gabriel Prosser led a revolt of African-Americans around Richmond, Virginia. News of the successes in Haiti reached the slaves through sailors from Martinique. They were assisted by United Irishmen and by Jacobin sympathizers from Pennsylvania. Mingo, a preacher and exhorter, read the stories of Moses and Joshua. "You remember about the chilian of Israel, don't you? Well, this here is the very same thing perzactly," is how Arna Bontempo imagined it. Prosser was also a student of the Bible. He was fond of Judges 15. Sampson "smote them hip and thigh with great slaughter." "With the jaw-bone of an ass I have slain a thousand men." A storm ruined the attempt. Thirty-five were hanged. As a result the religious congregations were further segregated; laws were passed forbidding prayer meetings between sundown and sunup. Yet still African-American Christianity remained a religion of action — shouting, dancing, singing, weeping, jerking, speaking in tongues. The sabbath and the jubilee remained its theological essence.

6: JUBILEE. Of course jubilee is realistic, and of course the ruling class at all periods assert otherwise. *The Interpreter's Bible* (1953) for instance finds "it almost impossible to believe that the [jubilee] laws ... were ever strictly kept or ever could be kept. We have a custom re-edited in the light of an ideal." The archivists of utopias must deny all alternatives. Yet individual, private property in land is a recent phenomenon. The fences, the hedges, the split-rails, the stone walls, the barbed wire, the "No Trespassing" and "Keep Off" signboards are capitalist innovations of *meum et tuum*. Before them agriculture was conducted in open fields and the poorest held common rights.

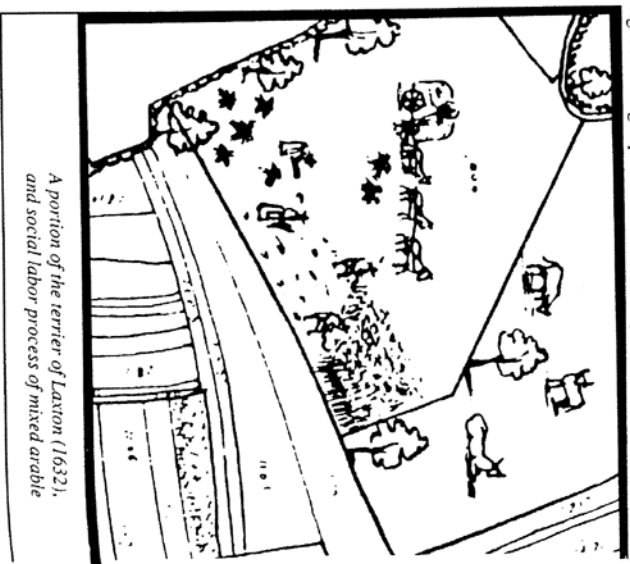
An Englishman writing for the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly* in 1894 explained how the system of farming worked in Palestine. The Ottoman Turks introduced taxes, an imperial and a municipal tax. To collect it the tax man needed to know whose land was whose. To the eye of the Ottoman tax collector the land all looked the same. The people of the villages organized themselves by who owned a plough. At the first rains in October they divided up the land. First, groups formed of ten ploughs each. Second the land was divided into lots. Each lot contained several sections, or strips, so that no single lot contained just the best land, or the worst. Third, the *imam* put pebbles in a sack. A boy chose a pebble. This was the lottery. Once the lots had been divided among the groups of ten ploughs, the process was repeated within each group for the individual teams. A furrow of double width separated one allotment from another. A boulder, a pronounced declivity, an obstinate root, or suchlike other features of the terrain marked the boundaries among the strips. The system is ancient. The *Illud* refers to wrangling "over the boundaries in a common field." We read in Deuteronomy 27:17, "a curse upon him who moves his neighbors boundary stone."

The English investigator of Palestine agriculture compared their system to the Irish *rindale* and the Scottish *runrig*. He might as easily have compared it to the ridge-and-furrow agriculture of own country. In the 17th century the parish of Laxton in the county of Nottinghamshire, for example, contained 3,853 acres divided in 3,333 strips which themselves were consolidated in four fields for purposes of crop rotation. Despite

considerable differentiation in ownership (half the strips were held by the Lord of the Manor), the lands nevertheless were farmed in common, and no matter how small the holding, common rights of stintage, herbage and estovers protected the commoner from pauperization. In Palestine until 1863 most lands were commonable, as were the threshing barns. Capitalist farming insinuated itself as usurers loaned money to those whose yield could not find a market sufficient to pay the taxes levied by the Ottoman Turks. Mortgages encumbered the villagers who, if they defaulted, lost their lands and homes becoming *sharik-ek-hawa*, or "partners of the wind."

7: JUBILEE. The original accumulation of capital in England was the result of the enclosure of land and imperial trade and conquest. The former turns common lands into private property by the erection of fences or hedges. "The Parliamentary form of the robbery is that of Acts for enclosure of Commons, in other words, decrees by which the landlords grant themselves the people's land as private property, decrees of expropriation of the people." Imperialism, plunders peoples of other countries and turns them into wage-slaves or slave-slaves. Furthermore, those who used to live upon the commons, being expropriated by enclosure, are forced to become partners of the wind and to sell themselves as wage workers to the bosses of factory and field.

Tommy Spence was familiar with both of these tendencies. The Newcastle Town Moor Dispute of 1771 taught him that it was possible to succeed in the struggle against enclosure. The bourgeoisie sought to sell or lease 89 acres of the Town Common. Tommy Spence's friend, Thomas Bewick, whose engravings continue to charm readers with their depictions of life on the rural common, had received his education thanks to his aunt's right of herbage upon the common. So Spence knew personally,



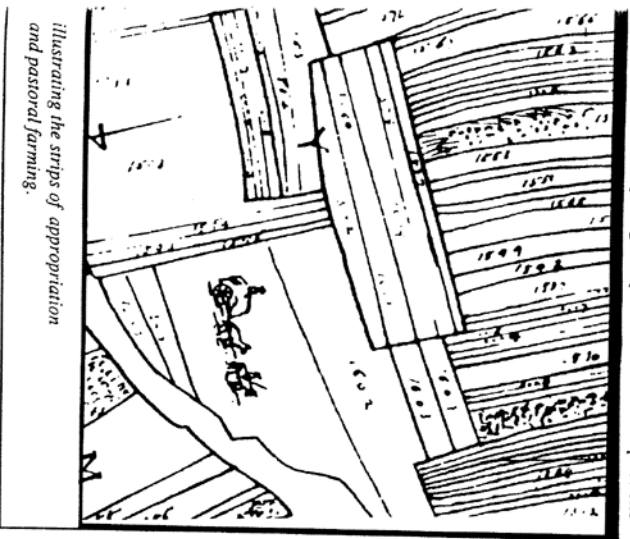
A portion of the terrier of Laxton (1652), and social labor process of mixed arable

June–July; Asadha, every 20 years on the full moon day of the intercalary month
 Kokila Vrata
June–July to October–November; full moon of Asadha to the full moon of Karttika
 Vatsa (Ho Khao Slak)
June 17 and July 24, between; Tammuz 17
 Tammuz, Fast of the 17th of (Shivah Asar be-Tammuz)
June 17 and July 24, begins between, and ends between July 17 and August 14; from Tammuz 17 until Av 9
 Three Weeks
June–July; seventh Sunday after Pentecost
 Nusardil
JULY–AUGUST
July–August; Sravana, seventh day of the waxing half
 Tulsidas Jayanti (Birthday of Tulsidas)
July–August; Sravana, 11th day of waxing half
 Putrada Ekadashi
July–August; Sravana, waxing half
 Naag Panchami
July–August; Sravana, 17 days preceding full moon
 Jhulan Yatra
July–August; Sravana, the day before and the full moon day
 Devi Dhura
July–August; Sravana, full moon day
 Amarnath Yatra
 Nariyal Purnima (Coconut Day)
 Raksha Bandhan
July–August; Sravana, third day of waning half
 Marya
 Teej (Tij; Green Teej)
July–August; Sravana, 14th day of waning half
 Ghanta Karna (Gathyamuga)
July 17 and August 14, between; Av 9
 Tisha be-Av
July 23 and August 21, between; Av 15
 15th of Av (Tu be-Av; Hamishah Asar b'Av)

from Bewick and many others, the importance of common land. People pulled down the leasee's house and fences and drove the cattle away. The commoners won, and herbage was renewed for resident freemen and widows. As a result of this experience Tommy Spence wrote and delivered his famous lecture in 1775 to the Newcastle Philosophical Society wherein he proposed the abolition of private property: "the country of any people ... is properly their common," he wrote. "The first landholders [were] usurpers and tyrants," he continued. They still are. Everyone else has become a stranger to the land of their birth. He advised appointing a day when the inhabitants of each parish meet "to take their long-lost rights into possession."

Within a few years Spence termed this appointed day "jubilee." The term had been around in England. A teenager, guilty of stealing two gold rings, went to his hanging in May 1750 with the "Ease and Unconcern as a Man would do that was going to his Jubilee," it was observed. But it was Spence who gave it revolutionary meaning in the era of industrial capitalism. Meanwhile, the liberal philosophers of Newcastle expelled him from their Society, not because of his ideas and not because he published his ideas, but because he published them in halfpenny tracts and hawked them in the streets and taverns. This was more galling than even his ideas, because it struck at the pretensions of the Philosophical Society which regarded philosophy as a closed discussion. What made Spence dangerous to the bourgeoisie was not that he was a proletarian nor that he had ideas opposed to private property but that he was both. He brought the ideas to the Newcastle proletariat, a coal mining and ocean sailing proletariat, whose power had already been exerted in the 1740 general strike when among other things they raided the banks.

He wished to be understood. That is why he developed a system of phonetic spelling, and published the transcript of one



Illustrating the strips of appropriation and pastoral farming.

of his tracts in it: *Dhe Imp'ortant Truths on the Spence's Form of Property*. That is why he expressed his ideas in wall chalkings: by 1802 the Prime Minister of England was informed that there was scarcely a wall in London that did not have chalked upon it the slogan, "Spence's Plan and Full Bellies!" That is why he expressed his ideas in song, so they could become part of the life blood of the tavern and the free 'n' easy: "Can Tyrants hinder People from singing at their work, or in their Families? Sing and meet and meet and sing, and your chains will drop off like burnt thread."

Thrown out of Newcastle, Spence sailed to London, the hub of the English empire. He began to write about imperialism, the second main prop of capitalism. He understood that world trade brought useful things to people, and he also understood that it was work. That is why *The Marine Republic*, which he published in 1794, is important: it shows that his so-called "agrarian communism" was really a communism that included all capital — the mines, the pit-heads, the canals, the ships, the machines. The pamphlet tells a story of a sea captain who gives his sons a ship, "I do not give it to one, or two, or a select few, but to you all, and as many of your posterity as shall sail therein, as a COMMON PROPERTY. You shall all be EQUAL OWNERS, and shall share the profits of every voyage equally among you." They elect their own officers; wages were equal; they wrote a constitution of their "marine republic."

Two years later in 1796 he published *The Reign of Felicity*, a dialogue among a clergyman, a courtier, an esquire, and a farmer. The clergyman advises civilizing the American Indians with religion. The courtier agrees this will make them "submissive subjects," but adds that only conquest and expropriation of land can truly lead to civilization. The esquire remarks that they are the "only freemen remaining on the face of the earth," and recommends that the landlords of the Indians be chosen by lot. The farmer believes that this will introduce vassalage and slavery even though it sounds better than conquest or religion. He believes that the American Indians, unlike European workers, are "unwarped by slavish custom," and he warns them against the imposters of Europe even when styling themselves gentlemen. "Beware of them, for where they once get a footing, there is no rooting them out again." Spence believed that as a communist vanguard the American Indians would attract the slaves and disenfranchised laborers created by European imperialism.

There was truth to this, particularly among the Seminoles of Florida and the Cherokee of the Smoky Mountains, both of whom provided tri-racial isolate communities, as the anthropologists say. Otherwise, the truth was mixed. For example, Nathan Barlow, the New England mystic, led the squatters of Kennebec country in Maine during the 1790s against the sheriffs and land agents of the out-of-state proprietors in small bands of armed "white Indians." He wrote "every man to his right and privileges and liberty, the same as our indian nation enjoy." They burned barns, rescued prisoners, upset courts, and destroyed writs into "atoms." Barlow was known as the "Indian King." However, it is doubtful that the squatters of Maine effectively allied with its red Indians.

Samuel Ely was imprisoned (and rescued) in Massachusetts and thrown out of Vermont, before joining the squatters of Maine in the "Insurrection Business." In defending the squatters,

AUGUST-SEPTEMBER
Mid-August; last day of Hindu month of Sravana
 Jhapan Festival (Manasa Festival)
August-September; Bhadrapada
 Paryushana
 Rasa Leela Festival
August-September; Bhadrapada, during
 Avani Mulam
August-September; Bhadrapada, every 60
 Kapila Shashti
August-September; Bhadrapada, four days
 Onam
August-September; Bhadrapada, about nine days during
 Tirupati Festival
August-September; Bhadrapada, three days during
 Tarnetar Mela
August-September; Bhadrapada, fifth to 13th day of the waxing half
 Dasa Laksana Parvan (Time of the 10 Characteristics)
August-September; Bhadrapada, fifth day of waxing half
 Rishi Panchami
August-September; Bhadrapada, 12th day
 Vaman Dwadashi
August-September; Bhadrapada, 14th day of waxing half
 Anant Chaturdashi
August-September; Bhadrapada, waxing half
 Ganesh Chaturthi
August-September; Bhadrapada, new moon day
 Janmashtami (Krishnastami; Krishna's Birthday)
August-September; Bhadrapada, waning half
 Gokarna Aunsi
August-September; Bhadrapada, third day of waning half
 Panchadaan

lumbermen, and "Savages," he referred to the land laws of the ancient "Hebrew Divines." In 1797 he wrote his *Last Petition of an innocent Man, a Plannive worm, involved in one Continual Round of Distress, Miseries, and Torment, or a Man persecuted in the Bowels of a Free Republic By a Systematic Junio of Lawrious Sons, Parentee Land Jobbers, and Voluptuous Toies*. He ally, much less join, the long-fallow agriculturalists of Maine's Indians, Herman Husband, or "Tuscape Death," was known along the length and breadth of the Appalachian Mountains as a prophet against the coastal landlords, merchants, and bankers. The "Allegheny Philosopher" supported the insurgents of the North Carolina Regulators in the 1760s and the Pennsylvania Whiskey Rebellion of 1794. He prophesied "a New Jerusalem" and regarded the squatters along the "frontier" as "the people of Israel." He illustrates the strength and weakness of this kind of jubilee: Indians and African-Americans were to have no part in it, on the one hand, and on the other, he summarized that green and "Don't Tread On Me" spirit of the mountians that continues to thrive.

8: JUBILEE. 1854 William Goodell began publishing *The American Jubilee*. It proposed a proclamation of "liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof." It "demands of the American Government, and the American People, the immediate and unconditional abolition of American slavery." "It makes this demand on behalf of three millions of Americans already enslaved, on behalf of twenty millions more in process of becoming enslaved....."

The U.S. Navy occupied Port Royal in November 1861. Teachers and missionaries from the north, "Gideon's Band" as they were known, came to assist the Sea Island African-Americans in making the transition to freedom, or wage labor. Boston textile merchants were already buying the expropriated plantations. Charlotte Forten Grimké, a free African-American from Salem, Massachusetts, was among "Gideon's Band."

In 1863 she was teaching in the Sea Islands on the South Carolina Georgia coast. On Monday, 6 July, she wrote in her



Saini-Gaudens statue of the 54th Regiment on Boston Common

journal, "Were just in time to see the Dress Parade. 'Tis a splendid looking regiment. An honor to the race. Then we went with Col. Shaw to tea. Afterward sat outside the tent and listened to some very fine singing from some of the privates. Their voices blended beautifully. 'Jubilo' is one of the best things I've heard lately. I am more than ever charmed with the noble little Colonel." Colonel Shaw led the 54th Regiment, the first free African-American regiment in the Union Army. Within a fortnight he led six hundred men of the 54th in the attack on Fort Wagner during the Battle of Charleston.

The bombardment of Fort Wagner commenced at 11:00 AM and continued all afternoon. "An hour before sunset, Gen. Gilmore (who had been most of the time on the observatory) came down and asked Gen. Seymour (who was lying on the ground) if he thought the fort could be taken by assault." "I can run right over it," he said. "How do you intend to organize your command?" General Seymour answered, "Well, I guess we will ... put those d—d niggers from Massachusetts in the advance; we may as well get rid of them, one time as another." There were 250 casualties. Col. Shaw was slain on the parapet, leading the vanguard. We see in this battle the historic contradiction between a war of liberation and genocidal population management. Murder awaited at the door to freedom. This dialectic was understood:

We are climbing Jacob's ladder,
 We are climbing Jacob's ladder,
 We are climbing Jacob's ladder,
 for the Year of Jubilee.
 Every round goes higher, higher,
 Every round goes higher, higher,
 Every round goes higher, higher,
 for the Year of Jubilee.
 Do you think I'll make a soldier,
 Do you think I'll make a soldier,
 Do you think I'll make a soldier,
 Do you think I'll make a soldier,
 for the Year of Jubilee.

9: JUBILEE. Dr. James Murray was a minister from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, most well-known for his *Sermons To Ases*. "Every inch of ground was claimed by some engrosser, and the cautious surveyer marked out every common, which formerly was as free as the light of the sun and the air..." he wrote. He supported the American War of Independence. When Tommy Spence was expelled from the Newcastle Philosophical Society and subsequently harrassed out of town (or did he think London contained greener pastures?), Murray came to his defense. He wrote some "queries" to the Philosophical Society including these three:

"Do people ever act contrary to any divine law, when they resume their rights, and recover their property out of the hands of those who have unnaturally invaded it?
 "Was the Jewish jubilee a leveling scheme?
 "Would it be inconvenient to the Philosophical Society to read the 25th chapter of Leviticus?"
 While Murray defended Spence, his political stance was

- August–September; Bhadrapada, sixth day of waning half
- Halashashti
- August–September; Bhadrapada, eighth day of waning half
- Radha Ashtami
- August–September; Bhadrapada, last Thursday
- Bera Festival
- August–September; Bhadrapada, end
- Visvakarma Puja
- SEPTEMBER–OCTOBER
- September–October; Bhadrapada, end of, to early Asvina
- Indra Jatra
- September–October; Asun (Sikh), during
- Guru Granth Sahib, Installation of the
- Guru Ram Das, Birthday of
- September–October; Asvina
- Lakshmi Puja
- September–October; Asvina, near the 10th day of waxing half
- Rama Leela Festival
- Durga Puja
- September–October; Asvina, waning half
- Pitra Visarjana Amavasya
- September–October; Asvina, first day of waning half
- Ksamavani
- September–October; Asvina, full moon day
- Kojagara
- Sharad Purnima
- Valmiki Jayanti
- September–October; Tishri between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur
- Teshuvah
- September–October; Tishri 01
- Trumpets, Feast of
- September 06 and October 04 between; Tishri 01 and 02
- Rosh Hashanah
- September 08 and October 06, between; Tishri 03 (first day following Rosh Hashanah)
- Gedaliah, Fast of (Tsom Gedalyah, Tzom Gedaliahu)

quite different from Spence's. We see this in the form of his defense, the ironic and the academic query presented to the radical bourgeoisie of the Philosophical Society. The query is a form of criticism that is within the framework of those being criticized: it may be sour or stick on the way down but still it is medicine, offered for the health of those criticized. In contrast, Spence having delivered his lecture broke with the Society.

Thomas Spence favored insurrection; he was a revolutionist who had given thought evidently to the practicalities of the overthrow of the English government. Certainly, the government thought so: in the 1790s it arrested him four times as "a Dangerous Nuisance" and as the author of seditious publications. Despite experiences in court and prison, despite the insults and death threats from members of the Association for the Preserving of Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers, he persisted in hawking his pamphlets, selling saloop (a hot drink of milk, sugar, and sassafras), and turning out his tokens. He struck one of these to commemorate the death of Lord George Gordon, the insurrectionist of 1780. In *The End of Oppression; Or, a Quarren Leaf for Two-Pence: being a Dialogue between an Old Mechanic and a Young One* he wrote that revolution could be accomplished by "a few thousand of hearty determined fellows well armed...." a thought that would have been impossible without the experience of the Gordon Riots when a few thousand, led by African Americans, opened the prisons of London and released the captives.

Spence was fully aware of the contradictions within the young English proletariat. In 1795 he published *A Letter from Ralph Hodge, to His Cousin Thomas Bull*. It is worth quoting at length, because its tone needs to be felt to understand its politics:

Dear cousin,

I am informed by some of our neighbours, who have been at town lately, that you are terribly afraid of loosing your situation.... They did not indeed tell me what kind of a situation it was that you were in, whether it was in one of the police-offices as a runner, in some of the prisons or galls as a turnkey; in some of the churches as a handle or grave-digger; or whether you were a door-keeper or tucket-porter about the treasury; or some other of the public offices.

Well then, you know Tom, you were a poor blacksmith and worked early and late to support a wife and a large family of children. This you used to do cheerfully enough and was able to make ends meet, keep a little stock of iron, and could spend a social penny, either at wake, fair or market, fig another man, before our rich neighbours took it into their heads to invade our common. Then it was that you and I and many more poor people found a great alteration. We could neither keep cow, nor sheep, nor geese as before. Every thing now depended on the ready penny and to crown our misery every opportunity was taken to raise our rents and lower our wages. You know Tom, there was an universal murmuring and discontent through the parish and you complained as loud as any. The end of the matter was, you know, that the people rose one night, pulled down the fences, and committed some other outrage. You and some others were taken; you turned informer and every spirited man in the village was transported. You could no longer remain in the country and the equity in regard of your services procured you your present situation.

The irony is muted because Spence needs to both reproach the many working class "Thomas Bulls" for their treacheries and to understand their problems which do not disappear simply

because they found a "situation." While it is true "they rivet the chains of mankind," it is just as true that Thomas Bull lives with new cares — he must live with the anxiety of being followed, and with the knowledge that his children are bound for the army or the factory. The new problems are bound with the old. Spence explained that the high taxes, the inflation, and the national debt are as much a part of the oppression by the lordly overclass as the enclosures. "Thus all situations hang together."



Cease then dear Thomas to be longer the tool of those in higher situations and do not bolster or teaze your poor brother John with any more letters about religion or government or French or politics.... I hope those who have got situations of six-pence eight-pence or even a shilling a day, will not think themselves so far elevated above their countrymen as to think their interests separated.... Thomas, I conclude in wishing heartily, with all your old neighbours in the country, for a speedy reform in parliament and a repossession of our former common.

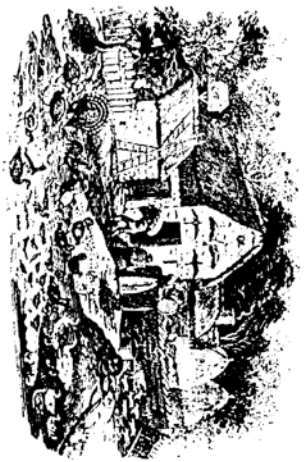
As a post-script "Ralph Hodge" recommends that his cousin check out the story of Balaam's Ass (Numbers 23).

September 15 and October 13, between; Tishri 10
 Yom Kippur
 September 20 and October 18, begins between; Tishri 15–21
 Sukkot (Sukkoth, Succoth)
 September–October; Tishri 22
 Last Great Day
 September 20 and October 18, beginning between; night following the first day of Sukkot and each night of the festival thereafter
 Water-Drawing Festival
 September 27 and October 24, between; Tishri 21
 Hoshana Rabbah
 September 27 and October 25, between; Tishri 22
 Shemini Atzeret
 September 28 and October 26, between; Tishri 22 or 23
 Simhat Torah
OCTOBER–NOVEMBER
 October–November; Kartika
 Kartika Snan
 October–November; Kartika, first day
 Annakut Festival
 October–November; Kartika, sixth day of the waxing half
 Surya Sashti
 October–November; Kartika, 11th day of waxing half
 Devathani Ekadashi
 October–November; Karitika, full moon day
 Guru Parab
 Kartika Purnima
 Pushkar Mela
 October–November; Kartika, fourth day of waning half
 Karwachoth
 October–November; Kartika, 13th day of waning half
 Dhan Teras
 October–November; Kartika, 14th day of waning half
 Narak Chaturdashi
 October–November; Kartika, 15th day of waning half

10- JUBILEE. The first generation of Spenceans were full of contradictions; sometimes atheist sometimes devout, sometimes small masters sometimes pauperized, sometimes free-thinking sometimes religious, now drunk or now sober, and in this they followed their master who, despite his free-thinking lecture in Newcastle, was as capable of wielding scriptural authority as a Harvard divine. They lived through a period of massive theft: between 1801 and 1831 3,511,770 acres of common land was stolen from the agricultural population.

Thomas Evans was Secretary of the London Corresponding Society in 1798. He was imprisoned for three years, sixteen months in Newgate. After Spence's death in 1813, he formed the Society of Spencean Philanthropists making himself its "librarian." "I have lived long enough to witness the effect of enclosure after enclosure, and tax after tax; expelling the cottager from gleaming the open fields, from his right to the common, from his cottage, his hovel, once his own; robbing him of his little store, his pig, his fowls, his fuel; thereby reducing him to a pauper, a slave."

His system of history was organized around three saviors: Moses, Jesus, and King Alfred. "When Moses established his agrarian republic," he wrote in *Christian Policy, the Salvation of the Empire* (1816), "they were to live on a footing of equality, every one under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree." "The Christian epoch was ushered into the world on the broadest republican principles." In deifying Jesus, the Greeks, he believed, perverted the Mosaic republic, but Alfred the Great restored "the agrarian commonwealth." "The territory of a nation," he wrote in a phrase that became a slogan of the Chartists of the 1830s, "is the people's farm provided for them by their great Creator."
 Maurice Margarot, a radical Jacobin, was transported to Australia in 1793 aboard *H.M.S. Surprise* with 83 convicts. He



plotted with the Irish prisoners. In 1810 he returned to London. Before dying he wrote, *Proposal for a Grand National Jubilee: Restoring to Every Man his Own and thereby Extinguishing both Want and War*. He calculated that every person in England could have five acres. Twenty years later Allen Davenport calculated that if the English land were divided equally each man, woman, and child would have seven acres. Because the population had increased substantially over this twenty years the discrepancy between their allotment estimates is hard to explain. Maybe Davenport did not exclude Ireland from his calculation, or maybe Margarot included only adult males in his calculation.
 In London in 1804 a fellow cobbler gave Allen Davenport,

the poor veteran and Methodist, a Spence pamphlet. "I read the book, and immediately became an out and out Spencean. I preached the doctrine to my shopmates and to every body else...." As a trade unionist (he was leader of the shoemakers' strike of 1813) and as an inveterate opponent of the legal system ("If you pluck a berry, do you not violate a law? If you carry off one single grain of sand, do you not commit a larceny?"), he walked the Spencean bridge between the radical Jacobinism of the 1790s and Chartism of the 1830s which is to say he helped to expand jubilee from the agrarian to the wage struggles. He was an advocate of "bread wages," or payment in loaves of bread, "as it in some measure shows the mischievous working of the monetary system; and the manner in which the working man was robbed of his wages." (The average wage expressed in pints of wheat in 1770 was 90, and in 1808 it was 60).



William Davidson was born in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1786. "I am a stranger to England by birth; but I was educated and brought up in England; my father was an Englishman, my grandfather was a Scotchman." He was three years at sea, he became a cabinet maker ("There was nothing worse than being a small master"), he taught in a Wesleyan Sunday School, he read Tom Paine, he was secretary to the shoemakers' trade union. Almost six foot he was admired for his courage and his strength. At a demonstration he protected the black flag with skull and cross bones, "Let us die like Men and not be sold like Slaves," the flag said.

On May Day 1820 he was hanged and decapitated as one of the Cato Street conspirators. The idea of "the West End Job" was to attack the cabinet at dinner and assassinate its members, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, Castlereagh at the Home Department, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Master of the Mint, the President of the India Board, and the Duke of Wellington. This was to spark attacks elsewhere in London at the Mansion House and Bank of England where a Provisional Government would be immediately established. Cannon were to be seized from the Artillery Ground. It was proposed to plunder the Bank of England, but "the Books should not be destroyed; as they would then know who had property there." Insurrections in the north of England were anticipated. Davidson in London acted as liaison with the Irish, and he was active in stockpiling arms. At the gallows he said of "with a firm and steady step." "Like Isaiah it might be said of him, 'He was persecuted, yet he opened not his mouth.'" By 1820 jubilee had become international, even pan-ethnic; it was part of the self-activity of the working-class; it was associated with insurrectionary prophecy and insurrectionary deeds.

Dewali (Divali, Deepavali, Festival of Lights)
October–November; Kartika, waning half
 Tihar
NOVEMBER–DECEMBER
November–December; Magar, during (Sikh)
 Guru Tegh Bahadur, Martyrdom of
November–December; Margasirsa (Agrahayana)
 Nabanna
November–December; Margasirsa, 11th day of waxing
 Gita Jayanti
November–December; Margasirsa, full moon day
 Dattatreya Jayanti
November–December; Margasirsa, eighth day of the waning half
 Bhairava Ashtami
November–December; Margasirsa, 11th day of the waning half
 Vaitarani
November 25 and December 26, between; Kislev 25 to Tevet 2
 Hanukkah (Chanukah)
December–January
December–January; Pausa (Poh), during (Sikh)
 Guru Gobind Singh, Birthday of
December–January; Pausa, eighth day of waning half
 Rukmini Ashtami
December–January; Pausa, 10th day of the waning half (Jain)
 Parshva, Birthday of
December 13 and January 10, between; Tevet 10
 Asarah be-Tevet (Fast of the 10th of Tevet)
CHINESE AND BUDDHIST CALENDAR DATES
First Tibetan lunar month, first day
 Losar
First lunar month
 Dosmoche
First lunar month, first day
 Lunar New Year
 Narcissus Festival



William Davidson

11: JUBILEE. Robert Wedderburn was born in Jamaica in 1762 or 1763. His father was a planter. His mother, Rosanna, was an African-American slave on the estate of Lady Douglas. His father sold his mother while she was pregnant with Robert. He was raised by "Tajkee Army," his grandmother, a Kingston merchant, smuggler, and conjure woman. At the age of 11 he saw her flogged by a white man who fancied she had bewitched his uncle's ship causing it to be captured. In 1778 Wedderburn came to England. He learned gunnery; he enlisted on a privateer. He was present at the Gordon Riots, and was familiar with its Afro-American leadership. He was a jobbing tailor. In 1813 he met Thomas Spence, and doubtless influenced him. In the following year, before he died, Spence published in *The Giant-Killer*, lines indicating that influence, because they put the revolutionary vanguard among the West Indian workers:

For who can tell but the Millennium
 May take its rise from my poor Cranium?
 And who knows but it God may please
 It should come by the West Indies?

If Spence learned about slavery from Wedderburn, Wedderburn learned about jubilee from Spence. Robert Wedderburn joined the Society of Spencean Philanthropists which an Act of Parliament in 1817 was designed to suppress. He was a licensed preacher. He led a discussion meeting at the Hopkins Street Chapel where the scriptures were ridiculed. He summarized Christ's teaching in three commands: "acknowledge no king; - acknowledge no priest; - acknowledge no father." He called the Wesleyan missionaries vipers. He was a free thinker. Wedderburn, like many of the post-war Spenceans, was a poor proletarian. This means: a) he had little money, and b) he obtained money by any means necessary. In October 1813 he had "a near miss on a charge of theft." Again "an unsuccessful action against him in 1817 for stealing from a government-contracted master tailor" was charged against him. Finally in the winter of 1830 he was sentenced to two years at hard labour for "keeping a bawdy house." These charges require different evalua-

tions. The charge of bawdy-house keeping indicates the Jamaican's refusal to accept the crushing Malthusian attempt to control sexuality and organize that repressive, reproductive policy characteristic of the Victorian Poor Laws. The struggle to preserve the commons, it must be emphasized, was not restricted to the common rights of field, wood, and copse, but belonged also to workshop, mine, and wharf; that is to say, the struggle was not merely rural and agrarian but also urban and proletarian. This provides us with the material basis to understand Wedderburn's political relations in the first two decades. A pair of couplets summarizes the relation between enclosure and criminalization:

The law locks up the man or woman
 Who steals the goose from off the common
 But lets the greater villain loose
 Who steals the common from the goose.



Many of the radicals — we might call them artisanal radicals — accepted capitalist redefinitions of property. They accepted the wage relationship, the nub of capitalism. Tom Paine's *Rights of Man* was the most eloquent manifesto of the artisans' position. It was answered by Mary Wollstonecraft, *The Rights of Women*, and by Tommy Spence, *The Rights of Infants: Or, the Imprescriptible Right of MOTHERS to such a Share of the Elements as is Sufficient to Enable them to Suckle and Bring up their Young* (1796). It contains a detailed attack on Paine. It shows Spence's appreciation of the pusillanimity of the men of the English proletariat: "we have found our husbands, to their indelible shame, woefully negligent and deficient about their own rights, as well as those of their wives and infants, about women, mean to take up the business ourselves."

Spence's powers were not expressed with greater force than in this pamphlet written in a year of starvation, war, enclosure, and Thomas Malthus. "Have not the foxes holes, and the birds of the air nests, and shall the children of men have not where to lay their heads? Have brute mothers a right to eat grass, and the food they like best, to engender milk in their dugs, for the nourishment of their young, and shall the mothers of infants be denied such a right? Is not this earth our common also, as well as it is the common of brutes? May we not eat herbs, berries, or nuts as well as other creatures? Have we not a right to hunt and prowl for prey with she-wolves? And have we not a right to fish with she-otters? Or may we not dig coals or cut wood for fuel? Nay, does nature provide a luxuriant and abundant feast for all her numerous tribes of animals except us? As if sorrow were our portion alone, and as if we and our helpless babes came into their world only to weep over each other?" These are not the words of

Sol

First lunar month, first seven days

Tet

First lunar month, 2nd–15th days

Spirit Burying

First lunar month, fourth day

Lantern Festival (Yuan Hsiao Chieh)

First lunar month, 4th–25th days

Monlam (Prayer Festival)

First lunar month, ninth and 10th days

Making Happiness Festival

First lunar month, 13th day

Lim Festival

First lunar month, 15th day

Bridge Walking (Dari Balgi)

Burning the Moon House

Butter Sculpture Festival

Taeborum (Daeboreum)

Torch Fight

First lunar month, 16th–18th days

Sugar Ball Show (Sugar-Coated Haws Festival)

First lunar month, 18th day

Star Festival

First lunar month, 19th day

Rat's Wedding Day

Second and eighth lunar months

Sokjon-Taeje Memorial Rites

Second lunar month, first day

Wind Festival

Second lunar month, second day

Bok Kai Festival

Second lunar month, 10th–15th days

Paro Tsechu

Third lunar month, fourth or fifth day

Qing Ming Festival (Ching Ming Festival)

Third lunar month, fifth day

Thanh-Minh

Third lunar month, 10th day

Vietnam Ancestors Death Anniversary

Third lunar month, 19th day

Goddess of Mercy, Birthday of the

Third lunar month, 23rd day

Matsu, Birthday of

Tin Hau Festival

Third lunar month, full moon night

Magha Puja (Maka Buja, Full Moon Day)

Third lunar month, end of, to 10th

day of fourth lunar month

Cheung Chau Bun Festival

the proud artisan, but the cry of the oppressed — urban, un-waged, young, female, and enslaved.

In 1817 Robert Wedderburn wrote *The Axe Laid to the Root: Or, a Fatal Blow to Oppressors, being an Address to the Planters and Negroes of the Island of Jamaica* in which he opposed capital punishment, suggested annual strikes, warned against petitioning, and advised taking "warning by the sufferings of the European poor, and never give up your lands." It caused consternation in the planters assembly of Jamaica. He introduced Spencean ideas into Jamaica. After Peterloo he called for the arming of the English proletariat parts of which were ready, like the Halifax weavers who carried a banner in 1819 saying "We groan, being burdened, waiting to be delivered, but we rejoice in hopes of a Jubilee."

He was a pamphleteer, writing *High-Heel'd Shoes for*

Dwarfs in Holiness and *Cast-Iron Parsons* where he told how he visited St. Paul's, Shadwell, on the London waterfront, and asked the parson whether the church was built of brick or stone, and was answered "neither but cast-iron, at which he overheard an apple woman saying "W'ould to God the Parsons were cast-iron too." He thought this was a splendid idea, "Finding that the routine duty required of the Clergy of the legitimate Church was so completely mechanical, and that nothing was so much in vogue as the dispensing with human labour by the means of machinery, it struck me that it might one day be possible to substitute A CAST-IRON PARSON." It could be oiled and kept fresh in a closet to be rolled out on Sundays. In fact he extended the idea to making a clock-work school master to teach the sciences, he called his invention a "TECHNICATHOLICAUTO-MATOPPANTOPPIDON". As a postscript he advised making a cast-iron King. He was jailed for blasphemy, Wedderburn enlarged jubilee's meaning besides extending it to Jamaica. It was proletarian; it rejected capitalist notions of thievery; it held no illusions about machinery.

12: JUBILEE. Denmark Vesey was born in 1767, probably in St. Thomas, Virgin Islands which was under Danish suzerainty at the time, hence the name of the man. As a young man he worshipped with the Moravians, he slaved for three months in St. Domingue, he was skilled as a fisherman, market-man, and carpenter. He spoke several languages. His master, sea captain Vesey, tired of the slave trade and settled in Charleston, South Carolina, during the turbulent decade of the 1790s. It is possible that Denmark Vesey heard Francis Asbury preach in Charleston in that decade, because we know that he preached to Afro-Americans and we know that he preached there on the text of Isaiah 61.

The spirit of the Lord God is upon me
because the Lord has anointed me;
he has sent me to bring good news to the humble,
to bind up the broken-hearted,
to proclaim liberty to captives and release to those in prison;
to proclaim a year of the Lord's favor and a day of
vengeance of our God.

In 1800 Denmark Vesey won the lottery and bought his freedom. He became active in the free Black community and in

the Methodist conference which in 1815 was running ten to one in favor of African-American membership. In 1817 Vesey participated in the schism of the conference, and helped to form the African Association of Methodists. International events helped to deepen his Biblical hermeneutics, so to speak. The republic of freed African-Americans in Haiti was consolidated, and there is some evidence that one of Vesey's fellow conspirators, Monday Gell, corresponded with the president of the Haiti. While Haiti offered an example of hope, the destruction of Fort Negro, a native American and African American sanctuary led by a fugitive slave named Garson and a Choctaw chief on the Apalachicola River in Florida, by a devastating bombardment in July 1816, offered an example of renewed anger, as men, women, and children were blown to smithereens, and a caution that it was always necessary to estimate the range of the enemy's cannon.



During this time he was harassed and physically attacked. In 1809 the Negro steward of the ship *Minerva* introduced insurrectionary pamphlets into Charleston. Vesey read these, and read them aloud. As he did the Bible. In 1820 the slavocracy passed a law against "incendiary publications." He himself led an insurrection with thirty other conspirators. These included Jack Glenn, a painter, who read the Bible aloud also, and spoke of deliverance from bondage. Another was Monday, an Ibo from lower Niger. A third conspirator was "Gullah Jack," a conjuror. A fourth, Peter Royas, a ship's carpenter, believed they'd get help from England.

Thus the revolt brought together a coalition of different workers, agrarian, artisan, and nautical. They were from different traditions - Nigerian, Methodist, and conjure, England, the West Indies, and America. The revolt expressed the power of trans-Atlantic pan-Africanism. It scared the shii out of the slavocrats. (Pardon my French, but I remember Dr. James Murray preaching about a similar mess produced by the King of Moab, "I should beg the reader's pardon ... but as it is the excrement of kings and great men, I hope I shall be excused.") Thus frightened, the slavocrats passed the 1822 Negro Seaman Act which permitted the Sheriff to board any and every incoming vessel and to arrest and jail any and every Black sailor for the duration of the ship's stay in the port of Charleston.

Wedderburn had trusted his writings to sailors for their safe conveyance to Jamaica; he understood the prominence and strategic importance of the ship's cook in the transmission of struggle. David Walker, as well, used the underground post-offices manned by black sailors and slop-dealers, for they carried his *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in particular, and very expressly, to those of The United States of America* (1829), to the ports of the South. Walker's fulminations against

Fourth lunar month, eighth day

Lantern Festival (Korea)

Tam Kung Festival

Fourth lunar month, eighth and ninth days

Third Prince, Birthday of the

Fifth lunar month, fifth day

Doan Ngu (Summer Solstice Day)

Dragon Boat Festival

Tano Festival (Dano-nal; Swing Day)

Tuan Wu (Double Fifth)

Fifth lunar month, 14th day

Boat Race Day (Okinawa, Japan)

Fifth lunar month, 14th–16th days

Universal Prayer Day (Dzam Ling Chi Sang)

Sixth lunar month, sixth day

Airing the Classics

Sixth lunar month, 13th day

Lu Pan, Birthday of

Sixth lunar month, 15th day

Yudu Nal

Sixth lunar month, 24th day

Lotus, Birthday of the

Sixth lunar month, 24th–26th days

Torch Festival

Seventh lunar month, seventh day

Chilseog (Seventh Evening)

Seven Sisters Festival

Seventh lunar month, 15th day

Baekjung

Seventh lunar month, full moon or 15th day

Ullambana (Hungry Ghosts Festival; All Souls' Feast)

Eighth lunar month, first full moon

Asanha Bucha Day (Asanha Puja Day)

Eighth lunar month, 15th day

Chuseok (Gawi or Hangawi)

Mid-Autumn Festival

Eighth lunar month, 18th day

Qiantang River Tidal Bore Watching Festival, International

Eighth lunar month, 29th day

Seged

Ninth lunar month, first nine days

Nine Imperial Gods, Festival of the Vegetarian Festival

Ninth lunar month, ninth day

Chung Yeung

the avaricious oppressors, his refutations of the racism of Thomas Jefferson as well as the arguments of other apologists, his exposure of the hypocrisy of the Christian slave masters, above all, his call for an armed war of liberation made his Appeal the manifesto of African-American freedom. It's style and content is in the prophetic tradition of Ezekiel and Isaiah.

13: JUBILEE. By the third decade of the 19th century jubilee was present on both sides of the Atlantic, an idea and a practise common to workers of both the cotton plantation and the cotton factory. It possessed both prophetic leaders and an insurrectionary experience. In the decades to follow, despite the defeat of Vesey and of the Caro St. conspirators, the jubilee tradition grew. In America it concentrated on slavery and found victory in Civil War. In England it concentrated on land and found power among the Chartist.

"Do you think that the present state of the common lands in the neighbourhood of Nottingham has an effect upon the morals of the parties living there?" asked an investigator of the 1844 *Parliamentary Selected Committee on the Inclosure of Commons*. The response illustrates the contradictions of the bourgeoisie: "A very prejudicial effect certainly.... It occasions very great disrespect to the laws of the country generally; as an instance, I may say, that when the day upon which the lands become commonable arrives, which, with respect to a considerable portion is the 12th of August, the population issue out, destroy the fences, tear down the gates, and commit a great many other lawless acts which they certainly have a right to do, in respect of the right of common to which they are entitled."

"Prejudicial" ... "disrespect" ... "lawless"; yet the people have a "right," they are "entitled"; The exchange is interesting for another reason. Why the 12th of August? In 1839 the Chartist National Convention accepted 12 August as a holiday to commence a general strike. It appears, then, that the Nottingham commoners, in observing the 12 August as a day of levelling, were acting in conformance with the national Chartists. William Benbow, author of *The Grand National Holiday and Congress of the Productive Classes* (1831), had recommended 12 August. Benbow's pamphlet noted that a miniscule five hundredth part of society had a monstrous power over the other 499.

"create the state, [they] are its instruments upon all occasions, without whom it cannot go on for a single second, [they] dig deep, rise early, watch late, by whose sweat and toil the whole face of nature is beautified." By contrast the five hundredth "exist on disease and blood: crime and infamy are the breath of their nostrils."

"When a grand national holiday, festival, or feast is proposed, let none of our readers imagine that the proposal is new. It was an established custom among the Hebrews." Benbow referred to the jubilee, "the year of release was a continued-uncensing festival." He advocated a month long holiday to hold a congress of the productive classes, a month of universal discussions in every city, town, village, and parish. How were they to live? "By rendering unto the Lord that which is the Lords," he wrote, "Until the Lord's cattle be forthcoming." For a start he suggested going to the "mansion of some great liberal lord." "We must avoid all squeamishness." "We beg of the people to throw off all false delicacy." The sentiment is Ezekiel's exactly: "Behold the day! The doom is here, it has

burst upon them. Injustice buds, insolence blossoms, violence shoots up into injustice and wickedness. ... The trumpet has sounded and all is ready, but no one goes out to war." (7:10,14)

The plan was endorsed by the Chartist press. *The Glasgow Agitator* called for land nationalization, George Peirce in *Man* called for the abolition of private property, the "desolating, barbarous, and unnatural institution," Doherty in *The Poor Man's Advocate* fervently campaigned for the plan and the repudiation of the national debt. In 1849 Spence's *The Restorer* was reprinted in *The Northern Star*. First published in 1803 Spence praises Moses, "O Moses! What a generous plan didst thou form! ... Thou indulgently ordainest Holidays and Times of Rejoicing out of number, New Moons, and Sabbaths, and Jubilees, Feasts of Trumpets, Feast of Tabernacles, &c., and liberal Sacrifices which were Feasts of hospitality and Love..." Instead of holidays the Pharaoh of England forces people to "make Bricks without straw." The Chartists sang (1840):

The rights of man then's in the soil
An equal share and a that,
For landlords no one ought to toil—
'Tis imposition and a that,
Yes, a that and a that,
Their title-deeds and a that,
How'er they got them, matters not,
The land is ours for a that.

Cursed be he who shall remove
The poor man's bounds and a that,
Or covert aught should he improve
His house, or stock, and a that
Yes, a that and a that
His cattle, goods, and a that,
Could but be mortgaged for a term,
Till Jubilee and a that.



14: JUBILEE. "He told us that all the country would be up, for the great jubilee was to come, and we must go with 'em." These were the words of a woebegone Kentish woman whose husband was imprisoned in Canterbury for his part in the disastrous Battle of Bossenden Wood in May 1838. At the time the agricultural workers of Kent were called "white slaves." Diphtheria was rampant among them, they lived in dwellings called "birdcages" — bedrooms measured 8 x 5 x 6'. Eight years earlier in the "Swing Riots" they attempted to prevent the introduction of steam-powered threshing machines. Mutilous discontent smouldered fiercely to awaken briefly in the 1838 jubilee.

Thirty or forty poor people of Kent — vagabonds, small-holders, farm laborers — led by the extraordinary Sir William Courtenay faced soldiers of the Royal Army amid the oster-beeds of Bossenden Wood in a battle resulting in several casualties and utter, lamentable defeat for the Kentish rebels. The episode is treated as an example of pathetic deangement. It is true that Sir William Courtenay had been committed to a lunatic asylum and

Ninth lunar month, including ninth day

Chrysanthemum Festival

10th lunar month

Izumo-taisha Jinzaisai

Ngan Duan Sib (10th Lunar Month Festival)

10th lunar month, first day

Sending the Winter Dress

10th lunar month, fifth day

Ta Mo's Day

10th lunar month, 19th day

Goddess of Mercy, Birthday of the

10th lunar month, 25th day

Lights, Festival of (Ganden Ngamcho)

11th lunar month

Dongji (Winter Solstice)

12th lunar month

Boun Phan Vet

12th lunar month, eighth day

Mochi No Matsuri

12th lunar month, full moon

Loi Krathong

12th lunar month, last day of

Tibetan year

Mystery Play (Tibet)

ISLAMIC CALENDAR DATES

Muharram 01

Islamic New Year

Muharram 01–10

Ashura

Muharram 05–06–07

Urs of Baba Farid Shakar Ganj

Muharram 09

Taziyeh

Muharram 10

Hosay Festival

Safar

Mandi Safar

Safar 14–16

Shah Abdul Latif Death Festival

Safar 18

Grand Magal of Shaykh Amadou Bamba

Safar 18–19

Data Ganj Baksh Death Festival

Mawlid al-Nabi (Maulid al-Nabi; Prophet's Birthday)

Safar 20

Arbaeen

Safar 28

Holy Prophet and the Martyrdom of Imam

And the theme has appeared as country swing.
Sing and turn, jubilee
Live and learn, jubilee.

The theme appeared as a Sea Island "shout" with wake-up, dance-around rhythms as rendered by the McIntosh County Shouters.

Shout, my children, 'cause yo' free
My God brought you liberty
Jubilee, Jubilee, Jubilee in the Morning
Call me a Sunday Christian, Call me a Monday devil
Don' care what you call me so long Jesus love me
Jubilee, Jubilee, Jubilee, Jubilee.

The theme appeared as a stevedore's shanty useful for energy in stowing Alabama pine timbers aboard schooners bound for Europe and for notifying "the other fellow how to pull down with you."

I'm a noble soldier,
Soldier of the Jubilee, Hah!
I'm getting old and crippled in my knee
Soldier of the Cross, Hah!

On first of January 1863 Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation. "In Rochester, Columbus, Philadelphia, and Chicago Negroes hailed Lincoln's signing of the proclamation as inaugurating the Year of Jubilee," to quote John Hope Franklin. Cannon fired, bells rung. The Reverend Henry Highland Garnet presided at New York's Shiloh Presbyterian Church's New Year's Eve Grand Emancipation Jubilee where at midnight the choir sang "Blow Ye Trumpets Blow, the Year of Jubilee has come."

Frederick Douglass, two of whose sons served in the 54th Regiment, called the First of January "the most memorable day in American Annals." "The fourth of July was great, but the first of January, when we consider it in all its relations and bearings, is incomparably greater." And it has been celebrated as such, with Juneenth, by African-Americans, just as West Indians celebrate 1 August commemorating the emancipation of 1834. "Jubilee Pageants" with prominent roles for Nat Turner and George Lisie alike have been part of these celebrations, and for those celebrating Lee's surrender. In Athens, Georgia, blacks sang and danced around a liberty pole. In Charleston, South Carolina, William Lloyd Garrison, Robert Smalls, Martin Delany, and the son of Denmark Vesey participated with thousands of others in marches and speeches celebrating the victory over those who had hanged Denmark Vesey only thirty-three years earlier. These are the classic jubilee days: "Isn't I a free woman now! De Lord can make Heaven out of Hell any time. I do believe," as a Virginia woman said.

This is all very well. But, let us remember the planned massacre at Fort Wagner and the slogan of the people in Bahia during the centennial of Brazilian emancipation in 1988 - "One Hundred Years of Emancipation, One Hundred Years of Nothing." The "Day of Jubilo" was one part of the story; the other part was expressed with suspicion and reticence. "Dey didn't

know jus' zackly what it meant," a slave of Jefferson Davis said. "Whar we gwine eat an' sleep?" What about the patrollers and po' buckra?

16: JUBILEE. Jubilee did not quite die in the second half of the 19th century, though it ceased to be the conch of revolution. Michael Davitt of the Irish Land League used it in the struggle against British imperial landlordship. "The Irishman, banished by sheep and ox, reappears on the other side of the ocean as a Fenian, and face to face with the old queen of the seas," wrote Marks, and the Irishman tossed jubilee in the face of English piety, he might have added, in the person of Edward McGlynn, the priest of St. Stephen's in Manhattan and ally of the Knights of Labor, who, in a sermon on St. Patrick's Day, 1887, compared the ancient Irish Breton laws with the Jubilee, and was excommunicated as a result. Henry George often invoked the idea and argued that jubilee was "absolutely fatal to the idea of private property in land." In noting that Charles Marks was influenced by some of the Chartist Spenceans, or that the pompous and chauvinist H. M. Hyndman compared *The Communist Manifesto* to Spence's jubilee we succumb to antiquarianism. Jubilee expressed liberation against imperialism in the 13th century B.C. It opposed slavery, landlordship, credit-and-debt, the work ethic, pollution of the earth, and it advised revolution every fifty years. For several thousand years its meaning was distorted or ignored. With the advent of industrial capitalism the enclosed working class of England and the enslaved African-American working class rediscovered jubilee. They adopted jubilee to freedom and anti-capitalism; they expanded its meaning and gave it bite.

At the same time, the bourgeoisie, since jubilee could not be denied, developed a hermeneutics that distorted jubilee of its liberating splendor turning it into "figurative language." The language of action becomes a language of adoration, a rhetoric, an allegory, or "just words." On the one hand this permits advances in textual and philological criticism, but on the other hand, it opens the door to pedantry and cynicism, taking the revolutionary tooth out of the scriptural mouth. At its base it is a reactionary, if not a blasphemous argument.

The "higher criticism" of 19th century bourgeois hermeneutics turned the living word into the dead hand of the past. Their interpretation of jubilee is reformist at best and reactionary at worst. To the extent that jubilee opposes work, they say it was an impossible ideal, if not immoral. The green, or ecological theme, like sabbatarianism, is ignored or reduced to backward technological conditions. The revolutionary liberation from slavery is absent or reduced to an archaic, if not barbaric, extension of *ge'ulla*, the duty of blood-revenge among feuding clans. The restitution of land and the remission of debts are treated as entirely impractical and utopian, or are allowed as perhaps a compromise a very long time ago to ease the transition to agrarian "civilization"!

The bourgeoisie has used jubilee on state occasions. The 1776 Philadelphia Liberty Bell is engraved with Leviticus 25 - "You shall proclaim liberty throughout the land." It rings with a pathetic clunk. Why? because it is cracked. It cracked, according to African-American lore, when Abe Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

One day a missionary, rambling through a Nanking suburb, found he had forgotten his watch and asked a boy for the time.

This imp of the Celestial Empire at first hesitated but then, thinking better, replied, "I'll check." Moments later, he reappeared carrying a fat cat, and peering (as it's put) into its eyes, reported forthwith, "It's not quite noon." Which was correct. *Charles Baudelaire, Paris Spleen*

(From left to right) Paul Branca, Jessie, 9pm, oil on canvas, 2012. Ana, 4pm, oil on canvas, 2012.



- Hasan, Death Anniversary of the
- Rabi al-Awwal 01**
- Maldives National Day
- Rabi al-Awwal 12**
- Lamp Nights (Kandil Geceleri, Candle Feasts)
- Seka10
- Rajab 01-06**
- Lamp Nights (Kandil Geceleri, Candle Feasts)
- Urs Ajmer Sharif
- Rajab 13**
- Imam Ali's Birthday
- Rajab 27**
- Lamp Nights (Kandil Geceleri, Candle Feasts)
- Laylat al-Miraj
- Sha'ban 15, eve of**
- Laylat al-Bara'ah (Shab-Barat)
- Sha'ban 15**
- Lamp Nights (Kandil Geceleri, Candle Feasts)
- Shab-Barat
- Twelfth Imam, Birthday of the
- Ramadan, two weeks before beginning of**
- Mulid of Shaykh Yusuf Abu el-Haggag (Moulid of Abu el-Haggag)
- Ramadan**
- Ramadan
- Ramadan, full moon**
- Boys' Dodo Masquerade
- Ramadan 21**
- Imam Ali's Martyrdom, Anniversary of
- Ramadan 27**
- Lamp Nights (Kandil Geceleri, Candle Feasts)
- Ramadan, one of the last 10 days**
- Laylat al-Qadr
- Ramadan, end of**
- Lanterns Festival
- Shawwal 01**
- Id al-Fitr (Eid)
- Id al-Fitr (Nigeria)
- Shawwal 25**
- Imam Sadiq's Martyrdom, Anniversary of
- Dhu al-Hijjah 08-13**
- Pilgrimage to Mecca (Hajj)
- Dhu al-Hijjah 09**
- Libya Day of Arafa

For dogs, smell tells time. Perspective, scale and distance are, after a fashion, *inol-*faction—but olfaction is fleeting. . .Odors are less strong over time, so strength indicates newness; weakness, age. **The future is smelled on the breeze that brings air from the place you're headed.** ☺☺☺☺☺☺

In the 1960s an astrophysicist named Thomas Gold proposed that time's arrow was pointed in one direction by the law of thermodynamics; the flow of heat away from stars and into space. As the process cannot be reversed, as light and heat cannot flow backwards into the sun, it transcends the principle of reversibility. He reasoned further that not only is time's arrow directed by this process, but that time also relies on the expansion of the universe to keep soaking up the heat released by the stars. [...] If, at some point in the future, the universe should stop expanding (and many cosmologists believe it will), if the expansion of the universe eventually succumbs to the inevitable force of gravity, then radiation will start to converge instead of dissipating. At which point, Gold suggested, time will begin to run backwards and everything that has ever happened will happen again, only in reverse. Christopher Dewdney, *The Soul of the World*



Dhu al-Hijjah 10
Sallah (Salah) Festival
Dhu al-Hijjah 10–12
Id al-Adha (Feast of Sacrifice; Eid)
ZOROASTRIAN CALENDAR DATES
Frawardin 01
Jamshed Navaroz (Jamshed Navroz)
Frawardin 06
Khordad Sal
Frawardin 19
Frawardignan, Feast of
Ardwahist 03
Ardwahist, Feast of
Ardwahist 11–15
Maidyozarem (Maidhyoizaremaya; Mid-Spring Feast)
Hordad 06
Hordad, Feast of
Tir 11–15
Maidyoshahem (Maidhyoishema; Mid-Summer Feast)
Tir 13
Tiragan
Amرداد 07
Amرداد, Feast of
Shahrewar 04
Shahrewar, Feast of
Shahrewar 26–30
Paitishahem (Patishahya; Feast of Bringing in the Harvest)
Mihr 01
Mithra, Feast of
Mihr 16
Mihragan
Mihr 26–30
Ayathrem (Ayathrima; Bringing Home the Herds)
Aban 10
Aban Parab
Adar 09
Adar Parab
Adar 13
Ta'anit Esther (Fast of Esther)
Dae 01, 08, 15, 23
Dae, Feasts of
Dae 11
Zarthastno Diso
Dae 16–20
Maidyarem (Maidhyairya; Mid-Year or Winter Feast)



Vohuman 02

Vohuman, Feast of

Spendarmad 05

Spendarmad, Feast of

Spendarmad 26–30

Farvardegan Days

MISCELLANEOUS DATES

March; Esfand 29

Iran Petroleum Nationalization

Anniversary

March–April; Farvardin 12

Iran Islamic Republic Day

June; Khordad 14

Khomeini (Ayatollah), Death Anniversary
of

September–October; full moon of

Thadingyut

Thadingyut

During Mayan month of Xul

Chickaban

280th day of the Aztec year; end of

14th month

Quecholli

Kasone full moon day

Kasone Festival of Watering the Banyan
Tree

Tazaungmone full moon day

Tazaungdaing

**21st day of the Javanese month
of Mulud**

Pilgrimage to the Tomb of Sunan Bayat

The ancient Greeks had two words for time, *chronos* and *kairos*. While the former refers to chronological or sequential time, the latter signifies a time in between, a moment of indeterminate time in which something special happens. What the special something is depends on who is using the word. Wikipedia, "Kairos"

What do we know when we have *kairos*? The most beautiful definition of *kairos* I know occurs in the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, which characterizes it in relation to *chronos*. It reads: *chronos esti en ho kairos kai kairos esti en ho ou pollos chronos*, "chronos is that in which there is *kairos*, and *kairos* is that in which there is little *chronos*." Look at the extraordinary interlacing of these two concepts, they are literally placed within each other. *Kairos* (which would be translated banally as "occasion") does not have another time at its disposal; in other words, what we take hold of when we seize *kairos* is not another time, but a contracted and abridged *chronos*. The Hippocratic text continues with these words: "healing happens at times through *chronos*, other times through *kairos*." That messianic "healing" happens in *kairos* is evident, but this *kairos* is nothing more than seized *chronos*. Giorgio Agamben, *The Time That Remains*

At about 9pm the first barricades went up spontaneously. Everyone recognized instantly the reality of their desires in that act. [...]

Capitalized time stopped. Without any trains, metro, cars or work the strikers recaptured the time so sadly lost in factories, on motorways, in front of the TV. People strolled, dreamed, learned how to live. Desires began to become, little by little, reality. For the first time youth really existed. René Viénet

I am retired now and live in a mountain hut in the orchard. I have closed my farm to the public so that I can better cherish the time left to me. The best part of living a retired life on the mountain, isolated from news of the outside world, is that I have a different sense of time. I hope, as the days go by, that I will be able to experience a day as a year. Then, like the tribal people I met in Somalia, I will not know how old I am.

These days I try to imagine that I am one hundred years old... or even two hundred. Masanobu Fukuoka, *The One-Straw Revolution*





TODAY WAS
ONCE A
HOLIDAY
SOMETIME

