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VIEWS FROM NOWHERE:
A CHRONOTOPOGRAPHY OF THE VICTORIAN GAZETTEER

by

IAN RODERICK, B.A.

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
August 3, 1992
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Abstract

This thesis brings together systemic functional grammar and M.M. Bakhtin's philosophy of language to propose a social semiotics of space. It offers a systemic analysis of chronotopical realizations within early to mid-Victorian geographic popularizers produced in both Great Britain and the Canadas. The primary sources are treated as part of a macro-project of popular imperialism. These works are understood as more than simply representations of geographic or reified space but rather as representations of the social space of British rule. Of concern is the way in which the texts invite the reader to share in a utopian vision of British domination of other peoples and lands. The thesis examines the text strategies deployed to create global axiological orientations which privilege the imperialist at 'home'. These orientations contribute to a vision of a moral order and ruling relations which are universalized by obfuscating their local specificity.

Acknowledgments

It is inevitable that this thesis should be written in an environment of social heteroglossia. I can only hope that, as I have incorporated the words of others, some of their voicedness should remain. I should particularly like to thank the members of my committee, Valda Blundell, Rob Shields, and Lorna Weir, for the energy, intellectual stimulation, and support they contributed towards the production of this work. But I must also thank the many others, including Marilyn Jung, Diane Smithers, Derek Smith, and Marg Phillips, who gave me the opportunity to bend their ears. Even a few minutes helped.

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My temporal and spatial boundaries are not given for me, but the other is entirely given. I enter into the spatial world, but the other has always resided in it. The differences between space and time of I and other. ... The I hides in the other and in others, it wants only to be an other for others, to enter completely into the world of others as an other, and to cast from itself the burden of being the only I (*I-for-myself*) in the world (Bakhtin, 1990c: 147).¹

INTRODUCTION

Within this thesis I propose to provide a discursive analysis of gazetteers and geography primers which were produced to assist in the instruction of students primarily in Great Britain but also the Canadas during the early to mid Victorian period.

The method of analysis is taken, in part, from M.M. Bakhtin's (1981b) essay "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel." At the same time, however, the analysis also borrows from the wealth of material produced within systemic-functional grammar. Accordingly, I have taken the term chronotopography so as to typify the sort of merging I am suggesting here between a thematic-generic analysis of textually produced configurations of time and space and a systematic analysis of discourse.

As a chronotopography of the English language Victorian

¹. Bakhtin describes much of what an ethos of orientation may be but in doing so he tends to down play the possibility of systemic asymmetries between the I and its Others.

gazetteer, this paper takes up three challenges i) the need to engage in a rigorous and appropriate anthropology of colonialism; ii) the need for a systemic anthropology as anthropology becomes increasingly self-conscious of both its own 'literariness' and the textual mediation of culture and relations of ruling; and iii) the need to respond to the increasing incorporation of the analysis of spatialization into theories of culture.

Anthropology of/and the Colonial-Imperialist Enterprise

The first challenge is summarized in the special issue of *American Ethnologist* (1989), dedicated to the symposium "Tensions of Empire: Colonial Control and Visions of Rule," which brings together a wide variety of works and efforts into an anthropology of colonialism. What makes this collection important is the authors' acknowledgement of a need for a radical shift in how the European empires have been studied by both Western and non-Western scholars.

Anthropologists have been most concerned with the consequences of conquest for the colonized and its impact on indigenous social and economic organizations. Despite anthropology's successful efforts to move away from the isolated community studies of earlier generations, we still tend to treat colonialism as an abstract process, and focus more on the agency of those subject to colonial rule than on the agency of those who carried it out. For their part, historians of Africa and Asia have, since the 1960s, tried to distance themselves from the assumptions of an earlier tradition of imperial history, seeking to establish the integrity and dynamics of non-Western societies and the complexity of their reactions to European political and economic dominance. Neither discipline has explored deeply how the rulers of empire reexamined their own hegemony in the face of the divisions within their own camp and the challenges from the people they were trying to rule. In refocusing the attention of the conference on the tensions among colonizers and between them and the colonized, we began from the premise that even these categories were not fixed but problematic, contested, and changing (Cooper and Stoler, 1989: 609).

An anthropology of colonialism explores the "relations of ruling" (Smith, 1990) within the empire as a phenomenon which is mediated between locales. The metropole's ascendancy is not to be treated as simple oppression in which the colonizing state is able to simply impose its will upon subject colonies in an instrumental fashion. Accordingly, both metropole and colonies must be brought into a unitary analytical field.

The need to understand 'the empire' as the product of both metropole and colonies cannot be separated from the sort of contestations which anthropology began to face as a discipline in the 1960s. On the one hand, anthropology's emphasis upon local studies came to be increasingly validated while on the other hand anthropology's complicity within extra-local relations of ruling became increasingly difficult to overlook.

While anthropology has traditionally been concerned with the local this in itself should not be taken as an indicator of an implicit subversiveness on the part of anthropological studies. Clearly with the consolidation and expansion of European nation-states, the local became increasingly a place in which knowledge must be garnered (Foucault, 1991). Knowledge of a multiplicity of locales is necessary to the administrative needs of the nation-state and so allows the local to be organized into an extra-local pattern of administration in which it comes to be subject to

rule within from without.

As a discipline, anthropology emerged in the nineteenth century as a study of the 'family of man'. Setting its eye upon non-European peoples, anthropology sought to explain the seeming ascendancy of the modern European nation-states through comparison. Despite the discrediting of crude theories of cultural evolution, non-European forms of social organization continued to be construed as being previous to European ones. European intellectual and popular discourse alike largely presumed and, in many cases, continue to presume that the differences between Europeans and non-Europeans necessitate a special type of relationship. Johannes Fabian (1983: 143) has typified this relationship as it was articulated in anthropology as a "petrified relation." To Fabian (1983: 143) anthropology

emerged and established itself as an allochronic discourse; it is a science of other men in another Time. It is a discourse whose referent has been removed from the present of the speaking/writing subject.

But it is as much a science of *same men* in the sense of science of all peoples within the 'family' and a science of white men. In anthropology's Euro- and androcentricity, white men have largely been understood as the active subject of the discipline and yet it must also be considered how they are rendered objects unto themselves.

I do not think that Fabian's subject/object split is so useful for it threatens to blind us to the fact that concurrently white men also may be objects and non-European

peoples may also be subjects within anthropological discourse. In challenging the denial of agency to the Other, there is a danger that anthropologists continue to maintain the subject-object split which Fabian criticizes by continuing studying the Other as a isolated and inert entity with the proviso that it is somehow an ethnographic fiction. Homi K. Bhabha's (1983; 1990a) somewhat controversial criticisms of Edward W. Said (1978) point to this tendency to treat Orientalism, in particular, and Othering, in general, as false representations or "deformations" which emanate from the metropole in a unidirectional manner. Though Said's analysis is too sophisticated to lose sight of the fact that the constitution of the I is implicated in the Other, there is still a tendency to overlap subject-object with I-Other.

The I cannot be separated out from the Me any more than it can be separated out from its Other. As the Other is an object unto the I so is the Me. The I enters into the world as a subject in so far as it is able to make reference to its Me, its intimate object. From Mead² (1937: 172) it can be declared that

[i]n such experience or behaviour as may be called self-conscious, we act and react particularly with reference to ourselves, though also with reference to other individuals, and to be self-conscious is essentially to become an object to one's self in virtue of

². I am using Mead with some reservation here given the cognitive-behaviourist as well as the general conservative orientation of his writings.

one's social relations to other individuals.³

Despite Mead's theoretical orientation, he provides evidence that the individual is a historical and social construct:

The "I" reacts to the self which arises through the taking of attitudes of others. Through taking these attitudes we have introduced the "me" and we react to it as an "I" (Mead, 1937: 174).

Edification occurs through the cultivation of relations of social solidarity with particular social groups. This process of edification, what shall later be described as "ideological becoming" (Bakhtin, 1981a), is an on-going process. Accordingly, the I is not finalizable because the Me must be continuously reconstituted so as to answer to the agency of the I. As Mead (1937: 174) describes it:

It is because of the "I" that we say that we are never fully aware of what we are, that we surprise ourselves by our own action. It is as we act that we are aware of ourselves. It is in memory that the "I" is constantly present in experience ... As given, it is a "me," but it is a "me" which was the "I" at the earlier time. If you ask, then, where directly in your own experience the "I" comes in, the answer is that it comes in as a historical figure.

In this way, the I is a subject-in-process. As the I is in the world amongst its Others, its Me is constituted in reference to its Others. The I cannot simply be subject amongst objects but must itself be an object to Others. Self-reference makes reference to and is made possible through the Me and Others of the I.

Within colonial-imperialist discourse, there is the need to obfuscate this relationship between the I-Me and its

³. Mead seems to be under-estimating the significance of the social positioning of his subject as if the I-Me relation is a priori to "one's social relations to other individuals."

Others, to maintain the appearance that the I is indeed an I for i[^]self and that the imperial I is indeed the sole bearer of agency. If there is to be a radical critique of colonial-imperialist discourse, then the terms of dialogue must be reset within a different framework which does not inadvertently reintroduce a subject-object split between colonizer and colonized.

Trying to move away from a playing field which is prescribed by the very set of relations we wish to depose leads us to the question of the position of anthropology in colonialism. Coinciding with the developing study of the 'family of man' was the European aspiration to rule and, sometimes rhetorically and sometimes not, 'elevate' the 'family of man'. Fabian (1983: 143-144) describes the link between anthropology and the colonial-imperialist enterprise as a complementary relationship between *chronopolitics* and *geopolitics*:

Among the historical conditions under which our discipline emerged and which affected its growth and differentiation were the rise of capitalism and its colonialist-imperialist expansion into the very societies which became the target of our inquiries. For this to occur, the expansive, aggressive, and oppressive societies which we collectively and inaccurately call the West needed Space to occupy. More profoundly and problematically, they required Time to accommodate the schemes of a one-way history: progress, development, modernity (and their negative mirror images: stagnation, underdevelopment, tradition). In short, *geopolitics* has its ideological foundations in *chronopolitics*.

However this distinction of Fabian's, between *chrono-* and *geopolitics*, is not without its own problems. Such a framework attempts to answer the question in such a way that spatial discourse and practices are distinct from temporal

ones. Nor is it sufficient to pass off the distinction between time and space as being somehow dialectical. As it will be developed below, the temporal-spatial discourses and practices of popular imperialism must be addressed as a unity or as *chronotopicity*. In this way, temporal constructions are more than the ideological resources of conquest.

But rather than presuming anthropology to be hopelessly bound up with colonialism itself, we might be wiser to think of ways in which anthropology might be fluid and plural in approach. To do this, it would be better to think of anthropology as a movable social technology rather than a mere act of domination in itself. I do not mean that we should consider anthropology-as-technology to be simply a human activity which is a means to an end, what Heidegger (1977: 5) terms the "instrumental definition." Instead, I would argue, along with Heidegger (1977: 12), that "[t]echnology is ... no mere means. Technology is a way of revealing." To this point, Heidegger provides a helpful etymology of the word *technē*. *Technē*, suggests Heidegger (1975: 139), "means neither art nor handicraft but rather: to make something appear, within what is present, as this or that, in this way or that way." It is not simply a neutral practice of letting things appear but a productive one of making them appear within the present milieu. An anthropology of colonialism, if it is to "bring metropole

and colony into a single analytical field" (Cooper and Stoler, 1989: 609), must challenge those appearances which have been normalized in the name of colonialism, it must counter what colonial-imperialist discourse has sought to make visible as Truth by making the very processes of imperial visualization apparent.

The need to view and make visible the 'viewers' is recognized when Rabinow (1986: 241) argues that we must anthropologize the 'West'.⁴ It is, in part, a response to a collapse of the spatialization, a concept I shall develop more thoroughly below, of modernity. The field of study which has historically been consigned as anthropology's object is the cultural and technological margins of the industrial nation-states of European origin. While the comfortable familiarity with this sort of distinction between an East and West, a North and South, or first second, third and fourth worlds, still clings to our speech, it comes to be as increasingly difficult to rely upon such locatives as it is to break free of them.

The sort of 'outward' movement of progress in wealth, technology, and culture which modernity posits can no longer readily be made to appear across wide constituencies. Uneven development appears to be more and more as much a characteristic of the supposed metropole as it does the

⁴. And, in the case of this thesis, how the viewers make visible and view themselves.

supposed hinterland. Not only can the assumption of 'apartness' between centre and periphery not be sustained but such distinctions, like the colonizer-colonized split, come to be understood as an appearance essential to strategies of colonialism rather than a universally self-evident truth.

Anthropology and the Systemic Approach

The second challenge can be summarized by the title of a paper by B.N. Colby (1988), "Toward a Systemic Anthropology." While I would want to distance myself from Colby's conclusions, i.e. the proposal for a theory of cultural health, Colby (1988: 200) does make an important contribution with the observation:

Though systemic linguistics can provide a useful model for cultural anthropology, there is very little in anthropology today that might be seen as explicitly systemic in the linguistic sense. Almost half a century has passed since the time of Bronislaw Malinowski, yet there is nothing today that comes any closer to a systemic approach than Malinowski's work.

As anthropology continues to respond to and incorporate the ontological and epistemological unravellings of continental and postmodern philosophy it must also respond to the question of whether the appropriateness of a reading rests upon more than the brilliance of the critic's reading. If discourse analysis is to be a part of anthropological curricula and researches then it needs an approach which is more than "simply a running commentary on a text" (Halliday, 1985: xvii). An anthropology of colonialism must aspire to what Clifford Geertz has termed *thick description*.

It is somewhat ironic that through Malinowski's attention to the now much criticized trope of ethnographic translation he produced the building blocks of a formidable theory of semiotics. Semiotic processes, for Malinowski, are pre-eminently social:

utterance and situation are bound up inextricably with each other and the context of situation is indispensable for the understanding of the words. Exactly as in the reality of spoken or written language, a word without *linguistic context* is a mere figment and stands for nothing by itself, so reality of a spoken living tongue, the utterance has no meaning except in the context of *situation* (Malinowski, 1923: 307).

To Malinowski, the text must be treated as meaningful only in its living or ongoing environment. The text and its context answer back to one another for knowledge of the world does not exist outside of language, or more precisely, systems of signs. Language is "a mode of action, not an instrument of reflection" (Malinowski, 1923: 312).

Furthermore, these systems of signs are realized through and constituted by socially ratified options or selections.

Language, Malinowski (1923: 316) charges, has "an essentially pragmatic character" such that there is a relationship of "dependence of the meaning of each word upon practical experience, and of the structure of each utterance upon the momentary situation which it is spoken" (Malinowski, 1923: 312).

Though Malinowski's theoretical writings upon language are not without flaws, it is important to recognize that not only is Malinowski's context of situation an important contribution to systemic linguistics but that he provides

anthropology with a 'native informant'. Within anthropology, itself, we can find the inception of a systemic approach. In reference to Malinowski's ethnographies, Colby (1988: 200) observes that he

usually took institutions of foci of social organizational behaviour and analyzed them according to functions involving a number of variables: participating people, artifacts, rules of behaviour, beliefs, and others. In working out his descriptions he used charts with rows and columns arranged in such a way that organizations or institutions listed in the rows could be linked to cultural functions in the columns.

It is this sort of rigorous systemic approach that an anthropology of the colonial-imperialist enterprise should seek to emulate.

Spacialization within Cultural Critique

The third challenge to which this paper will respond is the re-invigorization of space within social theory. Fabian reminds his readers that the colonial-imperialist enterprise entails not only the occupation of space but time as well. I wish to adopt a slightly different stance. The issue of space within colonial-imperialist discourse is not so self-evident as Fabian and others tend to treat it. Is the incorporation of a temporal analysis as iconoclastic as Fabian proposes?

Within the philosophical discourses of modernity, the tendency has been to actually privilege the temporal at the expense of the spatial (cf. Foucault, 1980d: 149-150). Within Western thought, space, from about the sixteenth century on, became static and in need of being filled. When Fabian (1983) points to Ramist logic, which I shall discuss

below in reference to Bakhtin's chronotope, it is to argue that visual-spatial conventions have been given primacy in western thought. This is no doubt true, as the many works of Foucault have shown such a preoccupation within the clinic, the asylum, the prison, etc. But at the same time, Fabian risks leaving space within those very same conventions.

Like Bakhtin, Fabian wishes to bring time back into space. For Fabian, space only becomes problematic with the introduction of time. Space itself, as in the writings of Kant, remains dedicated to and dependent upon time. Bakhtin, too, suggests that, at least in the case of the novel, time is the primary category. Yet, as I will argue below, the chronotope also presents the possibility of expressing the interdependence of time and space. Time and space are configured for the social agent, hence Bakhtin's term chronotope. Bakhtin recognizes the tradition of treating space as given, but his commonalities with Heidegger indicate that he has great insight into spatialization as well as temporalization. Certainly, for the Kantian and Cartesian observer, space is given but in practice neither space nor time are given to the observer. What is needed is an account of how time and space are constituted for and by the observing agent. In sum, we need a theory of spatialization as social process.

From Heidegger (1975) we can begin to understand space

as the product of social relations. A space for Heidegger is not simply a void or an absence, rather, it is filled. A location exists only in as much as its presence is marked by a thing⁵ which both gathers other locations and disperses them. "[O]nly something that is itself a location can make space for a site" (Heidegger, 1975: 154). Sites determine other sites or localities and it is in this way that space is produced. With this in mind the relational quality of space comes to be readily apparent: localities, though they may be hierarchically arranged or organized, still exist as an *interdependent* relationship.

Henri Lefebvre (1991: 33) takes up Heidegger's conception of space as a dialectic of gathering and dispersion and in turn suggests a "threefold dialectic of space(s)":

1. *Spatial practice*, which embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion, in terms of social space, and of each member of a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of *competence* and a specific level of *performance*.
2. *Representations of space*, which are tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations.
3. *Representational spaces*, embodying complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art (which may come eventually to be defined less as a code of space than as a code of representational spaces).

⁵. The thing, which in Heidegger's metaphor is a bridge, is merely a tangible entity which renders possible our consciousness of the location.

This dialectic of space begins to allow us to think of space as a social product in process. In this sense, Shields (forthcoming) suggests we think of Lefebvre's notion of 'l'espace' (the space) as spatialization; as socially constructed conceptions and practices of space and time.

The definition of spatial practice, which Lefebvre offers us, borrows from Chomsky (e.g. 1965) but there is no intention to suggest that spatial practice is subordinate to other two elements of the tripartite. Consider Shields' (1989: 154) proposition that

spatial practices are concretized in the built environment and sedimented in the landscape. *Such practices 'articulate' the multitudinous possibilities of sites.* They are part of the constitution of the qualitative reality of sites as places where certain events and actions are known and expected to take place (emphasis added).

Spatial practice is as equally constitutive of l'espace and, though the terms chosen by Lefebvre may suggest that variation may be construed as error, his elaboration of these terms clearly suggests otherwise.

I wish to argue that as much intellectual energy is given to making the colonial-imperialist enterprise spatially possible as it is towards making it temporally possible. Geopolitics, as Fabian terms them, are not so instrumental as one may immediately believe.

Towards a Thick Description of the Semiotics of Empire

What I propose to do in this work is provide a further step towards a thick anthropological description of colonial-imperialist discourse and, in particular, popular

imperialist discourse. By looking at pedagogic works of geography I wish to account for how popular imperialists were asked to see themselves in the world, the position they were presumed to occupy, and the positions their Others were to reciprocally occupy.

I have specifically chosen British and Canadian gazetteers of the early to middle Victorian period⁶ and I have concentrated not upon the accounts of the entire globe but only those locales which were deemed to fall within the British empire. Chronologically, this would be from 1837 to 1875. I have chosen to limit myself to 1837 to 1875 as this is a period (particularly in the 1860s) which has frequently been assumed to be a period of anti-imperialism.

Imperialism and colonialism are terms which operate with a number of differing definitions. European imperialism can be said to commence with the conquest of the Canary Islands in the 15th century. Conventional histories of British imperialism, however, tend to treat it as a phenomenon which commenced or at least became popular towards the end of the nineteenth century. Following the work of Sir John Robert Seeley (1891; 1895), histories of British imperialism have tended to treat the British empire as an episodic phenomenon. A number of 'watersheds' have been provided by historians such as Benjamin Disraeli's

⁶. An exception is *A Compendium of Modern Geography* (A. Stewart, 1833) which is published shortly before Victoria's coronation but fits well with the other preceding gazetteers.

Crystal Palace speech of 1872, Disraeli's election to a second term as prime minister in 1874, or the subsequent year (1875) with the introduction of a series of policies which are thought to have directly influenced the broadening of British 'protection' (i.e. Hobsbawm, 1987). Michael Banton (1987: 62) clearly espouses this prosaic wisdom when he proposes a relative autonomy between theories of race and British expansionary ambitions:

Events overseas probably gave the typological theory an extra plausibility when they appeared as conflicts between Europeans and members of coloured races. The China war, the Crimean war, the Indian 'Mutiny', the civil war in the United States, the Jamaican uprising of 1865 could all be seen as matters of race, but the 1860s were not an expansionist age and Gladstone's cabinet of 1868 is sometimes considered as marking the high point of anti-imperialist sentiment. Imperialism was in no sense a popular idea before Disraeli's second premiership of 1874-80 and there is no clear evidence that British imperialism and Victorian ideas of race are linked in any causal way.

If this thesis accomplishes nothing else, I wish to at least demonstrate that the seeds if not the actual 'fruit' of popular imperialism were already present in the early part of the nineteenth century. People evoke linguistic meanings with a high level of systematicity and the sort of registers which will be explored in this paper enjoy long and pernicious histories. The semiotics of empire are inciduous and continue to be realized in an almost 'automized' manner.

The works which I have consulted are organized into two forms, that of the gazetteer proper and that of the geography primer. The gazetteer proper simply provides its entries as a lexicon while the primer organizes its entries under continents, working from the general to the

particular. Nevertheless, the actual entries in both gazetteers and primers are consistently organized in the same manner and need not be treated as so distinct that they must be accounted for separately.

In concentrating strictly upon geographic texts, the issue of textualism must naturally be raised. Textualism refers to the tendency to rely solely upon the texts in question as self-contained evidence of 'what is going on.' This paper does indeed rely upon the selected texts to help describe the organization of time and space in British popular imperialism but it does not propose that they are to be treated as inert entities; that they can simply be read off to reveal ideologies of colonial-imperialist expansion. Instead, I will take a different tack by borrowing from Dorothy Smith's (1990) study of textually mediated relations of ruling.

Popular imperialism is concerned with garnering support for the colonial-imperialist enterprise within the 'domus' of the empire (or what I will term the emporium). But obviously, it is also a part of governing the domus as a site which transcends the boundaries of the 'nation-people'. If we acknowledge that the centre is no more homogenous than the localities it seeks to rule outside of its internal boundaries, then we can begin to question how those who reside within the spaces of the centre must be socially organized and centred within 'the people'. For Smith (1990:

2), this "curious capacity to reproduce its order in the same way in an indefinite variety of actual local contexts" is accomplished by forms of communication and action which are "abstracted, extra-local forms." This is what Smith characterizes as textually mediated rule.

To study these relations of ruling, Smith (1990: 4) argues,

[t]he text is analyzed for its characteristically textual form of participation in social relations. The interest is in the social organization of those relations and in penetrating them, discovering them, opening them up from within, through the text...The text before the analyst, then, is not used as a specimen or a sample, but as a means of access, a direct line to the relations it organizes.

This is how the gazetteer or geographic popularizer is to be re-deployed within this paper, as a means to access the ways in which localities are spatially and temporally coordinated and how the empire, as a whole, is discursively realized for popular consumption at 'home'.

Lastly, I must address the issue of the representativeness of the texts I have selected for critical reading. There is a striking lack of material which seeks to account for a history, as Robert Darnton (1989) describes it, of nineteenth century textbooks. Indeed, J.A. Managan (1988) identifies a general lack of research exploring the relations between education and imperialism. Nevertheless, I am confident that the texts I have selected are apropos to the task of reformulating conceptions of time and space

within popular imperialism.⁷

Firstly, these texts have been read intertextually; comparatively reading them alongside other relevant textual productions of the period and as a group in themselves. A great deal of effort has been made to treat them as not self-contained but realized within the circulation of popular and academic discourses which may or may not have been realized within the texts themselves. In addition, these texts have been read together so as to foreground common and seemingly aberrant lexico-semantic realizations which redound from text to text.

Secondly, all of these texts were published in multiple editions. Brookes' *A General Gazetteer*, for example went through numerous re-editions from the first of 1750. Furthermore, many of these works are plagiarized from each other, and from Brookes in particular, further adding to the consistency of the information being circulated.

This paper is divided into three sections. The first section, "Imagining a Chronotopography," will seek to bring Hallidayan accounts of systemic-functional grammar and Bakhtin's theories of the utterance and genre to a social semiotics of time and space. Affinities between the writings of M.A.K. Halliday et al. and the Bakhtin Circle as

⁷. Generally, texts were selected on the grounds of availability. These works were produced in large numbers by many authors. They were widely disseminated and used in both a classroom setting and as aids to 'self-improvement'.

well as discontinuities will be discussed in some detail. The second section, "Telling the World: A Discursive Analysis," will put the first into practice. The monological aspects of the gazetteers and primers will be developed into a critique of how these works seek to present, as factive texts, a reality which is virtual. Finally, the third section, "Home Power: From the Domus of the Emporium," suggests that the iconic quality of the centre of the British empire is not so easily achieved and must contend with a number of internal tensions.

IMAGINING A CHRONOTOPOGRAPHY

The term chronotopography is borrowed from Bakhtin's term chronotope and is used here to emphasize its possibilities as a method of textual analysis. Bakhtin (1981b: 84) gives "the name *chronotope* (literally 'time-space') to the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature". Within the chronotope, the temporal is embedded and materialized within the spatial such that they are encoded interdependently. Furthermore, the chronotope, which Michael Holquist (in Bakhtin 1981: 425) characterizes as an 'optic' of analysis, need not only be applied to literature but to non-literary texts as well. A chronotopography, then, will be a textual analysis which seeks to outline the ways in which texts inscribe and are inscribed within time and space.

This chapter will seek to propose a model of social semiotics that foregrounds the constitution of temporal and spatial relations and practices within texts. To do this a fit between the positions offered by Mikhail M. Bakhtin¹ and systemic grammarians will be foregrounded. Nevertheless,

¹. The controversy over the authorship over the books accredited to the Bakhtin Circle is well known. Julia Kristeva (1969), Michael Holquist (in Bakhtin, 1981), Caryl Emerson (in Bakhtin, 1987) and Tzvetan Todorov (1984) have all attributed the works Medvedev, P.N. (1978) *The Formal Method* and Vološinov, V.N. (1973) *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* to M.M. Bakhtin. In keeping with this claim, this thesis will likewise treat the above works as part of Bakhtin's or, at least, the Bakhtinite philosophy of language.

the demonstration of a 'match' between the writings of the Bakhtin Circle and systemic functional grammar is not the goal in itself for this chapter. The intention is to explore the ways in which the Bakhtinite philosophy of language with its introduction of generic temporal and spatial codifications can be brought together with the more exhaustive social semiotics informed by post-Saussurean linguistics.

Reintroducing linguistics to the writing of the Bakhtin Circle should not be mistaken for a step 'backward'. The refusal of linguistics by Bakhtin emerges from a critique of the Russian Formalists and the seemingly homeostatic linguistics of Ferdinand de Saussure. Systemic functional grammar, derived in part from the writing of Louis Hjelmslev ([1943] 1961), likewise shares this interest in departing from a linguistics which presumes a closed system.

Hjelmslev's linguistics is undeniably informed by Saussure but it is also a response and repositioning to Saussure. Instead of the familiar Saussurean dichotomy of *langue* and *parole*, Hjelmslev proposes one of system and process. Like Saussure, the system can be simplified as language and the process as text. Yet, this is not a simple change in terms as the Hjelmslevian notion of system is not a closed one. For Saussure, variation from the system (*langue*) in performance (*parole*) is construed as error. Conversely, Hjelmslev (1961: 39) proposes that a

process and a system that belongs to it ("lies behind it") together contract a function, which, depending on the point of view, may be conceived as a relation or as a correlation. A closer investigation of this function soon shows us that it is a determination in which the system is the constant: *the process determines the system.*

Thus, contrary to Saussure, Hjelmslev comprehends variation as impinging back upon the system. Accordingly, Hjelmslev (1961: 102) characterizes the relationship between process and system as one of "interplay." In addition, Hjelmslev (1961: 39-40) argues that the system be conceived as potential or a "possible system" and so "language is a resource, a meaning potential" (Halliday, 1978: 187; emphasis added). In this way, the system is, in principle, not wholly describable as a formalized system of rules.

System, instead of being understood as a unified logic, is conceptualized as an association of elements within a dynamic unity. Pierre Bourdieu (1977: 124) has suitably observed that a classificatory system is not, as idealism would have it, "the unity of a spiritual principle governing all empirically realized configurations regardless of social conditions." A classificatory system informs practices but it also is continuously re-appraised and modified so as to be "organized in accordance with the structures constituting that system of classification" (Bourdieu, 1977: 98) This treatment of system, by Bourdieu, as a quasi-stable (metastable) codified objectification parallels the tack taken by systemicists to distinguish between their theories of grammar and the grammars of natural languages.

The distance from formalism, on the part of systemicists, is more apparent when this distinction between grammar and *grammatics* is developed. Contrary to Derrida's (1976) reading of Saussure and subsequent dismissals of linguistics, systemic grammar makes explicit "the 'impossibility of recovering a fixed and stable meaning from discourse'" (Halliday, 1987: 145). Instead, Halliday (1987: 145) proposes that we "recover from discourse a meaning of another kind, meaning that is complex and indeterminate." This, from the perspective of systemic grammar, requires a theory of grammar; a *grammatics*.

Grammatics, as a theory of grammar, is understood here to be a "semantically based systemic functional grammar" (Threadgold, 1989a: 2). Halliday borrows from Whorf to form a 'grammar of meaning' where the "system (the semantics) is instantiated in the text (the pragmatics)" (Threadgold, 1989a: 7). In this way, Halliday disavows the dichotomy of semantics/pragmatics and instead foregrounds their co-implication. The text is never a static encoded entity awaiting the reader to decode it but rather a site in which the system may be realized⁹ and altered.

As proposed above, rather than constructing a model of system which is homeostatic, systemic functional grammar surmises the system to be open to variation or *metastable*. Thibault (1991: 26) identifies the term *metastable* as

⁹. This notion of realization will be developed below.

emerging from work on

thermodynamically open systems, namely those systems - including biological and social systems - that engage in irreversible and nonlinear transformations under conditions that do not approximate a state of equilibrium.¹⁰

Language, like all social semiotics, is a metastable system insofar as it

persist[s] only through constant change; and this change takes place through interactive exchanges with their environment. In the course of social interaction, the system exports disorder; and in the process of exporting disorder, and so increasing the entropy of its environment, the system renews itself, gains information, imports or rather creates order and in this way continues to function. The system exists only because it is open (Halliday, 1987: 139).

It is this quality of metastability which precludes references to closed systems in which signs circulate. The system that systemic grammarians speak of is never fully complete or coherent, rather "for such a system, the state of being is one of *constant becoming*" (Halliday, 1987: 139; emphasis added).¹¹

¹⁰. One of the most renowned proponents of thermodynamic homologies is Niklas Luhmann. Luhmann (1990: 1) takes the term autopoiesis which "has been invented as a definition of life. Its origin is clearly biological." This theory argues that psychic and social realities are autopoietic systems. Such systems are

defined as unities as networks of productions of components that recursively, through their interactions, generate and realize the network that produces them and constitute, in the space in which they exist, the boundaries of the network as components that participate in the realization of the network (H.R. Maturana in Luhmann, 1990: 3)

Autopoietic systems are both self-referencing and self-regenerating.

¹¹. This resonates with the unfinalizability espoused by both Nietzsche and, in turn, Hiedegger. To Nietzsche, there can never be a final overcoming but instead always a perpetual becoming. Likewise, for Hiedegger, the act of existing is understood as "being-in-the-world." Being is construed as a perpetual taking place or a property of "occurrentness." This has definite ramifications for our understanding of the inscription of linguistic realizations within time and space configurations. In Hiedegger's (in Dreyfus, 1992: 40) words:

This emphasis upon the system as dynamic and open begins to lead us away from the Saussurean and Hjelmslevian conception of system (Threadgold, 1989a: 6; 10). For the systemic grammarian, system becomes a network of options "not a system of signs, but a systematic resource for meaning" (Halliday in Threadgold, 1989a: 6)¹².

Systemicists do not conflate their grammatics with grammar. Systemic functional grammar is not a theory of syntax, "we borrow from extra-linguistic experience in order to describe the for us ineffable experience of language itself with the real grammar (language)" (Threadgold, 1989a: 1). This is taken from Hjelmslev (1961: 8-15) who argues that linguistic theory is both arbitrary and appropriate; it is arbitrary in the sense that it cannot be held up to the 'real' and appropriate in the sense of being generalizable to natural language. In this way, Hjelmslev (1961: 15) is able to describe linguistic theory as both *arealistic* and *realistic*. Systemic functional grammar, as a grammatics therefore, is understood as a metalanguage:

The act of reflecting on language transforms it into something alien, something different from itself - something determinate and closed. There are uses for closed, determinate metalanguages; but

Being-occurrent "in" something which is likewise occurrent, and being occurrent-along-with in the sense of a definite location-relationship ... are ontological characteristics which we call *categorical*...

¹². For Hjelmslev (1961: 39), system is a correlational hierarchy which "lies behind" process. As a hierarchy, the system is "a class with its derivatives" which are linked together in correlation (1961: 32). Just as process is described by Hjelmslev (1961: 46) as text, system is described as language and a "language is by its aim first and foremost a sign system."

they can represent only one point of view about a system (Halliday, 1987: 143).

It is in this sense that grammatics as a metalanguage is not construed with a natural¹³ one.

It is the language as grammar, not the grammatics (the metalanguage of grammar) that we should be studying. The latter may well be a 'crude and feeble' formalism, whose categories never really match up...but this does not mean that what it is trying to describe, the language as grammar, is not worth studying (Threadgold, 1989a: 2).

Since the 'object' of study is the grammar of an open and dynamic system, and not the structures and terms of the grammatics itself, then the grammatics must also be open and dynamic.

This need for self-referentiality is made explicit by Halliday (1987: 151):

But it is clear that, since we are interpreting language as it functions to create the natural and social order, and since it is itself part of that order, it must include itself in the description.

Thus, it is not entirely accurate to speak of language as the object of study. Intrinsic to systemic theory, as a theory of language, is the acknowledgement that it cannot be external to language. In this sense, there can be no subject/object or inside/outside dichotomies¹⁴.

J.R. Martin (1991) provides a useful point of entry to this coupling of Bakhtin and grammatics by typifying two significant trends in social semiotic theory; the first

¹³. By natural language, Halliday intends a notion of a functionally evolved social semiotic, one which "construes the social order without referring to the system it is constructing..." (Halliday, 1987: 142).

¹⁴. This will be developed below within the discussion of realization.

being the *intertextual* and the second, the *contextual*. Broadly speaking, within systemic functional grammar the tendency has been to place the emphasis on context rather than intertextuality. With this in mind the chapter will break from the obvious chronology of the authors and instead be organised so as to focus on context first and then intertextuality. At the same time it should become obvious to the reader that, while each position may have a distinct leaning, intertextual and contextual concerns are not mutually exclusive and are indeed reckoned with by both schools.

SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR: THE CONTEXTUAL SLANT

Halliday identifies his approach to linguistics as a *functional* one which is nested within a broader social semiotics. It is functional in that it departs from more formal approaches to language and instead proposes a conceptual framework which offers a three-way model of language in use:

- 1) It is functional in the sense that it is designed to account for how the language is used.
- 2) Following from this, the fundamental components of meaning in language are functional components.
- 3) Thirdly, each element in a language is explained by reference to its function in the total linguistic system (Halliday, 1985: xii).

It is in this sense that language as social semiotic operates as a "system of meanings, accompanied by forms through which the meanings can be realized" (Halliday, 1985: xiv). As it is to be developed below, these "forms" enjoy a relationship of intrinsic functionality.

Social Semiotics

Before considering how language is used in a functional framework we must start with a model of language which is located within a broader conspectus of social semiotics. By identifying language as a social semiotic we can regard language as one of the semiotic resources which constitute culture and that language is "distinctive in that it also serves as an encoding system for many (though not all) of the others" (Halliday, 1978: 2). This does not blind us to the fact that language enjoys a historical and not a 'natural' ascendancy over the other semiotic resources.

What makes this approach to semiotics distinct is its intentional departure from 'formal semiotics'. According to Hodge and Kress (1988: 1-2)

'Mainstream semiotics' emphasizes structures and codes, at the expense of functions and social uses of semiotic systems in social practice, all of the factors which provide their motivation, their origins and destinations, their form and substance. It stresses system and product, rather than speakers and writers or other participants in semiotic activity as connected and interacting in a variety of ways in concrete social contexts. It attributes power to meaning, instead of meaning to power. It dissolves boundaries within the field of semiotics, but tacitly accepts an impenetrable wall cutting off semiosis from society, and semiotics from social and political thought.

Social semiotics distinguishes itself from formal semiotics then, by foregrounding function and use and by attempting to accommodate and account for *motivated* participants. By motivated I do not intend to simply re-introduce a model of subjective-individualism but, rather, to demonstrate that semiosis "is a construct between socially organized persons in the process of their interaction" (Vološinov, 1973: 21).

Thus social semiotics, as the name suggests, regards the social and the semiotic as concurrent spheres of human existence which impinge and interpenetrate one another.

It is precisely this relationship between semiosis and social activity which informs Halliday's binary of text and context. However, this bifurcation does not naïvely propose to ground the 'unreal' (signs) in the 'real' (reality) and so it does not reify text and context as ontological entities. Instead, the

Context of situation is defined semiotically rather than empirically as a configuration of field, tenor and mode values that 'determine' the semantics of the text at the level 'below.' These contextual variables are realized in the lexico-grammar of texts by selections in the three semantic metafunctions, corresponding to options in ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings (Thibault, 1991: 152).

In this way, the lower order semiotics of lexicogrammar are organized through options of meaning and so are recursively embedded in higher order semiotics.

Halliday foregrounds context within his conception of social semiotics in as much as he prescribes the interpretation of language be done "within a sociocultural context, in which the culture itself is interpreted in semiotic terms" (Halliday, 1978: 2). As Halliday observes language "does not consist of sentences; it consists of text, or discourse - the exchange of meanings in interpersonal contexts of one kind of another" (Halliday, 1978: 2). Yet language is not a neutral resource for conveying meaning and understanding. In using language "people act out the social structure, affirming their own

statuses and roles, and establishing and transmitting the shared systems of value and knowledge" (Halliday, 1978: 2).

Systemic functional grammar strongly disavows theories of language which give primacy to the referential. Instead, the referential aspect of language is realized as only one (the ideational metafunction) of three types of meaning (Ideational/interpersonal/textual) within a text. Models which privilege the referential component of language, on the other hand, can be characterised by their reliance upon what is termed the *conduit metaphor*. The conduit metaphor can be summarised as the folk-theoretical presumption which describes meaning as "something 'contained' in the forms of language, transmitted transparently through those forms, like water through a conduit" (Threadgold, 1989a: 7). Language, from this viewpoint, is simply a carrier of meanings which pre-exist their expression in language. Social semiotics, conversely, repudiates any claim to the existence of meaning external to language and other semiotic systems.

Thibault (1991: 79) summarizes aptly when he asserts:

The ideology of reference here presumes that we all share the notion of a center of consciousness that can be referred to as if it preexisted linguistic and discursive practice. Thus, the referential projection can lead us to overstate the commonality or sharedness of our own and others' meaning making practices in a given social formation. We take for granted the shared assumption of an authentic prediscursive self that is expressed by language but ultimately referable to as a prediscursive essence in the 'really Real'.

Post-structuralism does not have a monopoly on the critique of the rational, centred individual. Systemic functional

grammar, as a grammatics, necessitates that

we go beyond the language user's sense that language use is functionally effective in the local attainment of aims, goals, and purposes in order to develop a functionalism of the uses and distribution of semiotic forms in their social contexts-of-use (Thibault, 1991: 78-9).

Given the hostility towards linguistics within Anglo-American formulations of cultural studies, this leads to the question of whether this sort of semiotic/discourse analysis could be done without employing grammatics. The answer, simply put, is no, not in the case of discourse analysis. Many readers of Foucault have tended, in their projects of discourse analysis to presume that

discourses are transparent, they need no interpretation, no one to assign them meaning. If one 'reads' 'texts' in a certain way, one perceives that they speak clearly to us and require no further supplementary sense or interpretation (Fontana and Pasquino in Foucault, 1980c: 115).

While Foucault (1972: 110-111) points out that

Although the statement cannot be hidden, it is not visible either; it is not presented to the perception as the manifest bearer of its limits and characteristics. It requires a certain change of viewpoint and attitude to be recognized and examined in itself. Perhaps it is like the over-familiar that constantly eludes one...

We can begin to see the emphasis upon the performance of the critic-as-reader which is so crucial to post-structuralism and deconstruction. Attention is given to motifs and lexis but no 'deeper' and it comes to be the brilliance of the reading which marks a successful discourse analysis. Instead, systemicists argue that discourse semantics are realised through "the 'deeper' aspects of linguistic patterning" (Butler, 1985: 40).

Hjelmslev (1961) suggests a distinction between system

and process whereby, similar to Saussure, system 'represents' an option network of 'meaning potentials' (the paradigmatic plane) and process 'represents' a realization or actualization of the option network (syntagmatic plane). As Martin observes (1985: 248) "Process is much more the 'active' member of the pair..." Simplifying somewhat, it is Hjelmslev's emphasis upon stratification and a dialectical relationship between system and process which marks his departure from Saussure. Accordingly

Hjelmslev extends this dialectic to define relations between levels within the system (stratification) and between systems (denotative and connotative semiotics), providing crucial scaffolding for the highly modular systemic functional models in use today (Martin, 1991: 103).

Semantic realization then is achieved through this relationship of system to process and cannot simply be deduced by making reference to the syntagmatic plane.

A frequent charge levied against semiotics is that it nests the interpretation of meaning formations in reductive or "digital notions such as those of identity, difference, and equivalence" (Thibault, 1991: 18). This is not true of social semiotics, at least, as meaning relations are not founded upon reductive models. The juxtaposition of the paradigmatic to the syntagmatic plane suggests that meaning is open, dynamic and 'ambivalent.' Thibault (1991: 18-19) borrows from Umberto Galimberti to supplant reductionist constructs with a notion of ambivalence.

Difference... is not enough because it is on the inside of identity; Here ambivalence is needed that splits identity in two, not to reassemble it, but to let live inside it that relationship

of tension: A and not-A, which condenses the totality into one point. Nearness of the maximally distant, this is ambivalence... (Galimberti in Thibault, 1991: 19).

This notion of ambivalence¹⁵, is rooted in the complex meaning formations produced between the paradigmatic and syntagmatic planes.

Text, as a semantic unit, is located within the relations between the paradigmatic and syntagmatic planes. The syntagmatic plane (cf. Jakobson, 1971: 636-637), which has typically been privileged by modern theories of language, is largely understood as structure. It is within the syntagmatic environment that the text's context of situation is realized. At the same time, however, the text is deduced as process as well as product and this is the reason for Halliday's emphasis upon the paradigmatic environment. The

text is interpreted as the process of continuous movement through the system, a process which both expresses the higher orders of meaning that constitute the 'social semiotic', the meaning systems of the culture, and at the same time changes and modifies the system itself (Halliday, 1978: 137).

It is presumed, therefore that process (paradigmatic plane), continuously reworks the system or structure (syntagmatic plane).

From Saussure, the relations of the syntagmatic environment can be envisaged as the "combination of signs into larger units" of meaning (Thibault, 1991: 130). At each level, syntagmatic combinations are organized

¹⁵. This concept of ambivalence will be developed further in relation to Homi K. Bhabha's discussions of alterity.

paradigmatically such that the

paradigmatic environment classifies or "associates" in absentia potential relationships among sets of units that might have been selected on the syntagmatic plane but were not because something else was selected instead (Thibault, 1991: 130).

Syntagmatic combinations entail relations of "identifying something with something" (Thibault, 1991: 130). The paradigmatic plane, conversely, "entails the relation of 'identifying something as something'" (Thibault, 1991: 130). Thibault (1991: 130) elaborates this distinction further as follows:

Fulfillment of the "conditions of identification" entails the interaction of these two axes. *Identifying with*, for our present purposes, is concerned with the "ongoing current of selections," namely, the syntagmatic plane. *Identifying as* is concerned with comparing an element with its past and future (i.e., absent) forms and relations. *Identifying with* is, on the other hand, concerned with the present form of the element. The introduction of the temporal dimension enables us to focus on paradigmatic relations as *valeur* producing through the same/different dialectic.

The notion of *valeur* is derived from Saussure where values are constituted through *simultaneous* distinctions of dissimilarity and similarity between objects.

This paradigmatic theory of syntagmatic relations is therefore not complicit in the reification of structure or the ontology of identification which has been used to legitimate the removal of linguistics from cultural studies. Social semiotics builds upon Hjelmslev's (1961: 46) observation that "in order to be fully adequate, it [language] must always be ready to form new signs, new words or new roots." Far more emphasis is given to variation as innovation (instead of error) than the critics of linguistics typically allow. Coinciding with this emphasis

is the refusal to reduce social semiotics to a strictly empirical analysis of language. Social semiotics is fully compatible with Bakhtin's (1990a: 75) observation that "[o]ne does not exchange sentences..." Though, as Hjelmslev argues, text (process) realizes language (system), system does not rule process but rather the to impinge upon one another.

Crucial to understanding how systemic grammarians have employed Hjelmslev's concept of realization is the framework of metaredundancy. While the system is defined as a network of options, this does not mean that the selection of lexical items is unconstrained. As Halliday (1987: 140) remarks

In all open systems the probabilities are skewed, so that the system carries redundancy. Lemke shows that a semiotic system is one that is characterised by redundancy *between (pairs of) its subsystems*: what he refers to as 'metaredundancy'.

The notion of redundancy is derived from the work of Bateson (1973). Bateson proposes a model in which

"Meaning" may be regarded as an approximate synonym of pattern, redundancy, information and "restraint," within a paradigm of the following sort:

Any aggregate of events or objects (e.g., a sequence of phonemes, a painting, or a frog, or a culture) shall be said to contain "redundancy" or "pattern" if the aggregate can be divided in any way by a "slash mark," such that an observer perceiving only what is on one side of the slash mark can *guess*, with better than random success, what is on the other side of the slash mark. We may say that what is on one side of the slash mark contains *information* or has *meaning* about what is on the other side (Bateson in Thibault, 1991: 91).

Accordingly, we can illustrate this through Bateson's example of two entities: *a* and *b* or *a/b* (Bateson in Thibault, 1991: 91). For *a* to be redundant with *b*, the information contained in *a* must allow us to make predictions

about the information which is in turn contained in *b*. As Thibault observes,

this process is never entirely reversible, for the redundancy relations at any given level in the contextual hierarchy always covary with other levels of relations in a still wider system of contextual relations...

and so "...there is never any perfect or symmetrical match between levels" (Thibault, 1991: 92).

From Halliday's reading of Hjelmslev, we can propose two 'primary' levels: the semantic and the lexicogrammatical levels.

Now, grammar and lexis are simply the same phenomenon looked at from two different ends; but one difference between them is that the patterns we treat as grammatical are those which are buried much deeper below the level of people's consciousness, and so these patterns, and the probabilities associated with them are much harder for people to become aware of...(Halliday, 1987: 139).

The lexical patternings of discourse (semantics), therefore, constitute only a part of the relations of meaning within a text. With the refusal of linguistics, much of the work in cultural studies ignores grammar and so tends to replicate what Halliday (1985: xvii) refers to as a "running commentary on text". As Halliday (1987: 143) observes

In our normal everyday concern with language we simply attend to the motifs. We are not concerned with wordings, and do not trouble even to remember them. We behave as if the metaredundancy - the realizations of meaning in lexicogrammar - is simply an automatic coding.

We can expand upon the two initial levels offered to construct a schema such as the one in Figure 1 below (Halliday, 1987: 144). This multi-level (metaredundant) contextual approach proposes a series of relations founded

'meaning'	(semantic)	level 0: 'motifs'
		level 1: 'words'
'wording'	(lexicogrammatical)	level 2: 'phenotypes'
		level 3: 'cryptotypes'

1. Levels of redundancy between semantic and lexicogrammatic levels

upon the levels portrayed above. Level 0 redounds with level 1 which in turn redounds with level 2 and which in turn redounds with level 3. Each order of redundancy in turn impinges on the next and so, each level realizes the next higher level (from 3 to 0) in a recursive manner. At the same time this does not mean that we simply substitute a bottom-up model for a top-down one. Halliday (1978: 138) is quite unequivocal here:

a text, as well as being realized in the lower levels of the linguistic system, lexicogrammatical and phonological, is also itself the realization of higher-level semiotic structures with their own modes of interpretation, literary, sociological, psychoanalytic and so on. These higher-level structures may be expressed not only by the semantics of the text but also by patterning at these lower levels...

From this perspective we can declare:

These *n*-order metaredundancies define the levels, or strata, of the system: the relationship of metaredundancy is the general relationship whose manifestation in the language we are accustomed to referring to as 'realisation' (Halliday, 1987: 140).

Realization is characterized as the product of semiosis and as the process of semiosis itself. Realization is not the outcome of a top-down determinism, but instead the product/process of

the copatternings of formal lexico-grammatical selections in texts both realize, enact, produce, and index their situational contexts

and their higher-order social semiotic by virtue of occurring just as much as they are realized or produced by these (Thibault, 1991: 13).

It requires greater attention to attend to the micro taken-for-granted aspects of textual production, the grammar, but

when we get there, we find ourselves back at the motifs again; but this time with a greatly heightened understanding, because now we can see why the text meant what it did, and we can appreciate the deeper ideological content of the discourse...(Halliday, 1987: 143).

Central to systemic grammar, then, is the challenge that the interpretation of semantic units (texts) cannot be done without reference to their grammatical structure. "Meanings" charges Halliday (1985: xvii) "are realized through wordings; and without any theory of wordings - that is, a grammar - there is no way of making explicit one's interpretation of the meaning of a text." The attempt to account for the relations between paradigmatic structures is what renders this theory of language systemic. It does not suggest a fixed meaning to the text but, rather, a complex process of semiosis which is realized through a number of levels. This realization is inseparable from the context which encourages the selection of options open to the readers/writers/listeners/speakers. Texts, therefore, are the sites of semantic possibilities and so are "seen as both constitutive of and productive of wider social processes" (Thibault, 1986: ii). In this sense neither the system nor the text may be understood as static.

Language Used in Context

Gleaning from Malinowski and in turn Firth, the context

of situation and the context of culture guide systemic-functional interpretations of texts. As Hasan (1985: 18) observes these two scholars share a "commitment to statements of meaning and an acceptance of the centrality of social context both in the creation and the interpretation of texts". There is a recognition here that analysis of semiosis requires more than references to the verbal activities surrounding texts. Instead one must include the total environment (a semiotic environment) within which the text and participants are immersed. This total environment is expressed as a contextual configuration or situation type. "It is the specific features of a CC [contextual configuration] -the values of the variable- that permit statements about the text's structure" (Halliday and Hasan, 1989: 56).

Anticipating the discussion below, as Halliday (1978) describes his social semiotics as an intra and inter-organism perspective so too Bakhtin describes the phenomenon of inner and outer speech within the confines of an inter-individual territory. Language as an intra-organism phenomenon connotes language as knowledge. However, even if language does serve as the sphere in which consciousness comes to be realized it does not lead us to a cognitive model of language. The dualism Halliday suggests between intra and inter-organismic perspectives refuses to centre language and, ultimately, knowledge in the

individual. Language as an inter-organism phenomenon refers to language as behaviour and as such semiosis can never be kept distinct from the inter-organismic realm.

Consequently, the knowledge/consciousness the individual organism may possess is not constituted internally but rather, for the most part, externally. It is the significance of the social realm which allows Halliday (Halliday and Hasan, 1989: 5) to declare "contexts precede text."

For Halliday

the context in which the text unfolds, is encapsulated in the text, not in any kind of piecemeal fashion, nor at the other extreme in any mechanical way, but through a systematic relationship between social environment on the one hand, and the functional organisation of language on the other (Halliday and Hasan, 1989: 11).

From this, Halliday suggests, it is possible to move in either direction: from text to context or from context to text.

Halliday gives three dimensions to the context: 1) *field of discourse*, 2) *tenor of discourse*, 3) *mode of discourse*.

The field of discourse "refers to what is happening, to the nature of the social action taking place..." (Halliday and Hasan, 1989: 12). The tenor of discourse "refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and role..." (Halliday and Hasan, 1989: 12).

Lastly, the mode of discourse "refers to what part the language is playing, what it is that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in that situation..."

(Halliday and Hasan, 1989: 12). These dimensions do not indicate types of language use but rather the components of the situation. As a whole they provide a means to establish the properties of the context (how language is being used in context) so as to make predictions about the corresponding semantic properties of the text. Finally, these contextual components are in turn realized within the text through the functional components of language.

Hasan argues that the variables of field, tenor, and mode cannot be individuated as their impingement upon the text's structure operates in a holistic fashion.

We need to see the total set of features - all selected values of the three variables - as one configuration, rather than attempting to relate aspects of the text's structure to individual 'headings' (Halliday and Hasan, 1989: 56).

Hasan, therefore, suggests the notion of *contextual configuration* as a means to integrate the values of the three variables.

The contextual configuration is an account of the social activity of which the text is a part both as product and process. It accommodates both the context of situation and the context of culture. It is the characterization of a situation type rather than a specific situation. As such the contextual configuration allows the analyst to make predictions about the text in questions structure. Hasan outlines it as answering:

1. What elements must occur; [obligation]
2. What elements can occur; [optional]
3. Where must they occur; [sequence]
4. Where can they occur; [sequence]

5. How often can they occur. [iteration]

More succinctly we would say that a CC can predict the OBLIGATION (1) and the OPTIONAL (2) elements of a text's structure as well as their SEQUENCE (3 and 4) *vis-à-vis* each other and the possibility of their ITERATION (5). [where] an ELEMENT is a stage with some consequence in the progression of a text (Halliday and Hasan, 1989: 56).

From this we can conclude that the contextual configuration activates elements which in turn appear in the text structure.

Functional Components

The functional components of systemic grammar traverse both system and process. They serve as a point of entry for the analyst to explore the sort of relations between system and process which are realized in register. These functional components comprise the semantic system of language (see Figure 2). The semantic system is first of three strata of the linguistic system. The other two strata, lexicogrammar

2. The semantic system

and phonology, are not relevant at this point but shall be developed below.

There are three metafunctions within the semantic system: *ideational*, *interpersonal*, and *textual*, with the ideational metafunction comprising two further sub-components of *experiential* and *logical*. Together, these components realize the context of the situation within the text. This

relationship of the text to the context of the situation is characterized in the table below (from Halliday and Hasan, 1989: 26).

SITUATION: Feature of the context	(realised by)	TEXT: Functional component of semantic system
Field of discourse (what is going on)		Experiential meanings (transitivity, naming, etc.)
Tenor of discourse (who is taking part)		Interpersonal meanings (mood, modality, person, etc.)
Mode of discourse (role assigned to language)		Textual meanings (theme, information, cohesive relations)

3. Relation of the text to the context of situation.

The ideational metafunction realizes the speaker/writer's meaning potential as an observer of the social activity. As a realization of the field of discourse it is the 'content' function of language. In sum, it is the "component through which the language encodes the cultural experience, and the speaker encodes his own individual experience as a member of the culture" (Halliday, 1978: 112). From Martin (1991: 109) we can posit that "ideational meaning construes reality as relationships among parts and wholes." It is through this relationship that we can further distinguish between experiential and logical meaning. Martin (1991: 109) contrasts the experiential to the logical where "experientially, part/whole relations are foregrounded" and "logically...part/part relations are foregrounded." Thus we can characterize experiential

relations as those of *constituency* and logical as those of *interdependency*. To Halliday's (1978: 131) mind, the experiential and the logical can be treated as linked because "there is a greater systemic interdependence between these two than between the other pairs." In sum then, ideational meaning is the operation by which language functions as representation.

The interpersonal metafunction realizes the speaker/writer's meaning potential as a participant of the social activity. The interpersonal metafunction realises the tenor of discourse. It is the

component through which the speaker intrudes himself [sic] into the context of situation, both expressing his [sic] own attitudes and behaviours and seeking to influence the attitudes and behaviours of others (Halliday, 1978: 112).

Interpersonal meaning transcends (Martin, 1991: 110) parts and wholes and instead encodes the interaction of the situation within the text. It is a different kind of meaning from ideational in that it advances language as action.

Lastly, the textual metafunction realizes the speaker/writer's potential to produce texts. It is the textual metafunction which realizes the mode of discourse. Halliday advances that it "expresses the relation of the language to its environment, including both the verbal environment ...and the non-verbal, situational environment" (Halliday, 1978: 113). The textual component enables the other two so as to permit their actualization. Martin

(1991: 111) summarizes textual meaning as construing "semiotic reality syntagmatically as a wave - as a rhythmic ebb and flow constructing peaks of prominence and troughs." This suggests (if rather lyrically) how textual meaning enables the other two metafunctions and in turn how the paradigmatic elements affect syntagmatic patternings.

As 'modes of meaning,' the metafunctions belong to the semantic stratum rather than that of grammar. These metafunctions co-ordinate the internal or 'deeper' functional organization of lexicogrammar and the contextual variables outlined above. Gregory (1987: 98) aptly summarizes:

(1) that each of these semantic components typically generates a different kind of structural mechanism as its output, or realization; and (2) that these different types of structure are non-arbitrary related to the kinds of meaning they express. The different 'modes of meaning' (which I interpret as semantic systems) are then claimed to be uniquely related to the nature of the 'modes of expression' (which I interpret as grammatically structures) they generate.

Thus, what Gregory suggests is that there is a solidary relationship or intrinsic functionality between semantic systems and grammatical structures. Function, therefore, is understood not simply as a "variation in the use of language, but as a fundamental property of language itself..." (Halliday and Hasan, 1989: 17).

Denotative and Connotative Elements

As already stated above Hjelmslev makes the distinction between expression form and content form. This at the heart of his notion of denotative semiotics. Instead of language

being equated with a system of signs, it is envisaged as a stratified semiotic which plays upon the bifurcation of expression and content.

Expression and content can be equated with the more familiar terms of signifier and signified. As Hjelmslev (1961: 47) is quick to observe that the "old tradition according to which a sign is first and foremost a sign for something" is "linguistically untenable." Instead, Hjelmslev posits a sign-function which is produced or realized in a functional relationship between expression and content. Accordingly, Hjelmslev (1961: 48) declares

Thus there is also solidarity between the sign function and its two functives, expression and content. There will never be a sign function without the simultaneous presence of both these functives; and an expression its content, will never appear together without the sign function's also being present between them.

Systemic functional grammar adopts this distinction to propose that while the relationship between the expression form¹⁶ (phonology/graphology) and content form (discourse-semantics and lexicogrammar) is arbitrary, the relationship between the strata of the content form is not arbitrary. This can be portrayed diagrammatically (Figure 4) (Martin, 1991: 114). The three strata stand together in a relationship of realization such that phonology/graphology realizes lexicogrammar, and lexicogrammar likewise realizes

¹⁶. Gregory's modes of expression must not be confused with the expression plane. While the modes of expression include lexicogrammar, the expression plane does not. Between the modes of meaning and the modes of expression there are non-arbitrary or solidary relations while between the content plane and expression plane there are arbitrary relations.

discourse-semantics.

4. Relations of solidarity and arbitrariness

The solidary relationship between semantics and grammar requires that verbal expression, at the level of the clause, be organized by the metafunctions. The three metafunctions are projected across the strata. From Martin (1991: 115) we can conclude that "metafunctional organisation of this kind pervades the content plane." This relationship between text (semantics) and grammar (expression) is made explicit by Halliday (1985: xvii);

A text is a semantic unit, not a grammatical one. But meanings are realized through wordings; and without a theory of wordings - that is, a grammar - there is no way of making explicit one's interpretation of the meaning of a text.

It is from this perspective that Halliday chooses to give so much attention to the paradigmatic patterning of discourse.

When we turn to the level of connotative semiotics, which can be construed as a higher-order semiotic we must introduce the notion of register. It is a higher-order semiotic in that the denotative semiotic serves as its expression plane. Halliday characterizes register as functioning at the semantic level. Register, for Halliday (1985: 38-39), functions as the effect of context on language which is then realized at the

level of semantics. Martin (1991), in contrast to Halliday, begins to propose that the contextual dimensions of field, mode and tenor be perceived as higher, connotative semiotics. Accordingly Martin (1991: 123) provides a diagram similar to Figure 5 below. It is because the metafunctions

5. Register as a connotative semiotic

realize the contextual components that we can ascribe a linkage of solidarity between language and register.

Yet Martin is quick to point out that solidarity between denotative and connotative semiotics is different from that between the content strata of language. Martin (1991: 128) proposes that "between semiotics, realisation is probabilistic" while between strata "each stratum contributes a layer of meaning to text with grammatical metaphor mediating." By probabilistic, Martin (1991: 128) means that the connotative semiotics "determine meanings at risk." Thus, as with Halliday and Hasan, register is redundant (redounds) with the social process in which the text is enmeshed. While register may vary in openness, they cannot be completely open to interpretation by participants. Registers still remain within a functional conspectus and thus are produced with

purpose and intent.

Genre

Issues of purpose and goal open up questions of genre. Halliday (1978: 145) construes genres as "the specific semiotic functions of text that have social value in the culture." Function remains the keyword here such that we understand genre selection to be motivated by the relevant social processes. Kress (1987:35) identifies genre as a social category which is concurrently a social process and social form in itself and an encoding of social processes and forms.

Though the genre question has come to be a major issue within social semiotics, for the most part its practitioners take an anti-autonomy approach. As Hodge and Kress (1988: 46) observe, a "genre isn't a charmed area where all other systems cease to apply." Instead Martin (1985: 250) treats genre as "linguistically realized activity types which comprise much of our culture." Genre cannot be treated as a purely formal category and instead

Genre is the term which describes that aspect of the form of texts which is due to the effect of their production in particular social occasions. The social occasions are characterized by specific sets of participants, with specific social relations and purposes vis-à-vis each other and towards the occasion, by particular institutional settings and locations and by characteristic practices (Kress, 1987: 36).

Accordingly, the 'uniformity' of the social occasion results in a likewise 'uniform' textual production and comes to be attributed to the text rather than the context in which it is nested: "as characteristics of a particular genre"

(Kress, 1987: 36).

There is a sense here in which genres are socially sanctioned and therefore possess a quality of metastability. "Genres exist only insofar as a social group declares and enforces the rules that constitute them" (Hodge and Kress, 1988: 7). This quality of metastability can largely be attributed to power/knowledge constraints.

Genres serve to constrain possible interpretations of texts and so impinge upon register realization. At the same time, genres lead a dual 'life', they do

more than legitimize combinations of field, mode and tenor in a culture. As well it represents at an abstract level the verbal strategies used to accomplish social purposes of many kinds (Martin 1985: 251).

If we acknowledge that social life and occasions are dynamic and require a certain pragmatism then we must begin to introduce a second quality of genre, the dynamic aspect. Consequently, while genres fulfil a stabilizing and restricting function we must at the same time acknowledge that genres are inherently unstable.

Kress (1987: 37) points out that texts not only must function in socially circumscribed settings but that they are "'about' something" as well. To explain texts according to their generic qualities alone risks sliding into a homeostatic-formalist analysis. Thus, Kress (1987: 37-38)

juxtaposes genre with discourse¹⁷:

texts are determined socially in two major ways; by the effects of the structurings and processes of social occasions leading to generic form; and by the organization of meaning/knowledge by and in social institutions leading to the organization by discourse.

"Every individual," Kress (1987: 37) attests, "has been and is institutionalized in a multiplicity of ways." We are able to act in any number of different (possibly conflicting) institutional settings and are therefore able to speak in any number of sanctioned modes.

Consequently in that individual's participation in the production of texts a large number of discourses, several of them always bearing on a particular subject-matter and its formulation, are available to him or her (Kress, 1987: 37).

Texts cannot only present and co-ordinate a number of discourses but they may also co-ordinate conflicting discourses. In this way texts are pluralistic in that they may accommodate a number of social-linguistic positions for the participants of the social occasion. This is not to say, however, that this accommodation is an easy and comfortable one for all positions being included. Social-linguistic positions are always organized and hierarchized vis-à-vis one another offering both ascendancy and subordination explicitly and/or implicitly.

If we acknowledge that in social life meanings and knowledges are contested, then genres, which are in part a semiotic means to consolidating those contested meanings and

¹⁷. This distinction between discourse and genre is not so easy to make within the Bakhtinite conspectus where, as we shall see below, the form and subject of the utterance are traversed by the concept of speech genre.

knowledges, must be responsive to new consolidations.

And so in the formation of nearly all texts, in the processes of their construction, there are always slight shifts, slight changes, imperceptible usually, but effective over time (Kress, 1987: 42-43).

Just as the outcomes of struggle and contestation between social groups are unpredictable, so to are the continuous reformulations of genres.

Any theory of genre must accordingly be able to comprehend generic change¹⁸. Generic considerations, nevertheless, provide a powerful tool for the analysis of texts. Martin (1991: 131) aptly observes:

The advantage of the genre perspective is that it provides a more holistic interpretation of text type which in turn makes it possible to account for the fact that field, mode and tenor variables are never randomly combined but rather settle into a number of relatively stable combinations reflecting the system of social process engendering a speech community.

Perhaps Martin attributes too much success to genre's stabilizing function but implicit in his statement is that genre must be appreciated as a connotative semiotic. The

6. Genre as a connotative semiotic

¹⁸. It is with this consideration that the discussion of Bakhtin below will prove particularly fruitful.

figure above (6), as conceived by Martin, gives genre to the content plane of register. This has significant ramifications for discussions of intertextuality as it suggests that intertextual phenomena may also be functionally motivated.

Systemic functional grammar proposes that register realization takes place through the play of denotative and connotative semiotics at a number of levels rather than on the surface of the text. Semiosis does not simply work in one direction, from top-down or bottom-up, but instead runs the gamut of strata. Generally it is presumed that at the level of denotative semiotics, phonology/graphology realizes lexicogrammar in an arbitrary manner and lexicogrammar realizes discourse-semantics in a solidary one. At the level of connotative semiotics, discourse-semantics realizes register and register realises genre. These, too, are construed as solidary relationships. At the same time the relationships between strata are interdependent or symbiotic.

Lemke (1985a) suggests such a relationship in terms of *global patterning*. Lemke (1985a: 285) offers the notion of global patterning as a means to account for the patterning of choices across the semiotic systems, "different activity types, thematic systems, and occasions of language use." For Lemke (1985a: 285) these choices are "patterned against one another globally." From this perspective the

bifurcation of contexts and texts are also held to be mutually determining relations and so this system cannot make claims to a teleology of semiotic realisation.

BAKHTIN'S DIALOGIC IMAGINATION: THE INTERTEXTUAL SLANT

Much of Bakhtin's writings can be understood as being didactic. Terms such as dialogism, heteroglossia, carnivalesque, and speech genre are all intended to supplant individual subjectivism with collective subjectivism in literary and linguistic thought. Bakhtin chooses to celebrate the public, exterior person over the private, inner one. In many ways similar to the work described above, Bakhtin presents a social constructivist model of semiosis.

Like systemic functional grammar, Bakhtin proposes that language be construed as "purely potential." Language, for Bakhtin (1981b: 251) is a "treasure-house" and not a *prison house* (Jameson 1972). At the same time, individual speakers do not have total and free access to the general system of language and as such particular performances will always be constrained. Language is not simply meaningful in itself but instead is realized in "real utterances and real speakers" (Bakhtin, 1990b: 118).

These utterances reflect the specific goals of each such area [of human activity] not only through their content (thematic) and linguistic style, that is, the selection of the lexical, phraseological, and grammatical resources of the language, but above all through their compositional structure (Bakhtin, 1990a: 60).

By compositional structure, Bakhtin refers to the dialogic

quality of particular language performances. Meaning (or, as it shall later be developed, theme) is always the product of what Bakhtin terms *dialogic relations*.

Dialogism

Dialogism seems to summarize the Bakhtinite philosophy of communication and language and yet it is a term which he never explicitly develops in his writing and so it has been given many differing interpretations.¹⁹ Nevertheless, a working model of dialogism can be garnered from Bakhtin's writings and those penned under the names of Medvedev and Vološinov.

Dialogism, not surprisingly, is modelled upon dialogue. Dialogue is understood as the "simplest and most classic form of speech communication" (Bakhtin, 1990a: 75). As a theory of communication, dialogism can largely be understood as an attempt to accommodate the "problem of the double-voiced word" (Bakhtin, 1990b: 119). It is this double-voiced quality which leads Bakhtin to formulate a theory of the utterance which is conceptualized as repartee.

Bakhtin identifies dialogism as operating in two senses: as the turn taking of direct dialogue between an I and its other and as the *heteroglossia* of individual utterances. "The utterance is addressed not only to its own

¹⁹. See, for example, the disputes between Holquist and Emerson and Hirschkop (in Morson 1986) as well as Hirschkop's (1985) critical essay. Todorov also gives dialogism a slant particular to his own conceptualizations of discourse and genre.

object, but also to others' speech about it" (Bakhtin, 1990a: 94). Individual utterances do not possess a unity or internal integrity. *"Any utterance, no matter how weighty and complete in and of itself, is only a moment in the continuous process of verbal communication"* (Vološinov, 1973: 95). The utterance invites a response from the other but it is also a response in itself and so bears the words of the other. Accordingly, utterances carry forth intertextual referents from the context in which they are constructed. Threadgold (1988d: 170) concurs with this interpretation and suggests

The first has to do with social agency and deliberate semantic reversals/refusals of particular positions in other texts. The second has to do with the less conscious, more covert ways, in which the voices of the social order speak through social agents and their textual productions.

Dialogism, consequently, operates both intra- and inter-textually. We can claim, suitably, that dialogism foregrounds a contextually driven intertextuality.

Dialogism cannot be reduced to a characteristic of language but, rather, all communication is necessarily dialogic. *"Dialogic relations presuppose a language, but they do not reside within the system of language"* (Bakhtin, 1990b: 117). Dialogism comprehends all semiotics and so language need not be privileged except in its historical sense. Furthermore, language is not autonomous to other semiotics and as such *"[v]erbal intercourse is inextricably interwoven with communication of other types..."* (Vološinov,

1973: 95).

The pervasiveness of dialogism does not presume a transparency of heteroglossia. The dialogic nature of the utterance is only manifested in a mediated manner. The double voicedness of the word is constrained and organized within the individual utterance. Bakhtin (1981b: 252) provides the following proviso:

But this dialogue cannot enter into the world represented in the work, nor into any of the chronotopes represented, although not outside the work as a whole. It (this dialogue) enters the world of the author, of the performer, and the world of the listeners and readers.

The speaker's speech plan and the listener's own position presumes a certain coherence to the utterance which prevents it from being received as an incomprehensible cacophony of voices. In this way it is impossible to treat dialogism and monologism as an either-or dichotomy. Instead we should look to dialogism and monologism as existing within a continuum.

Meaning and, ultimately, communication can only be achieved within dialogic relations. Dialogism proposes that within all semiotics, available codes are accented by the ideological²⁰ positions occupied by the participants. As Thibault (1991: 104) suggests, the intrinsic heteroglossia of utterances

²⁰. Ideology, for Bakhtin, cannot be reduced to simply the product of class relations nor inflated to a zeitgeist. Arguably, it is more reasonable to use ideology here as a reference to the rhetorical and aesthetic experiences which the historically constituted subject comprehends as existent.

provides us with a way of breaking with the presumed intersubjective unity of the knowing subject and the object of knowledge, for example, language. Bakhtin's concept shows us that there is no necessary and unified point of reference for social meaning making practices, just as there is no given, determinate worldview that is simply mirrored or reflected in, say, language.

Communication transpires, not through simple recognition but, through a negotiation between speakers. At the same time this is not a ingenuous conflict model. Agreement also entails a difference in the positions between participants.

"Agreement is very rich in varieties and shadings. ...two utterances belonging to *different voices* and not one..."

(Bakhtin, 1990b: 125). As Bakhtin (1990b: 125) proposes, utterances of agreement are never simply "echoes." Thus, for Bakhtin, "[a]ny true understanding is dialogic in nature" (Vološinov, 1973: 102).

The Problem of the Utterance

Bakhtin (1990a: 63) identifies the problem of the utterance as the tension between "national" language and its subjective forms of actualization (cf. Bhabha, 1990a: 295). As Bakhtin (1990a: 63) puts it "language enters life through concrete utterances (which manifest languages) and life enters language through concrete utterances as well." It is in this way that Bakhtin, like Halliday et al., rejects the synchronic/diachronic dichotomy. Language as potential is always becoming and never exists as either pure system or pure synthesis.

Bakhtin (Vološinov, 1973) presents semiosis as the product of a dialectic between *meaning* and *theme*. He

ascribes meaning to units of language and theme to the utterance. The meaning of language units is purely potential and so, outside of utterances, the word is polysemic (Vološinov, 1973: 101). Conversely, a "definite and unitary meaning, a unitary significance, is a property belonging to any utterance as a whole" (Vološinov, 1973: 99). Ergo, utterances possess a thematic unity. The theme of the utterance is a realization of its context. "The theme is the expression of the concrete, historical situation that engendered the utterance" (Vološinov, 1973: 99). The utterance can be broken down to smaller linguistic units so as to evaluate their meanings but the theme of the utterance is, "in essence, indivisible" (Vološinov, 1973: 99).

Bakhtin (Vološinov, 1973: 99) remarks that

the theme of an utterance is determined not only by the linguistic forms that comprise it - words, morphological and syntactic structures, sounds, and intonation - but also by extraverbal factors of the situation.

Bakhtin does seem to suggest that the linguistic units impinge upon utterances. After all

if we were to restrict ourselves to the historical unreproducibility and unitariness of each concrete utterance and its theme, we would be poor dialecticians. Together with theme or, rather, within the theme, there is also the meaning of the utterance (Vološinov, 1973: 100).

Without the exhaustiveness of systemic grammar, Bakhtin (Vološinov, 1973: 100) proposes:

Theme is a complex, dynamic system of signs that attempts to be adequate to a given instant of generative process. Theme is a reaction by the consciousness in its generative process to the generative process of existence. Meaning is the technical apparatus for the implementation of theme.

Further extrapolation of Bakhtin's writing below should reveal that what Bakhtin does not propose, however, is a solidary relationship between linguistic and dialogic relations.

While Bakhtin (1990a: 75) concedes that utterances are constructed from language he insists that "this does not transform a language unit into a unit of speech communication." For Bakhtin (1990a: 76-77) there are three factors which give the utterance its wholeness and therefore meaningfulness: "1. semantic exhaustiveness of the theme; 2. the speaker's plan or speech will; 3. typical compositional and generic forms of finalization." From this we can begin to see how utterances, organized through *speech genres*, are realized in the contexts in which they are produced.

Speech Genres

All utterances are constituted within speech genres:

Each separate utterance is individual, of course, but each sphere in which language is used develops in its own *relatively stable types of these utterances*. These we may call *speech genres* (Bakhtin, 1990a: 60).

Speech genres, Bakhtin observes, are functionally heterogeneous and multifarious. Indeed, Bakhtin (1990a: 78) remarks

We speak only in speech genres, that is, all our utterances have definite and relatively stable typical forms of construction of the whole. Our repertoire of oral (and written) speech genres is rich. We use them confidently and skilfully in practice, and it is quite possible for us not even to suspect their existence in theory.

It is within speech genres that utterances achieve their wholeness.

The semantic exhaustion of our utterances is achieved through speech genres. Semantic or representative exhaustion varies with the institutional setting in which the utterance is composed. Those spheres of human life where speech genres are restrictive (Bakhtin gives the example of the military) the subject of the utterance will be almost fully elaborated, its theme sustained. Conversely, within creative or more open speech genres (such as those of the sciences or arts) the subject only "achieves a relative finalization" (Bakhtin, 1990a: 77).

Speech genres are related to specific spheres of human activity and are therefore goal-oriented. Accordingly, speech genres realize the speaker's plan or will-to-mean. The position of the speaker vis-à-vis positioned others within a given sphere of social activity will motivate the speaker's choice of subject and genre. The speech genre is genuinely dialogic; it will be responsive to and organize the voices of others within a given social activity.

Appropriately, the study of the utterance as the meaningful unit of communication produces a dialectic of text and context similar to that which preoccupies systemic functional grammar. Bakhtin (Vološinov, 1973: 90) is quite explicit; he posits that when

an experience reaches the stage of actualisation in the full-fledged utterance, its social orientation acquires added complexity by focusing on the immediate social circumstances of discourse, and, above all, on actual addressees.

The utterance is effaced within its context. It bears both

the context of the immediate situation and the broader social context in which the participants are enmeshed.

As already established above, the utterance does not possess any internal integrity. Each utterance, located within dialogic relations, is *"only a moment in the continuous process of verbal communication"* (Vološinov, 1973: 95). This dialogic process is, of course, a part of the broader process of constituting culture. Bakhtin acknowledges this as a tension *"between concrete verbal interaction and the extraverbal situation - both the immediate situation and, through it, the broader situation"* (Vološinov, 1973: 95). This tension can be summarized in much the same way which Malinowski and Halliday do as the context of the situation and the context of culture. Dialogic relations are both generated by and generative of these contexts.

The chosen genre permits the speaker's speech plan, *"with all its individuality and subjectivity,"* to be *"shaped and developed within a certain generic form"* (Bakhtin, 1990a: 78). It is the chosen genre which will prescribe the boundaries of the utterance and determine when the speaker must *"relinquish the floor to the other"* (Bakhtin, 1990a: 71).

Bakhtin is ardent to demonstrate the ways in which participants are socially organized within the *interindividual territory*.

It is a territory that cannot be called "natural" in the direct sense of the word: signs do not arise between any two members of the species *Homo sapiens*. It is essential that the two individuals be organized socially, that they compose a group (a social unit); only then can the medium of signs take shape between them (Vološinov, 1973: 12).

Within the interindividual territory utterances are composed within prescribed types or genres which reflect the "structure, goal, and social composition" (Vološinov, 1973: 97). This social territory, the meeting of experienced and positioned participants who engage in a "channel of social intercourse assigned" (Vološinov, 1973: 97) to the situation fully describes Bakhtin's exploration of the context of communication. We can agree with Threadgold (1986: 123-124) that this is not dissimilar from Halliday's features of the context, namely: field of discourse; tenor of discourse; and mode of discourse.

At the same time Threadgold's (1986: 124) observation that

[s]omething like Halliday's three metafunctions are implicit in Vološinov's rudimentary description of the semantic of the utterance (text) as involving meaning/theme/ and evaluation (1973: Ch. 4). This involves a functional differentiation of meaning into referential/contextually and dependent/and interactive, that is ideational, textual and interpersonal.

is equally intriguing. In *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* Bakhtin proposes that semiosis occurs through a dialectical relationship between meaning and theme. But this is rather vague from the perspective of the systemicist and it is not touched upon again in *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*.

In "The Problem of Speech Genres," Bakhtin (1990a: 92)

admits that

The expression of an utterance can never be fully understood or explained if its thematic content is all that is taken into account. The expression of an utterance always *responds* to greater or lesser degree, that is, it expresses the speaker's attitude towards other's utterances and not just his attitude toward the object of his utterance.

This admission, though, in no way suggests the 'meaningfulness' of wordings. The semantic wholeness of the utterance is achieved not through a dialectic between theme and meaning inasmuch as it is achieved through a dialectic between utterance and context. Context cannot be placed against meaning but, rather, alongside and against theme (Figure 7). Meaning is without context and is consequently cannot effect semiosis.

Linguistic Relations	Dialogic Relations
	Theme
Meaning	Context

7. Meaning/theme/context

While Bakhtin's presentation of the "functional differentiation of meaning into referential/contextually and dependent/and interactive" may be reminiscent of Halliday's metafunctions they do not operate in the same manner. The problems of understanding and the interrelationship between meaning and evaluation (voicedness) are, for Bakhtin, only acted out within dialogic relations.

Bakhtin gives little consideration to grammar as an

element of semiosis. He admonishes linguistics for ignoring "the real unit of speech communication: the utterance" (Bakhtin, 1990a: 71). To Bakhtin, the dialogic relations which are so crucial to his theory of semiosis cannot be found within the structure of language.

There can be no dialogic relations among language units, regardless of how we understand them and regardless of the level of the language structure from which we take them (phonemes, morphemes, lexemes, sentences, and so forth) (Bakhtin, 1990b: 125).

By separating dialogism from language, Bakhtin risks bringing a synchronic conception of language (but not communication) in through the back door. Similar to Halliday's emphasis upon paradigmatic relations of language use, parole is the realm in which meaning is constituted. And yet Bakhtin seemingly gives over the entire linguistic system to arbitrary relations²¹:

The utterance (as a speech whole) cannot be seen as a unit of the next, higher level or tier of the language structure (above syntax), for it enters into the world of completely different relations (dialogic) that cannot be compared with linguistic relations of other levels (1990b: 125).

Bakhtin does this to separate out language from communication. The utterance is not to be construed as a unit of language "but a unit of speech communication that has not mere formal definition, but *contextual meaning...*" (Bakhtin, 1990b: 125).

²¹. Bakhtin's conception of dialogism does presuppose a theory of anticipative reception (note his references to turn taking) which structures the speech act but, at this point in the translation and interpretation of the Circles writings, dialogism, for Bakhtin, does not operate as a distinct level realized within the lexicogrammar and phonology/graphology of the utterance. Nevertheless, this is precisely the direction I will be taking in my discussion of the works of Halliday and Bakhtin.

Instead Bakhtin (1990a: 73) submits that we provisionally "pose the problem of the sentence as a unit of language, as distinct from the utterance as a unit of speech communication." Dialogic relations cannot be treated grammatically, according to Bakhtin as the utterance is a super-sentential phenomenon. The sentence

is not demarcated on either side by a change of speaking subjects; it has neither direct contact with reality nor a direct relation to other's utterances; it does not have semantic fullness of value; and it has no capacity to determine directly the responsive position of the other speaker...(Bakhtin, 1990a: 74).

While language may be a semiotic resource for verbal communication, to Bakhtin, it cannot be implicated in dialogic relations. We can represent this distinction between linguistic and dialogic relations as follows:

Linguistic Relations	Dialogic Relations
lexis, morphology, syntax	utterance
Meaning	Context

8. Linguistic versus dialogic relations

"One does not exchange sentences any more than one exchanges words (in the strict linguistic sense) or phrases" (Bakhtin, 1990a: 75). Language units are unaccented, they possess no human voice, their accentuation only occurs when they are taken into the arena of human activity, the realm of dialogism. In sum, "Theme always transcends language" (Medvedev, 1978: 132).

This does not represent a shift in Bakhtin's thinking insofar as it can be deduced this is consistent with the dialogic conspectus Bakhtin begins to develop within *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*. As he (Vološinov, 1973: 103) claims

meaning belongs to a word in its position between speakers; that is, meaning is realized only in the process of active, responsive understanding. Meaning does not reside in the word or in the soul of the speaker or in the soul of the listener.

Consistent throughout Bakhtin's thought is the down play of the meaning of words. Bakhtin goes to great lengths to demonstrate that words do not arise from dictionaries but from dialogic communication. In privileging the utterance, Bakhtin overlooks the role of grammar in the constitution of meaningful utterances.

Bakhtin does not establish these concepts of functional differentiation systemically, as Halliday does, but we can isolate them within his writing nevertheless. Even so, we cannot suggest that Bakhtin anticipates Halliday's functional grammar. Indeed there is a relationship between text and context in both authors' oeuvre but the match falls short of an eclipse. The "metafunctions" of Bakhtin never penetrate to

9. The structure of dialogism

the same depth as that of Halliday (Figure 9 above).

Indeed, to Bakhtin, there are no deeper structures.

Bakhtin's unit of analysis is the utterance which, as stated above, exists as a unit of communication (social praxis) and not of language (system). Bakhtin has no corresponding theory of grammatical metaphor and the relationship between lexicogrammar and discourse-semantics remains arbitrary. It is accents or heteroglossia rather than wordings which are at the root of semiosis. There is no sense in which the "metafunctions" extracted from the writings of Bakhtin co-ordinate the deeper functional organization of lexicogrammar with his "contextual variables." Bakhtin's conception of linguistics is a romantic one which inherits more than he may wish to admit from Humboldt and Vossler. Though refusing to privilege individual variation in speech performances, Bakhtin merely supplants them with collective ones.

The Chronotopicity of Genres

In attempting to depart from the shortcomings of formalist scholarship Bakhtin et al. take issue with a conception of genre where it is understood as "a certain constant, specific grouping of devices with a defined dominant" (Medvedev, 1978: 129). Instead, genre is suggested to be "a special way of constructing and finalizing a whole, finalizing it essentially and thematically, and not just conditionally or compositionally"

(Medvedev, 1978: 130).

Differing from Kress' juxtaposition of genre with discourse (see page 52 above), genre is thought to traverse both content and form. True to the conception of dialogism, genre produces the thematic fullness of "the whole work, the whole utterance" (Medvedev, 1978: 129). In the production of a finalized whole, genre operates in two ways:

In the first place, the work is oriented toward the listener and perceiver, and toward the definite conditions of performance and perception. In the second place, the work is oriented in life, from within, one might say, by its thematic content. Every genre has its own orientation in life, with reference to its events, problems, etc (Medvedev, 1978: 131).

Genres, as established above, realize the positions of the socially organized participants within their respective settings and practices.

As part of Bakhtin's challenge to the formalists, he presents genre as subsuming content and form. The discourse(s) within and the form of the utterance are both realized as generic properties for Bakhtin. Although Kress seemingly separates content and form by proposing a distinction between textual form and textual content this does not pose the problem of reducing genre to a purely formal category as it might first appear to the reader. If we take the point of view that genres organize and therefore realize in a recursive manner narratives, discourses, wordings, and voices then there is no need to treat genre as a formal category outside of the stuff of discourse. The systemic emphasis upon metaredundancy means that genre

cannot be cleanly separated from discourse but rather, through the principle of realization, we must acknowledge that discourse(s) redounds with genre. The separation which Kress offers must be treated as a provisional one which is in aid of analysis and intervention but cannot be reified into a neat series of "this happens next"s. To do otherwise reduces genre to a inert container which awaits to be filled with discourses.

Genres realize both the context of the situation and the context of culture semiotically within the utterance. Genres are produced by and are productive of "reality." "Every genre," Bakhtin affirms, "has its methods and means of seeing and conceptualizing reality, which are accessible to it alone" (Medvedev, 1978: 133). But Bakhtin adds to the consideration of the contextual component of the utterance by including the constitution of temporal and spatial relations:

It follows that the thematic unity of the work is inseparable from its primary orientation in its environment, inseparable, that is to say, from the circumstances of place and time (Medvedev, 1978: 133).

Each speech genre is metaredundant with specific organizations of time and space and so entails textual instantiations of time-space configurations.

Bakhtin (1981b: 84) introduces the *chronotope* as a means to advance the "intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature." He borrows the term from mathematics, to

represent a 'place' where sequences and motifs are organized by a time-space configuration. This relationship between time and space is such that the chronotope materializes time in space:

Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history (Bakhtin, 1981b: 84).

From this definition we can begin to treat the chronotope as an analytic tool which will foreground the interdependent relationship between formulations of time and space.

While the chronotope is "a formally constitutive category of literature" it need not be treated as unique to literature (see Bakhtin, 1981b:84; 98). Chronotopes are not manufactured in literature itself, as Bakhtin is at pains to reveal, but are a product of 'concrete' socio-historical conditions.

Isolated aspects of time and space, ... - those available in a given historical stage of human development - have been assimilated, and corresponding generic techniques have been devised for reflecting and artistically processing such appropriated aspects of reality (Bakhtin, 1981b: 84).

Chronotopes are embedded in human life and, thus, dialogic relations.

Bakhtin's essay, "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel: Notes towards a Historical Poetics," isolates the chronotopes which appear and are reconstituted within the novelic forms of antiquity through to the eighteenth century. In this essay, Bakhtin almost (but not quite) anticipates Foucault's archaeological method in his survey of chronotopes. It is actually more than a survey in that

Bakhtin attempts to trace through the construction of private space and the private person in the novel. He demonstrates clearly the historical specificity of the individual in Western thought as he characterizes the constitution of time and space within literature. This, of course, is in keeping with the ethical imperative which is nested within Bakhtin's notion of dialogism.

To Bakhtin (1981b: 84-85), chronotopes are realized generically:

The chronotope in literature has intrinsic *generic* significance. It can even be said that it is precisely the chronotope that defines genre and generic distinctions...

Recalling that Bakhtin treats genre as being "inseparable... from the circumstances of time and place" (Medvedev, 1978: 132), chronotopes, accordingly, serve as the "organizing centers for fundamental narrative events of the novel" (Bakhtin, 1981b: 250).

Contrary to Michael Holquist's (Bakhtin, 1981: 425) and M. Folch-Serra's (1990: 261) claim that neither time nor space are privileged within the chronotope, Bakhtin (1981b: 85) states quite clearly that within literature "the primary category in the chronotope is time." Bakhtin is most attentive to plot types (perhaps too attentive);

An orientation towards plot, i.e., toward the definite and actual development of the work, is necessary to master the story. Even in life we see the story with the eye of the plot (Medvedev, 1978: 139).

In this particular essay, he treats plot as firstly a movement through time and secondly as a movement through

space²².

This privileging of time does not preclude chronotopes which operate in spheres of human activity other than literature from offering a different balance in the relationship between time and space. However, we may also want to reconsider Bakhtin's privileging of time within the chronotopical orderings of literature.

The re-introduction of space to social theory, as something which is produced, has been proposed by Soja (1971; 1989), Lefebvre (1974), Foucault (1980) and Giddens (1990; 1991) amongst many others. Foucault's (1980a: 70) criticism that

Space was treated as the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile. Time on the other contrary, was richness, fecundity, life, dialectic.

is typical of those who have pointed to the absence of space in analytic practice. Also typical of the theorists of space is the acceptance of a historical account of the absence of space within modern western philosophy such as the one Foucault (1980d: 149-150) provides:

Among all the reasons which led to spaces suffering for so long a certain neglect, I will mention just one, which has to do with the discourse of philosophers. At the moment when a considered politics of spaces was starting to develop, at the end of the eighteenth century, the new achievements in theoretical and experimental physics dislodged philosophy from its ancient right to speak of the world, the cosmos, finite or infinite space. This double investment of space by political technology and scientific practice reduced philosophy to the field of a problematic of time. Since Kant, what is to be thought by the philosopher is time. Hegel, Bergson, Heidegger. Along with this goes a correlative devaluation of space, which stands on the side of the

²². The same can be said of Hayden White's (1990) equally useful neologism, "emplotment," which he employs to foreground the narrative quality implicit in the writing of History.

understanding, the analytical, the conceptual, the dead, the fixed, the inert.

With this renewed interest in space it is perhaps not surprising that readers of Bakhtin have been quick to assert that within the chronotope neither time nor space is to be privileged. In fairness, Bakhtin's writings on the marketplace (1981b; 1984; 1987) and the chronotope in literature (1981b) do suggest that in his actual analyses the chronotope is guided by the interdependent production of time and space.

But what if Bakhtin is responding with a slightly different tack. Rather than bringing space back Bakhtin is going to space.²³ Bakhtin also refutes the constitution of space as "the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile" but for Bakhtin it is not that space is absent from analytical thought but rather it is separated from time.

Chronotopes can be comprehended as a critical response to topoi within rhetorical studies. Over simplifying somewhat, topoi are rhetorical and poetic genres derived from Aristotle's topics. As Curtius (1953: 79) puts it

In the antiques system of rhetoric topics is the stockroom. There one found ideas of the most general sort - such as could be employed in every kind of oratory and writing.

In other words topoi are deemed to be exhaustive.

Topoi are highly specialized and provide the necessary

²³. The idea of establishing a link between chronotope and topos is Lorna Weir's.

forms for any rhetorical endeavour.

Hence for the introduction (*exordium*) there was a special topics; and likewise for the conclusion. Formulas of modesty, introductory formulas, concluding formulas, then are required everywhere. Other *topoi* can be used only for some particular species of oratory - for the juridical oration or the epideictic oration (Curtius, 1953: 79).

This sort of formalism, is only a part of what contravenes Bakhtin's dialogic imperative.

By the time of the Renaissance, *topoi* had become rooted in strictly formal spatial models within logic. This penchant for a strict adherence to diagrammatic constructs of logic is characterized by Ong (1958) as Ramism. Ramism is derived from the works (i.e., "Rhetoric is the Garden of the Affections") of Pierre de la Ramée or Peter (Petrus) Ramus (1515-1572) whose work was extremely influential into and beyond the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Ramism, for Ong (1958: 8) produces in logic

a cluster of mental habits involving within a centuries of educational tradition and specializing in certain kinds of concepts, based on simple spatial models, for conceiving of the mental and communicational processes, by implication, of the extramaterial world.

Extremely pertinent to the rise of Ramist logic is the decline of dialogue.

Crucial to Ramism is the corruption of the Socratic dialectic which is rooted in dialogue. Dialectics shift from probability to certainty during this time and with it dialogue disappears (Ong, 1958: 9). The dialectic, in the Aristotelian and Socratic traditions infers a movement from doubtful position or "status to a state which is less doubtful..." through dialogue (Ong, 1958: 61). The Ramist

shift proposes an emphasis upon certainty rather than probable argumentation. This shift can be construed as the emergence of the scientific inductive method. As Ong (1958: 61) puts it

By being considered as the preparatory step in getting together a science, this particular kind of Socratic dialectic can be assimilated to what we call today a kind of rational or experimental induction, such as is practiced in controlled scientific experiment...This technique of elimination is not a dialogue nor a dialectic, but a kind of induction.

Topical logic, consequently, became a suppositional theory which is quantitative in orientation.

Topical logic represents the quantification and increasing visualization of thought and so becomes more a "recall mechanism where simplicity counts" than a systematic and dialectical account of reasoning (Ong, 1958: 64). As such, Ong (1958: 82-83; 136) treats topical logic as epiphenomenal to three coinciding events: 1) the escalating significance of spatial models and constructs to the economy of the mind; 2) the invention of the Gutenberg press and possibility of employing spatial displays; and 3) the rise of humanist scholasticism which required simplified presentations to be received by increasingly younger students and contributed to the commodification of knowledge.

Attendant to Ramism is the imposition of an orthodoxy and monologism of the word:

at the heart of the Ramist enterprise is the drive to tie down words themselves, rather than other representations, in simple geometrical pattern. Words are believed to be recalcitrant insofar as they derive from a world of sound, voices, cries; the

Ramist ambition is to neutralize this connection by processing what is itself nonspatial in order to reduce it to space in the starkest way possible...The spatial processing of sound by means of the alphabet is not enough. Printed or written words themselves must be deployed in spatial relationships, and the resulting schemata thought of as a key to their meanings. Displayed in diagrams, words transmute sounds into manipulable units like "things"...(Ong, 1958: 89-90).

Topoi are silent places of stasis. With the transformation of Aristotelian categories from accusations to classes and the absence of dialogue, time stands still within the topos (Ong, 1958: 314).

With the chronotope Bakhtin brings time and Socratic dialogue to place. The chronotope reverses the Ramist ascendancy of a static spatial representation of an extra-material world and gives much back to its Aristotelian origins. The chronotope is "*where dialogues happen*" (Bakhtin, 1981b: 246; emphasis added).

Bakhtin (1981b: 99) proposes that space is bound up with events and is constituted through a dialectic of distance and proximity.

The contingency that governs events is inseparably tied up with space, measured primarily by *distance* on the one hand and by *proximity* on the other (and varying degrees of both).

In doing so Bakhtin anticipates Heidegger's dialectic of gathering and dispersion or *spatium* and *extensio*.

The space allowed by the bridge contains many places variously near or far from the bridge. These places, however, may be treated as mere positions between which there lies a measurable distance; a distance, in Greek *stadion*, always has room made for it, and indeed by bare positions...Yet the room made by this manifold is also no longer determined by distances; it is no longer a *spatium*, but now no more than *extensio* - extension (Heidegger, 1975: 155).

Similar to Heidegger's notion of technology as "the thinging of things", space is created amongst locations.

Upon asking "what is a built thing?", Heidegger considers the bridge. The banks of a stream are manifest "only as the bridge crosses the stream" (Heidegger, 1975: 152). We can only produce that which we experience as banks by means of constructing a point of focus upon which we can establish a series of relations. These relations, like bridges, join elements which they produce or are connected in a manner of interconnection; they are seamless. The banks of the river that are joined by the bridge are not truly separate banks but exist in relation to one another vis-à-vis the bridge. Hence "[t]he bridge gathers to itself in its own way the earth and sky, divinities and mortals..." (Heidegger, 1975: 153). The bridge, as a thing, acts as a focal point, a point of concentration which brings together the fourfold.

The bridge is not simply a bridge with a second order of meaning then laid upon it. Things do not take on meaning after their entry into the world but are built with and into meaning. Insofar as the bridge is a thing, it gathers as it spans and a site exists only in as much as its presence is marked by a thing which gathers and disperses.

Very much like Heidegger's example of the bridge, Bakhtin posits an 'eventalized' (cf. Rjachman's discussion of Foucault and evidence, 1988: 94) model of the locale within but not necessarily specific to the Rabelaisian chronotope.

A local myth explains the genesis of a geographical space. Each locality must be explained, beginning with its place-name and ending up with the fine details of its topographical relief, its soil, plant, plant life and so forth - all emerging from the human event that occurred there and that gave to the place its name and its physiognomy. *A locality is the trace of an event, a trace of what shaped it.* Such is the logic of all local myths and legends that attempt, through history, to make sense out of space (Bakhtin, 1981b: 189; emphasis added).

Locales cannot exist independently of one another but are instead interdependent upon one another. They are linked by both distance from and proximity to one another. Spatialization is not achieved through a simple and rigid dialectic of overcoming where the synthesis is final and complete but, rather, through a dialectic in which simultaneity is not banished from the scene.

Chronotopes and the dialogues they host are in no way extra-material.

Every concretization of even the most simple and everyday variety, would introduce its own rule-generating force, its own order, its inevitable ties to human life and to the time specific to that life (Bakhtin, 1981b: 100).

Chronotopes organize and are constituted within social life. They are not untranscendable archetypes which can only be imitated.

In describing chronotopes Bakhtin sometimes seems to slide into the "ideology of reference." While Bakhtin (1981b: 253) makes it clear that he renounces any realist claims that would suggest the chronotope of the novel may be identical with that of "the world outside the text," he does utilize an inside/outside dichotomy.

The represented world, however, realistic and truthful, can never be chronotopically identical with the real world it represents, where the author and creator of the literary work is to be found (Bakhtin, 1981b: 256).

The contextualism which Bakhtin espouses, sometimes is a naïve one. The definitions which Bakhtin gives to his terms and works are often ambiguous, but he frequently makes reference to a real world in which the text is produced. There is occasionally the sense that a pure context, free of semiotic realization, is recoverable or at least can be made reference to by the critic. Nonetheless, we can move beyond the inside/outside dichotomy whilst remaining within Bakhtin's own writing.

Chronotopes do not stand outside of dialogic relations; they are preeminently social. Likewise, for Bakhtin, the production of meaning is entirely a social affair. When Bakhtin (1981b: 258) maintains that "every entry into the sphere of meaning is accomplished only through the gates of the chronotope," he reminds the reader that all semiotic activities are chronotopically organized. One is always within the gates of the chronotopes and so there can be no possibility of making reference to a presumed world which is pre-chronotopical. Indeed, the "image of man [sic] is always intrinsically chronotopic" (Bakhtin, 1981b: 85). In considering chronotopic change, Bakhtin (1981b: 252; 253) does indeed suggest that the "real world" is also governed by chronotopes:

Out of the actual chronotopes of our world (which serve as the source of representation) emerge the reflected and created chronotopes of the world represented in the work (in the text) (253).

If we speak in speech genres, then our speech is

chronotopic. We can infer from Bakhtin, that with the creation of the text, there is a reworking of existing forms, an intervention into the chronotopic "real world" is made.

Chronotopes do not exist as coherent, independent entities external to one another. Accordingly, Bakhtin (1981b: 252) proposes that

[c]hronotopes are mutually inclusive, they co-exist, they may be interwoven with, replace or oppose one another, contradict one another or find themselves in ever more complex interrelationships.

There is a relationship between chronotopes which Bakhtin (1981b: 252) characterizes as dialogic. It might be preferable though to describe the relationship between utterances, genres, and chronotopes as arising through dialogic relations. Just as the historical ascendancy of particular texts is achieved through an inter-textual ordering there is, likewise, no singular chronotope but, rather, an inter-chronotopical ordering. In this sense we need not assume that a single chronotope serves as the underlying principle organizing all utterances of a given epoch but that it exists in a certain flux.

Chronotopes, as well being a part of an inter-chronotopical ordering, frequently include other "minor" chronotopes. As we have established above, dialogism never occurs within texts in an unmediated form. Appropriately, the relationships between minor chronotopes do not enjoy the same qualities as those of the major ones.

The relationships themselves that exist among chronotopes cannot enter into any of the relationships contained within chronotopes...this dialogue cannot enter into the world represented in the work, nor into any of the chronotopes represented in it...(Bakhtin, 1981b: 252).

Chronotopes operate in culture as a whole. The chronotopical leanings in texts arise through their connectedness with ideology and, therefore, the space in which the speaker dwells. The speech genres we use, being chronotopic, organize the subjects of our utterances within time and space. Furthermore, we can make use of a plurality of chronotopes simultaneously. This is not to say that we have free choice among chronotopes but that there is "a dialogue of styles, based on heterology"²⁴ (Todorov, 1984: 76; emphasis mine). The selection of chronotopes and the genres they ordinate will be institutionally and, ultimately, contextually driven. Just as genre is responsive to and organizes the voices of others, the chronotope is responsive to and positions the voices of others within time and space.

SYNTHESIS: THE SOCIAL SEMIOTICS OF TIME AND SPACE

Halliday's conception of social semiotics and Bakhtin's dialogism rest well together. If the two positions do come at right angles to each other it is over the issue of

²⁴. Heterology is one of the many terms Bakhtin coins to retain a conceptualization of diversity whilst acknowledging "the existence of types of utterances, or discourses in a relatively high but nonetheless limited number" (Todorov, 1984: 56). Utterances can exist within varying chronotopes with varying shifts in meaning. There is a flux or a to-ing and fro-ing between the unificatory (characterized as centripetal force) and the heterology (characterized as centrifugal force) (Todorov, 1984: 58).

grammar. Nevertheless, as I have argued above, Bakhtin's reasons for abandoning grammar as a means to analyze discourse do not apply to systemic grammar. If dialogism alerts us to the inscribing of voices in time and space, as 'empowered' and 'powerless', knowing and known, etc., then systemic grammar affords a means to examine how such inscriptions are systematically realized across texts from the clause upwards and downwards.

If we are going to augment Bakhtin's intervention with a grammatics then the question comes to be just where do we find the chronotope? Bakhtin gives us the chronotope at the level of genre. Indeed, Bakhtin does not always maintain a distinction between chronotope and genre. But restricting chronotopicity to a particular semantic level of the text does not seem particularly helpful.

All genres are, Bakhtin tells us, chronotopically organized and, as genres are a semantic component of textual production, the configuration of the chronotope must be realized and organized across the metafunctions. Chronotopicity can be realized not simply at the level of genre, as Bakhtin would apparently have it, but at all levels of the system. Meaning, including chronotopicity, is not something which is arbitrarily imposed by socially oriented actors upon wordings. Rather, socially oriented actors build their wordings with and into meanings. Chronotopes are not 'free' to be realized at a purely

semantic level but rather are configured semantically through realizations at the lexicogrammatic level. The motifs which Bakhtin identifies as being characteristic of chronotopes are never without lexicogrammatic structures. Chronotopes, accordingly, redound with both the lexicogrammar of the text and the discourse-semantics which the texts realize.

To describe all elements available within systemic grammar which contribute to chronotopical realizations would be a long and arduous task. Essentially, all lexicogrammatic and discourse-semantic resources available to us are chronotopic. Instead what I propose to do in this section is isolate those elements which I have found particularly helpful in analyzing gazetteers and primers. Suitably, I will be approaching realizations of chronotopicity from both the lexicogrammatic and the discourse-semantic strata.

Chronotopicity is realized through the ideational metafunction as experiential and logical meanings. Both experiential and logical meanings, are realized at the clausal level through transitivity structures. Transitivity, according to Halliday (1985: 101), "specifies the different types of process that are recognized in the language, and the structures by which they are expressed." Not to be confused with the process of the system/process distinction, process here refers to the realization of what

is going on, the field of discourse, in language. These processes are most commonly material, mental, and relational as well as behavioural, verbal, and existential. Together, these processes constitute the referential component of semiosis.

Halliday gives process three components: (i) the process itself; (ii) the participants in the process; and (iii) the circumstances associated with the process. These components are in turn typically realized by (i) a verbal group, (ii) a nominal group, and (iii) an adverbial group or prepositional phrase.

Transitivity structures, as grammatic realizations of what has been worked through the semantic system and constituted as reality, are inherently chronotopic. As the process must be located within time and space, the chronotope ordines the semantic components of process, participants, and circumstances. This, like so much of Halliday's schema, operates as a tripartite. The three elements impinge upon one another and together the three constitute topic realizations of the field of discourse.

Within the ideational metafunction it is perhaps the circumstantials which concern us most. The relationships between participants and processes are realized through circumstantials. Circumstantials can be characterized into the following types: Extent and Location in both time and space; Manner; Cause; Accompaniment; Matter; Role. These

are not independent types but rather they tend to qualify each other.

Circumstantials of Extent and Location most obviously organize transitivity structures into time and space configurations. Between Extent and Location, temporal and spatial expressions enjoy close parallels. Halliday (1985: 138) identifies the most significant as follows:

- 1) We can make reference to both time and space in terms of extent and location.
- 2) In both time and space, extent is quantifiable in standard units.
- 3) In time and space, both extent and location may be either definite or indefinite.

These generalities are incorporated into Figure 10 below as a matrix by Halliday (1985: 138).

- 4) For both time and space, location may be either absolute or relative; and, if relative, they may be either near or remote.

		Spatial	Temporal
Extent	Definite	five miles	five years
	Indefinite	a long way	a long time
Location	Definite	at home	at noon
	Indefinite	near	soon

10. Definite and indefinite extent and location

2

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4) For both time and space, location may be either absolute or relative; and, if relative, they may be either near or remote.

This point is depicted by Halliday (1985: 138) as Figure 11.

			Spatial	Temporal
Location	Absolute		in Austria	in 1985
	Relative	Near	here, nearby	now, recently
		Remote	there, a long way away	then, a long time ago

11. Absolute and relative location

5) For both time and space, location may also be either at rest or in motion; and motion, in turn, may be described as either motion towards or motion away from.

Figure 12 portrays this final commonality between temporal and

			Spatial	Temporal
Location	Rest		in Sydney, at the airport	on Tuesday,
	Motion	towards	to Sydney	until Tuesday
		away from	from Sydney	since Tuesday

12. Rest and Motion

spatial expressions.

At the same time, Halliday (1980: 138-139) concedes, within the English language there are incongruities between temporal and spatial expressions. Most obviously, there is the Kantian tradition of treating space as three dimensional and static while time is unidirectional and moving. The observing ego is free to move within the dimensions of space whereas it is carried through time. Fittingly, the tendency in the English language is to treat space as observer centred and time as autonomous. As such, prepositions of motion differ between those of time and those of space. In terms of time we are likely to use *till*, or *since* while in terms of space we are likely to use *to*, or *from*; see figure 10. Another difference is that temporal Extent includes frequency which has no corresponding spatial expression. Finally, there is a close semantic relationship between verb tense and the Time function but there is no verb tense which realizes the Space function.

Interpersonal meanings are equally chronotopic in as much as the interaction and the subject of the exchange must be instantiated in time and space. As an exchange, interpersonal components within the clause assign the role which the speaker or writer has adopted and the role or role options which are assigned the listener or reader. It is within this dimension that social reality is negotiated through dialogic interventions by the speaker or writer into

the speech situation. Here we are concerned with deictic and attitudinal realizations within the clause as it functions as an enactment of semiosis.

As an exchange, there is what Matthiessen (1991: 92) describes as an "interpersonal" or "deictic centre" which characterizes dialogue. This centre is occupied through the defining of the participants as a 'you & me' within a 'here & now' (Matthiessen, 1991: 92). At the same time there is the object, an 'they;s/he/it,' of the exchange which typically lies outside of the immediate interpersonal centre and is instead constrained to a 'there & then' (Matthiessen, 1991: 92). Thus, the participants are able to occupy the primary spatio-temporal configuration²⁵ within the interpersonal centre, whereas while the object of the exchange may be located within the primary or secondary tense it is typically within a secondary spatio-temporal configuration.

The interpersonal metafunction realises, in addition, the attitudinal disposition of the participants to the subject of the exchange. As an intervention into the social arena, the text producer seeks to express his/her own attitudes and judgements and to convey them to his/her audience. Authors such as Fabian (1983, 1991) have

²⁵. Halliday (1985: chapter 4) describes realizations of primary and secondary tense within Mood-Residue structures in some detail but seems to overlook the possibility of a corresponding primary and secondary space.

demonstrated quite clearly that temporal location of the object of discourse, in part, realizes the speaker's attitude towards its object. This claim, as I have charged in my introduction, must be extended to the entire process of spatialization. Accordingly, the writer will be orienting the ideational and textual meanings towards the positioned reader.

Finally, the textual metafunction, as a culminative semantic component, expresses the organization of the entire message by marking its units so as to extend from one point of prominence to the next. The textual metafunction is realized within the Theme structure of the clause. The Theme is the writer's point of departure and where the deictic elements tend to be located, realizing the speaker's orientation, but it need not be inferred as the topic of the message.

Chronotopicity, is realized textually, in part, by the marking of the Theme element with temporal and spatial circumstantials. Initiating temporal and spatial circumstantials constitute the frameworks for "ideational points of departure" (Downing, 1991: 128). Textual meanings are culminative insofar as they instantiate in the text the interpersonal and ideational frameworks being exchanged. Temporal and spatial initiators, like the other items located within the Theme element, are meaningful choices. They regularly mark the commencement of a discourse span

which is grounded in a given time-space context. Likewise, the placement of temporal and spatial circumstantials at the end of the Rheme element has a finalizing effect, frequently, but not always, signalling the close of a discourse span. Though circumstantials are not restricted to initiating and finalizing positions, it is these positions which have the most immediate textual consequences.

At the level of register, chronotopicity is realized as linguistically mediated enactments of Lefebvre's dialectic of space (see page 15). Register may be understood as the semanticization of "social spatialization" (Shields, 1991: 30-32). It entails particular "voicings" of space. Registers vary in openness but are never completely open. The degree of openness of the register quantifies the possibilities of the sort of spatial representations and practices which are available to participants. At one end of the continuum are relatively open or dialogic realizations of social spatialization while at the other are restricted or monologic realizations. The degree of openness which the register enjoys determines the 'voicedness' of the spatialization. Open registers of space will accommodate a number of voices or "dialects," in Halliday's (Halliday and Hasan, 1989: 41) terminology, and will therefore place less constraint upon the desired spatial competence being conveyed between participants.

Obversely, closed or restricted registers of space place greater constraint upon what sort of spatial performances and knowledges may be enacted.

Social semiotics, therefore, must attempt as Threadgold (1988a: 553) remarks

to *make possible* metagrammatical readings of the linguistic/semiotic structure of texts, that is, of their characteristic ways of meaning, and of the relations texts have with other texts. Systems of knowledge and belief, social relations, actions and events and fields of "content" are produced, reproduced and changed only *through* this intertextual process and *in* texts which are the product of specific conditions of production and reception.

A committed social semiotics will seek to extrapolate what semiotic resources given communities will have access to, which they will deploy, and why they make the selections they do. In other words, this paper will seek to make explicit which registers are deemed appropriate and which are deemed inappropriate to the gazetteer.

A chronotopography, accordingly, foregrounds textual realizations of "where dialogues happen." In terms of the Nineteenth century gazetteer, a chronotopography seeks to describe how the voices of those who dwell upon the earth come to be organized into chronotopes. These chronotopes hierarchize certain voices and the positions they occupy while other voices remain silently subordinate within the gazetteers. The remainder of this paper will be concerned with which dialogues can be textually enabled and how they are inscribed within time and space.

Of England it has been justly observed, that "her trade and commerce encircle the globe, and her capital is the emporium of the universe."
Ewing, Thomas. (1854: 38)

TELLING THE WORLD: A DISCURSIVE ANALYSIS

The gazetteers which I have selected share common registers which are realized across the texts through consistent mobilizations of particular ideational, interpersonal, and textual structures. These registers articulate certain macro-themes or frames which are common to all of the gazetteers. As Lemke (1985a :276) puts it these "texts 'go together'" which means that there are "relevant contexts for each other's interpretation, that socially significant meanings are being made by the community through the interrelations of these texts." Of interest in this chapter are the sorts of frames which are realized within and between and are important to these texts. As Lemke (1985a: 282) so clearly puts it

the more possible kinds of relations we can construct between two passages the better, but more connections are useless unless they in some sense support one another; that is unless the meanings we make through them somehow contribute to a coherent overall system of meaning relations between passages.

The linking of meanings between passages, in turn, contributes to our reading of the relationship between other passages to which we can then attribute a strong intertextual tie.

The texts which have been selected for analysis are formally organized as either typical gazetteers (lexicons)

or as geography primers (lexical geographic descriptions divided into regions). A Gazetteer is a documentary text which can be understood as a work or a section of work listing countries, cities, rivers, etc. together with their location, size, etc. However, I would argue that the gazetteer can be understood as *more than simply a mirror of* 'natural' space or even socially produced space. Instead, the gazetteer is a constructed space for the visualization of the world, a visualization which constitutes what the reader may 'see'. We must remember that the text is not a reflection of society or a symptom of its ideological "condition" but a distinctive sphere of social action, immanent in the contestation of power and knowledge. Accordingly, as Threadgold observes "texts participate in and construct the very social semiotic systems that assign them their values and functions" (1988d: 171).

Having stated the above distinction between the denotative and connotative division of labour in which the gazetteer is engaged I will make another related to the actual material consequences for the social production of space. The gazetteer is an instrument not simply of surveillance but of discipline. The gazetteer emerges with the promise that the disciplining of the globe is indeed possible. The world can be made rational and divided up into locales which are bounded by definite geo-political limits. This disciplining can also be termed "(State)ing"

the globe such that it operates as a threefold process of (1) naming, (2) surveying, and (3) state/territorial administration (Dillon and Everard, 1989). As such, the gazetteer, like the map, may "involve both the collation of information relevant to state control of the conduct of its subject population and the direct supervision of that conduct" (Harley, 1988: 280). As Bernard S. Cohn (1988: 1) posits,

the European states made their power visible not only through their presentation of their theatres of power, but through the gradual extension of procedures, routines, and the capacity to bound and mark space, and to record transactions such as the sale of property, to count and classify its populations.

The production of geographic knowledge is essential to the military and administrative needs of imperialism but it is also, I will be arguing, essential to projects of self-definition. The Emporium is not only constituted vis-à-vis the Residuum, but it constitutes itself vis-à-vis the Residuum²⁶. 'Representations' of the spaces outside the centre of the empire are still self-representations²⁷.

The majority of the geographic works which are

²⁶. I have elected to use the terms Emporium and Residuum to characterize the relationship between England and its colonies and protectorates. Emporium is a particularly appropriate term as is both a self-ascribed term and one which bears the full connotations of Heidegger's dialectic of *spatium* and *extensio*. The Emporium gathers up the raw materials of the Residuum and assembles them into the finished product of the empire. In this way, the empire becomes a commodity for its own domestic consumption. The Residuum, on the other hand, is that part of the empire which is residual to the Emporium. It is simultaneously the raw materials of the Empire and the left overs of its organizing centre. The Residuum can be consumed and even refined by the empire as a whole but it cannot consume or refine. Only the Emporium may consume (both the greater empire and the Emporium).

²⁷. I shall develop this below within a discussion of missing registers.

consulted within this thesis assist pedagogic and not directly administrative practices. They are in fact more concerned with the presentation of the English theatres of power than they are with actual administration. The readers would be the teachers and students within state and private schooling systems. Though much of the information collated within these texts would have been derived through the administration of the empire, these gazetteers operate within a different but related terrain; that of popular imperialism. Rather serving as guides to colonial functionaries within the 'hinterlands' of the empire, these gazetteers are written for and to the children (typically male) of the middle classes in Great Britain, British North America and Canada²⁸. Crucial to the arguments to be developed below, these gazetteers are a part of the education and edification of the colonizer at 'home' rather than as a guide to assist the functionary's duties abroad. In this way the relationship between disciplining the globe and the practices in which these gazetteers 'aid and abet' becomes seemingly tenuous. This tenuousness, nonetheless, will be problematized below and in the next chapter.

FACTICITY: THE INTERPERSONAL WITHIN THE IMPERSONAL

Gazetteers, as factual documents, employ particular lexicogrammatical options so as to realize semantically the

²⁸. A discussion and comparison of texts written in Great Britain and British North America will be developed below.

experience of fact for the reader. Being aids to geographic (though, ultimately, moral) instruction, the gazetteers and primers operate as textual projection spaces in which the world is to be visualized within certain axiological structures. This means that facticity is being realized through not simply the articulation of representational meanings but interpersonal ones as well. As textual projections, these works hold the world up to a realist mirror (Rorty, 1979) in a manner that obscures the actual processes of projection by refusing the associated lexicogrammatic features and constructing interpersonal meanings which cannot be attributed back to projecting participants.

In terms of lexicogrammar, *projection* is best understood as

the logical-semantic relationship whereby a clause comes to function not as a direct representation of (non-linguistic) experience but as a representation of a (linguistic) representation (Halliday 1985: 227-228).

More simply, projection is the instantiation and projection of a secondary clause through a primary one. Typically, the primary clause realizes either a verbal or mental process while the secondary clause realizes (a) a *locution* or (b) an *idea*. A locution involves the secondary clause being projected through the primary clause "as a locution" or "a construction of wording" (Halliday, 1985: 197). An idea, on the other hand, consists of a secondary clause being projected through a primary one, presenting it "as an idea"

or "a construction of meaning" (Halliday, 1985: 197)²⁹.

This can be exemplified through the following:

Locution

(verbal) It's a system of equivalences," said the androgyne
or The androgyne said it was a system of equivalences

Idea

(mental) The androgyne thought, "It's a system of equivalences"
or The androgyne thought it was a system of equivalences

There is yet a third , 'weakened', type of projection which Halliday terms *embedded* or *fact*. What Halliday describes as fact typically employs a different inter-clausal structure. A fact is a projection which comes in a pre-packaged form (Halliday 1985: 243). There remains a projected element but the verbal or mental process is absent, e.g. *It is obvious that it is a system of equivalences*. A fact is projected impersonally so that neither a sayer nor senser is involved. Instead, the projected element is described as embedded because there is no projecting element to which it can be related. Embedding is "a form of 'rank shift' whereby a clause or group (cf. phrase) functions as a constituent within the structure of a group that is itself a constituent of a clause" (Thibault, 1991: 46).

Facts are projected either by relational processes (as in the above example) or by impersonal mental ("it is thought that...") or verbal processes ("it is said that

²⁹. For the sake of brevity this is an extremely cursory discussion of projection.

...)). The typical environment for a fact, according to Halliday, however is a relational process. Relational processes are processes of being; they propose that something 'is', (for instance, the above italicized example). Within a relational process, the fact is an embedded clause which stands on its own as a nominalization³⁰.

In the above examples of locution and idea, the androgyne functions as sayer or senser. If the example were articulated as fact the androgyne would no longer be a participant (recall the example: *It is obvious that it is a system of equivalences*). It is not a participant in the process but rather a Subject placeholder. As such, the projected clause can occupy either the position in the front or the back and still realize the same semantic abstraction, e.g. *It is apparent that it is a system of equivalences* or *That it is a system of equivalences it is apparent*.

These (locution, idea, and fact) are the primary forms of projection from which the writer/speaker may make selections. Returning to the idea that the gazetteer is a textual projection space which recreates a 'naturalized' view of the world, it is significant that projection is rarely selected.

³⁰. A discussion of fact is provided by Halliday (1985: 243-248) with greater attention to detail than is required here. For our purposes it is merely necessary to describe the basic formal qualities of fact and to outline its semantic consequences.

Projections are linguistic realizations of events (e.g. mental and verbal): both verbal and mental projections organize the projected element (what is said or sensed) around the participant; fact removes the projected element from a sensing or speaking participant but, nevertheless, because they are projected, they retain the sense of event. By not employing projection, these works create a seemingly unmediated account of the world. All of the texts rely heavily upon relational processes but rarely resort to projected clausal relations. A view of the world is described without it ever being quoted or reported (cf. Thibault, 1991: Chapter 2). Instead, the world is revealed to the reader as a simple series of states of being.

These states of being are not substantiated by projections and so it is a world which simply exists as it is revealed in the text. The reader is invited to engage with the text, not as a projection of a world 'out there' but rather as the world 'in here'. The gazetteer presents a world which is immediate and requires no interpretation. The effect is that the text becomes seamless: there is no position being offered from which one can stand outside of the text. In this way, the gazetteer comes to function as a *virtual reality machine*. The lack of projection redounds with relational processes and interpersonal meanings so as to produce a visualization of a world nested within an axiological structure to which the texts claim no

responsibility.

It is the impersonalization of 'strong' interpersonal meanings which further enhances this sense of a *sui generis* world within a text. The consistent manner in which interpersonal meanings are organized across these texts further adds to the potency of their truth claims. What is worth noting is that the verisimilitude of these texts cannot be accounted for by a discussion of representational meanings alone.

As Jane Tompkins observes, in her essay "The Reader in History", post-structuralist and post-modernist literary criticism, while sharing the modernist concern for the meaning of the text also harkens back to the *affective* criticism of antiquity. For Tompkins, the real break from New Criticism and structuralism is not the shift in the location of meaning from text to reader but rather the "perception of language as a form of power" (1980: 226). As such, meaning and power are given back to each other leaving us to ask, as Tompkins puts it,

What makes one set of perceptual strategies or literary conventions win out over another? If the world is the product of interpretation, then who or what determines which interpretive system will prevail? (1980: 226).

This reconsideration of the affective quality of discourse, the ability to move one's audience subjectively, lends itself well to Gianni Vattimo's (1988) pronouncement that the experience of truth is a rhetorical and aesthetic one.

A similar claim, but from a neo-materialist

perspective, can be located within Hodge and Kress (1988). For Hodge and Kress, the dilemma between a naïve realism and sophisticated idealism can be negotiated through by positing that 'truth' and 'reality' cannot be separated out from semiosis. Hodge and Kress (1988: 122) propose that

'Truth' is therefore a description of the state when social participants in the semiotic [sic] process accept the system of classifications of the mimetic plane. 'Truth' is the state of affairs when the terms in the classificatory system, and the system itself, appear as 'secure', to borrow a term proposed by Trevor Eaton (1972 and 1978) to the participants in the semiotic process. 'Truth' therefore describes a relation of participants in the semiotic process towards the system of classification which is at play in the interaction.

To Hodge and Kress, 'truth' and 'reality' are categories within the semiotic system and are immanent within relations of power/knowledge. "As categories they are no more problematic or intrinsically inaccessible to discussion and analysis than other semiotic categories, such as code, meaning, or participant" (Hodge and Kress, 1988: 122). If 'truth' is to be construed as the metastable product or outcome of contested valuations enacted semiotically within the social sphere then it is the interpersonal component of the semantic system which perhaps concerns us most here.

Texts and, ultimately, clauses are organized not simply as a message but "as an interactive event involving speaker, or writer, and audience" (Halliday, 1985: 68). As outlined above, the interpersonal meta-function realizes through prosodic, field-like systems the speaker/writer's meaning potential as a participant of the social activity. The interpersonal metafunction, as a prosodic realization,

entails a

cumulative 'piling up' of interpersonal selections in, say, modality, modulation, and attitudinal and evaluative lexis enacts the concrete development of particular global attitudinal or axiological orientation in texts (Thibault, 1988: 41-42).

We are thus concerned here with the *mood* system of the text. Mood realizes the semantics of the speech function by assigning conventionalized roles to the addresser and addressee and concurrently orienting the participants towards attitudinal/axiological meanings realized within the text.

This dialogic, "addresser-addressee" quality of language implies that the speaker/writer may also engage in a particular type of speech role within a general act of exchange. Halliday identifies two primary types: giving and demanding. The gazetteers, as reference books, fall into the "giving" category (Halliday, 1985: 68-71) in which information is the commodity being exchanged. Aside from those texts in which an exercise section is provided, nothing is directly demanded of the reader³¹. In this way we can attribute the primary speech function of *statement* (Halliday, 1985: 68-71) to the gazetteers. The reader does not simply receive the information in a passive manner but acts out a verbal role of affirmation or denial. When a gazetteer or primer does provide an exercise, the reader is expected to provide the missing information but it is

³¹. What is demanded, as shall be demonstrated below, is the reader's acquiescence to the authority of the text.

information already presented within the text. In either case, the reader is expected to internalize the information being given. Additionally, as a commodity, we must remember, information has no external existence outside of language.

As I have argued already, the entries provided by the gazetteers consistently realize a sense of facticity without actually employing the inter-clausal structure of projection. The following text is taken from *Ewing's Geography and Astronomy* and is a part of the description of Canada.

2d, Chronology &c. - The aborigines consisted of savage tribes, whose names and manners may be traced in the early French accounts. The French formed the first settlement at Quebec in 1608, and during a century and a half following possessed Canada. It was ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of Paris 1763. Lower Canada is occupied chiefly by the French colonists; Upper Canada by British settlers. Those two colonies had separate legislatures and governors till 1840, when they were incorporated by the British parliament: during the few previous years there had been much discontent, which broke out in 1837-8 into open rebellion, which was suppressed with some trouble.

There are two related qualities of interactional meaning which are relevant here: *modality* and *voice*.

The first thing worth noting is the absence of the first person pronoun 'I' and the second person pronoun 'you'. As a factual text we can expect the author-function to be minimized. Typical of the rational-scientific speech genre, the knowing subject (the observer-author) is presented as absent. To be a 'true' representation in which the language being employed is transparent, the overt markers of interpersonal meaning must be obfuscated

(Poynton, 1990). Thus the series of beings and happenings within the text appear in an unprojected form. The author and reader, as participants of the exchange, are almost never positioned within the text. This however, does not mean that there are no interpersonal meanings realized within the text.

All clauses and, therefore, texts realize three principle meaning-types and so function as representation, as exchange, and as message. The interpersonal is always articulated. As a tripartite dialectic representational or, more appropriately, ideational meanings can never be realized apart from interpersonal ones.

By returning to the above text at the level of clause, the presence and realization of interpersonal meanings can be established. Particular attention is being given to intra-clausal realizations of interpersonal meanings. Accordingly, a number of elements are being isolated so as to clarify how they contribute to the broader discourse-semantics of the text³².

Within Mood, subject and finite have a special significance. The finite element carries the deictic features of the clause: "it brings the proposition down to earth, so that it is something that can be argued about" (Halliday, 1985: 75). The subject supplies that by which

³². A more detailed discussion of the terms used below can be found in Halliday (1985: 71-78; 332-339).

the proposition can be affirmed or denied (Halliday, 1985: 76). For example, in the clause "The aborigines consisted of savage tribes," "The aborigines" functions as subject whereas "consisted" functions as finite.

By relating the proposition to its context, finiteness is expressed through a verbal operator which is either temporal or modal. Temporal operators place the proposition within a primary tense relative to the 'now' of the speech event. Not surprisingly, the primary tense can be past, present, or future relative to the speech event. In the case of the finite "consisted", it is a past temporal operator and so the primary tense is past.

Modality, on the other hand, realizes the writer's "opinion regarding the probability that his [sic] observation is valid" (Halliday, 1985: 332). Modal operators realize degrees of certainty and are typified as low, median and high. Modality operates on two primary axes: probability and frequency or usuality. Probability describes degrees of likelihood and usuality describes degrees of oftenness. In the case of "The aborigines consisted..." both probability and usuality are high because the proposition is that the aborigines definitely did and always did consist of savage tribes.

Finally, modality is expressed through systems of orientation. Orientation configures modality as either subjective or objective. Subjective and objective modality

is in turn realized as either explicit or implicit. If the modality is to be either subjectively or objectively implicit, then the writer will construct the proposition in unprojected form. In the clause we have been using, the orientation is objective implicit. The clause would be subjective implicit in orientation if, for example, it read 'We believe the aborigines consisted...' If, instead, the modality is to be either subjectively or objectively explicit, then the writer will likely project the proposition as fact. In this case the clause in question would appear as 'It is believed that the aborigines consisted...' (subjective) or 'It is the case that the aborigines consisted...' (objective).

Simultaneously, the subject of the clause also realizes the Mood of the proposition. The success or failure of the proposition rests upon the subject element of the clause. The subject is modified by the writer through lexical items, namely attitudinal ones, which will also realize the interpersonal element by 'coding' the writer's attitude towards the subject. Frequently, but not always, attitudinal lexis directly modifies the subject (through the use of adjectives). Attitude, as Martin (forthcoming :10) observes, "is pervasively coded throughout lexical systems." In the case of the above clause, the attitudinal lexical item "savage" does not directly modify the subject but rather does so indirectly through the relational process

which the clause as a whole realizes.

In the following analysis, the subject is printed in bold and the finite (verb) is in italics.

1a. **The aborigines** *consisted* of savage tribes
 consisted - past temporal operator
 savage - lexis: attitudinal
 modality >indicative-probability: high
 usuality: high
 orientation - objective: implicit

1b. **whose names and manners** may be traced in the early French
 accounts.
 may be - low modal operator
 traced - past temporal operator
 early - lexis: evaluative
 modality >indicative-probability: low
 usuality: low
 orientation - objective: implicit

2a. **The French** *formed* the first settlement at Quebec in 1608
 formed - past temporal operator
 modality >indicative-probability: high
 usuality: high
 orientation - objective: implicit

2b. **and during a century and a half** following *possessed* Canada.
 ellipsis
 possessed - past temporal operator
 modality >indicative-probability: high
 usuality: high
 orientation - objective: implicit

3. **It** *was* ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of Paris 1763.
 was - past temporal operator
 ceded - causality: low
 modality >indicative-probability: high
 usuality: high
 orientation - objective: implicit

4a. **Lower Canada** *is* occupied chiefly by the French colonists;
 is - present temporal operator
 modality >indicative-probability: high
 usuality: high
 orientation - objective: implicit

4b. **Upper Canada** by British settlers.
 ellipsis
 present tense
 modality >indicative-probability: high

usuality: high
orientation - objective: implicit

5a. Those two colonies had separate legislatures and governors
till 1840

Those - lexis: distance from participants
had - past temporal operator
modality >indicative-probability: high
usuality: high
orientation - objective: implicit

5b. when they were incorporated by the British parliament:
were - past temporal operator

modality >indicative-probability: high
usuality: high
orientation - objective: implicit

5c. during the few previous years there had been much discontent
had - past temporal operator
much - intensity: median

modality >indicative-probability: high
usuality: median
orientation - objective: implicit

5d. which broke out in 1837-8 into open rebellion
ellipsis

open - intensity: high
modality >indicative-probability: high
usuality: high
orientation - objective: implicit

5e. which was suppressed with some trouble.
ellipsis

was suppressed - past temporal operator
some - intensity: median
modality >indicative-probability: high
usuality: high
orientation - objective: implicit

The above analysis gives some indication as to how interpersonal meanings are realized in the most 'objective' of texts. The text presents a series of unprojected events which are realized as implicit objective. The speech role being employed is that of giving information which is realized in the form of statement. Generally speaking, modality is realized through high degrees of probability and

usuality.

Clause 1b serves an interesting exception in that both probability and usuality are low. This does not reduce the truth claim being presented within the text but rather is a part of temporally and spatially distancing the reader from the aboriginal peoples being constituted. It is the "aborigines" who are uncertain and not the writer. By selecting past temporal operator and a low modal operator as well as a low modality, the "aborigines" are not absent but remain only as traces within history and so exist only in past space rather than present space. In fact, there are no spatial locatives used within either clause 1a or clause 1b and it is only with the settlement of the French in clause 2a that spatial locatives are employed. This will take on greater relevance with the discussion of experiential iconicity below. For now I merely wish to demonstrate that low modalization cannot always be equated with a low claim to truth³³.

Again, we can see the emergence of the same sort of interpersonal meanings being realized within the following text.

11. The Different Nations of the earth, are usually divided into the savage, half-civilized, and the civilized. In the savage state, men subsist chiefly by hunting, fishing, and the spontaneous productions of the earth. The civilized and

³³. I realize that I am not referring to strictly interpersonal meanings here. As a three-way dialectic, it is nearly impossible to ever separate out interpersonal meanings from ideational and textual ones. I am focusing upon interpersonal meanings at present only to exemplify the omnipresence of voice within texts.

enlightened Christian nations are distinguished for their advancement in science, literature and the arts (*Geography and History of British America*, 1858: 4).

This may be analyzed, like the previous text, as follows:

1. The Different Nations of the earth, are usually divided into the savage, half-civilized, and the civilized.
 are - present temporal operator
 usually - frequency: median
 savage - lexis: attitudinal construed as categorical
 half-civilized - lexis: attitudinal construed as categorical
 civilized - lexis: attitudinal construed as categorical
 modality >indicative-probability: median
 usuality: median
 orientation - objective: implicit
2. In the savage state, men subsist chiefly by hunting, fishing, and the spontaneous productions of the earth.
 savage - lexis: attitudinal construed as categorical
 subsist - present temporal operator
 modality >indicative-probability: high
 usuality: high
 orientation - objective: implicit
3. The civilized and enlightened Christian nations are distinguished for their advancement in science, literature and the arts.
 civilized - lexis: attitudinal construed as categorical
 enlightened - lexis: attitudinal construed as categorical
 are - present temporal operator
 modality >indicative-probability: high
 usuality: high
 orientation - objective: implicit

Within this text the use of attitudinal lexis is greater than in the one above it. However, this difference between texts occurs through the author's desire to create, in the second text, broader categories which together create a taxonomy of the globe.

What is consistent is the realization of the writers' attitude towards what they seek to describe to the reader. The writers' starting point in clause one begins with the objective implicit mood element "The Different Nations of the earth, are usually divided" and proceeds to the residue

element "into the savage, half-civilized, and the civilized". The text is highly cohesive and so the prepositional phrase, "In the savage state", which follows in the next clause is derived from the preceding residue. Likewise the third mood element, "The civilized and enlightened Christian nations are", is also derived from the first, or in this case, primary mood element.

Typically, from an ideational perspective, we have here a series of relational processes of intensive attribution. These attributions are washed over with the writer's attitude towards the categories. The cohesive devices of enhancement and ellipsis indicate that as an exchange, there is a presumed high degree of affinity between writer and reader (Halliday and Hasan, 1976). As will be seen below, the reader is expected to share in these attitudes already or, as part of the pedagogic process of edification, to build them into his or her repertoire.

One interesting variation to the production of interpersonal meanings can be found within an entry for Hindostan provided by Brookes' *A General Gazetteer* (1865). The following text is a part of a description of British India and is unusual to both other gazetteers and the other entries within the same gazetteer in that it does use personal pronouns. The plural first person possessive pronoun, *our*, appears on lines 1, 13, and 16 and the plural first person subjective pronoun, *we*, appears on line 16.

The first is that of our British possessions, as usually stated, but the number of inhabitants will be seen to be overrated by the subsequent estimate: -

But according to an estimate upon which considerable dependence may be placed, the following amounts have been ascertained for the North Western Provinces of Bengal.

The foregoing is the first estimate of the population of British India which has been given at all in a satisfactory manner; more recent ones will be found in the Appendix. The first two columns, depending upon trigonometric data, are accurate. The last, which shows the enormous density of the population on the great plain of the Ganges, is an evidence that it is greater than even in China, and only exceeded by our island of Barbadoes. But these are much lower than former suppositions, as 32,000,000 have been assigned previously to the north western provinces. As these are among our most important districts, we may state, that the Hindoos amount to 6,199,956, and the Mahometans and others, to 1,254,121, or in the proportion not quite 6 to 1, formerly considered as 15 to 1.

This, like the use of ellipsis and objective implicit orientation, presumes a high degree of affinity between reader and writer. These are our British possessions, our island of Barbadoes, our most important districts and we may state. While all three texts share in the presumption of affinity, the third is more fragile.

The reality the third text presents is not so seamless for if the reader can either accept or reject the information the use of such inclusive terms makes the information being offered more vulnerable. This text is unusual in as much as it employs strong deictic meanings through the use of possessive finites. Here the grammar locates the writer and his orientation as a readily retrievable "speaker-now" (Downing, 1991: 122). The inclusive we actually makes the proposition more exclusive by limiting the exchange to those who would comfortably occupy a position which is of particularly close similitude

with the writer. The use of *we* and *our* makes the voice of the utterance more apparent and less anonymous and so plays upon the limitation of who can be *We*. The truth be advanced here is rooted in a "*we*". It is a shared knowledge rather than one which is universal. This is no longer an inert truth which transcends the contract between reader and writer but is conditional to being a participant in the exchange. It need not be a truth available to those relegated to the Residuum but instead it resides firmly within the Emporium.

THE SPACE OF THE TEXT: THE TEXT OF THE SPACE

If reader-response criticism has alerted, or at least reminded us, that it is the reader or listener who completes and gives the text its semantic fullness then *experiential iconicity* describes how

the text becomes a picture, an icon, of the world. Just as people who hear or read a text start out by assuming that the text must make sense, and exert themselves to interpret it by giving it coherence, so people who decode a text start out by assuming the text is iconic (Enkvist, 1987: 207).

Experiential iconicity, for Enkvist, realizes text strategies. Text strategies are described as "a goal-oriented weighting of decision parameters" deployed during textual production. This does seem to risk bringing a socio-cognitive model of discourse in through the back door but, at the same time, this is averted if text strategies are understood as what Bakhtin terms speech orientation. Speech orientation is always rooted in the contextualized

social or interindividual territory and never in rational centred individuals.

While the term, experiential iconicity, may suggest that the primacy is placed upon experiential meanings this, in practice, is inaccurate. The three types of meaning (ideational, interpersonal, and textual) are only separated out for the purpose of analysis but in practice are approached by the reader as a composite. This is at the root of Enkvist's selection of the term iconicity: it gathers and realizes a specific semantic configuration. Preserving Halliday's terminology, it might be better to think of such a configuration as textual iconicity. As Enkvist (1987: 211), himself, makes clear, text strategies broach all three metafunctions and so there is a close semantic relationship between register and experiential iconicity.

How does one come to know a space in the space of an entry? This where Enkvist's concept of experiential iconicity proves useful; it affords a means of (re)producing how the reader may enter the space(s) of the text.

Typically, in both gazetteers and geography primers, the locale is named, located, and then summarized for the reader. Upon naming, there is a movement from defining external boundaries to defining internal boundaries. Having defined the locale, the gazetteer then proceeds with an account of the historical, political, civil, and physical

geography. This order is not always strictly followed and, with some gazetteers, the entry concludes with an historical account of the locale. In spite of the variation, these orderings have a very specific outcome.

Although the gazetteer is not narrative in form³⁴ the iconicity of the text gives it a sense of narrativity: one of discovery and encounter. The experiential iconicity of these works (re)produces the entry into the locale being described. As the pupil enters the space of the text, the gazetteer provides a particular representation of space which the pupil is able to symbolically enter. This coincides nicely with Dillon and Everard's (1989) description of (State)ing.

Consider the text in Appendix 1:

1. *Australia*, one of the great divisions of the globe, and the one among them that is entirely within the southern hemisphere. within the southern hemisphere - Location:spatial\absolute
- 2a. *Australia* is surrounded by the waters of the Indian, Pacific, and Southern Oceans,
- 2b. but is continental in point of extent, in point of extent - Extent: indefinite
- 2c. being only one-fourth less than Europe in magnitude. only...in magnitude - Extent: definite
3. Large portions of the interior of the Australian continent are still unknown.

³⁴ Earlier gazetteers such as *A Short Topographical Description on his Majesty's Province of Upper Canada in North America* (Smyth, [1799] 1969) are as much a travel narrative as it is a gazetteer. Rather than recounting the travels of a specific individual, the gazetteer describes how "you", the reader, would travel through Upper Canada. For example: After leaving Murray, in going to the westward along the shore of lake Ontario, you pass the townships of Cramahé, Haldimand, and Hamilton, which are now settling; and arriving at the township of Hope, you find excellent mills; from thence there is a portage to Rice lake.

You then pass by... (Smyth, [1799] 1969: 20-21).

still - Location:temporal\rest

4a. It is only, indeed, within a period comparatively recent that its existence has become known to Europeans, within a period comparatively recent - Location:temporal\relative\ near

4b. and settlements established on its shores. on its shores - Location:spatial\rest

5a. The Dutch visited many portions of the Australian coast during the earlier half of the 17th century, of the 17th century - Location:temporal\absolute

5b. and, Tasman entirely circumnavigated the "Great South Land" (as it was called) in 1642. in 1642 - Location:temporal\absolute

6a. The name of New Holland,..., commemorates the Dutch discoveries.

6b. by which its western half long continued to be known long continued - Extent:indefinite

7. During more than a century after Tasman's time, the shores of Australia were seldom visited. more than a century - Extent:temporal\indefinite after Tasman's time - Location:temporal\motion\away from

8a. In 1768, Captain Cook surveyed its whole eastern coast-line, In 1768 - Location:temporal\absolute

8b. to which he gave the name of New South Wales,

8c. and took possession of it on the part of the British Crown.

9a. Twenty years later the first European settlement was established on its shores, Twenty years later - Location:temporal\motion\away from on its shores - Location:spatial\rest

9b. the foundations of the town of Sydney being laid by the English in 1788. in 1788 - Location:temporal\absolute

10a. Three-fourths of the persons composing the colonising party were convicts,

10b. and New South Wales continued to be used as a convict settlement during more than the first half-century of its existence. more than the first half-century - Extent:temporal\definite

11a. Other portions of the Australian coasts have subsequently been explored by the English nation,

11b. and settlements made upon some of them.

12a. The colony of South Australia was established in 1836; in 1836 - Location:temporal\absolute

12b. that of Western Australia (or Swan River), in 1829.

in 1829 - Location:temporal\absolute

13a. The thriving and now populous province of Victoria -...- was made a distinct colony in 1850.

in 1850 - Location:temporal\absolute

13b. previously constituting the "Port Phillip district " of New South Wales

14. Australia differs in nearly all respects - aspect, climate, and productions, alike - from other portions of the globe.

15. The interior, in so far as it has been explored, appears to consist of wide-spreading plains, for the most part arid and desert.

16a. The coast districts are hilly, especially towards the S.E., towards the S.E. - Location:spatial\motion\towards

16b. where the ranges of the Australian Alps and the Blue Mountains occur.

17. But its general scarcity of running water, and the paucity of large rivers, with the absence of the larger forms of animal life; are among the prime characteristics of Australian geography.

18a. The Murray, its most important river, has a course of 1200 miles,
of 1200 miles - Extent:spatial\definite

18b. but its volume of water is for the most part inconsiderable.

19a. The Australian climate is warm (even in the more temperate regions),

19b. but liable to frequent and sudden variations.

20a. The seasons of course reverse those of the northern hemisphere:

20b. July being the coldest,

20c. and January the hottest, period of the year.

21a. Very few of the native plants are of any use to man,

21b. though all of the food plants of Europe (Besides many that belong to other lands) flourish in its cultivated plains.
in its cultivated plains - Location:spatial\absolute

22a. Australian zoology includes scarcely any of the mammalia, excepting the kangaroos and opossums,

22b. which are now rapidly disappearing from the settled districts.
from the settled districts - Location:spatial\motion\away from

23a. But the domestic quadrupeds of Europe have thrived amidst the boundless expanse of the Australian "bush,"
amidst the boundless expanse - Extent:spatial\indefinite

23b. and the wool furnished by its sheep now supplies more than

half of the large demand for that article in the English market.
in the English market - Location:absolute

24. The mineral wealth of Australia is very great.

25a. The gold-fields of Victoria and New South Wales (first
discovered in 1851) are only rivalled in richness by those of
California,

25b. and the copper-ore of South Australia is the finest in the
world.
in the world - Location:absolute

26. Within recent years, Australia has contributed £12,000,000
sterling to the annual gold-produce of the world.
Within recent years - Location:temporal\relative\near

27a. The native population of Australia are perhaps the most
degraded members of the human family,

27b. and the settlement of Europeans upon their shores has done
nothing to elevate their social or moral condition.
upon their shores - Location:spatial\relative\remote

28a. They are few in number,

28b. and are fast becoming still further diminished.
still further - Location:motion\away from

29a. The colonial population (composed chiefly of British settlers
and their descendants) already numbers upwards of a million,

29b. and is rapidly increasing.

30a. Great Britain is the only nation that has formed any
permanent settlement upon the Australian coasts,
upon the Australian coasts - Location:spatial\absolute

30b. and her claim to sovereignty over the whole of this vast
region of the south is undisputed.
over the whole - Extent:spatial\indefinite

There are a number of discourse spans which are
realized within the text. These I will characterize as
external location (clauses 1 - 2c); interior space (clauses
3 - 4b); Dutch time (clauses 5a - 7); British time, which
subsumes Cook time (clauses 8a - 8c) and settlement time
(clauses 9a - 13b); the face of the country (clauses 14 -
26), which subsumes aspects (clauses 15 - 18b), climate
(clauses 19a - 20c), and productions (clauses 21a - 26);

Populace, which subsumes natives (clauses 27a - 28b) and Europeans (clauses 29a - 29b); and lastly the culminative span of British sovereignty (clauses 30a -30b). Though there is much which can be said about this text, I wish to restrict my comments to the reenactment of the (state)ing of Australia.

To begin with, it is worth noting how the text oscillates between the use of absolute and relative temporal and spatial locatives. Discourse spans tend to be initiated by absolute locatives which are relativized as the span is exhausted by the writer. The use of absolute locatives and numeratives grounds the unprojected events of the account in empirical evidence. "Event-time" is set apart from "utterance-time", and given over to an exterior temporal axis which both writer and reader are presumed to share and acknowledge. By relativizing the time and space, the event is brought from simple past to simple present. In simple present, the gap between "event-time" and "utterance-time" is narrowed. Accordingly, it is when the discourse span is brought up to the present that it comes to be exhausted.

This movement from absolute to relative locatives constitutes the ontology of the exterior temporal axis which is to be realized in the 'present' of the text. Australia is initially located within the absolute space and inert time of the southern hemisphere but is consistently brought into relative time and space with each span. Logically and

experientially, these spans culminate in the legitimacy of the claim to British sovereignty over Australia.

Interpersonally, the text is consistent with those cited above. For the most part, the mood elements are objective implicit in orientation and attitudinal epithets, if they appear at all, occur within the residue element rather than in that of the mood. Ellipsis is also frequently employed as in clauses 8a to 8c. Probability and usuality are typically high so as to suggest "things just are as they are." As an exchange between writer and reader, the reader is being constituted as already compliant and receptive. Writer and reader are expected to enjoy a very high degree of affinity. Very little effort is being expended in exhortation which perhaps makes this text more persuasive than persuasive. It is as though by not engaging in the overt markers of persuasion that this text comes to be persuasive. This is what is meant by describing these works as seamless (see page 104).

One further observation to be made is the interesting rhyming sequences in the clause complexes between flora, fauna, and peoples. Consider the following clauses where the Theme is bolded and the Rheme remains unbolded:

21a;27a:21b;27b

21a. **Very few of the native plants** are of any use to man,

27a. **The native population of Australia** are perhaps the most degraded members of the human family,

21b. **though all of the food plants of Europe** (Besides many that belong to other lands) flourish in its cultivated plains.

27b. and the settlement of Europeans upon their shores has done nothing to elevate their social or moral condition.

Though clauses 21a - 21b and 27a - 27b are concerned with different subject matter, their Theme-Rheme structures, and particularly their Theme elements, are surprisingly similar. Ideationally, both native plants and native people are inferior to their European counterparts and it is the introduction of the superior Europeans which concerns the writer.

The second rhyming sequence is even more striking:

22a;22b:28a;28b

22a. Australian zoology includes scarcely any of the mammalia, excepting the kangaroos and opossums,

28a. They are few in number,

22b. which are now rapidly disappearing from the settled districts.

28b. and are fast becoming still further diminished.

Here we see minimal nominal groups and the use of ellipsis. Where clauses 22a - 22b are concerned with the sparseness of Australian mammals and their diminishment in the face of British settlement, clauses 28a - 28b are likewise concerned with the sparseness of the aboriginal population and its diminishment.

Finally in clauses 28a - 28b and 29a - 29b we have a contrasting rhyming sequence.

28a;28b vs 29a;29b

28a. They are few in number,

29a. The colonial population (composed chiefly of British settlers and their descendants) already numbers upwards of a million,

28b. and are fast becoming still further diminished.

29b. and is rapidly increasing.

Again we see the same Theme-Rheme structure being actualized but the effect is to contrast the native and colonial populations. Within the head clauses the natives are few in number whereas the colonial population is large and cannot be overestimated. Correspondingly, the modifier clauses present the native population as rapidly decreasing while the colonial population is rapidly increasing.

This use of textual rhyming sequences, like the uses of ellipsis, makes the text as a whole highly cohesive. Although natives and colonials are within a separate discourse span, they are textually linked back to the previous discourse span of 'the face of the country.' Textually, the aboriginal peoples are linked back to the pre-European face of the country and are contrasted with the colonial peoples of the emerging new face of Australia. Through rhyming Theme-Rheme structures it is made reasonable to account for the population as one would flora and fauna. If we acknowledge this to be proto-ethnographic then this clearly echoes Ames (1985:39) observation that a

typical objective of early anthropological displays was, therefore, to present artifacts from primitive societies as if they were specimens akin to those of natural history. Following the tradition of the Cabinets of Curiosities, primitive peoples were considered to be parts of nature like the flora and fauna, ... The comparative theme was the essential ingredient.

The natives are as much a part of Australia-past as are the supplanted flora and the diminishing fauna. In contrast to the fading face of the past country is the present-time

success of European flora, fauna, and peoples. With the passage of time and text we 'see' the disappearance of all that is 'aboriginal' to Australia: Australia past is supplanted by Australia present. What is being accomplished here is the textual instantiation of racism in a manner which is extremely insidious. There is no need for attitudinal epithets which make explicit the writers revulsion towards the aboriginal peoples whose lands are being conquered.

In terms of experiential iconicity, the territory is indeed being (State)d. Australia is named and located, it is surveyed, and its administration is begun. History begins with the arrival of Europeans and whereas Australia-past is inert spatially and temporally, Australia-present is rooted in relative time and space. As an object of knowledge, Australia can be acted upon and its face transformed.

The process of (State)ing, however, is not complete as Australia-past has not been completely displaced by Australia-present. Australia-past and Australia-present co-exist within the same text but it is clearly Australia-present which is ascendent. Furthermore, the simultaneity is presented as transitory and, with the writer, we are to anticipate the final culmination of Australia-present. This text can be laid alongside the other works as it shares in a global (intertextual) realization of European and, in particular, English interventions into the world at large.

ANTITHETICAL BODIES

What makes the study of these gazetteers interesting is a nesting of topographies. The gazetteers map not only the surface of earth but the bodies and domesticities of the peoples of the earth. As I have begun to establish above, the body and its domesticity are organized into configurations of time and space such that the globe comes to be divided into a series of race-places.

Instead of starting with clausal level meanings, as systemic-functional grammar typically requires, I will commence with the macro-themes of the body and domesticity organized at the level of discourse. At the same time it must be demonstrated how they are recursively realized from clause upwards. What is of issue is how these macro-themes are articulated in relation to the lexicogrammar.

Thompson and Mann (1987) provide a meeting of Rhetorical Structure Theory and systemic-grammar which is particularly potent. Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST), as a theory of text organization, seeks to describe how a text functions as a single unit and thus focuses upon "the kinds of parts a text can have, how they can be arranged, and how parts can be connected to form a whole text" (Thompson and Mann, 1987: 360). RST proves compatible with the basic proposals of systemic-grammar because the two treat semiosis as the product of clausal relations which recursively realize meaning at higher levels of textual structurings.

As Thompson and Mann (1987: 360) observe:

Relations between parts of a text can take several forms, but one form predominates in expository texts. That is the Nucleus-Satellite form, in which the nuclear portion realizes the primary goals of the writer and the satellite provides the supplementary.

The gazetteers do not strictly correspond to expository analytic texts in that they do not overtly move to "persuade that" (Martin, 1989: 17). Nevertheless, as factual texts, the gazetteers do engage in a variation of the persuasive act. The gazetteers are factual texts which seek to describe the surface of the globe and everyone and thing upon it. The cohesive strategies which are typically deployed within the texts presume a high degree of shared understandings between reader and author. These descriptions are actually given as 'authorless' for the most part and the reader is asked accept the descriptions offered as a direct representation of reality. Borrowing from the insights of reader-response criticism, I argue that the absence of lexical-grammatical selections typically associated with persuasion is not the sign of a lack of persuasive rhetoric but that this is a part of the affective strategies intrinsic to the production of textuality.

Nucleus-Satellite structures can be used to indicate how texts are organized hierarchically into Rhetorical Structure Schemas. Each Schema comprises a number of hierarchized text spans which are built and co-ordinated into delicate networks (see Hasan, 1987) of single units founded upon a particular relationship. Figure 13 depicts

the most basic form which the RS Schema may take.

13. The Rhetorical Structure Schema

Of particular relevance to the gazetteers is what Thompson and Mann cite as the relationship of *antithesis*. Antithesis is realized when the following criteria are met:

1. Nucleus and Satellite are in contrast (Two items are in contrast if they are
 - a. perceived as being the same in many respects
 - b. perceived as differing in a few respects, and
 - c. compared with respect to one or more of these differences)
2. One cannot have positive regard for both Nucleus and Satellite because of an incompatibility that arises from the contrast.
3. The writer has positive regard for the Nucleus. Thus the Nucleus is the "antithesis" span, and the Satellite is the "thesis" span.
4. The writer intends that the reader have positive regard for the Nucleus.
5. Understanding the satellite, and the incompatibility between the Satellite and the Nucleus, tends to increase the readers positive regard for the nucleus (Thompson and Mann, 1987: 365-366).

Implicit in RS Schemas, therefore, are attitudinal orientations which the writer shares or seeks to share with the reader. But what is equally interesting, is that antithesis, as Thompson and Mann describe it, is not simply the product of an irreducible binary opposition. A text which utilizes an RS Schema of antithesis does not necessarily construct a single dualism or polarity which runs through the text but, rather, it can construct a delicate network of

oppositions which constitute multiple distinctions. As a text producer, one is able to create a multiplicity of spans which realize degrees of regard.

In constructing Nucleus-Satellite structures, the writer evokes experiential, logical, interpersonal, and textual meanings which are to be shared with the reader. These sorts of meanings can allow us to extrapolate how the reader is expected to position her/himself vis-à-vis the hierarchies between Nucleus and Satellite. This 'total' positioning is in turn realized, semantically, in the experiential iconicity of the text.

There are, obviously, a number of RS schemas realized within the gazetteers, but it is the schema of antithesis which resonates throughout these works. What I wish to make explicit is a particular semantic configuration or register which plays upon the *topic* or master chronotope of antithetical bodies of land and peoples.

As descriptive texts, the gazetteers rely heavily upon relational and material processes. The gazetteer constructs a series of states of being and events which are documented in an unprojected form. To describe the world and its occupants, the gazetteers construct elaborate distinctions which are realized through contrasted relational processes. As Alessandro Dal Lago (in Chambers 1990: 8) puts it, "Description never reduces the complexity of the world *but adds to it.*" Suitably, the discourse spans which are

developed within the gazetteers tend to be arranged antithetically into increasingly delicate networks.

To define entities one must attempt the impossible: to create finalizable identities. These identities are constructed in a play of similarities and differences which forever keeps them emersed within the economy of identity but must be concurrently kept apart. Recalling Galimberti's proposal, identity is not founded upon resemblance but upon the ambivalent tension between being and not being. Thus, we can expect to find that the relational processes being enacted through the gazetteers, employ chains of equivalences and antitheses. To be able to organize and mobilize specific configurations of identity is essential to the making of distinctions and, in making such distinctions the writers are able to able to provide "thick" descriptions of the Victorian globe.

As well as describing the Other peoples of the world, the English are themselves described in these works. Interestingly, descriptions of the English, like those of the other peoples described, are typically written in the third person. In Appendices 5 through 7, for example, Britain is described as if it is new and unfamiliar to the reader. All of these works treat the English as formally, though not axiologically, equative with the Hottentots. This gives the gazetteer, as an edifying work, a panoptic quality (Foucault, 1979). The description of the Eng'lish,

though most flattering, inverts the popular imperialist's gaze. The watchers are being watched and the readers are being read. This not only strengthens the axiological orientation of the texts but it demands self-regulation. The reader is being asked to see oneself as an object of scrutiny not only to others who may occupy the position of surveyor but to one's self. Self-regulation within governmental relations is always preferable to external regulation.

Thus, the reader is being taught the power of the gaze. She or he is taught how to do it and how to receive it. At the same time one is asked to become an accomplished subject of the gaze one is also being asked to become an accomplished object of the gaze. The gaze is so pervasive within these works that it comes to be evasive. Therefore the student of the empire is being desensitized to the evasiveness and power of making things visible.

Intimately bound up with description is discrimination. As part of their edification, the popular imperialists are being taught a large inventory of classifiers so as to be able to make discriminations. To maintain the moral universe of the Victorians it is not necessary to banish their Others from sight. Indeed, it is the reverse. As Cohn (1983: 194) notes in the context of the colonial sociology of imperial India, the "classificatory system was based on multiple criteria, which varied through time and

from region to region..." Thus, the Victorian Others are emersed in a delicate system of discriminations of which the Victorians are themselves included. This contrast between repression and discrimination is made clear by Abbot (1979: 15-16) when he proposes that

whereas repression banishes its object into the unconscious, forgets and attempts to forget the forgetting, discrimination must constantly invite its representations into consciousness, reinforcing the crucial recognition of difference which they embody and revitalizing them for the perception on which its effectivity depends...It must sustain itself on the presence of the very difference which is also its object

Ergo, to be a Victorian is to not be a not-Victorian.

Perhaps, more importantly, the not-Victorian is far more heterogeneous than one might first imagine.

To be discriminating is to take pride in one's disposition. Beginning in the eighteenth century and triumphing in the nineteenth century, the ability to make discriminations in and of the world comes to be seen as a uniquely civilized trait (Ferguson, 1990). As the reader moves through the gazetteer entries, 'he' is invited to marvel at the triumph of British conquest and to take pride in the very fact that, as a sign of 'our' civilized achievements, 'we' are able to make such discriminations on a global scale³⁵.

This European 'penchant' for making discriminations is expressed quite clearly in lines 1 - 3, 8, and 13 of

³⁵. This is made quite explicit in *The Geography and History of British America* (1858), where it breaks from a distinctly non-narrative form by providing a conclusion which suggests one has just taken a tour of the empire; see appendix 2.

appendix 3³⁶. As a simplification, Figure 14 illustrates how the discourse spans are frequently linked through relations of antithesis.

14. Spans of antithesis within a given text

³⁶. It is interesting but not unusual that the entry is for Hottentots and not Hottentotia. Quite frequently, an aboriginal people would be included as an entry unto themselves. In Brooke's *A General Gazetteer*, which this text is likely plagiarized from, the entry heading is not dissimilar. It opens as Hottentots, Country of the, or Hottentotia and despite some pretence to being a description of the country of the Hottentots, it demonstrates the same preoccupation with the body and domesticity of the Hottentot.

The text commences with the lexical item "Hottentots" which is oriented to the reader as "a native people of S. Africa." As an abstract material process, the reader is informed that the Hottentots form "the aboriginal population of the Cape Colony." The second clause is a relational process which distinguishes Hottentots-proper from Hottentots presently within the colony. By using the relative temporal locator "now", clause 2 pushes the initial theme back in relative time. Accordingly, the Hottentots of speaker-present are the "Bastards", already diminishing in population and purity.

Hottentots-present, as proximal to the colony in time and space, composes the antithesis to Hottentots-proper. Negative regard for the Hottentots-present is established, not in relation to the colony and colonists, but to the Hottentots-proper. The only appearance of the colonists within the text is the indirect speech projection of clause 2e. Here the Hottentots are (un)named by the colonists as a fatherless people within a resettled European patriarchy. Although "Bastard" is a strong attitudinal epithet, the term is presented as an objective descriptive as well as an evaluative.

The next discourse span is concerned with the body and domesticity of the Hottentot. A relationship of similitude is initially established between Hottentots and Europeans but the following clauses, 3b and 3c, provide a distinction

between Europeans and Hottentots. Though "Europeans" functions as part of the attribute in clause 3a, it also functions as a nucleus element to distinguish given (European body) from new (Hottentot body).

Clause 8a introduces yet another distinction to made amongst Hottentots. The new element here is the Bojesmans, which are also located through an abstract material process. Through relational processes the reader is invited to hold them in negative regard and it is the reversal of the given and new elements in clause 9b which elliptically links them back to the more positively regarded Hottentots-present.

The next group of Hottentots to be distinguished are initially identified through a relational process but with a relative location circumstantial ("To the north..."). Although, "the Koranas" are the new element in clause 8a, elliptically, they are the given element in clause 13b. As both given and new, "the Koranas" functions as nucleus where as "the other Hottentot nations" functions as satellite.

The experiential iconicity of the text is one in which the reader is continually being asked to discriminate between given and new, between varieties of Hottentots and, ultimately, between themselves, as Britons, and Hottentots. These discriminations are made to a large degree on the evidence of 'racial purity' and territory. Again, like the description of Australia, the aboriginal peoples are dwindling in the face of British colonization. Within the

space of the colony, the Hottentots are disappearing in population and as a 'pure' race. Away from the colony and in the interior of Southern Africa are the Bojesmans, who are 'wilder', and by inference, 'pure-blood' Hottentots. Further north, and in highest regard (though the text does not make explicit whose regard) are the Koranas. They are also of 'mixed-blood' but with Caffres who are held in higher regard by the British than the Hottentots.

15. Spatialization of regard

Figure 15 places these distinctions within a three axis matrix. None of these individual axes corresponds with the continuum of regard but rather, as a composite, they realize regard. Appropriately, degrees of regard can be illustrated

as Figure 16 below.

16. A continuum of degrees of regard

Hottentots-proper are regarded rather neutrally but the negative regard for the Hottentots-present, is established through their antithetical relationship to the Hottentots-proper. The Bojesman Hottentots are, in turn, constituted as antithetical to the Hottentots-present. They are more remote, pure blooded, and wild, than the Hottentots-present. Their bodies and domestic habits are distinguishable from and inferior to those of the Hottentots-present. Of highest regard amongst the Hottentots are the Koranas. The Koranas are presumed to have mixed with the Caffres whom the English hold in higher regard. They are cited as having superior

domestic habits and are allies with the superior Caffres and enemies of the inferior Bojesmans. The Koranas' remoteness does not detract from the regard with which they are held as not only have they mixed with the Caffres but their distance probably makes them less of a "problem" to the colony. Furthermore, it is frequently held in writings of this period, that as one moved North, the peoples of Africa became progressively more 'civilized.'

As the text takes the reader from people to people, it moves the reader through particular times and spaces. Since regard is established in peoples distributed in time and space, their bodies, habits, and habitations come to be divided up into places (cf. Shields' [1991: 30-32] illuminating discussion of "social spatialization"). The space one is located within is a predictor of one's body and domesticity. The attitudinal orientation of the writer and reader slides from the people themselves to the race-places they occupy. Accordingly Southern Africa comes to be comprised of a number of race-places: those of the Hottentots-proper, which no longer exists, the Hottentots-present, the Bojesmans, and the Koranas.

As I have stated above, these texts go together. The multiple discriminations which are offered within the Hottentot text are similarly realized within other entries in all of the gazetteers. For example, Appendix 4 produces a hierarchy between the aboriginal peoples of British North

America between Knistenaux, Chipaways, and Esquimaux. Like the Hottentot text, it is presented as a local taxonomy. This common preoccupation with mapping out the aboriginal peoples as well as the lands they occupy, produces a particular global attitudinal or axiological orientation towards a world divided up into antithetical race-spaces.

The process of discrimination is not, however, limited to the internal relations of the entries. Spans of antithesis may also be constructed between entries. As such an entire entry may function as a nucleus or satellite. Consequently, as part of the establishment of a global axiological orientation which is to be shared between writer and reader, similarity and antithetical spans are realized between certain entries.

Appendices 5 through 7 provide accounts of the "civil geographies" of England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland. Within England, one is able to discriminate between the "honest, manly, and kindly" English, the Welsh, who are "totally different from the English" and the Cornish who "are viewed as mainly of Celtic extraction." The point of comparison for the Scots is not only between the "superior classes," the "middle and lower ranks" and the "peasantry" but also the English. The Scots "do not differ materially from those of the English." But at the same time

They are distinguished by a rare union enterprise and perseverance with prudent caution; by a love of freedom and independence, shown strikingly in the results of their political and religious contests with the sovereigns of England; by an earnest religious

feeling, pervading all ranks, and by a more strict observance of the Sabbath than is found in any other country.

Similarly, the "manners of the superior classes of people in Ireland now nearly approach to the English standard." But the

common people still retain many features of their ancient national manners, the introduction of temperance societies, and the progress of education, have of late produced a marked improvement.

We see here the direction of the flow of discriminations which are made between England and "her possessions." The "distinguishing features" which the gazetteers seek to explicate are always made in reference to England and the English.

Quite clearly, the axiological orientation which is constituted between the locales of the empire is that of English suitability. Is the land suitable, is the climate suitable, is the material wealth suitable, are the dwellings suitable, is the hygiene suitable, are the bodies suitable, is the degree of civilization suitable?

RESTRICTED REGISTERS AND SPATIAL AUTHORITY

If we recall Lefebvre's dialectic of space (see the Introduction), the gazetteers which I have consulted organize the three elements of spatial praxis, representations of space, and spaces of representation into a particular register. This register in turn privileges representations of space so as to create a monologic "social spatialization" (Shields 1991). Though the monologic never exists outside of the dialogic, the privileging of the

English male voice places these works on the monologic end of the cline. As the field, tenor, and mode of discourse are being realized within these works, the other two elements within the tripartite of spatialization are all but completely obfuscated.

Register functions as a restriction upon the total meaning potential which is brought into the text-making process. Therefore, we can ask which voices are being realized within the text and which are not. The relationship between register and voice is best understood as

(1) the differential distribution of heteroglossic varieties and differential access of social agents to these; (2) the differential principles of classification, framing, and semiotic regulation that can operate for social agents in the social formation; and (3) how heteroglossic relations of alignment, opposition, and conflict among different positioned-practices and their textual voicings are functional in the dialectic of system-maintaining and system-changing processes in the semiotic system (Thibault, 1991: 43).

In reference to this relationship, I wish to argue that the manner in which the three semantic metafunctions are realized within the gazetteers produces a highly restricted register.

The restriction of the register being realized by these works is accomplished through what Bakhtin (1981a: 342) identifies as *authoritative discourse*. Bakhtin conceives of social heteroglossia as being realized within a continuum. At the one end heteroglossia is realized as the "impersonal stylizations of generic, professional and other social languages" (Bakhtin 1981a: 331). At the other, it is

realized as the "fully embodied image of a posited author, of narrators or, finally, as characters" (Bakhtin, 1981a: 332). For Bakhtin (1981a: 332), heteroglossia is pervasive because even the most impersonal and unitary discourse must still interrelate "dialogically with heteroglossia."

The essential quality to which Bakhtin grants dialogic communication privileges a social subject who is oriented towards others (hence the ethical dimension of dialogism). Conceptually similar to Heidegger's notion of Being-in-world and Being-with-others, Bakhtin proposes that to be conscious of one's position of the world one must *become* ideologically. Ideological becoming is made possible only through our participation within "living hermeneutics:"

One must also consider the psychological importance in our lives of what others say about us, and the importance, for us, of understanding and interpreting these words of others (Bakhtin, 1981a: 338).

Ideological becoming, for Bakhtin, is the process of "assimilating the words of others" (1981a: 341), of developing "ideological interrelations with the world" (1981a: 342), of participating within a heteroglossic communication environment, and of becoming a heteroglot. To Bakhtin, this is integral to the formation of subjective consciousness.

Ideological becoming entails more than simple acquiescence to imperatives, Bakhtin's use of the term assimilation also includes notions of edification and internalization.

Another's discourse performs here no longer as information, directions, rules, models and so forth - but strives rather to determine the very bases of our ideological interrelations with the world, the very basis of our behaviour; it performs here as *authoritative discourse*, and an *internally persuasive discourse* (Bakhtin, 1981a: 342).

The two categories are not mutually exclusive, and they may indeed, though rarely, be realized simultaneously within the double-voiced word (Bakhtin, 1981a: 342). It is more typical that an individual's ideological becoming be marked by a schism between the two categories of discourse. To Bakhtin (1981a: 342), the two categories are interrelated through struggle and dialogism.

Bakhtin (1981a: 342) defines the authoritative word in its purest form as one which rests its authority and validity upon the "religious, political, moral; the word of a [the] father, of adults and of teachers, etc." and not its ability to be internally persuasive. This is the word of official life. It is persuasive because it is already fused with the authority which requires observance. As Bakhtin (1981a: 342) describes it:

The authoritative word is located in a distanced zone, organically connected with a past that is felt to be hierarchically higher. Its authority was already *acknowledges* in the past. It is a *prior discourse*.

Conversely, the internally persuasive word, is rooted in the underside of official life. It is

denied all privilege, backed up by no authority at all, and is frequently not even acknowledged in society (not by public opinion, nor by scholarly norms, nor by criticism)...(Bakhtin, 1981a: 342).

The internally persuasive word is never static or isolated. It is not simply interpreted but rather elaborated by being

built upon and built into our social languages. Such words are open and, through dialogic struggle with other discourses, afford "newer ways to mean" (Bakhtin, 1981a: 345-346).

The geographical popularizers deploy authoritative discourse so as to restrict the registers available to their readers. Authoritative discourse produces a restricted register because it has the ability to organize other discourses without actually being subsumed or recontextualized by its subordinate discourses. The semantic structure of authoritative discourse is "static and dead" (Bakhtin, 1981a: 343):

Therefore authoritative discourse permits no play with the context framing it, no play with its borders, no global and flexible transitions, no spontaneously creative stylizing variants on it. It enters our verbal consciousness as a compact and indivisible mass; one must either totally affirm it, or totally reject it. It is indissolubly fused with its authority - with political power, an institution, a person - and it stands and falls together with that authority (Bakhtin, 1981a: 343).

The word of the gazetteer, like authoritative discourse, can only be double-voiced in the most limited nature. It is a dialogue between the Emporium and its students. In terms of tenor, the reader, as a student of the Victorian globe, occupies the position of situational other to the authority of the text. The Hottentot et al. may be the cultural Others but they are not subjects of the exchange. The addressivity of the word of the gazetteer is not directed towards them but to the English (or English Canadian) student.

The authority of the discourse is therefore spatially restricted. Only those who may be closely positioned vis-à-vis the Emporium would acknowledge the authority invested in these geographical popularizers. Such authority, like the use of personal pronouns in the Hindostan text, requires a high degree of affinity between reader and writer. Without such affinity, authoritative discourse becomes completely alien: "[i]f completely deprived of its authority it becomes an object, a relic, a *thing*" (Bakhtin, 1981a: 344).

The gazetteers and primers, by restricting register, stagnate Lefevbre's dialectic of spatialization. At the level of register, representations of space are being realized. These are representations which are embedded in the aspirations and official knowledges of British imperialists. While there is indeed some attempt to justify global taxonomies by citing local ones (e.g. the hierarchies amongst indigenous populations), these localized discourses are incapable of changing the semantic structure of the imperial register.

As the reader is given access to the descriptions of the various locales which make up the Victorian world, the taxonomies which are presented as locally produced come to be organized within the broader axiological orientation of English supremacy. The gazetteers are preeminently concerned with "revealing" a world which coincides perfectly with the desired social order of the British Empire.

Although these texts are pedagogic and therefore oriented to the transmission of a spatial competence, which is necessary to being a 'good' imperialist, the presumed affinity between reader and writer seemingly renders the process *fait accompli*. The knowledge which is offered is inert, self-apparent, and in no need of contestation. Spatialization is, seemingly, something which happens outside of the geographic works.

Accordingly, Lemke's notion of missing register is distinctly useful here. As Lemke (1985a: 277) defines them, missing registers

correspond to the kinds of meaning that simply are not made, or at least not made with language, and here certainly would be a powerful stabilizing mechanism for a community's social order and, at the same time, a system of critical points of potential change should these meanings come to be made and recognized in a community where they formerly were not.

It is not simply a matter of presence or absence as missing registers are meaningful absences. Missing registers, though not realized linguistically, impinge upon those registers which can occur. Both missing and present registers co-occur.

Though there is some pretence to providing locally produced hierarchies of regard, the knowledges which are realized in the gazetteers are first and foremost extra-local. We do not 'hear' from the aboriginal peoples whose lands are being catalogued. There is no attempt to provide their conceptions of the times and spaces in which they live. The underside of English domination lies firmly below

the surface of text. Accordingly, Lefebvre's third component, representational spaces and the potential for counter-representations, is missing as a register. It is this absent voicing in the 'face' of authoritative discourse which makes these texts monologic. Within these representations of space, dialogues happen only in the most mediated of manners.

The locale's degree of suitability for English use is enunciated through the experiential iconicity of the entries and the gazetteers as a whole. As iconic texts, the gazetteers construct the Residuum as the site of tension between antithetical race-place and colony. On one hand, there is a tendency to allow the marking of race to slide between the bodies of the peoples and the lands they occupy, and on the other, there is a need to overcome this racing of the land so as to permit white settlement. The colony itself is a problem in relation to race-places as it is a settlement for a people whose race cannot be embedded in the place. In the following chapter I will discuss contemporaneous theories of race but for now let it suffice to say there is a need to remove racial boundaries within geographic ones. I will refer to this as the process of eracing the space³⁷.

³⁷. Shields (1992) provides a similar discussion of this need to re-create and Europeanize space in his poignant discussion "Banff-Europe". In it he argues that "For Europeans, the history of settlement always involved first a 'clearing out' of the space: the construction of a stage for history which is then relegated to a taken-for-granted

Erasing the space operates between the three chronotopes of pre-contact, diminishment, and settlement. The chronotope of pre-contact is realized to varying degrees in direct relationship to the impending British conquest. Not only does pre-contact signal contact but it necessitates contact. It is as if lands found within the chronotope of pre-contact await a European presence (Miles, 1989: 13-14). It is this presence which allows history to commence. The chronotope of diminishment typically co-occurs with the chronotope of settlement. This is expressed most candidly in *A New Universal Gazetteer* where the author states

Aided by the extensive immigration from Britain, the population of Canada has increased with wonderful rapidity in recent years, and at present exceeds 2,000,000. The native Indian population has diminished to fewer than 40,000 (1859: 483).

The descriptions of India or Hindostan (see Appendix 9), Ireland, and Scotland are, to varying degrees, exceptions to the rule and this is likely due to the fact that there were no plans to establish English settlements (significant ones, in the case of Hindostan) upon their soil.

The chronotope of pre-contact locates the "native" in a past time of an untouched race-space. Within the Canadian primer *Geography and History of British America (G.H.B.A.)* we can see a very sophisticated and nearly complete version of this process. Text 1 of Appendix 8 refers to the Indians of British America in their 'true, pre-contact form'.

backdrop against which events are played out."

Selections such as the consistent use of past tense places these peoples within a remote relative location in relation to the reader. We can see the same sort of chronotope being employed in the first clause of the Hottentot text and clause 27a of the Australia text.

The chronotope of diminishment usually commences as a discourse span through euphemistic references to genocide. This is clearest in clauses 28b and 2a of the Australia and Hottentot texts, respectively. In text 2 of Appendix 8, this is realized in a more acute manner. Again, the aboriginal peoples of Canada are presented in past tense but it is also worth noting that they have been segregated to a unique (and reserved) section of the primer. Diminishment is more directly realized in the sections describing the Ottawas, the Wyandots, and the Attiwendarocks with concluding references to them as "remnants" or having been "reduced". It is also likely, that their diminishment is a shared knowledge which need not be said.

The chronotope of settlement is established within the Australia text from clause 4a onwards with the relativization of time and space. In the Hottentot text, the chronotope of settlement is more tightly embedded in the chronotope of diminishment. The time and space of settlement is initiated through the defining relative clause 2c and is re-established with the indirect speech projection of clause 2e. Like the Australia text, the settlement

chronotope relativizes the time and space of pre-contact and orients the reader attitudinally away from the diminishment chronotope.

In terms of the Canada text, settlement is presumed to be largely unproblematic and already accomplished. This is a primer which is published six years after the Independence of Parliament Act and in sight of the passing of the B.N.A. Act and is very much a part of the interest in creating an appropriate Canadian nationalism. Accordingly it is declared in the "Preface to the First Edition" that

The necessity for a work of this kind is the primary reason of its publication. Until a very recent period, the pupils of our public and private schools were left, either to glean a scanty knowledge of their own and the sister provinces through the often uncertain and inaccurate medium of an European geography, or to adopt the foreigner's unfriendly interpretation of our colonial institutions and laws (*G.H.B.N.*, [1857] 1959: v).

This need for an appropriate self-definition of *British* Canada which will "supersede the Anti-British publications on geography, which are found in many of our schools" is echoed in the subsequent "Preface to the Second Edition" (*G.H.B.N.*, 1859: vi) where under the heading of "United Canada we are told:

As an integral part of the great Empire of Britain, Canada owes a willing allegiance to the Sovereign; but the executive government and legislature of the Province are, practically, independent of Imperial control. With her people, loyalty to the sovereign, obedience to the laws, love for mankind, and reverence for sacred things, are felt to be duties enjoined by the imperative injunction to 'HONOR ALL MEN; LOVE THE BROTHERHOOD; FEAR GOD; HONOR THE KING' (*G.H.B.A.*, 1859: 37-38).

Without digging too deeply, it is worth noting the tension between independence from and loyalty to Great Britain. If part of an appropriate Canadian nationalism is to aspire to

become a nation-state whilst remaining within the Empire then Canada's colonial history will figure prominently as part of its nation-building narrative³⁸.

In Canada, the process of erasing the space seems to have stalled or even to have reversed itself. Goldie (1989) proposes that for the white Canadian, the presence of the Indian is a source of anxiety.

The white Canadian looks at the Indian. The Indian is Other and therefore alien. But the Indian is indigenous and therefore cannot be alien. So the Canadian must be alien. But how can the Canadian be alien within Canada? (Goldie, 1989: 12).

This dilemma, for Goldie (1989: 12-13), is resolved through two possible solutions:

The white culture can attempt to incorporate the Other, superficially, through beaded moccasins and names like Mohawk Motors, or with much more sophistication, through the novels of Rudy Wiebe. Conversely, the white culture may reject the indigene: "This country really began with the arrival of the whites."

However, as it is presented in the "Preface to the Second Edition" these solutions seem to blur:

This brief record of the early history of the aborigines of the country, the author deems to be essential to the completeness of any sketch of Canadian Geography and History, especially as traces of the musical language of the Indians still linger in the names of many of the civil and geographical divisions of the country which was once entirely their own (G.H.B.A., 1859: vi).

Both solutions are being deployed here. They have been rendered a part of Canada's history, a part of a romantic past to excite students and instill Canadian patriotism. Their presence is only to be traced through the European naming of the now thoroughly Canadian landscape. The place

³⁸. I will develop the relationship between nation-building and the gazetteer more thoroughly in the next chapter.

of the "Indian" in Canada's heritage is thus secured in a table listing some of the places within Canada and the Indian origins of their names. The two solutions, at least in this case, are not easily distinguished. One is implicated in the other. By pushing the indigene back into an inert Canadian landscape which echoes the nation's pre-history, white Canada can in turn reject the indigene.

As Canada moves from colony to nation-state the chronotopes of diminishment and settlement become worn and begin to be supplanted by those necessary to constructing Canada as a quasi-sovereign nation-state. This naming cannot be construed as a reversal for Canada is no longer a race-space but an emerging nation-state-space. By inscribing the landscape with names from the languages of the aboriginal peoples of Canada, the First Nations peoples do not mark the race of Canada but rather the natural/national-history. This marking is akin to what Graburn (1986) terms Canada's "borrowed identity" whereby post-colonial nation-states, such as Canada, desiring an identity distinct from the 'mother country' continue with an internal-colonialist project to render the native peoples and landscape a part of the national identity (see also Blundell, forthcoming).

These works are part of a pedagogy of space. They are part of a process of edifying the British middle classes and placing them within the world. The placement these texts

offer is undoubtedly one of privilege such that one can proudly survey a world which is marked by successful British interventions. As I have proposed above, they allow the reader to occupy the spaces being textually produced while at the same time remaining centred within the Emporium. The exception to this being the Canadian gazetteers which try to negotiate between its subordinate position to England and its emerging position as a nation-state. In this way, the texts are a part of a spatial practice, one which seeks to ensure that as popular imperialists the students will achieve a "guaranteed level of *competence* and a specific level of *performance*" (Lefebvre, 1991: 33).

HOME POWER: FROM THE DOMUS OF THE EMPORIUM

What I want to suggest is that the gazetteers are engaged in an act of truth-telling. For Foucault (Flynn, 1988: 104), there are

four basic modalities of saying the truth, namely, those of the prophet, the sage, the teacher-technician and the parrhesiast. Each respectively is concerned with truth as destiny, as being, as *techné*, and as *ethos*.

The sage speaks the truth in her own name but, as it is within herself, feels no compulsion to share it. For the teacher-technician, truth-telling is a learned skill which allows her to transmit her truth to others. The parrhesiast tells a truth which is personal and, as such, she is subject to the judgement of others. Lastly, the prophet speaks a truth which is external to her and acts only as a mediator between the source of the truth and her audience. The prophet's truth transcends present and future and must be interpreted "because typically they cover even as they unveil what is hidden" (Flynn, 1988: 104). These modalities are not mutually exclusive and accordingly these gazetteers, as well as engaging in the mode of teacher-technician, evoke the mode of prophetic truth-telling.

The truth which the prophet offers is unequivocally extra-local. It is a truth which transcends both time and space and is therefore ubiquitous. Mediating between present and future, such truth is preoccupied with the ontological. Accordingly, the prophet's truth obscures its own 'authorship'; it is not situated in the particular but

in the universal.

Recalling the articulation of interpersonal meanings as impersonal ones in the cited texts above, the voicedness of the texts are that of what Foucault (1980c) identifies as the universal intellectual. As Foucault (1980c: 126) describes the universal intellectual,

He [sic] was heard, or purported to make himself [sic] heard, as the spokesman of the universal. To be an intellectual meant something like being the consciousness/conscience of us all.

With the exception of the description of British India, which employs 'strong' deictic possessives, the information being exchanged is as 'true' for the English schoolboy as it is for the "Hottentot".

By referring to the knowledges which are proffered by the gazetteers as extra-local I am by no means suggesting that they are not vested within a local site. As I have already argued, these texts are engaged in the centralising of both knowledge and power and thus they propose a centre, the Emporium. As part of a pedagogic enterprise, the production of a centre from which to view the world is inseparable from the social organization of subjectivity.

This centring is best described by Smith (1990) and her elaboration of Alfred Schutz's *null point*. Smith (1990: 55) cites Schutz so as to produce an account of the "consciousness of an embodied subject." In so doing, Smith (1990: 54) builds upon Schutz's conception of a

primary contrast between consciousness located in the paramount reality of a world of action and direct manipulation, and cognitive domains differentiated from and within it.

Schutz's (in Smith, 1990: 55) claim is that we are positioned such that the

place which my body occupies within the world, my actual Here, is the starting point from which I take my bearing in space. It is so to speak, the center O [or null point] of my system of coordinates.

From this null point, our Here and Now, we are organized into a system of co-ordinates through "categories of right and left, before and behind..." etc. (Schutz in Smith, 1990: 55). The movement from immediate locus of the experiencing body to its co-ordinates within a system of socially derived categories produces a nesting of the body within "the level of language and hence to the level of a social organization of the subject that is displaced" (Smith, 1990: 55). As part of her critical re-reading, Smith (1990: 55) notes that while the experiencing individual qualifies those knowledges which orient and localize it, the subject's bodily site is always already "entered into the social as a social organization of subjectivity" and, by extension, time-space.

This leads Smith (1990: 55) to pose a summation which is essential to comprehending the gazetteers' participation within popular imperialism:

If people who are co-present are to enter the same temporal and spatial coordinates, locate themselves in the same way, and arrive at the same particulars in referencing one another's talk and gestures, their coordinates must be intersubjectively organized in language.

The fixing of the individual's coordinates in time and space is termed by Smith (1990: 56) as "deictic locking procedures or devices." Here Smith is referring to those practices

which are deployed in order to organize the subjective positions of social actors within a given context or deictic order. As Smith (1990: 57) so succinctly describes it,

As features of a deictic order, deictic locking devices can be identified that serve to insert the nul' point of the individual's consciousness into a social relation so that her working system of co-ordinates is socially organized.

It is fitting, therefore, to describe the centring which is inscribed in the gazetteers as part of a deictic locking strategy. And as I shall develop in the final division below, the gazetteers lock one into a position from which one can proudly survey the empire.

RACE AS A SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL CONSTRUCT

Within the gazetteers, the British Empire comprises many nations but only one nation-state. Nationality, as it is construed in these works is closely related to, if not synonymous with race. Within the same entry one will frequently find reference to 'the people' as both race and nation. For example, in Appendix 3 the Hottentots are referred to as a nation while what marks them as a nation, is their physique. Physiognomy is as readily employed to catalogue nationality as it is race. Furthermore, other references to the Hottentots are just as likely to refer to them as a race as they are a nation. Likewise, the English, themselves, are self-referenced as both a race and a nation.

Banton (1987: xii) persuasively argues that historically there have been three primary phases in the definition of race and 'race relations' within the English

language. The first phase begins in about the sixteenth century with the appearance of the word race in European languages. The second phase begins with the nineteenth century and introduces race relations as a specific sphere of knowledge. The third phase is of less concern here, but is typified by Banton as a sociologization of previously biological explanations.

The first phase emerges with

the increase in knowledge about varied forms of life, the many proposals about how to classify and interpret that diversity, and the ways in which new knowledge fashioned the use of the word race (Banton, 1987: xii).

Coinciding with the beginnings of the rise of the modern nation-state, it is not an outrageous claim to put forth that this new knowledge was incorporated into the discursive strategies of nation building.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth, the word race first emerged as an expression of lineage in the English language. Banton (1987: 2) gives the examples of William Dunbar's (1508) poem *The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Sins* and Foxe's (1570) later *Book of Martyrs* which makes reference to the descendants of Abraham as "the race and stocke of Abraham." Both works propose a monogenetic model in which all people are deemed to be descendants of Adam and Eve. In time, however, Europeans began to debate whether indeed they could include non-Europeans within their own 'race'.

It is when the term was taken up within natural history that race began to be a means of classifying groups into

types and, later, sub-species on the basis of visible differences. One of the first works to be published in natural history which premised the word race to be an analytic term is John Ray's (1690) *The Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of the Creation*. Ray's central claim in his theory of race is that "the number of true species in nature is fixed and limited and, as we may reasonably believe, constant and unchangeable from the first creation to the present day" (in Banton, 1987: 2). Here, race is fixed and progeny cannot be created between races. Interestingly, Ray, like most of his contemporaries, did not propose that the Black African and the European comprised different sub-species.

If scientific theories of the day did not directly propose European racial superiority, contemporaneous folk theoretical articulations of race did so. Barker (1978) provides a thorough examination of this phenomenon in the context of how the British construed their relationship with Black Africans during the period of the Atlantic slave trade. As he (Barker, 1978: 100) suggests

Much more than abstract theory was at work in depicting the Negro as an African with a culture to be condemned but a human potential to be upheld. Many of those who saw the Negro in Africa were aware of the intellectual conventions...[of the day]. But they were also practical men, predominantly traders whose reports were soured by commercial frustrations and tropical discomforts, yet occasionally illuminated by grudging admiration for the Africans with whom they dealt. The reports of observers were given wider currency by the editing of geographical popularisers and educators. Editing roles varied from an extreme which allowed reports to be reproduced verbatim to one which used them to illustrate a general theme - frequently of European superiority over the non-European world.

I do not want to suggest, nor does Barker do so, that there was a clear distinction to be made between 'crude' popular theories of race and 'progressive' intellectual ones. Instead, as Banton (1987: xiv) describes it, there was a "two-way traffic between the two spheres of discourse."

At the start of the nineteenth century and somewhat concurrent with theories of race as lineage, race also began to be equated with type. Georges Cuvier's 1800 memorandum proposing a French expedition to the Pacific to assist "researches to be carried out relative to the anatomical differences between the diverse races of man" set the tone for the shift in the definition of race (Banton, 1987: 28). With Cuvier, race and variety became synonymous but lineage remained within the definition. Indeed, Banton (1987: 29) notes that between Cuvier's first English translation of 1827 and subsequent translations there was some confusion as to whether the word variety or race should be used.

With the 1848 publication of *The Natural History of the Human Species*, Charles Hamilton Smith, a student of Cuvier, probably did more than any other to establish the typological theories of race as an organized discourse in Britain. Smith's work continues to assert a monogenetic model but modifies earlier works which employ an environmental relativism. In addition, Smith further refines the environmentalist stress upon the moral causes of civilization and progress so as to make it theoretically

possible for Europeans and their civilization to expand outwards.

In previous writings in the eighteenth century, the world had been divided into racial regions in which only a specific race was best suited physiologically. Environmental relativism proposed that each race was best suited to its own environment and most of its proponents discouraged the movement of peoples between racial regions (be it in terms of enslavement or colonization).

Culturally, however, these European intellectuals were not so relativistic. Only the climate and topography of Europe could foster a state of human affairs which was to be the pinnacle of civilization. This position is elaborated by Montesquieu (1748) in his *The Spirit of Laws* where he charges that the character of nations are shaped by environmental influences and the social organization which each nation enjoys is the product of the character of its members. Nonetheless, for Montesquieu and the majority of his contemporaries, a temperate climate meant a more vigorous people who would be able to evolve a superior culture and means of self-government (Banton 1987: 8).

Such a spatial model of race threatened to lock peoples in place suggesting only negative consequences for out-migration. In regions deemed inhospitable to Europeans, there was a fear that they may actually begin to degenerate and produce inferior progeny. This put limits upon the

expansion of European influence for if certain regions were governed by climates which caucasians could not withstand then colonization would be impossible. At the same time, if racial regions did not exist, the ability to spatialize Europe and its Europeans from the non-European world would become logically tenuous.

While Smith also retained a belief in zoological limitations to colonization he significantly reduced those limitations by theorizing that a superior stock of human being would be less limited to specific regions than those of an inferior stock. Needless to say, Smith found Europeans to coincide with such a stock, inherently able:

to endure the greatest vicissitudes of temperatures in all climates; to emigrate, colonize, and multiply in them, with the sole exception of the positive extremes...he alone of the races of mankind has produced examples of free and popular institutions...he has ascended to the skies, descended into the deep, and mastered the powers of lightning...He has instituted all the great religious systems in the world, and to his stock has been vouchsafed the glory and the conditions of revelation (in Banton, 1987: 53-54).

While the other races of 'mankind' are rooted within race-spaces, the so-called caucasian race is not limited by its own race-space excepting the most 'inhospitable' of climates.

Though these works predate Darwin's writings on biological evolution and the vulgarizations of social evolution, a conception of moral and cultural progress had been well established among the European intelligentsia since the 1600s. By the 1820s the position that 'ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny' was deeply ensconced in Europe. As

a crude evolutionary model, it presumed that the history and maturation of the individual reproduces the evolutionary history of the species to which she or he belongs.

Accordingly, Smith was able to argue in the same work that

the human brain successively assumes the form of the Negroes, the Malays, the Americans, and the Mongolians, before it attains the Caucasian...One of the earliest points where ossification commences, is the lower jaw. This bone is therefore sooner completed than any other of the head, and acquires a predominance which it never loses in the Negro (in Banton, 1987: 54).

As Smith and his contemporaries were eager to include accounts of European moral superiority, 'ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny' served as a ready-to-use theory of 'social evolution.' There is a slippage from biological to social theories such that civilization must be accomplished through a repetition of stages of which southern African social organization was typically assumed to be the nadir and northern European the apogee. Within this same theory of race, its proponents were able to argue that non-European's cultures and social organizations are as inferior as their bodies.

As an evolutionary model of race as type, the work of Smith and his cohort produces an account in which the globe comes to be divided up into racial chronotopes. At the same time, the 'Caucasian' race is not constrained to a specific region of the globe and so exists within an expansionary chronotope. As an expansionary chronotope, the 'Caucasian' sphere of influence is able to 'displace' its other racial chronotopes and the peoples who are confined

within them. This is what I have referred to above as the eracing of space.

A RACE-NATION-STATE AMONG RACE-NATIONS

Both the ruling nation-state and the empire are not without their own internal contradictions. Within the colonial field of vision itself, there is a tension between the Emporium and its broader sphere of 'influence', the Residuum. For Benedict Anderson (1991: 83) this tension between nation and empire takes form in the context of the new nationalisms of the nineteenth century:

In the course of the nineteenth century, and especially in its latter half, the philological-lexicographic revolution and the rise of intra-European nationalist movements, themselves the products, not only of capitalism, but of the elephantiasis of the dynastic states, created increasing cultural, and therefore political, difficulties for many dynasts.

In the case of the British Empire, Anderson recognizes the irony that there had not actually been an 'English' monarch on the throne since the early eleventh century. This need to legitimize dynastic rule in the new nationalisms creates what Anderson (1991: 85) deems to be a "double status: 'universal-imperial' and 'particular-national'."

The Emporium, operating within this dual existence, must be both a state which exemplifies the particular-national and the guiding centre within the universal-imperial. England, therefore, must be both unique unto itself and typical unto its 'protectorates'. It is in this way that England or perhaps Great Britain comes to be a Race-Nation-State among Race-Nations.

On the one hand, the Emporium or nation-state within the empire must operate as the particular-national through a co-ordinated unity/disunity. The creation of national affiliative relations is achieved through what Corrigan and Sayer describe in *The Great Arch* (1984) as *moral regulation*. To Corrigan and Sayer, influenced in part by Emile Durkhiem's conception of the *conscience collective*, the state emerges in the definition of "acceptable forms and images of social activity and individual and collective identity" (1984: 3) through what they describe as a "double disruption" (1984: 4). This double disruption is qualified as:

[1] On the one hand, state formation is a totalizing project, representing people as members of a particular community...This community is epitomized as the nation, which claims people's primary social identification and loyalty...Nationality, conversely, allows categorization of 'others' - within as well as without...[2] On the other hand, as Foucault has observed, state formation equally (and no less powerfully) individualizes people in quite definite and specific ways (Corrigan and Sayer, 1984: 4-5).

As critical point of entry, this doubling is quite useful for we can claim that the gazetteers do indeed both totalize and particularize the empire as well as the nation, England. To learn the geography being advanced in these works not only positions one in a particular world-order but it reaffirms a particular moral-order.

Homi K. Bhabha's (1990a: 292) proposal that we understand "nationness as a form of social and textual affiliation" proves to be an effective point of entry to understanding the significance of the first part of this

doubling. The nation-state is bound by a narrative of the common unity of 'the people' and as I have argued above, race is one of the primary signifiers of nationness.

Returning to the analysis of the geographical popularizers in the previous section of this paper, the English as 'the people' are primarily described as a homogenous, masculine collectivity. In Appendix 5, the English are distributed into subdivisions only within the latter half of the section on Race and Language. The Welsh and Cornish are treated as proxemic but less than English qua English or as English once removed. To be English, one can vary in lineage (to some degree) but one cannot vary in manners.

Within the English context, the term race was continually re-defined over four centuries with changes in the kinds of contact between 'English' and 'non-English'. According to Banton (1987: xiii-xiv), its

meaning has also diversified and shifted, because with the growth of knowledge, theorists believed it possible to use the word analytically to explain the common characteristics of individuals thought to constitute first a type, then a subspecies, a population, a status category and finally a class category.

If the emergence of race as a classificatory device coincides with the rise of the modern state then the concept of race cannot be separated out from the project to re-create the English national narrative.

Though introduced over two centuries earlier, the term race became firmly established in English popular discourse

with the publication of Sir Walter Scott's (1820) *Ivanhoe* (Banton, 1987: 13). Based on a play about Runnymede, *Ivanhoe* presents the struggle between a Saxon peasantry and their despotic Norman rulers as a struggle between distinct races.

Scott's historical romance is likely linked to the historical revisionism of Richard Verstegan's (1605) *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* which traces the origin of the English people to the Saxon 'race' (Banton, 1987: 12-13). Verstegan's history arose as a challenge to the ambitions of the Stuart monarchy. The Stuarts and their supporters sought to assert the claim to a divine right of kings and to weaken parliament. Verstegan's work deflates the Stuart's claims by herocizing the Saxons and cites Tacitus to assert that the Saxon kings were, true to their race, limited in their powers and accountable to a council.

Both Verstegan's and Scott's work and the corresponding popularization of 'race' participate in what Hobsbawm (1983) has identified as the invention of tradition. Hobsbawm (1983: 1) defines invented tradition as

a set of practices, normally governed overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.

From this broad definition, Hobsbawm (1983: 9) in turn identifies three inclusive types of invented tradition:

a) those establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities, b) those

establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority, and c) those whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviour.

The enunciation of race found in the gazetteers, like *Ivanhoe*, operates within all three modes to create a community founded upon 'Englishness', to establish a sense of prestige within the institutions of British rule, and to centre the reader within the desired moral universe:

In consequence of this extended commerce, England has attained such a degree of maritime greatness that her navy rides triumphant in every sea, and constitutes the great bulwark of the nation. This maritime greatness has enabled her to establish colonies, and acquire large possessions in the remotest regions of the earth; and although, in the extent of her home territory, and the amount of her population, England ranks but as a small European state, her foreign dominions, and the population over which her power extends, in number amounting to 140 millions, place her very high in the scale of nations; while in the magnitude of her resources, the intelligence, activity, and valour of her inhabitants, she holds almost the first place (Stewart, 1833: 29-30).

The second part of this doubling of unity and disunity, the individuation of the nation's subjects, is not so clear within these works. The subjection of the individual member is more of an extra-textual phenomenon in this instance. As these geographical popularizers are deployed within a pedagogic context, their surface of dispersion, is the individuated student. While the texts engage the student as part of an imaginary community of "The English", the student is at the same time historically positioned within the community in terms of class, gender, childhood, and pupillage. While these classifications are largely downplayed intra-textually, ("The English are honest, manly, and kindly..." [Ewing, 1854: 37]) they are always at play within

and necessary to the day-to-day maintenance of the nation-state.

On the other hand, the Emporium must also operate within the universal-imperial. The attempt to construct the British empire as a unified whole necessitates that British rule be extended beyond its own race-nation, that it operate outside of its own historical, racial, and national setting. This extension requires that the naturalization and normalization of British rule itself be extended. Though I strongly refute any suggestion that the empire is to be perceived as equivalent to the nation-state on a grander scale it is equally helpful to conceive of there being again a co-ordinated unity/disunity.

The tension between nation and empire becomes apparent when we consider Ernest Renan's (1991: 18-19) claim that the nation in its modern context is to be understood in largely Hegelian terms:

A nation is a spiritual principle, the outcome of the profound complications of history; it is a spiritual family not a group determined by the shape of the earth. We have now seen what things are not adequate for the creation of such a spiritual principle, namely, race, language, material interest, religious affinities, geography, and military necessity.

If the modern nation-state is said to be the expression of the will of 'the people', the will to be a nation, then, as the gazetteers explicitly corroborate, the empire must be expressed otherwise.

The empire cannot simply be the will of its occupants. Certainly events such as the so-called Sepoy Mutiny attest

to the less than positive local reception to the extension of British 'protection'. Nor can the occupants of the empire be simply unified into 'the people'. The conquest and rule of Other lands into 'our' lands presupposes hierarchical relations which utilize and foreground difference. Instead of the outcome of the will of 'the people', the empire is the outcome of the 'inevitable' relations between the nations or races which comprise the empire.

Those who people the Residuum are part of the same 'human family' or 'family of Man' to which the English belong and are, of course, all subject peoples sharing the same sovereign. As it is to be a Man's family, the norm of the species is presumed to be the masculine. Very rarely do the gazetteers discriminate on the basis of gender. Global assumptions, it would seem, require a global (read male) subject. At the same time, stereotypic discourse fixes both the English and their Others within systems of antithesis. English and non-English alike are enmeshed within delicate spans of degrees of regard with the English as the everlasting null point. The non-English Imperial subjects are the same but less than the English.

Very much like Corrigan and Sayer's double disruption is Bhabha's (1983; 1984; 1990b) notion of "ambivalence." Within and between locales there is a tension between sameness and difference such that there is a simultaneous

recognition and disavowal of difference. The unity of the empire at once seems more tenuous than that of the nation-state for differences between the English and their Others must always be foregrounded. As Bhabha (1983: 23) describes the scenario, "colonial discourse produces the colonised as a fixed reality which is at once an 'Other' and yet entirely knowable and visible."

Given that these works of geography are as concerned, if not more so, with the presentation of the possession and unity of the empire as they are with the English nation, the dissemination of differences tends to exist beyond the territory of England. As one moves out from Wales and Scotland to Ireland and beyond, differences between and within peoples become more pronounced. It would seem, therefore, that to popularize imperialism, the Emporium, the domus of the empire, must be the null point of the moral universe.

The Emporium operates, therefore, as a textually mediated "We-relation" (Schutz, 1964: 24-25) or We-community. Schutz uses the concept of a "Thou-orientation" to describe how the subject must be oriented towards others:

The essential feature of the Thou-orientation is the recognition that a fellow-man [sic] is before me; the orientation does not presuppose that I know what are precisely the particular characteristics of that fellow-man [sic]. The formal concept of the Thou-orientation refers to the "pure" experience of another Self as a human being, alive and conscious, while the specific content of that consciousness remains undefined (Schutz. 1964: 24).

Schutz allows the Thou-orientation to be either one-sided or

reciprocated. It is when the Thou-relation is reciprocated that a social relation comes to be constituted.³⁹ Schutz defines this mutual Thou-orientation as a We-relation. The We-relation is genuinely shared between its members and so they exist within a "community of space and time" (Schutz, 1964: 30).

The gazetteers attempt to organize the readers into a textually mediated We-relation by constituting the Emporium as the privileged "community of space and time." The relationship between the English student and its cultural Others is that of the seemingly unreciprocated Thou-relation. The cultural Other cannot acknowledge the existence of the English observer for the English observer is truly an observer unto *himself*. The reader is oriented in a Thou-relation both inwards as an object of self-scrutiny and outwards as a subject of global observation.

This is very similar to the sort of "intense patriarchal surveying" which Bruce Curtis (1991) describes as being rooted in the prerogative and privilege of men to know their social lessers intimately while maintaining their own anonymity. As a male member of the upper classes one can enter the homes, hovels, alleys, etc. of those beneath one in class and status. The right to retain private space

³⁹. Again, the problem is that Schutz, like Bakhtin, presumes a symmetrical relationship between the I and its others.

becomes a privilege of men of the upper class⁴⁰. Within the Emporium, life is also made open to view but it is only for the observances of those who reside within the Emporium. For those outside of the Emporium, there can be no private space, everything is exteriorized for the gaze of the student.

Thus there is an attempt to simultaneously create an 'internal' We-relation and an 'external' We-Thou or We-Them relationship which mediates the tensions between the particular-national and the universal-imperial. The privilege of being a part of the We is made clear to the reader: One is part of a We-community which breaches other communities but may not be breached in turn. The Emporium vacillates between the finite time and space of the nation-state and the universal time and space of the empire.

Accordingly, the empire transcends localized communities of time and space. There are many race-nations but there can only be one race-nation-state: the Emporium (the primary We-community) may also transcend time and space but must always be able to make reference back to the finite time and space of Great Britain. Amongst the many political boundaries internal to the empire, only Great Britain is

⁴⁰. An obvious example of this would be Henry Mayhew's collection *London Labour and the London Poor: A Cyclopaedia of the Conditions and Earnings of Those That Will Work, Those That Cannot Work, and Those That Will Not Work* (1851) where the author freely entered the homes, workplaces, social places, etc. of the 'East End' of London with no fear of retaliation simply because of a presumed gentlemanly privilege.

deemed to exist as a political state. Great Britain may be a nation-state due, in part, to the will of its 'people' but Greater Britain is an empire due to its geo-racial and corresponding moral, political, and civil superiority.

The gazetteers and primers utilize the term "race" so as to connote both lineage and type. In fact, a veritable hodge-podge of race theories seem to be collapsed within these works. In so far as race is to be equated with nation, race constitutes lineage:

RACE AND LANGUAGE.-The English are descended from Gothic tribes (Saxons, Jutes, Angles, Danes, and Normans) who settled in England from the middle of the fifth to the middle of the eleventh centuries (Ewing, 1854: 37).

In so far as there are visually superior and inferior nations, race constitutes type: "the characteristic mark of this nation is the smallness of their hands and feet compared with other parts of their body" (Muanders, 1859: 549).

HOME POWER: MAKING IMPERIALISM A POPULAR MENTALITY

I have been using the terms Emporium and Residuum to typify the proposed relationship between the race-nation-state Great Britain and the race-nations of Greater Britain. The Emporium, like Heidegger's (1975) bridge, textually gathers and disperses the locales of the Residuum. By privileging the Emporium as the site of a morally and technologically superior race-nation those regions which are viewed as subordinate are organized into time and space as distant yet proximate parts of the greater empire.

The ascendancy and success of English imperialism is realized for popular audiences largely through exhibition. In fact, it is through exhibition that the 'authorship' of the greater empire is rendered English and not the product of co-ordinated efforts at 'home and abroad' by both English and non-English. Peter Greenhalgh's (1988) history of national and world exhibitions illustrates how popular imperialism is disseminated through utopian visualizations of the imperial domain and by, in a sense, bringing the empire 'home'. What I wish to argue is that the gazetteers and primers also participate in this exhibitionist mode of popularization.

The need to 'Anglicize' the empire, Greenhalgh (1988: 53) observes, clearly pre-dates the second premiership of Disraeli:

By 1849, when the Great Exhibition was in its planning phase, British life was already difficult to conceive of in absence of overseas resources, the maintenance of these being at the core of foreign policy. On the domestic front, power groups within British society increasingly saw the need to educate the population on the merits of the empire and to encourage the idea of a 'Greater Britain' in terms of one which included imperial gains.

The exhibitions of the nineteenth and early twentieth century undertook the task of naturalizing and normalizing the empire for the British public so as to be a part of their day to day lives. As Greenhalgh (1988: 53) succinctly puts it

If the population at home could be swayed into believing Africa was theirs, the problem of sending troops and resources to defend it would be considerably reduced.

The geographic popularizers I have been discussing are

equally engaged in making the colonies the shared property of the English public. Recalling the entry for Hindostan in Brookes' *A General Gazetteer* (1865) referred to in the second chapter India is described as if it is somehow the communal property of 'the English people' as a whole. Likewise, the text of Appendix 2 demonstrates how Canadians to were invited to partake of the spoils.

Greenhalgh (1988: 54) identifies two primary goals which the Great Exhibition was to fulfil: 1) to display the glory and resplendent material wealth of the empire and; 2) to familiarize and reduce the alien quality of the foreign holdings in the minds of the general British populace. Thus there is a need to "simultaneously glorify and domesticate the empire" (Greenhalgh, 1988: 54). This is no easy task since the empire must be divided up and catalogued into distinctive holdings and at the same time homogenized into a whole which can be thought of as a part of Britain.

This need to domesticate the empire for popular consumption necessitates a spatialization in which firstly the Residuum comes

to be seen as a single concern, a grouped resource fused together as an economic unit with Britain as the common factor to link them. Despite their very different geographic locations and traditions, they were fused into the proverbial 'over there', with Britain at the centre of their world focus. Second[ly], Britain was depicted as being in close physical proximity to its possessions in order to make them 'feel' British in popular consciousness (Greenhalgh, 1988: 63).

As the empire is presented for popular consumption, the Residuum comes to be subsumed by the 'national' economy. In

exhibiting the empire, it is reduced to commodities:

Like everything else at the Great Exhibition, Empire was a commodity, a thing more important than but not dissimilar to shawls, ironwork, flax, or indeed, sculpture. This point was reinforced by the way the countries within the empire were exhibited, as quantifiable batches of produce rather than as cultures. ... Despite a quasi-educational stance, the overall attitude and feeling was one of stocktaking, of an accountant's inventory of a company's possessions (Greenhalgh, 1988: 54-55).

Likewise, within the gazetteers, it is trade that links the Emporium to the Residuum. There is little pretence to a civilizing mission and, typically, the ability the peoples of the Residuum to become elevated and enlightened is said to be limited. Like a spoked wheel, the empire is presented as a flow of largely raw materials into the Emporium and a flow of manufactured goods out to the Residuum:

By the invention of machinery, every species of manufacture has been increased to an extent which enables England to supply every quarter of the globe with articles of commerce and luxury; while the produce of every foreign clime is wafted to her ports in return (Stewart, 1833: 29).

Though the Residuum is projected into a unified 'out there', the individual locales of the Residuum are not linked together in the same manner. The parts which compose the Residuum are only tied together through their common bond to the Emporium.

With the domestication of the empire, the Emporium becomes the domus of the empire. Borrowing from Samuel Smiles (1871), the ability of the emporium to co-ordinate the Residuum can be described as "home power". Home power, for Smiles, is the expression of the special efficacy of the domestic sphere to effect the public sphere. Contrary to the typical descriptions of Victorian life as being ruled by

a clear separation of public and private spheres, the early to mid-Victorian period can be described otherwise (Tosh, 1991; Davidoff and Hall 1987). As Tosh (1991: 44) argues, this characterization of separate spheres is more representative of the late Victorian and subsequent Edwardian period.

The home according to Smiles ([1871] undated: 44) is "the first and most important school of character." The importance of the home is such that

It is in the order of nature that domestic life should be preparatory to social, and that the mind and character should first be formed in the home. There the individuals who afterwards form society are dealt with in detail, and fashioned one by one. From the family they enter life, and advance from boyhood to citizenship. Thus the home may be regarded as the most influential school of civilization. For, after all, civilization mainly resolves itself into a question of individual training; and according as the respective members of society are well or ill trained in youth, so will the community which they constitute be more or less humanized and civilized (Smiles, undated: 44).

Civilization, from this perspective, continues only to the degree that the domus is able to inculcate its individual members with the manly qualities of character. It is only in the latter part of the nineteenth century that the outer empire comes to be romanticized by authors such as Rider Haggart, Kipling, and Henty as a place to realize the manliness which is constrained back home in England.

At the same time, the importance of the home not only rests upon its ability to make boys into men of 'quality' but also in its role in the consumption and utilization of resources:

We mean the better economizing and preparation of human food, the waste of which at present, for want of the most ordinary culinary

knowledge, is little short of scandalous. If that man is to be regarded as a benefactor who makes two stalks of corn to grow where only one grew before, not less is she to be regarded as a public benefactor who economizes and turns to the best practical account the food-products of human skill and labor (Smiles, [undated: 76]).

Home power is a model for the relationship between the Emporium and the Residuum. As the domus of the empire, the Emporium is site of character and manliness. Those technicians, technologists, scientists, and administrators of the British middle classes who would move out and serve the empire obtained their guidance from the Emporium. The Emporium is their moral centre. Furthermore, it is the Emporium which acts as a site of refinement and consumption for the many resources and goods taken from the Residuum. As the Emporium is to rule a complete cross section of the 'family of man' then the rule of the empire comes to borrow the family as its paragon of dominion.

If, as Foucault (1991: 98-100) claims, in the eighteenth century the art of government ceases to take its model from that of the family then the need to legitimize the empire leads to its provisional resurrection. The family as model of government, Foucault (1991: 99) posits,

disappears as a model of government, except for a certain number of residual themes of a religious or moral nature. What, on the other hand, now emerges into prominence is the family considered as an element internal to population, and as a fundamental instrument in its government.

But these residual themes are essential to the legitimization of the British empire to the general populace. No doubt, population is crucial to the actual governing of the empire, but the presumed superior morality

of the English 'race' is crucial to the credibility and support of British imperialism within the Emporium. As a family as well as an empire, British holdings are rendered British. Furthermore, domination of other peoples is believed to be as benevolent as the power wielded by the head of a household⁴¹.

DEIXIS AS THE MANAGEMENT OF APPEARANCES

The Residuum is constituted as an Other to the Emporium, but it is an Other which cannot be so alien as to be ungatherable. The Residuum is not an alien realm but rather an exotic one. Bakhtin makes this distinction between alien and exotic in his essay on the chronotope. While Bakhtin (1981b: 101) describes the space of the alien as being

indefinite, unknown, foreign. Its heroes are there for the first time; they have no organic ties or relationships with it; the laws governing the sociopolitical and everyday life of this world are foreign to them, they do not know them; in this world, therefore, they can experience only random contingency

the space of the exotic entails

a deliberate *opposition of what is alien to what is one's own*, the otherness of what is foreign is emphasized, savored, as it were, and elaborately depicted against an implied background of one's own ordinary and familiar world (Bakhtin, 1981b: 101).

The alien and exotic are distinguished by utilization of

⁴¹. This model of the empire as family persists from the British Empire through to the Commonwealth. For example, John Grierson, of the propagandist school of British filmmaking, working from the General Post Office film unit made the forgettable short *One Family for the Empire* Marketing Board. *One Family* is intended to express the wealth and unity of the British Commonwealth by depicting a party being held in the home of the representative of England. Her guests each represent a member of the Commonwealth and bring with them a staple product from their country. The items are put together in the home of England to make a Christmas pudding.

deictic locking strategies. While Bakhtin acknowledges that the alien world is never completely external to the world of the author and readers (1981b: 101) the relationship between the two is completely obfuscated. The exotic world, however, no matter how alien, is always locked into and oriented towards a presumed homeland.

The alien world is fragmentary and episodic. It is without a coherent reference point from which to anchor the reader into a totalizing image of the space. As Bakhtin (1981b: 101-102) proposes:

Nowhere are we given a description of the country as a whole, with its distinctive characteristics, with the features that distinguish it from other countries, within a matrix of relationships. Only separate structures are described, without any connection to an encompassing whole; we have isolated natural phenomena... This isolation and disconnectedness permeates all the objects described...

Within the alien world, therefore, one is to be lost and without point of reference. Everything is left to chance such that things and events simply come upon the hero or heroine.

The exotic world, on the other hand, juxtaposes the usual to the unusual. Bakhtin points to the space of the travel novel as the epitome of exotic space. As Bakhtin (1981b: 103) describes it

First and foremost we have at the centre of the travel novel's world the author's own real homeland, which serves as organizing centre for the point of view, the scales of comparison, the approaches and evaluations determining how alien countries and cultures are seen and understood (it is not compulsory that the native country be evaluated positively, but it must absolutely provide us with a scale and a background).

To exoticize space necessitates a deixis. The exotic Other,

be it a body of land or a body of a person, is not a coherent and independent unity. The point of vision is never external to the arrival of the Other but, rather, must make itself known as it makes its Other known.

The 'real homeland' becomes vulnerable upon its own arrival for it too must pass through the gates of the chronotope. The centre is as much an "arrival" as is the Other and this is what must not be disclosed. The centre becomes as it arrives to the encounter with its Other. Heidegger makes this quite explicit for one can never start from the premise a Cartesian 'my world'. The world is always intersubjective. 'The World' is always prior to 'my world': "The world, within which these latter beings are encountered, is ... always already [a] world which one shares with others" (Heidegger, 1988: 297). "The structure of the world" Dreyfus (1992: 91) observes, "is 'a priori' only in the weak sense that it is *given as already* structuring any subworld." This is the goal of the gazetteer. These geographical popularizers are a part of a broader strategy to universalize the structuring to which the Victorians would give their immediate world. As competent popular geographers and imperialists, the readers are to become citizens-of-the-world capable of carrying 'British' axiological orientations anywhere in the globe⁴².

⁴². This is much like Michel Maffessoli's (1991: 19) understanding of the transformation of values from the "microscopic to macroscopic." This transformation entails the crystallization of that which has been

To dwell within this intersubjective world, it is a matter of both "being-in-the-world" and "being-with-others." "Being-in-the-world," for Heidegger, describes the activity of existing as social agents (Dreyfus, 1992: 40). To be within the world, one is positioned and oriented in particular and systemic ways towards others. "Being-in-the-world" then, is very much akin to Bakhtin's notion of ideological becoming. Our understanding of how we are to be-in-the-world is always derived through "being-with-others." At the same time, our "being-in-the-world" orients us towards others in ways that are typically hierarchical.

In his critique of Cartesianism, Heidegger provides a intersubjective account of our knowledges of the world. To do so Heidegger disavows the "illusion" that meaning and understanding originate within the particular individual:

This...illusion is maximally reinforced by philosophy through the latter setting up the dogma that the single and separate human being is single and separate in his own eyes and that the single and separate I is, with its first-personal domain, that which is initially and most certainly given to him. Thereby, the opinion is philosophically sanctioned that would make being-with-another something that had originally to be created out of this solipsistic isolation (Heidegger in Dreyfus, 1992: 142).

It is the unity and coherence of the separate I which is being called into question within the above quote. To privilege the I of the I-Other encounter as being a priori, as something which has taken shape previous to its arrival, is to maintain this faith in the possibility of "solipsistic

already mulled over, established, concretized, and refuted "before taking off into the great beyond."

isolation."

If, as in the case the gazetteers, the centre is to have positive regard and the Other is to be its antithesis then the centre must present itself as already given and not having just arrived. In the encounter between the centre or I and its Other, the I risks disclosure of its arrival and its becoming.

There is a/rivalry between the I and its Other. The exoticization of the Other must be mediated for it threatens to seduce the reader from the required centring.

Baudrillard (1990: 8) declares that *"seduction is the mastery over the symbolic universe, while power represents only mastery over the real universe."* The management of appearances is as essential to the exoticization of the Other as are the performative injunctions of colonial administrative practices. The I's need to deploy appearances to its own advantage is itself a moment of vulnerability for *"all appearances are reversible ... only at the level of appearances are systems fragile and vulnerable ... meaning is vulnerable only to enchantment"* (Baudrillard, 1990: 8). If the Other becomes so estranged from the I, it threatens to become enchanting to the reader; it ceases to be exotic and becomes instead alien. The alien other sweeps us off our feet. It threatens our orientation and leaves us without a position from which to gain mastery over the image. Without mastery the image will tell us

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nothing about the position of either the I or the Other.

What this means is that the space of the Residuum cannot be so alien as to be ungovernable by the moral universe of the Victorians. The Other cannot become so laden with the projections of the underside of Victorian life that it threatens to seduce the reader. The Other must be both familiar and unfamiliar. It must be unfamiliar in as much as it must appear to stand apart from the I but it must be familiar so as to allow the I a foothold on the scene. And yet both familiarity and unfamiliarity are points of weakness. The unfamiliarity of the Other obviously threatens to become alien to the reader but the familiarity of the Other threatens to remind the reader of the authorship of these appearances. If the Other were to be so exotic as to become seductive or the reader were to be reminded of the I's becoming the deictic locking strategies of these texts would be placed in jeopardy.

This sort of spatialization (Shields, 1991) which I have been describing throughout this paper has great affinities with what Baudrillard (1990: 65-66) describes as the seduction of political space. For Baudrillard, the ability of the 'men' of politics to present the space in which they 'occupy' as the locus of power is not so much a reality of oppression than it is the success of appearances. To work with a centre-margin dichotomy in which colonial power and discourse freely flows out from the centre in an

intentional and unidirectional manner, even from the agenda of reincorporating the marginalized, runs the risk of giving the appearance of commodified power a life-after-death quality. To envy those of the centre is to allow them their secret; a secret that their position is not validated by underlying structures of reality but by systemic practices and, ultimately, appearances.

To grant the centre this sort of autonomy is to allow it to exist as an ontological entity which is able to exist outside of the field of power relations to which it is a part. It presumes that the centre possesses full authorship and is able to impose freely upon those it would consign to its margins. And it is in recognition of this secret that Foucault (1980e: 89) suggests we cut off the head of the king. It would be a refusal of the politics of resentment in which the chorus may take the stage and sing their own songs free of the heroic mediation of the actor.

CONCLUSION

Within this thesis, I have examined gazetteers and geography primers as artifacts of popular imperialism. I have read these works as a constitutive element within strategies for the edification of a 'home' population. As geographic popularizers, they deploy a utopian vision of rule abroad. British sovereignty over subject peoples is made natural and inevitable for the reader. The consistent lack of projection and reliance upon relational processes redounds with elaborately articulated impersonal interpersonal meanings. Textually, the effect is to make visible a world nested within an over-riding or universal axiological structure to which the text claims no responsibility. Appropriately, this thesis is entitled "Views from Nowhere" to make explicit how the globe is rendered a utopian vision of successful British ventures and how the local specificity of this vision is obfuscated.

Popular imperialism is a moral project rather than a directly administrative one. It is a project which strives to impose a moral order at 'home' by demonstrating its significance 'abroad'. To do this, the primary sources create a taxonomy of the globe. A wide range of semiotic resources are utilized to create attitudinal orientations which can comfortably be 'shared' between writer and reader. Nested within the process of orienting the reader to a world which lies beyond 'home' is the process of orienting the

reader axiologically. As the reader learns her/his geographic place in the world, the reader is also asked to learn her/his moral place in the world.

As a chronotopography of a particular genre, this thesis sought to foreground the ways in which local aspirations are textually universalized. Most notable is the manner in which regard is spatialized throughout the primary sources. As geographic popularizers, these works 'take' the reader from locale to locale by means of dense descriptions. In doing so, the reader is able to 'enter' a number of times and spaces while always remaining firmly 'seated' at home.

The reader, accordingly, is axiologically oriented towards the peoples of the empire who are distributed in time and space. Their bodies, habits, and habitations, are unfailingly held up to the litmus test of English bodies, habits and habitations. By treating the English as formally equative with the Hindoos et al., all the peoples of the globe are treated as comparable. The scale by which comparison is conducted is treated as universal standards of morality, culture, hygiene, industry, etc. These standards, while presented as universal are, of course, embedded in the aspirations of British ruling elites.

Within these works, therefore, the world is divided up into race-places. Race-places are ruled by temporal-spatial specific moral orders. To rule these spaces within an

empire necessitates their normalization. The embeddedness of race must be overcome in order for British sovereignty to be asserted. Thus the space must be erased so as to accommodate a moral order which is extra-local.

By articulating highly restricted registers of spatialization, the gazetteers prescribe a spatial competence which is rooted in the ability to become a discriminating reader. The competent reader as popular imperialist is able to discriminate between locales, bodies, and domesticities. The discriminations which these texts convey are extremely complex or delicate. My primary sources attest to the fact that Othering is rarely, if ever, achieved through simple inversions. Instead, delicate networks of regard (both positive and negative) are distributed across time and space. The measure of success for the gazetteer is the ability to produce discriminating readers.

It is through the construction of these elaborate discriminations that the gazetteer organizes the many locales of the empire into a relationship of Emporium to Residuum. The Emporium is able to draw upon and refine what is 'good' in the Residuum. The Residuum is concurrently a rich source of potential wealth and a site of waste. The Emporium consumes the Residuum but it also consumes itself. The reader's gaze is not simply directed 'outward' but 'inward' as well. Edification necessitates the ability to

objectify and regulate oneself. By doing so, the reader is able to recognize her/his seat of power.

Accounting for spaces and lives which are 'less' than those of the idealized British has the effect of making the space and life of the popular imperialist simultaneously more significant and precarious. The moral order of the Victorian globe is not simply a benefit bestowed but requires the vigilance of the popular imperialist. Though living well away from the 'frontiers' and outposts of the empire, the student is taught not only how as a member of a 'special' people she/he shares in the ownership of the colonies and the colonized but that she/he must also play what ever part is required in maintaining support for the empire.

The need to make foreign rule popular produces tensions between legitimizing ideologies of national rule and those of imperial rule. The organizing centre of the British empire, or the Emporium, must function as both a nation-state and as the seat of imperial power. National discourses and ideologies define the nation-state as an expression of the will of 'the people'. On the other hand, for the empire to be inclusive of all its subject peoples, the imperial ideologies must bring its Others 'into the fold'. The need to maintain the specificity of 'the people' while at the same time the generality of the imperial subjects is negotiated by proposing a special relationship

between a race-nation-state and race-nations. This relationship is one of inevitable rule of inferior peoples by a superior people.

While working from within this modest attempt, what I want to begin to challenge, or set the terms from which to begin to challenge, is the comfortable assumption that there is a particular teleology to the creation of the modern western nation-state. This embryonic model presumes to varying degrees that the western nation-state is an internal project which only looks outwards with the ambition to expand after it has been accomplished as an integrated whole. I refer to this as an embryonic model because it echoes the 19th century claim 'ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny' that can be found in the work of both Marx and Herbert Spencer among others. Such a presumption seems less assured when we begin to find that the inside/outside dichotomy of the nation-state is less well defined and may actually be a site of enigma. Historically, European conquest co-occurs with the rise of European nation-states. In practice, the embryonic model is more an artifact of the legitimizing ideologies of the particular-national than of historical events.

The consequences of such an interpretation have meant that the scholarly studies of colonialism and imperialism have, among other things, tended to immerse their studies in national history. The colonial-imperialist enterprise is an

extra-local phenomenon which means that a variety of practices, procedures, visualizations, etc. co-occur in a number of locales. A more systematic study of the colonial-imperialist enterprise will require that it be more attuned to extra-local governance and strive to outline systemic practices and procedures which are globally enacted as part of a broader strategy to create organizing centres of imperial rule. Further research on my part will endeavour to engage in such a project.

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Appendix 1

Extracted from Maunders (1859: 462)

Australia, one of the great divisions of the globe, and the one among them that is entirely within the southern hemisphere. Australia is surrounded by the waters of the Indian, Pacific, and Southern Oceans, but is continental in point of extent, being only one-fourth less than Europe in magnitude. Large portions of the interior of the Australian continent are still unknown. It is only, indeed, within a period comparatively recent that its existence has become known to Europeans, and settlements established on its shores. The Dutch visited many portions of the Australian coast during the earlier half of the 17th century, and, Tasman entirely circumnavigated the "Great South Land" (as it was called) in 1642. The name of New Holland, by which its western half long continued to be known, commemorates the Dutch discoveries. During more than a century after Tasman's time, the shores of Australia were seldom visited. In 1768, Captain Cook surveyed its whole eastern coast-line, to which he gave the name of New South Wales, and took possession of it on the part of the British Crown. Twenty years later the first European settlement was established on its shores, the foundations of the town of Sydney being laid by the English in 1788. Three-fourths of the persons composing the colonising party were convicts, and New South Wales continued to be used as a convict settlement during more than the first half-century of its existence. Other portions of the Australian coasts have subsequently been explored by the English nation, and settlements made upon some of them. The colony of South Australia was established in 1836; that of Western Australia (or Swan River), in 1829. The thriving and now populous province of Victoria - previously constituting the "Port Phillip district" of New South Wales - was made a distinct colony in 1850. Australia differs in nearly all respects - aspect, climate, and productions, alike - from other portions of the globe. The interior, in so far as it has been explored, appears to consist of wide-spreading plains, for the most part arid and desert. The coast districts are hilly, especially towards the S.E., where the ranges of the Australian Alps and the Blue Mountains occur. But its general scarcity of running water, and the paucity of large rivers, with the absence of the larger forms of animal life; are among the prime characteristics of Australian geography. The Murray, its most important river, has a course of 1200 miles, but its volume of water is for the most part inconsiderable. The Australian climate is warm (even in the more temperate regions), but liable to frequent and sudden variations. The seasons of course reverse those of the northern

hemisphere: July being the coldest, and January the hottest, period of the year. Very few of the native plants are of any use to man, though all of the food plants of Europe (Besides many that belong to other lands) flourish in its cultivated plains. Australian zoology includes scarcely any of the mammalia, excepting the kangaroos and opossums, which are now rapidly disappearing from the settled districts. But the domestic quadrupeds of Europe have thriven amidst the boundless expanse of the Australian "bush," and the wool furnished by its sheep now supplies more than half of the large demand for that article in the English market. The mineral wealth of Australia is very great. The gold-fields of Victoria and New South Wales (first discovered in 1851) are only rivalled in richness by those of California, and the copper-ore of South Australia is the finest in the world. Within recent years, Australia has contributed £12,000,000 sterling to the annual gold-produce of the world. The native population of Australia are perhaps the most degraded members of the human family, and the settlement of Europeans upon their shores has done nothing to elevate their social or moral condition. They are few in number, and are fast becoming still further diminished. The colonial population (composed chiefly of British settlers and their descendants) already numbers upwards of a million, and is rapidly increasing. Great Britain is the only nation that has formed any permanent settlement upon the Australian coasts, and her claim to sovereignty over the whole of this vast region of the south is undisputed.

Appendix 2

Extracted from Hodgins (1858: 123)

We have now finished our survey of the great colonial empire of Britain, extending, as it does, from the mouth of the Mackenzie River, away in the far north, down through the British North American Provinces, the West Indies, Honduras and British Guiana, to the Falkland Islands; thence stretching from the rocky station at Aden, in Arabia, and Perim, is the Red Sea, to the mighty territories of India and the Chinese island of Hong-Kong, in the far east. Again, skirting Africa, from the Seychelles and Mauritius, to Natal and Cape Colony, Ascension Island, St. Helena and the Gold Coast, Gambia and Sierra Leone, it plants its flag on Gibraltar, Malta, and the Ionian Islands, and passes on to the Channel Islands, near Britain, and Heligoland, in Northern Europe.

To the statesman, the contemplation of vast an empire acknowledging the sovereignty of the of the little islands of Britain, enjoying the political privileges conferred by their free institutions, the prestige of their traditional greatness, and the protection of their national flag, might well call forth the utterance of those beautiful and impressive words of the Honorable Daniel Webster, to which he gave expression some years ago. Standing once on the summit of the famous citadel of Quebec; while the drums of the soldiers beat the morning *réveille*, he referred to the territorial greatness and conquests of Great Britain as worthy of "a power which had dotted the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts; whose morning drum-beat, following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circled the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England!

Appendix 3

Extracted from Maunders (1859: 549-550).

Hottentots, a native people of S. Africa, forming the aboriginal population of the Cape Colony. They are now greatly reduced in numbers, and the few that remain within the limits of the Colony no longer exhibit the pure Hottentot blood, but are principally of mixed breed-or *Bastards*, as they are called by the colonists. The Hottentots are in general as tall as most Europeans, but are more slender; and the characteristic mark of this nation is the smallness of their hands and feet compared with other parts of their body. Their skin is of a yellowish brown hue; they have high-check bones; and the finest set of teeth imaginable. The females as well as the males are clothed with sheepskins; the wool being worn outward in summer and inward in winter; and they besmear their bodies all over with fat, in which soot is mixed. They are excellent swimmers and divers, and practice bathing several times in the day. Their habitations are merely huts, resembling a round bee-hive, and very low. Another tribe of Hottentots are the Bojesmans, who inhabit the interior part of the country, and live by hunting and plunder. They are of short stature, and remarkably lean; their eyes are more wild and animated than those of the Hottentots in the vicinity of the Cape; and their whole countenance exhibits strong symptoms of suspicion and apprehension. Their weapons are poisoned arrows, shot from a small bow; and they will hit a wild animal with a tolerable degree of certainty at a distance of 100 paces. To kill it entirely, to cut out the poisoned part, and to begin devouring the prey, are acts that follow each other with the utmost rapidity. Many of these savages go entirely naked, and chiefly reside in bushes, holes made in the ground, or clefts in rocks. To the north of the country of the Bojesmans and on the other side of the Orange River, is another tribe, called Koranas, who rank higher than any other of the Hottentot nations. They are more cleanly in their appearance, and neater in their dress and domestic utensils. The Koranas appear to be a mixed breed, between the Hottentot and Caffre; a tribe of the latter are the nearest neighbours, with whom they live on very good terms; but a perpetual war exists between them and the Bojesmans.

1. *Hottentots*, a native people of S. Africa, forming the aboriginal population of the Cape Colony.

Theme - Hottentots, a native people of S. Africa,
Rheme - forming the aboriginal population of the Cape

Colony.

Given -Hottentots, a native people of S. Africa,
New - forming the aboriginal population of the Cape Colony.

2a. They are now greatly reduced in numbers,

Theme - They

Rheme - are now greatly reduced in numbers,

Given - They

New - are now greatly reduced in numbers,

2b. and the few ... no longer exhibit the pure Hottentot blood,

Theme - and the few

Rheme - no longer exhibit the pure Hottentot blood,

Given - and the few

New - no longer exhibit the pure Hottentot blood,

2c. that remain within the limits of the Colony

Theme - that

Rheme - remain within the limits of the Colony

Given - that

New - remain within the limits of the Colony

2d. but are principally of mixed breed - or *Bastards*,

Theme - but + "they" :elliptical

Rheme - are principally of mixed breed - or *Bastards*,

Given - but + "they" :elliptical

New - are principally of mixed breed - or *Bastards*,

2e. as they are called by the colonists.

Theme - as they

Rheme - are called by the colonists

Given - they

New - are called by the colonists

3a. The Hottentots are in general as tall as most Europeans,

Theme - The Hottentots

Rheme - are in general as tall as most Europeans,

Given - as most Europeans,
New - The Hottentots are in general as tall

3b. but are more slender;

Theme - but + "they" :elliptical
Rheme - are more slender

Given - but + "they" :elliptical
New - are more slender

3c. and the characteristic mark of this nation is the
smallness of their hands and feet

Theme - and the characteristic mark of this nation
Rheme - is the smallness of their hands and feet compared
with other parts of their body.

Given - and the characteristic mark of this nation
New - is the smallness of their hands and feet compared with
other parts of their body.

4a. Their skin is of a yellowish brown hue;

Theme - Their skin
Rheme - is of a yellowish brown hue;

Given - Their skin
New - is of a yellowish brown hue;

4b. they have high-check bones;

Theme - they
Rheme - have high-cheek bones;

Given - they
New - have high cheek bones;

4c. and the finest set of teeth imaginable.

Theme - and + "they have" :elliptical
Rheme - the finest set of teeth imaginable.

Given - and + "they have" :elliptical
New - the finest set of teeth imaginable.

5a. The females as well as the males are clothed with
sheepskins;

Theme - The females as well as the males

Rheme - are clothed with sheepskins;

Given - the males are clothed with sheepskins;

New - The females as well

5b. the wool being worn outward in summer and inward in winter;

Theme - the wool

Rheme - being worn outward in summer and inward in winter;

Given - the wool

New - being worn outward in summer and inward in winter;

5c. and they besmear their bodies all over with fat,

Theme - and they

Rheme - besmear their bodies all over with fat,

Given - and they

New - besmear their bodies all over with fat,

5d. in which soot is mixed.

Theme - in which

Rheme - soot is mixed.

Given - in which

New - soot is mixed.

6a. They are excellent swimmers and divers,

Theme - They

Rheme - are excellent swimmers and divers,

Given - They

New - are excellent swimmers and divers,

6b. and practice bathing several times in the day.

Theme - and + "they" :elliptical

Rheme - are excellent swimmers and divers,

Given - and + "they" :elliptical

New - are excellent swimmers and divers,

7a. Their habitations are merely huts, ... and very low.

Theme - Their habitations

Rheme - are merely huts, ... and very low.

Given - Their habitations
 New - are merely huts, ... and very low.

7b. resembling a round bee-hive,

Theme - none
 Rheme - resembling a round bee-hive,

Given -
 New - resembling a round bee-hive,

8a. Another tribe of Hottentots are the Bojesmans,

Theme - Another tribe of Hottentots
 Rheme - are the Bojesmans,

Given - Another tribe of Hottentots
 New - are the Bojesmans,

8b. who inhabit the interior part of the country,

Theme - who
 Rheme - inhabit the interior part of the country,

Given - who
 New - inhabit the interior part of the country,

8c. and live by hunting and plunder.

Theme - and + "who" :elliptical
 Rheme - live by hunting and plunder.

Given - and + "who" :elliptical
 New - live by hunting and plunder.

9a. They are of short stature, and remarkably lean;

Theme - They
 Rheme - are of short stature, and remarkably lean;

Given - They
 New - are of short stature, and remarkably lean;

9b. their eyes are more wild and animated than those of the Hottentots in the vicinity of the Cape;

Theme - their eyes
 Rheme - are more wild and animated than those of the Hottentots in the vicinity of the Cape;

Given - those of the Hottentots in the vicinity of the Cape;
 New - their eyes are more wild and animated than

9c. and their whole countenance exhibits strong symptoms of suspicion and apprehension.

Theme - and their whole countenance

Rheme - exhibits strong symptoms of suspicion and apprehension.

Given - and their whole countenance

New - exhibits strong symptoms of suspicion and apprehension.

10a. Their weapons are poisoned arrows,

Theme - Their weapons

Rheme - are poisoned arrows,

Given - Their weapons

New - are poisoned arrows,

10b. shot from a small bow;

Theme - none

Rheme - shot from a small bow;

Given -

New - shot from a small bow;

10c. and they will hit a wild animal with a tolerable degree of certainty at a distance of 100 paces.

Theme - and they

Rheme - will hit a wild animal with a tolerable degree of certainty at a distance of 100 paces.

Given - and they

New - will hit a wild animal with a tolerable degree of certainty at a distance of 100 paces.

11. To kill it entirely, to cut out the poisoned part, and to begin devouring the prey, are acts that follow each other with the utmost rapidity.

Theme - To kill it entirely, to cut out the poisoned part, and to begin devouring the prey,

Rheme - are acts that follow each other with the utmost rapidity.

Given - To kill it entirely, to cut out the poisoned part,
and to begin devouring the prey,
New - are acts that follow each other with the utmost
rapidity.

12a. Many of these savages go entirely naked,

Theme - Many of these savages
Rheme - go entirely naked,

Given - Many of these savages
New - go entirely naked,

12b. and chiefly reside in bushes, holes made in the ground,
or clefts in rocks.

Theme - and chiefly + "they" :elliptical
Rheme - reside in bushes, holes made in the ground, or
clefts in rocks.

Given - and chiefly + "they" :elliptical
New - reside in bushes, holes made in the ground, or clefts
in rocks.

13a. To the north of the country of the Bojesmans and on the
other side of the Orange River, is another tribe, called
Koranas,

Theme - To the north of the country of the Bojesmans and on
the other side of the Orange River,
Rheme - is another tribe, called Koranas,

Given - To the north of the country of the Bojesmans and on
the other side of the Orange River,
New - is another tribe, called Koranas,

13b. who rank higher than any other of the Hottentot
nations.

Theme - who
Rheme - rank higher than any other of the Hottentot nations.

Given - who
New - rank higher than any other of the Hottentot nations.

14a. They are more cleanly in their appearance,

Theme - They
Rheme - are more cleanly in their appearance,

Given - They

New - are more cleanly in their appearance,

14b. and neater in their dress and domestic utensils.

Theme - and + "they are" :elliptical

Rheme - neater in their dress and domestic utensils.

Given - and + "they are" :elliptical

New - neater in their dress and domestic utensils.

15a. The Koranas appear to be a mixed breed, between the Hottentot and Caffre;

Theme - The Koranas

Rheme - appear to be a mixed breed, between the Hottentot and Caffre;

Given - The Koranas

New - appear to be a mixed breed, between the Hottentot and Caffre;

15b. a tribe of the latter are the nearest neighbors,

Theme - a tribe of the latter

Rheme - are the nearest neighbors,

Given - a tribe of the latter

New - are the nearest neighbors,

15c. with whom they live on very good terms;

Theme - with whom they

Rheme - live on very good terms

Given - with whom

New - they live on very good terms

15d. but a perpetual war exists between them and the Bojesmans.

Theme - but a perpetual war

Rheme - exists between them and the Bojesmans.

Given - but a perpetual war

New - exists between them and the Bojesmans.

Appendix 4

Extracted from Stewart (1833: 257)

The countries around Hudson's Bay, comprehending East Main, New North and South Wales, are, if possible, more dreary in their aspect than Labrador. Yet here the British have established some companies for the fur-trade. Three tribes are found in the gloomy regions in the North of America from Hudson's Bay to Behring's Straits, viz. the Esquimaux, the Chipaways, and the Knistenaux, or Cree Indians. The Esquimaux are low, squat, and sluggish, and live in constant dread of the Chipaways, a more numerous tribe and of a somewhat more robust frame. These, in their turn, are subject to the Knistenaux, who, though less numerous than the Chipaways, are of a still more active and vigorous form. They are the handsomest, indeed, of all the North American Indians; and their symmetry of figure and regularity of features would excite admiration even in Europe.

Appendix 5

Extracted from Ewing (1854: 37-38)

1st, MANNERS, &c.-The English are honest, manly, and kindly in disposition, bold, independent, and determined in spirit, domestic in their habits, of a serious and thoughtful turn of mind, and generally regarded by foreigners as rather cold, reserved, and blunt in manners. As men of business, they are distinguished by promptitude, intelligence, enterprise, and integrity; politically by a love of freedom combined with a conservative spirit. They are renowned for valour both by sea and land. The chief amusements are those of theatre and the field, and various games of skill and chance. The houses in England are particularly commodious, neat, and clean; and domestic architecture has arrived at great perfection.

2d, RACE AND LANGUAGE.-The English are descended from Gothic tribes (Saxons, Jutes, Angles, Danes, and Normans) who settled in England from the middle of the fifth to the middle of the eleventh centuries. Their language has been formed chiefly from that spoken by the Saxons and Angles, at first termed *Anglo-Saxon*; now greatly enriched by words from the Latin, Greek, and French languages-the latter introduced by the Normans. The Welsh are the descendants of the ancient British, who were mostly driven westward by the Saxon invaders. They are of the Celtic race, and speak a Celtic tongue, totally different from the English. Till recently, a Celtic dialect was spoken in Cornwall; and the Cornish people are viewed as mainly of Celtic extraction. The north-eastern districts abound in inhabitants of Danish descent.

3d, LITERATURE, &c.- Bede or Bede, the wonder of his time, flourished in the eighth century. About the year 1100, English literature began to advance with a steady pace; and from that period a numerous train of historians, poets, and other writers, fill the page of biography. English literature has been distinguished by a series of writers of great original genius; in *Divinity*, Tillotson, Barrow, Taylor, Clarke, Butler; in *Philosophy*, Roger Bacon, Lord Bacon, Hooke, Newton, Hobbes, Boyle, Locke, Berkeley, Herschel, Priestly, Davy; in *History*, Clarendon and Gibbon; in *Poetry*, Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Butler, Dryden, Pope, Cowper, Byron; in *General Literature*, Addison, Johnson, Sterne, Fielding.-The middle and higher ranks spare no expense in the education of their children. The most celebrated public schools are those of St. Paul's, Westminster, Eton, Harrow, Rugby, and Winchester. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge are foundations of great extent and grandeur. The following have sprung up more recently: the University of London; University and

King's Colleges, London; the University of Durham; Owen's College, Manchester; and almost every town now has its Mechanics or Literary Institution, and numbers of public and private schools. There also great Norman colleges for the training of teachers, at Chelsea, Battersea, Cheltenham, &c.

4th, MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE.- The earliest staple commodity of England was tin, a metal rarely found in other countries. The Phoenicians first introduced it into commerce, 500 or 600 years before the Christian era: and their extensive trade soon diffused it among the Oriental nations. The leading manufactures at present are the following: Woollen in Leeds, and other towns in the south and west of Yorkshire; also in Wiltshire, Somersetshire and Gloucestershire; Cotton (including spinning, weaving, dyeing, and printing) in Manchester, Blackburn, Bolton, Preston, and the neighbouring towns in Lancashire; Silk in Macclesfield, Derby, Coventry and Spitalfields, London; Hosiery in Leicester; Lace in Nottingham; Iron in South Wales (around Merthyr Tydvil), in South Staffordshire, in Yorkshire, and Derbyshire, near Rotherham; Cutlery in Sheffield; Steam-Engines, Machinery, and Tools, in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and Newcastle; Hardware in Birmingham, Wolverhampton, and other towns in that remarkable district; Porcelain and Pottery in Newcastle-under-Lyne, Burslem, and other places in the north of Staffordshire; Books and Periodicals in London. The commerce of Great Britain, which, three centuries ago, was of little importance, is much more extensive than that of any other country in the world, The chief ports are London, Liverpool, Bristol, Southampton, Hull, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Sunderland, Yarmouth, Plymouth, Falmouth. The chief imports are corn, rice, cattle, butter, eggs, sugar, tea, coffee, wine, oil, spices, fruits, raw cotton, wool, silk, flax and hemp, furs, hides, timber, tar, pottashes, tallow, and colours, as indigo madder, cochineal, gold and silver. The principal exports are cotton and woollen yarn and cloths, silk and linen cloth, hosiery and lace, iron and steel, firearms; hardware, trinkets, cutlery, coal, brass, copper, and tin, porcelain and earthenware, steam-engines and other machinery, malt liquors. The canals and railways now in active operation have immensely facilitated internal communication, by connecting the capital with all the great towns, seats of trade and manufacture, and principal seaports throughout the country. The number of merchant vessels belonging to the United Kingdom and Colonies in 1852 was 34,402, the tonnage 4,424,392, and the number of seamen employed in navigating them 243,512. The entire wealth of Great Britain may perhaps be calculated at one thousand two hundred million pounds sterling. Of England it has been justly observed, that "her trade and commerce encircle the globe, and her capital is the emporium of the universe."

Appendix 6

Extracted from Ewing (1854: 45-46)

1st, **MANNERS, &c.** - The manners and customs of the Scots do not differ materially from those of the English. They are distinguished by a rare union enterprise and perseverance with prudent caution; by a love of freedom and independence, shown strikingly in the results of their political and religious contests with the sovereigns of England; by an earnest religious feeling, pervading all ranks, and by a more strict observance of the Sabbath than is found in any other country. To these may be added, especially among the middle and lower ranks, a remarkable degree of intelligence and an intellectual spirit, due partly to the educational advantages enjoyed by these classes, partly to the intellectual character of Scottish; and a love for the national poetry, music and song, in which, from the old ballads down to the lyrics of modern times, Scotland is singularly rich. The amusements, as well as the dress of the superior classes, are on a par with those of the English; but those of the peasantry have several diversities, which the reader may perhaps best learn from the poems of Burns: his *Halloween*, and his *Cottar's Saturday Night*, will convey much information concerning the amusements, superstitions, and manners of the Scottish peasantry.

2d, **LANGUAGE.** - The Scottish language falls under two divisions, that of the *Lowlands*, which is chiefly derived from the Anglo-Saxon; and that of the *Highlands*, which is Celtic, and resembles the Irish. The Lord's Prayer, in the most ancient language of the Lowlands, would be as follows :

1. *Uor fader guhilk beest i hevin.* 2. *Hallowit weird thyne nam.* 3. *Cum thyne kingrik.* 4. *Be dune thyne wull as is i hevin sva po yerd.* 5. *Uor dailie breid gif us thilk day.* 6. *And forleit us uor skaiths, as we forleit them quha skaith us.* 7. *And leed us na intil temtation.* 8. *But an fre us fra evil. Amen*

3d, **LITERATURE.** - The literature of Scotland has compensated for its recent origin by its rapid progress. One of the earliest native writers is *Thomas of Ericildoun*, called the *Rhymer*, who flourished about the year 1270, and wrote a metrical romance, called *Sir Tristrem*. *John Fordun*, the father of Scottish History. *James I.* of Scotland wrote some excellent poems early in the 15th century; and he was followed by *Holland*, and *Blind Harry* or *Harry the Minstrel*. In the end of that age arose *Dunbar*, the chief of the ancient Scottish poets; and in the beginning of the next, *Gwain Douglas* and *David Lindsay*: *Drummond* wrote early in the 17th century. -In more modern times, the names of *Ramsay*, *Ferguson*, *Burns*, *Thomson*, *Beattie*, *Blair*, *Grahame*, *Campbell*,

Scott, Hogg, Wilson, Pollok, &c., are universally known. Among the historians may be named *Buchanan, Hume*, and *Robertson*; *Adam Smith* was a very eminent writer on political and moral science, *Thomas Reid* and *Douglas Stewart* on metaphysics. In science and mechanics the names of *Napier* (the inventor of logarithms), *Maclaurin, John Hunter, Black, Robison, Playfair, James Watt*, and *Leslie*, are highly distinguished. The *Edinburgh Review*, of which *Jeffery* was for a long time editor, had a powerful effect on the literature and politics of Britain.

4th, EDUCATION. -The mode of education pursued in Scotland is excellent. -Towards the end of the 17th century, the Scottish parliament established schools in all the parishes of the country; besides which there are grammar schools in the principal towns, and numerous private seminaries. The universities of Scotland amount to no less than five: one at *Edinburgh*, one at *Glasgow*, one at *St. Andrews*, and two at *Aberdeen*. The University of *St Andrews* contains two colleges.

5th, COMMERCE AND MANUFACTURES. - The general commerce of Scotland is in most respects similar to that of England. The leading exports are cottons, linens, iron, lead, glass, fish, earthenware, leather, &c. The principal imports are wines, brandy, rum, sugar, rice, tobacco, indigo, cotton, &c. The chief manufactures of Scotland are cottons of various kinds, of which *Glasgow* and *Paisley* are the greatest seats; sheetings and linens, which are made chiefly in *Fifeshire, Forfarshire*, and the north; ironware, carpets, glass, pottery, woollens, spirits, &c. Iron is made in *Lanarkshire* near *Glasgow*, and in the counties of *Sterling* and *Greenock*; machinery in the former, which is the commercial and manufacturing capital of Scotland. The chief ports are *Leith, Dundee, Montrose*, and *Aberdeen* on the east coast; *Glasgow* and *Greenock* on the west. The rapid progress which the country has made of late years, has been greatly accelerated by the *forth and Clyde* and *Union Canals*, steam-boats (introduced on the *Clyde* by *Henry Bell* in 1812), and railways, now extending from *Edinburgh* to *Greenock*, and from *Aberdeen* to *Berwick* and *Carlisle*. The *Caledonian Canal*, joining *Loch Linnhe* and the *Moray Frith*, extends in one line of natural lakes and canals, from *Fort William* to near *Inverness*. It is the greatest public work in Scotland.

Appendix 7

Extracted from Ewing (1854: 52)

1st, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS. - The manners of the superior classes of people in Ireland now nearly approach to the English standard. The Irish gentry are seldom addicted to literature or the arts; their chief amusement being hunting and other robust exercises, while too many absent themselves from their native country. Although the common people still retain many features of their ancient national manners, the introduction of temperance societies, and the progress of education, have of late produced a marked improvement. Their diet consists chiefly of coarse bread, potatoes, and butter-milk; and the rural cottage is a wretched hovel of mud. The native Irish are described as impatient of injury, quick of apprehension, implacable in resentment, ardent in all their affections, and remarkably hospitable.

2d, LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, &c. - The English language daily gains ground in Ireland. The ancient Irish is a dialect of the Celtic. The literature of Ireland has claims to a venerable antiquity. The Anglo-Saxons derived their first illumination from Ireland; and in Scotland literature continued to be the special province of the Irish clergy till the thirteenth century. Ireland is to boast of the names of Boyle, Burke, Denham, Goldsmith, Macklin, Moore, Parnell, Sheridan, Steele, Swift, Sloane, Stern, Usher, &c. Until a comparatively recent period, education was more neglected in Ireland than in any other quarter of the British dominions. The education of the higher and middle ranks, however, has been greatly promoted by the establishment of the Queen's Colleges, in Belfast, Cork, and Galway, and schools for the lower orders have been established by government and by different religious societies. The national schools are attended by about 400,000 children.

3d, MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE. - The principal manufacture is fine linen cloth, which is brought to great perfection. Ireland exports corn, flour, butter, eggs, pork, cattle, oil, and spirits - chiefly to Britain, by the ports of Liverpool, Bristol, and Glasgow. The principal seats of its trade are Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Galway, Londonderry, Belfast.

Appendix 8

Text 1 extracted from Hodgins (1858: 44-46)

VIII. THE INDIANS OF BRITISH AMERICA.

1. Although the indian tribes which have been scattered over the entire continent were very numerous, they have been all found to belong to eight or ten distinct groups or families. Four of these occupied the present area of Canada, viz.: I. The Eskimo, who, in their *physique*, but still more in their manners, belief, and superstitious customs, resembled the natives of Lapland and Greenland; II. The Chippeweyans (who should not be confounded with the Chippewas or Objibwas), including the following tribes: (1) The Dog-ribs (les Plats-côtés des chiens); (2) The Hares (Le Peaux de lièvres); (3) The Yellow-knives (les Couteaux jaunes); (4) The Slaves (les Esclaves); (5) The Deer-eaters (les Mangeurs de Caribous); and, (6) The Beaver (les Castors); III. The Algonquin; and, IV. The Huron-Iroquois. Each of these four groups or families spoke a distinct language, having no affinity to the other. The four groups were subdivided into various tribes, each speaking a separate dialect of their original tongue, yet among all the tribes a remarkable similarity in customs and institutions prevailed. In color, form, temperament, religious belief, and pursuits, all were alike. The men engaged in war, hunting, and fishing; while the women performed all other kinds of labor.

2. *Domestic Habits.* - The wigwams of the Indians were the simplest construction, being poles covered with matting made from the bark of trees. Their implements were made of bones, shells, and stones. Meat they roasted on the points of sticks, or boiled it in stone or earthen vessels. They dresses in skins, with or without the fur. Some Indian tribes derived their names from the mode of wearing these skins. Thus the Rocky Mountain Indians were called Chippeweyan, from the manner in which they wore the skins gathered around their necks. Their chief ornaments were feathers, porcupine-quills, bones, or shells. They tattooed, as well as painted, their faces and bodies.

6. *The Weapons of war or of the chase*, consisted of (a) bow and arrow; (b) war-club; (c) tomahawk; (d) stone hatchet; and (e) scalping-knife; and spear. War was the chief occupation of the Indians, either among themselves, or, in later times against the white settlements. Forty braves or warriors constituted an ordinary war-party, under a chief; but sometimes six or nine ventured out upon the "war-path" alone. For protection, the colonists had to erect timber-palisades about their dwellings, and around which the Indian would stealthily watch for his victim.

8. *The Religion of the Indians* consisted chiefly in the

belief of a good and evil spirit. There were no infidels among them. Although they deified the heavenly bodies and the elements, they pre-eminently adored the Great Manitou, or Master of Life. They had dim traditions of the creation, the deluge, and of the great atonement.

9. **The Sachem**, or head of a tribe, was frequently an hereditary monarch, and sometimes owed his elevation to his prowess or oratorical powers. He could be deposed; but while in power he was supreme. In council composed of the elders, he presided as umpire, and to his decision all bowed with submission. A chief was subordinate to the sachem, and was the leader of a war-party.

10. **The Indians of Canada.** - The principal groups of Indians which occupied the area of Canada at the time of its discovery, were the Adirondacks (the Algonquins proper) and the Huron-Iroquois. The Hurons, on their arrival, remained in Canada; but the Iroquois removed to New York. After the war of the American Revolution, some of the Iroquois, or Six Nation Indians, who had previously subdued their brethren the Eries and the Hurons, removed to Canada, and settled on lands granted to them by King George III. The minor tribes are noticed in detail.

Text 2 extracted from Hodgins (1858: 46-48)

11. **The Al-gon-quins**, or Ad-i-ron-dacks, with the Huron-Iroquois, are said to have descended from the north, by the Ottawa (or Utawas) river, at the close of the 15th century, and to have occupied the left bank of the St. Lawrence. They were called Adirondacks (or bark-eaters), in derision, by the Iroquois. They received the generic name of Algonquins from the French. In Indian they were called *Odis qua gume*, - "People at the end of the water." In arts, and other attainments they excelled the Iroquois. They are supposed to have been at the head of a great northern confederacy similar to that of the Six Nation Indians. In later times they were allies of the French and Wyandots, in their wars against the No-do-was, or Iroquois. The principal tribes of the Algonquin group settled in British North America, were; (1) The Montagnais du Saguenay (Saguenay Mountaineers); (2) The Têtes de. boule (the Bull-heads of the St. Maurice); (3) The Ottawas; (4) The Ojibwas, or Chippewas of Lake Superior and River Winnipeg (Sauteux of the French); (5) The Mashkégons of the River Nelson and the Crees (les Cris) of the River Saskatchewan. No tribe of this group has been found west of the Rocky Mountains; nor have any tribe of the Chippewayan group been found east of Hudson's Bay.

12. **The Ot-ta-was**, or Ut-a-was. A tradition of this tribe asserts that they were members of a northern confederacy-(see *Algonquins*)-that they migrated and

separated; the Adirondacks fixing their hunting-grounds near Quebec, the Hurons along the Upper Lakes, and the Ottawas near Michilimackinac and Detroit. They exacted tribute from the tribes passing through their territory. They are chiefly noted for their famous union, under their chief Pontiac, with the Ojibwas, Sacs, Senecas, Pottawottamies, and others, for the capture of nine British posts, in 1763. The capture of Michilimackinac was entrusted to the Ojibway and Sac Indians. On the 4th June, 1763 (King George's birthday), Minavavana, an Ojibway chief, invited the English to witness a game at ball. Having played up to the gate of the fort, the Indians rushed in, seized and massacred the garrison, except a few who escaped. Pontiac alone failed at Detroit. Remnants of the Ottawas are now settled on the Manitoulin Islands, in Lake Huron.

13. The O-jib-wa, or Od-jib-way, [plural Odjibwäig] occupied the shores of Lake Superior, and included the Mes-sas-sag-nes (or Mis-se-sau-gas), who occupied the area at the mouth of a river called by their name, lying between Point Tessalon and La Cloche, on the north shore of Lake Huron. The Ojibway sheltered the flying Hurons, and defeated their pursuers at Point Iroquois, Lake Superior. The Ojibways and Misesaugas are both called by different writers Chip-pe-ways. (The Chep-pe-way-ans are a Rocky Mountain tribe.) Remnants of the Ojibways are now settled at Alnwick, Rice Lake, New Credit, Sarnia, and Lakes Simcoe and Couchiching. The Chippewa, like the Algonquin of old, is now the common business language of the Indians, and is as necessary among them as French is among Europeans.

14. The Wy-an-dots, or Hurons, claim to have been originally at the head of the Iroquois group of tribes. They occupied the northern shores of the St. Lawrence (westward from the present site of Montreal), Lake Ontario, Lake Simcoe, &c. After their alliance with the Adirondacks, the Iroquois waged a war of extermination against them, and pursued them up the Ottawa to the Manitoulin islands (in the lake since called Huron), to Mich-il-i-mack-i-nac, and to the northern shores of Lake Superior. Here the Ojibwas sheltered them, and defeated the Iroquois at Point Iroquois, or the "place of the Iroquois bones." The French missionaries afterwards collected the scattered remnants of the tribe, and settled them at the village of Lorette, near Quebec.

15. The Minor Tribes of, or bordering "on, Canada, were: (1) The Petun (or Tobacco) Indians [Ti-on-non-to-tes], who occupied the peninsula lying between Georgian Bay and Lake Huron. Routed by the Iroquois, they fled, in 1650, to Missouri. (2) The At-ti-wen-da-ronk, or "Neutral Nation" (speaking a Huron dialect, so called from their original neutrality in the wars between the Iroquois and four tribes of Hurons, at Lake Huron. This peaceful tribe occupied a part of the Canadian shore of Lake Ontario and both sides of

the Niagara river. Having at length aided the weaker Hurons, they were attacked and reduced to servitude by the Iroquois, in 1646-50. (3) The Eries (or Cat Nation of the French), are supposed to be identical with the Ca-taw-bas, who fled before the Iroquois to South Carolina, in 1656-8. They occupied the, Southern shore of Lake Erie, and have left evidences of their former power in the inscriptions on the rocks of Cunningham Island. Some writers think that the Eries were at the head of a neutral alliance of tribes occupying the area between Lakes Erie and Ontario. (4) The An-das-tes, near Buffalo, were, after sixteen years' war with the Iroquois, subdued in 1672, and fled down the Allegany river. (5) The Pot-to-wat-to-mies, originally from Green Bay, Michigan, now reside in Kansas, and a few at Owen Sound. (6) The Nip-is-sings, near the lake of that name. (7) A few Mun-seys (De-la-wares); and (8) Nan-ti-cokes, branches of the Len-ni Le-na-pes (or original people), are settled in the western part of the Province, near London. (9) The At-ti-kami-ques, in the north of Canada, were destroyed by the pestilence of 1670.

16. **The Huron-Iroquois group or family included:** 910 The Six Nations Indians; and, (2) The Hurons (Wyandots) as well as the following tribes: (3) The Souix (Dakohtas); (4) The Assineboines (Sioux of the rocks), from Assini (Ojibway), rocks or stones, and *bwoin*, or *pwân*, a Sioux (or little Iroquois); and, (5) The Blackfeet (*les pieds noirs*.) Of these we refer now only to the celebrated Six Nation Indians. The history of these Indians, although chiefly identified with that of the State of New York, is also intimately connected with that of Canada. As a confederacy, they were the faithful allies of the English Crown from the earliest colonial times until the close of the American Revolution. The Six Nations embraced the following cantons, or tribes: (1) The Mohawks; (2) Oneidas; (3) Onondagas; (4) Cayugas; (5) Senecas; and, (6) The Tuscaroras. At the close of the revolutionary war, the Mohawks, Cayugas, Onondagas, and others, removed to Canada, and settled: 1st. At Brantford, on the Grand River (so called after Brant, the celebrated Mohawk chief), where they received a grant from the Crown of 160,000 acres along both sides of the river to its mouth; 2nd. At Tyendinaga, on the Bay of Quinté (so called also after Brant's Indian name); and, 3rd. On the River Thames. In 1671, a portion of the Mohawks settled at Sault St. Louis, near Montreal.

17. **Origin and Settlement.** - The origin of the Iroquois is very obscure. Their own tradition is that they originally descended the River Ottawa, and resided, as a small tribe, at Hochelaga (Montreal.) They were, subject to the Adirondacks, and from them learned the arts of husbandry and war. Becoming numerous, they sought to secure their independence; but being vanquished, they were compelled to fly. Having ascended the St. Lawrence, and coasted the

southern shore of Lake Ontario, they entered the Oswego river, and scattered themselves in separate bands throughout various parts of the State of New York.

18. **Confederacy.** - Afterwards, for mutual protection, and at the desire of the Onondagas, they formed a league, under the title of Ho-de-no-sau-nee, or "People of the Log House." This house extended from the River Hudson to the great lakes of Canada.

Appendix 9

Extracted from Brookes (1865: 428-431)

HINDOSTAN, (Persian, *hindoo*, black, and *stan*, a place or country,) or INDIA, and by the aborigines called Bharatta, a region of Asia, which comprises all the countries between the mountains of Tartary and Tibet on the N., Bootan, Assam, and the Bay of Bengal on the E., the Indian Ocean on the S., and the same ocean and Persia on the W. But this country must be considered under the three grand divisions of Hindostan Proper, the Deccan and the Peninsula. Hindostan Proper includes the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and all those that lie to the N. of the river Nerbudda; the principal of which are Agimere, Agra, Allahbad, Cashmere, Dheli, Guzerat, Lahore, Malwa, Moulton, Ouded, and Sinde. The Deccan has been extended to the whole region S. of Hindostan Proper and the river Kistna. See DECCAN. The tract S. of the river Kistna is generally called the Peninsula; although its form does not authorize that appellation: it includes a small part of Golconda, Mysore, and the Carnatic, with Madura, and other smaller districts; the W. coast being called that of Malabar, and the E. that of Coromandel. The Sikhs possess Lahore, part of Moulton, and Delhi; the king of Candahar, Cashmere, and part of Moulton Berar and Orissa, Malwa, Candeish, Visiapour, and part of Agimere and Guzerat, are in the possession of the Mahrattas; and the Nizam of the Deccan possesses Golconda, part of Dowlatabad, and Berar.

The British possessions are Bengal, Bahar, part of Allahbad, and Orissa, the Northern Circars, the Jaghire in the Carnatic, the countries north and south of Calicut, Bombay and the island Salsette. The allies of the British are the rajahs of Mysore, Tanjore, Madura, Travancore, Trichinopoly, the nabobs of Onde and Arcot, and the district of Cochin. The principal rivers are the Ganges, the Indus, Nerbudds, Puddar, Taptee, Cagar, Mahanuddy, Godavery, Kistna. The chief mountains are the Himmaleh, the western and eastern Gants, and those which divide Bengal from Ava. The following tables give the best estimates of the area and population. The first is that of our British possessions, as usually stated, but the number of inhabitants will be seen to be overrated by the subsequent estimate: -

But according to an estimate upon which considerable dependence may be placed, the following amounts have been ascertained for the *North Western Provinces of Bengal*.

The foregoing is the first estimate of the population of British India which has been given at all in a satisfactory manner; more recent ones will be found in the

Appendix. The first two columns, depending upon trigonometric data, are accurate. The last, which shows the enormous density of the population on the great plain of the Ganges, is an evidence that it is greater than even in China, and only exceeded by our island of Barbadoes. But these are much lower than former suppositions, as 32,000,000 have been assigned previously to the north western provinces. As these are among our most important districts, we may state, that the Hindoos amount to 6,199,956, and the Mahometans and others, to 1,254,121, or in the proportion not quite 6 to 1, formerly considered as 15 to 1. Among the Hindoos, the agriculturalists amount to 4,051,484, and the non-agriculturalists to 2,148,872. Among the Mohamedans, this proportion is reversed, being as 507,295 agricultural, to 746,826 non-agricultural. From the evidence afforded by this estimate, the following table exhibits much lower amounts in population than formerly had been made.

The greater proportion of the Hindoo population are idolaters, and are divided into three great sects: the first worship the triad, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva; the second are followers of Boodh, whose principal tenet is the doctrine of transmigration; the Jains are the third, who chiefly worship Pariswanath; the other class of inhabitants are Mahometans, of whom there are about the eighth part of the number of Hindoos. To give an idea of the modern revolutions in the empire of Hindostan, it is proper to observe, that from a pure Hindoo government, it became, at last, a Mahometan state, and continued to be so, under the various dynasties, till the beginning of the 18th century. The first irruption of the Mahometans was in the year 1000. From this period the provinces of Hindostan were held rather as tributary kingdoms, than as provinces of the same empire; and the conquest of the Deccan, in particular, was for ages an object of considerable importance to the emperors. In 1389, the Mogul Tartars, under the conduct of Timur, or Tamerlane, invaded Hindostan; but the conquest was not effected till 1525, by Sultan Baber, one of the descendants, who, from this circumstance was, was the founder of the mogul dynasty; and hence Hindostan has been called the Mogul empire, and its chief, the Great Mogul. The illustrious Acbar, his son, failed in his attack upon the Deccan; an attempt in which many of his successors were equally unfortunate, and which tended, in the sequel, to the decline and dissolution of the empire. In 1615, emperor Jehanguire, his son, received Sir Thomas Roe, as the first English ambassador, and the Portuguese had by this time acquired considerable settlements in Bengal and Guserat. In the reign of his grandson Arungsebe, which lasted from 1660 to 1707, the empire attained its full extent; his authority reached from 10 to 35 degrees in lat., and nearly as much in long., and his revenue exceeded 32,000,000l. sterling. But in the course of 50 years after his death, a succession of weak

princes and wicked ministers reduced this astonishing empire to very narrow limits, and deprived it of all its power and splendour. In consequence of the intrigues of the Nizam of the Deccan, Nadir Shah, the Persian usurper, invaded Hindostan in 1738. In the reign of Achmed Shah, successor of Mahomed Shah, the entire division of the empire took place; nothing remaining to the house of Tamerlane, but the city and small territory of Dehli. The last imperial army was defeated by the Rohillas, in 1749. The Jats, a Hindoo tribe, founded a state in Agra; Onde was seized by Mahomed Kooli, and the Mahrattas, beside their ancient domains in the Deccan, obtained great part of Malwa, Guzerat, Berar, and Orissa. The Mogul empire has now become nearly nominal; and the emperors from this period, must be regarded as of no political consequence, otherwise than as their names and person of the emperor retains a considerable degree of veneration among the bulk of the people of Hindostan. Acmed was deposed in 1735, and his successor was deposed and murdered in 1760. He was succeeded by his second son Shah Alum, who was alternately dependent on the contending powers, and more particularly upon the English, who obtained from him a grant of the provinces of Bengal, Bahir, Orissa, and the Circars. This prince died in 1806, and was succeeded by his second son, Acbar Shah. The Mahometans, whom the English improperly call Moors, are represented to be of a detestable character. The Hindoos, or Gentoos, are of black complexion; their hair is long, their persons straight and elegant, and their countenance open and pleasant. They differ materially from all other nations, by being divided into tribe or castes. The four principal tribes are the Brahmins, Soldiers, Labourers, and Mechanics; and these are subdivided into a multiplicity of inferior distinctions. There are Brahmins of various degrees of excellence, who have the care of religion allotted to them, and are held sacred by the rest: some of these acknowledge the errors that have crept into their religion, own one Supreme Being, and laugh at the idolatry of the multitude, but insist upon the weaknesses of the vulgar; yet the generality of them are as ignorant as the laity. Such as are not engaged in worldly pursuits are a very superstitious, innocent people, who promote charity as much as they can, both to man and beast; but those who engage in the world are generally the worst of all the Gentoos; but persuaded that the waters of the Ganges will purify them from their sins, and being exempt from the utmost rigour of the courts of justice (under the Gentoo governments), they run into much greater excesses. A large number of the natives were enlisted as soldiers in the service of the East India Company; they were called sepoys, or sepahis, and were clothed and disciplined in the European manner. But since the mutiny, which broke up the native army in Bengal in 1857-8, the number of sepoys in that presidency has been

reduced to a minimum, though in the others they are still retained. But the East India army being now amalgamated with the Queen's, greater precautions are taken against the native troops having the ascendancy. Acting in concert with European soldiers, and commanded by European officers, the sepoys have generally been found to be brave, faithful and effective. The labourers include farmers, and all who cultivate the land. The mechanics include merchants, bankers, and all who follow any trade; these again are subdivided into each profession. Beside these are Hallachores, who cannot be called a tribe, but rather being the refuse of all the tribes. They are a set of unhappy wretches, who perform all the vilest offices of life, bury the dead, and carry away every thing that is polluted. All the different tribes are kept distinct from each other by insurmountable barriers: they are forbidden to intermarry, to cohabit, to eat with each other, or even to drink out of the same vessel with one of another tribe. Every deviation from these points subjects them to be rejected by their tribe, renders them polluted for ever, and obliges them, from that instant, to herd with the Hallachores. The members of each caste adhere invariably to the profession of their forefathers; from generation to generation the same families have followed, and still continue to follow, one uniform manner of life. To this may be ascribed that high degree of perfection conspicuous in many of the Indian manufactures; and also that striking peculiarity in the state or Hindostan, the permanence of its institutions, and the immutability in the manner of the inhabitants. The Hindoos vie with the Chinese in respect to the antiquity of their nation. Their institutions of religion form a complete system of superstition, upheld by everything which can excite the reverence of the people. The temples consecrated to their deities are magnificent; their religious ceremonies splendid; and the absolute dominion which the Brahmins have obtained over the minds of the people is supported by the command of the immense revenues with which the liberality of princes, and the zeal of pilgrims and devotees, have enriched their pagodas. The dominion of religion extends to a thousand particulars which, in other countries, are governed by the civil laws, or by taste, custom, and fashion. Their dress, their food, the common intercourses of life, their marriages and professions, are all under the jurisdiction of religion. The food of the Hindoos is simple, consisting chiefly of rice, ghee (a kind of imperfect butter), milk, vegetables, and oriental spices. The warrior caste may eat of the flesh of goats, sheep, and poultry. Other superior castes may eat poultry and fish; but inferior castes are prohibited from eating flesh or fish of any kind. Their greatest luxury consists in the use richest spiceries and perfumes, of which the great people are lavish. They esteem milk the purest of

food, because they think it partakes of some of the properties of the nectar of their gods, and because they esteem the cow itself almost as a divinity. Their manners are gentle. They are taught by their religion that matrimony is an indispensable duty in every man who does not entirely separate himself from the world from a principle of devotion; and, as none but male descendants can perform the obsequies to the manes of their ancestors, it is thought an irreparable calamity to die without male issue. Scarcely any state can be more degrading than that of Hindoo females. Till three years after the nuptial age, a girl is entirely at the disposal of her father. When married, she is immured in her husband's dwelling; her dependence upon him is perpetual and entire; she is not permitted to eat in his presence, and is considered, not as a companion to aid him in enduring the evils in life, but as a slave to bear children, and be subservient to his rule. Polygamy is tolerated; but the females, except among the Nairs, are not permitted to marry a second time. A husband can dismiss his wife at any time; but there is nothing that can dissolve the wife from her matrimonial engagement. The inhuman custom of women burning themselves on the funeral pile of their deceased husbands has, however, been recently prohibited in the presidencies of Fort William and Madras; and the progress of Christianity affords reason to hope for the speedy abolition of other revolting practices. The code of Gentoo laws, with their sacred books, the Vidam and the Shaster, are written in the Sanscrit language, which is very copious and nervous, although the style of their best authors is wonderfully concise. Hindostan, towards the N., is pretty temperate, but hot towards the S.; and it rains almost constantly for three months in the year. Its products are diamonds and other precious stones, silks, spices, aromatics, drugs, maize, rice, and sugar; and the chief manufactures are muslins and calicoes. But these and various other particulars, will be found under the names of its different provinces, cities, towns, mountains, and rivers described in this work.

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