The 'Dis-embodied Mind' and Religion[1]

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Abstract

The successive and interdependent systems of colonisation, imperialism and apartheid produced a multiplex race- and gender-based country-wide national system of inequality, that currently makes South Africa one of the countries with the largest wealth gap in the world. Focusing on two of the Christian missionary pioneers, Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp and John Philip, this article analyses four discursive threads that constituted the discursive formations they formed part of respectively. It is argued that since inequality is historically produced, similar studies need to be done, in order to delimit the discursive effects of past knowledge formations in the production of inequality in South Africa.

Keywords: Inequality; Christian mission; enlightenment; anti-colonial.

9. Equality[2]

1. Everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law.

2. Equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms. To promote the achievement of equality, legislative

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[2] Section 9 of Chapter 2 of the Bill of Rights in the South African Constitution, 1996; http://www.info.gov.za/documents/constitution/1996/96cons2.htm#9.

and other measures designed to protect or advance persons, or categories of persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination may be taken[3].

3. The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.

4. No person may unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds in terms of subsection

   (3). National legislation must be enacted to prevent or prohibit unfair discrimination.

5. Discrimination on one or more of the grounds listed in subsection (3) is unfair unless it is established that the discrimination is fair.

Introduction

It is this month (June 2009) two hundred and fifty-five years since Jean-Jacques Rousseau completed his discourse on 'What is the Origin of Inequality among Men, and is it Authorised by Natural Law?' (1754 and

[3] According to Labour Protect, discrimination is generally legally allowed – as 'fair discrimination' – on four grounds, e.g.: a) Discrimination based on affirmative action; b) Discrimination based on the inherent requirement of a particular job; c) Compulsory discrimination by law; and d) Discrimination based on productivity (see http://www.labourprotect.co.za/fair_unfair.htm). This is part of what Fanon called 'moral reparation', which positions the 'equality' in section 9 of our Bill of Rights central to all processes and procedures of transformation – which obviously includes the metropoles, 'We are not blinded by the moral reparation of national independence, nor are we fed by it. The wealth of the imperial countries is our wealth too' (Fanon 1965:102).

published in 1755) at Chambéry. Rousseau's basic assumption from which he developed his thinking –which also contains the answer to his question – is present in his opening paragraph in 'Dedication to the Republic of Geneva' as well as his introduction to 'A Dissertation on the Origin and Foundation of Inequality of Mankind'. In his 'Dedication' he makes an evaluative distinction between 'the equality which nature has ordained between men [human beings], and the inequality which they have introduced'. In the 'Dissertation', he elaborates and says,

> I conceive that there are two kinds of inequality among the human species; one, which I call *natural or physical*, because it is established by nature, and consists in a difference of age, health, bodily strength, and the qualities of the mind or of the soul: and another, which may be called *moral or political inequality*, because it depends on a kind of convention, and is established, or at least authorised by the consent of men. This latter consists of the different privileges, which some men enjoy to the prejudice of others; such as that of being more rich, more honoured, more powerful or even in a position to exact obedience (e.a.).

Different from natural inequality which all human beings participate in, Rousseau problematises the humanly produced inequalities deriving from 'moral or political' systems – which are 'conventions' that come into being by virtue of their being authorised by the consent of people. Revolutionary thoughts for his time – but still thirty-five years ahead of the French Revolution – he then groups 'the different privileges that some … enjoy', such as 'being more rich, more honoured, more powerful or even in a position to exact obedience' together. They can only function, so he argues, because of the 'prejudice' of those who enjoy these privileges vis-à-vis those who are not rich, honoured, powerful or in a position to exact obedience. Centrally part of the rise of eighteenth century secular humanism, this was still forty-five years prior to the dawn of the century of missions in South Africa – with the arrival of the first missionary and Superintendent of African Missions of the London Missionary Society at the Cape in 1799. This was simultaneously the dawn of the century of colonization and the hegemony of British imperialism, but also the beginnings of the resistance by what would become a century later the twentieth century's struggles for

independence and democracy in the erstwhile colonised world. The paradox of the current juncture in world history is that despite more than two hundred and fifty years of the propagation of equality, including freedom and democracy, this hoped-for utopia has not arrived. For South Africa, for instance, Klein (2007:198) points out that '[p]olitically … people have the right to vote, civil liberties and majority rule. Yet, economically, [we] are the 'most *unequal* society in the world' (e.a.). In his 2002 graph of South Africa's highly stratified class society, Terreblanche (2005:36) showed that South Africa's bourgeois elite (7,5% of the populace) received 72% of annual income, and the petit bourgeoisie (also 7,5% of the populace), another 17,2% in 2001. In total, 15% of our people received nearly 90% of annual income in monetary terms[4] in 2001.

In order to engage the problematic of inequality we need to first recognise that it is historically produced, then to look at certain junctures in history to ascertain the extent of the inequality at specific moments in our history, the socio-economic variables at play, the necessary interventions by certain agencies, and then evaluate the effectivity of such interventions. I chose the figures of Johannes van der Kemp and John Philip. As two of the most significant historical figures who engaged inequality in their life and work, their legacies continued to make remarkable impacts in South African history writing for more than two hundred years. My concern is with their intervention and engaging of the inequality of their own historical context. Since they were two well-educated scholar-missionaries who engaged inequality as intellectuals, my main sources will be their scholarly remains – Van der Kemp's journals and letters published by the London Missionary society ([1799] 1801 – 1804) and Philip's two volume, *Researches in South Africa: Illustrating the Civil, Moral, and Religious Condition of the Native Tribes: Including Journals of the Author's Travels in the Interior: Together with Detailed Accounts of the Progress of the Christian Missions, Exhibiting the Influence of Christianity in Promoting Civilization* published by James Duncan.

[4] Turok (2008a: 13,117f,135,152) traces some of the dynamics that prevented the ANC government to make any inroads in our endemic wealth gap and inequality. On this latter point, cf. also Klein (2007: 194 - 217) and Melber (2010) available at: http://links.org.au/node/1704.

1 Enlightenment Mission

It is well-known that, Van der Kemp originally planned to start a mission for the Xhosa beyond the colonial border. Having met Ngqika on a few occasions as well as other Xhosa leaders, he became convinced of the futility of such an exercise and decided to return to the colony. On his arrival at Graaff Reinet he saw the destitute conditions of the Khoekhoe and decided to rather start a mission for them. After another two years and with the consent of the newly arrived Batavian Governor Janssens, Bethelsdorp was established in 1804.

Land

It was already in his letter of 'Recommendations to Francis Dundas' for the founding of the first LMS mission station, that Van der Kemp combined his request with that of the destitute conditions of the Khoekhoe and the establishing of a mission station for their benefit. He says:

> It was God, Sir! who brought me by a chain of unexpected events … to Graaff Reinet, where I met with my associates in the … Mission, Read and Van der Lingen, … we were witnesses of the *deplorable and wretched conditions* into which the [Khoekhoe] *nation is sunk for want of food, destruction, liberty, useful employments and spot,* which they under the superintendence of Government might in some measure call *their own home* (e.a.) (Van der Kemp 1801b).

This general condition of the Khoekhoe – to have lost their lands with no independent sources of subsistence due to one hundred and fifty years of colonisation (cf. Elphick 1977) – was to be addressed by Van der Kemp's founding of a mission station. There is ample evidence that colonial governments mostly ignored the conditions of the colonised – as is evident from the history of underdevelopment. Colonisation by definition meant the confiscation of indigenous land with scant concern for the wellbeing of indigenes. It was more important to produce landless people who in turn had to fend for a living as 'free' labour on settler farms. Government often only paid attention to the conditions of indigenous peoples as response to missionary critique as in this case. Here, it was the mutual recognition of Van der Kemp and government of the Khoekhoe's destitute or 'unhappy'

condition that persuaded the government to allow the mission to have a piece of land.

The main cause of this condition that the Khoekhoe found themselves in was that they did not succeed in continuing an existence independent of 'European economic, political, and cultural influences'. This, from Khoekhoe perspective, as Elphick saw it, was a gradual hundred and fifty year process and hardly noticed by the various role players during this period – whether Jan van Riebeeck or the various Western Cape Khoekhoe 'chiefs'. He explains:

> ... for example, when a [Khoekhoe] sold his heifer to a Dutch bartering expedition, or his labor to a colonist, he was exploiting the colonial situation for his own ends; but, though he did not know it, *his immediate interests were incompatible with the continuing autonomy of his traditional society*. These seemingly minor actions, and the processes to which in aggregate they gave rise, are less often witnessed by our documents than the episodes of conquest. Nonetheless, *they were the fundamental determinants of [Khoekhoe] decline* (Elphick 1977:237; e.a.).

Elphick's statement is in the context of the DEIC using the local Western Cape Khoekhoe to barter for cattle and sheep in the interior of South Africa and then sell them to the Cape station to provide the passing ships with food. The Khoekhoe however soon realised that they could horde the animals and sell them much more expensively to the DEIC, which gave rise to the DEIC starting to use violence in confiscating the needed livestock. This sparked the seven frontier wars dating from the 1660s to 1714, when the Khoekhoe finally lost all their ancestral lands and independence. The violence associated with the colonisers' land seizure and occupation, which closed down any alternatives for Khoekhoe subsistence, was therefore a central feature of the gradual crowding out of indigenous people(s) off their lands.

After about ninety years, Van der Kemp would for the first time again provide a piece of land to the Khoekhoe for settling down, or in his words, to then be able to produce their own food, and in 'liberty' engage in useful employments on their own 'spot'. He did qualify this by saying that they would be able to here 'under the superintendence of Government', be

able to 'in some measure call [this] their own home'. Van der Kemp's request here concurs with typical Enlightenment views on property in England – that landed property provides the most basic condition for wealth creation and possibilities for self advancement.

> Owning land was the main form of wealth in the 18th century. Political power and influence was in the hands of rich landowners. At the top were the nobility. Below them were a class of nearly rich landowners called the gentry. In the early 18th century there was another class of landowners called yeomen between the rich and the poor. However during the century this class became less and less numerous (Lambert 2009).

One of the most significant texts of the time – which also shares concepts with those used by Van der Kemp – comes from James Wilson, U.S. Supreme Court justice, a principal contributor to the U.S. Constitution and founding father of the United States (together with George Washington and others). On the relationship between landowners and government, Wilson addressed the question whether human beings ('man') exist for the sake of government or government for the sake of human beings. His own view veered more to the latter. This in turn lead to the question of natural and absolute rights, and whether property should resort under the former or the latter[5]. H supported the former. These views concur with Van der Kemp's arguments by which he urged government to provide a 'spot' for the Khoekhoe and the mission. More generally, these derive from assumptions present in Wilson's (cf. 1774 - 1798) text, 'On the History of Property'.

> The right of separate property seems to be founded in the nature of men and things; and when societies become numerous, the establishment of that right is highly important to the existence, to the tranquillity, to the elegancies, to the refinements, and to some of the virtues of civilized life.
> …

[5] For some analyses of the discourse on this matter for the period, see London (1999); Power (1993); and Schmidgen (2002).

> By exclusive property, the productions of the earth and the means of subsistence are secured and preserved, as well as multiplied. What belongs to no one is wasted by every one. What belongs to one man in particular is the object of his economy and care.
>
> Exclusive property prevents disorder, and promotes peace. Without its establishment, the tranquillity of society would be perpetually disturbed by fierce and ungovernable competitions for the possession and enjoyment of things, insufficient to satisfy all, and by no rules of adjustment distributed to each.
>
> The conveniencies of life depend much on an exclusive property.

Confronted with the destitute state of the Khoekhoe, which has been the outcome of more than one hundred and fifty years of settler encroachment onto Khoekhoe ancestral lands, and nearly ninety years of absolute landlessness, one can understand why Van der Kemp saw property as a mechanism by which to leverage not only for some semblance of geographical independence from government and farmer displacement of the indigenous population, but also for his combined mission effort.

Conversion

In his proposal for the founding of the mission, Van der Kemp grounds the mission objectives primarily in his evangelising scheme and articulates it with current enlightenment perspectives on addressing the 'unhappy' state of the Khoekhoe. Importantly, he relates evangelisation, with teaching and the cultivation of 'occupations'. For him, temporal 'happiness' only becomes possible in the wake of conversion and practice of Christian piety. In point 2 of his 'Recommendations', he says:

> 2. The chief object and aim of the Missionaries, under which direction this settlement shall be established, ought to be to promote the *knowledge of Christ*, and the practice of real *piety*, both by *instruction and example* among the [Khoekhoe] and other Heathen, … shall be admitted, and formed into a regular society; and, in the second place, the *temporal happiness* and *usefulness* of this Society with respect to the country at large (e.a.) (Van der Kemp 1801b).

With regard to the objectifiable socio-economic aspects, Van der Kemp (1801b) explains in point 6 of his 'Recommendations':

> 6. As we are of opinion that the rule laid down by Paul 'that if any would not work, neither should he eat', ought to be strictly observed in every Christian Society, our intention is to discourage *idleness* and *laziness* and to have all the individuals of our institution, as much as circumstances shall admit, *employed in different useful occupations*, for the cultivation of their *rational faculties* or *exercise of the body*, as means of subsistence, and of promoting the well-fare of this society and the colony at large. These *occupations* may be referred either *to agriculture and farming, the management of cattle, or mechanical arts, and little manufactories, e.g. soap-boiling, candle-making, spinning of thread, manufacturing of paper, tanning, potting, brickmaking, turnery, &c.* (e.a.)

Of first importance is the labour principle of self-subsistence which was to characterise the ethos of the nineteenth century mission stations. Whereas the products produced at the mission would be sold on behalf of the mission and the establishing of further mission stations, Van der Kemp's (1801b) view in point 7 of the 'Recommendations' was that if there were Khoekhoe who could move out on their own and start an independent existence without missionary support, they were to be encouraged to do so.

> By these measures we intend not to preclude any one, who by his industry and diligence shall be enabled to elevate himself above the class of journeymen from becoming a master and proprietor of his own business (Van der Kemp 1801b).

Despite his idealistic objectives, Van der Kemp did not succeed in his project for a variety of reasons – e.g. the arid area at which the mission station was founded, the continuous pressure from the government to supply workers for farm labour, and the general historically-produced destitute state of the Khoekhoe. Even so, it is precisely about this settlement that he was severely criticized by the traveller Lichtenstein, for the inadequacy of his mission. In one of his statements, Lichtenstein (1928:291f; 295) said:

> [The Khoekhoe] were certainly daily instructed for some hours in the christian religion, but these instructions made much more impression upon their memory than upon their understanding. They could sing and pray, and be heartily penitent for their sins, and talk of the Lamb of atonement, but none were really the better for all this specious appearance. No attention was paid to giving them *proper occupations*, and, excepting in the hours of prayer, they might be as indolent as they chose (e.a.).

To be engaged in 'occupations' is here compared to 'indolence', which in turn is equated with religious worship, with Lichtenstein deducing that Van der Kemp's ministry is not of much 'value'.

> It appears to me that Van der Kemp is of little value as a missionary, partly because he is a *mere enthusiast*, and too much absorbed in the *idea of conversion*, partly because he is *too learned*, that is to say, *too little acquainted with the common concerns of life*, to turn the attention even of a raw [Khoekhoe] to them. Thence comes his total neglect of *husbandry* and all *mechanical employments*, though these are the arts in which his disciples must be instructed if he would make them *really happy*; thence also the perverted view he takes of the conduct which the colonists ought to observe with regard to his institution, since he considers them as bound to assist in its support (e.a.).

It is doubtlessly true that Van der Kemp's main aim was the religious conversion first of the Xhosa, and when he was not successful here, then the Khoekhoe. This primary focus matches Lichtenstein's observations on and exposition of the missionary's teaching of the Khoekhoe in the 'christian religion' first and foremost, as well as Van der Kemp's own pointing to his objectives for the mission in his 'Recommendations'. Yet, irrespective of the doubts about his success and those of subsequent missionaries (see Bird 1822:66), the primary point is that his understanding was closely intertwined with his optimistic enlightenment beliefs about the articulation of Christianity ('*knowledge of Christ*') with 'the practice of real *piety*' – which meant piety by way of '*instruction*' and '*example*' (by and of the missionaries) and the cultivation of '*temporal happiness*' and '*usefulness*'

secondly. This latter, temporal part he spells out more closely in point six, where work is religiously grounded, and as such, impacts on the possibility to be '*employed in different useful occupations*', which in turn aims at the fulfilling of the objective of 'the cultivation of … *rational faculties* or *exercise of the body*'. In principle, this holistic perspective constitutes the missions' romantic Enlightenment idealism – that conversion, prayer and pious acts integrated with the cultivation of reason and a healthy body, together with different kinds of labour, would of necessity lead to 'happy', modern human citizens on the African continent. Even though there was widespread acceptance of the 'therapeutic' significance spiritual cultivation has for communities (cf. Potkay 2000:15), this was also a bone of contention, as is evident from Lichtenstein's critique of Van der Kemp. As the cultivation of the 'knowledge of Christ' and 'piety' first and foremost would lead to the Khoekhoe's eternal happiness and only because of this, to temporary happiness for Van der Kemp, for Lichtenstein it was to be derived exclusively from temporal and this-worldly secular employments rather than the 'specious appearance' present in their singing, prayers, hearty penitence for their sins, and 'talk of the Lamb of atonement'.

Happiness

The *third* point and closely related to the previous one, is the difference of opinion on what constitutes true happiness. For Lichtenstein, Van der Kemp himself was of 'little value as a missionary' with the missions not producing 'happiness'. From his own idealistic Enlightenment understanding, real happiness is the result of being '*acquainted with the common concerns of life*', '*husbandry*' and 'all *mechanical employments*'. 'Husbandry' as the cultivation of crops and the breeding and raising of livestock was one of the most significant sciences that developed during the eighteenth century, and that most foundationally impacted on socio-economic development (cf. Fussell 1937). To be able to master and apply this science, as well as be '*acquainted with the common concerns of life*', and 'all *mechanical employments*', required a rising bourgeois mindset and assumptions. Yet, if these were the means, the end – shared by both Van der Kemp and Dundas – was the common eighteenth century concern which gave rise to much literary and philosophical speculation, *viz.* 'happiness'. In Potkay's (2000:12) comparative study of Johnson and Hume's views, the period concept of,

> happiness or human flourishing is the proper aim not only of ethical precept but also of descriptive psychology, and that its attainment depends partly on political and economic conditions, but primarily on an inner economy, the proper management or regulation of the passions that propel us[6].

The general sense of 'human flourishing' in Potkay's synonym seems to capture this notion best. Yet, the articulation of ethics with the passions as part of an 'inner economy', is a secular explication of the evangelical humanist discourse that produced Van der Kemp's spiritual one where 'piety' encapsulates both. The general understanding of an 'inner economy', is also present in Bird's (1823:177) exposition of 'happiness at the Cape'. For him, the concept is more related to the desire to live an uncomplicated life, meaning, not disturbed by 'ambition and politics'. He says:

> Moral writers assert, that the happiest condition of human fortune is in the uniform and uninterrupted current of ordinary life, affording from day to day the same regular pursuits. If this be correct, [colonial] man in the Cape colony is a most happy being. There is nothing here calculated to give an impetus to violent exertion, and the current glides on in an unvarying course. Ambition and politics, two of the grand tormentors of human life, have no field in South Africa large enough for an Englishman, and the Cape-Dutch know them not, for they are content to be quiet, and to obey (Bird 1823:177).

A similar view is also present in Philip's (I.1828:33) quotation of landrost Kupt when he reflected on the happiness of the indigenous people prior to colonisation, and how the impact of colonisation changed the lives of happy settled indigenous people.

[6] For the personal, ethical and philosophical ambiguities related to the concept of happiness in eighteenth-century short novels, poetry and prose, see Samuel Johnson's 1759 novella, *Rasselas* (1759); Jean-Jacques Rousseau's 'Fifth Walk' in his *Reveries* (1782); William Blake's *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* (1789; 1794); and portions of William Wordsworth's autobiographical poem *The Prelude* ([1798] 1888).

> … [F]rom people living in peace and happiness, divided into kraals under chiefs, and subsisting quietly by the breeding of cattle, they are become almost all of them huntsmen, Bushmen, and robbers, and are dispersed everywhere, among the barren and rugged mountains.

Even though this statement was made to encourage appreciation and support of indigenous people's ways of life in distinction to the colonising program, one could even heredetect Philip's fears that it is precisely this content lifestyle that will be permanently displaced by the looming approach of ever larger waves of colonisation and settler invasions onto indigenous land.

Usefulness

Fourthly, to be happy certainly depends on whether the individual was free or not, together with the political and economic conditions of the country which allows for the assertion of such freedom not only in appropriate labour and cultivation of the land, but also contributions towards the common good. Prior to his acquiring of Bethelsdorp, and on the topic of the landlessness of the Khoekhoe, and their resultant loss of freedom, Van der Kemp reports,

> I had a free conversation with the Commissioner on the state of the [Khoekhoe] nation, and the present calamities, and gave as my opinion that the [Khoekhoe] should be *perfectly free*, upon *an equal footing in every respect with the Colonists*, and by no sort of compulsion brought under a necessity to enter their service, but have a piece of ground given to them by Government as their own (Van der Kemp 1801d:494; e.a.).

Following on his engagement of government on acquiring a 'spot' for the Khoekhoe and his continued exertions to secure a 'piece of ground' for them, this argument could only be made and be affective, if it was accompanied by the assertion that the Khoekhoe should not only then be equally 'free', but would also function as equal to the colonists, e.g. as British subjects and citizens, and contribute to the welfare of the colony as free citizens and not as labour force available to either government or settler. Freedom goes hand in hand with the free and independent cultivation of the

land[7].

This comes more to the fore in both Van der Kemp's (and Lichtenstein's) views, that it is imperative that the Khoekhoe contribute to the wellbeing of the country. So, Van der Kemp strings together land-owning, conversion and piety (that includes instruction), happiness and usefulness. Hence, the inner economy of piety must be related not only to instruction but also to freedom and the economic and political contributions to the country. This is present in Van der Kemp's point that the '*temporal happiness* and *usefulness* of this Society would have significance with regard to the 'country at large'. The Khoekhoe were also to be '*employed in different useful occupations*, for the cultivation of their *rational faculties* or *exercise of the body*' to take care of themselves – 'as means of subsistence' – but also, by being so employed and cultivated, promote 'the well-fare of this society and the colony at large'. In his 'Recommendations', Van der Kemp mentioned the 'occupations' of 'agriculture and farming, the management of cattle, or mechanical arts, and little manufactories, e.g. soap-boiling, candle-making, spinning of thread, manufacturing of paper, tanning, potting, brickmaking, turnery, &c.' This would not materialise in his lifetime but would be taken further by Philip (cf. below). Even so, in terms of late eighteen century discourse and relating it to property, Wilson says:

> Property is the right or lawful power, which a person has to a thing. Of this right there are three different degrees. The lowest degree of this right is a right merely to possess a thing. The next degree of this right is a right to possess and to use a thing. The next and highest

[7] The same assumptions underlie his celebrations of the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and his advocacy of the abolition of slavery. In order to get some sense of the prevalence of slavery at the Cape fifteen years after its abolition, Bird's (1823: 69) study of 1820 reports 34 329 slaves in the districts of Cape Town, Simon's Town, Stellenbosch, Tulbagh, Zwellendam, George, Uitenhage and Graaf Reinet. The dire situation in which the colony was around this time – seven to ten years after Van der Kemp's death – can also be gleaned from Philip's (I.1828:201) report that even Bethelsdorp was 'virtually converted into a slave lodge' for both government and farmers when he and Campbell visited it the first time in 1819.

> degree of this right is a right to possess, to use, and to dispose of a thing (Wilson 1774 - 1798 'On the History of Property').

In Van der Kemp's reasoning the Khoekhoe would find a piece of land to cultivate at Bethelsdorp but also develop their own trades. They would in terms of Wilson's hierarchy be able to both possess and use their property, even though still unable to possess it in such a way as to dispose of it in terms of their own free will. Yet, in his general observation towards the end of his treatise, he relates property to usefulness.

> *Man is intended for action. Useful and skilful industry is the soul of an active life*. But industry should have her just reward. That reward is property; for of useful and active industry, property is the natural result.
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> …
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> *Exclusive property* multiplies the productions of the earth, and the means of subsistence. Who would cultivate the soil, and sow the grain, if he had no peculiar interest in the harvest? Who would rear and tend flocks and herds, if they were to be taken from him by the first person who should come to demand them?
>
> The conveniencies of life depend much on an exclusive property. The full effects of industry cannot be obtained without *distinct professions and the division of labour*. But labour cannot be divided, nor can distinct professions be pursued, *unless the productions of one profession and of one kind of labour can be exchanged for those of another*. This exchange implies a separate property in those who make it.
>
> …
>
> For these reasons, the establishment of exclusive property may justly be considered as essential to the interests of *civilized society*. With regard to land, in particular, a separate and exclusive property in it is a principal source of attachment to the country, in which one resides. *A person becomes very unwilling to relinquish those well known fields of his own; which it has been the great object of his industry, and, perhaps, of his pride, to cultivate and adorn* (e.a.)

We find here Wilson's exposition of usefulness, how it relates to landed property, as well as the division of labour and the different professions, and how these impacted on a 'civilised society'. In a similar register, these also relate to the discursive strand of not only happiness of the individual flourishing person in terms of the 'inner economy' of the 'proper relationship between reason and passion' but also 'social utility' (cf. Potkay 2000:76,45). In Ciceronian Stoic terms, passion is 'moderated' for the greater and common good (Davidson 2002:114). This would match Van der Kemp's suggestion that the Khoekhoe should serve the common good, but equally, that the colonists contribute to the common good by including the optimal functioning of the mission institution – for them to not merely use it as a reserve from which seasonal labour could be recruited. The push of government as well as the settler farmers, however, was not self-subsistence but to retain the Khoekhoe as 'free' labour. This was one of the main dubious reasons why a very arid and dry place was given to the missions in the first place – to ensure that it was virtually impossible to deliver on the promises of raising an independent self-subsistent establishment.

These assumptions, expectations and judgments by Van der Kemp and Lichtenstein have proven to be short-sighted and deficient. The main hiatus lay in the nearly one hundred and fifty years of Dutch colonisation that the Khoekhoe had been subjected to at that point (cf. above), but also in the limitations of Enlightenment rationality itself.

Firstly, here at the beginnings of mission, both Van der Kemp and Lichtenstein's perspectives were too aloof of empirical environmental reality, the political effects of such concerns and how the African body politic differed from the socio-historical -political and -economic dynamics back in Britain and Scotland, and in Wilson's contributions to this general discourse, the realities in the United States. Whereas there was a history of at least a hundred years or more of the cultivation of industry and education, the Khoekhoe suffered more than a hundred and fifty years of continuous suppression and loss of land. Yet, as a very well read scholar and author of his time, Van der Kemp shared the common evangelical and secular humanist criticisms of colonisation of his time. He saw his founding of the mission station as an intervention not only in the eternal salvation of the Khoekhoe but also the temporal. The mission would not only provide the Khoekhoe with an opportunity to be educated but also a piece of land they could call their own, and so escape government and settler exploitation of

their 'free' labour. They could then become useful in the 'mechanical arts' and be creators of their own destiny in a self-subsistent manner[8]. After a hundred and fifty years of colonial destruction of Khoekhoe culture and confiscation of land, with no political and economic conditions comparable to those that gave rise to enlightenment development in Europe, these hopes by Van der Kemp, however, proved ill-founded and socio-historically fallacious.

Secondly, the decontextualised optimism related to the articulation of religion with the temporal welfare of people showed itself to be equally erroneous. Ross (1986:96f) for instance comments on this issue saying, that 'Enlightenment' and 'evangelicalism' was 'not necessarily opposed', and that 'they blend in the thought of many Scottish evangelicals of the first decades of the nineteenth century'. Whether due to the pietist evangelising tradition within which Van der Kemp functioned[9], or his romantic

[8] Van der Kemp's intervention on behalf of the Khoekhoe was a very explicit and conscious intervention in the most abhorrent colonisng conditions, as is evident. Yet this formed part of a larger more encompassing eighteenth century framework of the general development of the ordinary people. Meek (1977) reports on the developmental stages of people for instance, e.g. moving from hunting and gathering, through pastoral and agricultural stages to the final stage of commercialisation. Due to Van der Kemp's intervention, the Khoekhoe would be able to not only come by their own land again, but also be able to engage in the natural developmental progress into engaging of the mechanical arts and commercialisation as others were able to do – to become 'journeymen' and in time be 'enabled to elevate [themselves] above the class of journeymen [to that of] a master, and proprietor of [an] own business' (see point 7 in Van der Kemp's 'Recommendations').

[9] Granted that Van der Kemp only had his conversion experience in June 1791 – about a decade after his studies in Edinburgh (August 1780 – July 11 1782) – this experience connected to the profound influence Edinburgh's scholarly environment exerted on his own enlightenment pursuits, at the height of the Scottish Enlightenment (without however succeeding in stopping his [philosophical] faith in the existence of God). He shared this same optimistic and romantic evangelicalism with the Moravians and the LMS's Scottish missionaries who would follow later in the nineteenth century.

Enlightenment optimism in terms of which he believed that conversion to Christianity would by default also bring people into the age of enlightenment and the age of civilization, science and industry, he did not succeed and the discourse as well as the institution of the time – the mission station – proved insufficient for attaining the desired outcomes.

This state of affairs continued after Van der Kemp's death and was much worse when Philip arrived. In his labour we see another phase in which the missions engaged this complex matter head-on, but again, and despite some success – the British Government's promulgation of Ordinance 50 (1828), and the abolition of slavery in 1838 – they were destined to fail. In the longer term, after Philips' death, the next hurdle in the pathway to the cultivation of equality, would arise with the new economic developments in South Africa after the discovery of diamonds and later in the century, gold.

2 Anti-colonial Mission

One of Van der Kemp's most significant successors, Reverend John Philip tried his utmost to rectify this state of affairs. The main aim of his two volume work was to be an intervention in the 'reciprocity of injuries' that characterised colonisation the world over, but also the development of Bethelsdorp and its inhabitants. Due to their close ties, this formed part of the anti-slave trade and the abolition of slavery movements. These were general discursive threads and part of both secular and evangelical humanism.

Anti-Colonial Critique

Philip's starting point is his criticism of colonisation. His conscious criticism of the practices of colonialism is already evident from his head-quote of Dr. Johnson that launches both volumes of his book[10]. It reads:

> What mankind has lost and gained by European conquests, it would be long to compare, and very *difficult to estimate.* Much *knowledge*

[10] I could not trace the actual reference, but Dr. Johnson (1709 - 1784) is most certainly the famed Samuel Johnson who made such a significant contribution to formalising the English language and to English literature criticism in the eighteenth century.

> has been acquired, and much *cruelty* committed: the *belief of religion has been very little propagated*, and *its laws have been outrageously and enormously violated*. The Europeans have scarcely visited any coast, but to *gratify avarice* and *extend corruption*; to *arrogate dominion without right*, and *practice cruelty without incentive*. Happy had it then been for the oppressed, if the designs of the original invader had slept in his bosom; and, surely, more happy for the oppressors! But there is reason to hope, that *out of much evil, good may be sometimes produced*, and that *the light of the gospel will, at last, illuminate* the sands of Africa and the deserts of America; though its progress cannot but be slow, when *it is so much obstructed by the lives of men calling themselves Christians*. Dr. Johnson (e.a.) (Philip I.[1828] 1969:xxxvi).

In his recognition of the cruelties of colonialism, Johnson concedes that much 'knowledge' has been gathered. However, colonialism's possible advantages to humankind – 'what mankind has lost and gained by European conquests' – is 'difficult to estimate'. Significantly, Johnson pits 'religion' over and against colonialism. Whereas colonialism has restricted the propagation of religion, has outrageously violated the 'laws' of religion, gratified avarice and extended corruption in the process of arrogating 'dominion without right' and the practicing of 'cruelty without incentive', the propagation of religion may yet prove different. Despite the obstruction of 'men calling themselves Christians', the 'light of the gospel' may yet 'illuminate' the peoples of Africa and America.

Aberrational Representation

By the 1820s the critique of colonialism has become much more vociferous than Van der Kemp's two decades earlier. In South Africa, it was especially the early eighteenth century evangelical humanitarian tradition that represented the anti-colonial opposition[11]. For Philip, the main dynamics of

[11] Cf. Elbourne (2002:25-70) for a general and concise overview, Marais (1927:11 – 24 – 'The Opponents of Colonisation') and Keegan (1996:75ff) for specifics, and Isichei (1995:224) and Elbourne (2002:71ff) for indigenous views.

colonisation were to be pried open between traveller representations and the critique of actual colonising dynamics and experiences of the body politic of the indigenous people(s).

On the one hand, his works call attention to the biased nature of the reports of 'travellers' and 'adventurers' in the colonies. He ascribes this to their 'prejudices or their interests'. These generally comprise of '[m]eagre narratives, defective or filled up with conjectures, seemingly adopted merely to surprise or amuse' and as such may be ignored. However, due to the fact that they often include stereotypes of indigenous people, he calls on 'writers' to 'search into the origin and grounds of … representations with the utmost care and impartiality'. The general realities of colonisation are not as innocent as it appears. For example, in order to 'justify' 'the most oppressive and cruel treatment' of the indigenous populations, colonising 'powerful strangers' represented the inhabitants as 'barbarous tribes'. He continues stating:

> We have examples where it has been held a sufficient reason for depriving a people of their lands and grazing grounds, that they had no houses or cultivated lands; and when thus reduced to want, they are speedily denounced and hunted down as robbers, or rather as beasts of prey. The connexion between the new and old inhabitants in such circumstances becomes nothing more than a *reciprocity of injuries*, and the growing colony presents on its borders an unbroken line of *crimes and blood*. Such is the picture of almost every new settlement in an uncivilized country; and the result has almost uniformly been either the extirpation of the original inhabitants, or their degradation to the condition of slaves or bondmen (Philip I.1828:2; e.a.).

The aberrational representation here results from firstly denying that the indigenous people do indeed occupy houses and cultivated land. Once collectively communicated and asserted, it becomes a misleading self-delusional yet dangerous fiction which is then used to actively displace people from their 'lands and grazing grounds'. The third step is to then 'denounce' all such displaced people who are destitute and without food and shelter, and even hunt them down as 'robbers' if not 'beasts of prey'. Many,

however end up as 'slaves or bondmen'[12].

On the other hand, Philip aims at setting the record straight. One of his main bones of contention is with Lichtenstein's representation of Van der Kemp and Bethelsdorp. Philip (I.1828:93ff) goes into much detail to quell Lichtenstein's 'prejudices and false representations' and 'inaccuracies'[13]. Grouping him together with all the other 'travellers and adventurers' he not only sets him aright, but also muses:

> * It is impossible to look at the false reports and the inaccuracies of many travelers, and not sympathize with the continental philosopher, who, provoked by the ignorance and false statements which abound in books of travels, brought the following charge against writers of this description in general:- 'One may lay down as a maxim, that out of one hundred there are sixty who are liars, not through interest, but ignorance; thirty through interest, or the pleasure of imposing on the public; and about ten who are honest, and aim at truth'.
>
> From what has been stated, the reader will be able to judge for himself, what importance he ought to attach to the reports and opinions of Dr. Lichtenstein, connected with the subject of missions; and the following passage may be taken as a specimen of his accuracy … (Philip I.1828:95).

If the colonisers, travel writers and adventurers constitute one group of protagonists he engages critically, then, more particularly, his centre of attention to the contrary, is the original inhabitants of South Africa – a study of their 'civil, moral, and religious condition' as stated in the subtitle of the works. To capture this, the 'heart' of the study, he says:

> To the melancholy list of instances by which this view is supported

[12] The significance of this statement is that this practice, as well as slavery were still in force at the time. Slavery would only end a decade later.

[13] See the section he explicitly labelled, 'Misrepresentations of Vanderkemp's character'. About Lichtenstein he says: 'It is painful to see a man like Dr. Lichtenstein, with some pretensions to science and literature, adopting all the vulgar prejudices and false representations of the colonists' (Philip I.1828:97).

> [the general condition of the 'reciprocity of injuries' and 'crimes of blood' in the colonies], I am about to add that of the Aborigines of Southern Africa [the Khoekhoe]; – a people that in the course of less than a century were *violently dispossessed of every portion of their territory*[14], *deprived of every means of improving their condition as individuals*, and, *under various pretexts, fixed by law in a state of hopeless bondage in the land of their forefathers*. To give a faithful sketch of their past sufferings, and of their present condition, is my chief object. I shall, in every instance, lay my authority before the reader (Philip I.1828:2; e.a.).

If aberrational and misleading representations were used to further their own cause, the irregular continues not only in violent dispossessions but that the people lose '*every* portion of their territory', and are deprived of '*every* means of improving their condition'. (This, the travellers and adventurers do not report on.) Even more devious, is the fact that the colonisers under various pretexts fix in law legislation which are presumable to help indigenous peoples while ultimately serving their own interests. Philip challenged government on these issues but from his own space.

Civil Rights vis-à-vis Politics

Apart from his extensive overview of the history of colonisation, its various impacts on the indigenous population, and numerous stories of ill-treatment of the Khoekhoe and San peoples, Philip's own major objective with his work was an intervention in this state of affairs. His two volume book formed part of a project similar but more developed than Van der Kemp's[15] - to in Ross's (1986:77) words,

> persuade the British public that the Imperial government had to reform its administration of the Cape Colony, if that Colony was to

[14] Cf. pp. 358f above.

[15] It is for this reason – as building further on Van der Kemp's legacy, and apart from the negative rumours that colonists circulated about Van der Kemp – that Philip launched such a strong argument for the clearing of the name of the founder of missions in South Africa vis-à-vis Lichtenstein's.

> be governed according to British traditions of justice[16].

Harbouring an organic view of society he applied enlightenment assumptions about individual advancement in Britain to South Africa. Most crucially, he worked with a notion of 'civil rights' divorced from 'politics' – similar to other sectional diversification of disciplines (cf. Foucault 1982; Smit 2001) which often meant 'factional fighting over patronage' (Ross 1986:79) but also, as is clear from the quotation below, to set up alternative 'forms' of government, or even systems critical of government.

> No question can be more simple and less incumbered (sic.) with difficulties than the one before us. We ask for nothing unreasonable, nothing illegal, nothing new. *We have nothing to say to politics.* The *question under discussion is a mere question of civil rights*. We have advanced no suggestions about the new charter of justice. We are the advocates of no particular form of civil government for the colony. We have offered no particular directions about the machinery of government desirable in such a country. We have recommended no checks but such as are necessary to prevent one class of British subjects from oppressing and destroying another. *In what we propose we suspend no weight upon the wheels of government.* We ask nothing for the poor natives more than this, *that they should have the protection the law affords to the colonists.* There is nothing surely in these claims, against which the shadow of an objection can be urged (Philip I.1828:xxvf; e.a.).

Crucially, however, Philip's enumeration of the civil rights for the Khoekhoe would mean nothing less than that they would be fully treated as

[16] There is ample evidence to this effect, not least Philip's favourable evaluation of the Romans and Dutch in their extension of empire while not repressing inhabitants and the British's policies and conduct to the contrary. 'It is by acting upon such principles as these, that the Romans extended, and so long preserved, their empire; and it is by acting upon similar principles, that England will preserve her own greatness, and hand down her fame to future ages' (cf. Philip I.1828:356 - 359). Cf. also Philip's criticisms in other parts of his work, e.g. (I.1828:394f).

'British subjects' and citizens[17]. He continues,

> Independent of printed statutes, there are certain rights which human beings possess, and of which they cannot be deprived but by manifest injustice. The wanderer in the desert has a *right to his life*, to his *liberty*, his *wife*, his *children*, and his *property*. The [Khoekhoe] has a *right to a fair price for his labour*; to an e*xemption from cruelty and oppression*; to *choose the place of his abode*, and to *enjoy the society of his children*; and no one can deprive him of those rights without violating the laws of nature and of nations. If the perpetration of such outrages against the laws of nature and of nations is a crime, that crime is greatly aggravated where it is committed against the *lex loci*, against the written law of the land. The [Khoekhoe], in addition to the unalienable rights conferred upon them by their Creator, have prescriptive rights in their favour; they are regarded by the British government as a free people; and the colonial law says, that they are to be treated in their persons, in their properties, and in their possessions, the same as other free people (Philip I.1828:xxvif; e.a.).

(Petit-)Bourgeois Labour

Since our focus is the production of 'inequality' we also need to look at Philip's intervention in terms of the material development of the Khoekhoe, and more broadly speaking, the LMS missions in southern Africa. Crucial is his statement about six to seven years after he arrived in South Africa with John Campbell.

> Dr. Vanderkemp remarks, that the neighbor of Bethelsdorp was covered with the aloe of commerce but that he despaired of seeing the day when the [Khoekhoe] be induced, by any temporal advantage, to take the trouble to drain and collect the inspissated

[17] It needs to be remembered that Van der Kemp already called for the Khoekhoe to be recognized as British subjects or citizens, 'perfectly free, upon an equal footing in every respect with the Colonists' (cf. p. 366 above).

> juice. I had often remarked the indifference with which the [Khoekhoe] regarded money (Philip I.1928:204).

Closely related to the fact that they did not engage in commerce, was Philip's idea to introduce shops and therefore consumerism to the missions.

> We had no retail shops at our institutions, and the [Khoekhoe] had from five to fifteen or sixteen miles to travel, before they could dispose of any trifle they might possess. Reflecting on this subject, it occurred to me that the sight of a shop at each of the institutions might operate as a stimulus to industry. The plan of opening a shop, in connexion with the society, appeared to me accompanied with insuperable difficulties. A business of this nature would have required the whole attention of a man of commercial habits, and we had no individual to spare for such an occupation, to whom it could be entrusted (Philip I.1928:204f).

After soliciting the collaboration of some 'merchants' and their establishing some shops at the few missions at the time, Philip's judgement is: 'The experiment succeeded'. The reason for this evaluation is captured in his portrayal of the progress in terms of 'sight' – enlightenment vision included the role vision played in the generating of consumerism.

> The sight of the goods in their windows and in their shop produced the effect anticipated; the desire of possessing the articles for use and comfort by which they were constantly tempted, acquired additional strength on every fresh renewal of stimulus. Money instantly rose in estimation among them; and the women and the children, finding that they could obtain what they desired by collecting the juice of the aloe, were, in a short time, seen early and late, engaged in this occupation, or in carrying the produce of their labour to the merchant's shop, to exchange it for clothing and such other articles as might suit their taste or necessities (Philip I.1928:205f).

Anticipating some critique from those zealous for mission, *viz*. that the object of mission is not commerce but the conversion of people and that funds donated for mission should not be used for commerce, Philip points to

the fact that the people's 'habits' 'have been eminently improved' by transforming them into consumers – the 'addition of shops' to the mission institutions – and that it has not transferred into 'additional expense or risk to the society'. Furthermore, his argument is that the shop-owners or merchants do in fact benefit the society, since they actively participate in schooling – most probably in arithmetic (cf. Philip I.1928:205f).

This success was followed by apprenticing Khoekhoe to colonists to learn some trades – blacksmiths, masons and carpenters. Further 'improvements' are also evident. Comparing Bethelsdorp in 1825 with what it was in 1723, he observes that they are 'advancing with a steady and accelerated pace', that their 'substantial, clean, and commodious houses' reveal a 'degree of comfort possessed by few of the frontier boors' and in comparison with the 1820 settlers, 'far surpassing the great body of the English settlers'. They are also mostly clothed in 'British manufactures'. Reflecting on past descriptions of Bethelsdorp – that visitors represented it as the 'approbrium of missions' – he observes that the inhabitants are not only 'in possession of fifty wagons', but that Bethelsdorp is now 'a thriving and rapidly-improving village'.

> Instead of the indifference to each other's sufferings, and the exclusive selfishness generated by the oppressions they groaned under, and the vices which follow such a state of things, their conduct to each other is now marked with humanity and Christian affection, of which a beautiful line of almshouses, (the only thing of the kind in the colony,) and their contributions to support their poor, furnish striking examples (Philip I.1928:222).

These are all signs of self-subsistence and the acceptance of rights for their own well-being. They have also themselves built a 'spacious school-room, valued at five-thousand rix-dollars' at their own expense, as well as a 'church of larger dimensions'. The 'youth are taught to read, both in the English and Dutch languages, and many of them also instructed in writing and arithmetic' in the school-room.

Furthermore, he points out that Bethelsdorp also now possesses the

> … best blacksmith's shop on the frontier, or, indeed, in the colony. Other trades, especially those of the mason, thatcher, sawyer, &c.,

> are successfully followed by many inhabitants of Bethelsdorp. The inhabitants have, besides, within the last two or three years, raised seven thousand rix-dollars, by gratuitous contributions from their hard-earned savings, to pay for a valuable farm, purchased in aid of the very inadequate resources of Bethelsdorp (Philip I.1928:222f).

It was due to the self-advancement and the commerce at Bethelsdorp, that Philip could further narrate how government started to use the [Khoekhoe] as contractors for the carting of 'military stores' from Algoa Bay to Graham's Town in 1822. They made use of thirty wagons. Significant is that they 'created a net saving to the government in the first six months of 11,175 rix-dollars, 5 skillings, and 4 stivers'. These savings obviously came about by government using Khoekhoe labour and not the settler transporters, who would have charged more. From this event he concludes that whereas the Bethelsdorp Khoekhoe were 'formerly burdensome' to the colonial government in the time of Van der Kemp, they have now progressed to where they are 'in the habit of paying, in direct taxes, between two and three thousand rix-dollars'. Apart from having become tax payers – which signals the participation of citizens in infrastructural development – Philip (I.1928:221) also announces with some satisfaction, that they have also now become 'consumers of British goods to the amount of twenty thousand rix-dollars per annum'. Significantly, the Khoekhoe did not only start to function as citizens who fulfill their obligations to the common good, but also became consumers, and that of 'British manufactures'.

Here we have a few glimpses of the economics related to the introduction of inhabitants of the missions to commerce, civil society and self advancement. In more ways than one, Philip's report – which may be idealistic to some degree – is not only a crowning achievement of his own labours but also a realisation of Van der Kemp's initial promises.

In addition to the two critical perspectives on missions under Van der Kemp above (cf. pp. 369 and 370), a *third* can now be formulated. If Van der Kemp expected too much of his mission – that experiences of development in England could be transplanted uncritically into South Africa – and was blinded by his own enlightenment assumptions, then Philip's positioning of himself against government in an anti-colonial stance, his position proved equally detrimental to the Khoekhoe. It is true that he adhered to government requirements, and even criticised if for its devious

deployment of the law against the Khoekhoe. It is also true that some government interventions followed on missionary agitation. During Van der Kemp's life, Janssens put restrictions on Van der Kemp, forbidding him to go to the Xhosa after having established Bethelsdorp – they did however sent visitors to him. Despite such limitations, he continued to critique government and the settler farmers. One outcome was the publishing of Caledon's 'Colonial Proclamation' of 1809 – positively appreciated by W. Wilberforce Bird (1823:7). Yet, Philip critically remarks:

> A proclamation … was published by Lord Caledon shortly after the visit of Colonel Collins to Bethelsdorp, with the most benevolent intentions on the part of his lordship; but the provisions of this enactment were so framed by those by whom it was constructed, that what his lordship intended for the relief of the oppressed [Khoekhoe], was practically employed by the local authorities of the country districts to increase their burdens (Philip I.1828:127).

Later, he devotes a whole chapter to this issue (Philip I.1828:142ff) and, advises that contrary to expectations '... great perspicacity' be required to detect '... the lurking mischief which exists in this proclamation, under the ambiguous phrases by which it is concealed' (Philip I.1828:143ff). This 'mischief' is present in that all the regulations applicable to the Khoekhoe, benefit colonists first and foremost and not the Khoekhoe – because their '*inboekelingskap*' was nothing but a 'compulsory serfdom' of '*direct* forced labour' (Terreblanche 2005:11). Philip raises the same matter on Cradock's Proclamation of 1812 (cf. Philip II.1828:378 - 380), arguing,

> that it was the design of the colonial government that the [Khoekhoe] should not be placed in situations where they could provide effectually for themselves, or become anything better than servants to the colonists (Philip I.1828:190).

The kind of pressure the government exerted on the Khoekhoe, is also evident from the letters of Read with regard to the exorbitant taxes government expected the Khoekhoe at Bethelsdorp to pay – which if they could, they would only be able to earn in the inhuman conditions of the settler farms in any case (cf. Philip I.1828:191ff). Yet, because Philip was

part of the colonising mission, even his protests and campaigning would in final analysis serve British interest despite his vociferous campaigning for Khoekhoe rights and self-subsistence (cf. further below).

3 Judging Mission

It could be argued that Van der Kemp's legacy certainly includes his existential identification with the plight of the Khoekhoe, his founding of Bethelsdorp, and the establishing of an educational system for the indigenous population. Philip again succeeded in regenerating this early ideal with the added significance of introducing shops at the missions, artisan training, his success in pressing for the British Government's promulgation of Ordinance 50 (1828), and ultimately, his lobbying for the abolition of slavery. Apart from Lichtenstein's published and widely circulated negative evaluation of Van der Kemp and Philip's setting him aright fifteen years later, the last two hundred years of the evaluation of the century of missions – by numerous missionaries themselves as well as a multitude of apologists and critics in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – the two models above also brought with them their own evaluative frameworks.

Firstly, Van der Kemp obviously saw himself as fulfilling the missionary call to evangelise 'heathen'. He linked this call and his founding of a mission station to the securing of land for the Khoekhoe, and his work toward their 'happiness' and 'usefulness'. I have indicated that his project was substantially influenced by some strands of eighteenth century enlightenment discourse. Despite his own missionary concerns, he nevertheless had a holistic intervention on behalf of the Khoekhoe in mind. Yet, it also became clear that this discourse itself brought along its own limitations but also opposition from his contemporaries.

Over and above his achievements Van der Kemp critically engaged both the government of the time and the frontier farmers. Both conspired together to various degrees and posed a major hurdle to his mission. Whereas the Xhosa was at that time still independent and beyond the frontier – and regarded by Van der Kemp as an independent nation with its own identity as his text, 'Religion, Customs, Population, Government, Language and History' ([1800]) shows – the same is not true for the Khoekhoe. He had to challenge both government and frontier farmers on a continuous basis to wrench some semblance of freedom for the Khoekhoe. He then also refer to

them at least once as a 'free nation' – who should be allowed to choose of their own accord to be instructed in 'reading and writing' (Van der Kemp II. 1803:94) – and also attempted to have them recognised as British subjects and citizens. He also continued to challenge government with regard to its employment of the Khoekhoe as soldiers and opposed its encouragement of settlers to employ them as farm labour (cf. Van der Kemp II.1804:241). Van der Kemp is also most vociferous in his condemning of the frontier farmers – an 'ill-natured people' – often referring to their 'tyranny', 'horrid practices', 'horrid deeds of oppression, murder, &c', and manhandling of their hired workforce and other forms of exploitation (cf. Van der Kemp II.1803:94; 1803:161,158f). In a context where white colonists were in general referred to as 'Christians', Van der Kemp judged them to not measure up to Christian behaviour and therefore on a number of occasions, refer to them as 'nominal christians' – later followed by Philip – or '*Christians* (if they may be so called)', 'these inhuman wretches, who call themselves christians', 'the unchristian inhabitants of this country' and even 'barbarous inhabitants' (Van der Kemp II.1804:150, 241). Where racial separation came into play with regard to worship, he profoundly propagated that 'divine worship … should be open to every one without distinction' and that he would 'never preach in a church, from which our … congregation should be excluded' (Van der Kemp I.1801b:483). As for the equality of all human beings, and providing the rationale for this view, Van der Kemp found it in his belief in the commonly shared sin of all humanity – their 'equal misery' – due to their being children of Adam and marked by the 'sin' of the 'fall' (Van der Kemp 1799:376; cf. also Smit 2004).

Van der Kemp's mission cannot therefore be judged unless one takes into consideration the discourse he formed part of – together with its limitations – as well as his critical engagements of his contemporaries and the discursive strands they represented in the broader epoch of the time. (This, latter complex of issues is not addressed in this article.)

Secondly, Philip's views of himself and the value systems in terms of which he judged his own actions formed part of the evangelical value system that produced him back in Scotland (cf. Ross 1986). Yet his career in England and South Africa made him important friends in the humanitarian movement and had an important impact not only on mission but also on the development and the advancement of the indigenous people(s). Telling, are his anti-colonial critique, his criticism of the devious representations found

in traveller and adventurer literature, his positioning of himself within his own understanding of civil society of the time – vis-à-vis 'politics' – and his furthering of the (petit-)bourgeois lifestyle of the Khoekhoe.

In addition to the discursive strands overviewed above, we also find a brief summary right at the outset of his two volume book, which provides an indication of the contours of his own understanding of the missionary project. Here he puts forward his favourable evaluation of missionaries who 'beyond the borders of the colony', are 'everywhere scattering the seeds of civilization, social order, and happiness' (Philip I1828:ix) vis-à-vis his critique of the travellers and government officials. In this he doubtlessly formed part of the earlier modernising discourse shared by Van der Kemp, in which 'civilisation', and 'happiness' went hand in hand with 'evangelisation'. Absent in Van der Kemp, and obviously part of the further developments of early nineteenth century modernising discourse, the production of 'social order' has by the late 1820s become a constituent part of this programme[18]. Another important further development if compared to Van der Kemp, is Philip's active and unashamed propagation of British ascendancy and domination. He for instance boasts that 'our missionaries …[are] by the most unexceptionable means, extending British interests, British influence, and the British empire' (Philip I.1828:ix). This also provided the context for his anti-slavery lobbying and his successful securing of the promulgation of Ordinance 50 by the British Government. Despite Philip's misgivings, it at least did away with the most restrictive elements of the 'Caledon Code' (cf. Lapping 1986:36f; Crais 1992: 128ff; and Giliomee 2003:83)[19]. Significantly, Padraig O'Malley's website[20] dryly avers that the

[18] This is one conceptual instance indicating that the orders of modern 'man' – studied by Foucault (1982) in terms of the disciplines of language, natural history and wealth – have started to impact on the missions by this time.

[19] For a list of laws that fostered underdevelopment in South Africa legislation, see 1) 'Racial Legislation' prior to apartheid, for the period 1806 - 1947 see http://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv01538/04lv01646.htm); and 2) for Apartheid Legislation 1948 – 1990, http://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv01538/04lv01828/05lv01829/06lv01830.htm.

[20] See http://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv01538/04lv01646/05lv01649.htm.)

repeal of this legislation was not for altruistic reasons, but to provide the British settlers access to indigenous labour – 'the incoming British settlers, who were not allowed to buy slaves, could not find any free-moving wage-labour due to the pass laws' and the Caledon Proclamation. By abolishing the pass laws, the Khoekhoe could move around more freely and so become available as 'free' labour for British settler farmers. It seems that Philip supported this move, because closely related were his beliefs in the positive effects of missions – to not only break down prejudices against British colonisation, but also to increase the indigenous converts' 'dependence upon the colony … [by introducing] artificial wants'. In this process,

> confidence [in the colony] is restored; intercourse with the colony is established; industry, trade, and agriculture spring up; and every genuine convert … becomes the ally and friend of the colonial government' (Philip I.1828:x).

In the wake of British, especially Scottish experiences of self-advancement, since the 1780s and Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* ([1776] [1904] 2003), such universalising optimism is understandable. Yet, as many critics of colonialism and colonial missions have pointed out, it was ill-founded in so far as it did not (or did not want to) recognise the detrimental effects British capital's inbuilt racism, superiority (including 'indirect rule') and the twin product of its labour exploitation, would generate (cf. Terreblanche 2005:240,248,252,254). Since Philip however, was a staunch supporter of colonisation he must ultimately be evaluated against the background of its excesses. The missions with people like Van der Kemp and Philip at the front nevertheless made very significant breakthroughs in their contributions to the abolition of the slave trade and ultimately slavery as such.

Conclusion

I started this article with a quotation from Section 9, Equality, of Chapter 2 of the Bill of Rights in the South African Constitution, 1996. The very significant aspect of this section is that it not only asserts the value of equality before the law, 'equal protection and benefit of the law', and all citizens' 'full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms' but also that

legal and other instruments may be developed and instituted to promote such equality – to 'protect or advance persons, or categories of persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination'. Since we have a history of unfair discrimination – both 'direct and indirect' – on the basis of 'race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth', this legacy is discontinued and the advancing of those previously discriminated against, promoted via measures of fair discrimination applicable to each of these areas. Yet, despite this epoch-making event, the fact that South Africa's inequality has been produced over more than three hundred and fifty years, I believe this need to be researched and its continuing determinations brought to the surface. Focused on Christian missions, this article was an attempt in this direction.

Finally, I titled the article 'The Dis-embodied Mind' and Religion', in order to capture the limits of Enlightenment rationality. In his *History of Bourgeois Perception* – and implicating both Cartesian rationalism and British empiricism – Lowe (1982:87) argues that the enlightenment's discursive constraints derive primarily from its 'materialist reduction of the body'[21].

In Van der Kemp's knowledge system, this manifests primarily in his lobbying for 'land' for the Khoekhoe without critically factoring out his own missionary interests in this same land; his interest in 'conversion', without recognising that Christian conversion is not of necessity required for material wellbeing; that the inner economy of 'happiness' does not need Christian piety as substantial ingredient; and that 'usefulness' in his discourse bleached the Khoekhoe's uses by the mission institutions for their own unacknowledged interests. For many students of Christian missions, they provided the only means for advancement towards equality for the indigenous population. Ultimately, though, they nonetheless formed part of the colonising epoch with all its often unacknowledged self-serving

[21] Lewis Gordon's critical view of the vested interests in modernist but even postmodern and postcolonial cultural 'representation' is a case in point. Even where the moral ideals of non-racism (color 'blindness'), non-sexism, and social and class equality are emphasised, such reductions of the black or female body papers over a major critical hiatus in our world of scholarly discourse and its 'legitimate embodiments of reason' (cf. Alcoff 2003:184).

incentives and practices[22].

Similar perspectives come from the discourse Philip formed part of more than a decade after Van der Kemp's death. Part of the evangelical humanism of his time, and an ardent anti-colonisation activist, Philip nevertheless represented a central and formidable component of the British colonising project. Even though he recognised, in Johnson's words, that humanity would find it difficult to ascertain what it has lost and what gained through colonialism, he failed to measure the ways in which his own project violated that which Johnson denounces; how his own representations – of Van der Kemp and Lichtenstein or the successes of his own mission – were subject to his criticism of the representations by travellers and adventurers; how his own civil rights agitation discounted his own discourse's actual political effects – both positive and negative; and how his push for Khoekhoe labour and consumerism, served his unashamedly support and propagation of British colonial export to the colonies and its interests[23].

In summary, Lowe (1982:87) points out that the 'materialist reduction of the body' in discourse – and here we should generalise – means that 'mind', and we may add the whole discursive formation with all its systems, institutions and agencies, gets 'trapped by the logic of identity and difference, never able to obtain on its own the necessary connection with matter'. Such critical awareness will hopefully help us to also engage our precarious specifically produced South Africa system of inequality and move beyond our own 'psycho-physical parallelisms', and even 'scepticism'.

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[22] This scenario has been claimed and propagated by numerous missionary protagonists and supporters. Yet, the critical voices have not been absent – cf. Cuthbertson (1987), Comaroff (1989), and Saayman (1991) for instance.

[23] For this problematic in west-European context, see Adorno and Horkheimer's chapter on 'The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception' in *Dialectic and Enlightenment* (1972).

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[24] I date this very significant text 1800 because it was during the latter half of 1799 (September 20 1799) that Van der Kemp met Ngqika for the first time. He then spent time here until he returned to Graaff Reinet in May 1801. I assume that he wrote the text in 1799 – 1800 and then sent it to London where it was published in 1801 as part of the first volume of the London Missionary Society Transactions.

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