

# Jonathan Edwards on the Cape of Good Hope

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## *Introduction*

In the Edwards corpus, four references surface to the *Khoina*, an indigenous population group that for centuries inhabited the regions north and east of the Cape of Good Hope. Edwards was familiar with the Cape of Good Hope and its native inhabitants, but he knew them by the name of *Hottentots*,<sup>1</sup> a title long established in European ethnography, history, and religious and general literature. Knowledge of the existence of the *Khoina* and reflection on their customs, ways of living, culture, personal appearance, language, beliefs and practices became popularized in a wide range of geographical, historical, and maritime atlases, as well as dictionaries and encyclopedias that contained articles concerning discoveries of and encounters with peoples of the world. An extensive variety of travel literature, dating back to the sixteenth-century Portuguese descriptions of the Cape of Good Hope, supplemented information on the New World.

Publishers established travel accounts, in particular, as a prevalent genre. These intended, in terms of a marketing strategy, to offer prompt and accurate reports of the western hemisphere and other parts of the world. Books of this kind, appearing in translations and increasingly published during the eighteenth century as *collections*, served the intellectual agenda in Europe and in the British American colonies. As sources of information that provided for historical, geographical, religious and philosophical speculation and reflection, they were enjoyed as enlightened or polite literature. Acquaintance with the remote and exotic region of the Cape of Good Hope was thus disclosed and shaped by literature that embossed the region and its inhabitants on Europeans' imaginations in fascinating depictions and entertaining observations, where the boundaries between fact and fiction often were often sacrificed.

These books circulated in New England and indeed formed part of the Edwards's book world. Hence his familiarity with the *Khoina* of the Cape of Good Hope. What did he know of the Cape *Khoina*? How did he employ information on the *Khoina* of the Cape of Good Hope in Africa? And, why? In answering these pivotal questions, this contribution first outlines the trajectory of references to *Khoina* in contemporary theological discourses, both in England and in colonial New England. These theological

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<sup>1</sup> I am well aware that this term is offensive because it is an expression of, and carries a connotation embedded in, unacceptable and oppressive racism. For the purposes of this article, I repeat the term only when it is used in primary sources.

debates were the *Sitz im Leben* in which the *Khoina* came to mind and were used. Edwards had a deep knowledge of these debates. Then follows a survey of Edwards's sources of information. The last part of the essay demarcates his *Khoina* references, prior to conclusions, in which I elucidate the theological and historical significance of Edwards' knowledge of the Cape of Good Hope.

### *Khoina Employed in Contemporary Theological Discourses*

Interpretation and incorporation of detailed and first-hand knowledge of other continents in eighteenth-century England and its colonies were not limited to circles of inquisitive and enlightened minds. Interested theologians did not hesitate to reflect on the existence and station of far-flung nations, including the *Khoina* people. In the New England theological discourses and controversies of the eighteenth century, the *Khoina* indeed emerged in references and remarks to serve different purposes. The intellectual status and level of civilization of the “*Hottentots*,” as representatives of a group of “heathen” people who still made a living outside the circle of enlightened and civilized Christian Europe, and who thus subsisted beyond the illuminating effects of the gospel, the Bible and the church, obviously raised questions, challenged theological assumptions, and provoked divergent views in clerical circles.

To illustrate the point, let us consider two of the most influential theological publications that played a key role in New England's theological debates. Isaac Watts (1674-1748), in his much appreciated, well-known, and in New England often cited *Essay on the Freedom of the Will in God and in Creatures*,<sup>2</sup> in dealing with the “Doctrine of Fatality” and thus with the effects of the “Train of Causes” embedded in the “Works of Providence, Redemption and Grace,” observed that “the *Americans* and the *Hottentots* could not have been formed otherwise than under such special Disadvantages; nor could *Great Britain* have had the Gospel withheld from it one Moment longer . . . for the Will of God was absolutely determined to do all this by its superior Fitness.”<sup>3</sup> Based on the prevailing general knowledge and impressions regarding Native Americans and the *Khoina* of southern Africa, Watts associated their condition or rank with “special Disadvantages,” though determined by the superior will of God. Their very existence and circumstances exemplify the theological point he made.

In Philip Skelton's (1707-1787) *Deism Revealed*,<sup>4</sup> the prevalent view of an intellectually handicapped *Khoina* is used as a school example to provide evidence that “knowledge bears an exact proportion to instruction.”<sup>5</sup> Skelton observed: “No country, that we know of,

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<sup>2</sup> Isaac Watts, *An Essay on the Freedom of the Will in God and in Creatures and on Various Subjects Connected therewith* (London: Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford-Arms, in Warwick Lane, 1732).

<sup>3</sup> Watts, *Freedom of the Will*, 85.

<sup>4</sup> Philip Skelton, *Deism Revealed. Or, the Attack on Christianity Candidly Revised in its real Merits, as they Stand in the Celebrated Writings of Lord Herbert, Lord Shaftesbury, Hobbes, Toland, Tindal, Collins, Mandeville, Dodwell, Woolston, Morgan, Chubb, and Others. The Second Edition. With Amendments. In two Volumes* (London: Printed for A. Millar, 1751).

<sup>5</sup> Skelton, *Deism Revealed*, 74.

ever became ingenious and learned, from barbarous and ignorant, merely of themselves. In all countries, we are acquainted with, knowledge bears an exact proportion to instruction. Why does the learned, and well-educated, reason better than the mere citizen? Why the citizen better than the boor? Why the *English* boor better than the *Spanish*? Why the *Spanish* better than the *Moorish*? Why the *Moorish* better than the *Negro*? And why does he reason more expertly than the *Hottentot*?"<sup>6</sup>

Skelton's frame of knowledge concerning the *Khoina* placed them last in the descending line of people that lacked instruction and education. They are not learned, and therefore are "barbarous and ignorant." However, he was not interested in the *Khoina* as such. The point of his main argument focused on the question of the capability of reason in respect to knowledge of God.

A few pages further on, Skelton refers to the *Khoina* again, this time as "the heathens, who never thought themselves obliged to be better than their gods; and accordingly did not only indulge their lusts and appetites out of principle, but ran into general customs of the most horrid and abominable nature, having nothing in their religion to restrain them. Fornication, was esteemed no sin among them; nor did they commit sodomy with half the shame or remorse that attend wenching among Christians."<sup>7</sup> He remarks that "they exposed such of their children, as they did not like, to be eaten by wild beasts; a cruelty practised at this day by the *Hottentots*, and some other *African* nations."<sup>8</sup> In this citation, Skelton, relying entirely on the travellers' accounts, depicts the *Khoina* as part of heathendom, in which religion did not, and could not prevent evil atrocities.

The references to and use of the *Khoina* of the Cape of Good Hope by Watts and Skelton provides evidence that this population group of Africa was assigned certain significance in contemporary theological debates. They were stereotyped, and not counted as human beings. Edwards, at the vanguard of the theological debate in colonial New England, was familiar with references to the *Khoina* and other "heathen" peoples utilized in these disputes and arguments. An indepth analysis of the function of *Khoina* and similar statements in this theological discourse would probably unfold an interesting and meaningful trajectory in the modern development of New England theology. Unlike England, the colonies offered frequent direct contact with people, such as Natives and Africans, from non-Christian backgrounds. This colonial context gave a sense of immediacy to the debate, which was lacking elsewhere. However, it is beyond our scope here to pursue this any further.

The immediate question is, How did Edwards' observations of the *Khoina* relate to these theological debates? Did he follow the trends, or did his references carry a distinct character? In the following paragraphs the attention thus shifts to Edwards' sources of information, followed by an analysis of his remarks on the *Khoina*.

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<sup>6</sup> Skelton, *Deism Revealed*, 74.

<sup>7</sup> Skelton, *Deism Revealed*, 80.

<sup>8</sup> Skelton, *Deism Revealed*, 80.

*Travel Literature within the Reach of Edwards*

The catalogues of books held by libraries well-known to Edwards, hosted a comprehensive collection of travel literature. The ensuing investigation limits itself to three libraries Edwards was accustomed with.

In 1741 the Hampshire Minister's fraternal acquired for their library the once sensational *New Voyage Round the World*,<sup>9</sup> described by William Dampier (1651-1715), and issued in 1697. Edwards was well aware of this transaction.<sup>10</sup> Dampier, after a stay of six weeks at the Cape in the early 1690's, offered *A Description of the Cape of Good Hope, its prospects, soundings, Table Mount, Harbour, sail, etc., large pomegranates and good wine*,<sup>11</sup> as well as *Of the natural inhabitants . . . the Hodmododisan or Hottentots. Their personage, garb, besmearing themselves, their clothing, houses, food, way of living and dancing at the full of the moon: compared in those respects with other negroes and Wild Indians*.<sup>12</sup> He arrived at the conclusion that the "Hottentots" are a very lazy sort of people, poor and miserable. Their religion, he observed, is "wholly unknown to me, for they have no Temple nor Idol, nor any place of worship that I did see or hear of."<sup>13</sup> In the theological debate that has been examined, the *Khoina*-references are consistently painted in negative terms and perceived associations. Theologians therefore seem to have taken advantage of the *Khoina*, only in so far as their standing is representative of lamentable ignorance.

The *Catalogue of the Library of Yale-College in New-Haven*,<sup>14</sup> "dispos'd under proper Heads," and published in 1743, also incorporated collections of travels and voyages.<sup>15</sup> Most noteworthy is "*A collection of Voyages and Travels, 6 V, Fo.*" This entry refers to *A Collection*

<sup>9</sup> William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World. Describing Particularly, the Isthmus of America, Several Coasts and Islands in the West Indies, the Isles of Cape Verd, the Passage by Terra del Fuego, the South Sea Coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico; the Isle of Guam, One of the Ladrones, Mindanao, and other Philippine and East-India Islands near Cambodia, China, Formosa, Luconia, Celebes, &c. New Holland, Sumatra, Nicobar Isles; the Cape of Good Hope, and Santa Hellena. Their Soil, Rivers, Harbours, Plants, Fruits, Animals, and Inhabitants. Their Customs, Religion, Government, Trade, &c. Illustrated with Particular Maps and Draughts* (London: Printed for James Knapton, at the Crown in St Pauls Church-Yard, MDCXCVII [1697]). This was supplemented with a second volume: *Voyages and Descriptions Vol II. On Three Parts. 1. A Supplement of the Voyage Round the World, Describing the Countreys of Tonquin, Achin, Malacca, etc., their Product, Inhabitants, Manners, Trade, Policy, etc. 2. Two Voyages to Campeachy; with a Description of the Coasts, Product, Inhabitants, Logwood-cutting, Trade, etc., of Fucatan, Campeachy, New-Spain, etc. 3. A Discourse of Trade-Winds, Breezes, Storms, Seasons of the Year, Tides and Currents of the Torrid Zone throughout the World: With an Account of Natal in Africk, its Product, Negro's, etc. By Captain William Dampier. Illustrated with Particular Maps and Draughts. To which is Added, a General Index to both Volumes* (London: Printed for James Knapton, at the Crown in St Pauls Church-Yard, MDCXCIX [1699]).

<sup>10</sup> *Catalogues of Books in Works of Jonathan Edwards Online*, Vol. 26, ed. Peter J. Thuesen (New Haven: Yale University, 2008), 244.

<sup>11</sup> Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, 521. "The wine is like a French high-country white-wine, but of a pale yellowish colour; it is sweet, very pleasant and strong." *Ibid.*, 532.

<sup>12</sup> Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, 536.

<sup>13</sup> Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, 542.

<sup>14</sup> See Thomas Clap, *A Catalogue of the Library of Yale-College in New-Haven*, (New-London: Printed by T. Green, 1743).

<sup>15</sup> Clap, *Catalogue*, 20.

of *Voyages and Travels Some now first Printed from Original Manuscripts, Others now first Published in English. In six Volumes. With a General Preface, giving an Account of the Progress of Navigation, from its first Beginning. Illustrated with a Great Number of Useful Maps and Cuts, Curiously Engraven.* It was printed (as a second edition) in London, in 1732, by assignment of Messrs Churchill for John Waltoe, et al.<sup>16</sup>

Volume four contained a description of the Cape of Good Hope. This is a reproduction of William Ten Rhyne's *Account of the Cape of Good Hope and the Hottentots, the Natives of that Country. Translated from the Latin original, printed at Schaffhausen in Switzerland.*<sup>17</sup> Farrington, who prepared a translation for the Van Riebeeck Society in South Africa in 1933,<sup>18</sup> adjudicated the 1704 translation as "a poor version, full of mistakes and omissions, quite unfit to reprint."<sup>19</sup>

The original work, published in 1886 as *Scediasma de Promontorio Bonae Spei*,<sup>20</sup> is a product of Ten Rhyne's personal acquaintance with the *Khoina* as a transitory visitor of the Cape during 1673. His spokespersons were *Khoina* who could understand Dutch. He noticed the effect of the permanent European settlement on the *Khoina* groups. "The *Sonquas*," he stated, "for just occasion were bereft of their cattle by our countrymen, with the result that they live in the woods and are forced to seek a means of livelihood in the desert, chiefly by hunting animals." He depicted them in terms of, what he called, their primitive state and idle desert life, together with a wretched ignorance of all virtues as a savage and deprived people.<sup>21</sup> The *Khoina*, in the face of the Dutch settlement, established in 1652, and its expansion, were decisively challenged by a complex network of social, political and economic processes. Over the following century their social structures disintegrated, a decline that can be traced in the observations of subsequent visitors, in

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<sup>16</sup> The first edition, in four volumes, was published in 1704, and the third edition 1744-46, to which is prefixed an introductory discourse (supposedly written by the celebrated Mr. J. Locke) entitled, *The whole History of Navigation from its Original to this Time* (London: Printed by assignment from Messrs. Churchill for H. Lintot and J. Osborn, 1744-46).

<sup>17</sup> *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Vol. IV, 768-785.

<sup>18</sup> See I. Schapera (Ed.), *The early Cape Hottentots described in the Writings of Olfert Dapper (1668), Willem ten Rhyne (1686) and Johannes Gulielmus de Grevenbroek (1695). The original Texts, with Translations into English by I. Schapera and B. Farrington* (Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society, 1933).

<sup>19</sup> *A Collection of Voyages and Travels, Some now Printed from Original Manuscripts. Others Translated out of Foreign Languages, and now first Publish'd in English. To which are added Some few that have formerly appear'd in English, but do now for their Excellency and Scarceeness deserve to be Reprinted. In four Volumes. With a General Preface, giving an Account of the Progress of Navigation, from its first Beginning to the Perfection it is now in, etc. The whole Illustrated with a great Number of Useful Maps and Cuts, all Engraven in Copper.* Volume IV (London: Printed for H.C. for Awnsham and John Churchill at the Black Swan in Pater-noster-Row, 1704), 829-845. Schapera, *The early Cape Hottentots*, 83.

<sup>20</sup> See for the Latin text and translation by Farrington, Schapera, *A Short Account of the Cape of Good Hope and of the Hottentots who Inhabit that Region. By the Renowned William ten Rhyne of Deventer. Physician of the most noble East India Company and Member of the Council of Justice. Corrected and briefly Annotated by Henry Scretta S. a Заворзиз* (Schaffhausen: At the Expense of John Martin Meister. Printed by John Martin Oswald, 1686), 84-157.

<sup>21</sup> Schapera, *The early Cape Hottentots*, III, 123.

particular in publications after 1720. The devastating smallpox epidemics of 1713 and 1755 contributed to this degeneration.

Ten Rhyne also conversed with three “Hottentot women: one *Aeva*, was a civil, modest body, of rational discourse, who, being pretty well acquainted with the Dutch and Portuguese tongues unfolded to me many secrets of her race.” The second was called Cornelia, being turned Christian, and then Sarah, who committed suicide after a Dutchman debauched her on pretense of marriage. They grew up, according to him, in Dutch families.<sup>22</sup> From the ranks of the *Khoïna*, individuals emerged that were capable fully to participate in the Cape society.

Edwards’ own “Catalogue” of Reading also included and/or indicated his interest in travel-editions. “There is just now coming out at London a new Collection of voyages & Travels comprehending every Thing remarkable in Europe Asia Africa & America with new maps &c- in 4 vol. 4 to Printed for Thomas Astley,” runs entry no. [291].<sup>23</sup> In this case, he referred to *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels; Consisting of the Most Esteemed Relations, which have been hitherto Published in any Language; Comprehending Everything Remarkable in its Kind, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America*, which was published in London between 1745 and 1747. Volume three contains an account of the Cape of Good Hope.<sup>24</sup> This version, including an exposition of the Cape indigenous inhabitants, is in fact a critical edition of the publisher, in which a number of descriptions and narratives on the Cape of Good Hope have been considered and incorporated.

In the *New General Collection of Voyages and Travels* the depiction of the Cape of Good Hope was moulded, compared to Ten Rhyne, along a different line of interpretation. Peter Kolbe’s (1675-1726) famous and very detailed 1719 *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum* was trusted as the main source of information. Astley was of the opinion that “Kolbe sets the history of the Hottentots in quite a different Light from what it appears in former Authors, whom he frequently corrects and blames for Falsehoods they have wantonly told of that People. Ten Rhyne, however, has escaped his Notice, but in the following Description, extracted chiefly from Kolben’s Relation, we have taken Care to supply that small Defect.”<sup>25</sup>

Central to Kolbe’s trajectory of interpretation was his view that the *Khoïna* peoples were of one accord in their general daily living in harmony with nature’s law, hospitable

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<sup>22</sup> Shapera, *The early Cape Hottentots*, 125, 125-127.

<sup>23</sup> Edwards, *Catalogues of Books*, WJEO 26:176.

<sup>24</sup> *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels: Consisting of the Most Esteemed Relations, which have been hitherto Published in any Language; Comprehending Everything Remarkable in its Kind, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, with Respect to the several Empires, Kingdoms, and Provinces; their Situation, Extent, Bounds and Division, Climate. Soil and Produce; their Lakes, Rivers, Mountains, Cities, Principal Towns, Harbours, Buildings, etc., and the Gradual Alterations that from Time have happened in each: also the Manners and Customs of the several Inhabitants; their Religion and Government, Arts and Sciences, Trades and Manufactures: so as to Form a compleat System of Modern Geography and History, exhibiting the Present State of all Nations; Illustrated not only with Charts and Maps, Plans, Cuts, etc.* Published by his Majesty’s Authority. Vol. III (London: Printed for Thomas Astley, in Pater-noster-Row, MDCCXLVI [1704]), Vol. III, 327-386.

<sup>25</sup> *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Vol. III, 232.

to every race of men, open, dependable, lovers of truth and justice, not utterly unacquainted with worship of some god, endowed, within their own limits, with a rare nimbleness of mother wit, and having minds receptive of instruction.<sup>26</sup>

Kolbe resided at the Cape of Good Hope between 1705 and 1713. He was undoubtedly informed by local and early Cape intellectual De Grevenbroeck's *An Elegant and Accurate Account of the African Race living round the Cape of Good Hope commonly called Hottentots*.<sup>27</sup> This 1795 account was compiled in a letter written by De Grevenbroeck in Latin to an unknown cleric in the Netherlands. Most probably a more extensive edition, now lost, was available to Kolbe.<sup>28</sup> De Grevenbroeck (1644-c.1726) enjoyed university education in the Netherlands and arrived at the Cape in 1684, where he acted as Secretary of Council until 1694. He resigned to Stellenbosch, and served as elder in the local reformed church. He engaged in compiling an account of the Cape of Good Hope. He was critical of how people, confessing the Christian faith, treated the *Khoina*; and he was against enslavement and the social injustices related to colonization.<sup>29</sup>

A second notable source that Edwards' "Catalogue" mentions, is Harris' comprehensive collection of travels and voyages.<sup>30</sup> In a time when book titles could run on, John Harris (c. 1666-1719) compiled a work that may have one of the longest: *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca; or, A Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels. Consisting of above Six Hundred of the most Authentic Writers, beginning with Hackluit, Purchass, &c. in English . . . and the Voyages under the Direction of the East-India Company in Holland, in Dutch. . . together with such other Histories, Voyages Travels or Discoveries, as are General Esteem; whether Published in English, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, High and Low Dutch, or in any European Language. Containing whatever has been observed worthy of Notice in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America; in Respect to the Extent and Situation of Empires, Kingdoms, Provinces, etc., The Climate, Soil, and Produce, Weather, Animals, Vegetable, or Mineral, of each Country: Likewise the Religion, Manners, and Customs of the Several Inhabitants, their Government, Arts and Sciences,*

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<sup>26</sup> *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum. Daß ist: Vollständige Beschreibung des afrikanischen Vorgebürges der Guten Hoffnung. Worinnen in dreyen Theilen abgehandelt wird / wie es heut zu Tage / nach seiner Situation und Eigenschaft aussiehet; ingleichen was ein Natur-Forscher in den dreyen Reichen der Natur daselbst findet und antrifft: Wie nicht weniger was die eigene Einwohner die Hottentotten, vor seltsame Sitten und Gebräuche haben: Und endlich alles / was die Europaeischen daselbst gestifteten Colonien anbetriefft. Mit angefügter genugsamer Nachricht / wie es auf des Auctoris hinein- und heraus-Reise zugegangen; Auch was sich Zeit seiner langen Anwesenheit / an diesem Vorgebürge merckwürdiges ereignet hat. Nebst noch vielen andern curieuses und bißhero unbekandt gewesenen Erzählungen / mit wahrhafter Feder ausführlich entworfen: auch mit nöthigen Kupfern gezieret / und einem doppelten Register versehen / von M. Peter Kolben / Rectore zu Neustadt an der Aysch (Nürnberg: Bey Peter Conrad Monath, 1719), 173.*

<sup>27</sup> See "An Elegant and Accurate Account of the African Race living round the Cape of Good Hope commonly called Hottentots. From a letter written by J.G. Grevenbroek in the year 1695," (Translated by B. Farrington), in Schapera, *The early Cape Hottentots*, 160-299.

<sup>28</sup> Schapera, *The early Cape Hottentots*, 164-166.

<sup>29</sup> Schapera, *The early Cape Hottentots*, 225, 273, 293.

<sup>30</sup> See Edwards, *Catalogues of Books*, WJEO 26:201: "[668.#] A Compleat Collection of voyages & Travels consisting of above 600 of the most Authentick writers containing whatever has been observed worthy of notice in Europe Asia Africa and America—Illustrated by proper Charts maps & Cuts—By John Harris. d.d. & F.R.S. now carefully revised with large Additions & continued down to the present Time—in 2 Vols Folio. Taken from a Catalogue of Books published in London. brought from N. York by my wife June 1754."

*publick Buildings, Mountains, Rivers, Harbours, etc. Illustrated by Charts, Maps and Cuts. To which is Prefixed a copious Introduction, Comprehending the Rise and Progress of the Art of Navigation, and its Successive Improvements; together with the Invention and use of the Loadstone and its Variation. Originally Published in two Volumes in Folio by Joha[n] Harris DD and FRS. Now carefully Revised, with large Additions, and continued down to the Present Time. Including Particular Accounts of the Manufactures and Commerce of each Country.*<sup>31</sup> The first edition appeared in 1704.

The Harris edition offered a compilation of pre-1700 information on the Cape of Good Hope. The first volume included Captain Cowley's voyage round the world in 1686), the earlier mentioned Dampier, Commodore Roggewein, George Anson, and Therveno's collection of voyages.<sup>32</sup> The portrayals belonged to the interpretation of the seventeenth century, and was in a sense out-dated. These sources depended on the great geographical work of Dapper (1636-1698) on Africa, published in 1668.<sup>33</sup> This included a description of *Kaffrarie of Lant der Kaffers*,<sup>34</sup> *anders Hottentots genaemt*.<sup>35</sup> Schapera edited a text-edition of *Kaffrarie of lant der Kaffers*, with annotations and a translation into English.<sup>36</sup>

Dapper never left the Netherlands, though, and compiled his work from printed sources and information prepared and sent to him. In case of the Cape of Good Hope, he borrowed from Hondius' *Klare ende korte Beschryvinge van het land aan Cabo de Bona Esperanca Amsterdam* (1652) and in particular from Georg Frederik Wreede. Wreede was a German soldier that came to the Cape in 1659. He stayed until 1663, and made a thorough study of the *Khoina*, their customs and language. He also compiled a vocabulary of Khoi-Dutch. In 1672 he drowned in Mauritius.

Dapper stated that "all the *Kaffirs* or *Hottentots* are people bereft of all science and literature, very uncouth, and in intellect more like beasts than human beings. Some however, through steady intercourse with our countrymen, gradually let the sparks of their human nature come to light, just as several at the Fort are also beginning to grasp the Dutch language."<sup>37</sup>

Knowledge of and information on the Cape of Good Hope, and the indigenous *Khoina* population groups, were thus available in New England, and within reach of Edwards. Edwards was familiar with the existence of the *Khoina*, their state and condition, as depicted by travel-literature published in the first part of the eighteenth century and obtainable in the colony. The ensuing section of this contribution is therefore devoted to

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<sup>31</sup> London: MDCCXLIV.

<sup>32</sup> Harris, *A complete Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Vol. I, 82 ff., 84ff., 117ff., 309-12, 362ff.

<sup>33</sup> See O. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge Der Afrikaensche Gewesten Van Egypten, Barbaryen, Libyen, Biledulgerid, Negroslant, Guinea, Ethiopiën, Abyssinie, Vertoont In de Benamingen, Grenspalen, Steden, Revieren, gewassen, Dieren, Zeeden, Drachten, Talen, Rijkdommen, Godsdiensten en Heerschappyyen. Met Lantkaarten en afbeeldingen van Steden, drachten, etc. na 't leven getekent, en in Koooper gesneden. Getrokken uit verscheyde hedendaegse ondersoekers dier Landen* (Amsterdam: Jacob van Meurs, 1668).

<sup>34</sup> I do not endorse this offensive language, but reproduce the source.

<sup>35</sup> Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, 626-654.

<sup>36</sup> See Schapera, *The early Cape Hottentots*, 6-77.

<sup>37</sup> Schapera, *The Early Cape Hottentots*, 45. See Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, 644.



an analysis of Edwards' references to the *Khoïna* of the Cape of Good Hope, the first of which occurred in the 1720s and the last in 1758.

*Edwards on the Khoïna*

As indicated in the introduction, Edwards explicitly referred to the *Khoïna* a few times. The *first mentioning* occurred in the “Miscellanies,” no. 26, on the “Millennium.”<sup>38</sup> This took place in the early 1720s, at the beginning of his career. Then, years later, followed references to the *Khoïna* in “Miscellanies” no. 1350: “The necessity of revelation. Extracts from *Deism Revealed*.”<sup>39</sup> In his ultimate publication, *Original Sin* (1758), he also alludes to this Cape of Good Hope population group.<sup>40</sup>

In his early “Miscellanies” entry on the “Millennium,” Edwards wrote:

How happy will that state be, when neither divine nor human learning shall be confined and imprisoned within only two or three nations of Europe, but shall be diffused all over the world, . . . when the most barbarous nations shall become as bright and polite as England; when ignorant heathen lands shall be stocked with most profound divines and most learned philosophers; when we shall from time to time have the most excellent books and wonderful performances brought from one end of the earth and another to surprise us – sometimes new and wondrous discoveries from Terra Australis Incognita, admirable books of devotion, the most divine and angelic strains from among the Hottentots, . . . when the distant extremes of the world shall shake hands together and all nations shall be acquainted and they shall all join the forces of their minds in exploring the glories of the Creator, their hearts in loving and adoring him, their hands in serving him, and their voices in making the world to ring with his praise.<sup>41</sup>

His pre-millennial depiction of the Cape indigenous population is carved from impressions and underpinning postulations shaped by the reports and descriptions presented in travel literature. In the present dispensation, the *Khoïna*, accordingly, are (for the time being) seated amongst the most barbarous and ignorant nations: they live in a benighted heathen land, they are deprived of any profound divines and learned philosophers, they have not as yet produced any admirable books of devotion, nor any form of divine and angelic strains from among themselves. Their minds do not (yet) join the forces in exploring the glories of the Creator, their hearts in loving and adoring him, their hands in serving him, and their voices in making the world to ring with his praise. The future and Christian-expected Millennium will bring the radical transformation, and the *Khoïna* will be elevated to “that happy state” the young Edwards enthusiastically visualized. In his remarks on the *Khoïna*, he followed the negative line that would, in New England’s theological debate, so overwhelmingly embody the image of these inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope.

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<sup>38</sup> WJE 13: 212-213.

<sup>39</sup> WJE 23: 433 ff.

<sup>40</sup> WJE 3: 94.

<sup>41</sup> “Miscellanies” no. 26, WJE 13:212-213.

The *second and third references* to *Khoina* appears in Edwards' abridged version of Skelton's *Deism Revealed or, the attack on Christianity candidly reviewed*.<sup>42</sup> Edwards' references are, as a matter of fact, citations from Skelton, almost verbatim.<sup>43</sup> Both should, therefore, not be attributed to Edwards. Skelton's view of the *Khoina* in Africa, as explicated above, is consistent with the pre-millennial assessment and beliefs Edwards had earlier in his career employed in his notes on the Millennium. Both were informed by the same sources. Both disclosed the *Khoina* as a people of ignorance and illiteracy, uneducated and deprived of true enlightened knowledge.

There are no indications that Edwards reconsidered his views after thirty years, or that he thought to incorporate a different, more positive perspective on the Khoina, a perspective that could indeed be traced in the accounts of several callers at the Cape of Good Hope. Dapper, for example, observed:

Dull-witted, dirty and coarse as these people are, they yet seem to preserve the law of nations as inviolate amongst them as it is among the most polished nations of Europe. Apart from the fact that they have shown this in several incidents, we can take as an example the answer given by the Goringhaiquas of Capemen, who in 1659 had fallen into strife and discord with our countrymen, to the question why they were troubling us and stealing away our cattle: they replied that they were doing so for no other reason than to avenge the suffering and injustice they had experienced at our taking away and sowing their lands, as has lately been described.<sup>44</sup>

The *ultimate* Edwards-reference to *Khoina* is found in his *Original Sin*, published in 1758. In the First Part, section 9, "Several evasions of the arguments for the depravity of nature, from trial and events, considered," he

would ask, how it comes to pass that mankind so universally agree in this evil exercise of their free will? . . . How comes it to pass, that the free will of mankind has been determined to evil, in like manner before the flood, and after the flood; under the law, and under the gospel; among both Jews and gentiles, under the Old Testament; and since that, among Christians, Jews, Mohametans; among Papists and Protestants; in those nations where civility, politeness, arts and learning most prevail, and among the Negroes and Hottentots in Africa, the Tartars in Asia, and Indians in America, towards both the poles, and on every side of the globe; in greatest cities, and obscurest villages; in palaces, and in huts, wigwams and cells under ground? Is it enough, to reply, it happens so, that men everywhere, and at all times choose thus to determine their own wills, and so to make themselves sinful, as soon as ever they are capable of it, and to sin constantly as long as they live, and universally to choose never to come up half way to their duty?<sup>45</sup>

Edwards, in his reference to the *Khoina*, does not view them as an ignorant people, uneducated and of lowest possible rank, to serve exclusively as a prime example to substantiate a theological argument, as was typical in New England theology. He assigns

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<sup>42</sup> WJE 23: 433 ff.

<sup>43</sup> See Philip Skelton, *Deism Revealed* (London, 1751), 74-75, 80-81, and WJE 23:437-38, 441-42.

<sup>44</sup> Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge*, 644.

<sup>45</sup> WJE 3:194.

a seat for the *Khoina* on equal footing among Christians, Jews, Muslims, Catholics and Protestants; among nations where civility, politeness, arts and learning most prevail. They share this position of equality *inclusively* with humankind, and—this is the implication of his argument—for the grace of Christ, would be saved and likewise share in the history of redemption. In his thinking they are not excluded from the history of redemption. They are given a different status. Did the Stockbridge experience, in making its mark on his thinking, enhanced this insight?

### *Evaluative Conclusion*

Although Edwards wrote significantly little about the *Khoina* of the Cape of Good Hope, he was aware of the presence of these peoples. As a young theologian, he cherished the highest expectations of their participation in the millennial kingdom of Christ, even though he valued their present existence as deeply reclusive and ignorant. This is how their way of living was depicted and imprinted on him through a selective reading of travel accounts about Africa. Unawares he followed, as did theologians who captured the *Khoina's* believed place as a rhetorical tool in substantiating their discourses. As a participant in the theological debates, Edwards, however, never used the *Khoina* as a point of reference in his argumentation.

In the last years of his life, he once again mentioned the *Khoina*, but this time as equals among all people, without regard to the person, position, level of education or civilization. They share with humanity a position of original sin, corruption and depravity before God. And—this is the implication—could equally share in the grace of Christ and his salvation. Edwards thus relocated the reference to the *Khoina* to a different category of thinking: from embeddedness in physical historical existence to spiritual salvation, that is, participation in the history of redemption. This alteration in thinking and interpretation implies a paradigm-shift, clearly illustrated when Edwards' 1758 observations are compared with the premises of the New England theological discourse's use of the notion of *Khoina*. In the colonial setting, in which so many African slaves and Native Americans were incorporated, the shift bears testimony of consequential significance.

The *Sitz im Leben* of the *Khoina* at the Cape of Good Hope was somewhat different from what was imaginatively portrayed for enlightened minds and interested theologians. Travellers and callers noticed that, from the ranks of the *Khoina*, individuals did indeed join the Christian church and did adopt the faith. This development was not picked up and used in New England discourses and *Khoina* references. During his visit to the Cape in 1705,<sup>46</sup> Reverend Francois Valentyn (1666-1727) was astonished at a Khoina man's knowledge of godly matters.<sup>47</sup> The local minister, Petrus Kalden (1670-1739), invited him

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<sup>46</sup> Francois Valentyn, *Beschryving van 't Nederlandsch Comptoir op de Kust van Malabar, En van onzen Handel in Japan, Mitsgaders een Beschryving van Kaap der Goede Hoop en 't Eyland Mauritius, met de zaaken tot voornoemde Ryken en Landen behoorende. Met veele Printverbeeldingen en Landkaarten opgehelderd door Francois Valentyn, Onlangs bedienaar des Goddelyken Woords in Amboina, Banda, etc. Vyfde Deels. Tweede stuk* (Dordrecht/Amsterdam: Joannes van Braam, MDCCXXVI [1726]). The tenth Book was devoted to the Cape of Good Hope.

<sup>47</sup> See C.A.L. van Troostenburg de Bruijn, *Biografisch Woordenboek van Oost-Indische Predikanten* (Nijmegen: P.J. Milborn, 1893), 435-44.

to Zandvliet, the country estate that belonged to Kalden, where a long discussion on theological matters ensued.<sup>48</sup> Valentyn remembered that the *Khoïna* gave concise replies to all questions put to him as well as any well-catechised youth, and “rejoiced that God had deigned to pour so much of his merciful light into one of these, the most savage, stupid and filthy heathens that he had ever met.”<sup>49</sup> He noted that this man accompanied Kalden to the Netherlands in 1708, where he was christened Frederik Adolf in the Duchy of Cleves the next year. Heniger has described the baptism in the *Grote Kerk* in Vianen and quoted the baptismal entry:

Den 6e Octob is gedoop een Hottentot van de Caep de bonne Esprans ouwd omtrent . . . Jaren, de eerste soo versekert wort van sijn naetsie, die oeijt tot het Christelijke geloof bekeert is . . . den doop is bedient door Do Jodocus Rappardus Predikant alhier, die ook de belijdenis van den dopelingh te voren int pertikelier gehoort en aangenomen heeft.<sup>50</sup>

It was a mistake to honor Frederik Adolf (as the baptismal entry did) as the first-ever convert to the Christian faith from the *Khoïna* at the Cape of Good Hope. Krotoa, also known by her Christian name Eve, was the first. She confessed the Christian faith and was baptized by the Rev. Petrus Sabelius at the Cape as an adult on May 3, 1662.<sup>51</sup> In 1664, she married Pieter van Meerhof. All her children received Christian baptism, including those born out of wedlock, after her husband was killed in Madagascar in 1667.

This is *Aeva*, the same woman whom Ten Rhyne interviewed in 1673. He reported that she was being pretty well acquainted with the Dutch and Portuguese tongues, and unfolded many secrets of her race in a rational manner. Apparently not all among the *Khoïna* were of the lowest status, barbarous, ignorant and uneducated heathens. Eve received a Christian burial. Her grandchildren were also baptized. Her daughter, Pieterella, became the first mother of the Saaymans, a large family in South Africa. In the course of history a number of her descendants served in the pulpits of Dutch Reformed churches, and as missionaries in Africa. The history of the church at the Cape of Good Hope took an unexpected (pre-millennial) course.

Frederik Adolf was sent back to the Cape of Good Hope and came to a pretty sorry end on Robben island. Nevertheless, according to Valentyn, it was evident that some foundations of knowledge could be instilled into the *Khoïna*, to which ministers (“Predikanten”) should apply all their efforts. This salutary work, he expected, would

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<sup>48</sup> Van Troostenburg de Bruijn, *Biografisch Woordenboek*, 227-228. S.P. Engelbrecht, *Die Kaapse Predikante van die sewentiende en agtiende eeu* (Kaapstad-Pretoria: HAUM-J.H. de Bussy, 1952), 31-36.

<sup>49</sup> Valentyn, *Beschryving van 't Nederlandsch Comptoir op de Kust van Malabar*, 47, 158. “. . . ik moet bekennen dat ik in mijn hert hierover niet alleen zeer verblyd was, dat het God behaagde in zulken gering vat zoo veel licht der genade tot verdere verlichting van deze allerwoeste, botste en vuilste Heidenen, die ik oit ergens ontmoet heb, te geven.”

<sup>50</sup> J. Heniger, “Een Hottentot te Vianen,” in *Het land van Bredero: Historisch Tijdschrift voor het Land van Vianen*, 16, nos. 3-4(1991), 43. “On the sixth of October a Hottentot was baptized, approximately . . . years of age, the first ever convert to the Christian faith from his people, . . . the baptism was administered by Rev. Jodocus Rappardus, local minister, who also confirmed his (the baptized) confession of faith beforehand” (author’s translation).

<sup>51</sup> Letter from Pieter van der Stael April 2, 1663, in *Gemeente Amsterdam Particulier Archief*, no. 379, 31-32.

make great progress, as regards to the slaves as well.<sup>52</sup> Valentyn, himself a minister and endowed with experience of “salutary work” in East-India, made these observations within the framework of more than a century-long involvement of the Dutch Reformed churches in these regions.<sup>53</sup> According to Valentyn, successful evangelization of these people was definitely possible and was to be pursued.

This perspective on the *Khoïna* was not to be found in New England theology, though Edwards’ last references presupposes the proclamation of the gospel to *Khoïna*. It was the Moravians who, based on their knowledge of these first-generation Christians at the Cape, integrated the possibilities of evangelizing the *Khoïna* into what they believed to be the Great Commission (Matthew 28:19). While their missionaries entered New England, Georg Schmidt was sent to the Cape of Good Hope to establish a mission station among the *Khoïna* at Baviaanskloof (Genadendal) in 1737. The modern missionary movement made its first access into the region. In 1743 the venture had to be aborted, due to pressure from authorities, the Cape Church, and land-hungry farmers. However, when Moravian missionaries returned in 1792, they found Lena at the place, with her New Testament, waiting for the return of her pastor.<sup>54</sup>

Was Edwards aware of the latest evangelizing efforts at the Cape of Good Hope when he referred to the *Khoïna* in preparing *Original Sin*? Did he have access to the sprouting network of global Moravian missionary activities and the information contained in their reports? At the Cape, Edwards was an unknown name until the next century, when missionaries were well-acquainted with his works, arrived.

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<sup>52</sup> Valentyn, *Beschryving van 't Nederlandsch Comptoir op de Kust van Malabar*, 159.

<sup>53</sup> See Gerrit Schutte, ed., *Het Indisch Sion. De Gereformeerde kerk onder de Verenigde Oos-Indisch Compagnie* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002). See also J.L. Joose, ‘*Scoone dingen sijn swaere dingen.*’ *Een onderzoek naar de motieven en activiteiten van de Nederlanden to verbreiding van de gereformeerde religie gedurende de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw* (Leiden: Uitgeverij J.J. Groen en Zoon, 1992).

<sup>54</sup> See Bernhard Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms. The History of the Moravian Church in South Africa, 1737-1869* (Genadendal: Genadendal Printing Works, 1966), 11-53.