

Wilhelmina Stompjes

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*delivered at Dumisani Theological Institute, King William's Town, SA, March, 2015

Early Life (c.1789 - 1804)

The birthplace of the Xhosa woman later known as Wilhelmina Stompjes was the upper Tyume valley. This beautiful area on the slopes of the Amatola mountains was the cradle of Xhosa Christianity. It was here that her contemporary Ntsikana heard the gospel and here where Tiyo Soga was nurtured. It is likely that she was born around 1789. Her father was called Umgenya and her mother Notono, and they were of the family name amaVulani.¹ Regrettably, she never tells us her Xhosa name. The family were members of the Rharhabe clan and owed allegiance to Ngqika, a leader of great intelligence and imposing appearance. Although not altogether hostile either to western culture or Christianity, Ngqika once told the missionary Joseph Williams that while he was willing to listen to what he had to say he saw an irreconcilable conflict between the missionary's message and his own traditions, which he was not prepared to abandon.²

After her very first years, for the six or seven years following, this small child saw nothing of her mother and was brought up by her maternal uncle, who with his family moved into Cape Colony in search of work on the farms. On the way some of the party died and she too fell ill. Word was sent to her mother to take her home. In the meantime other family members died and when her mother arrived she inherited their cattle, which forced her to remain with the group.

The child was now given into the care of another relative who planned to take her back to his homestead in the neighbourhood of Tarka, between Craddock and Whittlesea. On the way they met a Xhosa woman who discovering the child's family name was amaVulani realised that their fathers were brothers. She took her home, where the child was cared for

¹ 'Memoir of Sr. Wilhelmina Stompjes' in *Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established among the Heathen* (London: Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen, 1868) Vol. XXVII, p.153ff.

² Basil Holt, *Joseph Williams and the Pioneer Mission to the South Eastern Bantu* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1954), p.80.

as one of their own. All these changes in her circumstances made her quiet and withdrawn. She would sit out on the veldt, looking up to the sky with the white clouds scudding across it and wondered what lay beyond. Looking back, she saw in her fascination with infinity a sign of her Heavenly Father's grace drawing her toward him.³

The uncle she was living with also felt a desire to seek his fortune in the colony and found work on a property owned, near Uitenhage, where he stayed for about a year. He then took the family to the fertile Langekloof, where he was treated harshly and struck over the eye with the butt of a rifle by his employer, who planned to enslave the family. The assault was reported to the local Veldkornet, who advised the farmer to let the family go. They decided to return to their old homestead across the frontier, but war broke out. This was probably the Third Xhosa War of 1811-1812, when Xhosa cattle herders fought over the disputed grazing of the Zuurveld. By the end of July the white farmers were in full retreat and the Xhosa and their Khoi allies hot on their heels, streaming westward into the Langkloof, burning and looting.⁴

A farmer, who thought his remote property was safe from attack, invited the uncle to work for him and after the uncle died, the girl and her aunt were brought to the farmer's house as servants. Her duty was to make tea and coffee and wait on the house guests, who often stayed over night, got drunk and used 'very offensive language'. She felt very insecure and she decided to run away. Travelling east, she heard that her aunt was now working for a man called Conrad de Buys at a place called Ganzekraal, in the Upper-Langkloof and she decided to visit her there.

Life with Coenraad de Buys (1804-1806)

Coenraad de Buys was born near Montague, one hundred miles west of Cape Town, in 1761. He was a grandson of Jean du Bois, a Huguenot wine producer from Calais in France. Coenraad grew up to be a tough, self-reliant, frontiersman, comfortable in any culture.⁵ This softly spoken giant of man was nearly seven feet tall, and broad and strong.

³ Ibid. p. 154.

⁴ John Milton *The Edges of War: A History of Frontier Wars, 1702-1878* (Cape Town: Jutta & Co., 1983), p.47

⁵ For de Buys see: Michael de Jongh, "Identity politics and the politics of identity: an exclusive hybrid community negotiates ethnicity, place and contemporary South African realities," in *Ethnoculture* (Vol.1, 2007 pp. 27-38); F. R.

He married Maria van der Horst, a Khoi woman and in time added other 'wives' to his family. In 1785, aged 24, he and Maria obtained a farm at Bushman's River, but, ever the restless wanderer, de Buys abandoned a settled life and lived as an elephant hunter, trader and cattle thief, becoming the confidant of African kings, and, strangely, a facilitator and interpreter for missionaries such as Van der Kemp.

On his forays into Xhosa territory east of the Fish River de Buys treated people in an outrageous manner, beating those who angered him, stealing their cattle and abducting their women, whom, according to official accounts, he regarded as his concubines. His outrageous behaviour was condemned by Xhosa and colonists alike and he was declared an outlaw.

In 1799, after participating in a rebellion at Graaff Reinet, the British put a price on de Buys head, and he fled across the frontier to settle in the territory of Ngqika, with whom he allied himself. To cement this alliance, de Buys lived liked the Xhosa, took Xhosa wives, discussed with Ngqika his marrying de Buys' daughter, and was accepted by Ngqika's widowed mother, Suthu, as her lover.

In 1803, the Cape returned briefly to the control of the Dutch, and de Buys was offered a pardon. He returned to the colony and established a farm in the Langkloof. It was here, among this wild and reckless band, that the young Xhosa woman found a home and was attracted to whatever form of Christianity they adhered to.

For all his dubious morals and reckless way of life, de Buys considered himself a Christian and encouraged Christianity in his family. He held meetings, and was heard confessing his sins and lamenting with tears the low level of his Christian commitment:

Often does the Spirit of God lay hold on me, and then I am softened; but before I am aware of it, I am angry again, and beat the people, just as the unconverted boers are in the habit of doing. What a Christianity that is!⁶

But, like Solomon of old, de Buys' many wives distracted him so that his heart was not wholly true to the Lord his God. Nevertheless, he had a school set up in the Langkloof

Baudert (trans.) & T Keegan (ed.), *Moravians in the Eastern Cape* (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society for the Publication of South African Documents, 2004); Ido H. Enklaar, *Life and Work of Dr. J. T. H. Van der Kemp, 1747-1811* (Cape Town/Rotterdam: A. A. Balkema, 1988); John Milton, *The Edges of War: A History of the Frontier Wars (1702-1878)*, (Cape Town: Juta, 1983). For de Buys relationship with Suthu see John Milton, op. cit. p. 54.

⁶ Stompjes, op. cit. p.157.

and here the young Xhosa woman learned to read. She loved Bible stories, and found within herself a growing distaste for immorality and drunkenness; stirrings which later recognised as the work of God's grace. She once wrote, 'How great is the mercy of God! Men would have led me to hell; but Thou, O my God, didst hear my prayer, and preserved me.'⁷

The British reoccupied the Cape in 1806 and many thought that de Buys would be hung, but he was pardoned. Nevertheless he felt no loyalty to the British and abandoned the Langkloof to set out as Voortrekker, living on his wits, selling his military services to the African chiefs he liked, and always pushing further north, until, after his death, his family established the small community of Buysdorp in Limpopo.

The de Buys family showed great kindness to the young Xhosa woman and she felt loyalty to them, but for her there was no attraction in the Voortrekker life. Torn between her loyalties and her ambition to improve her education, she prayed for guidance. As if in answer to her prayers de Buy's stepson offered to take her to some place of education if she agreed to marry him. He was true to his word, and took her to the Moravian settlement of Genadendal, his father providing them with a waggon and oxen to make the journey.

Schmidt's Pear Tree and the Moravian Mission (1806 - 1816)

At Genadendal she found work with a Br. and Sr. Kuester. and from them gained a clearer understanding of the gospel. She was baptised and received the name Wilhelmina. After eighteen months her husband decided to rejoin his family, and her mother-in-law sent kind messages asking her to return with him. But it was difficult for Wilhelmina to decide what to do. Rightly or wrongly, she decided to stay where she was. She explained her reasons:

I sent to express my thankfulness for all the kindness I had met with from her and others, but to say that I would not again leave Genadendal, for, that, though it was written that a woman must leave father and mother and cleave to her husband, it was not written that she must forsake her God, to cleave to her husband and for me [leaving Genadendal] would be as much as to forsake God.⁸

⁷ Stompjes, op. cit. p. 156/7.

⁸ Stompjes, op. cit. p. 157.

The Genadendal community were Moravians, descendants of the persecuted Church of the United Brethren who in 1722 had been given sanctuary on the estate of Count Zinzendorf of Herrnhut in Germany, and though a small community sent out no less than eighteen missionaries to the Caribbean, North and South America, the Arctic, the Far East and Africa.

In 1737, a 26 year old Moravian missionary called George Schmidt arrived at Cape Town, the first Protestant missionary to Africa. He began preaching the gospel to the Khoi people living in the Sergeant's River area. Moving the following year to Baviaanskloof (Ravine of the Baboons), he constructed a simple house, baked his own bread and lived gently among them demonstrating his love. He learned as much of their language as he could master, and familiarised himself with their beliefs and customs. He patiently taught them Christianity and saw some success, and, although not an ordained minister, baptised five converts, teaching them to read and write.

This, however, angered Dutch farmers at the Cape who wanted to control the Khoi land and use the people as cheap labour. They certainly did not want to be hampered by having to acknowledge Khoi as fellow Christians. These farmers brought pressure to bear on the leaders of the Dutch Reformed Church, who conspired with the Dutch East India Company to have Schmidt expelled from the Cape in 1744.

The work at Baviaanskloof continued under the faithful ministry of a small group of Khoi Christians, led by a woman called Magdalena (Lena), one of Schmidt's original converts. In 1792 a new group of Moravian missionaries arrived, built a new house and a church and restarted the mission activities. They renamed the settlement Genadendal (the Vale of Grace).

In 1739, two years after his arrival, Schmidt had planted a pear tree at the junction of two paths in his garden. When the new missionaries arrived in 1792 they discovered to their joy, old, blind Lena sitting under the pear tree listening to a young woman reading the Bible to her.

It was here, in this Vale of Grace, that Wilhelmina said she found her true family and her God. Under gentle Moravian nurturing her understanding increased and her faith

matured, greatly impressing young John Adolph Kuester, the son of the missionary couple who took Wilhelmina in, with its priorities:

The love of God to sinners, so gloriously manifested to mankind in the sufferings and death of our Saviour, was her favourite subject of conversation. She was very lively and hearty, and was always glad to talk to us children of the love which led to the cross, on which occasions she generally melted into tears of humble thankfulness.⁹

Her love for Christ gave her a deeper love for her people. Her great desire was that they would hear the gospel faithfully proclaimed. She was heard to say, 'O my poor fellow-countrymen! if they only knew a Saviour's love! Missionaries ought to go into my native land, and preach to my nation.' While others rejoiced at the baptism of new converts, Wilhelmina's heart was filled with sadness for her Xhosa people, and she would sigh, 'O how many there are, who know nothing of all this !'¹⁰ She pleaded tirelessly with God and the missionaries to send the gospel beyond the frontier, to the Xhosa nation.

In 1816, Christian Ignatius Latrobe, a leader of the English Moravians, visited at the Cape, establishing good relations with the Governor Lord Charles Somerset. The following year a new Moravian Superintendent of Missions called Peter Hallbeck arrived at the Cape,. He too was welcomed by the Governor. Although British rule generally favoured missionary work, the London Missionary Society had angered Lord Somerset by refusing to think of their activities as an extension of government policy, but as the German Moravians were less likely to cause political trouble for Somerset he supported their missionary work.

Wilhelmina spoke to Latrobe about her conversion to Christianity, and her desire that the Xhosa people would hear the gospel. A text of Scripture, 'I will bring the blind by a way that they know not.' (Isaiah xlii. 16), encouraged her to ask the leaders of the mission in Europe to pray earnestly for the Xhosa. She also proposed an effective strategy: send an emissary to the Xhosa king, she said, seek his protection for the missionaries operating in

⁹ Adolph Kuester's footnote to Memoir, p. 158.

¹⁰ Ibid.

his territory and then send a group of Genadendal's Xhosa Christians to establish a settlement among their own people.¹¹

As a missionary strategist, Wilhelmina was far ahead of her time in proposing African leadership. Although Latrobe was pleased and edified by her conversation, he was not ready to allow such radical proposals. Nevertheless, moved by Wilhelmina's eloquent appeal, powerful oratory and obvious humility, proposed the next missionary settlement would be in Xhosa territory, in the Uitenhage district, to be called Enon, after the place where John baptised his converts.¹²

The first Enon party consisted of the leader, Johann Schmidt and his wife, a single man, Br. J. G. Hornig, Sr. Eva Dorothea Kohrhammer, whose husband had recently died, some Sisters from Genadendal and Mamre, and Wilhelmina as their indispensable translator, and some Khoi families.

As a mission to the Xhosa, Enon was a failure, its hopes and goals destroyed by the missionaries compromising themselves by sharing the aggressive attitudes of the local farmers to the Xhosa people. The situation spiralled out of control as each side retaliated against the other.

In the midst of all this Wilhelmina was a peacemaker. When a settler called Bernard told her he was going to kill some her people, she begged him to remember that 'the Xhosa are also creatures of God, who commands us to pray for our enemies.' This touched him deeply and he said to her, 'Oh, yes, that is very true; and I thank you for saying these words, as they have directed my mind to other thoughts.' On another occasion Bernard was disillusioned about the local minister, who, he said, 'acted just like other people, in drinking, gambling, dancing, and the like'. Wilhelmina quietly reminded him that Christians should be more concerned about their own failures than those of others and that the only way to overcome temptation was through the power of the indwelling Christ, gently adding, 'we have the word of God, and ought to search it and apply it to ourselves. And you white people have possessed it much longer an we.'¹³

¹¹ C. I. Latrobe *Journal of a Viist to South Africa in 1815, and 1816* (London: L. B. Seeley, 1818), p.69; cf, Memoir, p.159.

¹² Enon (Aenon), Grk. Ἀινῶν, *fountain* or *springs*, cf. John 3.22

¹³ Memoir, p.161.

There was another side to the story. After the fighting was over, Wilhelmina met some Xhosa warriors who had been sent to destroy the mission and kill the missionaries. They told her:

We were in the bush close to you the whole day, with the intention of...killing you all, and plundering the place. But, we...never could agree, and so at last we gave it up, seeing that it was not to be. Your God is strong! He prevented us from killing you all.¹⁴

To put an end to the violence the government deprived the Xhosa of their grazing around Enon and reallocated it to white settlers. The mission, however, was not abandoned but continued ministering to the Khoi population. Wilhelmina remained at the settlement and sometime in the early 1820s received a proposal of marriage from one a Khoi gardener she had known at Genadendal, called Carl Stompjes. She accepted him and they made their home at Enon. One suspects that Wilhelmina only accepted Carl's proposal on condition that their marriage did not disrupt her missionary involvement.

Shiloh (1828 - 1865)

In 1826 significant changes took place in the Cape government. The autocratic Somerset was replaced by Sir Richard Bourke, who prohibited settlers engaging in retaliation raids, encouraged missions and sought to promote fair trade and friendly relations with African people. Under his brief governorship the courts were reformed, and the pass laws introduced to prevent Khoi and Xhosa moving freely in search of work were scrapped. Although Bourke's policies were adversely criticised both in the colony and in England, he regarded them as an important first step in a long-range plan to solve the frontier problem and integrate English and Dutch settlers with indigenous Khoi and Xhosa in a united state. Wilhelmina thought Bourke was 'a truly Christian man, [who] thought that the knowledge of the Gospel would be a better defence for [the Xhosa] than a detachment of soldiers.' Unfortunately for South Africa, Bourke left the Cape in September 1828, becoming governor of New South Wales in 1831.¹⁵

¹⁴ Memoir, p.162.

¹⁵ Hazel King, 'Bourke, Sir Richard (1777-1855)' in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1966), vol. 1.

Before he left, however, Bourke, through Hallbeck, invited the Moravians to establish a mission station deep in Xhosa territory, promising a substantial government grant. The area proposed was the territory of the Thembu leader, Bawana, who under pressure by his Xhosa rivals had asked the Cape government to establish a fort and garrison it with a peacekeeping force. Bourke established a fort at Klass Smit's River, but much preferred the settlement of gospel missionaries to a military garrison. Wilhelmina, however, was less enthusiastic and preferred going to her own Rharhabe Xhosa, than to the Thembu, but as the plan could not be changed, she consented.¹⁶

On the 10 May, 1828, a missionary party led by Br. Adolph Bonatz made their slow way east. As well as Bonatz and his family, it comprised of three more missionaries and their families and seven Khoi families, including the Stompjes. They reached the Black Kei on 21 April, where they were to meet both Major Dundas and his ally, the Xhosa chief, Bawana, to escort them to the site of the new mission. But Dundas and Bawana were preoccupied harassing Matiwane's Ngwane warriors and seizing their cattle. The Moravians waited in vain, but at least this halt gave them an opportunity to become acquainted with Xhosa people, and, through Wilhelmina, to share with them the gospel.

Wilhelmina was fluent in Xhosa, her mother tongue, and in German, she also knew Dutch and had some English also. She knew her importance and saw her role as more creative than some of the missionaries might have liked. In his history of Moravian missionary work, Ernst van Calker described her 'dynamic equivalence' method as follows:

Wilhelmine was an interpreter of a peculiar kind. She did not simply render the German words of the missionary into the corresponding Xhosa, but instead regarded his thoughts and words as being in the nature of an epigram [or, summary] which she then expanded to include what she considered would be suitable for the listeners and easily understood. She was not put out by the fact that this method completely interrupted the missionary's line of thought. She could be headstrong, intense and sensitive, and her demands frequently tested severely the patience of the missionaries. In spite of all this, she was a valued assistant at the mission and a devoted servant of her saviour, in fact simply irreplaceable to the missionaries when they had to communicate with the

¹⁶ Memoir, p. 163.

Africans, as she not only knew their language but was also familiar with their customs.¹⁷

What this tells us is that Wilhelmina was intelligent, very capable and a born leader, but frustrated by attitudes to race and gender which deprived her of an opportunity to use her gifts to the full.

On the 10 May, 1828, without the protection of either Xhosa or British forces, the missionaries made their own way to the site on the Oukraal River where they were to found their mission. It was soon clear that the water supply was inadequate and so on the 18 May they went to Bawana's kraal to ask his permission to establish themselves on the banks of the larger Klipplaat River, two miles south of Whittlesea.

Here the small community gathered, and with prayer, praise and reading of God's Word they consecrated this new site, naming it Bethel and hoping that it too would be meeting place between God and men. Later it was renamed Shiloh.¹⁸ Their first structure was a simple boma, or thorn fence, to surround their wagons and protect their animals from lions. Over the next weeks they built little thatched houses, cut an irrigation channel to water their gardens and crops, and commenced services attended by members of the community and a few local Xhosa people.

Shiloh proved very vulnerable to attacks both from local San and from Xhosa raiding parties, and appalled at the thought of spilling blood in their own self-protection, the missionaries were tempted to give up and returning to Genadendal. In addition, the military at Klaas Smits River proved unable to protect them. More than once the missionaries had to leave their settlement until the dangers had passed.

Even the Moravian missionaries who kept out of Cape politics were treated with distrust by Xhosa and settler alike. To the Xhosa they spies for the government, to the settlers they provoked the Africans to rebel against authority. In the midst of it all Wilhelmina had a special role to play as peacemaker. Once, Maphasa, the successor of Bawana, arrived at

¹⁷ F. R. Baudert (trans.) and T. Keegan (ed.), *Moravians in the Eastern Cape, 1828-1928* (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 2004), p.22.

¹⁸ 'Bethel' was an allusion to Genesis 28.19 where Jacob met with God, and 'Shiloh' after the community that had housed the Tabernacle and the Ark of God.

Shiloh with a group of armed warriors wearing headdresses made of Blue Crane wing feathers. The missionaries saw little significance in this, but Wilhelmina, who was in the garden, immediately recognised they were dressed for war and hurried to the house.

She then rebuked Mapasa for coming in such a warlike trim to the missionaries, whom he knew to be men of peace and ordered him without delay to withdraw with his people, which he did. Her courage is all the more remarkable, because, according to [Xhosa] laws, a woman dare not enter into such an assembly of the men. But her faith made her bold; and so the Lord was pleased, through her, to command the heathen to desist from their murderous purpose.¹⁹

Despite fragile frontier relations the work at Shiloh gently continued. For many 1833 was as year of terror, when Khoi raised Xhosa kraals near Shiloh, but for Wilhelmina that was the year when she translated the Bible's account of Holy Week, combining passages from the different Gospels for the following Easter celebrations. In 1835, when the church was almost completed, the sixth Xhosa war, that of Hintsas, broke out. Strangely, instead of hostility between the Moravians and the Xhosa, the war resulted in better relations when Maqoma and Sandile's brother, Tyali made himself the protector of the mission.

Shiloh had sheltered some of Tyali's people during the fighting and the gracious chief sent a message, translated by Wilhelmina, it read: 'Tyali, our Inkosi, thanks you for having, during the war, spread your your mantle over his children, so that they could sleep quietly under it.' A period of peace ensued, in which the the crops and herds flourished, and the benefits of modern technology were shared with Xhosa neighbours, but few converts were made.

One family who did come to faith was that of Mazwi. Mazwi, with his wife and children was baptised, he receiving the Christian name Benjamin and his wife Emma. Even in the face of great heartbreak and trials, they proved to be true Christians. Others also came to faith, and many more were attracted to what they saw to be the benefits of Christianity. By 1844 the number of villagers at Shiloh had risen to 613 and the little Church was a place where, as one visitor put it, 'African and White meet as brothers in Christ'.

¹⁹ Memoir, p 214.

In 1849, two years after the end of the War of the Axe, the energetic Anglican Archdeacon of Grahamstown, Nathaniel Merriman, visited Shiloh. This was the first of a number of visits he made, and he was very impressed.

There are about 700 people around the station, a mixture of Khoi, Mfengu and Xhosa, about 300 of whom are baptised. Several of them are possessors of considerable property, have comfortable houses, wagons, horses, oxen, and sheep. Most of them have a piece of land which they cultivate for themselves, enjoying the privilege of water from the watercourse which was dug by the first missionaries with the assistance of native labour...the institution itself is [is] self-supporting, and even returns a yearly surplus for the assistance of weaker stations.

I attended their Chapel in the evening. The service...consisted of - 1st a hymn in Dutch, 2. a discourse from Brother Nauhaus in Dutch, 3. a Discourse in Xhosa from Brother Bonatz and 4. a Xhosa hymn. But no prayers.²⁰

The following year, 1850, the most bitter and brutal frontier war, Mlanjeni's War, opened with the famous Christmas Day offensive by the Xhosa under Sandile and Maqoma, bringing devastation to settler and missionary communities all along the frontier.

With the army preoccupied in pursuing the war, and panic gripping the white population, the missionaries had no alternative to abandon Shiloh. Ironically, the greatest threat to the mission came not from the Xhosa, but from colonists who had gathered at Whittelsea to drive out the Shiloh Khoi, who because they had refused to surrender their guns were accused of being allies of the Xhosa. The settlers also alleged that missionaries had incited the Khoi to rebellion. The missionaries had to flee north as fast as their ox wagons would allow them to go. With only with her mattress and a box of clothes, Wilhelmina joined the Shiloh refugees, leaving all her other property to its fate and walked for 28 days to Colesberg, where she lived in a wagon until taken in by a friendly merchant, called Ortlepp.

Returning to Shiloh some months later, Wilhelmina and the others were devastated to see their stores had been plundered, their flocks and herds driven off and many buildings burned to the ground. Arriving at her old home, Wilhelmina:

²⁰ Nathaniel Merriman, *The Cape Journals of Archdeacon N. J. Merman, 1848-1855* (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1957), p. 55-56.

begged the man who was living [there] to give me, at any rate, my fowl house to sleep in. But he answered curtly, "Where are my fowls to roost then?" With great difficulty I induced him to give me bedstead; but was obliged to buy of him my kettle and some other things. The Lord gave us grace to take such things in silence, we had, notwithstanding so many unpleasant circumstances, a feeling of thankfulness that we were again permitted to live in Shiloh.²¹

In an attempted land grab, the Shiloh properties had been occupied by white farmers, under the instructions of Thomas Bowker, the fort commander at Whittlesea. Complaints were lodged with Rev. Henry Calderwood of the LMS, the divisional magistrate who as 'Kondile' was regarded by the Xhosa historian, J. Henderson Soga, as 'a man who had the confidence of government [and] a man of experience among the natives and sympathised with them.'²² Calderwood ordered the squatters to vacate the mission premises immediately and forced Bowker to apologise for his insults.²³ The people of Shiloh returned and in the following months rebuilt and restored what they had lost. In 1854 Archdeacon Merriman visited once again, walking over one evening from Whittlesea. He spoke of the warmth of his welcome and enjoying the tea, grapes and peaches with which the Moravians prolonged their supper, as with good humour they shared with the story of their recent trials.²⁴

It is at this point that Wilhelmina's memoir ends and little is known of her life after this point. Some years after the war, the Governor, Sir George Grey, visited Shiloh and met both Carl and Wilhelmina in their own home. Wilhelmina, ever the advocate of her own Xhosa people, appealed to him with tears to help them:

O, Governor, my poor people, the [Xhosa], are ever near my heart! How many of them still know nothing of the word of God! More missionaries must go to them; we must do more for them. You are a great and powerful gentleman and can do great things. Shew your power in this, that you take steps to have new mission-stations established, and that more missionaries go to the [Xhosas].²⁵

²¹ Memoir, p.220.

²² J. Henderson Soga, *The South-Eastern Bantu* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1930), p209f. It perhaps needs to be said that Livingstone held a correspondingly low view of Calderwood. He wrote of him to a friend 'From Commissioners who can play the fool for £600 per annum, with the Bible in one hand and the sjambok in the other, Good Lord deliver us.' Andrew C. Ross, 'Dr Livingstone, I Presume?' at <http://www.historytoday.com/andrew-ross/dr-livingstone-i-presume#sthash.6hN07tc2.dpuf>, retrieved 14 Jan, 2015. Soga's opinion of Sandile and that of Livingstone were also at opposite extremes.

²³ Baudert and T Keegan, op. cit. p.45.

²⁴ Merriman, op. cit., p. 211.

²⁵ Memoir, p. 221.

The Governor admitted he was deeply touched, and quietly said, " Yes, you are quite right, we must do more." Not only did Wilhelmina appeal to the government for help, but she also sent messages to the chiefs, imploring them to allow missionaries to settle among them. Her friends at Shiloh considered that:

The blessings she was instrumental in conveying to others in conversation will only be fully known in eternity. Through the grace of God she was instrument of bringing many from darkness to light.²⁶

As she grew older, Wilhelmina's mind failed and her strength ebbed away. She suffered many illnesses. Her final decline set in at the beginning July, 1863, and on 9th July 'her ransomed soul passed gently to its heavenly home.' She was about 75 years old. The funeral took place on 11th, led by Br. Johannes Hartmann from Goshen. Carl and the whole Shiloh congregation were present. He died nine months later.

And I heard a voice from heaven saying, "Write this: Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from now on." "Blessed indeed," says the Spirit, "that they may rest from their labours, for their deeds follow them!" (Revelation 14:13, ESV)

²⁶ Memoir, p.222.