

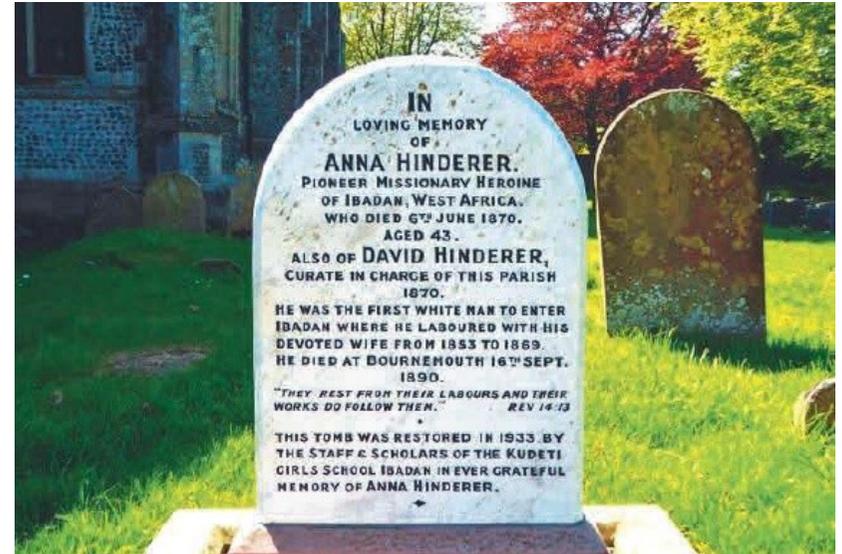
David Hinderer (1819–1890) - from  
Birkenweissbuch to Ibadan

On the family, youth and conversion of a  
Württemberg missionary

Uwe Jens Wandel and Gudrun Emberger  
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2, pp. 689-708. Trans. R. Meakin.)

*Dedicated to Mrs. Ann Meakin, the local chronicler  
and organist of Martham, who energetically sustains  
the memory of Anna and David Hinderer.*

In the churchyard of the late Gothic church of St. Mary's in the village of Martham in the eastern English county of Norfolk there is a tombstone that is just as simple as the others and bears the following inscription:<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup> We came across the grave of the Hinderers by chance during our annual holiday in 2013 in Norfolk, thanks to the *Martham Parish Church Brief History & Guide*, a church guide produced by Chris HARRISON and Ann MEAKIN, Martham 2010. It is also mentioned in the short guide *Welcome to the Parish Church of St. Mary the Virgin*. It was also helpful to have a list of burial sites in the church (which are preserved indefinitely in England). The Norfolk Family History Society (Ms. Mary Mitchell) helped us decipher the original funerary inscription, whom we warmly thank.

IN  
LOVING MEMORY  
OF  
ANNA HINDERER.  
PIONEER MISSIONARY HEROINE  
OF IBADAN, WEST AFRICA.  
WHO DIED 6<sup>TH</sup> JUNE 1870.  
AGED 43.  
ALSO OF DAVID HINDERER,  
CURATE IN CHARGE OF THIS PARISH  
1870.

HE WAS THE FIRST WHITE MAN TO ENTER  
IBADAN WHERE HE LABOURED WITH HIS  
DEVOTED WIFE FROM 1853 TO 1869.  
HE DIED AT BOURNEMOUTH 16<sup>TH</sup> SEPT.

*“THEY REST FROM THEIR LABOURS AND THEIR  
WORKS DO FOLLOW THEM.” REV 14: 13<sup>2</sup>*

THIS TOMB WAS RESTORED IN 1933 BY  
THE STAFF & SCHOLARS OF THE KUDETI  
GIRLS SCHOOL IBADAN IN EVER GRATEFUL  
MEMORY OF ANNA HINDERER.

The original gravestone was heavily overgrown  
with lichen and the inscription was barely legible. But  
now both have been renewed: The occasion was the  
unveiling of a commemorative plaque (or ‘Blue

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2 Revelation 14:13. “Yes,” says the Spirit, “so that they may rest  
from their labours, for their deeds follow with them.”

Plaque’) at Hinderer’s former vicarage in Martham by  
the Lord Bishop of Norwich, the Right Reverend  
Graham James, on June 18, 2017.<sup>3</sup> It reads as follows:

Here lived missionaries  
ANNA & DAVID HINDERER  
Founders of the Christian Church at Ibadan,  
Nigeria between 1853 and 1869  
Anna, one of the “noble women”<sup>4</sup>

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3 The renovation of the tomb and the plaque are thanks to the  
initiative of Ann Meakin; she sent us photographs of the event as  
well as the program of the service (Eucharist with Thanksgiving  
for the Lives of the Pioneer Missionaries Anna and David  
Hinderer). We would like to thank Mrs. Meakin for her  
hospitality which has been proven several times and for  
introducing us to the current residents of the vicarage, Dr.  
Christine Nightingale and Prof. Dr. Peter Lavender OBE, who  
received us very kindly there on May 27, 2018.

4 Anna Hinderer is honoured with other women in a stained glass  
window in the Lady Chapel of Liverpool’s neo-Gothic cathedral.  
See the illustration on the back cover of Ann MEAKIN, *Anna  
Hinderer, Pioneer Missionary, from the tranquility of Victorian  
East Anglia to the turmoil of Ibadan, West Africa*, with foreword  
by the Bishop of Norwich, [Norwich] 2015, (available in the  
regional church central library in Stuttgart). The book is based on  
documentation in C. A. and D. HONE (eds.), *Seventeen Years in  
the Yoruba Country*, London 1877 (available online). German  
partial translation: *Siebenzehn Jahre in Joruba-Land*. 1879).  
Another new edition: Servant ROBIN (ed.), *LEST WE FORGET,  
the life and times of the pioneer Christian missionaries to Ibadan,  
Nigeria (1851-1868) Rev. David & Anna Hinderer*, Haselmere  
(UK) 2005. Further works are also available. For a contemporary  
treatise see Ellen L. COURTENAY, *Anna Hinderer of Yoruba*  
(Religious Tract Society, Excellent Women, No. 15), 5 editions,  
London 1893-1896. See Margery Ellen THORP, *Swelling of*

Died here in 1870  
David lived here 1870-1873

Both are buried in  
St Mary's churchyard

Martham Local History Group<sup>5</sup>

### Württemberg

Such a 'song' was certainly not sung at the cradle of David Hinderer, the farmer's son and linen weaver from Birkenweissbuch in Oberamt Schorndorf.<sup>6</sup> His ancestors, almost all farmers,

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*Jordan*, for a novel-like depiction based on the lives of David Hinderer and Anna Hinderer, 1950. Also Henry Charles MOORE, *Noble Deeds of the World's Heroines*, London 1903, pp.21-27: 'Anna Hinderer and the Gospel in the Yoruba Country'.

5 The president is Mrs. Meakin.

6 Birkenweissbuch, also Hinterweissbuch, district of Vorderweissbuch, previously part of the Adelberg monastery administration, now part of the municipality of "Berglen" (a name created in the course of the so-called municipality reform). Johann Georg ROESCH, *Schorndorf und seine Umgebung, nebst einer statistischen Uebersicht des Königreichs Württemberg (Schorndorf and its surroundings, together with a statistical overview of the Kingdom of Württemberg)*, Stuttgart 1815 (reprint edited by Uwe Jens WANDEL, Schorndorf 1993), p.216f. s.v. Hinter- or Birkenweissbuch. According to this there were 37 families, 26 houses, 38 buildings, 10 skilled craftsmen and 26 farmers at that time in Birkenweissbuch. *Beschreibung des Oberamts Schorndorf*, hg. vom K. statistisch-topographischen Bureau, (*Description of the Oberamt Schorndorf*, published by the Royal Statistical-Topographical Bureau), Stuttgart 1851

including vintners and craftsmen in the mountains and in the Welzheimer Forest, had, at least for the most part, stayed in the country living honest lives.<sup>7</sup> Only David Hinderer's brother, Georg Michael (born January 31, 1815), who was a shoemaker in Winterbach, emigrated to America with his family in the summer of 1865.<sup>8</sup> A younger brother of the same name as Hinderer's father, born in 1781 and confirmed in 1795, was later assumed missing.

In Württemberg Hinderer does not seem to be very well known at present, in contrast to missionaries such as Hermann Gundert (1814-1893), Johann Gottlieb Christaller (1827-1895) or Karl Mauch (1837-1875). The Kingdom of Württemberg does at least refer to an outline of his life in a book about explorers from Württemberg, based on Hinderer's own statements.<sup>9</sup> His name is mentioned in a list of the

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(reprint Magstadt 1972), pp.190f.

7 We are very grateful to the Association for Genealogy and Heraldry in Baden-Württemberg (Mrs. Anke Christina Müller) that our genealogical inquiry was included in the association's mailing list. The response was overwhelming, we would like to thank Mrs. Ruth Blank in Schorndorf, Mr. Friedrich Schneiderbauer in Munich and Mr. Horst Jaudes, and especially Mr. Otto Bässler in Berglen (now in Grossaspach), who sent us copies of important documents on behalf of the Oppelsbohm Protestant parish office.

8 Asperglen Family Register, p.39.

9 *Das Königreich Württemberg (The Kingdom of Württemberg)*. Volume 3: Jagstkreis, Stuttgart 1906, p.510 s. v. Vorderweissbuch. Emil METZGER, *Württembergische Forschungsreisende und Geographen des 19. Jahrhunderts*

numerous missionaries from the Schorndorf deanery but further details are missing.<sup>10</sup> References can however be found, in greater or lesser detail, in the literature on Africa's church history and mission history, especially that of Nigeria.<sup>11</sup>

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(*Württemberg explorers and geographers of the 19th century*), Stuttgart 1889, p.114.

- 10 Richard VOLLMER, "Mission – Weltweit". Eine Ausstellung über den Beitrag des Kirchenbezirks Schorndorf zur Weltmission; in: *Heimatblätter. Jahrbuch für Schorndorf und Umgebung* 4, 1986, pp.135-142, here p.140. ("Worldwide Mission". An exhibition about the contribution of the Schorndorf church district to world mission; in *Heimatblätter Yearbook for Schorndorf and the surrounding area* 4) There is little interest in Hinderer in his home country. The mayor of Berglen, for no obvious reason, rejected our suggestion for a memorial plaque and/or an event. In contrast, the "Winnender Zeitung" kindly published our article on October 9, 2017, under the heading "Africa Missionary from Birkenweissbuch"
- 11 The most important work is: Jacob F. AJAYI, *Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite*, London 1965. The author was a professor of history at Ibadan University. Adrian HASTINGS, 'The Church in Africa 1450-1950' in *Oxford History of the Christian Church*, Oxford 1994, pp.271, 343, 345, 354, etc. Bengt SUNDKLER and Christopher STEED, *A History of the Church in Africa*, Cambridge 2000, pp.81, 228f. Emmanuel Ayankanmi AYANDELE, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914*, London, Longmans, 1966. Eugene STOCK, *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its environment, its men and its work*, 4 volumes, London 1899, 1916. About this author: Kevin WARD, "Taking Stock". The Church Missionary Society and its Historians' in Kevin WARD and Brian STANLEY (eds.), *The Church Missionary Society and World Christianity, 1799-1999* (Studies in the History of Christian Missions), Grand Rapids etc. 2000, p.15 -42, here pp.15-30. Stephen NEILL, Niels-Peter MORITZEN and Ernst SCHRUPP (eds.), *Lexikon zur*

The following article is intended to draw attention to David Hinderer and his courageous wife on the occasion of his 200th birthday on October 29, 2019. An appropriate biography is still pending, although there are enough sources in existence, especially archival sources.<sup>12</sup> The main focus here is on Hinderer's family, childhood and youth, conversion, and the decision to become a missionary.

Below are Hinderer's own words about himself in his curriculum vitae, which was always required in applications to the Basel Mission. The purpose of such a document was to make clear the applicant's "Christian attitude as well as their reason for the desire to be a missionary". "The inspector [head of the Basel Mission] made decisions about most of the applications on the basis of these written documents."<sup>13</sup> We will allow David Hinderer to speak

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- Weltmission (Encyclopedia of World Mission)*, Wuppertal 1975, p.201 (not without errors). Gerald H. ANDERSON (ed.), *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, Grand Rapids (Michigan) - Cambridge (UK) 1999, pp.293f.
- 12 Sources: AJAYI, *Missions*, pp.278-289. The archive of the Christian Missionary Society (since 1995 Christian Mission Society - C.M.S.) is now owned by the University of Birmingham, in the Special Collections of the Cadbury Research Library. Also MEAKIN, *Anna Hinderer*, p.202.
- 13 Archive of the Basel Mission (BMA), BV 251: David Hinderer personal file. BV stands for Brothers Directory (Brüderverzeichnis), according to Judith BECKER, *Conversio im Wandel: Basler Missionare zwischen Europa und Südindien und die Ausbildung einer Kontaktreligiosität, 1834-1860 (Conversio in Transition: Basel Missionaries between Europe and South*

for himself through his curriculum vitae, with additional information in the footnotes.

### Curriculum Vitae of David Hinderer<sup>14</sup>

I was born in Birken-Weisbuch in 1819, October 29.<sup>15</sup> My parents, who depended on farming

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*India and the Formation of a Contact Religiosity* [i.e. local religious influences on missionary beliefs and practices], 1834-1860) (Publications of the Institute for European History Mainz, Department for Occidental Religious History, Volume 238), Göttingen 2015, p.52. p.191 (the two quotations). We owe special thanks to the archive of the Basel Mission for information, copies of the aforementioned personal files, and for permission to use Hinderer's portrait.

- 14 Archive of the Basler Mission, BV No. 251. The transcription is true to the original but the punctuation has been modernized. Regarding the Pietistic or Moravian autobiography in general see Ulrike GLEIXNER, *Pietismus und Bürgertum. Eine historische Anthropologie der Frömmigkeit (Pietism and the Bourgeoisie: A historical anthropology of piety)* (Bürgertum N.F., Volume 2), Göttingen 2005, pp.123-208. Stephanie BÖSS, *Gottesacker-Geschichten als Gedächtnis. Eine Ethnographie zur Herrnhuter Erinnerungskultur am Beispiel von Neudietendorfer Lebensläufen (Graveyard stories as memory: an ethnography on the Moravian culture of remembrance using the example of Neudietendorfer Curricula Vitae)* (Studies on Folklore in Thuringia, Volume 6), Münster-New York 2016.
- 15 Baptism book Oppelsbohm No. 127. Asperglen Family Register, p.36. David Hinderer was baptized on October 30 by Pastor Wild (M.A.). Hinderer's father was Johannes, born on September 22, 1773, as the son of Georg Michael Hinderer, farmer in Birkenweissbuch; he died in Asperglen on August 23, 1850. His mother's name was Anna Maria, born March 17, 1777, as the daughter of old Johannes Möll, a wine grower in Ödernhardt; she

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died on June 24, 1835, in Asperglen. Hinderer's parents had married on May 4, 1802. From the inventory of 14 March 1803 (community archive [GemA] Berglen, Vw A 0394) it emerges that Johannes Hinderer brought 462 guilders 25 Kreuzers into the marriage, of which 400 guilders was from the sale of a piece of land as a marriage portion; the woman's marriage portion amounted to 491 guilders 30 kreuzers. She had a few more possessions than her husband: clothes, bedclothes and furniture as well as a "pale red dry cow" worth 25 guilders. In terms of books, he had a book of sermons and a "letter", she a new hymn book. In the eventual division of Hinderer's mother's estate in 1835 (GemA Rudersberg, As A 1049) it was called more precisely: "The Brastberger Sermon Book" – a reference to Immanuel Gottlob BRASTBERGER, *Evangelische Zeugnis der Wahrheit zur Aufmunterung im wahren Christentum (Evangelical testimony of truth to encourage true Christianity)*, Reutlingen c.1758, Stuttgart 1799 (and other editions). Joseph SCHAITBERGER, *Neu-Vermehrter Evangelischer Sendbrief*, Nuremberg 1736. These two books were widely distributed in Württemberg. Hildegard NEUMANN, *Der Bücherbesitz der Tübinger Bürger von 1750 bis 1850. Ein Beitrag zur Bildungsgeschichte des Kleinbürgertums (Book Possession among citizens of Tübingen from 1750 to 1850: a contribution to the educational history of the petty bourgeoisie)*, Munich 1978, pp.136, 167, respectively pp.116, 181. Hans MEDICK, 'Buchkultur auf dem Lande: Laichingen 1748-1820, in: *Glaube, Welt und Kirche im evangelischen Württemberg. Ausstellung zur 450-Jahr-Feier der Evangelischen Landeskirche*, ('Book Culture in the Countryside: Laichingen 1748-1820', in: *Faith, World and Church in Protestant Württemberg: Exhibition for the 450th anniversary of the Protestant Church of the State of Württemberg*). Catalogue, Stuttgart 1984, pp.46-68, here p 58, cf. p.208, no. 1.48d. According to the division of inheritance (GemA Rudersberg, As A 0125), Hinderer's father did not leave much behind, except for actual properties; his 'moveable property' [i.e. possessions] was entered as 0; David Hinderer, referred to as "Missionary, currently in Abiokuta in Western Africa", received 100 guilders.

for their livelihood, were Johannes Hinderer from the above-named place and my mother, Anna Maria, née Mellen, from Oedernhart. My baptismal witnesses were Johannes Kern,<sup>16</sup> from Birken-Weisbuch, and on behalf of his wife, the daughter, Anna Maria. I am the youngest of five siblings, four brothers and one sister.<sup>17</sup> When I was six months old my parents moved to the little village of Asperglen,<sup>18</sup> an hour away.<sup>19</sup>

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16 Johannes Kern is named in the inventory as Anna Maria Hinderer's elected "chief advocate", that is, legal representative. The baptism took place on October 30 in Oppelsbohm.

17 Asperglen family register p.36, Oppelsbohm p.15. There were originally nine children: Johannes (born April 18, 1803, died February 14, 1869), Georg Michael (May 4, 1805 - April 9, 1806), Jakob (January 19, 1807; moved to Necklinsberg 1836), Anna Maria (November 24, 1809 - July 17, 1811), Christian (April 28, 1811 - August 8, 1812), Anna Maria (July 23, 1812 - December 23, 1846), Georg Michael (January 31, 1815; emigrated to America in 1869), Rosina (September 22, 1818 - October 7, 1818) and David. When he wrote his CV in 1838, Johannes, Jakob, Georg Michael and Anna Maria were still alive.

18 Eine Wegstunde – ‘An hour’s walk’. A linear measurement: about 4.5 km.

19 According to the Oppelsbohm family register, p.15, in the spring of 1820 Father Johannes Hinderer sold the house he had only acquired in 1815 from the heirs of the widow of Christoph Krautter, farmer - a “two-story house and barn under one roof between the street and the garden”. On January 31, 1820 to Joseph Doberer, farmer, according to Purchase Records of Birkenweissbuch Volume II Bl. 256' (GemA Berglen, Vw B 0231), and Property Register II pp.105 and 126 (GemA Berglen, Vw B 0211). In the building register from 1825 (GemA Berglen, VwB 0228) it bears the number 19 (later 23). According to a letter from Otto Bässler dated October 14, 2015, it has probably not been preserved and was most likely where a new building

Both places belonged to the parish of Oppelspohm and to Oberamt Schorndorf. When I reached the proper age, I was sent to school due to my parents’ earnest concern for me. I didn’t find learning difficult. My teachers were first Brezinger and then Ludwig Zehender, and in my 13th year I received lessons from Mr. Dörnacher who was then Deacon in Oppelspohm,<sup>20</sup> by whom I was then confirmed in my 14th year, through which the Spirit of God did not leave itself completely without witness, but this was something I only realised later. At first, my parents made me a lot of promises if I would attend classes with the Pietists, even though they did not do so themselves. I did indeed want to be a virtuous person, but not a Pietist. And so I refused with the answer that I would only go if I had others to go with me. My schoolteacher Zehender often wanted me to be an

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stands today at Schneidersbergstr. 7. We would like to thank Mrs. Severine Jahnelt and her colleagues for the extremely gracious reception in the Rudersberg Town Hall; and in Berglen, the retired mayor, Gerhard Schnabel for his effort and patience.

20 Johann Christian Dörnacher (1806-1845), curate in Oppelsbohm in 1822, pastor there from 1834-1837, later pastor in Erligheim. Information on the clergy according to Christian SIGEL, *Das evangelische Württemberg. Seine Kirchenstellen und Geistlichen von der Reformation bis auf die Gegenwart (Protestant Württemberg: its church offices and clergy from the Reformation to the present)*, typescript, Gerbersheim 1910-1935, with additions, 1951ff. (available in the regional church archive in Stuttgart), and based on the manuscript of the Book of Pastors for the Duchy of Württemberg in the regional church central library in Stuttgart (also online).

assistant teacher [Provisor],<sup>21</sup> which my mother would have liked to see, but my financial resources would not have sufficed. I then learned the linen weaving trade from my eldest brother,<sup>22</sup> who was still unmarried and living at home. Meanwhile I became fond of the company of my friends and I also had a cheerful disposition, which resulted in my free time, especially on Sundays, being spent in wretched and godless pastimes. My parents still urged me to read a sermon or a few chapters from the Bible, but my thoughts were with my classmates. However, I was always haunted by a certain restlessness in the heart, especially when I went to sleep in the evening, and I often had to force myself to participate in this or that. I often made good resolutions, but next time round it was often worse than before.

Once I was at a wedding to, as I may well call it, attend the service of the devil, and I also drank my glass of wine. After a few hours there was a disagreement, during which a young man cursed cruelly. This swearing stayed with me from that moment on and kept repeating in my mind, which caused my heart a lot of grief, as those around me could see. After a few days a good friend asked me why I was so sad. I told him and couldn't help crying. He expressed deep sympathy but was unable to give me any good advice.

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21 Provisor: assistant teacher, assistant to the schoolmaster.

22 Johannes Hinderer. In 1832 he married Eva Catharina née Kurz (1804-1879), according to the Asperglen family register, p. 37.

That was in the summer of 1834. Because trade didn't last through the whole year,<sup>23</sup> I came to Birken-Weisbuch around this time to work with my father's brothers,<sup>24</sup> but I was still haunted by these blasphemous thoughts and also experienced some homesickness. Here again a man asked me why I was so sad. I knew him as a Pietist, and therefore I gladly told him everything. He directed me to prayer, which I did but since it didn't help immediately, I soon became discouraged. I also made up my mind to go often to the Pietist hours. But because there were some in this place who approached these church services to God in an unworthy manner, I once again stopped going. However, it was not only this but also the ridicule of some worldly friends that held me back. I also took Holy Communion from time to time and thought that through this means of grace I would be set free, but the bad thoughts were soon there again.

I also made some friends and when I spent time with them and there was joking and malice, I could

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23 Is this perhaps related to the decline in linen weaving, thought to have begun around 1830? See Rudolf KAHN, *Die Leinenweberei auf der Schwäbischen Alb (Heimarbeit und Verlag in der Neuzeit, Heft 5)*, (*Linen weaving on the Swabian Alb (Cottage Industry and 'Verlag' in the Modern Age, issue 5)*), Jena 1924, p.17.

[‘Verlag’: a former economic system in which the entrepreneur supplied raw materials to people working at home, paid them a low wage and then took care of product distribution.]

24 Georg Michael Hinderer, b. April 1, 1781, later missing, and Jakob, b. September 16, 1783, according to the Birkenweissbuch family register, p.14.

forget my thoughts. And in this way I tried gradually to shake off such a measure of God's grace, which, as I only realised later, and can still see, I had in this way pushed away from me. At Christmas of the same year I came home to my parents' house, where I again worked with my brother in my profession.<sup>25</sup> As before, I was meeting up with my circle of friends again. One of them was now going to the lessons of the Pietists and had to hear a lot of ridicule from the others. Sometimes I could do it too to please the others, but in my heart, alas!, I also wished to be on this path.

On Pentecost Tuesday of the year 1835<sup>26</sup> I went with my brother into the forest to fetch some leaves<sup>27</sup> and on the way home, on a narrow footpath, I damaged a bone<sup>28</sup> in my right foot. I now had to spend 3 weeks in bed, during which time I was always thinking (and it was thus decided) that when I could walk properly again, I would go to the lessons, which, however, would undoubtedly not have happened if the Lord had not called my mother into eternity after a 9-day illness. She died in the summer of 1835 on the memorial day of the apostle John<sup>29</sup> and a great source of support was torn from me. Now I decided to lead a more pious life than before, in order to better avail

25 Johannes (see n.17).

26 9 June, 1835.

27 'Gang' – a certain amount that can be carried. The leaves would probably have served as straw for the cattle.

28 Bein = Knochen – bone.

29 June 24. Die Eventualteilung (GemA Rudersberg, As 1049) says June 25.

myself of God's help and support. I also joined the Pietists and attended their meetings. I often heard them talk about their experiences and resolved that somehow it had to work for me, otherwise things wouldn't go the right way. The Word of God became alive and strong to me now, something which often gave me joy. At the same time my brother, who was 4 years older<sup>30</sup> and worked in Winterbach, a shoemaker by trade, was awakened spiritually. In the beginning people said of him that he was becoming melancholic.<sup>31</sup> This was a real blessing for me at the time, although I thought that it ought to be the same way for me, and earnestly beseeched the Lord for this. Around Martin's Day that year<sup>32</sup> I came to Leutenbach near Winnenden [Wenenden] to learn how to hackle oakum.<sup>33</sup> I learned this because my trade wasn't continuing all year round and I thought I could support my father for the rest of the time. But this was not what the Lord had in mind. During this time I went to church in Winnenden, which was a great blessing to me. At the beginning I also attended the edification classes in Winnenden, which were given by the well-known Mr. Müller,<sup>34</sup> but later I attended

30 Georg Michael, born 1815.

31 Melancholy: depressive.

32 11 November 1835.

33 Used in the caulking of ships.

34 Christoph Gottlob Müller (1785-1858). Regarding the remarkable course of his life: Friedemann BURKHARDT, *Christoph Gottlob Müller und die Anfänge des Methodismus in Deutschland* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus, Band 43)

another, that of a cloth maker named Georg Rausch.<sup>35</sup> After Christmas I went to Grunbach in Remsthal,<sup>36</sup> to a master who also went to edification lessons, but he was, if I can use the phrase, a lazy Christian, and my slothful heart was very much affected by this.

However, I returned at Pentecost<sup>37</sup> from this work position because the work had come to an end. Now that my father had given up all his possessions, he no longer needed me at home. I then came to Schornbach near Schorndorf, where I learned my trade with a merchant<sup>38</sup> for the whole year, and also earned a small wage. My master was a drinker, as were my 3 other work companions. On Sundays I went to

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(*Christoph Gottlob Müller and the beginnings of Methodism in Germany* (Works on the History of Pietism, Volume 43)), Göttingen 2003. For copies of the Burkhardt book and further information we would like to thank the Winnenden City Archives (Mr. Jochen Uitz).

35 German: 'mit N. Georg Rausch' (N = name). Johann Georg Rausch is mentioned in BURKHARDT, Müller, p167.

36 Rolf SCHEFFBUCH, 'Pietismus im Remstal um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts', in: *Heimatblätter. Jahrbuch für Schorndorf und Umgebung 2* (Pietism in the Rems Valley around the middle of the 19th century, in: *Heimatblätter. Yearbook for Schorndorf and District 2*), 1984, pp.125-141, here p.128: In 1821 there were "four societies" of the Pietists in Grunbach. - Rolf Scheffbuch (1931-2012), dean in Schorndorf, then prelate in Ulm, was a leading representative of Württemberg pietism within the regional church.

37 Pentecost Sunday was May 22, 1836.

38 Kaufweber: a weaver who had to take care of purchasing raw materials and selling them himself.

Schorndorf for the single brothers' class,<sup>39</sup> which was a great blessing for me. It was often a matter of concern to me to come to complete assurance that I was forgiven of all my sins, and it was also often very well in my heart when I was at home reading the Word of God or in the times of gathering with others when I could hear of the revealed grace of God in Christ, but afterwards I was not able to appropriate it to myself. My corrupted heart became more and more apparent to me, and I always intended to do better, but the best resolutions failed me. My work companions talked me a few times into have a glass of wine with them in the inn but though I felt deeply that without the chastening grace of God I would be exposed to the lusts of my heart like my companions, when I was with them I was, as the proverb says, like the fifth wheel on the cart and had no rest until I went home again. After Martin's Day 1836<sup>40</sup> I left this workshop and after a seven-week stay with my father went to work for 5 days in Ober-Esslingen with a master<sup>41</sup> who would pave the way for me to come to Stetten in

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39 SCHEFFBUCH, *Pietismus*. But compare Rainer LÄCHELE, 'Die Kirche in der Stadt' in Uwe Schmidt, *Geschichte der Stadt Schorndorf*, (The Church in the City, in: Uwe SCHMIDT, *The History of the Town of Schorndorf*), Stuttgart 2002, pp.472-521, here pp.485-492.

40 11 November.

41 Probably the person named at the end of this document, Peter Wälde, citizen and weaver in Esslingen (1781-1866). We are very thankful to our kind colleague Iris Sonnenstuhl-Fekete from the Esslingen City Archives for copies from the family register.

Remsthal, where I had a master who believed much in the word of God, to the degree that he could understand with his reason. Because of this he often wanted to dispute with me, but I generally avoided this because the enemy sometimes brought to my mind the terrible thought of whether the Bible was really true and really God's word.

But this drove me to earnest prayer. I also joined Christian friends and brothers here and attended their edification lessons. I felt more and more deeply that I needed a Saviour, and I often felt that if I could only weep sincerely over my sins, then I might better appropriate the Saviour to myself. It was especially detrimental to me that I studied the Word of God so little, and even when I did, I didn't think about it much and didn't try to apply it to my heart. Despite this I still managed often to tell everything to the Saviour, including my complaining, and I often felt his kind face quite vividly.

I then came to Rudersberg in March 1838, which is half an hour away from my father's place of residence. Here I enjoyed many blessings in the sermon of Pastor Schöll,<sup>42</sup> and also attended the edification hours here.<sup>43</sup> Now the ruin of my heart awoke in me all the more, and I often thought that nothing had really been anything. I was really capable of whatever desire one can name, some of which I

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42 Friedrich Schöll (1790-1853), finally pastor in Owen / Teck.

43 SCHEFFBUCH, *Pietismus*, p.128: In 1821 there were two "societies" of Pietists.

could harbour and nourish in my heart. Vanity, one of those about which Luther speaks, was one I was particularly inclined to. I was ashamed to tell so much about my condition to my Christian friends because they thought very differently of me. I also had no access to God and no joy in prayer. As John says: If our heart does not condemn us, we have joy in God, etc.<sup>44</sup> Because my master gave up this work, I left this work place at the beginning of October. And because looking for work was very difficult at this time, I had to go back again to my first master in Schornbach, which I was bitterly reluctant to do. However, at the beginning of December, as the result of a special God-given coincidence, I came to Esslingen, where my master was also a friend in Christ. But I was still in my miserable condition. Sometimes, in the evening, when I was thinking of eternity, I couldn't go beyond expressing with a sigh that I would like to survive this night. My eating and drinking, all my doings, day and night, every step and movement was tainted with sin. If salvation could be found anywhere else than in the name of Jesus, I would certainly have found it. But nowhere did I find rest but in these words: it was our sicknesses that He Himself bore, and our pains that He carried; the punishment for our well-being was laid upon Him so that I could have peace, and by His wounds I am healed.<sup>45</sup> Although sin is still with me

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44 1. John 3:21, see also 5:14. On the concept of joy as a key word: BECKER, *Conversio*, p. 105.

45 Isaiah 53:4-5

and clings to me, I still know that the debt is paid once and is valid forever.

My experiences with missionary work are as follows. It was in the year 1833 that I heard something about it in a children's lesson, which was given by the above mentioned Deacon,<sup>46</sup> which made an impression on my heart. This important matter received no further attention until I went to the edification hours in 1835. But I thought they must be very special people who are able go to the heathen in this way.

So it was both interesting and important to me when I heard something more about it. It was in the spring of 1838 when I was in Stetten and paid a visit to my brother mentioned above. Among other things, he said to me: If only I still had your youth, I would go to the mission house. This stirred me to greater courage. I took it to the Lord and also told some Christian friends, who advised me further to visit a 'friend of the Mission'. I went to Mr. Josenhans<sup>47</sup> in

46 Dörnacher (see note 20).

47 Friedrich Joseph Josenhans (1812-1884), teacher (candidate) at the institute for epileptic and mentally ill persons (at that time so named) in Stetten im Remstal 1834-1836, 1837 vicar in Backnang, 1838 deacon, 1849-1879 inspector of the mission institute in Basel: *Unterwegs zu den Anderen. 200 Jahre Basler Mission und Württemberg. (On the Way to the Others. 200 years of the Basel Mission and Württemberg.)* The book accompanying the exhibition 'Kleine Schriften des Vereins für württembergische Kirchengeschichte, Nr. 17.' (*Small Writings of the Association for Württemberg Church History, No. 17*), Stuttgart 2015, p.106. BECKER, *Conversio*, passim. Paul JENKINS, 'The Church Missionary Society and the Basel Mission: An Early Experiment

Stuttgart, who advised me to wait more time in silence. He eventually said that I should go to the pastor in Stetten<sup>48</sup> who, however, showed very little interest. Then I went to Pastor Seger<sup>49</sup> in Strimpfelbach and to the Director<sup>50</sup> of the Educational Institute in Stetten, at whose request I wrote up my curriculum vitae, which was first sent to Basel at Christmas by Mr Hofacker<sup>51</sup> in Stuttgart, with an added note from him that I had become a little disturbed about something relating to Matthäus Eberle,<sup>52</sup> who had been dismissed again, even though I assumed that I had fewer gifts than him. But I got no answer [from Basel], and some Christian friends who knew about my application thought little would come of it, and neither did I. Once, after I was already in Rudersberg and I was working alone in my workshop,

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in Inter-European Cooperation', in: WARD-STANLEY, *Christianity*, pp.43-65, here pp.63f. Jenkins was the archivist for the Basel Mission.

48 Christian Christoph Eipper (M.A.), (1799-1877): Adolf KAUFMANN, *Geschichte von Stetten im Remstal (History of Stetten im Remstal)*, Stetten 1962, p.419.

49 Joseph Carl August Seeger (M.A.), (1795-1864), finally pastor in Untersielmingen.

50 Johann Valentin Strebel (1801-1883), director of the educational institution in Stetten 1835-1844, finally pastor in Rosswag, 1858-1883.

51 Wilhelm Friedrich Immanuel Hofacker (1805-1848), 1835 deacon at St. Leonhard in Stuttgart, in 1837 and 1838, as a part-time job, he took care of the board business of the Protestant Society in Stuttgart. - The accompanying letter is dated December 27, 1837.

52 Matthäus Eberle came from Winterbach.

I was thinking about it a lot, and the Lord laid it on my heart that he wanted to show me whether everything I did was my own work, or whether it had his hand underneath it, and whether I should give everything up. The 1835 ‘Book of Daily Bible Verses’ [*Losungsbüchlein*] lay behind me and, with these thoughts in mind, I opened it and received the solution: Tell of his honour among the Gentiles, and of his wonders among all peoples (Psalm 96),<sup>53</sup> that the true God gave himself to us lost sinners in death. At that moment this was encouraging for me, but afterwards things were as dark as before and I didn't trust myself in any direction, but on the whole I was calm about it. Then, when Brother [Wendnagel]<sup>54</sup> was in Esslingen, I thought I should tell him, which I did. He advised me to write down my thoughts about all of this and send them to Basel,<sup>55</sup> which I had the opportunity to do through Brothers Bühler<sup>56</sup> and Layer.<sup>57</sup> I was particularly spurred on when I came to the place in Romans 2:12 which says: All who sin

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53 Psalm 96:3.

54 Christian Wendnagel (1812-1847), citizen of Esslingen, missionary in India: Otto SCHUSTER, *Kirchengeschichte von Stadt und Bezirk Eßlingen (Church history of the city and district of Esslingen)*, Stuttgart 1946, p. 270. We are grateful to the Esslingen city archive for copies of Schuster's book and further information. He is not mentioned in BECKER, *Conversio*.

55 Hinderer's letter, Esslingen, July 28, 1839.

56 Gottlieb Friedrich Bühler (1829-1865), teacher from Adelberg, missionary in Yorubaland. See Note 70.

57 Johannes Layer: probably the India missionary mentioned in BECKER, *Conversio*, p.144 – and passim.

apart from the law will also perish apart from the law. It would give me much joy if it is the gracious pleasure of God that I may also be one of the least of those who are allowed to fulfil their Lord's last will: Go into all the world and preach this Gospel to all creatures.<sup>58</sup> But I do not want to take such a step without it being his gracious will. I am His, He does with me as He pleases. But that doesn't mean that I no longer have stubbornness or self-will.”<sup>59</sup>

In his own words, like his parents, Hinderer was originally not a Pietist, although they encouraged him to attend the ‘lessons’ of the Pietists. The turning point was the death of his mother in 1835; he joined the Pietists at various places where he was working and was converted. His curriculum vitae for the Basel mission contains “the theologically expected process of crisis, recognition of sin, attempting to gain righteousness through works, and the ultimate assurance of justification by faith”.<sup>60</sup>

As early as 1837 Hinderer applied for admission to the Basel Mission<sup>61</sup> for the first time: he turned to the director of the educational institution in

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58 Mark 16:15

59 Added in Hofacker's hand: "works for Peter Wälde, a weaver in Esslingen"

60 BECKER, *Conversio*, p.210f. The author quotes from another version of Hinderer's curriculum vitae. However, this version is likely to be an older one, is less detailed, and stops at 1837.

61 The following is based on Hinderer's personal file in the archive of the Basel Mission, BV 251.



Stetten, Strebel,<sup>62</sup> who recommended him to Deacon Hofacker in Stuttgart. Hofacker described his impression of Hinderer<sup>63</sup> to the mission: "He looked at me with modesty and openness in his

eyes. Eberle's dismissal from Winterbach had made him quite unconfident in his attempted application, because if Eberle did not have the necessary skills, he believed he had them even less. [...] However, since he is still young, one can still see how he will develop. Physically, too, he is not yet strong enough; if he does not grow he will not meet the requirements for conscription.<sup>64</sup> But the youth seems noteworthy to me. We should keep an eye on him."

As Hofacker had suggested to the mission, Hinderer's application was initially treated with little consideration. In July 1839 Hinderer, then based in Esslingen, took the initiative himself and asked the then mission inspector Wilhelm Hoffmann if he could

be "accepted into the mission school".<sup>65</sup> He received an apparently positive answer on November 3 that year, but in December he informed Basel that he would have to wait for conscription.<sup>66</sup> With great joy he was able to inform the mission leadership in March 1840 that he had "become free at the conscription" and had now also informed his father about his "application to the mission house [...]. And, although he has no particular interest in such things, he has given me a 'yes' and he has no desire to object to it if it is the will of God."<sup>67</sup>

So now the way was clear. Hinderer seems to have gone to Basel soon after. Following his training at the local missionary seminary, he was "sent" to England in 1846, as had been common practice since 1818, to the college of the CMS in the London borough of Islington.<sup>68</sup> Before that, as is still customary today, the Basel Mission had a portrait made of the now 27-year-old David Hinderer.<sup>69</sup>

62 See n.49.

63 Hofacker's letter of 27 December 1837.

64 Drafted for military service. Hinderer was evidently of small stature, as a photograph of Hinderer in 1875 in a group of other missionaries shows: AJAYI, *Missions*, p.224.

65 Hinderer letter, Esslingen, 28 July 1839.

66 Hinderer letter, Esslingen, 15 December 1839.

67 Hinderer letter, Esslingen, 15 March 1840.

68 Hinderer is only briefly mentioned by Wilhelm SCHLATTER, *Geschichte der Basler Mission 1815-1915 (History of the Basel Mission 1815-1915)*, Volume 3: *Die Geschichte der Basler Mission in Afrika (The History of the Basel Mission in Africa)*, Basel 1916, Chapter 1 "Foreign Services", p.2f: "We name the Basel pupils who moved to Africa for the C. M. S. [...] David Hinderer (1819), active in Abeokuta". BECKER, *Conversio*, p.48f. STOCK, *History*, Volume 2, pp.71f; p.82f: Missionaries from the Berlin Mission Seminar.

In England, Hinderer pursued a career in the church: on December 19, 1847, he was ordained a deacon by the Bishop of London and a priest on October 29, 1848, his 29th birthday. He was first sent to Africa in January 1849<sup>70</sup> where he landed in Badagry in what is now Nigeria to convert Hausa-speaking residents to Christianity, but this was a fruitless undertaking. The city was in decline after the end of the slave trade as a result of British action.<sup>71</sup> Things did not look much better in Abeokuta<sup>72</sup> in

69 Archive of the Basel Mission, Sign .: QS-30.001.0195.01. Pencil, ink, watercolour. - Picture of the older David Hinderer: MEAKIN, *Anna Hinderer*, p.27, of the couple: *ibid.*, p.32.

70 STOCK, *History*, Vol 1, p.493f; Vol 2, p.115f.

71 AJAYI, *Missions*, pp.22f, 34-36, 95. Kehinde OLABIMTAN, Article on David Hinderer in: *Dictionary of African Christian Biography* (online). - A missionary from Württemberg, J. C. Müller, had come to Badagry in 1848; he lost his wife after a month and died two years later: STOCK, *History*, Volume 2, p.116.

72 MEAKIN, *Anna Hinderer*, p.29, 38. AJAYI, *Missions*, p.38f., 71, 96. OLABIMTAN, *David Hinderer*, p.1– In the inheritance division of Hinderer's father in 1850 (see note 15), David Hinderer is referred to as a "missionary, currently in Abiokuta in western Africa". - Gottlieb Friedrich Bühler (born 1829 in Adelberg, died 1865 in Schorndorf) worked there in 1855: MEAKIN, *Anna Hinderer*, pp.79f, 95. Dennis D. CORDELL (ed.), *The Human Tradition in Modern Africa*, Lanham, Maryland 2012, p.92. JENKINS, *Basel Mission*, p.56. AJAYI, *Missions*, pp.150-152. Toyin FALOLA, 'Samuel Johnson (1846-1901) and The History of the Yorubas. Christianity and a New Intelligentsia in West Africa', in: CORDELL, *Tradition*. 89-104, here p.92. MEAKIN, *Anna Hinderer*, p.79f - WARD, *Taking Stock*, p.19: "The "typical" missionary in the first period would perhaps be

Yorubaland, which was destroyed by King Ghezo of Dahomey with his Amazon army in March 1851. Hinderer then turned to the up-and-coming, populous town of Ibadan<sup>73</sup> (with allegedly 100,000 inhabitants),

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the German Lutheran from Württemberg, trained at the Basel missionary institute". About the problems that arose because of the different backgrounds of the missionaries: Ulrike KIRCHBERGER, "Fellow Laborers in the same Vineyard". Germans in British Missionary Societies in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century', in: Stefan MANZ et al. (Ed.), *Migration and Transfer from Germany to Britain 1660-1914* (Prinz-Albert-Forschungen, Volume 3), Munich 2007, pp.81-92. - The missionary G. Fr. Eberhard Gerst from Esslingen started in Abeokuta in 1853, but fell victim to a tropical fever like many others of his kind: SCHUSTER, *Kirchengeschichte (Church History)*, p.273. - An optimistic description of Abeokuta from the pen of a contemporary: Wilhelm HOFFMANN, *Abbeokuta oder Sonnenaufgang zwischen den Wendekreisen. Eine Schilderung der Mission im Lande Joruba*, Berlin 1859. This is a translation by Sarah TUCKER, *Abbeokuta: or, Sunrise Within the Tropics; an Outline of the Origin and Progress of the Yoruba Mission*, London 1853. On Tucker: AJAYI, *Missions*, p.39. The book title became almost proverbial for or symbolic of the missionary work of Africa. - Hoffmann (1806-1873), son of the founder of Korntal, was Inspector of the Basel Mission from 1839-1850, then Professor of the Old Testament and Stiftsophorus in Tübingen, 1853 General Superintendent of the Kurmark: O. von RANKE in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Volume 50, 1905, pp.417-424; Heinrich FAUSEL in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Volume 9, 1972, p. 394; Friedrich Wilhelm BAUTZ, Article on Wilhelm Hoffmann, in: *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon 2 (Biographical-bibliographical Church Encyclopedia 2)*, pp.968-970. JENKINS, *Basel Mission*, p.64. - HONE, *Fourteen Years*, p.21.

73 HONE, *Fourteen Years*, pp.53-62; pp.98-100: Hinderer's new house. MEAKIN, *Anna Hinderer* pp.29-31. P. C. LLOYD (ed.),

which was founded in 1829, where he, the first European and the first Christian missionary, was well received by most of the local rulers.<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, he recognized that he had to take political realities into account in his missionary work if he wanted to stand firm in the face of the traditional cults and the advance of Islam. He had been very optimistic at first: “That we are aiming at the Missionary chain through Central Africa is no longer a question. [...] Two good links we have already towards it – Badagry and Abeokuta and I am sure God will graciously hear our prayers and give us Ibatan [!] about two days journey NE, as a third. Next to that Ilorin may, by the providence of God, constitute a fourth, and a fifth will bring us to Niger”...<sup>75</sup>

Hinderer returned to England in January 1852. After all sorts of hardships in Africa, he now experienced a "whirlwind romance" with a young

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*The City of Ibadan*, London 1967. - OLABIMTAN, David Hinderer, pp.1f.

- 74 Images from Ibadan based on reports by Hinderer in: *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin N. F. 4* (1860), pp.550-564, here p.551: Picture of Hinderer's new church with the grave of the missionary Kefer (see n.80 re Kefer). - About Hinderer's work in Ibadan and its problems see the presentation by OLABIMTAN, *David Hinderer*, pp.2-4. Map of the mission in Yorubaland: AJAYI, *Missions*, p.125.
- 75 Bengt SUNDKLER and Christopher STEED, *A History of the Church in Africa*, Cambridge 2000, p.81, cf. p.228f. AJAYI, *Missions*, p.96, n.2. Very sceptical about the successes of the mission: Emmanuel Ayankanmi AYANDELE, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914*, London 1966, p.9.

woman: Anna Martin (1827-1870). Anna told a friend in short and sweet fashion: "It's all settled; I am going to be married to Mr. Hinderer, and we are going to Ibadan". Or was it actually an arranged marriage?<sup>76</sup> The wedding took place on October 14, 1852, in Lowestoft, Norfolk. The bride, born on March 19, 1827, in Hempnall (Norfolk),<sup>77</sup> had grown up in Lowestoft in the family of evangelical pastor Francis Cunningham and his wife Richenda nee Gurney.<sup>78</sup> The Gurneys, who were Quakers, were an important family. Richenda's older sister, Elizabeth, married Joseph Fry (1780-1845) and became the famous prison reformer, her sister Hannah married Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton (1786-1845),<sup>79</sup> a pioneer against

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- 76 Jocelyn MURRAY, 'The Role of Women in the Church Missionary Society, 1799-1917', in: WARD-STANLEY, *Christianity*, pp.66-90, here p.79: "... it was CMS policy to encourage its male missionaries to marry" ... Compare: Dagmar KONRAD, *Missionsbräute. Pietistinnen des 19. Jahrhunderts in der Basler Mission (Mission Brides. Female Pietists of the 19th century in the Basler Mission)*, Münster/W, etc., 2001. - HONE, *Fourteen Years*, p.12, only briefly reports on the marriage. MEAKIN, *Anna Hinderer*, p.26 speaks of whirlwind.
- 77 HONE, *Seventeen Years*, p.1. MEAKIN, *Anna Hinderer*, p.17. Kehinde OLABIMTAN, Article on Anna Hinderer in: *Dictionary of African Christian Biography*, 2004. STOCK, *History*, Volume 2, pp.115-119. Martin LYNN, Article on Anna Hinderer in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
- 78 MEAKIN, *Anna Hinderer*, pp.20-25, 96f, p.22: Pictures of the Cunninghams.
- 79 AJAYI, *Missions*, pp.10-13, etc. SUNDKLER and STEED, *History*, p.224. Article on Sir Thomas Buxton, in: *Dictionary of National Biography*. Volume 3, pp.559-561. In his influential

slavery, and her brother Samuel (1786-1856) was one of the richest bankers of his day (now Barclays Bank, named after Gurney's son-in-law) and a noted philanthropist.

Anna Martin was a devout child. At the age of fourteen she founded a Sunday school for neglected children, which included up to two hundred or more children. She also taught the boys in the poor house. She clearly had a special talent for working with children that would come in handy later; she was not granted her own children. Even at a young age, as she wrote later, she had felt the desire to become a missionary.

On December 6, 1852, the Hinderers, with other missionaries, including Gerst from Esslingen and Gottlieb Kefer from Winterbach,<sup>80</sup> boarded the steamer "Propontis" and reached Lagos on January 3, 1853, where Anna immediately, and not for the last time, fell ill with tropical fever.

### **Anna and David Hinderer in Africa**

“My horse's head pushed open the ajar courtyard gate, and as I rode into the courtyard, I saw

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book *The African Slave Trade and its Remedy*, London 1840, BUXTON advocated some kind of development aid.

80 STOCK, *History*, Volume 2, p.64. - Gerst died in 1854, Kefer in 1855: HONE, *Fourteen Years*, pp.21, 49, 123, 152. MEAKIN, *Anna Hinderer*, pp.34f, 74f. OLABIMTAN, *Anna Hinderer*, p.2. A portrait of Kefer from 1852 in the archive of the Basel Mission, Sign: QS-30.001.0250.0.

a blonde lady dressed in silk sitting on the lawn, surrounded by a circle of young negro girls who were reading from the Bible. At the sight of me she got up, called the servants to take the horse from me, and welcomed me in English. I introduced myself, at the same time apologizing for my unannounced entry, and then followed her inside. On the threshold of a European furnished room, I was received by her husband, the missionary, in whom, to my joyful surprise, I found a German compatriot from Swabia named Hinderer. He kindly invited me and my companions to stay at the mission, which of course I gratefully accepted”.

Thus wrote the explorer Gerhard Rohlfs (1831-1896) of his unexpected encounter with the Hinderers in Ibadan in May 1867.<sup>81</sup> Anna Hinderer had founded

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81 Gerhard ROHLFS, *Quer durch Afrika. Reise vom Mittelmeer nach dem Tschad-See und zum Golf von Guinea. (Across Africa. Travel from the Mediterranean to Lake Chad and the Gulf of Guinea)*, Part 2, Leipzig 1875, pp.270f. Modern edition: Gerhard ROHLFS, *Quer durch Afrika. Die Erstdurchquerung der Sahara vom Mittelmeer zum Golf von Guinea 1865-1867 (Across Africa. The first crossing of the Sahara from the Mediterranean Sea to the Gulf of Guinea 1865-1867)*, ed. by Herbert GUSSENBAUER (Edition Erdmann), Stuttgart 1984, p.368f. - On Rohlfs: Ferdinand SALENTINY, *Dumont's Lexikon der Seefahrer und Entdecker. Von Amundsen bis Zeppelin (Dumont's Lexicon of Seafarers and Explorers. From Amundsen to Zeppelin)*, Cologne 1995, pp.218-221. - Picture of the mission station: MEAKIN, *Anna Hinderer*, p.75, of the house: *ibid.*, p.63. The house, the first two-story building in Ibadan, has been preserved. House construction: MEAKIN, *Anna Hinderer*, p.57, 62f.

a school where, in addition to religious instruction, reading and writing, she was also teaching the children sewing and knitting. Many of the children grew up in the mission house, possibly thirty of them.<sup>82</sup> There was also a Sunday school for adults.

Rohlfs' portrayal seems to convey an idyllic picture. But this was not so. The biographical sources tell a different story.<sup>83</sup> Yorubaland was anything but peaceful. In the first few years at least, the new converts had to face repeated persecution. There were protracted armed conflicts, but the missionaries always stood for peace. They also stood against domestic slavery as practiced by the warlords. As is so often the case, children in particular were victims of these events. The Hinderers took in many orphans, as Rohlfs' description suggested. A particularly touching story happened with one of these children, a girl named Ogunyomi: the child was reunited with her enslaved mother, from whom she had been separated in the chaos of war. A story about it was published several times in Basel, based on Anna Hinderer's notes.<sup>84</sup> This also shows that the Hinderers remained

82 HONE, *Fourteen Years*, pp.69, 82, 173f, 195f.. MEAKIN, Anna Hinderer, pp.48f, 55f, 106, 108. AJAYI, *Missions*, pp.136-138. OLABIMTAN, *David Hinderer*, pp.7-10. OLABIMTAN, *Anna Hinderer*, p.3f.

83 According to the two articles by OLABIMTAN and HONE, *Seventeen Years*, pp.210-278, MEAKIN, *Anna Hinderer*, pp.124-147.

84 The story was first published in German for children: HONE, *Fourteen Years*, pp.143-147. Bible Sheets. Edited by the Biblical

in contact not only with the C.M.S. but also with the Basel Mission.

In 1860 the armed conflict came to a head, before which the mission in Yorubaland had been flourishing.<sup>85</sup> Until 1865 the Hinderers were almost continually cut off from the outside world, i.e. from the mission station in Abeokuta and in particular from the port city of Lagos. The English had had a settlement here since 1852: Lagos and its surrounding area were declared a protectorate in 1862 and a crown colony in 1886. The Hinderers ran out of money (in the form of cowry shells),<sup>86</sup> which usually reached

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Society in Basel. No. 4/1860, pp.49-60. From the editor of the Evangelisches Missions-Magazin and its appendix, the Biblical Sheets, Albert OSTERTAG, *Oguyomi, das befreite Sklavenmädchen (Oguyomi, the liberated slave girl)* (Basler Missions-Kinderschriften, No. 18). 5th edition Basel 1908, 6th edition around 1915. Ostertag was a teacher at the mission seminar in Basel. - Another text by and according to Anna Hinderer in: "Ein Missionskleblatt", Neuruppin 1863. - Anna HINDERER, 'Oguyomi finds her mother, Lucy Fagbeade', in: John LABAND (ed.), *Daily Lives of Civilians in Wartime Africa. From Slavery Days to Rwandan Genocide*, Westport (Connecticut) 2007, pp.36-39. OLABIMTAN, *Anna Hinderer*, p.3. - Excerpts from Anna Hinderer's letters in German translation appeared in Missions-Magazin from 1872, according to the kind notification of the archive of the Basel Mission from 2015. - MEAKIN, *Anna Hinderer*, p.87-90.

85 MEAKIN, *Anna Hinderer*, pp.124-150. STOCK, *History*, Volume 2, pp.118, 434-442. OLABIMTAN, *David Hinderer*, pp.7-9. OLABIMTAN, *Anna Hinderer*, p.4f.

86 Toyin FALOLA and Akanma Gafari ADEBAYO, *Culture, Politics & Money Among the Yoruba*, New Brunswick (USA) - London (UK) 2000, p.XV: Conversion table. In 1853, 2,000

them from Lagos, and they had to rely on donations from locals and the sale of items they owned. David Hinderer used this imposed leisure time to translate *The Pilgrim's Progress* by John Bunyan (originally published in 1678/1684)<sup>87</sup> into the Yoruba language, an indication of how talented he was linguistically. The Hinderers read the text with their students. Bunyan's book was also much loved and widely read in Germany. In 1867 the chaos of war broke out again.

Tropical diseases and recurring fever attacks were a constant danger and many missionaries fell victim, with quinine the best medicine available. Anna Hinderer's health suffered so badly that in 1869 she

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cowries were equivalent to 1 dollar, in 1858 it was 4,000, in 1862 it was 6,400; pp.31-36.

87 HONE, *Fourteen Years*, pp. 268, 282, 291f. MEAKIN, *Anna Hinderer*, pp. 144, 159. OLABIMTAN, *David Hinderer*, pp. 8, 10f., 12. According to BECKER, *Conversio*, p. 109, this book [The Pilgrim's Progress] had "a great exemplary impact on pietism and the revival movement," and was, indeed, the "second bible" according to Isabel HOFMEYR in *The portable Bunyan. A Transnational History of The Pilgrim's Progress*, (Translation/Transnation), Princeton N.J., 2004. The parable of the two paths, the broad way and the narrow way, surfaces repeatedly in the pilgrimage of the pilgrim: see Martin SCHARFE, *Evangelische Andachtsbilder, Studien zu Intention und Funktion des Bildes in der Frömmigkeitsgeschichte vornehmlich des schwäbischen Raumes*. Veröffentlichungen des Staatlichen Amtes für Denkmalpflege Stuttgart, Reihe C, Band 5. (Protestant Devotional Pictures. Studies on the intention and function of the picture in the history of piety, especially in the Swabian region. Publications of the State Office for the Preservation of Monuments, Stuttgart, Series C, Vol. 5. Stuttgart 1968, p. 264.)

had to make the decision to return to England, arriving in Liverpool on April 1. Her husband followed in September. The Hinderers took up residence in Martham, where David Hinderer worked as a curate in the local church until 1873. Anna Hinderer died in Martham on June 6, 1870, and was buried in the churchyard.<sup>88</sup> David Hinderer travelled to Africa again in 1874 and 1875 and founded two more mission stations. The leadership of the churches, in Ibadan and in two other places, was now, since 1869, in the hands of a local man, Rev. Daniel Olubi (1830-1912), who had started out as a servant and cook for the Hinderers.<sup>89</sup> In 1878 Hinderer was appointed assistant curate in Hatherden, Hampshire. In his retirement he lived partly in Switzerland, partly in Germany, and then returned to England.<sup>90</sup> He died on September 16, 1890, in the seaside resort of Bournemouth. According to the C.M.S., David Hinderer left behind "one of the most exemplary Christian communities in all the C.M.S. Missions"; he raised up local people to take on

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88 HONE, *Fourteen Years*, pp.335, 338-340. MEAKIN, *Anna Hinderer*, p.188. STOCK, *History*, Volume 2, p.444.

89 HONE, *Fourteen Years*, pp.31, 52, 80, 89, 149f., 153-156, 172, 207f., 308f., 312, 333. AYANDELE, *Impact*, p.16. AJAYI, *Missions*, p. 230. OLABIMTAN, *David Hinderer*, pp.10-13. STOCK, *History*, Vol. 2, p.444; Volume 3, pp.82, 728. Olubi was baptized in 1848, ordained a deacon in 1871, a priest in 1876: Kehinde OLABIMTAN, Article on Daniel Olubi, in: *Dictionary of African Christian Biography*. 2011. STOCK, *History*, Volume 4, p.65. MEAKIN, *Anna Hinderer*, p.39, 48, 57f, 91, 93, 99f, 105f, 108, 169-172, 183 and others; 193f. with picture.

90 MEAKIN, *Anna Hinderer*, p.193.

the work and inspired one of them, Samuel Johnson, to write *The History of the Yorubas: From the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate*”, a book that is still considered an essential text today.<sup>91</sup> Hinderer is described as follows: "Hinderer was the most humane of men, with a balanced, cultivated mind, and a sense of humor that Ibadan people highly appreciated".<sup>92</sup> David was called ‘Babba’ (father), and Anna ‘Iya’ (mother). They are remembered with great esteem in Ibadan to this day.<sup>93</sup> St. David's Cathedral in Ibadan, built in 1898, was named in memory of David Hinderer and St. Anne’s School commemorates Anna Hinderer, who is also honoured there with two stained glass windows. In 1933, one of the schools arranged for the renovation of the Hinderers' graves. The Hinderers’ mission house, the first two-story building in Ibadan, still stands today and is a local landmark.<sup>94</sup>

It had been a long journey for David Hinderer, from the everyday, straightforward life as a linen weaver in his native Württemberg to a life of almost constant risk and completely unfamiliar existence on a distant continent. It took courage, willpower and endless trust in God to stand firm amidst all the dangers. David Hinderer and his courageous wife are worthy of our remembrance.<sup>95</sup>

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91 FALOLA, *Johnson*.

92 AJAYI, *Missions*, p.121.

93 MEAKIN, *Anna Hinderer*, p.194f.

94 Wikipedia: Ibadan.

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95 Regarding the legacy of the Hinderers: OLABIMTAN, *David Hinderer*, pp.14-16. OLABIMTAN, *Anna Hinderer*, p.6.