Hanna Acke

"To the End of the World"

Legitimising Strategies in Protestant Missionary Discourses around 1900

"[T]o the end of the world" – this biblical phrase from the Acts of the Apostles (Acts 1:8) was a common quote in missionary publications from the 19th and early 20th centuries.[1] It expresses the spatial perspective of the world and the people living on it that was an inherent part of missionary discourses of that time. The members of the missionary organisations placed themselves at the centre. From here they wanted to go out to the assumed margins and spread Christianity. They shared this view – which constructed Europe as the centre from which its inhabitants should penetrate other parts of the world – with contemporary discourses that can be described as colonial. A clear-cut distinction between a centre and a margin was a fundamental part of how European and North American missionary organisations legitimated their efforts to spread Christianity in Africa, Asia and Oceania during the colonial era.

Although a temporal interpretation of the phrase does not arise from Jesus' biblical statement, the context of the missionary publications offered this understanding alongside the spatial one. It was detached from the original context and mixed with similar biblical allusions in missionary writings, and thus reproduced the idea of purposefulness and world history having a specific course. In particular, it was blended with Jesus' promise to the disciples that he would be with them "always, to the end of the age" (Matthew 28:20) in the Great Commission of Matthew's Gospel. This view of a target-oriented progression of world history was consistent with the contemporary colonial and racist assumption of different successive stages of development for "peoples". It was a temporal interpretation of the biblical phrase that reconciles the idea of a common humanity with racist ideas, thus resolving a contradiction – at least on the surface: the people categorised as "heathens" were humans, but from the perspective of European Christians, they had not come as far on the path towards progress and/or salvation as they themselves had. In both the spatial and the temporal interpretations of the quote, colonial and missionary patterns of thought were

1 For this contribution, I have used the English Standard Version for Biblical quotes in English. Although it is a modern but not contemporary translation, it is similar in style to the Biblical quotes used in the Swedish missionary publications that form my main sources.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111039633-004

thus combined. As this example shows, missionary discourses coincided in many ways with colonial bodies of knowledge. Through this parallelisation with the Bible, colonial discourses were even legitimised.

The historical research literature on modern Christian missions has time and again debated the relationship between Christian missions and European colonialism and partly used it as an explanatory model for missionary activities (see for example Hammer 1978; Gründer 1982; Stanley 1990; Porter 2004; Klein 2010). European countries like Sweden which – at least at that time – were not involved in colonial activities, stand out in this context as research objects of particular interest. The Kingdom of Sweden did not take an active part in colonial endeavours in other parts of the world since it had sold its only overseas possession – the island of St. Barthélemy – in 1878. Compared to countries like the Netherlands or Great Britain, it had always been "a small player" in colonialism. At the same time, a comparatively large number of Swedish missionaries travelled to other regions of the world to spread the gospel.[2] Several questions arise from this constellation: how was the relationship between missions and colonialism in a national context, one in which the State had no plans for colonial activities? What role did Christian missions in other parts of the world play in Sweden, the country that financed the missionaries and sent them abroad? And finally: how were missionary bodies of knowledge and the commitment to this work legitimised in this national context?

To answer these questions, I have analysed the publications issued by one of the three large, trans-regional missionary organisations in Sweden. Thus, I am examining the knowledge produced in this particular case and how it was interconnected with other, especially colonial, bodies of knowledge. Furthermore, my work contributes to an analysis of linguistic and discursive strategies for the legitimisation of knowledge and how these make use of narratives of centralisation and marginalisation.

Processes of the production of knowledge – or discourses – are closely entangled with negotiations of power. In this view, power is not understood as something that one group or person possesses or does not possess, i.e. as a contrast between power and powerlessness (see Foucault 2008: 1004–1005). Instead – as the term negotiation suggests – power is understood as the power of interpretation, of how knowledge is produced as valid. Power is thus also about legitimisation. This broad understanding of legitimisation, the presenta-

2 According to Marianne Gullestad, during this period the Scandinavian countries sent out the largest number of missionaries to other countries in relation to their respective populations (see Gullestad 2007: 2).

tion of a certain knowledge as the only valid knowledge, is informed by the legitimising function of language usage described by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (see Berger/Luckmann 1991: 112). In a narrower understanding, legitimisation can be understood as the justification of calls to action (see van Leeuwen 2008: 105).

In the following, I will briefly introduce my sources and contextualise them. The missionary organisation that forms the basis of this study is the *Swedish Missionary Covenant* or *Svenska Missionsförbundet* (in the following: SMF). It was founded in 1878 as a community of Christians inspired by Pietism, who denied the State *Church of Sweden* the legitimacy to represent what were in there view true believers. From the beginning, SMF advocated for its members to be actively committed to missionary work within and beyond Sweden. Congo – or more precisely, the Bakongo who lived along the southern course of the River Congo – and China – or more precisely, the inhabitants of several cities in the province of Hubei – were the most important targets of the SMF's missionary efforts. Therefore, these regions as well as reports on Protestant missions in all parts of the world are the focus of my analysis. SMF's publications, especially the periodical *Missionförbundet*, the society's official organ, form the main sources for my discourse linguistic analysis.

In this contribution, I will summarise my findings by elaborating on the three main legitimisation strategies for Christian missions and missionary knowledge:[3]

- the authorisation of speakers and speaker positions,
- the construction of a community (of knowledge),
- the reduction of complexity.

1 The authorisation of speakers and speaker positions

The authorisation of those who expressed knowledge was one way of legitimising this knowledge. I use the term authorisation to describe the process in which the speakers achieved credibility and integrity.[4] I use the *speaker* label for per-

3 For a more detailed analysis of the materials, see my monograph on the topic (see Acke 2015b).

4 Not only were the speakers authorised, the media they used was too. As an example, the missionary organisation established its periodical *Missionsförbundet* as a credible and familiar

sons who were also the authors of the statements uttered in the written form of the periodical. The speakers were in most cases the missionaries sent to Congo and China by SMF. The portraits and other photographs printed in the periodical were one way of authorising the missionaries and presenting them as trustworthy and credible individuals; another was the fact that they regularly addressed the readers directly through their letters printed in *Missionsförbundet*.

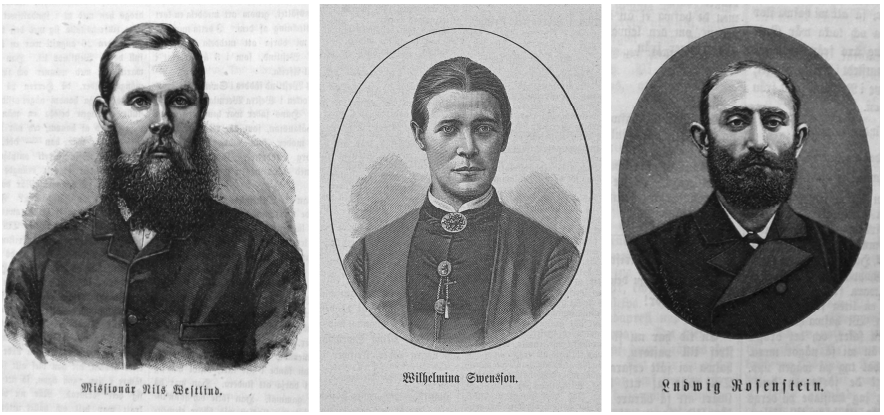

Fig. 1: Portraits of missionaries in the periodical *Missionsförbundet*. I am grateful to *Equmeniakyrkan* for the permission to reproduce the images in figures 1 and 2.

Most of the pictures that were printed in the periodical showed the society's missionaries, either in the form of portraits or in the form of photographs that presented them together with converts. The portraits especially, which were detailed wood engravings in the first volumes of the journal, contributed to an authorisation of the missionaries. As Julia Voss has shown using the example of Charles Darwin portraits (see Voss 2008: 232, 238), being able to look at or even own a portrait of a person whose texts one reads can strengthen that person's authority.

medium by publishing it regularly in the same printed form or one that was only selectively modified (see Acke 2013; Acke 2015b).

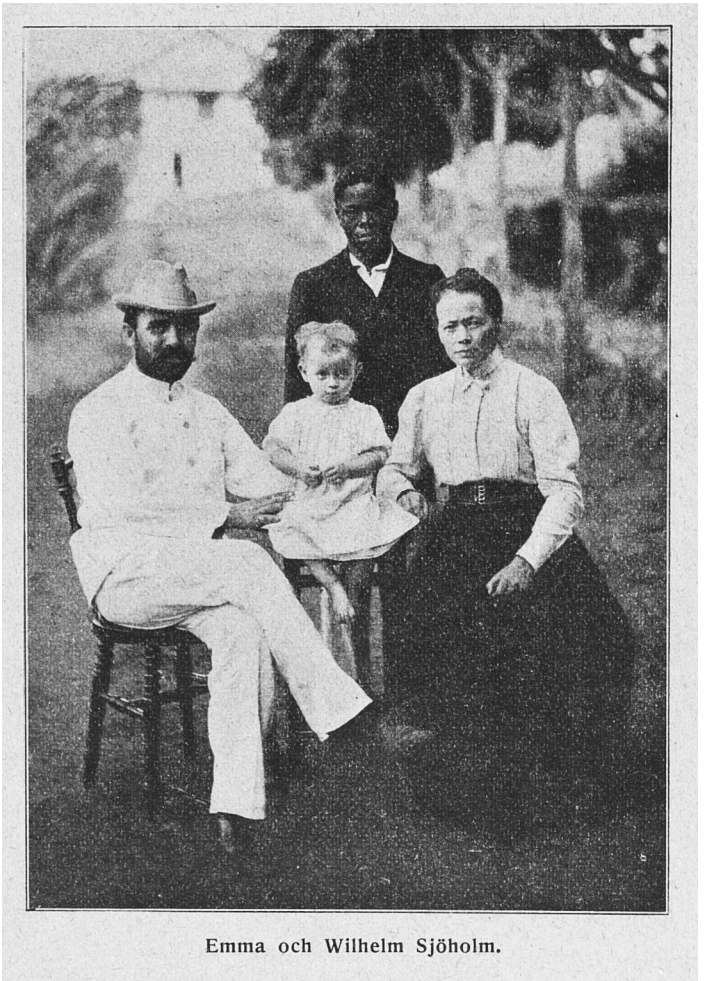

Fig. 2: Wilhelm Sjöholm, Hilda, Mafuta and Emma Sjöholm.

The pictures in *Missionsförbundet* also contributed to the categorisation of different people into hierarchically ordered groups. There were numerous portraits of Swedish missionaries, but very few portraits of Congolese or Chinese converts. In the photographs from Congo and China, the missionaries stood in focus in the images themselves, but even more so in the captions. Often, the Congolese and Chinese people who could be seen in the pictures were not mentioned at all or did not have their names in the captions. Images typically showed the white missionaries in the foreground or at the centre of the picture with the

converts in the background. This determined their respective importance for the missionary cause from the perspective of the society: the missionaries stood at the centre; the converts remained at the margins. It also – together with similar strategies in the texts – presented Christian white people as individuals and challenged the individuality or even the humanity of black and brown people.[5]

This visual representation contributed to creating the special position held by the missionaries within the organisation and granted their statements a persuasive power. SMF sent them abroad to represent the organisation and all of its members. Thus, the members believed that they were fulfilling the tasks that God had assigned them in the name of the *Swedish Missionary Covenant*. Their personal experiences also strengthened their credibility: the missionaries were the only members who were actually located in the regions in which SMF carried out missionary work. They had first-hand experience in the areas that had been combined into "the heathen world" and with the alleged "heathens", which was viewed as enabling them to report credibly about both.

Letters by the missionaries made up more than half of the periodical's contents (see Kussak 1982: 10). Because missionaries rarely visited Sweden, letters were the main form of contact between the society and those they had sent out to spread the Gospel. Editing and printing their letters to publish them was an efficient way to inform the members about how their donations were being used. Furthermore, letters demonstrated communicative functions that were useful for authorising missionary knowledge. In contrast to (missionary) narratives or reports, letters are generally characterised by direct address (see Robert 2002: 77). Thus, they have characteristics that lend them a very high degree of authenticity and notable immediacy and directness. Because of this, the readership could receive them as immediate and authentic reports from the "mission fields", which bridged the spatial and temporal distance separating the "friends" from the missionaries.

Their position and staging as eyewitnesses were important factors in the authorisation of speakers. In research literature, immediate spatial and temporal vicinity to the events is discussed as a prerequisite for successful witnessing (see Hutchby 2001; Peters 2001; Zelizer 2007). Nevertheless, this was not sufficient. The missionaries' power of persuasion depended on whether they managed to let themselves as individuals disappear behind their descriptions, which gave them an impression of objectivity. At the same time, they had to be credible as individuals by seeming familiar to the readers. Sybille Krämer has

5 For a detailed analysis of the images in the periodical, see Acke 2015b: 84–101, for a discussion of the individuality of converts, see Acke 2015a.

termed this contradiction the *dilemma of witnessing* (Krämer 2009: 89). The missionaries tried to resolve this by using a narrative style that gave readers the feeling of being able to join them. Missionary Sofi Karlsson wrote about the situation of women in Congo in a free-standing publication issued in 1897. This is how she introduced her narrative:

> Så följen mig nu till en by i Kongo. Vi måste gå öfver den där grässlätten, där det höga gräset, hvars strån äro så grova som en vanlig bamburörskäppp [sic], når oss öfver huvudet. Se, där uppe på kullen ligger byn! (Karlsson 1897: 5)[6]
> [Follow me now to a village in Congo. We must cross this grassy plain where the tall gras, whose blades are as coarse as a normal bamboo cane, reaches above our heads. See, up there on the hill lies the village!]

The missionaries addressed the readership directly and integrated them into their we-group. At the same time, they stressed their role as eyewitnesses: "Skada bara, att I ej kunnen se, hvad vi sågo, och höra, hvad vi hörde. Edra hjärtan skulle då stämmas till mera tacksamhet mot Herren" [What a shame that you cannot see what we have seen and hear what we have heard. Your hearts would be moved to more thankfulness for the Lord] (Holm 1902: 5). Just as missionary Albert Holm did in this letter extract, they acknowledged that it made a difference whether they themselves were in Congo or China or whether one had to trust the reports of the missionaries. At the same time, the missionaries made a plea to their readers to retrace their narratives and thus not only to trust them, but to also replicate their feelings within themselves. The joint perspective that missionaries and their readers adopted with respect to non-Christian people lent their testimonies credibility and urgency.

In this context, it is important to mention that it was almost exclusively the Swedish members of the missionary organisation who had the opportunity to make their voices heard in the publications. There was – to use Foucault's phrase – "a rarefaction [...] of the speaking subjects" (Foucault 1981: 61–62). Congolese or Chinese Christians, or potential converts, could rarely express themselves in the publications. This is noteworthy as their conversion to Christianity was the overarching goal of the missionary endeavour. Their statements in the publications – or rather, statements that were attributed to them – only became valid when missionaries shared and interpreted them. Quoting Congolese, Chinese or other persons, or *letting them speak* in the letters and articles did not serve the purpose of representing their voices. Instead, the authors of

6 For more examples, see Flodén 1911; Sjöholm 1896. All translations from Swedish and German in this article are mine.

the texts demonstrated the alleged need for Christian missions through recipients or even through opponents of missions. The most striking example of this was a parallel that was drawn between a contemporary situation and a biblical scene in which Paul the Apostle dreams of a man in Macedonia calling him there to help (Acts 16:9). In her analysis of Norwegian Christian missions to Cameroon, Marianne Gullestad has shown that the biblical quote "Come over [into Macedonia], and help us" was of great importance for the Protestant missionary endeavour (Gullestad 2007: 75–97). Also, in SMF's publications, the missionaries let the people in the so-called mission fields speak this sentence:

> Från hednavärlden höres allt högljuddare ropet: Kom öfver och hjälp oss! [...] Särskilt från Kongo hafva genom våra bröder kommit hjärtskärande bönerop om snar hjälp, på det att de glesnade lederna snart måtte fyllas och folkets behof af evangelii predikan i någon mån tillfredställas. Och äfven till de öfvriga missionsfälten önska de få förstärkning. Skola vi låta dessa bönerop fåfängt förklinga? (*Till missionens vänner* 1892)[7]
> [From the heathen world the cry is heard louder and louder: come over and help us! [...] Especially from the Congo, through our brethren, have come heart-rending appeals for urgent help, that the thinning ranks may soon be filled, and that the people's need for the preaching of the gospel may to some extent be satisfied. And they also wish for reinforcements in the other mission fields. Shall we let these pleas die away in vain?]

Using this strategy of *letting the Others speak*, the authors of missionary writing conveyed an impression of a multitude of voices. In a way, this belied the fact that only those voices of individuals who were seen as members of the community were authorised and could make their voices heard. Knowledge production in the missionary writings was thus closely tied to the construction of a community.

2 The construction of a community (of knowledge)

The next knowledge legitimisation strategy that I derived from my analysis is the construction of a community. The authors of letters and articles created an *imagined community* in the sense of Benedict Anderson's concept (Anderson 1991), especially by addressing the readers directly and indirectly. This appellation of the SMF members as "Älskade missionsvänner" [Beloved friends of the mission] (e.g. Engdahl 1892: 86; Walfridsson 1892: 25) and as a collective Christian *we* produced and reproduced one's sense of emotional belonging to this

7 For a more detailed analysis of this quotation and the strategy of *letting the Others speak*, see Acke 2015b: 109–137.

religious community. It can be described as a community of knowledge in the sense that sharing the community's knowledge was a prerequisite for belonging to it. The missionary publications were the most important written medium in which the missionaries and other core SMF members negotiated cohesive goal(s) and shared perceptions, and thus constructed knowledge that was valid for the community.

The missionary publications constructed the evangelisation of all non-Christian people as a joint, identity-forming goal of their readership and thus as a concern for the whole community. Gathered around this goal, the community appeared almost limitless in time and space. Regarding time, the publications situated it not only as a part of the Protestant missionary movement, which originated in the 18th century, but also in direct continuity and thus in communion with the biblical apostles. This was achieved through biblical allusions, such as the *call from Macedonia* or the Great Commission mentioned above.[8] One way of imagining the contemporary community was through joint events coordinated in time, such as a shared prayer week that missionary Wilhelm Walldén described in one of his letters:

> Äfven här i Mukimbungu firade vi den [böneveckan], fastän vi icke hunnit få böneämnena; men vi hade nog böneämnen ändå. Vi erforo, att vi icke stå ensamma härute på denna aflägsna strand, utan äro förenade med alla Guds barn. Det kännes ljufligt och trosstärkande att erinra sig, att vi voro ihågkomna i bönen inför Gud af våra syskon der hemma. (Walldén 1890: 100)
> [Even here in Mukimbungu we celebrated it [the prayer week], though we had not received the prayer themes in time; but we had enough prayer themes nonetheless. We learned that we are not alone out here on this distant shore but are united with all the children of God. It is sweet and faith-strengthening to bear in mind that we are remembered in prayer before God by our brethren there at home.]

The reason why he and his fellow missionaries did not feel "alone out here", he states, was that they felt united with the *Missionary Covenant* in Sweden through a concerted prayer week. Thus, the community bridged the space between Sweden and Congo or Sweden and China. Also, with respect to space the global focus of the missionary movement, as discussed above regarding the "to

8 Some examples from my Swedish corpus, where the *call from Macedonia* or the Great Commission are referred to are Gån ut i hela verlden och gjören alla folk till lärjungar 1883; Hvarför skola vi bedrifva mission? 1888; Svenska Missionsförbundets 14:e årsmöte [1892] 1892; Gån ut i hela världen 1905.

the end of the world" biblical quote, contributed to a notion of limitlessness.[9] While the missionaries in Congo and China spread the Gospel, the so-called friends of the mission in Sweden donated and prayed for this goal, as the quote also shows. In addition, the community spanned space due to how the missionaries perceived of Sweden's respective relationships with Congo and China. Belonging to the we-group of all SMF missionaries in Congo was, for example, determined by belonging to a certain space, a space that from the perspective of this group was defined as where they were, i.e. "here" (in Mukimbungu, Congo, in the above quote), and yet at the same time remained peripheral: Missionary Wilhelm Walldén described his location as a "distant shore". The missionaries in both Congo and China would often use the phrase "vi/oss härute" [us out here] (e.g. Andreæ 1889: 4; Sköld 1893: 114; Svensson 1889: 39) when talking about themselves and their spatial belonging. The supporters of the mission, in contrast, were "[missions]vännerna därhemma" [the (missionary) friends there at home] (e.g. Andersson 1894; Lund 1893: 104; Walfridsson 1893: 104). The space between the missionaries and the "friends" thus had both a separating and a unifying effect. The distance was explicitly named, and the regions in which missionary work was performed were constructed as far away, peripheral and different. At the same time, Sweden was constructed as both the centre and their shared home. Although missionaries and supporters literally viewed the world from different spatial perspectives – i.e. from Africa or Asia, or from Europe – in their communication, the missionaries shared their readers' outside perspective of Africa and Asia being on the periphery.

The distinction and classification of regions was closely related to the distinction and classification of persons. Even here, a clear-cut division between the European Self and the non-European Other was made, as I will show in the following. The belonging and descent of the people in the mission's target regions were either determined by nation or, in relation to the Congo, through a classification based on *race* and the African spatial origin associated with it. For this, appellations like "Kongos folk" [the people of the Congo] (e.g. Lembke 1905: 101), "Kinas folk" [the people of China] (e.g. Tånnkvist 1901: 390), "Kinas egna söner och döttrar" [China's own sons and daughters] (e.g. Tonnér 1903: 376), "Kongos svarta söner och döttrar" [the black sons and daughters of the Congo] (e.g. Andersson 1889: 38) and "Afrikas svarta barn" [the black children of Africa] (e.g. Gauffin 1908: 50) were used.

9 An example from my Swedish corpus, where "the end of the world" is referred to, is *Svenska Missionsförbundets årskonferens [1884]* 1884.

The concepts of nation and *race* were not clearly distinguished from each other in the publications and the Swedish term *folk* (people) was also used for both, as can be seen from the examples mentioned. In relation to China, however, the missionaries used the term *nation*, while in relation to the Congo, *black* and *dark-skinned* were words they applied again and again to refer to the (supposed) skin colour of the people, which was generally regarded as a characteristic that they used to distinguish the different human "races". This ambiguity in the concepts of *nation* and *race* can be explained by the general flexibility of the concept of *race* in science and in the public, as described by Silke Hensel. On the one hand, it was never (and could never be) sufficiently defined, and on the other hand, it persisted on the borderline between scientific theories, everyday ideas and ideologies pertaining to social order. According to Hensel, the concepts of *race* and *peoples* were already intermingled in the work of Arthur de Gobineau, who transferred the category from natural history to the explanation of human historical development in its entirety (see Hensel 2004: 40–43).

While Swedish people were categorised mainly through their religious belonging when they were described as "God's children", the people in non-European regions, from the perspective of the missionaries, lacked a religion and were thus categorised through their belonging to a certain region in the same way that the Swedes were seen as belonging to God. A conversion changed their religious status, but the association with the peripheral region did not change and also remained obvious in the appellations used by the missionaries. The converts were hardly ever described just as "Christians", instead the missionaries wrote of "de svarta kristna" [the black Christians] (e.g. *Den evangeliska missionen i Uganda* 1894: 88), "de kinesiska kristna" [the Chinese Christians] (e.g. Tånnkvist 1901: 389) or "kristna kineser" [Christian Chinese (people)] (e.g. Engdahl 1892: 88), of "de infödda kristna" [the native Christians] (e.g. Speer 1911: 130) or of "de infödda troende" [the native believers] (e.g. Sjöholm 1895: 82). The converts' in-between status was most obvious in the appellation "hednakristna" [heathen Christians] (e.g. *Den evangeliska missionens jubelår* 1893: 162; Laman 1903: 50), which locked them in a marginal position even within the Christian community and questioned the genuineness of their conversion. The world view of SMF can thus be described with the help of concentric circles, where the centre, the innermost circle, their own community, was Christian, European, white, enlightened and "civilised". A circle further away from the centre consisted of Christian but non-European, non-white, partly knowledgeable and partly "civilised" converts, and the outer circle or margins were heathen, non-European, non-white, "uncivilised", unknowledgeable and dark. The community thus defined new Christians and those devaluat-

ed as "heathens" through alleged deficiencies as Others, and relegated them to the margins or excluded them altogether.

Thus, in the publications, the contradiction between a shared humanity, which lay at the core of Christian thinking, and a religious and racist separation, was one of the main patterns of thought that legitimised the missions:

> Hafva vi för egen del fått erfara, att det är evinnerligt lif att känna Gud och den han har sändt, Jesus Kristus, så må vi ock låta våra medmenniskor, som ännu vandra i syndens och okunnighetens mörker, få veta det samma. (*Hvarför skola vi bedrifva mission?* 1888: 85)
> [If we ourselves have come to know that it means eternal life to know God and him whom he has sent, Jesus Christ, let us also let our fellow human beings, who still walk in the darkness of sin and ignorance, know the same.]

The argument was because "we", the community of knowledge, had received knowledge of God and salvation, "we" were obliged to share this knowledge with the Others. The description of the Others as "walking in the darkness of sin and ignorance" aligned with contemporary conceptions of a lack of civilisation, which was time and again also described in the publications. The metaphorical darkness of "the heathen world" paralleled the (perceived) darkness of the bodies of the Others (see Acke 2015b: 297–299; Gullestad 2007: 4).

But even in missionary discourses, the shared humanity was sometimes called into question when racist thought patterns were reproduced explicitly. In his letter quoted above, missionary Walldén calls the converts "our black brothers". Nevertheless, it was not the community made up of converts at the mission station in Congo that fulfilled the function of reminding him that they were "united with all the children of God". Missionaries often wrote that they were alone even though it becomes clear from the context that they were just the only white people present among Congolese or other Africans (see Andreæ 1888: 110; Pettersson 1911: 135). The loneliness of white Europeans among Africans and Asians was a frequently used figure of thought. The latter were thus not only classified as racially different – since they did not count as human society, their humanity was also called into question. In the material, the racist classification differed for Congolese and Chinese (potential) converts. As mentioned above, an appellation based on skin colour usually referred to Congolese groups and individuals, while the Chinese were mostly classified based on their national belonging. The missionaries mentioned an alleged "yellow skin" only a few times and in these cases they were primarily describing Chinese children (e.g. Fredén 1905: 190). Nevertheless, a racist attitude towards Chinese people was present in the materials, such as when a group of missionaries argued that the standard period for a stay in China could not be prolonged from seven to ten years, as this would endanger the mental health of the missionaries:

> En missionär kan till sin yttre människa vara frisk, men genom att dag efter dag år ut och år in vistas bland kineserna blir han till sin inre människa trött, ja, kanske sjuk. Den omgifvande hedendomen, folkets djupa andliga och lekamliga nöd utöfva dagligen sitt tryck på missionären, [...] den medfödda falska och af synden fördärfvade karaktären framträder t.o.m. hos dem, om hvilka man haft de bästa förhoppningar. [...] Det är icke utan risk för en missionärs inre hälsa, om han för en längre tid får vara ensam bland kineserna. (Sköld et al. 1905: 243)
>
> [A missionary may be outwardly healthy, but by spending day after day, year after year among the Chinese, he becomes inwardly tired, perhaps even sick. The surrounding heathenism, the deep spiritual and bodily need of the people, exert their daily pressure on the missionary, [...] the innate false character, corrupted by sin, appears even in those for whom the best hopes were placed. [...] It is not without risk to a missionary's inner health if he is left alone among the Chinese for any length of time.]

Although the missionaries first mentioned the alleged "heathendom" of the Chinese as the reason, they then continued with a racist categorisation of the people that they used biology to justify: in their view, they had an "innate false character" that was only further corrupted by sin, i.e. by heathendom. Here, they reproduced the racist notion that innate biological differences existed between peoples. In the end, they invoked the above-mentioned figure of thought of the loneliness of whites among other peoples.

My analysis thus confirms Piotr Cap's theory that proximisation is a prerequisite of legitimisation. In order to be able to argue for a cause and to give instructions to people for taking action, this cause must be spatially, temporally and axiologically (i.e. in a value-based way) made a concern for one's group (see Cap 2010: 5–6). In the missionary publications, this was tied to the process in which the group or community was created by distinguishing between the Self and the Other. Furthermore, the Other was excluded from the production of valid knowledge in the processes of *letting them speak* described above. Because of their status as eyewitnesses, the missionaries claimed exclusive access to detailed knowledge on the living conditions, religion and ways of thinking for the people living in Congo and China. The perspectives of the people in and from these regions not only receded into the background – it was completely omitted. *Letting them speak* without actually giving them a voice thus served to provide the community with a monopoly on knowledge. The missionaries objectified the people in Congo, China and all other parts of the world that did not have a history of Christianity by excluding them from the (knowledge) community. They used them as sources of knowledge but did not see them as capable of systematising and communicating that knowledge themselves.

Through this clear separation of the Christian, white, European, "civilised", knowledgeable Self from the Other defined exclusively through negative differentiation, the missionary writings produced and reproduced a binary division of

the world while creating their knowledge community. This dichotomy was by no means neutral, but implied valuations and hierarchies. Through metaphors of light and darkness, as well as war and cultivation of the soil, the authors assigned themselves positive traits, universalised their own values, and empowered the Self while devaluating the Others and degrading them to objects of their own actions. They conceptualised the relationship between themselves and the people they aimed to evangelise as parallel to their own relationship with God. While God ruled over them as a fatherly sovereign and guided them, they saw themselves as destined to teach and guide non-Christian people and converts because of their own Christian spirit, knowledge and alleged progressiveness. To construct Christianity as the solution and missions as a necessity, the absences of Christianity had to be viewed as a problem.

3 The reduction of complexity

The third strategy was the reduction of complexity. The missionary publications reduced complex circumstances to a simple equation by propagating Christianity throughout the world and thus the conversion of every individual to this religion as the only solution to the alleged savagery and "poverty and need" of "the heathen world": Christianity was good and enabled all individuals to lead a satisfied, dignified, just and "civilised" life. "Heathendom" was bad and offered undignified conditions for individuals.

Of course, this binary division of the world existed alongside more complex divisions and images – but these were marginal. For example, the missionary writings differentiated between the mission target areas of Congo and China, as I have already explained above regarding nationality and *race*, while at the same time equalising them. Congolese and Chinese people were the same from the perspective of the missionary organisations because they were all heathens and thus lacked knowledge of salvation. In the publications, not knowing about Jesus was often equated with being unknowledgeable in general. Describing the people of the mission regions with collective appellations like "heathens", "blacks", "Africans" or "Chinese" and categorising them only through deficiencies led to depriving them of their individuality. Rather, they were generally described as a homogeneous collective characterised by cultural and temporal traditions that had allegedly always been in place.

The reduction of complexity, the simple division between Christianity and heathendom, between "white" and "black", between knowledgeable and unknowledgeable, and between light and darkness, bestowed legitimacy upon the

missionary endeavour. One account, which reproduced this simple justification for the necessity of the missions, was a series of conversion narratives.[10] They all followed a distinct pattern, which presented the conversion to Christianity as a positive turning point in the lives of individuals. From an arduous existence marked by inner dissatisfaction, the lives of Swedish, Chinese or Congolese young people or adults changed for the better – solely because they had found God. Through the conversion of individuals, whole societies would in turn be changed for the better. In these simple stories, Christianity appeared to be the only and effective path to a good life, a just society and the salvation of individuals after death.

Although this general pattern is the same in the narratives of (or rather about) Swedish missionaries and converts to Christianity in the mission regions, the descriptions of conversions vary significantly. The conversion narratives of the missionaries, which SMF published in greater number in the 1880s, and which later lost their significance in the periodical, were extensive and always described individual lives. They followed the pattern of typical pietistic conversion narratives that were analysed, for example, by D. Bruce Hindmarsh (2001), though they were usually written in the third person and not in the first. A conversion from what the awakened members of the missionary movement perceived as nominal Christianity to true Christianity was part of the pietistic tradition. In contrast, the conversion of Congolese, Chinese and other converts to Christianity from other traditions was hardly the topic of a whole narrative text. Instead, it was mentioned in reports from the mission field, letters or other texts. Apart from the so-called "first fruits", the conversion narratives of alleged "heathens" hardly ever described individual conversions, but those of whole families or groups of people. When narrating individual conversions, the missionaries generalised their significance, such as when they omitted the name of the convert:

> En till Kristus omvänd hedning i Kongo, Central-Afrika, yttrade vid aftonmötet här vid stationen: 'Under den tid jag vandrade främmande för den sanne Guden kommo några i vår by att lemna afgudarne och tro på Kristus. Jag hatade och begabbade dem derför. Men de talade i stället vänligt till mig och voro glade. Detta väckte oro i mitt hjerta, och jag började längta efter frid. Hade de, såsom många nu göra, undandragit sig försmädelsen, så hade vi ännu vandrat i mörker, ty genom dem har evangelium kommit in i oss. Låtom oss följa Jesus under lidanden och förföljelser'. (Hammarstedt 1887: 72)
>
> [A heathen converted to Christ in the Congo, Central Africa, said at the evening meeting here at the station: 'During the time when I wandered as a stranger to the true God, some

10 See Acke 2015b: 136–169 for an analysis of the conversion narratives in the materials.

> in our village came to leave the idols and believe in Christ. I hated and taunted them for it. But they spoke kindly to me instead and were glad. This stirred up trouble in my heart, and I began to long for peace. If they had not endured the scorn, as many do now, we would still be walking in darkness, for through them the gospel has come into us. Let us follow Jesus in suffering and persecution'.]

This quote is another example of *letting the Other speak*. Especially because the convert is not mentioned by name, it is and was impossible to know how reliably missionary Lars Fredrik Hammarstedt recounted his words. While he introduced the convert – whom he then let speak – in a most general way by calling him "a heathen converted to Christ in the Congo" and then broadened the geographical focus even further by adding "Central Africa", he then specified the place where he had heard the man speak as exactly his own mission station (Mukimbungu). On the one hand, the man's statement was easily generalisable because it could not be traced back to a specific person, but on the other hand, Hammarstedt expressed that he had heard it himself as an eyewitness. Altogether, the differences between conversion narratives strengthened the impression of European individuality while Asians, Africans and other non-European people were imagined as collectives.

Furthermore, the previously discussed imagery added to the reduced complexity. Metaphors of war, darkness and light as well as soil cultivation were abundant in the publications.[11] All of these metaphors originated in the Bible, but the authors of the publications applied them to the contemporary context of missionary work in Africa and Asia and merged them – especially regarding the dualism of darkness and light – with enlightenment and colonial discourses to legitimate the missionary cause. The simplifying dualism between light and darkness as well as Christianity and "heathenism", which was clearly associated with a division into good and evil or right and wrong, was apparently a core idea of the missionary worldview during that the time (see Acke 2013: 236–242). The visual representation of this dualism in the metaphors of darkness and light reduced the complexity of the relationship between Christianity and "heathenism", and thus also between Christians and "heathens", to a minimum. It ensured that the boundary between the two appeared unambiguous, while at the same time ascribing a positive value to one group and devaluing the other.

Rolf Reichardt has pointed to the function of images in reducing concepts to a simple meaning, thus increasing their social impact through sensualisation, emotionalisation and popularisation (see Reichardt 1998: 139). Although Reichardt refers to actual visual representations, I would argue that this applies

11 See Acke 2015b: 281–340 for an in-depth analysis of the metaphors used in the materials.

equally to metaphorical representations. While the illustrations in the missionary publications are certainly a visual representation of the symbolism of darkness and light, it was their metaphorical use that was predominant. Following the findings of research on metaphors (see Lakoff/Johnson 2003; Gibbs 2006; Ritchie 2011), I assume that this symbolism appealed to the readers' senses and evoked emotional reactions in them. "Heathenism" and everything associated with it had to appear repulsive and evil, while at the same time underlining the position of Christianity as the only remedy against evil.

The notion that the continent's inhabitants descended from Noah's cursed son Ham connected the classification of the skin colour of Africans as black with European light-darkness symbolism. This notion was formulated from the 17th century onwards and was referred to in missionary publications (see Svensson 1888: 102; Walldén 1893: 182; Werner 1898: 242). Although the Bible describes the cursing of Ham, it at no point makes any reference to his skin colour or that of his sons (see Martin 2001: 287; Nederveen Pieterse 1992: 44). As descendants of Ham, however, this figure of thought marked all Africans as cursed and thus sinful through their skin colour and associated them with darkness, which in the publications was equated with the devil, sin and heathenism.

The metaphors were also intertwined, and as a result formed a coherent metaphorical system as described by Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 7–13, 41–45). With references to the Bible, the publications presented the mission as a war that the missionary organisation fought in the name of God against the devil and the powers of evil that personified – in their view – the darkness of "heathendom".

> Äfven detta år måste för Guds folk blifva ett stridens år, ty så länge mörker öfvertäcker jorden och mörkhet folken, så få vi icke hvila på våra vapen, utan vi måste draga i härnad mot mörkrets härar. Ve oss, om vi det icke göra! (*Herrens högra hand gifver seger [1892]* 1892)
> [This year must also be a year of war for God's people, for as long as the dark covers the earth and darkness the nations, we cannot rest our arms, but must go forth in armour against the armies of darkness. Woe to us if we do not!]

This call from a theologically edifying editorial in the journal *Missionsförbundet* from the year 1892 made it clear that all members of SMF, all Christians, were expected to take part in this metaphorical war. As the publications stressed, victory in this war was assured and entailed the Second Coming of Jesus. Setbacks and sacrifices were to be expected in a war. This meant that this metaphor could even justify the deaths of missionaries. At the same time, resistance and rejection on the part of those to be converted could be interpreted as a necessary part of missionary work instead of a fundamental challenge to the endeavour. The metaphor of war legitimised an intervention into the lives of individuals – if

necessary, even against their will. The figures of speech simplified complex circumstances and reduced them to a simple formula: Christianity is the solution to all the (alleged) problems of "the heathen world".

Through the metaphors, the conversion narratives and the above-mentioned appellations, the missionary publications reduced the complexity of the topics they discussed, especially when it came to the relationship between Christianity and other religions, and between the group delimited as the Self and the people constructed as Others. This relationship was simplified as one of binary opposition in which intermediate positions hardly seemed possible.

4 Discursive continuities

In the analysed materials, Christian missions were legitimised through contradictory discourses in which religion, nationality and *race* were intertwined. The explicit goal of Christian missions was religious inclusion, inviting all humans into the Christian fold in order to bring about the return of Christ. This was based on the assumption of a common humanity. But as the missionaries categorised religion, nationality and *race* as interdependent categories in their writings, they assigned their converts to a marginal position within the religious group, just as colonial efforts assigned all non-Europeans a marginal and inferior position within the world, thus legitimising colonial exploitation and undermining the idea of a common humanity.

One important finding of my analysis is that the missionary discourses were closely intertwined with other contemporary discourses. This contributed to the legitimisation of the missions, as the missionaries thus tried to present Christian missions as a natural consequence of ostensibly uncontroversial statements, such as the idea of different stages of development that different groups of people had reached. In doing so, they located missionary knowledge in more general bodies of knowledge of the time and thereby strengthened their own authoritative position and credibility. They confirmed assumptions instead of offering alternative interpretations that would have contradicted their readers' previous knowledge.

The missionaries repeatedly drew on two bodies of knowledge: biblical knowledge and colonial discourses. The references to the Bible had an almost unquestionable importance for Protestant Christians of the time who were influenced by Pietism, i.e. for the primary target group of the publications. One characteristic of pietistic thinking was that the Bible was highly significant for the life of every Christian individual.

The missionaries also included colonial and racist bodies of knowledge in their argumentation and reporting, especially by not accepting their (potential) converts as coequals. Religious Christian ideas were entangled with colonialist, racist notions of superiority. Thus, missions became colonialist and colonialism became Christian. In the discursive legitimisation of the analysed publications, evangelising work was constructed as a "Herrschaftsbeziehung zwischen Kollektiven" [relationship of domination between collectives] (Osterhammel 2003: 21). This is the wording Jürgen Osterhammel uses in his definition of colonialism. In the publications, Christians saw themselves as superior to "heathens". The authors attributed this to their alleged advantage in knowledge and insight, which they derived from their knowledge of salvation through Jesus Christ. Furthermore, they propagated a universalisation of their own ideals and, consequently, devaluated the Others with respect to the categorisations of *race* and "civilisation". From their alleged superiority, Christians derived the obligation to guide, lead and to preside over the Others.[12] The missionaries were not willing to adapt culturally and justified their claim to leadership with the help of mission-related ideological ideas of superiority, just as Osterhammel has clarified with regard to colonisers (Osterhammel 2003: 19–21). In contrast to colonial activities, however, Christian missions did not have any connection with economic interests, nor was physical violence a systematically used or legitimate means of exercising authority (see also Klein 2010: 157; Osterhammel 2003: 19–21).

For Sweden, the missionary endeavour is nevertheless to be regarded as a form of colonialism, as it enabled the country to be inscribed and anchored in European discourses of superiority. Only a few Swedes were directly involved in Sweden's official colonial projects. The missions, however, were sustained by many Swedes: they donated to the missions, read about them in different publications, heard about them during events, services and in Sunday schools, and they, their family members or acquaintances travelled to other parts of the world as missionaries.

Ulla Vuorela's concept of *colonial complicity* (see Vuorela 2009) provides an excellent description of Sweden's participation in hegemonic European discourses. Sweden contributed to the production and reproduction of European ideas of superiority and the resulting discrimination of all non-European people without implementing colonial activities itself. The country did not take centre stage in the colonial endeavour, but it did participate in it by adopting and

12 That this was in practice (if at all) only possible with (potential) converts can be regarded as secondary with respect to discursive legitimisation.

shaping hegemonic bodies of knowledge. My work has shown that Christian missions played a fundamental role in Sweden's colonial complicity. Furthermore, Christian missions are still relevant today. Just as the missionary discourses reveal continuities with discourses that precede and run parallel to them in time, the structures and patterns of thought for missionary (colonial and biblical) discourses are still contained in statements today, e.g. when discussing development aid and migration.

Discursively, Swedish Protestant missions around 1900 can be interpreted as an answer to Sweden's own marginal position in Europe and in the European colonial endeavour. Participating in and further developing discourses that marginalised Africans and Asians enabled the Swedes to collectively claim a place in the contemporary centre of the world.

References

a. Research literature

Acke, Hanna (2013): "Missionary Periodicals as a Genre. Models of Writing, Horizons of Expectation". In: Felicity Jensz/Hanna Acke (eds.). *Missions and Media. The Politics of Nineteenth-Century Missionary Periodicals*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 225–243.

Acke, Hanna (2015a): "Konversion als Individualisierung? Konstruktionen von Individualität in schwedischen Missionspublikationen". In: Martin Fuchs/Antje Linkenbach/Wolfgang Reinhard (eds.). *Individualisierung durch christliche Mission?* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 173–186.

Acke, Hanna (2015b): *Sprachliche Legitimierung protestantischer Mission. Die Publikationen von Svenska Missionsförbundet um 1900*. Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter.

Anderson, Benedict (1991): *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. 2nd edn. London, New York: Verso.

Berger, Peter L./Luckmann, Thomas (1991): *The Social Construction of Reality*. London et al.: Penguin.

Cap, Piotr (2010): *Legitimisation in Political Discourse. A Cross-Disciplinary Perspective on the Modern US War Rhetoric*. 2nd edn. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.

Foucault, Michel (1981): "The Order of Discourse". In: Robert Young (ed.). *Untying the Text. A Post-Structuralist Reader*. Boston/London/Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 55–78.

Foucault, Michel (2008): Der Wille zum Wissen. Sexualität und Wahrheit 1". In: Michel Foucault: Die Hauptwerke. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1023–1151.

Gibbs, Raymond W., Jr. (2006): "Metaphor Interpretation as Embodied Simulation". In: *Mind and Language* 21 (3), 434–458.

Gründer, Horst (1982): *Christliche Mission und deutscher Imperialismus. Eine politische Geschichte ihrer Beziehungen während der deutschen Kolonialzeit 1884–1914 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Afrikas und Chinas*. Paderborn: Schöningh.

Gullestad, Marianne (2007): *Picturing Pity. Pitfalls and Pleasures in Cross-Cultural Communication: Image and Word in a North Cameroon Mission*. New York: Berghahn Books.
Hammer, Karl (1978): *Weltmission und Kolonialismus. Sendungsideen des 19. Jahrhunderts im Konflikt*. München: Kösel.
Hensel, Silke (2004): *Leben auf der Grenze. Diskursive Aus- und Abgrenzungen von Mexican Americans und Puertoricanern in den USA*. Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert.
Hindmarsh, D. Bruce (2001): "Patterns of Conversion in Early Evangelical History and Overseas Mission Experience". In: Brian Stanley (ed.). *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 71–98.
Hutchby, Ian (2001): "'Witnessing'. The Use of First-Hand Knowledge in Legitimating Lay Opinions on Talk Radio". In: *Discourse Studies* 3 (4), 481–497.
Klein, Thoralf (2010): "Mission und Kolonialismus – Mission als Kolonialismus. Anmerkungen zu einer Wahlverwandtschaft". In: Claudia Kraft/Alf Lüdtke/Jürgen Martschukat (eds.). *Kolonialgeschichten. Regionale Perspektiven auf ein globales Phänomen*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 142–161.
Krämer, Sybille (2009): "Über Zeugnisgeben und Zeugenschaft. Wie der Glaube und das Erkennen zusammenhängen". In: *fundiert: Das Wissenschaftsmagazin der Freien Universität Berlin* (2), 84–90. https://www.fu-berlin.de/presse/publikationen/fundiert/archiv/2009_02/media/fundiert_2-2009_glauben.pdf (accessed 25 April 2023).
Kussak, Åke (1982): *Författaren som predikant. Ett frikyrkosamfunds litterära verksamhet 1910–1939*. Stockholm: Gummessons.
Lakoff, George/Johnson, Mark (2003): *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
Martin, Peter (2001): *Schwarze Teufel, edle Mohren. Afrikaner in Geschichte und Bewußtsein der Deutschen*. Hamburg: Hamburger Edition HIS.
Nederveen Pieterse, Jan (1992): *White on Black. Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press.
Osterhammel, Jürgen (2003): *Kolonialismus. Geschichte – Formen – Folgen*. 4th edn. München: C. H. Beck.
Peters, John Durham (2001): "Witnessing". In: *Media, Culture & Society* 23 (6), 707–723.
Porter, Andrew (2004): *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Reichardt, Rolf (1998): "Light against Darkness. The Visual Representations of a Central Enlightenment Concept". In: *Representations* (61), 95–148.
Ritchie, L. David (2011): "Justice is Blind. A Model for Analyzing Metaphor Transformations and Narratives in Actual Discourse". In: *Metaphor and the Social World* 1 (1), 70–89.
Robert, Valérie (2002): "Briefformen in der Presse. Versuch einer situativen und metakommunikativen Klassifizierung". In: Kirsten Adamzik (ed.). *Texte, Diskurse, Interaktionsrollen. Analysen zur Kommunikation im öffentlichen Raum*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 61–115.
Stanley, Brian (1990): *The Bible and the Flag. Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Leicester: Apollos.
Voss, Julia (2008): "Darwin oder Moses? Funktion und Bedeutung von Charles Darwins Porträt im 19. Jahrhundert". In: *NTM: Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Wissenschaften, Technik und Medizin* 16 (2), 213–243.
Vuorela, Ulla (2009): "Colonial Complicity. The 'Postcolonial' in a Nordic Context". In: Suvi Keskinen/Salla Tuori/Sari Inri et al. (eds.). *Complying with Colonialism. Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Nordic Region*. Farnham: Ashgate, 19–33.

Zelizer, Barbie (2007): "On 'Having Been There'. 'Eyewitnessing' as a Journalistic Key Word". In: *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 24 (5), 408–428.

b. Empirical sources

Andersson, Anna (1889): "Mukimbungu den 2 jan. 1889". In: *Missionsförbundet* 7 (4), 37–38.
Andersson, Karl Teod[or] (1894): "Mukimbungu, Kongo, den 28 dec. 1893". In: *Missionsförbundet* 12 (6), 83.
Andreæ, Karl Fredr[ik] (1888): "Mukimbungu den 6 aug. 1888". In: *Missionsförbundet* 6 (10), 110–111.
Andreæ, Karl Fredr[ik] (1889): "Mukimbungu den 26 oktober 1888". In: *Missionsförbundet* 7 (1), 4–5.
"Den evangeliska missionen i Uganda" (1894). In: *Missionsförbundet* 12 (6), 84–89.
"Den evangeliska missionens jubelår" (1893). In: *Missionsförbundet* 11 (11), 161–162.
Engdahl, Karl [Wilhelm] (1892): "Wu-chang den 10 jan. 1892". In: *Missionsförbundet* 10 (8), 86–88.
Flodén, S[ven] A[ugust] (1911): "I väckelsetider". In: Wilhelm Sjöholm/Jakob E. Lundahl (eds.). *Dagbräckning i Kongo*. Stockholm: Svenska Missionsförbundet, 273–276.
Fredén, Anna (1905): "Wuchang den 21 febr. 1905". In: *Missionsförbundet* 23 (12), 189–190.
Gauffin, J[ohan] B. (1908): "Missionssinne". In: *Missionsförbundet* 26 (4), 49–50.
"Gån ut i hela världen. Under året första gången utgångna missionärer" (1905). In: *Missionsförbundet* 23 (24), 370–371.
"Gån ut i hela verlden och gjören alla folk till lärjungar" (1883). In: *Svenska Missionsförbundet* 1 (1), 2–5.
Hammarstedt, Lars Fredrik (1887): "Lars Fredrik Hammarstedts dagbok". In: *Missionsförbundet* 5 (6), 67–72.
"Herrens högra hand gifver seger [1892]" (1892). In: *Missionsförbundet* 10 (1), 1.
Holm, Albert (1902): "Mukimbungu den 22 okt. 1901". In: *Missionsförbundet* 20 (1), 4–5.
"Hvarför skola vi bedrifva mission?" (1888). In: *Missionsförbundet* 6 (8), 85–86.
Karlsson, Sofi (1897): *Kongokvinnan såsom barn, hustru och änka. Skildring från verkligheten*. Stockholm: Svenska Tryckeriaktiebolaget.
Laman, K[arl] E[dvard] (1903): "Mukimbungu den 13 dec. 1902". In: *Missionsförbundet* (4), 50–51.
Lembke, C[arl] W[ilhelm] (1905): "Mukimbungu den 24 jan. 1905". In: *Missionsförbundet* 23 (7).
Lund, F[rans] Edw[ard] (1893): "De mördade kinamissionärerna. Swedish Missionary Society, Wuchang den 3 juli 1893". In: *Missionsförbundet* 11 (17), 257–259.
Pettersson, K[arl] J[ohan] (1911): "Svenska Missionsförbundets mission i Kongo före 1886". In: Wilhelm Sjöholm/Jakob E. Lundahl (eds.). *Dagbräckning i Kongo*. Stockholm: Svenska Missionsförbundet, 108–135.
Sjöholm, Wilh[elm] (1895): "Mukimbungu den 4/4 1895". In: *Missionsförbundet* 13 (11), 82–83.
Sjöholm, Wilhelm (1896): "Mukimbungu den 8 mars 1896". In: *Missionsförbundet* 14 (10), 148–151.
Sköld, Eva et al. (1905): "Till Svenska Missionsförbundets Styrelse, Stockholm". In: *Missionsförbundet* 23 (16), 242–244.
Sköld, Joh[an] (1893): "Wu-chang den 12 nov. 1892". In: *Missionsförbundet* 11 (8), 114–115.
Speer, Robert E. (1911): "Missionen och rasandan". In: *Missionsförbundet* 29 (9), 129–131.
"Svenska Missionsförbundets 14:e årsmöte [1892]" (1892). In: *Missionsförbundet* 10 (12), 133–139.

"Svenska Missionsförbundets årskonferens [1884]" (1884). In: *Svenska Missionsförbundet* 2 (6), 81–93.
Svensson, Mina (1888): "Palabala den 11 juli 1888". In: *Missionsförbundet* 6 (9), 101–102.
Svensson, Mina (1889): "Mukimbungu d. 2 februari 1889". In: *Missionsförbundet* 7 (4), 38–39.
"Till missionens vänner" (1892). In: *Missionsförbundet* 10 (23), back cover.
Tonnér, G[ustaf] (1903): "Wuchang den 2 okt. 1903". In: *Missionsförbundet* 21 (24), 374–376.
Tånnkvist, S[ven] (1901): "Wuchang den 30 okt 1900". In: *Missionsförbundet* (1), 387–390.
van Leeuwen, Theo (2008): *Discourse and Practice. New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.
Walfridsson, K[arl] S[imon] (1892): "Mukimbungu den 25 nov. 1892 [sic]". In: *Missionsförbundet* 10 (3), 25–27.
Walfridsson, Ruth (1893): "Mukimbungu den 1 Dec. 1892". In: *Missionsförbundet* 11 (7), 104–105.
Walldén, W[ilhelm] (1893): "Redogörelse för verksamheten vid Mukimbungu under 1892". In: *Missionsförbundet* 11 (12), 182–184.
Walldén, Wilh[elm] (1890): "Mukimbungu den 25 jan. 1890". In: *Missionsförbundet* 8 (9), 100–101.
Werner, N. (1898): "En julhögtid i Kongo". In: N. Werner (ed.). *På hedningarnes väg. Bilder från Svenska missionsförbundets missionsfält*. Köping: J. A. Lindblads Förlag.