

SCANDINAVIAN WOMEN MISSIONARIES AS PART OF THE ARMENOPHILE MOVEMENT

SVANTE LUNDGREN

svante.lundgren@ctr.lu.se

The Hamidian massacres in the 1890s, which were widely reported in both America and Europe, created a movement of solidarity with the suffering Armenians. Among Nordic¹ Christians many were prompted to care for the thousands of Armenian orphans in "the country of blood and tears". A dozen Scandinavian women were sent to Armenia to work as missionaries, and some of them dedicated decades of their lives to helping Armenian women and children.

The massacres left many dead; the estimates vary between 80,000 and 300,000.² More men than women and children were killed, which resulted in many women becoming widows and many children becoming fatherless or even orphans. It was especially the plight of these women and children which triggered a strong response among Americans and Europeans.

WESTERN PUBLIC REACTION TO THE MASSACRES

The massacres attracted great attention in the Western world. At this time knowledge about Arabs, Turks, Armenians and other Oriental peoples was limited among Europeans and Americans. Missionaries and travelers, however, had reported about their experiences in Ottoman Turkey, so those who read books and newspapers had some knowledge at the time of the massacres as news began to spread. This was especially the case among people active in the church. They generally viewed Armenians positively as people of the first Christian nation in the world. Among the general public, however, there was a widespread Armenophobia; Armenians were viewed as a cold, calculating and dishonest business people, lining their pockets at the expense of the Turks.³

When the massacres became known, it was the pro-Armenians who mobilized and raised their voices. A European appeal in support of the Armenians was signed by many well-known individuals. The famous French socialist Jean Jaurès (1859-1914) gave several inflammatory speeches in the National Assembly,⁴ while Georges Clemenceau (1841-1929), "The Tiger", made appeals for the Armenians and wrote a strong preface to a book with testimonies about the massacres.⁵ Additionally, the British statesman William Gladstone (1809-98) called the sultan a great assassin,⁶ and Eduard Bernstein (1850-1932), a leading German Social democrat, gave a speech in Berlin about the sufferings of the Armenians. This speech was published as a book

in both German and Danish.⁷ Among the Scandinavian intellectuals who expressed their disgust over the massacres were the Norwegian writer Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, the Danish literary critic Georg Brandes and an 8-year old Kaj Munk, future Protestant pastor and anti-Nazi writer.⁸

Not only did politicians and other public figures react to the plight of Armenian women and children; ordinary people organized help to those affected by the massacres. They pressed their governments to react and formed organizations to collect money to send to those who were destitute and in need of support. Armenophile organizations were established in many European countries, like Switzerland, France and Belgium. In Switzerland one million francs and more signatures for a petition than any time before were collected. In 1900 the magazine *Pro Arménia* was founded in France.⁹

Several pro-Armenian organizations were established in Great Britain. Already in 1880 money was collected to help Armenians in need after the Turkish-Russian war. The following year the Quakers established an Armenian Mission, which for many years delivered help to Ottoman Armenians. James Bryce, a Liberal politician who eventually became famous as the publisher of the *Blue Book*, which was a collection of eyewitness testimonies of the Armenian genocide gathered by the young historian Arnold Toynbee, established the Anglo-Armenian association in 1893. In 1895 the Scottish Armenian Association was founded, and in the following year the International Association of Friends of Armenia was, with the bishop of Rochester as president. One of the most important pro-Armenian organizations was Friends of Armenia, founded in 1896. Its first president was Lady Frederick Cavendish (Lucy Cavendish), an important and well-known supporter of women's education. From 1900 the organization published a quarterly magazine, *Friend of Armenia*. Later, during and after the genocide, the British Armenia Committee was the most powerful pro-Armenian voice in Britain. These organizations raised their voice in support of Armenians and collected money to support them. Armenians living in Great Britain had their own organizations, and in 1920 a British-Armenian Chamber of Commerce was established.¹⁰ It is noteworthy that whereas in other countries mainly men and women from the church were in charge of pro-Armenian organizations, this was not the case in Britain. There were many active Christians engaged for the Armenian cause in Britain, but among the leading figures Liberal politicians dominated.

In the USA reaction to the Armenian massacres was stronger than in Europe. Because many American missionaries worked among the Armenians of Turkey, the American public received reports about the massacres. During 1895 the *New York Times* published no less than 145 articles about the Armenian atrocities. On September 10, 1895, the word "Holocaust" was,

probably for the first time ever, used about a human rights violation when the *New York Times* ran a headline on its first page titled "Another Armenian Holocaust".¹¹ The Americans did not remain indifferent to these reports, and thus what Peter Balakian has called "the first international human rights movement in American history" was born.¹² Prior to this campaign American commitment to needy people in other countries had been sporadic. The Greek struggle for freedom in the 1820s and the Irish famine in the 1840s generated limited responses. The Russian famine in 1841 gained more attention and action; however, it was domestic support for the Armenians which made a lasting impact on the history of American humanitarianism. The reasons for this were not only the missionary movement, but also the fact that the USA had a free press, a strong civil society, and liberal intellectuals with influence in the public debate. In the words of Ann Marie Wilson, "a little-known Ottoman minority" was transformed "into an international *cause célèbre*".¹³

Already in the summer of 1893, i.e., before the Armenian massacres, the organization Friends of Armenia was founded. In November 1894 a big public meeting was held in Boston, and when reports about the massacres reached America, they created many local initiatives to help Armenians in need. In many places all around the USA money was collected and sent to Armenia. The National Armenian Relief Committee was established, and its board included some of the most powerful men in the country. This movement brought together Christians and Jews, Democrats and Republicans, conservatives and liberals. Veterans from the abolitionist movement and the leading champions of women's rights held central positions in the work. Among them was one of the country's most well-known and respected women, Julia Ward Howe, writer of the lyrics to the *Battle Hymn of the Republic* and sometimes called "America's Queen Victoria".¹⁴

The pro-Armenian movement in the USA was also able to engage Clara Barton for its cause. She has been called the "Florence Nightingale of America" and was the founder and longtime leader of the Red Cross in the USA. In 1896 she travelled to Turkey and coordinated five Red Cross teams, which journeyed to different parts of the country to help the Armenians who had survived the massacres. This help reached people in uttermost need, and the American rescue workers delivered food, treated patients and fixed broken machines. Barton commented on this effort in the following way: "Never has America had more cause to be justly proud and grateful than when its sons and daughters in foreign lands perform deeds of worth like that."¹⁵ There were, however, several controversies. The Sultan did not at first want to allow the rescue teams to enter the country, but changed his mind after Barton convinced him that the Red Cross acted strictly out of

humanitarian and not political or religious concern. This led to complaints from American donors that the Red Cross helped Muslims, perhaps even perpetrators.¹⁶ Barton is now a national icon in the USA, and there are dozens of schools and streets and even a crater on Venus named after her.

As the American public reacted strongly to the plight of the Armenians, the pressure grew on politicians to do something. In December 1895 the issue was debated in the US Congress. The first proposal stated that the USA should use diplomatic means and "force of arms if necessary" to put an end to the atrocities. The proposal also mentioned the possibility of creating an independent Armenia. This was too much for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, so its chairman, Shelby Moore Commons, presented a more guarded proposal. It stated that the USA could not intervene in the internal affairs of a European state, but it also declared that the USA had an obligation to humanity, especially in such extreme cases as this one, to act. This watered down Cullom resolution was passed by both the Senate and the House. President Grover Cleveland, however, ignored the resolution out of fear that it could irritate the Turks and make it impossible for the American Red Cross teams to work in the country.¹⁷ This pattern has since been repeated many times with American presidents avoiding the topic of the Armenian genocide so as not to endanger American interests in Turkey. Nowadays, these interests are not humanitarian but commercial and military.

Later, during and after the genocide, American commitment to help Armenians grew into a veritable mass movement. The American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief was founded in 1915 by James Barton, leader of the missionary organization ABCFM (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions), and Cleveland H. Dodge, businessman and philanthropist. It later changed its name to Near East Relief (NER). Until 1930 it collected more than 110 million dollars to help masses of Armenian orphans in Turkey, Soviet Armenia, Lebanon and other countries. At its peak in 1921 NER was feeding 300,000 persons daily. The initial aim was to help Armenians return to their homes in Cilicia, today's southern Turkey, and rebuild an Armenian society. When the Kemalists drove away the French from Cilicia in 1921, the Armenians fled to Syria and Lebanon. The work of NER now aimed to help these Armenian refugees adapt to a new life in another country.¹⁸

NER was a secular organization, but many of its field workers were persons who earlier had worked in the region as missionaries. Impressive work for the benefit of, above all, orphans was possible because of a unique mobilization of the American public. Around the USA churches, synagogues, schools, clubs, and thousands of individuals collected money for "the starving Armenians".¹⁹ The American historian Keith David Watenpugh has stated

that the campaign of NER was "unprecedented in size and relied heavily on emerging advertising and marketing techniques for its success."²⁰

LEPSIUS AND LOHMANN

The pro-Armenian narrative dominated in many European countries; however, Germany was an exception. German politicians, academics and intellectuals refused to condemn what happened in the Ottoman Empire, an important German ally. This position was justified with a general cultural relativistic rationale – Turkey is an Asian country, and we shall not apply our standards to its doings – or out of geopolitical considerations. To condemn the Armenian massacres would be to support British expansionism. Thus a pro-Turkish discourse prevailed in German society, a development that suited the German government.²¹

There was, however, one group which was enthusiastically pro-Armenian: evangelical Christians.²² At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century the Armenians had a strong defender in the German Protestant pastor Johannes Lepsius (1858-1926). In the middle of the 1880s he worked in the German church in Jerusalem, where his interest in Oriental Christianity was awakened. After having returned to Germany, he started a rug factory which produced Oriental-modeled carpets. In 1895 he founded the organization Deutsche Orient-Mission, which would evolve into an important agent for economic help and political support to the Armenians, although initially it aimed at doing missionary work among Muslims.

As reports about the Armenian massacres reached Germany, within the Protestant church a spontaneous movement to help the Armenians began to take shape. The help was primarily channeled through the American mission, which was well established in the Ottoman Empire. Lepsius decided to go and see for himself. Disguised as a rug producer and with the Persian-Armenian student James Greenfield as interpreter, he travelled in spring 1896 to the region where massacres had taken place. The Turkish authorities did not allow him to visit Eastern Turkey, so the journey was restricted to Cilicia.²³ As a result of this journey he published the book *Armenien und Europa*, which, according to its subtitle, was an indictment (*Anklageschrift*) – not only of the Ottoman government, but also of the Christian powers which did not intervene to save the Armenians.²⁴ The book was also published in English and French.²⁵

Lepsius wanted primarily to visit the town of Zeitun, where the Armenians had been able to put up a successful resistance against Ottoman troops. He did not succeed in visiting this town, however, so he instead visited other places. He brought with him money collected in Germany and used it to support orphans. On May 12, 1896, 50 children were taken into the American

orphanage in Talas near Kayseri and were paid for by German money. On July 29, Lepsius took financial responsibility for 50 children in the American orphanage in Urfa (today's Sanliurfa),²⁶ and in October he took responsibility for a further 50 children in Urfa.²⁷

These actions were only the beginning for Lepsius when it came to his support efforts. Lepsius and his co-workers decided to build a network of stations in the areas where there had been massacres. At home they not only collected money, but also recruited volunteers to these stations. Due to the fact that the American and British missions were active in the provinces of Erezerum, Bitlis, Van and Diyarbakir, and the Swiss mission was active in the province Sivas, the Germans decided to focus their efforts in the provinces Harput and Aleppo. In the province of Aleppo the town of Urfa became a center for the German endeavor.²⁸ One of the persons who worked for the German mission in Urfa was the Danish teacher Karen Jeppe.

Later, during the genocide, Lepsius would rise to become one of the most high profile defenders of the Armenians. He visited one of the architects of the genocide, Talaat Pasha, Minister of the Interior. Their discussion is preserved in Franz Werfel's famous novel, *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh*.²⁹ Lepsius' documentation of the massacres was published in 1916 but was banned by the German censorship. During the rest of his life Lepsius worked through different organizations for the Armenian cause.

Another important friend of the Armenians at this time was Ernst Lohmann (1860-1936). Like Lepsius Lohmann was a pastor in the German Protestant church and like Lepsius he reacted strongly to the reports about the massacres in the 1890s. In his agony over the sufferings of the Armenians and the indifference of the world he wrote a pamphlet which made a great impact. People started contacting Lohmann and sending money to him. Thus a unique humanitarian effort started. On July 2, 1896, the Deutsche Hilfsbund für Christliches Liebeswerk im Orient was founded. It had a committee in Frankfurt led by Lohmann and another in Berlin led by Lepsius. The work grew fast and the organization had many local chapters, published booklets and arranged lectures.³⁰

The organization could not absorb two such strong personalities; thus Lepsius and Lohmann soon parted. There was no real conflict; however, both men found that it was better that the two committees work separately. Hilfsbund (later linguistically modernized to Hilfsbund) was a major humanitarian actor which oversaw orphanages, schools, hospitals and factories. In 1913 work was done by 45 Europeans and 200 locals, mostly Armenians, in many parts of the Ottoman Empire where Armenians were living.³¹

Lohmann was important for the Armenophile activity in Scandinavia. He visited Stockholm and Copenhagen in 1898 and one of his pamphlets was translated into Danish. Lohmann also founded the Bible school, Bibelhaus Malche, where, among others, Alma Johansson studied before leaving for the missionary field in Armenia.

Unlike Lepsius, Lohmann kept a low profile during the genocide. After the war the work of Hilfsbund continued, but under different conditions. The Armenian genocide scholar Ashot Hayruni has stated that the Orient-Mission of Lepsius and the Hilfsbund of Lohmann belong to "the most important witnesses of Christian love that the world has seen". Their work shows that the 20th century was not only a century of violations and human suffering, but also a century of "endless humanity and love".³²

The work of Hilfsbund still continues, now under the name Christlicher Hilfsbund im Orient. It still works among Armenians in several countries, as well as with other Christians in the Middle East.³³

ÅGE MEYER BENEDICTSEN

In Sweden and Norway a lasting commitment to the Armenian cause can be found only among Christians.³⁴ This is not the case in Denmark. Already in 1896 24 persons, among them four bishops and some of the country's leading politicians, established a committee for the Armenians. The commitment to the Armenians was then channeled through a secular organization, De Danske Armeniervenner (DA). The founder of DA, Åge Meyer Benedictsen, was a fascinating person. He has been characterized by Matthias Bjørnlund as a linguist and adventurer, a "cosmopolitan, patriotic, consistently anti-imperialistic Dane with Jewish and Icelandic origins."³⁵

Benedictsen was born in Copenhagen in 1866 to a Jewish father and Icelandic mother. He studied Slavic languages in Copenhagen, Leipzig, Warsaw and Moscow; however, he did not limit himself to the Slavic languages but had an interest in many different peoples and cultures. Instead of working as a linguist Benedictsen committed himself to ethnological and historical research. He made extensive study tours to Turkey, Persia, India, Iceland and the West Indies, among other destinations. He made translations from Russian, Bulgarian, Finnish and other languages and was a prolific writer and translator. He also toured Denmark giving lectures about his adventures during his many journeys around the world.

Benedictsen's interest in different cultures was not only a scholarly interest. He had empathy for oppressed people and spoke up for the freedom of the Polish, Lithuanian and Finnish people. Nevertheless, one cause stood above others for him, the Armenian cause. He was committed to it after having seen the plight of the Armenians with his own eyes. This commitment

lasted until his death in 1927. In 1902 he founded DA, which was a secular organization but included many dedicated Christians as active members. DA cooperated with Johannes Lepsius in Germany. Bjørnlund has characterized DA as "the first modern relief and development agency in Denmark".³⁶

It was Benedictsens who recruited Karen Jeppe to work for the Armenians. Jeppe was born in 1876 in the small village of Gylling, where her father, who was a teacher, encouraged her to study. She moved to Copenhagen, where she was first a student and then a teacher at the Ørdrup School. One day in 1902 the headmaster of the school read an article to the students and the teachers, an article about the plight of the Armenians written by Benedictsens. A few days later the whole school went to listen to a lecture by Benedictsens, who ended his talk with a plea for help for the suffering Armenians. This incident changed the life of Karen Jeppe and brought her to Armenia. She expresses it in this way: "I saw before me crowds of orphans, who needed many things, but first and foremost love. This vision did not leave me."³⁷

The next year Jeppe traveled at the expense of DA to Urfa, where Deutsche Orient-Mission worked extensively. There she worked successfully as a teacher and was characterized by a colleague as "the tender mother of orphans".³⁸ She stayed during the genocide, supported thousands of Armenian deportees who passed by Urfa, and managed to hide some Armenians and thus save their lives.³⁹ In 1917 she returned to Denmark, but after the war she once again worked among Armenians, this time in Aleppo. As a commissioner for the League of Nations she worked to liberate Armenian women and children who were held in Muslim homes. She died in 1935 and was buried at the Armenian cemetery in Aleppo.

Karen Jeppe has often been called a missionary. She had a personal faith but was not a missionary. She was sent out to be an aid-worker and carried out work for the Deutsche Orient-Mission, which despite its name, was not a missionary organization.

De Danske Armeniervenner worked with both information and fundraising. It supported Jeppe's work in Urfa and later Aleppo, and informed the Danish public about the plight of the Armenians. This was done through the magazine *Armeniervennen* and through many widespread pamphlets. DA survived the death of Benedictsens, but languished in the 1940s. After the genocide the situation of the Armenians changed as did the conditions for the work of Armenophile organizations. There were no longer any Armenians in Eastern Turkey, Eastern Armenia was a Soviet republic, and in the diaspora the situation of the Armenians gradually stabilized and improved. Armenians in Syria, Lebanon, Greece and other countries were helped by aid-workers for many decades, however, as time went on these Armenians managed without outside help. For instance, the Lebanese orphanage Bird's Nest, for

decades supported by Danish Christians, was handed over to the Armenian Apostolic Church in 1970. After the death of Jeppe and with the improved situation for the next generation of Armenians in Syria and Lebanon, interest in the "martyred people" decreased in Denmark. Among Christians, however, this interest has been preserved. The organization Industrimissionen i Armenien – Hjælp til Selvhjælp was founded in 1922 and is still active, now under the name Dansk Armeniermission. It supports Armenians in Armenia, Greece and Lebanon.⁴⁰ Armenians in Denmark founded Dansk-Armenisk Forening in 2005. It works for closer relations between Danes and Armenians and supports different projects in Armenia.⁴¹

Mastering several languages, Benedictsens was also active on the international Armenophile scene. He was one of the founders of the Ligue Internationale Philarménienne in Paris in 1920.⁴² This Armenophile organization with headquarters in Geneva tried to influence the peace conference after the war to create a "national home" (*foyer national*) for the Armenians "in the name of right, justice and humanity".⁴³ These efforts were in vain because the great powers abandoned the Armenians and their cause. According to Benedictsens, the Western powers betrayed the Armenians in three ways in the peace agreement in Lausanne, which "violated the honor of Europe": by giving the Armenian territory without any conditions to Turkey, by not demanding a cent in compensation to the Armenian refugees, and by allowing the "Turkish perpetrators" to cleanse the country of remaining Christians, who had lived there long before the Turks arrived.⁴⁴

KMA (1894-2004)

In 1894 an organization that later would become a most important agent in the Armenophile world was founded in Stockholm. Kvinnliga Missions Arbetare (KMA, Women Missionary Workers) was an organization for women and led by women. Its founder was the schoolteacher Fredda Hammar, and its initial members were recruited from the YWCA. During its first year KMA had 115 members. The next year membership doubled and the subsequent years saw continued growth in membership. KMA even had a youth and children's branch. The organization published many pamphlets that were distributed via 400 book stations throughout the country. In 1904 it started to publish a magazine, called *När och Fjärran* (Near and Far Away).⁴⁵

As its name indicates, KMA was a missionary organization for women that worked in different parts of the world. The organization supported existing missionary work as well as sending workers to the mission field. The first two workers were sent to China and India in 1896. In some fields KMA did not work for long, whereas the work lasted for decades in others. This is true for,

among other places, China, India and North Africa, as well as the domestic work among Sami people in the north of Sweden.

Like the YWCA KMA was an ecumenical organization, and soon it was also established in the neighboring countries. Fredda Hammar had from the beginning a vision that KMA would be more than a Swedish organization. In 1900 KMA was established in Denmark and two years later in Norway. In Finland the work was done as the mission of the YWCA, not under KMA's name. Among the leaders of the organization were several women from the upper class. In Denmark the Countess Sigrid Kurck was a central figure while in Sweden the royal house was represented on KMA's board. The base was, however, formed by ordinary women, who collected money and spread information in hundreds of local churches and women's clubs.

KMA can, in one way, be seen as a Protestant order of nuns. To be sent out as a missionary was - at least in principle - a lifelong commitment. Like the deaconesses of the time, KMA's missionaries were expected to stay unmarried, and in the list of missionaries one can often see the remark "left for marriage".⁴⁶

At its 75 years jubilee in 1969 the Swedish KMA had about 2000 members and four full-time workers at its office in Stockholm. The circulation of *När och Fjärran* was 3000. Slowly, however, the work languished, and in 2004 KMA ceased to exist. Besides KMA there was also organized work in Sweden for the Armenians in the 1920s through Förbundet för kristet samhällsliv (FKS), led by the famous preacher and writer Natanael Beskow. FKS founded a Swedish Committee for Armenia, which supported Jeppe's work among Armenians in Syria. Beskow published some pamphlets about the condition of the Armenians; however, the work of the committee ceased at the end of the 1920s.⁴⁷

TO "THE COUNTRY OF BLOOD AND TEARS"

Armenia eventually became an important mission field for KMA, and is the work for which KMA is most well-known. Of all Swedish KMA-workers, Alma Johansson is by far the most renowned, even if she has been forgotten in her own country. This has fortunately changed in recent years.

KMA cooperated from the very beginning with missionary organizations in Germany. It is not surprising as the relations between Sweden and Germany at this time were close, and educated people in Scandinavia normally spoke German as their first foreign language. In 1898 Lohmann visited both Stockholm and Copenhagen. As a result of this visit the Swedish KMA decided to "support the charitable work, which has started among this people which have had to put up with a good deal."⁴⁸ The first move was to take financial responsibility for five children at the orphanage in Marash (today's

Kahramanmarash). "We also started to pray for the Lord to send a worker there."⁴⁹

This prayer was soon answered. Alma Johansson, a teenager who was reading about the many Armenian orphans, wanted to get involved. While KMA was initially a little dubious about Alma because of her young age, in 1902 she became KMA's missionary among Armenians. After spending some time at the Missionshaus Malche in Germany, Alma was sent out as a missionary to Mezereh (today's Elazığ). According to her own statement, she had read so much about the work among the Armenians that she had no romantic dreams concerning it. Upon arrival she did not find Mezereh nor the surrounding area attractive, and she also contracted malaria early in her mission. However, working among the children in the orphanage brought her great joy. Despite long, hard workdays she found it meaningful to take up the responsibility for "50 of the smallest in the boys home and to be a mother to them". "When I later in life looked back at these years, I felt that I had been carried in a wonderful way, even through the difficult moments."⁵⁰

In this way a long and faithful lifework serving Armenian women and children started. During the genocide Johansson was working in Mush. After having seen almost all of the Armenians being deported, she returned home to Sweden in late 1915. Before that she gave her eyewitness report in Constantinople, and her report was included in the so-called *Blue Book*.⁵¹ After having spent the war years in Sweden, she returned to Turkey in 1920, working at Armenian orphanages in Constantinople. In 1924 she moved to Thessaloniki, Greece, where she worked with Armenian refugees for two decades.⁵²

Johansson was the only Swedish KMA-worker who was active for a long time among Armenians. In 1930 the young Beatrice Jönsson was also sent to the work in Thessaloniki. Johansson has written about what then happened: "How happy I was! I had great hope for her and thought she would be a good help especially in the work among the youth. But after one and a half year she had to return, as her mother had become seriously ill. So I was alone once again."⁵³

The Norwegian KMA held its first public meeting on February 14, 1902. Information about the newly founded organization was given, and two guests from the Danish KMA talked about the suffering of the Armenians.⁵⁴ Thus the idea of doing something for the Armenians was present from the very beginning. Another meeting in Oslo two years later proved to be of greater importance when the public talk touched upon the plight of the Armenians. Both the Swedish and the Danish KMA worked among Armenians, and the leader of the Norwegian branch, Maria Anker, wanted Norway to join them by sending out a nurse. Bodil Biørn, a young nurse, was present at the meeting

and felt that her calling was to work among this troubled people.⁵⁵ One and a half year later she was sent out to Mezereh, where she worked with Alma Johansson. During the genocide both Scandinavian women worked in Mush. When Johansson returned to Sweden, Biørn stayed in Turkey, first in Mush and then in Haruni. She returned to Norway in 1917. After the war she spent several years working among Armenians in Constantinople, Leninakan (today's Gyumri) and Aleppo.⁵⁶

Bodil Biørn is the most famous, but not the only, Norwegian KMA-worker who was in contact with Armenians. In the 1930s Alette Andreassen worked for three years among Armenians in Aleppo. From 1946 the Norwegian KMA supported the work of the Danish branch in the Bird's Nest orphanage in Lebanon.⁵⁷ An interesting figure was Thora Wedel Jarlsberg, who like Biørn was a nurse and deaconess and had earlier been a missionary in Sumatra. She also worked in Turkey, mainly in the region of Diyarbakir. She did not, however, work among Armenians, but among Kurds. In 1915 she was together with her German colleague Eva Elvers working at a hospital at the front near Erzerum. When they tried to save some Armenian boys from deportation, the two nurses were expelled from the country.⁵⁸

The Norwegian KMA's work came to an end in 1982.

The Danish KMA was the branch with the most extensive work among Armenians. The inspiration to start a Danish branch came from two directions: Fredda Hammar encouraged her Danish friends to start their own branch, and after Ernst Lohmann's visit to Copenhagen some Danes had decided to support the work of the Hilfsbund. A committee had been established for this, but it merged with KMA. The historical account of the Danish KMA stated that love for the Armenians was the driving force for the establishment of the organization.⁵⁹

KMA was first met with suspicion, but soon the doors opened for these dedicated women. It is interesting that it was the movement Indre Mission, considered to be very conservative, which welcomed the women, about whom other factions in the church were skeptical. In 1902 KMA bought a building in Copenhagen in which a missionary school was started. 72 women were educated there between 1902 and 1912. Of these, eleven became KMA-missionaries and three were sent out by the Danish Missionary Society (DMS). From 1912 the school was operated by KMA and DMS together.⁶⁰

For the Danish KMA Armenia was not only an important cause, but also its first field of action. The organization immediately took the financial responsibility for 20 Armenian orphans. At the end of 1900 the number had grown to 45. The next year KMA's first missionary, Christa Hammer, was sent out to Mezereh. It was Hammer with whom Alma Johansson had a severe

conflict, although the Danish KMA claimed that she "won the trust of her missionary colleagues". Hammer died in the field on November 15, 1903.⁶¹

Shortly after Hammer's arrival an orphanage called Emaus, which was supported by the Danish KMA, was established in Mezereh. Soon another Danish KMA worker arrived, the nurse Christiane Black. However she soon had to return to Denmark for health reasons. The work in the orphanage then came under the leadership of an experienced woman, the widow Wilhelmine Grünhagen. Soon other Danes joined her. 1904 saw the arrival of Jensine Ørtz, who, however, soon moved from Mezereh to Malatia. Hansine Marcher and Jenny Jensen came to Mezereh; however, they did not work at Emaus but at the German orphanage. The daughter of Wilhelmine Grünhagen, Sigrid, also joined the work. Maria Jacobsen arrived in 1907 and worked at the American hospital in neighboring Harput. Karin Marie Petersen, who later became the director of Emaus, came in 1909.⁶²

There was, thus, a good number of Danish missionaries in the Ottoman Empire. However not all of them were there during the genocide. Grünhagen and Ørtz for instance, were in Denmark. Marcher was commanded by the Hülfsbund to return home. Jensen, however, stayed until November 1917, and Jacobsen and Petersen were present throughout the whole war. After the Americans left in 1917, Jacobsen and Petersen were in charge of 3500 Armenian orphans. After the war ended the American workers returned and the Danes were able to return home. Soon after that Jacobsen traveled to the USA, where she met with partners, gave interviews, and spoke about her experiences in churches and at fundraising events.⁶³

After the war most of the Danish KMA-workers returned to continue their work among Armenians. One of them was Maria Jacobsen, who moved to Lebanon. There she started an orphanage, and in 1928 the Danish KMA bought this Bird's Nest (*Fuglereden*) orphanage in Byblos from the Near East Relief. Jacobsen was its director until her death in 1960. Many other Danes assisted her, among them her sister Anna.⁶⁴

The Danish KMA's work came to an end in 1981.

KMA was an internationalist movement. It worked in many fields and cooperated with organizations in many countries, especially in Germany but also in Britain and the USA. Many from KMA participated in the yearly meetings for evangelical Christians in Keswick in northern England. KMA also had a fruitful cooperation with institutions at home, where many future missionaries trained at hospitals and kindergartens.

FEMINIST MOBILIZATION

For the KMA-workers and many other female missionaries, Christian faith was the crucial factor for their commitment. They felt they had a calling from

God to work in a distant country, in this case among Armenian women and children. They were, at the same time, strong women, and through their work they made a contribution to women's rights.

The Protestant missionary movement was born and grew fast in the 19th century, and from the very beginning there were women in the movement. They made a significant contribution by spreading information and collecting money at home, and as missionaries in different fields. The missionary work consisted of traditional spreading of the gospel message, but also in establishing schools, orphanages and hospitals. This work needed women as doctors, midwives and nurses, but also as teachers for girls. In the work among Armenians women played an important part as directors of orphanages, thus functioning as substitutes for mothers. Among the Western missionaries in the Ottoman Empire there were twice as many women as men.⁶⁵

The strong female mobilization in the missionary movement enlarged the limits of what was considered possible for women and created strong female role models. In Norway and Denmark there are clear connections between women in the missionary movement and the general women's movement, even though the feminist commitment of the missionary women at times was controversial.⁶⁶ The Norwegian historian Inger Marie Okkenhaug has expressed the importance of KMA for women's rights in this way: "Beneath the respectable façade KMA championed a radical women's rights agenda, which included women in the non-Christian world."⁶⁷

It is, however, a fact that traditional missionary organizations, like the Danish Missionary Society (founded in 1821) and the Norwegian Missionary Society (founded in 1842), at this time were patriarchal institutions led by men. What makes KMA so different is that it was an organization which not only sent out women but was completely led by women.

For those active in KMA and for women in other missionary organizations, the foundation for women's liberation was the Christian faith. There has been much patriarchy in the history of the Church, but that was seen as depending not on the message as such, but on patriarchal interpretations of it. The emancipatory power in Christianity became particularly clear through encounters with other religions and cultures. In a letter to Freda Hammar, Alma Johansson once made the following reflections based on her experience in Turkey:

What have we as women from Christian countries to thank the Lord for? Well, we do not understand it fully before we stand here among these poor women. The Lord has not only redeemed us from our sins, but he has also, for the woman, regained the position for which she was originally predestined.⁶⁸

There were certainly elements of Orientalism and Eurocentrism in the image – the passive, suppressed women of the Orient – which the missionaries transmitted. It is, however, a fact that the work of the missionaries resulted in a substantial improvement of the life of the Armenians, especially Armenian women, when it came to education and social position. When American missionaries started their work in Harput in the 1850s, their estimate was that only one percent of the Armenians were literate. When the Americans told them that they should go to school, the reaction was: "Why? Am I going to be a priest?" The idea that women should also learn how to read and write was first met with skepticism and ridicule.⁶⁹ The attitude soon changed, however, and the schools for girls were filled with motivated pupils. Soon institutions for higher education were established in order to educate, among others, teachers for the schools for girls. Crosby H. Wheeler in Harput stated in 1888, that the biggest change during his three decades as a missionary was the support of the local population for female education.⁷⁰ Watenpaugh has seen the fact that after the war Near East Relief invested so much in female education as a significant residue "of the Progressive agenda of NER."⁷¹

It is noteworthy that women at this time had prominent positions not only within the missionary movement but also in other humanitarian organizations. Clara Barton was, as we have noted, leader of the American Red Cross. The female contribution to humanitarian work was significant also among Armenians. The writers Zabel Yesayan and Saténik Ohandjanian were active in the Armenian Red Cross and their colleague Archakouhi Téotik in an Armenian charitable organization. These three women led a delegation to investigate the situation of the Armenians after the Adana massacre in 1909, a fact which Watenpaugh sees as a sign of the tendency to view humanitarian work as belonging in the female domain. A majority of the survivors who benefited from these humanitarian efforts were women and children.⁷²

Feminist arguments were also used in the effort to raise awareness about and money for the Armenians on the home front. Anne Marie Wilson has distinguished three messages widely used by the pro-Armenian movement in the USA. The Armenians were seen as persecuted for their faith, they were depicted as similar to American Protestants, and Armenian women were framed as being uniquely victimized by an Islamic social order. In all reports about the massacres, the fact that Armenian women and girls were violated, abducted and forced to convert was emphasized. This contributed to the strong pro-Armenian activism of the American women's movement.⁷³

HEROES OR IMPERIALISTS

Bjørnlund writes that Western missionaries traditionally have been viewed as either lackeys of imperialism or as nearly saints.⁷⁴ The American and European missionaries in the Ottoman Empire were met with much suspicion by the Turks. During the 19th century the great powers played a political game in relation to the crumbling Ottoman Empire. The powers had their own imperialistic interests, and even though the missionaries from these countries had other motives, the work they did could be used by their home countries to increase their influence.

There is, however, reason to remember that the most extensive missionary work in Turkey belonged to the American ABCFM, and US policy was at this time still dominated by isolationism. The time when US governments willingly intervened in the internal affairs of other countries still lay ahead. The Nordic missionaries also came from countries without imperialist interest. On the other hand, the Nordic missionaries worked for or in cooperation with German organizations, so it is possible to argue that they contributed to the advancement of German interests in the country.

Armenians and Assyrians have accused the missionaries of having divided their people. The fact is that the Nordic missionaries were pious persons, who not only wanted to help those who suffered but also "save their souls". As a result of American missionary work an Armenian evangelical church was founded in 1846. At the beginning of the 20th century it had local congregations in most places with a significant number of Armenians. The women missionaries from Scandinavia also contributed to this work, particularly by conducting Bible studies and meetings for women.

The traditional church of the Armenians, the Armenian Apostolic Church, reacted in different ways to the Protestant missionaries. At times it was happy for the work the missionaries did in schools and hospitals for the benefit of all Armenians. At other times however, it was openly hostile and harbored suspicions that the aim of the work of the Protestant missionaries was to seduce and convert its own members.⁷⁵ In the summer of 2016 I met His Holiness Aram I, Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia. He said the Protestant women missionaries were "angels sent by God to the Armenian people". It was good to hear; at the beginning of the work of these women the attitude toward them was very different.

What was the attitude of these women toward the Armenian Apostolic Church? Without doubt these women viewed the Armenian Church and all other ancient Oriental churches with suspicion. The attitude was that these churches were characterized by dead ceremonialism, where empty rituals were performed without a real knowledge of the Bible or a personal relation to Jesus Christ. Christa Hammer wrote in a letter to Denmark that "only

darkness reigns" in both the Armenian Apostolic and the Armenian Catholic Church.⁷⁶ The countess Sigrid Kurck described the spiritual state of the Armenians in the following way:

Their church, the Gregorian, was petrified and stagnant; the Christians, left without education and in all corners under pressure from Islam, were little enlightened and led a languishing spiritual life.⁷⁷

With time however, the attitude changed. As Bjørnlund has put it: the encounter with reality "had a tendency to create pragmatism and a more nuanced perception of many things".⁷⁸ Increasingly the missionaries appreciated the position that the ancient church had among Armenians. The aim was no longer to make people Protestants, but to work for real faith and a genuine relation to God among the members of the old churches. A motive for this was the expectation that after having been spiritually renewed, the old churches would be able to reach out to Muslims. This was something which the missionaries did not even try to do as it was banned by Islamic law. If a Muslim showed interest in the Christian faith, the person was not turned away, but all such cases were dealt with in secret.

Still today some Armenians and Assyrians are ambivalent in their attitude toward the missionaries. They admit that the missionaries did good work in the fields of education and health care, but accuse them of having divided the people and weakened the traditional churches.⁷⁹ One result of the missionary work was division, but it is possible to argue that a reason for that was the failures of the traditional churches. Had they created good schools and institutions for higher learning, there would have been no need for the schools of the Protestant mission. The level of education was low, the missionaries offered good schools and one result of this was that some Armenians and Assyrians joined the Protestant churches.

The attitude to the Armenians and their traditional church gradually changed, as we have seen. In the beginning, the missionaries were critical and considered Armenians to be Christian only in name. As they became more acquainted with the Armenians, this attitude was replaced by an unconditional love for the "martyr people", especially after the genocide. While the initial aim of the missionary work had been to transform Armenians into good Christians, in light of the events efforts to fight for the survival of the Armenian people and Armenian identity became equally important.

Many of the Nordic missionaries who worked among Armenians came to love them deeply. Bodil Bjørn talked about her love for the country and its people and considered Armenia to be her second homeland.⁸⁰ An example of the changed attitude toward the Armenian Apostolic Church is Alma Johansson's statement about the Armenians killed in Mush that they were now

"in their home with God".⁸¹ Very few of them were Protestants, but for Johansson there was no doubt that they were Christian martyrs who had reached their heavenly home. The Finnish theologian Serafim Seppälä has made an important point concerning this: "The final criterion for the depth of one's faith is death, and precisely in the face of death the faith of Armenians has proven to be strong."⁸²

The missionaries have also been accused of having contributed to Armenian nationalism and subsequently, though indirectly, to the conflict with the Ottoman regime which led to genocide. There is some truth in this. The education which the missionaries offered was a project of enlightenment. The students were given not only new knowledge but also values and ideas. Among these were the importance of good personal care, of a good education, of respect for science, and a general, liberal, progressive worldview. The 19th century was also the era of nationalism and Armenian and Assyrian students in Anatolia learned that the natural way of governance was the nation-state. In this way the missionaries contributed to nationalism, even though they opposed the Armenian nationalists, at least the more radical among them.⁸³

Alma Johansson, Bodil Biørn, Maria Jacobsen and the other Nordic missionaries were not the agents of Western imperialism. They were not responsible for the divisions among the Armenian people or for the fact that Armenian nationalism grew to the point where it was perceived as a threat by many Turks. But were they heroes? Or even saints? Or angels?

Many descriptions of their lifework have a hagiographical touch. Aram I is not the only one to see them as angels sent by God. I have met people in several countries who knew some of these women and who have great admiration and respect for them. When we look at the lifework of these women, we can see some admirable features.

They were *committed*. To travel to the Ottoman Empire in the early 20th century involved many risks and a long separation from loved ones. It was not possible to talk with one's friends every other night on Skype, or to fly home in a few hours during vacations. To become a missionary involved great sacrifices. Nobody made them without strong convictions and a sense of calling.

They were *persistent*. These Nordic women had extremely traumatic experiences during the genocide. They witnessed high numbers of close friends being killed, something which left a lasting mark on them. Nobody used the word then, but it is evident that they suffered from post-traumatic stress. Nobody would have been surprised or would have blamed them had they decided to stay in their peaceful homeland after such an experience.

Instead, they returned to the region after the war because they felt they still could positively contribute to Armenian women and orphans.

They acted as *substitute mothers*. The orphans they cared for called them *mayrik* (mother).⁸⁴ The grandson of Alma Johansson's sister has told me that when his family went to see their great aunt in Stockholm they asked her whether she had children. Alma Johansson answered: "I have thousands of children, but they are all grown-up now, and they live all around the world." Swedish historian Maria Småberg has emphasized the element of "mothering", which was expressed not only in Johansson being a substitute mother but also in her creating transnational networks between Armenian and Swedish mothers.⁸⁵

There are, therefore, reasons for the praises which many Armenians especially have sung for the Nordic women missionaries and for others who saved lives during the dark years of the Ottoman Armenians and during the difficult post-Genocide decades. At the same time it is evident that they were no saints, they exhibited flaws like other humans. Johansson had a harrowing conflict with a colleague. Biørn abandoned her child to travel to Soviet Armenia. Jacobsen could be judgmental at times. Janne Carlsson's characterization of Johansson is, in my opinion, valid also for the others: "A picture develops of a woman with the faults and shortcomings of ordinary mortals, but with a life vision that nothing could move."⁸⁶

That might be the most important lesson. You do not have to be a saint to make an important humanitarian contribution. Sometimes faith, hope and love, commitment and perseverance are enough.

ENDNOTES

¹ In this article, the Nordic, or Scandinavian, countries mean Sweden, Norway and Denmark.

² Matthias Bjørnlund (*Det Armenske Folkedrab. Fra Begyndelsen til Enden*, Copenhagen, Kristeligt Dagblads Forlag, 2013, p. 78) writes that the death toll most certainly was not less than 100,000. In a later book (*På Herrens Mark. Nødhjælp, Mission og Kvindekamp under det Armenske Folkedrab*, Copenhagen, Kristeligt Dagblads Forlag, 2015, p. 121) he states that close to 300,000 were killed. Yves Ternon (*The Armenians. The History of a Genocide*, Translated from the French by Rouben C. Cholakian, 2nd ed., Delmar, New York, Caravan Books, 1990, p. 106) estimates that more than 200,000 were killed, whereas Peter Balakian's (*The Burning Tigris. The Armenian Genocide and America's Response*, New York, HarperCollins Publisher, 2003, p. xv) estimate is approximately 200,000.

³ Bjørnlund, *Det Armenske Folkedrab*, pp. 93-103.

⁴ Three of them are collected in Jean Jaures, *Il Faut Sauver les Arméniens*, Établissement de l'édition, notes et postface par Vincent Duclert, Paris, Éditions Mille et Une Nuits, 2006.

- ⁵ *Les Massacres d'Arménie. Témoignages des Victimes*, Préface de G. Clemenceau, Paris, Édition du Mercure de France, 1896, pp. 5-18.
- ⁶ In a speech in October 1896 (Michael Partridge, *Gladstone*, London and New York, Routledge, 2003, p. 235). An Armenian survivor (S.S. Yenovkian ...) "The rest as before. I have added the word "survivor". (S.S. Yenovkian, *Martyred Armenia. A Brief Description of the Recent Horrible Massacres of the Christian Armenians in Turkey. With a Full Explanation of Their Remote and Immediate Causes, Seen Through the Apathy of the Powers and a Plea for Help*, Cleveland, The Britton Ptg. Co., 1896, pp. 13, 47) called the sultan "the greatest tyrant of the Nineteenth Century, the Nero of the Turkish Empire" and "that most brutal tyrant, that incarnate devil".
- ⁷ Eduard Bernstein, *Die Leiden des Armenischen Volkes und die Pflichten Europas*, Berlin, Dr. John Edelman Verlag, 1902; Eduard Bernstein, *Det Armeniske Folks Lidelser*, København, Jul. Gjellerups Boghandel, 1902.
- ⁸ Bjørnlund, *Det Armenske Folkedrab*, pp. 106-13.
- ⁹ Margareth Lavinia Anderson, "'Down in Turkey, Far Away': Human Rights, the Armenian Massacres, and Orientalism in Wilhelmine Germany", *The Journal of Modern History* 79:1, March 2007, p. 84f.
- ¹⁰ Akaby Nassibian, *Britain and the Armenian Question 1915-1923*, London & Sydney, Croom Helm, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1984, pp. 44-66.
- ¹¹ Balakian, p. 11.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, p. xiii.
- ¹³ Ann Marie Wilson, "In the Name of God, Civilization and Humanity: The United States and the Armenian Massacres of the 1890s", *Le Mouvement Social* 227 (Apr.-Jun. 2009), p. 31, see pp. 27-31. Wilson emphasizes the heterogeneity of the movement. Some acted out of a liberal discourse of human rights, whereas others acted to save "innocent Christians" from "fanatic Muslims".
- ¹⁴ Balakian, pp. 68-70; Wilson, pp. 35f.
- ¹⁵ Clara Barton, *A Story of the Red Cross*, New York, Airmont, 1968, p. 72.
- ¹⁶ Wilson, pp. 40-42.
- ¹⁷ Balakian, pp. 71-74; Wilson, pp. 39f.
- ¹⁸ Keith David Watenpugh, *Bread from Stones. The Middle East and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism*, Oakland, California, University of California Press, 2015, pp. 91-123.
- ¹⁹ Balakian, pp. 277-96. Balakian has told the story (*Black Dog of Fate. A Memoir*, New York, Broadway Books, 1998, p. 166) how in the 1970s he, young and ignorant of Armenian history, talked to an old Afro-American man about his Armenian roots. The man related how, when he as a child left food on the plate, he was rebuked by his mother with the words: "Remember the starving Armenians." This was a famous saying at the time.
- ²⁰ Watenpugh, p. 84.
- ²¹ Anderson.
- ²² "Was it wise for the Armenian cause in Germany to become so closely associated with the particular vision of Bible Christians and their narratives of martyrdom

rather than with more universal discourses, such as the rights of man?" (Anderson, p. 108).

- ²³ Atanas Damianov, *Die Arbeit der "Deutschen Orient-Mission" unter den Türkischen Muslimen in Bulgarien nach den Quellen im Dr. Johannes-Lepsius-Archiv*, Münster – Hamburg – London, LIT Verlag, 2003, pp. 25f.
- ²⁴ Johannes Lepsius, *Armenien und Europa. Eine Anklageschrift wider die Christliche Grossmächte und ein Aufruf an das Christliche Deutschland*, 3. Vermehrte Auflage, Berlin – Westend, Verlag der Akademischen Buchhandlung W. Faber & Co., 1897.
- ²⁵ Johannes Lepsius, *L'Arménie et l'Europe. Un acte d'Accusation Contre les Grandes Puissances Européennes*, Lausanne, Payot, 1896; J. Lepsius, *Armenia and Europe. An Indictment*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1897.
- ²⁶ Axel Meissner, "Das Armenische Hilfswerk von Johannes Lepsius. Umfang und Bedeutung" in Rolf Hosfeld (Hrsg.), *Johannes Lepsius – Eine Deutsche Ausnahme. Der Völkermord an den Armeniern, Humanitarismus und Menschenrechte*, Göttingen, Wallstein Verlag, 2013, pp. 175f.
- ²⁷ J. Rendel Harris – Helen B. Harris, *Letters from the Scenes of the Recent Massacres in Armenia*, London, James Nisbet & Co., 1897, p. 247.
- ²⁸ Meissner, pp. 177-179.
- ²⁹ Franz Werfel, *Die Vierzig Tage des Musa Dagh*, Köln, Anaconda, 2016, pp. 148-78.
- ³⁰ Andreas Baumann, "Die Gründung des Deutschen Hilfsbundes für Christliches Liebeswerk im Orient", in Martin Krispel (Hrsg.), *Ernst Lohmann 1860-1936. Pionier, Gründer, Evangelist*, Berlin, Pro BUSINESS, 2011, pp. 52f.
- ³¹ Baumann, pp. 57f.
- ³² Ibid., pp. 65ff.
- ³³ www.hilfsbund.de, accessed on 2019-07-12.
- ³⁴ During the genocide some persons, radical writers and Social democratic politicians, expressed solidarity with the Armenians, but this did not last. After the World War these individuals showed no interest in the Armenians.
- ³⁵ Matthias Bjørnlund, *Det Armenske Folkedrab*, pp. 110f. Benedictsén called himself "an eccentric comet" (Bjørnlund, *På Herrens Mark*, p. 117).
- ³⁶ Bjørnlund, *På Herrens*, p. 115.
- ³⁷ Quoted from Bjørnlund, *På Herrens*, p. 101.
- ³⁸ Jakob Künzler, *Berichte aus Urfa. Teil 2: aus dem Jahren 1907-1914*, Hundwil, Evangelisch-reformierte Kirchgemeinde, 2015, p. 22.
- ³⁹ Helle Schøler Kjær, *Danske Vidner til Det Armenske Folkedrab 1915*, Copenhagen, Forlaget Vandkunsten, 2010, pp. 63-75.
- ⁴⁰ www.armenien.dk, accessed on 2019-07-12.
- ⁴¹ www.danarmen.dk, accessed on 2019-07-12.
- ⁴² Inga Nalbandian, "Åge Meyer Benedictsén", in Åge Meyer Benedictsén. *De Undertrykte Nationers Tolk. Udvalgte Artikler og Mindeord I*, Udgivet av Fru Katri Meyer Benedictsén i Samarbejde med Højskoleforstander Jens Marinus Jensen, Copenhagen, Nyt Nordisk Forlag – Arnold Busck, 1934, p. 137.

- ⁴³ "Appel a la Conférence de la Paix. (Octobre 1922)" *Revue des Études Armeniennes*, Tome III (1923), p. 82. It is interesting that the expression used here, "national home", is the same as in the Balfour declaration of 1917.
- ⁴⁴ Åge Meyer Benedictsén, "Folket i Nød" In: *Åge Meyer Benedictsén. De Undertrykte*, p. 129.
- ⁴⁵ Molly Dahlberg, "Budkavlens Gång 1894-1944", in *Budkavle Kommer Budkavle Går. Jubileumsskrift 1894-1944. Kvinnliga Missions Arbetare*, Stockholm, KMA:s förlag, 1944, pp. 11-13.
- ⁴⁶ *Budkavle Kommer*, pp. 123f.
- ⁴⁷ Göran Gunner, *Folkmordet på Armenier – Sett med Svenska Ögon*, Skellefteå, Artos, 2012, pp. 322-43.
- ⁴⁸ Alma Johansson, "I Tjänst Bland de Förtryckta", in *Budkavle Kommer*, p. 63.
- ⁴⁹ Sigrid Kurck, "Martyrfolket och dess Svenska 'Majrik'", in "*Tidevarv Komma, Tidevarv Förvinna.*" *Minnesskrift 1894-1934. Kvinnliga Missions Arbetare*, Stockholm, KMA:s förlag, 1934, p. 38.
- ⁵⁰ Johansson, pp. 63f. This short description of the first years in the field is somewhat touched up. In reality these years were extremely difficult for Johansson, because of a severe conflict with the Danish KMA-worker, Christa Hammer, a conflict which lasted until Hammer's death in 1903.
- ⁵¹ James Bryce and Arnold Toynbee, *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-1916. Documents Presented to Viscount Grey of Faldoon by Viscount Bryce*, Uncensored Edition, edited with an introduction by Ara Sarafian, Princeton and London, Gomidas Institute, 2nd edition 2005, pp. 124-7.
- ⁵² The first ever biography of Johansson was published in 2014: Janne Carlsson, *Tiga Kan Jag Inte. Alma och Armenierna*, Skellefteå, Artos, 2014.
- ⁵³ Johansson, pp. 69f.
- ⁵⁴ Henny Dons, "K.M.A. i den Første tid" In: *Se til Hvorledes I Bygger Videre. K.M.A.s Historie Gjennem 50 år 1902-1952*, Oslo, K.M.A., 1954, p. 6.
- ⁵⁵ Inger Marie Okkenhaug, *En Norsk Filantrop. Bodil Bjørn og Armenerna 1905-1934*, Kristiansand, Portal forlag, 2016, p. 19.
- ⁵⁶ The first ever biography of Bjørn was published in 2016: Okkenhaug, *En Norsk*.
- ⁵⁷ *Se Til Hvorledes I Bygger Videre*, pp. 44-50.
- ⁵⁸ *Se Til Hvorledes I Bygger Videre*, pp. 51f.; Okkenhaug, *En Norsk*, p. 161, n. 153.
- ⁵⁹ Elise Bockelund, *Høsten er Stor. KMA's Historie Gennem 50 år*, Copenhagen, Kvindelige Missions Arbejdere, 1950, p. 117.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-12.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 28-32.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-8; Bjørnlund, *På Herrens*, p. 183.
- ⁶⁴ Bockelund, *Høsten er Stor*, pp. 70-85; Bjørnlund, *På Herrens*, pp. 187-203.
- ⁶⁵ Bjørnlund, *På Herrens*, p. 39.
- ⁶⁶ Line Nyhagen Predelli, "Missionary Women and Feminism in Norway, 1906-1910" *NORA: Nordic Journal of Women's Studies* Volume 9, 2001:1, pp. 37-52.
- ⁶⁷ Okkenhaug, *En Norsk*, p. 19.

- ⁶⁸ Quoted from Carlsson, p. 70.
- ⁶⁹ Barbara J. Merguerian, "'Missions in Eden': Shaping an Educational and Social Program for the Armenians in Eastern Turkey (1855-1895)", in Heleen Murre-van den Berg (ed.), *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century*, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2006, p. 246.
- ⁷⁰ Merguerian, p. 256.
- ⁷¹ Watenpugh, p. 116.
- ⁷² Ibid., pp. 71-76.
- ⁷³ Wilson, pp. 33f.
- ⁷⁴ Bjørnlund, *Det Armenske*, p. 325, n. 655.
- ⁷⁵ This ambivalence could be found among priests in the same location. In Mush Bodil Bjørn was accused by some priests of seducing Armenians, whereas other priests gave her permission to evangelize during her visits to different villages (Okkenhaug, *En Norsk*, pp. 60f.). Alma Johansson wrote in a letter from Mush that the Armenian population is "so hostile toward us" (Quoted from Carlsson, p. 116).
- ⁷⁶ Quoted from Bockelund, *Høsten er Stor*, p. 27.
- ⁷⁷ Kurck, "Martyrfolket", p. 36.
- ⁷⁸ Bjørnlund, *På Herrens*, p. 102.
- ⁷⁹ An example of this ambivalent attitude when it comes to Assyrians is Anahit Khosroeva, "Assyrians in the Ottoman Empire and the Official Turkish Policy of their Extermination, 1890s-1918", in George N. Shirinian (ed.), *Genocide in the Ottoman Empire. Armenians, Assyrians, and Greeks, 1913-1923*, New York – Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2017, p. 113.
- ⁸⁰ Inger Marie Okkenhaug, "Women on a Mission" Scandinavian Welfare and the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1905-1917", in Nefissa Naguib & Inger Marie Okkenhaug (eds.), *Interpreting Welfare and Relief in the Middle East*, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2008, p. 69.
- ⁸¹ Johansson, p. 66.
- ⁸² Serafim Seppälä, *Araratista Itään. 12 Avainta Kauneuden ja Kärsimyksen Armeniaan*, Helsinki, Kirjapaja, 2007, p. 89.
- ⁸³ Donald Bloxham, *The Great Game of Genocide. Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of Ottoman Armenians*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 43. For an interesting analysis of the importance of the American Protestant mission for the birth of Assyrian nationalism, see Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening. American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism*, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 2015.
- ⁸⁴ In the Bird's Nest the children used the Danish word "Mamma" for Maria Jacobsen, and "Moster" (Aunt) for her sister Anna. One of the girls at the orphanage, Anna Stambouljian, has emphasized that Maria Jacobsen was primarily an administrator and did not have the time to be a real mother for the children. "She was the captain" (Nefissa Naguib, "A Nation of Widows and Orphans. Armenian Memories of Relief in Jerusalem", in Nefissa Naguib & Inger Marie Okkenhaug (eds.): *Interpreting Welfare and Relief in the Middle East*, Leiden – Boston, Brill, 2008, p. 49).

Elizabeth Melikian, who spent her childhood years in the Bird's Nest and whom I interviewed in Copenhagen on September 4, 2016, has the same impression.

⁸⁵ Maria Småberg, "Mission and Cosmopolitan Mothering. Saving Armenian Mothers and Orphans, 1902-47" *Social Sciences and Missions* 2017:30, pp. 44-73.

⁸⁶ Carlsson, p. 120.

**ՍՔԱՆՏԻՆԱԻ ՄԻՍԻՈՆԱՐՈՒՇԻՆԵՐՈՒ ՄԱՆԱԿՑՈՒԹԻՒՆԸ
ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԿԱՆ ՇԱՐԺՈՒՄԻՆ
(Ամփոփում)**

ՍՎԱՆԹԷ ԼՈՒՆՏԿԵՐՆ
svante.lundgren@ctr.lu.se

1890ականներու համիտեան կոտորածները խթան հանդիսացան որ Եւրոպայի եւ Մ. Նահանգներու մէջ կարեկցանք շեշտատրուի «արեան եւ արցունքի երկրի» հայերուն հանդէպ: Արեւմտքի քաղաքական մեծ դէմքեր քաղաքական ելոյթներով, ճառերով եւ կոչերով լուսարծակի տակ առին այս վայրագութիւնները: Կարճ ժամանակի մէջ կարեկցանքը վերաճեցաւ մարդասիրական եւ հայասիրական շարժումի, կազմակերպուեցան միութիւններ, եղան հանգանակութիւններ, մշակուեցան միսիոնարական առաքելութիւններ՝ օգնութեան փութալու նահատակուող հայութեան:

Ուսումնասիրութիւնը համապարփակ քննարկումի նիւթ կը դարձնէ Եւրոպայի, մանաւանդ սքանտինաւեան երկիրներու մէջ, ծայր առած այս շարժումին մանրամասնութիւնները, մղիչները, առաջին միսիոնարութիւնները, անոնց գործունէութեան ծիրը, նոյրումի տեսողութիւնը, առաքելութեան բարեշրջումները:

Հուկ, հեղինակը քննականօրէն կ'արժեւորէ միսիոնարական շարժումին դերը հայութեան մէջ, անոր ազդեցութեան այլեայլ երեսակները, յառաջացած հակադիր տեսակէտները, ապա նաեւ այդ շարժումներուն տեղն ու դերը զիրենք ծնող սքանտինաւեան երկիրներուն կնոջական եւ մարդասիրական շարժումներուն մէջ: