BEFORE THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE: DANISH MISSIONARY AND RESCUE OPERATIONS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, 1900-1914[1]

Matthias Bjørnlund
matthiasb@webspeed.dk

From the time of the Abdul Hamid massacres 1894-96 – the systematic annihilation of some 100-300,000 Ottoman Armenians, combined with the forced Islamization of perhaps a further 100,000 Armenians[2] – the persecution of this Christian minority had a significant impact on leading Danish public figures, as well as on the general public. Ranging from the then famous secular author and literary critic of Jewish descent, Georg Brandes (1842-1927), who in 1900 forcefully exposed the indifference of the European governments to the sufferings of the Armenians,[3] to bishop and minister of cultural affairs H. V. Styhr (1838-1905), who denounced what he called Abdul Hamid's "holy war of extermination,"[4] these public figures raised awareness of the Armenian atrocities and their political implications in speeches, articles, and books.[5] In addition, just before the turn of the century, the German priests Ernst Lohmann and his brother Johannes Lohmann from the German missionary organization, Deutsche Hülfsbund (DH), had toured Denmark and Sweden, where they spoke at public meetings organized by KFUM (YMCA) in Denmark about their experiences among the survivors of the massacres.[6]

Like in other parts of the western world, the Abdul Hamid massacres were the main factors leading to a wave of relief work and missionary efforts directed towards the Ottoman Armenians. Unlike similar American and, to some extent, German organizations, which received both political support and substantial funding from their governments, the Danish missionary and relief organizations were privately funded and without any significant governmental backing.[7] Even though they generally had significant institutional and/or personal connections to the established Danish Lutheran state church, the organizations were independent, voluntary, and self-supporting, and were often viewed as secterian.[8] Due to

these factors, as well as to the initial lack of experience and organization, the Danish efforts were closely connected to first of all German, and later on American, organizations.

These included DH, Deutsche Orient Mission (DOM) and its Armenisches Hilfswerk, a relief organization founded and led by the famous German theologian, Johannes Lepsius, and, as the oldest, largest and most important of all the Western organizations in the Empire, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM, American Board).[9] Originally, Lepsius had established DOM in order to proselytize among Muslims, but in the wake of the Abdul Hamid massacres, he was among the first Europeans to establish an effective, comprehensive organization aimed at aiding first and foremost Armenian children from all over the empire, more than 100,000 of whom were either fatherless or orphaned.[10] Obviously, the missionaries and rescue workers were not facing an easy task. The British relief worker, Professor J. Rendel Harris, stated that, "It is like putting together a clock that has been smashed: it is a piece of broken society, and you have to study the conditions of life, beginning at the bottom – food, clothing, shelter – working up."[11]

In 1897, the Danish linguist, writer, and secular intellectual Åge Meyer Benedictsen (1866-1927), the son of a Danish-Jewish merchant from Copenhagen and an Icelandic actress, had started off on a series of research journeys that brought him to places like India, Russia, Persia, and to the Armenian, Arabic, and Kurdish parts of the Ottoman empire. The main purpose of Benedictsen's journeys in Persia and Eastern Anatolia was to study the dialects of Kurdish tribes. But when visiting DOM's projects in Van in Eastern Anatolia, Khoi in Persia, and Urfa (Edessa) in Southern Anatolia – orphanages, workshops, etc., run by well educated, European men and women – he was inspired to establish a similar Danish relief organization.[12] Shortly after his return to Denmark in 1902, he founded Danske Armeniervenner (DA; Danish Friends of Armenia), but since the organization initially did not have the capacity to carry out its own projects, DA became closely associated with DOM.

Among other things, this was reflected in the fact that the DA sponsored a number of Armenian children in DOM's orphanages, or paid the salaries and travel expenses for Danish relief workers who were trained by DOM and worked alongside DOM's relief workers in places like Khoi

and Urfa. The most important Danish representative of this DA-DOM cooperation was Karen Jeppe (1876-1935), school teacher, relief worker, and later, from her base in Aleppo, Syria, one of three members of the Commission of Inquiry for the Protection of Women and Children in the Near East. This League of Nations commission was established in 1920 to deal with the problem of the tens of thousands of mainly Armenian women and children who had survived the genocide, many of them only to be forcibly converted to Islam, who were still kept in captivity in the Turkish, Arabic, and Persian areas of the former Ottoman empire.[13]

In 1902, inspired by articles and speeches by Benedictsen about the suffering of the Ottoman Armenians, Karen Jeppe became a volunteer for DA, and the organization's only "member in the field." After meeting Lepsius in Berlin, she was sent to Urfa in 1903, where the legendary American missionary Corinna Shattuck greeted her.[14] Jeppe immediately ventured to learn Armenian, Arabic, and Turkish, and soon after her arrival she became leader of the German orphanage in the city, which housed 350 Armenian boys, ten of whose care was paid for by DA.[15] Though Jeppe was deeply rooted in the relatively liberal Danish Lutheran movement called "Grundtvigianism" -- one of the two most influential Danish theological movements of the nineteenth century -- she did not consider herself a missionary.[16] She believed from the beginning that Protestants ought not to speak of the "dead" Gregorian Church, inasmuch as the Protestant Church could tear away the national roots of the Armenians, separate them from the people.[17]

Faced by the effects of massacre, persecution, and poverty, she, as well as the DA, considered it more important and appropriate to help build up industrious Armenians rooted in their national culture, which to a large degree was regarded as synonymous with the Gregorian Church. Thus she concentrated her efforts exclusively on teaching, as well as on creating possibilities for Armenians to support themselves through farming, factory work, trade, and various crafts, all in close cooperation with German and American missionaries, and with the support of local Kurdish and Arab tribes. Karen Jeppe stayed in Urfa until 1919, witnessing every aspect of the Armenian genocide – death marches, massacres, starvation, and resistance – in the region.[18]

WOMEN MISSIONARY WORKERS

While the DA was a relief organization with little or no intention of proselytizing among the primarily Gregorian Ottoman Armenians, thereby following the trend of the similar British organization, The Friends of Armenia,[19] for the other large, Danish relief organization in Armenia, Kvindelige Missions Arbejdere (KMA; Women Missionary Workers), mission first and foremost equalled proselytizing. KMA was founded in Copenhagen in 1900 on the basis of a bible study group founded by upper-class women, and was ideologically rooted in the second of the two most influential Danish theological movements of the nineteenth century, namely the evangelical Indre Mission (Home Mission). But KMA was also very much influenced by foreign religious movements and organizations, like the British revivalist "Keswick" movement, and by the Swedish KMA, founded in 1894, as well as by visits to Copenhagen by the Welsh Pentecostal author and activist Jessie Penn-Lewis, and by the German Reverend Johannes Lohmann, leader of DH.[20] The direct reason for the founding of the Danish KMA was the continued suffering of Armenians in the Ottoman empire, but the further aim was to follow what was considered to be one of the key messages of the New Testament: "It was clear to the founders of KMA that what was needed was not only temporal aid, there was also a missionary task to fulfill, and Armenia became the first mission field of the society."[21] Like their American Board colleagues, they too believed that, "...it was their moral duty to redeem an errant mankind through active intervention."[22]

Many of the Western missionaries, including most of the Danes, had a rather arrogant, "cultural imperialist," attitude towards not only Muslims, but also towards non-Protestant Churches like the Gregorian Armenian Church, which they considered to be dead or dying, and it was the stated goal of KMA and other organizations to convert Armenians to what was considered true Christianity, i.e. Protestantism, which was viewed as an intermediate step towards reaching the local Muslim populations as well.[23] Other contemporary Danish missionary organizations, like Østerlandsmissionen (ØM, "The Eastern Mission"), founded in 1898 by the Reverend Einar Prip, were initially directed solely towards almost completely futile attempts at proselytizing among Muslims in the Ottoman Empire, more precisely among Arab muslims in Syria, but the attitude towards both non-Protestant Christianity and Islam was equally hostile. As

Prip himself wrote in a letter sent from Jerusalem, 1898: "Cold, barren, and rigid forms [of religion] are more than plentiful here, but Death has marked them."[24]

But that is not the whole picture. Especially during the genocide, when relief (rather than "spiritual salvation") was needed on an unprecedented scale, even the most fundamentalist Danish Protestant missionaries provided aid to the Ottoman Armenians and other groups of the Empire, often risking their lives in the process. But the missionaries were also instrumental in bringing medical assistance and education to the Ottoman Empire during peacetime, although this could have been motivated less by purely altruistic motives than by a desire to win the "hearts and minds" of the local population.[25] According to Djurdjis Katibe, an Arab Christian teacher working for ØM in Nebk, Syria, educating Muslims and Christians in the same schools "...prevents hatred and envy between them and puts out the fire of fanaticism and their hatred of the idolaters, which is what [the Muslims] call the Christians."[26] And schools run by missionaries were not only for boys. Rather, emphasis was put on educating and employing first and foremost Armenian, but also Muslim as well as other Christian girls and women, a large majority of whom were illiterate in the Ottoman Provinces.[27] This was something that was not only necessary, considering the lack of Armenian men due to the massacres, but also something which, in the often very conservative Christian and Muslim environment of Anatolia and Arabia, could have a sometimes disruptive, but also genuinely emancipatory effect.[28]

It was no coincidence that such attempts to soften rigid gender structures were made at a time when European and American female missionaries, including the missionary wives, began to outnumber male missionaries by two to one. Being a missionary gave these women opportunities for religious, vocational, and personal development that they lacked at home, and the female missionaries often wanted to give similar opportunities to girls and women of the local population.[29] Overall, this movement of what has been called "missionary feminism"[30] could be seen as a direct consequence of what Hans-Lukas Kieser calls, "...the [19th-century] utopia of the Protestant missionaries in Turkey [which] consisted in an almost millenarian belief in a new social and symbolic order, promoted by their own evangelistic, educative, and civilizing efforts, and linking their modern belief in progress with evangelical spirituality."[31]

Promoting some form of female emancipation had now, in the early part of the 20th century, become part of being progressive, and the mainly female missionaries had no trouble in linking this ideal with the ideal of evangelism.

JENSINE ØRTZ AND THE ABDUL HAMID MASSACRES

In the course of their work, Danish missionaries collected testimonies of Armenian massacres preceding the First World War. One example is trained nurse and KMA missionary Jensine Ørtz, who was stationed in Malatia in Central Anatolia from 1906 until May 1914. Here she worked together with the German Reverend Ernst Jakob Christoffel, and his sister, Hedwig, who had founded the organization, Christoffel Blindenmission (Christian Blind Mission), which was aiding both Christians and Muslims of the region. The authorities would not allow Ørtz to proselytize in the area, a ban which she ignored in the first year of her stay by handing out bibles to seven Turks, some of whom were, as she puts it, "secret believers," knowing that such acts put not only her own life, but the life of the involved Turks in acute danger.[32] Her actions were detected fairly quickly by the local authorities, which led to her being interrogated by the local police, but she managed to avoid further trouble. According to Ørtz, Mustapha Arra, mayor of Malatia and one of the secret Christians of the city, was not so lucky: he was later killed by his Muslim son for his transgressions.[33]

After these episodes, Jensine Ørtz gave up any direct attempts at proselytizing among Muslims, and engaged herself mainly in bible work, the education of young Armenian women, and the establishing of a kindergarten, until she, worn down by malaria and stress, had to return to Denmark on sick leave.[34] In the interim, the Ottoman Empire joined Germany and Austria-Hungary in World War I, and she was prevented from returning to Armenia.[35] But even though this in turn prevented Ørtz from being a witness to the genocide, she does, in her books about her experiences in Malatia, retell a number of incidents during the Abdul Hamid massacres. One example is the experiences of an unnamed Armenian woman during the massacres in the city in November 1895, when 1000 houses were looted and burned down, and approximately 3000 Armenians, mainly men, were killed – in fact, in 1907, Ørtz tells of whole streets in Malatia where not a single Armenian man had survived.[36] The

woman in question lost her own husband and two young children, but managed to survive together with two young Armenian men by bribing an elderly Kurd until the massacre ceased after three days.[37]

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF KMA IN MAMOURET-UL-AZIZ

The first Danish KMA-missionary, nurse Christa Hammer, had arrived in Turkish Armenia in November 1901, and, as was the case with the DA, the initial effort was channeled through a German organization, in this case Deutsche Hülfsbund, to the effect that KMA, as a so-called "support organization"[38] at this point, sponsored 40 Armenian girls in DH orphanages.[39] But in 1903 KMA established its own orphanage with 73 children, "Emaus," in Mezreh in central Anatolia.[40] Mezreh was the smallest of the "twin cities," Harput and Mezreh, in the region of Mamouret-ul-Aziz. Here, the Danish missionaries experienced first-hand the conditions under which many of the Armenians lived. Nurse Christiane Black, who had joined Hammer in Mezreh shortly after, described starving children, destitute women, and masses of unemployed men, all living in ramshackle huts,[41] while Christa Hammer described how, even though the great massacres had ceased, general oppression had not: "The Turks try to find all sorts of things that can give them a reason to treat the Armenians as revolutionaries – these poor people who are like sheep to be slaughtered."[42]

The fate of these two Danish missionaries shows that conditions were dangerous for them as well: Christa Hammer died of typhoid fever in Mezreh in 1903, and Christiane Black had to return to Denmark the following year when she caught rheumatic fever. But other KMA missionaries soon followed. In the Vilayet of Mamouret-ul-Aziz, Wilhelmine and Sigrid Grünhagen, mother and daughter, took over the administration of "Emaus,"[43] Hansine Marcher became leader of the DH girls' school, and Jenny Jensen led the large DH-home for Armenian girls, "Elim," both in Mezreh.[44] During the World War, both Marcher and Jensen also worked at the German Red Cross hospital in Harput, while "Emaus," in the absence of Mrs. Grünhagen, was run by KMA missionary Karen Marie Petersen from 1909 on.[45]

In 1907, KMA was running its own operations in Anatolia, had its own missionary college in Copenhagen, and had 2,600 members, as well as supporters and contributors from all walks of life, including a number of

Danish aristocrats, which testifies to the fact that the fate of the Armenians was still considered by many Danes to be an important issue more than a decade after the Abdul Hamid massacres.[46] At around this time, KMA was employing 18 unmarried female missionaries in places like the Ottoman Empire, India, and the Virgin Islands ("Danish West Indies"), a Danish colony until 1917. Of these, five were stationed in Mamouret-ul-Aziz, and two in Syria.[47] Aided by the apparantly changing political climate, the efforts were successful: In the few years between the Young Turk revolution in 1908 and the outbreak of the Balkan wars in 1912, conditions seemed to improve, not only for the Ottoman Armenians, but for the Western missionaries as well.[48] During the reign of Abdul Hamid, Protestant missionaries in particular were viewed as subversive elements, but now they suddenly experienced being called "pioneers of progress" by the modernist Young Turks, as well as being invited as speakers to meetings in Young Turk clubs in places like Harput.[49]

The best known KMA missionary in Mamouret-ul-Aziz, nurse Maria Jacobsen (1882-1960), was sent to Harput in the Fall of 1907. The decision was made after the experienced American ABCFM missionary Dr. George C. Raynolds had visited KMA in Copenhagen and generated the Danish organization's interest for cooperating with a well-established organization like the American Board, which ran schools, clinics, hospitals, and mission stations all over the Ottoman empire.[50] When Jacobsen arrived in Harput, she worked as a nurse at the American hospital there, but in 1910 she became the head nurse at the newly built American Annie Tracy Riggs hospital in Mezreh, which made her a central part of ABCFM's operations in the region.[51] Together with American missionaries like Henry Riggs, Jacobsen also rode on horseback to visit even the most inaccessible villages in the region on what she called "Evangelist travels."[52] On that subject she wrote in her diary, September 20, 1908, about how she longed for, "...the opportunity to guide some of the many people, who do not know Him as their saviour, to the Cross, to show them the way. Yes, the Lord makes me a winner of souls."[53] In Mamouret-ul-Aziz, 1914, on the eve of the genocide, there were reportedly not only "good feelings" between Muslims and Christians,[54] but the missionaries were also still confident that they could awaken and reinvigorate what they considered to be the outdated Gregorian Armenian Christians by turning them towards "true" Christianity.[55]

THE ADANA MASSACRE, 1909

The Adana massacre in April 1909 was a notable exception to what seemed to be the new Young Turk rule of brotherhood and peaceful coexistence: some 20,000 Armenians, together with two American missionaries, were brutally slaugthered by Turks and Kurds, with the participation of the local authorities, in and around the city of Adana in Cilicia ("Armenia Minor").[56] It is still not clear whether, or to what extent, the Young Turk government was responsible for this particular massacre,[57] but there is evidence from Danish, German, and British eyewitnesses which points to the fact that Sultan Abdul Hamid had planned the Adana massacre to be part of a more widespread scheme. According to Jenny Jensen, a similar massacre of the Armenians and missionaries of Mezreh and Harput in the *Vilayet* of Mamouret-ul-Aziz was planned to take place on April 26, 1909. This seems to have been part, not of Young Turk central or local policy, but of the short-lived counter-revolution led by sultan Abdul Hamid. However, the otherwise conservative *vali* of the Vilayet hesitated in carrying out the orders he received from Constantinople until later that same day, when the orders were retracted after news of the final deposition of the sultan reached the vali by telegram.[58] This version of the events in Harput and Mezreh is confirmed by the British historian and adventurer Gertrude Bell, who was in Harput at the time.[59]

In Malatia, some hundred kilometers to the southwest in that same Vilayet, yet another massacre of this city's approximately 20,000 Armenians had been planned. According to the German missionaries from Christian Blind Mission, Armenians and missionaries had been warned previous to the planned attacks by the government-controlled Kurdish militias that they had been put on death lists by the authorities, a plot that was only averted by the actions of a courageous Young Turk officer.[60] Ørtz adds, that when the Kudish militias entered the city, they gathered, as was costumary, at the central market place to await orders. But since what Ørtz calls the "resident governor," most likely the local Kaimakam, had died the night before, no orders came, and the Young Turk officer took command and ordered that no Christians were to be harmed. The officer was not rewarded for his deeds by the authorities, though; rather, he was imprisoned until local Armenians and German officials managed to have

him released and sent away.[61] Seen in connection with the fact that known Muslim killers of Armenians in Adana were generally given light, if any, sentences, this treatment of an actual rescuer of Armenians is an indication of how little value even the new, purportedly democratic and tolerant Young Turk government ascribed to a generally despised minority. Then World War I came.

CONCLUSION

Despite massive problems and regular setbacks, Danish missionaries and relief workers were guardedly optimistic about the prospects of fulfilling their goals of bringing relief, and for some also of bringing "true Christianity," to Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. That was before the Armenian genocide. The genocide was a premeditated, and largely "succesful," Young Turk attempt at Turkifying the remains of the Ottoman Empire. The killing of 1-1.5 million Ottoman Armenians, the killing and persecution of hundreds of thousands of Assyrians, Nestorians, Arabs, Greeks, and Kurds, as well as the forced conversions, the "confiscations" of property, and the destruction of Christian schools, villages, churches, etc., etc., thus secured the almost complete disappearance of age-old cultures and societies from what would become the modern Turkish republic. The genocide also almost completely destroyed what Western missionaries and relief workers had tried to create for at least 15-20 years.

By their stubborn refusal to abandon first and foremost the persecuted and defenseless Armenians, some missionaries, like Maria Jacobsen in Harput and Karen Jeppe in Urfa, managed to save the lives of literally thousands during the genocide.[62] And they also managed to save some of the foundations of their lives' work. After the war and the genocide, these foundations were used in new efforts at saving an old nation. This was now an even more difficult task than after the Abdul Hamid massacres, not least because in Anatolia the Kemalist movement increasingly hampered the presence of missionary or relief workers trying to search for and help surviving Armenian women and children kept in captivity, if not outright slavery, in their tens of thousands.[63] As Hilmar Kaiser states: "The fate of Armenian orphans demonstrates that the Armenian Genocide was not simply a general massacre but a differentiated program. This program allowed for the forcible assimilation into Muslim communities of clearly identified victims, such as young children and women. In these individual

cases, assimilation served the Ottoman government's purposes more than murder."[64] For missionaries and relief workers like Jacobsen and Jeppe, who went to Syria and Lebanon, respectively, around 1920, these women and children, many of them still in Muslim harems, became the main priority for what was now first and foremost relief efforts – even for a missionary "fundamentalist" like Jacobsen.

At this point, their work was not only supported by their own organizations, but also, directly or indirectly, by the newly created League of Nations, and by Danish and international women's rights organizations.[65] Other Danish organizations, like Industrimissionen ("The Industrial Mission"), founded by the former KMA missionary Jensine Ørtz in 1922, concentrated their efforts on Armenian refugees in Greece, mainly in Saloniki.[66] All in all, these Danish relief and missionary efforts – small, but important parts of what was arguably the first, and probably still one of the largest, international humanitarian grassroots movements in modern history[67] – managed to continue in one form or another until well past the Second World War, despite the sometimes questionable missionary ideologies, the lack of governmental support and funding, diseases and nervous breakdowns, and, above all, the Armenian Genocide.

ENDNOTES

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[1] Thanks to Richard Kloian, Armenian Genocide Resource Center, for valuable comments and criticism.

[2] Regarding the number of Armenian deaths, see two recent works covering these massacres: Arman J. Kirakossian, ed., *The Armenian Massacres, 1894-1896: U.S. Media Testimony*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press 2004, p. 29, states that "...more than 300,000 Armenians were massacred...," while Donald Bloxham, *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians*, Oxford University Press 2005, p. 51, states that the massacres, "...took 80-100,000 lives directly and tens of thousands indirectly in 1894-6...".

[3] Georg Brandes, *Udvalgte Skrifter*, 8. Bd., *Journalistik og Debat*, Tiderne skifter 1987, p. 133.

[4] H. V. Styhr, *Armenien og Armenierne*, special edition of "Vort Land," 1897, p. 15.

[5] Some German and French books covering the massacres were also translated into Danish: See e.g. G. Godet, *Forfølgelserne i Armenien*, Copenhagen: J. Frimodts Forlag 1897, where the proceeds of the sale went to "the miserable Armenians"; Ernst Lohmann, *Fra Blodets og Taarernes Land. En Rejseberetning fra Armenien*, Copenhagen 1900; G. Dorys, *Abdul-Hamids Privatliv*, Copenhagen 1901.

[6] H. L. Larsen, i "Industrimissionen i Armenien," Vol. 1, No. 1, July-August 1922, pp. 1-2. Rev. Larsen, who later was to co-found "Industrimissionen" (see below), functioned as an interpreter at these meetings.

[7] On the relationship between the American government and American organizations, see Kirakossian, ed., 2004, pp. 34-35. On the same subject in a German context, see Hilmar Kaiser, *At the Crossroads of Der Zor – Death, Survival, and Humanitarian Resistance in Aleppo, 1915-1917*, Princeton & London: Gomidas Institute 2002, pp. 2-3.

[8] This was generally the case for Protestant missions in the early part of the 20th century, and the tendency was for these organizations to become increasingly independent of national or state churches, and to depend more on developing international and interdenominational structures together with other organizations: Engelsviken, in *SMT*, pp. 496-99. The only involvement in the Ottoman Empire by an organization with close ties to the Danish state seems to have been by the Danish Red Cross, which in 1917 aided Russian prisoners of war in Turkey, and Turkish prisoners of war in Russia: *Hjælp ydet fra Danmark til de krigshærgede Lande under og efter Verdenskrigen 1914-1918. Samlet og udarbejdet af Dansk Røde Kors*, Copenhagen, no year, pp. 43-44. See also Barbara Zalewski, *Den Nærsynede Barmhjertighed*, unpublished Ph.D. project, University of Copenhagen 1996, p. 98.

[9] Peter Balakian, *The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America's Response*, HarperCollins 2003, pp. 24-25.

[10] Julius Richter, *Mission und Evangelisation im Orient*, Gütersloh: Bertelsmann 1908, p. 98-113; Elith Olesen, *De Frigjorte og Trællefolket. Amerikansk-engelsk indflydelse på dansk kirkeliv omkring år 1900*, Anis 1996, p. 103. On the number of fatherless or orphaned Armenian children, see Godet, 1897, p. 65.

[11] Quoted in Kirakossian, ed., 2004, p. 251.

[12] Åge Meyer Benedictsen, *Åge Meyer Benedictsen – De Undertrykte Nationers Tolk. En Mindebog*, ed. by Katri Meyer Benedictsen, Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag / Arnold Busck 1934, Vol. 1, p. 125.

[13] For an English-language analysis of the work of this commission, including the role of Jeppe from her base in Aleppo, Syria, see Vahram L. Shemmassian, "The League of Nations and the Reclamation of the Armenian Genocide Survivors," in Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., *Looking Backward, Moving Forward: Confronting the Armenian Genocide*, New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers 2003, pp. 81-112.

[14] On Shattuck, see Balakian, 2003, pp. 83-84.

[15] See e.g. Svend Cedergreen Bech, *Hos et Folk Uden Land*, GEC Gad 1982; Ingeborg Marie Sick, *Pigen Fra Danmark*, Copenhagen: Gyldendal 1945, 4. enlarged ed.; Bjørnlund, "Karen Jeppe," folkedrab.dk.

[16] For an English language introduction to Grundtvigianism, and to its founder, N. F. S. Grundtvig, see A. M. Allchin, *N. F. S. Grundtvig - An Introduction to his Life and Work*, Aarhus University Press 1997.

[17] Ingeborg Marie Sick, *Pigen fra Danmark*, Copenhagen: Gyldendal 1928, pp. 77-78.

[18] Cedergreen Bech, 1982; Ephraim K. Jernazian, *Judgment unto Truth: Witnessing the Armenian Genocide*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers 1990, pp. 65-67, 156.

[19] Nassibian, pp. 60-61.

[20] Elise Bockelund, *Høsten er Stor – KMA's Historie Gennem 50 År*, Copenhagen: KMA 1950, p. 9.

[21] Bockelund, 1950, p. 14. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations into English are made by MB.

[22] Suzanne E. Moranian, "The Armenian Genocide and American Missionary Relief Efforts," in Jay Winter, ed., *America and the Armenian Genocide of 1915*, Cambridge University Press 2003, p. 185.

[23] Bockelund, 1950, pp. 27-28; Amalie Lange, *Et Blad af Armeniens Historie. Kvindelige Missions Arbejdere 1910-1920*, Copenhagen: KMA 1920, p. 10; Jensine Ørtz, *Fra Armenien – Optegnelser fra Malatia*, Kvindelige Missionsarbejdere No. 95, no year [1912?], pp.13-14; H. L. Larsen, *Falden blandt Røvere – Armenierne paa Apostelen Paulus' Veje. En Orientrejse 1924*, Industrimissionen i Armenien: 1924, p. 9. For descriptions of similar missionary attitudes towards the Gregorian Church and other Christian churches of the Near East, see e.g. Moranian, in Winter, ed., 2003, pp. 187-88; Balakian, 2003, pp. 25-27; Kirakossian, ed., 2004, p. 34; Aram Keshisian, *The Christian Witness at the Crossroads in the Middle East*, Beirut: Middle East Council of Churches 1992, p. 11. As for the attitude towards Islam, it could be no less arrogant, but it was sometimes recognized that such arrogance could be "unchristian," as well as counterproductive: "The missionaries who work among the Mohammedans, they too do emphasize that it is necessary to not only have a thorough knowledge of Islam, but also to meet it with sympathy, and sympathy in this context means to 'treat other religions as less perfect revelations' [...] [The aim] of the mission is not to destroy, but to build up...": Lorenz Bergmann, *De ikke-kristne Religioner og den kristne Mission*, "Nordisk Missionstidsskrift", 4. og 5; Hefte, Aarhus: 1914, pp. 12-13, 28-30.

[24] Quoted in Christian Siegumfeldt, *Østerlandsmissionen*, Vol. 1, "Missionens Grundlæggelse," Copenhagen: Lohse 1923, p. 39. In 1898, when he was still in Jerusalem, Prip did also, while learning Arabic, work for some time at Father Schneller's German orphanage with Armenians orphaned by the Abdul-Hamid massacres: ibid., pp. 41-45.

[25] Such integration within missionary work of evangelism, education, church planting, and industry as well as agriculture was not a novel development, but was rooted in Christian traditions dating back to at least the sixth century A.D.: Tormod Engelsviken, "Who has Taken Care of the Missionary Task of the Church Through the Ages?", in *SMT (Swedish Missiological Themes/Svensk Missions Tidsskrift)*, Special Issue on the Missionary – Person and Ministry, Vol. 91, No. 4, 2003, p. 486.

[26] Quoted in Bruno Bødker Hansen, *Blandt Muslimerne i Kalamun. Østerlandsmissionens arbejde i Syrien indtil 1927*, Copenhagen: GEC Gad 1987, p. 51.

[27] Ibid., pp. 71-72.

[28] Lange, 1920, pp. 10-11; Ørtz, no year, p. 18; Olesen, 1996, p. 366; Hansen, 1987, e.g. pp. 143, 150, 169-75, 226-27.

[29] Engelsviken, in *SMT*, Vol. 91, No. 4, 2003, pp. 498-99.

[30] Regarding "missionary feminism," a movement which originated in the Anglo-Saxon countries in the second half of the 19th century, see e.g. Kristin Fjelde Tjelde, "Lærerinnenes Misjonsforbund gjennem 100 år," in *Norsk Tidsskrift for Misjon*, Vol. 56,

No. 2, 2002, pp. 78-79; Inger Marie Okkenhaug, "Women in Christian Mission: Protestant Encounters from the 19th and 20th Century," on http://kilden.forskningsradet.no/c18372/artikkel/vis.html?tid=17564 .

[31] Hans-Lukas Kieser, "Some Remarks on Alevi Responses to the Missionaries in Eastern Anatolia (19th–20th cc.)," 2000, paper on http://www.hist.net/kieser/pu/responses.html .

[32] In the Ottoman Empire, conversion from Islam to Christianity usually equalled a death sentence. See e.g. Hansen, 1987, p. 54.

[33] Jensine O. Peters [Jensine Ørtz], *Armenians in Turkey and Macedonia*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House 1940, pp. 28-29. See also Tessa Hofmann & Meline Pehlivanian, "Der Schlimmsten Orte Einer...": *Malatia 1915 bis 1918*, 2005, on www.aga-online.org/de/malatia/index.php .

[34] Peters [Ørtz], 1940, pp 38-40; Hofmann & Pehlivanian, 2005.

[35] Bockelund, 1950, pp. 31-32, 36; Lange, 1920, p. 11, 22. Christoffel and his co-worker and brother-in-law Hans Bauernfeind were direct witnesses to the genocide in the Malatia region, until they were expelled in 1919: Lange, 1920, pp. 25-30; Wolfgang Gust, ed., *Der Völkermord an den Armeniern 1915/16. Dokumente aus dem Politischen Archiv des deutschen Auswärtigen Amts*, zu Klampen 2005, pp. 455-56, 557-58; Hofmann & Pehlivanian, 2005.

[36] Peters [Ørtz], 1940, p. 29.

[37] Ørtz, no year. See also Peters [Ørtz], 1940, pp. 29-32; Godet, 1897, p. 29.

[38] Kirsten Vind, *Aldrig færdig – altid på vej*, Unitas Forlag 2002, p. 19.

[39] "Meddelelser fra Armenien," KMA 1901. See also Kvindelige Missions Arbejdere, *Breve fra en Rejse til Armenien*, KMA No. 15, 1901.

[40] Lange, 1920, p. 11.

[41] Bockelund, 1950, pp. 26-27.

[42] Ibid., p. 28.

[43] Ibid., pp. 30-32. Sigrid later married the German DH-missionary Johannes Storck, stationed in Marash. Like a number of other western missionaries, the Storck family were on holiday when World War I broke out: Wolfgang Gust, ed., armenocide.de , 1915-07-16-DE-001. This was also the case with Wilhelmine Grünhagen, who was in Denmark on sick leave when the war broke out, but she returned to Turkey in 1920 at the age of 62, and tried together with Swedish KMA missionary Sigrid Johansson to get into Armenian Anatolia to continue their relief efforts. They were not allowed to do so, and stayed in Constantinople working to help Armenian survivors there: Bockelund, 1950, pp. 72-73.

[44] Bockelund, 1950, p. 32; Lange, 1920, p. 14. Marcher was ordered home by DH in 1916: Bockelund, 1950, p. 36.

[45] Bockelund, 1950, p. 37.

[46] Tinne Vammen, "Emsy Collet", *Dansk Kvindebiografisk Leksikon*, on kvinfo.dk.

[47] Harald F. Jørgensen, *Statistiske Oplysninger om de Nordiske Landes Missioner i Aarene 1910, 1915 og 1920*, København 1922, p.

[48] See e.g. Hansen, 1987, pp. 150-51.

[49] Kieser, "Some Remarks...," 2000.

[50] Concerning Raynolds and his previous work as a missionary physician in Van, see Balakian, 2003, pp. 201-202.

[51] On the Annie Tracy Riggs Hospital, and medical work in Harput, see Ruth A. Parmalee, *A Pioneer in the Euphrates Valley*, Princeton: Gomidas Institute 2002.

[52] Lange, 1920, p. 20.

[53] Maria Jacobsen, *Diary 1907-1919, Kharput, Turkey*, Antelias, Lebanon: Armenian Catholicosate 1979, p. 15 of the facsimile reproduction of the original, handwritten diaries. See also Maria Jacobsen, *Diaries of a Danish Missionary – Harpoot, 1907-1919*, Princeton & London: Gomidas Institute Books 2001 (ed. by Ara Sarafian, translated by Kirsten Vind), p. 8.

[54] Leslie A. Davis, *The Slaughterhouse Province: An American Diplomat's Report on the Armenian Genocide, 1915-1917*, New Rochelle, New York: Aristide D. Caratzas 1989, p. 40.

[55] The missionaries had what they considered as some success with their missionary efforts, and were even able to reconvert some Armenians who had been forcibly converted to Islam during the Abdul Hamid massacres, though, as stated above, such reconversions, like all other conversions from Islam, were punishable by death: Lange, 1920, pp. 21-22.

[56] Bloxham, 2005, pp. 60-62; Robert Melson, "Provocation or Nationalism: A Critical Inquiry into the Armenian Genocide of 1915," in Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian Genocide in Perspective*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers 1986, pp. 69-70; Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1971, p. 50. For eyewitness accounts of the massacres, see Donald E. Miller & Lorna Touryan Miller, *Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide*, Berkeley: University of California Press 1993, pp. 63-66.

[57] Vahakn N. Dadrian, in *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus*, Providence: Berghahn Books 1997 (2. Rev. Ed.), p. 386, ascribes full responsibility for the massacre to the Young Turks; Richard G. Hovannisian, "Confronting the Armenian Genocide," in Hovannisian, ed., *Looking Backward, Moving Forward: Confronting the Armenian Genocide*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers 2003, p. 29, states that the responsibility lay primarily with "an anti-Itthihadist insurgency by liberals and Islamists," although Young Turk forces were involved in the massacre; Robert Melson, in Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., 1986, p. 69, states that it is "questionable" that the Young Turk regime should be blamed for the massacre. According to Hans-Lukas Kieser & Dominik J. Schaller, "Einleitung: Völkermord im historischen Raum 1895-1945," in Kieser & Schaller, eds., *Der Völkermord an den Armeniern und die Shoah/The Armenian Genocide and the Shoah*, Zürich: Kronos Verlag 2002, p. 17, while Young Turks in the Adana region cooperated with the perpetrators of that particular massacre, Young Turk officers elsewhere helped prevent a repetition of the nation-wide massacres of 1894-96.

[58] Bockelund, 1950, p. 32-33. Abdul Hamid was technically not deposed by parliament until April 27, but in reality he was finally toppled April 24: Stanford J. Shaw & Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Cambridge University Press 1977, Vol. II, pp. 281-82.

[59] Gertrude Bell, "Letter to her parents," June 10, 1909, Gertrude Bell Archive, in the Robinson Library, University of Newcastle, on http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/letters/1896.htm .

[60] Hofmann & Pehlivanian, 2005. For a view that Abdul Hamid had planned similar massacres on Christians in Syria in 1909, see Harald F. Jørgensen, *Ørkenen Skal Blomstre - Glimt af Østerlandsmissionens Historie gennem 50 Aar*, Copenhagen: J. Frimodts Forlag 1947, p. 70.

[61] Ørtz, no year, p. 12; Peters [Ørtz], 1940, pp. 35-37.

[62] See e.g. Jacobsen, 1979; Cedergreen Bech, 1982.

[63] Marashlian, in Hovannisian, ed., 1998, p. 122; Aage Meyer Benedictsen, *Armenien – et Folks Liv og Kamp Gennem to Aartusinder*, Copenhagen: De Danske Armeniervenner 1925, pp. 296-97; Grabill, 1971, pp. 259-63, 282-83.

[64] Kaiser, 2002, p. 1.

[65] Hanne Rimmen Nielsen, "Den Hvide Slavehandel. Bekæmpelse af handel med kvinder 1900-1950," in *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning*, Vol. 10, No. 3, September 2001, pp. 15-18.

[66] See e.g. Axel Gram, *Blandt Armeniske Flygtninge i Grækenland. Med Erindringer af den tidligere Armeniermissionær Margrethe Jepsen*, Industrimissionen i Grækenland (Dansk Armeniermission i Grækenland) 1953.

[67] Kaiser, 2002, p. 2.

ՀԱՑՈՑ ՑԵՂԱՄՊԱՆՈՒԹԵՆԷՆ ԱՌԱՋ. ԴԱՆԻԱԿԱՆ ՄԻՍԻՈՆԱՐԱԿԱՆ ԵՒ ՓՐԿՈՒԹԵԱՆ ԳՈՐԾՈՂՈՒԹԻՒՆՆԵՐԸ ՕՍՄԱՆԵԱՆ ԿԱՑՍՐՈՒԹԵԱՆ ՄԷՋ, 1900-1914

(Ամփոփում)

ՄԱԹԷԱՍ ՊԻՈՐՆԼՈՒՆՏ

Հեղինակը համառօտակի կը նկարագրէ համիտեան ջարդերու թողուցած արձագանգը Արեւմտեան Եւրոպայի, մանաւանդ՝ Դանիոյ մէջ։ Այդ արձագանգը, գուգորդուելով գերմանացի կրօնաւորներու ականատեսի վկայութիւններուն, յառաջացուցին դանիական միսիոնարական առաքելութիւններ։

Ի տարբերութիւն ամերիկեան թէ գերման միսիոնարական շարժումներուն, դանիականը պետական նպաստ չունէր։ Անոնց սկզբնական անփորձութիւնը գիրենք մղեց կապուելու գերմանական, ապա եւ ամերիկեան միսիոնարական շարժումներու։

Հուսկ, հեղինակը կ՚անդրադառնայ դանիական միսիոնարական շարժումի ծաւալումին, կը մանրամասնէ Քարէն Եփփէի, Ենսին Էօրցի, Քրիսթա Համմէրի, Մարիա Եաքոպսընի եւ այլոց առաքելութեան կարգ մը երեսակները եւ թէ ինչպէս կարիքի հետեւանքով այդ առաքելութիւնները դաւանափոխական աշխատանքէ անցան որբանոցային, ուսումնական պարտականութիւններու։ Պիորնլունտ կը շեշտէ կին միսիոնարներուն դերը՝ Ուրֆայի, Մալաթիոյ, Մամուրէթ ուլ Ազիզ-Խարբերդի մէջ, մանաւանդ համիտեան 1904ի թէ 1909ի ջարդերուն ընթացքին եւ անկէ ետք՝ մինչեւ 1914։

Մեկնելով դանիացի միսիոնարներու տեղեկութիւններէն, հեղինակը կը հաւատէ թէ 1909ի ջարդը աւելի ծաւալուն ծրագրուած էր քան այն՝ ինչ տեղի ունեցաւ։