

***From the Domain of Certitude to the
Relational Realm:
U.S. Missions in Iran and the Politics of
Piecemeal Social Change***

Joel Hanisek

**This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy.**

Date of Submission: May 2019

School of Religion

Trinity College Dublin

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and it is entirely my own work.

I agree to deposit this thesis in the University's open access institutional repository or allow the Library to do so on my behalf, subject to Irish Copyright Legislation and Trinity College Library conditions of use and acknowledgment.

Signed:

Summary

Methodologically this thesis employs a modified microhistorical approach to small social units alongside ethical reflection on historical events and persons. A critical theory method is also utilized in combination with situational analysis. Textual analysis is also used, particularly in relation to mission documents as sources of overlooked cultural, social, legal, and political information.

This research advances the study of religion in the form of the study of the missionary origins of U.S.-Iranian relations and fills a critical historical gap in the study of U.S.-Iran relations before the 1953 coup d'état. Using the above methodologies this thesis identifies the nineteenth and twentieth-century U.S. missions in Iran as having been largely unreflective on their own intellectual entanglement with historical strands of Middle Eastern Christianity and holds that evangelical dependency upon Iranian dynastic power, while mediated by royal orders (*farman*) and enabled by the regional and relational politics resulting from a weak central government, formed an integral part of the Qajar strategy to contest the power of Shi'i ulama, before being largely eclipsed by Reza Shah's program of authoritarian modernization.

In the above context this work found the following: that the presence of U.S. missionaries in Iran had significantly detrimental effects on community cohesion across ethno-national lines, despite simultaneously standing as an early achievement in the intercultural relationship between the U.S. and Iran; that in the absence of understanding or admiration attempts at textually based minority/majority religious transmission, where correctness is a guiding value, are prone to conflict; that understanding is a key to navigating difference in environments where international

dynamics place a primary accent on alterity; that a preference for integrative action and an epistemological dogmatic-normativity remained the organizing logic of U.S. missions in Iran, despite the meliorating influence of a motive force of compassion traceable to the intellectual roots of these missions; that the apparatus of U.S. foreign missions remains underappreciated in its importance as site of contention in Qajar-Shi'i power politics, as a site of national formation in the development of Assyrian culture, and as a site of innovation in the larger history of Iranian educational and political reform; that a reciprocal relationship exists between the operation of zeal, with its capacity to act as a driver of political change, and the cultivation of solidarity; that U.S. missions in Iran historically demonstrated a marginal but persistent preference for pragmatic solutions to intercultural problems and that this was linked in positive terms to manifestations of intercultural solidarity; that the pragmatic preference of U.S. missions in Iran depended significantly upon the categories of work and education to access a state of transformative potential capable of cultural synthesis; that the model of cultural change organized around additive properties and experiential methodology preferred by U.S. missions in Iran needed not be imperialist in aspect; that U.S. mission work in Iran provided both a space of liberation for U.S. women and a related space of freedom for Iranian women, which was conducive to indigenous social reform efforts, as well as personal educational development.

Table of Content

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>INTRODUCTION</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>CHAPTER 1: Origins, Structures, and Intentions.....</i>	<i>33</i>
<i>Introduction.....</i>	<i>33</i>
<i>Before the other</i>	<i>35</i>
<i>Heirs to an awakening.....</i>	<i>38</i>
<i>The ABCFM and foreign missions in Iran.....</i>	<i>45</i>
<i>Legacies of Justin Perkins and James Lyman Merrick</i>	<i>52</i>
<i>From Tabriz to Urmia</i>	<i>63</i>
<i>The Nestorians, or the Church of the East</i>	<i>66</i>
<i>Conclusion.....</i>	<i>73</i>
<i>CHAPTER 2: Missions, Minorities and Majority Modes of Rule in the Qajar Context.....</i>	<i>76</i>
<i>Introduction.....</i>	<i>76</i>
<i>ABCFM-Qajar relations</i>	<i>77</i>
<i>Judaism and Zoroastrianism</i>	<i>81</i>
<i>Mission and certainty.....</i>	<i>85</i>
<i>Violence, power, and innovation</i>	<i>91</i>
<i>Politics and polemics</i>	<i>98</i>
<i>Shi'ism and the construction of Qajar.....</i>	<i>108</i>
<i>Iranian ulama as power brokers.....</i>	<i>112</i>
<i>Mulla and missionary.....</i>	<i>116</i>
<i>Nation and dhimmah.....</i>	<i>119</i>
<i>Humiliation and embarrassment in law and society</i>	<i>121</i>
<i>Minority architectures</i>	<i>123</i>
<i>Conclusion.....</i>	<i>128</i>
<i>CHAPTER 3: Perspectives, Understanding, and Power.....</i>	<i>130</i>
<i>Introduction.....</i>	<i>130</i>
<i>The hermeneutics of liberation</i>	<i>131</i>
<i>The geography of understanding.....</i>	<i>134</i>
<i>The architecture, economics, and religious habit of understanding</i>	<i>140</i>
<i>The national and intellectual character of understanding.....</i>	<i>149</i>
<i>Solidarity, zeal, and understanding</i>	<i>164</i>
<i>The politics of empire and colony against understanding.....</i>	<i>168</i>

<i>Conclusion</i>	174
Chapter 4: Women and Mission	176
<i>Introduction</i>	176
<i>Women in U.S. foreign missions</i>	177
<i>Mount Holyoke and Fidelity Fisk</i>	183
<i>The East Persia mission and Belle Hawkes</i>	188
<i>Women and education in Iran</i>	194
<i>The women's movement in Iran</i>	201
<i>From andarūn to agency</i>	205
<i>Material culture, women's journals, and depictions of gender</i>	208
<i>The veil and the nation</i>	214
<i>Sattareh Farman Farmaian</i>	219
<i>Conclusion</i>	224
Chapter 5: The Critical Importance of Utopia	226
<i>Introduction</i>	226
<i>Politics of utopia</i>	227
<i>Praxis and ideology</i>	231
<i>Religious critique and ideological power</i>	235
<i>Tradition and ideology</i>	238
<i>National inflections</i>	242
<i>Agency and the critical stance</i>	246
<i>Utopia and reason</i>	252
<i>Equality and conservatism</i>	258
<i>Piecemeal experimentation</i>	262
<i>Solidarity and equality</i>	264
<i>The recurrence of romanticism</i>	271
<i>Conclusion</i>	273
Conclusion	275
Appendix A	282
Bibliography	285

Acknowledgements

In beginning the acknowledgments due to those who have supported this project I must thank in the very first instance Professor Linda Hogan who recognized and opened a space for this work at the Irish School of Ecumenics and who has supported it steadfastly with warmth, rigor, understanding, and generosity. I simply should not have been able to see it to completion without her guidance and support. I am also deeply appreciative of the energy and excellence that I experienced at the Trinity Long Room Hub Arts & Humanities Research Institute where I was lucky enough to spend 2017-18 as an early career researcher. I am especially grateful to Professor Jane Ohlmeyer and Dr. Caitriona Curtis who made this opportunity possible. My thanks go as well to other friends at the Hub who made the space rich for learning and research in a collegial environment. I would like to specially acknowledge in this regard Maureen Burgess, Angela Butler, Gavin Doyle, Ellen Finn, Dr. Orysia Kulick, Oana Marian, Jacob D. Martin, SJ, Kate Smyth, and Peter West. May I also thank the School of Law at Trinity College Dublin, where this project originated, as well as the Institute for International Integration Studies (IIIS), the precursor to Trinity Research in Social Science (TRiSS), which offered an early work space for this research. Additionally, I am thankful to the Arthur Cox law firm for their studentship, which afforded me valuable seminar teaching experience during the course of the Ph.D.

I have also benefited in significant ways from participation in and presentation at various academic conferences and centers in the course of this research. These gatherings have fixed in me an appreciation for the delicate but enduring culture of transnational and interdisciplinary intellectual exchange. I have been fortunate enough in the course of these events to have come into contact with individuals who have

modeled for me the many ways in which superior academic practice may go hand in hand with deep human kindness. My thanks in this regard go to Professor Sean Coyle who demonstrated such sympathetic listening, true humility and welcome both at the Emory University Feminism and Legal Theory Project as well as at the Birmingham University Institute of Advanced Studies (IAS). I am also grateful to Dr. Timothy Nunan for being so generous in sharing his unassuming company and acute analysis with me at the biennial Symposia Iranica. During the course of my research Professor Maria Baghramian was extremely generous to include me as a research affiliate at the University College Dublin School of Philosophy Dewey Studies Research Project. Moreover, Professor Baghramian continues to stand for me as a model of scholarly dedication wherein the highest intellectual achievement corresponds with a sense of social justice and a connectional instinct for supporting the academic development of others. Both Dr. Maddy Chiam and Dr. Rebecca Monson helped deepen my conviction that learning and smiling are mutually reinforcing acts. I am grateful to Professor David Kennedy and Harvard's Institute for Global Law and Policy for having afforded me the opportunity, however briefly, to think alongside them. May I also express my appreciation in a similar regard to Director Giancarlo Bosetti, Dr. Volker Kaul, Dr. Chiara Galbersanini, and Cristina Sala of the Reset Dialogues on Civilizations Venice Seminars. The Venice Seminars were a place of fruitful encounter in the course of this Ph.D. In particular, I am thankful for the opportunity they offered to meet, through the confusion of vaporetto routes and the uncertainty of perambulation to Ca' Foscari University, Professor Simon Goldhill. I benefited greatly from Professor Goldhill's structural vision, depth of knowledge, and interrogatory acumen. I am particularly grateful for the way in which his immediate curiosity combined with a decisive generosity to afford me the opportunity to join the

2018 Summer School on Religious Diversity and the Secular University organized by the University of Cambridge Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities (CRASSH) and funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. At CRASSH I was extraordinarily lucky to be welcomed amongst a group of first class thinkers whose sense of inclusion, intensity of practice, and clarity of argument was unique and inspiring. Specifically I would like to acknowledge several of the individuals who helped to shape and advance this ethos: Dr. Theodor Dunkelgrün, Dr. Sami Everett, Dr. Abraham Flipse, Professor Susannah Heschel, Dr. Tala Jarjour, Dr. Charles Kuper, Dr. Paul Michael Kurtz, Professor Bernard Lightman, Ruth Lindley, Professor Suzanne Marchand, Dr. David Moshfegh, Dr. Tania Saeed, and Marriëtta van der Tol.

I would also like to acknowledge and extend my thanks to the following institutions where significant portions of research and writing for this Ph.D. were executed: The British Library; The Presbyterian Historical Society National Archives in Philadelphia, PA; The John C. Hodges Library at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville; the Fondazione Giorgio Cini Vitorre Branca Centre; Downing College, Cambridge; and the U.S. Library of Congress. At the Library of Congress I would like particularly to acknowledge the help of the Prints and Photographs Division. One more place deserving of special mention is Trinity Hall, Dublin. I am thankful to have been welcomed into this community of residential scholarship by Professor Brendan Tangney; I am also thankful for the historic Purser family bequest to Trinity Hall, which included a fine desk on which the greater part of this work has been written.

Finally, throughout this process I have been so fortunate to be part of a family in whose abiding love I have found the greatest wisdom. Maneli, thank you for turning the Ph.D. into a “BFG”. Your heart is true and in your generosity of spirit you have been one of my greatest teachers throughout this process. Roja, there are so many thousand ways I could thank you. Knowing your preference for action over expression let me simply offer this instead: It’s done. I love you both *bi nahayat*.

INTRODUCTION

In 1806 an emerging republic in North America living into the name United States was a sliver of its contemporary transcontinental self. Former colonies along the Atlantic seaboard plus some territories west of the Appalachian mountains just admitted to a new political union were rocking from the religious revivals of the Second Great Awakening. This movement was personified by charismatic figures such as Jonathan Edwards and Samuel Hopkins, both of whom contributed to a theory of “disinterested benevolence”,¹ which became part of the foundation for early abolitionist efforts in the U.S.,² and which also opened the door to colonization vested in forms of Christian doctrine and framed as religious mission. In the midst of this environment several students at Williams College in Massachusetts³ got caught in a rainstorm one summer afternoon. They sheltered alongside a haystack in a field near the college and start to pray. By the time the storm passed they had become convinced that they should take the form of Christianity that they knew and try to evangelize the whole world with it.

Origin stories embodied in persons or institutions can fuel processes of social cohesion as well as instances of social conflict. The impulse generated during this

¹ The understanding of mission as “disinterested benevolence” also became crucial to the development of a theory of “benevolent empire” in the U.S. However, the early 19th century U.S. held its own diversities and such a short survey on evangelical origins and influences should not be mistaken for any attempt at an overall social description. See Joseph A. Conforti, *Jonathan Edwards, Religious Tradition and American Culture*, (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1995), p. 85. See William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978). See Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

² See Manisha Sinha, *The Slave's Cause: A History of Abolition*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016). Samuel Hopkins, a formative influence on the ABCFM, preached to condemn the enslavement of African Americans; he also participated in the colonization scheme of Sherbro Island near Sierra Leone as part of his abolition work.

³ See David Kling, “The New Divinity and Williams College, 1793-1836,” *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*, Vol. 6 No. 2, Summer, 1996, p. 204.

mythic moment near Williams eventually led to the creation of a mission organization known as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). It was the ABCFM that would be responsible for first initiating contact between peoples living in the U.S. and Persia. The initial meeting of the ABCFM took place at Farmington, Connecticut in September of 1810.⁴ At this meeting a constitution was adopted, the second article of which “declared that the object of this Board was, ‘to devise, adopt and prosecute ways and means for propagating the gospel among those who are destitute of the knowledge of Christianity.’”⁵ Thus we see that the basic problem the ABCFM was concerned with addressing was an epistemological one. It was concerned with knowledge evaluation, transfer, and acquisition. Considering a knowledge economy as the nerve center of the ABCFM runs counter to the uncritical or insider appraisals that have focused on the missionaries associated with the organization as normative models of a religiously ascendant class in the U.S. and which have received little substantial challenge until recently. Joseph Tracy’s 1842 *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, for instance, works this angle down to a nub. The fact that these missionaries have remained rather ill defined in critical academic terms, however, is one addressed by Heather Sharkey, whose own work on the ABCFM in Egypt breaks new ground around the impact of

⁴ See Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (New York: MW Dodd, 1842). While originating and rooted in a Congregationalist context the ABCFM also included some elements of Presbyterian and Reformed presence. The first American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions consisted of the following: John Treadwell, Timothy Dwight, Jedediah Huntington, Calvin Chapin, Joseph Lyman, Samuel Spring, William Bartlett, Samuel Worcester, and Samuel H. Walley. See also Clifton Jackson Phillips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half-century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860* (East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distributed by Harvard University Press, 1969). See also William E. Strong, *The Story of the American Board: An Account of the First Hundred Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1910). See also David W. Kling, “The New Divinity and the Origins of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.” *Church History* 72, no. 4, 2003, pp. 791-819.

⁵ Qtd. in Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (New York: MW Dodd, 1842), p. 27.

U.S. missions “encounters” in the Middle East. Sharkey suggests that the scholarship of William R. Hutchinson holds some answers. Hutchinson writes:

The reason for such neglect is plain enough: these overseas Americans and their best-known objectives have seemed more than a little embarrassing’ with their arrogance, cultural condescension, and zeal. Missionaries appeared in their own historical writings as self-satisfied do-gooders, and ... ‘mainline academic[s]’ simply avoided them.⁶

Hutchinson’s 1993 work on the subject provided an early and rather isolated pulse detailing the intellectual legacy of the ABCFM’s internationalism in the context of the U.S. More recently, scholars have begun to turn again to mission records and documents as sources of overlooked cultural, legal, social and political information.⁷ By reengaging these critically there is an opportunity to consider once more the complete certitude with which so many are communicated. Such certitude fluctuates between a preference for ideological rigor and the realm of the utopian. Indeed, with

⁶ Qtd. in Heather Sharkey, J. *American Evangelicals in Egypt: Missionary Encounters in an Age of Empire: Missionary Encounters in an Age of Empire* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2013), pp. 15-16. She continues, “As the son and son-in-law of missionaries Hutchinson had known many missionaries personally but did not recollect ‘Bible-thumping soul-savers’ among them; instead he likened the ones he knew to Peace Corps types: idealistic, socially engaged and progressive.” As will be seen, many of the U.S. missionaries traveling to Qajar Iran evidence aspects of both descriptions. There is arguably a change in the composition of the missions over time that corresponds with a widening rift in U.S. evangelical communities described by the distance between fundamentalist tendencies and socially progressive inclinations. For original see William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

⁷ See especially Reeva S. Simon and Eleanor Harvey Tejirian, (eds.) *Altruism and Imperialism: Western Cultural and Religious Missions in the Middle East*. Vol. 4. (New York: Columbia University Middle East Institute, 2002). And see Heleen Murre-Van den Berg, *New faith in ancient lands: Western missions in the Middle East in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries*, (Leiden: Brill, 2006). See also Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008). See also E. H. Tejirian, and Reeva Spector Simon, *Conflict, conquest, and conversion: two thousand years of Christian missions in the Middle East*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014). See also Emily Conroy-Krutz, *Christian Imperialism: Converting the World in the Early American Republic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015). See also Emrah Sahin, *Faithful Encounters: Authorities and American Missionaries in the Ottoman Empire*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018).

regard to foreign missions there is a noteworthy spectrum of religious expression ranging from populist and pragmatic conservatism to an internationalist cosmopolitanism marked by creative solidarity. While the ABCFM was active throughout the world – as an organization it did indeed have global scope – this particular study restricts itself to questions around its missions (and those of its Presbyterian successor body) in the context of Iran.

A theoretical difficulty, however, presents itself immediately in the context of any consideration of exogenous Christian missionary activity in the greater Middle East, namely that of how to consider the return of an idea to a point of origin. Mission efforts across the Middle East may be argued to present a complexity to the critical theorist that mission work in other regions, where previous histories of Christianity are either nonexistent or less subject to intra-religious politics, does not. The earliest Christian histories are rooted unequivocally in a Middle Eastern context. Christianity's outward growth from the Middle East has been global in scope.⁸ One result of this has been the historic imprinting of these wide Middle Eastern foundations in culture, religion, law and politics across the globe in ways that are significant, if not always well understood or analyzed. By extracting some of the historical lines and traditions from this palimpsest it is possible to study them more clearly. Traits that propelled and shaped Christianity's growth from a small and local

⁸ See Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity, Vol. 2: The Thousand Years of Uncertainty, AD 500-1500* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1938). See also Martin Tamcke and Michael Marten (eds.), *Christian Witness Between Continuity and New Beginnings: Modern Historical Missions in the Middle East*. Vol. 39. LIT (Münster: Verlag, 2006). And with specific reference to the contemporary assessment of U.S. foreign mission engagement with the Middle East see Rufus Anderson, *History of the Missions of the ABCFM to the Oriental Churches*, 2 vols., (Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1872).

movement to a global religion include the impulse towards mission, as well as the ethical and regulatory frameworks, or lack thereof, governing that impulse.

In the North American context the movement of peoples from Europe and their subsequent work of colonization, may be traced initially, at least in part, to questions of religious freedom. Historically, this type of freedom has often been gained at the expense of others. The search for places in which freedom for a particular form of religion might be found has led to the displacement of persons and the diminution, even extinction of cultures. This movement from discrimination to domination to the detriment of diversity is evident in the successful colonization of North America by European Christian groups. A similar dynamic may be found at work with regard to the extension of this ethos in Iran. It is beyond the scope or intent of this work fully to reconcile the 19th century impact of these U.S. foreign missions with the long historical development of indigenous Christian communities in Iran, which is a separate subject in its own right.⁹ Similarly, it is beyond the scope or intent of this work to remap the extensive foreign mission landscape of the 19th century and early 20th century United States, of which the extension to Iran was simply one part.¹⁰

⁹ See Michael Nazir-Ali, "Christianity in Iran: A Brief Survey," *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 9, no. 1, 2009, pp. 32-40. See John C. England, "The Earliest Christian Writings in Asia: An Appreciation," in Brett Knowles (ed.), *Proceedings of the Research Group for Asian and Pacific Christianity and Cultures 1993-1994* (Dunedin: Centre for Contextual Theology, 1995), pp. 1-20. See Erica C.D. Hunter, "The Church of the East in Central Asia," *Bulletin of John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 78/3, 1996, pp. 129-142. See Alphonse Mingana, "The Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East: A New Document," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 9 (1925) 297-371. See Nicholas Sims-Williams, "Christianity in Iran and Central Asia," in Ronald E. Asher (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, II (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1994), pp. 548-549.

¹⁰ This work relies substantially on William R. Hutchison's *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993) to frame the U.S. context of these missions. See also Wilbert R. Shenk (ed.), *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory, and Policy* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2004). See also Charles W. Foreman, "A History of Foreign Mission Theory in America," in R. Pierce Beaver (ed.), *American Missions in Bicentennial Perspective* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1977), pp. 69-140. See also R. Pierce Beaver, "Missionary Motivation Through Three Centuries," in Jerald Brauer (ed.), *Reinterpretation in American Church History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968). See

Instead, the work will focus on a period in Iranian history that has tended to be relatively underserved from scholarly perspectives, the 1830s-1930s, by way of examining foreign mission activities in Iran emanating from the U.S. during that time. It is important to note that when referring to mission activity throughout this work a general distinction is made between the nationally articulated bureaucracy apparatus responsible for supporting religious mission structurally and financially, most notably the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and subsequently the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., and the individual missionaries themselves who travelled to Iran from the U.S.¹¹ Emily Conroy-Krutz describes the difficulty she had in her research on the ABCFM in deciding “whether the American Board was an ‘it’ or a ‘they’”.¹² Conroy-Krutz suggests that the proper referent is *it*. Without disputing that assessment for the ABCFM itself this work gives preference to the lives encompassed within the disdained grouping of *they*. By engaging with their individual narratives, and describing the diversity of a U.S. cohort in Iran that both changed substantially in terms of its ethos over the course of more than a century, and at the same time maintained a unity of presence linked to national expression, it takes seriously the local and contingent nature of mission in a way that questions how individual missionaries fit within the scope of contextual social ethics and discrete political

also Oliver Wendell Elsbree, “The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in New England, 1790-1815,” *The New England Quarterly* 1, no. 3, 1928, pp. 295-322. For a more expansive feminist critique of this mission history, which emerges from a postcolonial perspective in the U.S. see Letty M. Russell, “Cultural hermeneutics: a postcolonial look at mission,” *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 20, no. 1, 2004, pp. 23-40. The tenor of this argument will be advanced at greater length in the ensuing chapters.

¹¹ At the same time the term mission, as opposed to religious mission or Christian mission, is often preferred throughout this research as a way to insinuate the ambiguity that regularly existed between religious missions from the U.S. and the national politics of economic and diplomatic missions. More generally see David Ekbladh, *The great American mission: Modernization and the construction of an American world order*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011). With specific reference to Iran see Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant diplomacy and the Near East: missionary influence on American policy, 1810-1927* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971).

¹² Emily Conroy-Krutz, *Christian Imperialism: Converting the World in the Early American Republic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), p. xi.

histories. As such the research largely abstains from seeking coherence between the expression of these mission endeavors in Iran and their counterparts in other global contexts. By intentionally seeking out the complicated fissures that run throughout the tectonic architecture of religious difference in interpersonal terms this work attempts to reposition operative theories of cultural opposition and inherited ideas of narrow representation in a specific geographical context.¹³ Eschewing binary constructions such as us/them, East/West, Muslim/Christian, developed/developing, or traditional/modern this research examines the local, national, and international effects of transnational religious actors occupying a new space between U.S. and Iranian politics. In the social and political layers and forms created or changed by these persons we can discern some of the small forces that shaped the inauguration of U.S.-Iran relations.

Until relatively recently the Qajar period, with which the majority of this research is concerned, had been overlooked as a historical and intellectual space for serious inquiry. As Robert Gleave put it:

Previously the Qajar dynasty had been viewed as the poor cousin of the Safavids. The Safavid period had been portrayed as the highpoint of pre-modern Iranian history. ... In line with such a perspective the Qajars were an unfortunate interlude between the high culture of the

¹³ See Kwame Appiah, "Identity Against Culture: Understandings of Multiculturalism," *Occasional Papers of the Dortein B. Townsend Center for the Humanities*, no. 1. (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1994, pp. 1-52. Kwame Anthony Appiah delivered "Identity Against Culture" as the Fall, 1994 Avenali Lecture held at the Alumni House on the University of California, Berkeley campus, September 12, 1994.

Safavids and the strong leadership of the first Pahlavi monarch.¹⁴

Yet Gleave notes a renaissance in Qajar studies beginning in the early 21st century and credits that to a “growing interest in the implications of Western Imperialism for writing histories both of colonized countries and those which were not incorporated into European empires.”¹⁵ The result, he suggests is a “shift from a triumphalist, Euro-centric portrayal of the history of the nineteenth century to a recognition that Iranian society had a dynamic of its own”.¹⁶ This work aligns itself with that same shift away from triumphalist analyses and is conducted both out of regret for their ascendancy and endurance and with hope for their continued disruption and transformation. The national concerns addressed herein are limited largely to how interpersonal relationships wrought in a religious forge were lived out between U.S. and Iranian persons during that time. And while Qajar studies, seen as an historically underdeveloped field, has had recent developments, Michael Zirinsky’s dated observation that, “[t]here has been little study of the missionary origins of U.S.-Iranian relations,” remains applicable and germane to this study.¹⁷ In response this work seeks to recycle and restore some of the neglected material of U.S mission work in Iran in order to address the need for historical patches across those early places of interaction in the political tapestry of U.S./Iran relations, which are otherwise quite threadbare.

¹⁴ Robert Gleave, “Preface,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 15.

¹⁵ Robert Gleave, “Preface,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 15.

¹⁶ Robert Gleave, “Preface,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 15.

¹⁷ Michael Zirinsky, “A Panacea for the Ills of the Country: American Presbyterian Education in Inter-War Iran,” *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 26, No. ½, Winter – Spring, 1993, p. 120.

This study then emerges from a certain type of primitive concern about the relationship between the U.S. and Iran as sovereign spaces variously related to collections of individuals who defy easy categorization in historical perspective. Mining prior interaction is a response to this concern; in this instance the focus is on the ethics and mutability of social and narrative interaction amongst groups of religious and semi-state actors across multiple decades. As Florence Hellot argues, “[o]bserving large communities over long periods of time allows one to place their particular history in perspective of world history”.¹⁸ However, she also notes that this approach “bears the risks of ignoring the particularities of human relationships and events”.¹⁹ The method she proposes to mitigate such risk is that of “micro-history”, a time bounded observational technique that focuses on “on direct testimonies”.²⁰

This thesis utilizes a light variant of Hellot’s preferred methodology of micro-history to work at a human scale in order to break down binaries and oppositional hermeneutics. While an interdisciplinary work that draws liberally from socio-legal methodological approaches,²¹ which emphasize contextual alternatives and the importance of doctrinal challenge, this thesis is organized more generally by way of a religious studies framework that is largely dependent upon critical theory methods and microhistorical variants. I have constructed the modified microhistorical approach of this work with reference to Florence Hellot’s geographically consonant scholarship as well as with attention to its theoretical and historical demarcation in the work of

¹⁸ Florence Hellot, “The Western Missionaries in Azerbaijan Society (1835-1914),” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 270.

¹⁹ Florence Hellot, “The Western Missionaries in Azerbaijan Society (1835-1914),” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 270.

²⁰ Florence Hellot, “The Western Missionaries in Azerbaijan Society (1835-1914),” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 270.

²¹ See Reza Banakar and Max Travers (eds.), *Theory and method in socio-legal research* (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2005). See also Sally Wheeler and Phil Thomas, “Socio-Legal Studies,” in David Hayden (ed.), *Law’s Future(s)* (Oxford: Hart, 2000), pp. 267-280.

Carlo Ginzburg.²² At its best this mode of scholarly approach avoids the unhelpful tendencies towards a generalized and deracinated discourse in the service of grand strategies of global transformation that I am attempting to contest.²³

However, microhistorical approaches can also suffer from argumentative weaknesses arising from problems with structural integrity, including issues of ahistorical positionality and questions of representation. While the tight focus of the microhistorical approach is profoundly conducive to engagement with political and intellectual nuance it may also simultaneously restrain the formation of larger moral or normative arguments that need a wider perspective to afford them stability and purchase.²⁴ As such I have tried to balance these goods and challenges through careful close readings of primary and archival materials that offer intersecting foci on a narrow selection of persons, groups, groups, and ideas connected across decades and centuries by place-specific continuity. In this way the methodological variant employed is closely related to the kind of microhistory that concentrates on a

²² See Carlo Ginzburg, "Microhistory: Two or three things that I know about it." Translated by John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi. *Critical Inquiry* 20, no. 1 (1993): 10-35. Ginzburg acknowledges the influence of Giovanni Levi in the development of this method and they mutually directed, alongside Simona Cerutti, the multivolume series *Microstorie* (1985-1990), which was published by Casa Editrice Einaudi (Turin). Ginzburg finds even earlier reference to the concept of microhistory in the work of George R. Stewart at the University of California, Berkeley. Stewart's scholarship is eclectic and ranging, however his microscopic focus on singular historical events and formative scholarship on geographic knowledge dovetail well with the American Studies vein that courses throughout this thesis. See George R. Stewart, *Names on the Land: A Historical Account of Place-naming in the United States* (New York: Random House, 1945).

²³ See Peter Layton, "The Idea of Grand Strategy." *The RUSI journal* 157, no. 4 (2012): 56-61. Alternatively, see Jill Lepore, "Historians who love too much: Reflections on microhistory and biography." *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 1 (2001): 129-144. This is an example of biographically inclined microhistory that does an excellent job of addressing the challenge of balancing intimacy and personal knowledge with distance and contextual consideration.

²⁴ Here I have relied upon strands of critical theory in the forms of feminist and post-colonial criticism to maintain the importance of a positivist understanding of liberation and freedom for human persons in contradistinction to ideological forms of domination and oppression. More generally see Max Horkheimer, *Critical Theory: Selected Essays* (New York: Continuum, 2002). See also Richard D. Brown, "Microhistory and the post-modern challenge." *Journal of the Early Republic* 23, no. 1 (2003): 1-20. See also James Bohman, "How to make a social science practical: pragmatism, critical social science and multiperspectival theory." *Millennium* 31, no. 3 (2002): 499-524.

particular locality over time. Specifically, the engagement of U.S. missionaries with sections of communities in Hamadan, Tabriz, Tehran, and especially Urmia is represented multiple times throughout this text from various perspectives.

These perspectives include those derived from archival deposits, travel narratives and biographies. Most central to the work are the period-specific first person travel narratives of Eli Smith and H.G.O. Dwight (1833), Horatio Southgate (1840), Asahel Grant (1841), and Justin Perkins (1843). Third person contemporary biography based upon subjective experiential knowledge is also structurally important to the work. These include the memorial volume dedicated to Judith Grant Perkins (1853) and a series of Nestorian biographical cameos published by the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society (1857). Later memorial texts incorporating historical elements of inherited material culture with commentary extend this spectrum of inquiry. Ali Gheissari's "The American College of Tehran, 1929-32: A Memorial Album" (2011) is a contemporary example. An earlier retrospective document in a similar, though less critical, vein is Arthur C. Boyce's "Alborz College of Tehran and Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan, Founder and President," which was reprinted in Ali Pasha Shah's 1976 edited volume, itself produced through Farah Pahlavi's National Committee for the American Revolution Bicentennial. Sattareh Farman Farmaian's 1992 autobiography written with Dona Munker is the most traditional biographical form addressed by the thesis.

This research also engages with subjective insider histories such as Joseph Tracy's *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (1842) and John Elder's "History of the Iran Mission" (nd), which is on file with the Presbyterian

Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. I spent portions of June 2015 working with the archives of the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia, specifically with Record Group 91 and the series related to the work of the East Persia Mission.²⁵ This included biographical material related to Belle Sherwood Hawkes, as well as institutional material related to mission educational policies. Along extended lines of inquiry the periodical records of the *Missionary Herald*, which published annual reports of the work of the ABCFM out of Boston, variously by Samuel T. Armstrong and Crocker & Brewer, provided touchpoints to assess public representation intended for wide distribution, as did Samuel M. Jordan's article "Constructive Revolutions in Iran," published in *The Muslim World* (1935). By way of comparison non-institutional public documents considered included J. L. Merrick's *An Appeal to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (1847), as well as the portion of Ida Pfeiffer's travel narrative focused on Persia (1856).

Finally, the Amherst College Archives and Special Collections Justin Perkins (AC 1829) Papers, circa 1830-1869 (MA.00153) feature Justin Perkins letters that have been digitized as part of the Edward and Orra White Hitchcock Collection and which I began accessing in May 2015.²⁶ Likewise, the Fidelia Fiske Papers at the Mount Holyoke College Archives and Special Collections have been digitized; I began accessing these in May 2015.²⁷ I also spent a portion of November 2017 as a Reader at the U.S. Library of Congress. The library's holding of an 1839 farman given to J.L. Merrick (Appendix A) sparked important questions for this work regarding the interpersonal structure and political force of *farman* as a socio-legal document in the

²⁵ I am grateful to Charlene Peacock, Reference Archivist at the Presbyterian Historical Society for her thorough orientation and for the welcome during a hot Philadelphia summer.

²⁶ I am grateful to Christina Barber, Deputy Archivist at Amherst College for her help in this.

²⁷ I am grateful to Leslie Fields, Head of Archives and Special Collections at Mount Holyoke College for her direction in this.

Qajar realm.²⁸ Additionally, this time allowed me to consult a series of unpublished watercolor paintings of daily life scenes of Urmia, which had been commissioned by Justin Perkins circa 1839 (e.g. Appendix A). These aspects of the research helped me to present new social histories in the model of a community studies approach and to incorporate personal experience directly, even in the service of more general conclusions. As such the microhistorical approach in this thesis helps to contextualize majoritarian currents of Shi'i Islam at the same time that it reframes both indigenous minority religious dynamics within Iran, as well as other exogenous minority religious presences (i.e. missions), through personal narratives. I am admittedly less concerned with engaging in a formal or systemic analysis of the range of Shi'i responses to mission efforts in theological terms. A distinction being made between religiously aligned state or governmental structures and religious communities, including their leaders, the limited responses that are considered from Shi'i ulama throughout this research tend to be more broadly socio-cultural in nature and are most often engaged with regard to mission educational efforts, particularly around women's education.²⁹ Rather than adopting or interrogating a framework of interfaith dialogue I am more basically determined to demonstrate that there are multiple ways in which the religious history of Iran has followed variegated patterns of community-specific religious difference.

Indeed, religion in Iran historically has been quite cacophonous with minority voices existing in concert and conflict with majoritarian expressions across the breadth of collective life. Specific to the Qajar context McElrone notes:

²⁸ I especially appreciate the generous conversation with Hiran Dinavari, Reference Specialist for the Iranic World Collections, on this matter.

²⁹ For a more focused study considering related impacts of modernization trends and currents on Shi'i clerics in Iran see Mohammad H. Faghfoory, "The impact of modernization on the Ulama in Iran, 1925–1941." *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3-4 (1993): 277-312.

The majority of the population was Shiite, although divided among various branches, including Babis, (later Azalis) and Baha'is; religious minorities included Sunni Muslims, Armenian and Nestorian Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians...Persian, Armenian, Turkish, Kurdish, and Azeri were among the languages spoken in different regions. Like currencies, customs and values also shifted and changed from region to region.³⁰

In short, the religious, linguistic and cultural diversity in Iran at the time depended on regional differences and political leadership. Taking care to paint this type of picture allows for a much more nuanced analysis than that advanced by frameworks founded on antithetical assumptions where all differences are boiled down to the assumed essentials of so-called civilizational forms.³¹ In order to advance along these lines, however, it is important first to open the discussion to alternative perspectives that help account more fully for the broad experiences of persons living in Iran, particularly as they unfolded and pulsed in liminal spaces. It is also important to recognize that the histories of Qajar Iran emerge from experiences of peoples in a polity under no direct colonization, but at the same time so caught in the gravitational pull of several empires and so subject to multiple colonial dynamics, it cannot be said to have had any robust sense of sovereignty either.³²

³⁰ Susynne M. McElrone, "Nineteenth-Century Qajar Women in the Public Sphere: An Alternative Historical and Historiographical Reading of the Roots of Iranian Women's Activism," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 25, no. 2, 2005, p. 302.

³¹ See Huntington, Samuel P., "The Clash of Civilizations?," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 72, no. 3, 1993, pp. 22-49.

³² See Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (eds.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1988), pp. 271-313.

The problem of representation and recognition in just terms looms large in a context such as this where individual biographies, organizational histories, and national narratives are conjoined. In analyzing the interaction that the ABCFM and its Presbyterian successor catalyzed, or forced, across established Iranian communities this thesis also commits to pausing with some incredulity before a record of human beings so convinced of their own rightness, even in a purportedly beneficent mode, as to attempt to transform other human beings into something more like themselves. This concern with a basic impetus toward the certain deployment of coercive tactics helps shape many of the philosophical, ethical, aesthetic, historical, and political questions around mission guiding this work. Insofar as this project is dedicated to the advancement of the meaningful understanding³³ of mission actors it seeks to relate the interactions that form the core of those concerns through various perspectives, which simultaneously raises parallel opportunities to explore nuance and difference across national and personal constructions.³⁴ Holding that understanding must be embodied, but also anxious not to replicate a quasi-colonial dynamic of cultural judgment, it should be acknowledged that the work engages with a preponderance of English language sources. Persian, Syriac, and Hebrew language texts are addressed occasionally. This admittedly poses limits upon the research and its conclusions. However, in this instance, such limits are largely defined by the microhistorical methodological focus of the work itself. Additionally, the research endeavors not to

³³ I use this in the sense of Wilhelm Dilthey's *verstehen*; see Austin Harrington, "Dilthey, empathy and verstehen a contemporary reappraisal." *European Journal of Social Theory* 4, no. 3 (2001): 311-329. See also Paul Ricoeur, "The model of the text: Meaningful action considered as a text." *Social research* (1971): 529-562.

³⁴ Questions around how first and following generation missionaries relate to "home" and/or sending cultures, especially with regard to culture and language, would benefit from reference to Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial theory: A critical introduction*, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019); see especially *Chapter 3: Postcolonialism and the New Humanities*. See also Leela Gandhi, *Affective communities*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006). See also Margaret Kohn and Kavita Reddy's "Colonialism", in Edward N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Fall 2017 Edition. Accessed online: <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2017/entries/colonialism/>

conflate language of publication with cultural perspective(s). As such, there is a conscious attempt to source both primary and secondary materials directly from Iranian political and cultural perspectives; in numerous cases the first language of publication for these is English. Additionally, the work engages in close readings of Persian words, such as *gheyrat*, across texts. In this way the focus of the microhistorical approach is extended to language. It is also imperative to note that alongside the recovery and reframing of ABCFM and Presbyterian mission motives, methods, and consequences this research also does significant work to foreground the Qajar and Pahlavi *sitz im leben* in which these missions were resisted, ignored, or welcomed. This range of consideration opens the possibility for knowledge arising from comparative synthesis. For example, we can recognize that the farman³⁵ (order) issued by Muhammad Shah in 1255 (1839),³⁶ which authorized James Lyman Merrick of the ABCFM to establish a school in Tabriz, functions hand in glove with the ABCFM constitution. Where the one planned for the projection of transnational educational forms the other enabled their reception. Such pairings help to identify the complexity of the individual elements at work in the political frameworks of 19th century U.S.-Iran relations without recourse to linguistic or geographic opposition.

At the same time it is necessary to acknowledge geographic and linguistic difference in order to account for the development of both creative hybridity and conflict. Where the nascent U.S. was burgeoning and expansionist, Qajar Iran (1785-1925) was weak and beset by multiple territorial encroachments. Politically it appeared to be at ebb

³⁵ See Appendix A. Calligrapher: unknown, *Qajar Firman*, Library of Congress, African and Middle Eastern Division, Washington, D.C, 1255/1839.

³⁶ Dates will usually be given according to the Gregorian form. However, they may be given in *hijrī qamarī/milady* form or *hijrī shamsī* form, particularly in the context of quoted material. See “Note on Transliteration, Dates, Names and Abbreviations”. Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), xiv.

tide from a high point during the preceding Safavid period (1502-1736). The Safavids had seen themselves, and been seen, as international heavyweights, holding their own, amongst others, with established European powers. However, the Qajar dynasty was plagued with questions of legitimacy, in part because they were unable to unlock the same religious claims of authenticity to Shi'i representation in which the Safavids had managed to root their authority. The Qajar policy regarding religious politics and recognition reflected this reality and varied according to its leadership. Gleave underscores their recognition of "the key role of the '*ulamā*' in society," writing "[the Qajars] had no option but to invite them into the administration of the state."³⁷ What is less recognized is the fact that the Qajars also invited the presence of Christian missions into the administration of social services, such as education and healthcare. Admittedly, to understand these as the responsibilities of the state would be somewhat anachronistic, as well as poorly formed to the Qajar political structure. Yet it is clear that Qajar engagement with foreign missions was conducted with logic similar to that which guided Qajar international diplomacy and economic development. This meant that benefits were realized, though often only for an elite echelon of society, through exchanges that involved losses, real or conceptual, of sovereignty.

In the early stages of its intercultural engagement with Persia ABCFM missionaries appear to have been reckoned by the Qajars as relatively innocuous migrants with attractive technology such as the printing press, who also served as potential links to bases of U.S. and British political power while simultaneously contributing to infrastructure growth through the provision of schools, health clinics, and later hospitals. That the zeal of the ABCFM mission might also serve as a wrench in the

³⁷ Robert Gleave, "Preface," in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 6.

corresponding clockwork of the Shi'i ulama who constant challenged their political legitimacy was a bonus for the Qajar rulers. This politics of zeal is an understudied aspect of the interreligious immigration dynamics that arose around Shi'i, Assyrian, Armenian, and evangelical Christian interaction in Iran. Attention to the emergence of heterochthonous Christian presences is necessary in order to understand how the unique political and religious dynamics of the Qajar period have loomed largely unnoticed in the full history of international and intercultural relations between the U.S. and Iran. As such this study takes seriously the ways in which a small nongovernmental presence with significant religious and national markers forced certain sectors in Qajar society to navigate questions around the ethics of recognition and the potentials and pitfalls of interaction. The study proceeds in hope that such retrospective consideration of these founding dynamics may also prove helpful to the future realization of better U.S.-Iran relations.

The two polities around which this work is most largely gathered each encompass several cultural and religious traditions, and both have histories of significant global and regional scope and impact. Amidst this expansive terrain there is a speculative and motive interest in the ways that a work such as this might be engaged by the religious, intellectual, and political descendents of the first U.S. citizens to make Iran their home through missionary effort and intention. The premise of the thesis is that renewed attention to, and subsequent understanding of, religious histories and their entanglement in national policies has the potential to prove beneficial to contemporary humanitarian and diplomatic efforts. This perspective assumes that there are some forgotten lessons in the complex space of early U.S.-Iran interaction worth recollecting, which have modeling potential – either in positive or negative

ways – to help shape conversations around peacebuilding and the work of intercultural understanding.³⁸ However, while this work advances new perspectives on the histories of religious interaction in Iran and their associated national ramifications, the attempt to integrate such findings into a more technical solution in support of diplomatic track efforts is left for another work or to another scholar. It is anticipated that the arguments along on this front would run parallel to, rather than in place of, such political breakthroughs as the 2015 US-EU nuclear accord with Iran. Scientifically based diplomacy is of paramount importance for intercultural relationships. The animating contention of the above schema is that there also remains a need to deal productively and better with questions around intercultural and international relations where religion has historically been either a constitutive sinew or a divisive element.

As such this work is an exercise in restoring parts of a picture that have faded somewhat over time, with particular attention to reviving some of the details and hues that are connected to the religious aspects of US-Iran relations. This is envisioned not as historiography per se, but rather ethical reflection on historical events and persons for the purposes of preparing the ground for critical discussion. Such an approach offers better access to the full spectrum of U.S.-Iran relations insofar as it may be characterized by individuals and discernable in social histories. Accordingly, the first chapter of this thesis focuses on the historical context of U.S. foreign missions and considers missionary presence in Persia in critical perspective; the structural and ideological formation of the ABCFM is interpreted against a transnational Qajar context. The second chapter proceeds apace by analyzing Qajar methods of

³⁸See Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, “Of Lively Exchanges and Larger Perspectives,” *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 4, 1999, pp. 1235-1239.

governance, including how the movement of international religious actors was regulated, and pays special attention to the political and religious dynamics of Shi'i authority vis-à-vis minority religious groups and state. The third chapter then attempts to winnow through some of the more dominant paradigms associated with the U.S. missions by deploying cross-cutting perspectives representative of the larger contexts of international influence and domestic reform in Iran. This is complemented by analyses of the way in which across the long 19th century in Iran the cultural hermeneutics of geography, architecture, and the economy shaped mission approaches to engagement with intellectual, religious, and national forms of difference. The fourth chapter focuses on the role of women in Iran through the prism of U.S. missions. It considers the socio-cultural implications of girls' education as a mission priority against the backdrop of an incipient Iranian's women's movement and Reza Shah's educational reforms. Finally, the fifth chapter extends the turn toward the theoretical begun with the hermeneutical considerations of the previous chapters and focuses on how the study of U.S. missions in Iran spurs, and is supplemented by, larger considerations around the relationship between utopia, ideology, totalitarianism, and social reform. This chapter also addresses the related juncture of historicist thought and liberal modernity in comparative religious perspective alongside the politics of solidarity.

Throughout this project there is a focus on how epistemologies, ways of knowing and being known, give rise to forms of knowledge³⁹ that that can tend either toward domination or liberation. This dissertation is driven to return to the original instances of such forms produced during the century of U.S. mission presence in Iran by

³⁹ The term "forms of knowledge" is here used with oblique reference to the work of Bernard Cohn. See *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996).

concerns around the state of ignorance that generally attends contemporary knowledge of Iran in the U.S., particularly amongst one branch of ideological descent from those who first pioneered the U.S.-Iran relationship, that of American evangelicals.⁴⁰ While the first U.S. missionaries entered the Qajar realm to propagate a particular knowledge of Christianity where there was a perception of destitution this research enters the palimpsest of that past in search of knowledge to return to the present. The complex realities of intermodal cultural exchange sparked by that nationally aligned evangelical impulse arising in a soggy Massachusetts field demonstrate that even from the aspirations of a hegemonic heuristic it is possible to trace and discern the extension of non-dominant modes of being and benevolence, which if not agnostic as to nation or religion, nonetheless allow for their imperfection and are open to ideas of piecemeal evolution.

⁴⁰ See Melani McAlister, *The Kingdom of God Has No Borders: A Global History of American Evangelicals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). See also Randall Balmer, *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory: A Journey into the Evangelical Subculture in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

CHAPTER 1: Origins, Structures, and Intentions

Introduction

This chapter works to distinguish the ways that the roles of U.S. citizen and Christian missionary were navigated within complex state and regional networks in Persia by the various actors operating internationally under the mechanisms of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions⁴¹. There was undeniable hubris in the acts of mission that led the first people to travel from the U.S. to Persia;⁴² this pretension to privilege often aligned the 19th century enterprise with other fundamental expressions of colonial and imperial reach during this time. However, in some cases, the acts of mission undertaken in the midst of this zeitgeist wrought social transformations resulting in outcomes which proved both more enduring and beneficial than the machinery that gave effect to them. This may be particularly noted in the legacies of mission related educational institutions. In the Middle East region the foundations laid for higher education by U.S. missionaries, ABCFM and Presbyterian, included American University Beirut (1866), Robert College in Istanbul (1863), American University Cairo (1919) and, more specific to this thesis, Alborz College Tehran (1873). Such legacies present a challenge to any scholar concerned

⁴¹ “The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) was a Congregationalist mission organization founded in 1810. The ABCFM operated originally out of the states of Massachusetts and Connecticut with a global remit. It was founded primarily for religious inculcation, but in the course of this goal also pursued altruistic aims such as the provision of education and healthcare. For more on ABCFM see: Clifford Putney and Paul T. Burlin (eds.), *The Role of the American Board in the World: Bicentennial Reflections on the Organization’s Missionary Work: 1810-2010* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2012). Wilbert R. Shenk (ed.), *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory and Policy* (Grand Rapid, Michigan and Cambridge, U.K.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004).

⁴² The term Persia will also be used regularly throughout this work to describe the geopolitical entity that shares state continuity with contemporary Iran. The name was officially changed from Persia to Iran at the initiative of Reza Shah in 1935. In instances where the term Persia was used in the original context it will be preferred. Contextual logic rather than rigid formalism will dictate use throughout; as such not too much should be made of the politics of use.

with questions of historical and transitional justice alongside public and social memory. General problems with gauging, understanding and interpreting the social effects of mission interventions have regularly left lacunae in the historical record that have too often been filled, if at all, by extensions of hagiographic and confessional histories or canned assent to particular forms of foundational apologia. The challenge of any work engaging mission as a site for intercultural study is the obligation to tackle areas of obvious subjective bias, corrosive essentialism, and assumed superiority, all of which are too often rooted in ideologies of systemic racism and religious chauvinism. Yet such an address ideally must also acknowledge a breadth of human experience across religious and national categories and in doing so create space to examine the quirks and qualifications of specific interpersonal relationships and social enterprises formed within these historic mission networks which in their micro-histories may belie the dominant narratives otherwise attendant to them. Such a methodology offers escape from the weight of those preformed civilizational slabs under which scholarly and public habits of thought may often become pinned. It also provides at the same time a glimpse of spaces in which context-specific examples of social, religious, and political liberation may be glimpsed, even from the shadows of structures rightly condemned as oppressive.⁴³

⁴³ This may be seen as another route through the complicated territory of identity politics and its “implications for models of the self, political inclusiveness, and ... possibilities for solidarity and resistance.” See Cressida Heyes, “Identity Politics,” *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2018 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2018/entries/identity-politics/>

Before the other

There is no *tabula rasa* in this story. Any mission impulses originating from the U.S. domain must be grounded in earlier histories extending back to European wars of religion and migration to North America. Any study of past Iranian realities inevitably reveals a complex history of Arab colonization and Islamic propagation, as well as the movement, reception, and inception of multiple minority communities within a territorial space subject to liminal change. Within such frameworks U.S. missions to the Middle East cannot be assessed as ultimate points of origin, suspended in time, but rather more precisely function as points of original historical juncture, although the phrase will not be parsed with such precision throughout this work. In the case of Qajar Iran and the early U.S. republic the intersection is one in which transnational religious interaction occurred during a time when Shi'i Islam and evangelical Christianity had both cohered with national forms through political adhesion in ways that made elision of religion and nation commonplace. This is not to say that the idea of a "Christian U.S." or an "Islamic Iran" should be accorded a type of unquestioned dominance or even conceded – though this is a mistake that all too often results in a type of cardboard cutout analysis. Rather, it is an attempt to acknowledge that despite the complex, dynamic, and richly different polities comprising the Qajar realm in which the missions moved, and the U.S. republic from which they emanated, religio-national definitions could prove powerful in determining questions of group access to, and even existence within, a dynamic process of exchange.

The Qajar dynasty and the Shi'i ulama were the two leading powerbrokers for the mission context in question. However, their influence was complicated by the economic, social, and political pressures exerted by foreign powers, such Britain and

Russia. While the advent of U.S. missionaries in the Qajar realm was novel from a national perspective, and still arguably retains something of a novelty today, especially given the current dearth of interstate travel from the U.S. to Iran, it should be remembered that Christian missions and Christian communities already had a lengthy history throughout the Persian past. As such this particular form of interreligious interaction had a robust pedigree in the country ranging from the School of Nisibis in the sixth century CE⁴⁴ to the presence of Portuguese Jesuits amidst the Safavids during the 17th century.⁴⁵ However, Abbas Amanat does categorize the 17th century Jesuit missions as being a “challenge” to the ruling Safavids.⁴⁶ In turn he suggests “[t]he most significant Safavid response to the Jesuit challenge was the Persian *al-Lawāmi‘ al-rabbāniyya fī radd al-shubba al-Nasrāniyya* by Ahmad b. Zayn al-‘abidīn ‘Alawī ‘Āmilī.”⁴⁷ This text was a state sponsored rejection of the Jesuit arguments against Islam and in some ways a flagship for efforts to vindicate Shi’i thought. Given the evidence of historical documents such as *al-Lawāmi‘ al-rabbāniyya fī radd al-shubba al-Nasrāniyya* it is tempting to accept the idea that the normative framework for foreign missions in Iran has long been one of regular conflict with religiously aligned governing authorities. However, Amanat subsequently reveals that the “work was barely known to the nineteenth century

⁴⁴ See Adam Becker, *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom: The School of Nisibis and the Development of Scholastic Culture in Late Antique Mesopotamia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

⁴⁵ See Rudi, Matthee, “Poverty and Perseverance: The Jesuit Mission of Isfahan and Shamakhi in Late Safavid Iran,” *Al-Qantara* 36, 2015, pp. 463-501.

⁴⁶ Abbas Amanat, “Mujtahids and Missionaries: Shī‘ī responses to Christian polemics in the early Qajar period,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (New York and London: Routledge 2005), p. 253.

⁴⁷ Abbas Amanat, “Mujtahids and Missionaries: Shī‘ī responses to Christian polemics in the early Qajar period,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (New York and London: Routledge 2005), p. 253. NB Amanat describes this as a Persian text to denote its place of composition. The title, however, is in Arabic.

Iranian ‘*ulamā*’.”⁴⁸ This second observation is of special note due to the degree and seriousness of epistemic change it suggests. Nineteenth century Persian religious authorities appear to have forgotten the intense exchanges and apologetic artifacts of previous episodes of cultural contention. Whether because proportionately insignificant in the received history of the Safavid empire, a casualty of the chaotic transition before Qajar consolidation of political power, or some other reason, the relative oblivion to which these challenges appear to have been consigned meant that for the Shi’i circles of the nineteenth century it seemed *as if* the U.S. missions were new things altogether. A corollary concern with, and embodiment of, forgetfulness was manifested by the early U.S. missionaries who, focusing on the Nestorian Christians in northwest Persia, captiously identified community linguistic change in terms of lost patrimony while remaining for the most part blithely unreflective on their own intellectual entanglement with strands of Middle Eastern Christianity.⁴⁹ Instead they presented themselves as representatives of a new nationally inflected faith that was simultaneously ageless and deracinated. Their focus was squarely on future reform.

⁴⁸ Abbas Amanat, “Mujtahids and Missionaries: Shi’i responses to Christian polemics in the early Qajar period,” *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran*. Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (New York and London: Routledge 2005), p. 253. See S. Lee, *Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mohammedanism by the late Reverend Henry Martyn B.D. of St. John’s College, Cambridge and some of the most eminent writers of Persia translated and explained: to which is appended an additional tract on the same question; and, in a preface, some account given of a former controversy on this subject with extracts from it* (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1824) pp. v-cxiii, cited in E.G. Browne, *A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, at the Cambridge University Press, 1896), p.12. Amanat notes only one copy appears in Iranian collections: M.‘A. Rawdatī, *Fihrist-i Nuskhīhā-yi Khattī-i Kitābhānihā-yi Isfahān* (Isfahan n.d.) p. 169.

⁴⁹ Perkins for instance regularly uses the metaphor of a once bright fire burned down to ashes, e.g., “Of the venerable Syriac, once so highly and extensively cultivated and so rich in its literary treasures, we now find, as of the unfortunate people who use it, little more than its ashes.” Justin Perkins, *A residence of eight years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians: with notices of the Muhammedans* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1843), p. 14.

Heirs to an awakening

Depending on one's perspective U.S. missions to Qajar Iran may be viewed variously as quaint and peculiar, dangerous and insidious, brave and faithful, or simply as a subject inducing either general apathy or general interest. By focusing on those missions to Iran originating in Reformed strands of thought and grounded in an emerging U.S. culture of benevolence this work seeks a better understanding of the relationship between state development and religious identities, both majority and minority.⁵⁰ It seems clear that any understanding of the ways in which the political and cultural orientation of the early U.S. republic impacted U.S. missions in Iran must account for the overt and inherited Reformed influences at work in centers of administrative power as well as grassroots communities. And here it should be noted, as Tejirian and Simon do, that following its genesis within the Congregationalism of Massachusetts and Connecticut the ABCFM also "began to form ties with Philadelphia and New York Presbyterians, and in 1826 the United Foreign Missionary Society, which included Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed representatives".⁵¹

These evangelical communities were significant contributors to the early republic's intellectual firmament. In this context the works of colonial-era religious leaders, such

⁵⁰ Another more expanded study might incorporate missions in Iran operating across a more expansive spectrum of nationally inflected religious expressions, in which efforts made by French Jews, Indian Parsis, and U.S. Bahá'ís to support co-religionists living in Iran were examined. The term mission is here used loosely in a non-sectarian sense with attention to its etymological root as a process of sending. A study as such would include efforts such as those of the Persian Zoroastrian Amelioration Fund, the Alliance Israélite Universelle, and the Persian-American Educational Society (PAES). See Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi, "The Tarbiyat Girls' School of Tehran: Iranian and American Baha'i Contributions to Modern Education," *Middle East Critique* 22, no. 1, 2013, pp. 77-93. See Monica Ringer, "Reform Transplanted: Parsi Agents of Change amongst Zoroastrians in Nineteenth-Century Iran," *Iranian Studies* 42, no. 4, 2009, pp. 549-560. See C. L. Lang, "Les minorités arménienne et juive d'Iran," *Politique étrangère* 26, no. 5/6, 1961, pp. 460-471. See the section on Zoroastrians in Soli Shahvar, *Forgotten Schools: The Baha'is and Modern Education in Iran, 1899-1934* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2009), p. 44.

⁵¹ Eleanor H. Tejirian and Reeva Spector Simon, *Conflict, Conquest, and Conversion: Two Thousand Years of Christian Missions in the Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), p. 81.

as Jonathan Edwards, demonstrated a staying influence as republican sentiment sought antecedent structures to guide values and growth. Edwards became something of a theological touchstone – the equivalent of a Shi‘i *marja-i taqlid* (source of emulation).⁵² Relative to Edwards’s influence on mission in the early U.S., Kling makes the bold summary remark that “nearly all scholarly observers have attributed the origins of this missionary spirit at Williams to the writings of Jonathan Edwards and his self-appointed heirs”.⁵³ This loosely grouped theological circle of Edwardsean heirs is often referred to by the tag “New Divinity,”⁵⁴ but is sometimes spoken of in eponymous terms, either invoking either the name of Edwards or his Northampton protégé, Samuel Hopkins. Relative to mission, a central text for the students and followers of New Divinity, such the Haystack meeting leader Samuel Mills,⁵⁵ was Edwards’s *Life of Brainerd* (1749).⁵⁶ This book detailed the short life of David Brainerd, who identified as a Christian missionary to Native Americans. The figure of Brainerd, through Edwards, helped shape the mythic world of mission service in Congregational and Presbyterian circles throughout the colonial period, as well as into the early U.S. republic.

⁵² This analogy works well in terms of overlaying a comparative *marja-i taqlid/mujtahid/ulama/mullah* structure across the genealogy of the ABCFM – Perkins is equated with a mulla by the Qajar governor of Urmia while in Persia. See Justin Perkins, *A residence of eight years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians: with notices of the Muhammedans* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1843), p. 291.

⁵³ David Kling, “The New Divinity and Williams College, 1793-1836,” *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*, vol. 6, no. 2, Summer, 1996, p.195.

⁵⁴ See Eleanor H. Tejirian and Reeva Spector Simon, *Conflict, Conquest, and Conversion: Two Thousand Years of Christian Missions in the Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), p. 81.

⁵⁵ See Joseph Conforti, “Jonathan Edward's Most Popular Work: “The Life of David Brainerd” and Nineteenth-Century Evangelical Culture,” *Church History* 54, no. 2, 1985, p. 194. See also Douglas K. Showalter, “The 1810 Formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,” in Clifford Putney and Paul T. Burlin (eds.), *The Role of the American Board in the World: Bicentennial Reflections on the Organization's Missionary Work: 1810-2010* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2012), pp. 1-6.

⁵⁶ See Joseph Conforti, “David Brainerd and the nineteenth century missionary movement,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 5, no. 3, 1985, pp. 309-329. See also Marsden, George M., *Jonathan Edwards: a life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

Kling also gives Samuel Hopkins credit for revising Edwards's work and providing “an explicit theological rationale for missions” that replaced affect with effect.⁵⁷ The Hopkinsonian understanding of mission became crucial to the development of missions as a force with consequence in the international sphere and the emergence of a U.S. theory of “benevolent empire.”⁵⁸ The combination of belief in an ordered and divine providence, coupled with a prevailing social ethic of self-denial, created an atmosphere in which the travail of Christian mission work became curiously attractive, a site where social standing and salvific conviction were mutually reinforced. Foreign mission participation across different places and populations in the U.S. was robust owing to the combination of a strong oral tradition and emerging print technology. For instance, in 1805 a “missionary sermon” was delivered at the Presbyterian General Assembly by Edward Griffin (later a president of Williams College) and copies of the same were later circulated at Williams.⁵⁹ The sermon provides an early example of the exhortation to engage in foreign missions that became rampant during the ensuing century.⁶⁰ New travel technology alongside territorial and economic growth increasingly provided opportunities for those inclined to respond to this type of call within the emerging nation.

⁵⁷ David Kling, “The New Divinity and Williams College, 1793-1836,” *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*, Vol. 6 No. 2, Summer, 1996, p. 195. See Also Hayes, Kevin J. ((ed.) and introd.), *Oxford Handbook of Early American Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.) See also Kenneth P. Minkema and Harry S. Stout, “The Edwardsean Tradition and the Antislavery Debate, 1740–1865,” *Journal of American History* 92(1), 2005, pp. 47– 74.

⁵⁸ See Stephen R. Porter, *Benevolent Empire: US Power, Humanitarianism, and the World's Dispossessed* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). See also Robert J. Eells, “Theodore Frelinghuysen, Voluntaryism and the Pursuit of the Public Good,” *American Presbyterians* 69, no. 4, 1991, pp. 257-270.

⁵⁹ See Edward Dorr Griffin, *The Kingdom of Christ. A Missionary Sermon [on Col. 1.16], Preached Before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, May 23, 1805* (Andover: Published by the Society of Inquiry Respecting Mission in Theological Seminary, 1821).

⁶⁰ It is a notable, though meandering, aside into the field of material culture that beginning with the 1978 edition of Edward Said's *Orientalism* the cover art of the book has featured Jean-Léon Gérôme's 1879 painting, “The Snake Charmer,” which was acquired by the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts in 1955.

The early 19th century U.S. held its own diversities and such a short survey on evangelical origins should not be mistaken for a total description of that society. However, in order to understand the scope and impulses behind the international, or foreign, missions movement in the U.S.⁶¹ it is important briefly to trace how amongst this cohort the idea of mission developed in these years from an aesthetic concept developed by Edwards, and exemplified in the form of his biographical *imitatio* of Brainerd, to a practical and goal-oriented program of self-denial framed by the concept of disinterested benevolence.⁶² Institutionally, a significant driver of this transition was Williams College. In support of this Kling offers an observation by the contemporary Congregational theologian, Edwards A. Park, namely, that “Williams College was intimately associated with the cause of Hopkinsianism, as well as the cause of Missions, the one cause being a precursor of the other.”⁶³ By 1807 the new Andover Theological Seminary had joined Williams as a space increasingly attractive to New Divinity figures drawn to the idea of mission as a vocation. Mary Lyon’s Mount Holyoke Seminary became as another one of these spaces of gathering and support in 1837. Alongside Williams, both of these later two institutions directly contributed to U.S. foreign missions in Iran.

Such a timeline is, of course, a fairly radical simplification of a quite complex history in which New Divinity figured as only one of the many intellectual and theological movements operative across North America in a transnational context.⁶⁴ And as the

⁶¹ See Joseph Conforti, *Jonathan Edwards, Religious Tradition and American Culture* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

⁶² See Oliver Wendell Elsbree, “Samuel Hopkins and His Doctrine of Benevolence,” *The New England Quarterly* 8, no. 4, 1935, p. 53. See also Stephen Post, “Disinterested Benevolence: An American Debate over the Nature of Christian Love,” *The Journal of Religious Ethics*, 1986, pp. 356-368.

⁶³ David Kling, “The New Divinity and Williams College, 1793-1836,” *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*, Vol. 6 No. 2, Summer, 1996, p. 195.

⁶⁴ See Michael P. Young, *Confessional Protest: The Religious Birth of US National Social Movements*. *American Sociological Review* 67, (5), Oct. 2002, pp. 660-88.

19th century took shape New Divinity itself was also consistently under critique by advocates of a more emotionally detached form of Calvinism that was mediated through appeals to reason. Yet to understand the earliest forms of physical presence by U.S. persons in Iran it is important to grasp their historical point of origin. The 19th century international missions movement that reached Iran from the U.S. was preoccupied with ideas of freedom and duty that were rooted in a New Divinity orientation, which depended upon the thought of both Edwards and Hopkins. This preoccupation was aesthetically attuned, practically turned, and metaphysically alert. Against a prevailing narrative of U.S.-Iran relations framed by oppositional geostrategic interests and governmental intransigence, this New Divinity vehicle driving initial contact between the two polities, each encompassing its own forms of diversity, seems strangely emotional, fickle, and human. By better understanding the religious orientation of the U.S. foreign missions movement and the way in which it acquired social momentum as it moved amidst the bounds of an emerging and coalescing U.S. evangelical ethnos (one from which Native Americans⁶⁵ were largely excluded), we can be led to understand the precarity surrounding the formal constitution of a sending structure in which a Hopkinsianism that had been declared “metaphysic mad”⁶⁶ coexisted uneasily with “a moderate Edwardsean ...essentially Calvinist theology.”⁶⁷

⁶⁵ See alternatively the way that African Americans were counted in and helped extend the earliest mission efforts, e.g., John Marrant and his work with the Cherokee, Creek, Catawar, and Howsaw Indians (1770 to 1775). See James L. Hill, “John Marrant,” in Emmanuel Sampath Nelson (ed.), *African American Autobiographers: A Sourcebook* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 2002).

⁶⁶ David Kling, “The New Divinity and Williams College, 1793-1836,” *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*, Vol. 6 No. 2, Summer, 1996. p. 206. The enduring influence of strand persists through the Presbyterian period. The defection of Howard Baskerville (1885-1909) from the mission to the cause of the constitutionalists during Iran’s constitutional revolution arguably embodies Hopkins’s provocative position that “that one must be willing to be damned for the greater glory of God.” See David Kling, “The New Divinity and the Origins of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,” in Wilbert R. Shenk (ed.), *North American Foreign Missions*,

Yet, howsoever fickle, precarious, or fragile in terms of its cobbled inheritance, this awakening to mission instigated a small-scale but significant movement of peoples from the U.S. to Iran beginning in the 1830s and lasting until 1980. On the whole the history of U.S. mission involvement in Iran has been conducted in a largely checkered fashion; in many instances it is also neglects to give sufficient attention to critical or ethical questions surrounding motives for mission.⁶⁸ The relative dearth of attention to U.S. missions in Iran is difficult to account for fully. It bears some resemblance to the process of cultural oblivion in which the story of Catholic missions was lost at the end of the Safavid era. It also surely suffers from the current state of contingency wherein the full spectrum of relational recovery between the U.S. and Iran remains closed. More specifically, as turns toward critical perspectives and indigenous perspectives swept through historically related disciplines with some interest in relevant questions of religion and missiology, those geographical areas on better footing with a contemporary U.S. foreign policy agenda arguably benefited from being more open to opportunities for archival research and fieldwork.⁶⁹

1810-1914: Theology, Theory and Policy (Grand Rapid, Michigan and Cambridge, U.K.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004), p. 18.

⁶⁷ David Kling, "The New Divinity and Williams College, 1793-1836," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*, Vol. 6 No. 2, Summer, 1996. p. 206.

⁶⁸ This is perhaps best exemplified in the work of Michael Zirinsky, e.g., Michael P. Zirinsky, "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's: American Presbyterian Educators and Reza Shah," *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3-4, 1993, pp. 337-356. Another work in this mold is Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, "American Crosses, Persian Crescents: Religion and the Diplomacy of US-Iranian Relations, 1834-1911," *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5, 2011, pp. 607-625. Two book-length manuscripts that gesture toward ways to break this mold are Adam H. Becker's *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), and Ussama Makdisi's *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2009). However, Becker's book is hyper-focused on the effects of these missions vis-à-vis Assyrian nationalism and Makdisi's work, while treating a similar constellation of actors and themes, is concerned more with the Levant than Iran. A final work deserving of mention here is Thomas O. Flynn's *The Western Christian Presence in the Russias and Qājār Persia, c. 1760-c. 1870* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), which is a painstaking compilation that uniquely demonstrates the historical scope and variety of Christian mission work in the Caucasus and Persia.

⁶⁹ See for instance Heather J. Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt: Missionary Encounters in an Age of Empire* (Princeton University Press, 2013). At the time of her research Egypt ranked historically

What is clear is that in the U.S. context moves to link the foundations of a distinctly Anglo-American political life to mission activity had consequences. It allowed religious practitioners to be joined more fully to the idea of national expansion via the avenue of religious affiliation without necessarily questioning the relationship between the two. This confusion of religious and republican growth in the U.S. has also historically led to unconscious and intentional assumptions surrounding a supposed primary and defining national religious culture. As a result a particular logic of religious freedom has often been deployed in a one-sided manner in the U.S. The effects of this can be seen in the devastation of indigenous life and practices, clashes over human slavery,⁷⁰ and the tortuous impact on the religious identities of minority groups domestically and internationally. As this logic of religious freedom came to have a definitional effect on the construction of public memory in the U.S., religious freedom discourse came to be associated less with widening practices of social tolerance and more with subjective definitions of individual liberty. Such constructions of religious freedom were built to follow a normative pattern for a particular type of Christianity, especially as it was experienced and propagated by white men linked to particular evangelical and fundamentalist traditions. These constructions were strong and buttressed by variety of factors. Even the land that became the U.S. was named so as to replicate a Biblical landscape. Thus, a gravitational pull grounded in the very earth of everyday life has long pulled social and political forms in the country toward quasi-public forms of Biblical narrative and

as one of the top beneficiaries of U.S. foreign aid. See J. Sharp, "Egypt: Background and U.S. Relations," 2018 (Report No: RL33003). Retrieved from <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33003.pdf>

⁷⁰ On July 3rd, 1853 Justin Perkins preached an anti-slavery sermon on "Our Country's Sin," to the mission at Urmia, Persia. See Justin Perkins, *Our Country's Sin: A Sermon Preached To The Members And Families Of The Nestorian Mission At Oroomiah, Persia, July 3, 1853* (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co., 1854). The explicit connection made between nationalism and the articulation of an anti-slavery ethic in the context of a foreign mission presence is a space deserving of additional research.

exegesis. It was against this field of typological translation, where town names such as Bethany, Canaan, Hebron, Goshen and Salem gave a certain shape to the lives of European Americans, that the idea of a U.S. foreign mission movement took shape in the 19th century. Eventually this movement expanded to include efforts to return to the very Middle Eastern sites so carefully and dutifully preserved in the socio-religious mythos of the Puritans, Pilgrims, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, German and Dutch Reformed. In sending bearers of a reformed religious doctrine and practice to an acknowledged, if misunderstood, point of origin, the powerful foreign mission movement that emerged from the U.S. in the early 19th century created a difficult palimpsest by retracing, erasing, and writing the new over old forms.

The ABCFM and foreign missions in Iran

Any significant and sustainable U.S. religious presence in Persia of course depended upon the creation of some sort of institutional vehicle for the international transport of ideas, mores, and practices. Following support from Andover Theological Seminary the ideas which had first surfaced during the Haystack prayer meeting around the concept of a foreign missions initiative were brought before the General Association of Massachusetts, a Congregationalist governing body. The General Assembly meeting of the Association where the question was taken up occurred on June 27th 1810 in Bradford, Massachusetts. During the course of the meeting Adoniram Judson, Jr., Samuel Nott, Jr., Samuel J. Mills and Samuel Newell were introduced to the Association and presented a paper in which they sought to “solicit the opinion and advice” of the Association as to whether:

...they ought to renounce the object of missions, as either visionary or impracticable; if not, whether they ought to direct their attention to the eastern or western world ; whether they may expect patronage and support from a Missionary Society in this country, or must commit themselves to the direction of a European society ; and what preparatory measures they ought to take, previous to actual engagement.⁷¹

Their deferential posture signaled an appreciation for politics and the text is savvy in its reference to the specter of European mission society competition. It is clear that a pragmatic approach was present at the genesis of the ABCFM. Indeed, while two additional persons, Richards and Rice, were initially involved in the proposal, their names were ultimately subtracted from the final text “lest the Association should be alarmed at the probable expense of supporting six missionaries in a foreign land, and shrink back in discouragement from the undertaking.”⁷²

The report of the General Association referral committee admitted that the proposal was intriguing. They deemed it as deserving “the most serious attention of all who wish well to the best interests of mankind, and especially of those who devote themselves to the service of God in the kingdom of his Son”.⁷³ And they offered “the special direction, ‘Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.’”⁷⁴

⁷¹ Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (New York: MW Dodd, 1842), pp. 23-26.

⁷² Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (New York: MW Dodd, 1842), pp. 23-26.

⁷³ Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (New York: MW Dodd, 1842), p. 24.

⁷⁴ Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (New York: MW Dodd, 1842), p. 24. The language here is identical to Noah Webster’s 1833 revision of the King James Version.

The Bible verse quoted in the response is Mark 16:15, commonly known as the “Great Commission.” The words are spoken by Jesus to his disciples. In Matthew’s gospel the same pericope is rendered: “Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.”⁷⁵ There are differences between the synoptic versions in Matthew and Mark. Thus it’s worth considering that when addressing the subject of mission explicitly this referral committee chose a Biblical quote that emphasized a global remit rooted in the idea of common creation rather than one that was explicitly Trinitarian with an accent on the sacrament of baptism. The Mark quote advocates positive engagement without regard for proximate, or even ultimate, consequences. Similar language, almost passive in expectation of outcome, can be found in the document that Mills and the others presented to the Assembly. There, the young would-be missionaries, following a profession of their devotion to the cause of missions, appended a qualifying clause making the advent of their work conditional upon “whenever God, in his providence, shall open the way.”⁷⁶ The contrast between their active political maneuvering and this pause for acknowledgement of a sovereign being is striking. This tension between action on behalf of a divine presence and abandonment to a power beyond personal agency characterizes, to some extent, the nature of experience in the foreign missions movement.

⁷⁵ Matthew 28:19. I have quoted from the Webster translation for comparative purposes. It is also worth remarking on the fact that a later influential U.S. translation opted to render the Matthew text yet another way. In the American Standard Version published in 1901 it becomes, “Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations.” As committed as these missionaries were to language acquisition, translation and publication these differences are worth watching, particularly when considering ways that practices of scripture reading influenced mission activities.

⁷⁶ Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (New York: MW Dodd, 1842), p. 26.

On the recommendation of the referral committee it was voted:

That there be instituted by this General Association, a Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, for the purpose of devising ways and means, and adopting and prosecuting measures, for promoting the spread of the gospel in heathen lands.⁷⁷

In conclusion the Assembly advised the young men who had brought the proposal “humbly to wait the openings and guidance of Providence in respect to their great and excellent design.”⁷⁸ Again, even having done the detailed work to endorse and consider the structure of a governing board for foreign missions, the Assembly still concludes rather tentatively with deference to God’s guidance. Wait, not go, is hardly the note to be expected following the successful passage of programme long planned and hoped for. Yet, the operative theology of God’s sovereignty by which the enterprise was framed again calls attention to ways in which human agency and experience were regularly tempered by a sense of God’s dominion in the socio-historical moment. This is one striking characteristic that distinguishes the foreign mission movement from other proto-humanitarian, aid, relief and development efforts.

Following the constitution of the ABCFM, in the same year the Board sent Adoniram Judson, a founding member, as an envoy to England in order to make contact with the London Missionary Society,⁷⁹ a largely Congregationalist group rooted in a similar

⁷⁷ Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (New York: MW Dodd, 1842), p. 26.

⁷⁸ Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (New York: MW Dodd, 1842), p. 27.

⁷⁹ See Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895*, vol. 1. (H. Frowde, 1899).

theology and ecclesiology. The objective was to explore partnership prospects for joint mission enterprises. Judson could come to no agreement with the directors of the London Missionary Society. Their strategic assessment was that transatlantic coordination of international efforts would be too time consuming to render mutual assistance and direction effective. Yet even the formal communication between the London society and ABCFM on the eve of the U.S.-British war of 1812, amidst rising tensions due to impressment and economic sanctions illustrates the potential of religious solidarity politics to confound political conflict.⁸⁰ Judson himself, though not directly connected with Iran, is an interesting figure in history of the ABCFM. During his first mission to India he shifted his theological and institutional commitments to a Baptist framework under the tutelage of William Carey.⁸¹ He thus stands as an early reminder of the malleability of religious identity and the shifting nature of religious commitments in an international context.⁸²

Even without an international partnership the ABCFM was the largest Christian mission presence in Qajar Iran.⁸³ Yet the establishment of its permanent base in Iran

⁸⁰ See Emily L. Conroy-Krutz, ““Engaged in the Same Glorious Cause,” Anglo–American Connections in the American Missionary Entrance into India, 1790–1815,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 34, no. 1, 2014, pp. 21-44.

⁸¹ See Christopher A. Smith, “The Legacy of William Carey,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 16, no. 1, 1992, pp. 2-8.

⁸² See William H. Brackney, “The Legacy of Adoniram Judson,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 22, no. 3, 1998, pp. 122-127.

⁸³ It should also be noted that the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews sent Joseph Wolff to Persia in 1824-25, during which time Armajani contends he established schools for Armenian children in Būšehr and Shiraz. See Yahya Armajani, “CHRISTIANITY viii. Christian Missions in Persia,” in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. V, fasc. 5 (Los Angeles: Costa Mesa, 1991), pp. 344-47. Wolff’s time in Persia is exemplary of many of the smaller scale, “short-term,” individual and team scoping missions that occasionally were sent to Persia. See also Peter Gordon, *Fragment of the Journal of a Tour through Persia, in 1820*. London [Islington printed], 1833. Armajani suggests a tenuous link between Gordon and the Edinburgh Missionary Society through their station at Astrakhan. See also A. A. Isaacs, *Biography of the Rev. Henry Aaron Stern, DD: For More Than Forty Years a Missionary Amongst the Jews: Containing an Account of His Labours and Travels in Mesopotamia, Persia, Arabia, Turkey, Abyssinia, and England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Stern, as part of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews, also travelled in Persia on occasion from the Society’s headquarters in Baghdad following its establishment in 1844. Armajani indicates that the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) explored the

was preceded by a year by the Basel Mission (*Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft* (Basel) or *Die Basler Mission*)⁸⁴ and ABCFM missionaries later worked in the same ambit as a French Congregation of the Mission contingent - Vincentians (Lazarists) (1840),⁸⁵ as well as the first permanent mission of the Church Missionary Society (beginning 1869).⁸⁶ There were also significant Russian Orthodox mission (1898-1918),⁸⁷ as well as established Uniate Chaldean community presences in Urmia.⁸⁸ David Grafton notes that although the Basel Mission arrived in Iran a year earlier than any other foreign mission agency (he excludes the historic Catholic presences), they did not have the financial resources of the other missions.⁸⁹ Indeed, while there would be later influence by U.S. Lutheran missions in Iran, the Basel Mission in Persia did

possibility of mission among the Nestorians in 1840s; this mission may have loosely incorporated transnational cooperation from the Episcopal Church in the U.S. in the person of Horatio Southgate. See Kenneth Walter Cameron, "The Oriental Manuscripts of Horatio Southgate," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 10, no. 1, 1941, pp. 57-61. A later, more substantive, mission with roots in these earlier Anglican efforts was undertaken by Arthur John Maclean under the auspices of the CMS in 1886 in the form of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission. See Arthur John Maclean, *The Catholicos of the East and His People: Being the Impressions of Five Years' Work in the "Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission," an Account of the Religious and Secular Life and Opinions of the Eastern Syrian Christians of Kurdistan and Northern Persia (known Also as Nestorians)* (SPCK, 1892).

⁸⁴ See Clinton Bennett, "The Legacy of Karl Gottlieb Pfander," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 20, no. 2, 1996, pp. 76-81.

⁸⁵ See Charles A. Frazee, "Vincentian Missions in the Islamic World," *Vincentian Heritage Journal* 5, no. 1, 1984, p. 1.

⁸⁶ See Yahya Armajani, "CHRISTIANITY viii. Christian Missions in Persia," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. V, fasc. 5, Costa Mesa, 1991, pp. 344-47. Note the catalyzing role played by Eugène Boré in opening this space to the Vincentians through his initial establishment of the Université Humanitaire (Dār al-'elm-e šenāsā'i-e melal) in Tabriz (1839). The Sisters of Charity were also active in Iran from 1875, notably establishing Ecole Jeanne d'Arc. See Jean-Baptiste Piolet, *La France au dehors: Les missions catholiques françaises au XIX^e*, 6 vols. (Paris: Colin, 1900-2). As well as a Russian Orthodox presence can be accounted for in an official capacity from 1898. See also Waterfield, Robin, *Christians in Persia: Assyrians, Armenians, Roman Catholics and Protestants* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011). See also Moojan Momen (ed.), *Studies in Bābī and Bahā'ī History*, Vol. 1. (Los Angeles: Kalimāt Press, 1982), p. 78, footnote 3. Momen claims that the British and Foreign Bible Society also supported the Church Missionary Society missionary Robert Bruce in Julfa.

⁸⁷ See Serge N. Bolshakoff, *The Foreign Missions of the Russian Orthodox Church*, (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1943). See also Denis V. Volkov, "Rupture or Continuity? The Organizational Set-up of Russian and Soviet Oriental Studies before and after 1917," *Iranian Studies* 48, no. 5, 2015, pp. 695-712.

⁸⁸ See Helen L. Murre-van den Berg, "A Syrian Awakening. Alqosh and Urmia as Centres of Neo-Syriac Writing," in R. Lavenant, S.J. (ed.), *Symposium Syriacum VII*, Uppsala University, Department of Asian and African Languages, 11-14 August 1996 (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 256, 1998), pp. 499 - 515. See also Arianne Ishaya, "Settling Into Diaspora: A History of Urmia Assyrians in the United States," *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 20, no. 1, 2006, pp. 3-27.

⁸⁹ David Grafton, *Piety, Politics, and Power: Lutherans Encountering Islam in the Middle East*, (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2009).

not last beyond 1837. Yet, the Basel Mission, with which Merrick seems to have developed a fruitful ad hoc partnership, provides an especially interesting example of a small and relatively short-lived mission in Persia. Basel was an important site for missionary and theological training and invites comparison with the German Reformed influence in the U.S., which was perhaps most pronounced, and complex, at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania. This heritage may well have influenced later Pennsylvania linked Presbyterian missionaries to Persia, including a substantial contingent from Lafayette College.⁹⁰ In its U.S. form the Mercersburg variant of German Reformed thought, under John Nevin and Philip Schaff, invited romantic and Catholic influences into what were critically apprehended as desiccated Puritanical forms. Schaff would later preside over the American Standard translation of the Bible, as well as meet sympathetically with Oxford movement Anglican cleric Edward Pusey. The Basel Mission, in particular, may likewise be understood as something of a mediating presence, at least in Christian ecumenical terms, in a mission area rife with foreign actors and theological, linguistic, and political differences. Reformed in identity, they nonetheless also had a period of collegial and established partnership with the Church Mission Society (CMS), which, alongside the ABCFM and Catholic presences, became one of the more significant Christian mission presences in Qajar Iran.

The Basel Mission to Persia was initially framed as a mission to the German and Swiss immigrant communities living in Persia. Justin Perkins, who would lead the

⁹⁰ The American College in Tehran, founded in 1873, which would eventually become Alborz College, was also at times known as “Lafayette in Persia” after Lafayette College in Easton, PA. See Ricks, Thomas M., “Alborz College of Tehran, Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan and the American Faculty: Twentieth-Century Presbyterian Mission Education and Modernism in Iran (Persia),” *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5, 2011, pp. 627-646. See also Ali Gheissari, “The American College of Tehran, 1929–32: A Memorial Album,” *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5, 2011, pp. 671-714.

ABCFM's central mission to the Nestorians starting in 1834, was himself a member of the German Oriental Society (*Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft*), and the Basel Mission member, Frederic Haas, was a contemporary of his in Urmia.⁹¹ Yet another member of the Basel Mission, initially based in Russian Armenia as a part of its Caucasus focus, who also made trips to Persia to develop his language skills, K.G. Pfander, wrote a tract in German 1829, *Mīzaān-al-haqq* (Balance of Truth), that would become a divisive touchstone of Christian apologetics in many Muslim majority contexts; it was translated into Persian in 1835.⁹² Thus, the cusp of ABCFM activity in Iran was attended to by a marked air of restive controversy as the combative style of Pfander's writing was met with coordinated responses from parts of the Qajar and Shi'i establishment. The result was a tense, though not desperate, state of relations that tended toward polar extremes. Wright that claims the Muslim majority population in Qajar Iran "were inclined to regard the missionaries either with intense hostility as interfering infidels or else with tolerance as harmless, well-meaning curiosities from another continent."⁹³

Legacies of Justin Perkins and James Lyman Merrick

Throughout the nineteenth century foreign missionary presence in Iran grew, but tended to concentrate itself in places where other mission presences were already established. In this regard, Urmia, the site of the first permanent ABCFM presence was a lodestone. Indeed, John Joseph, writing at the end of the 20th century, made the

⁹¹ Waterfield, Robin, *Christians in Persia: Assyrians, Armenians, Roman Catholics and Protestants* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), p. 104.

⁹² See Clinton Bennett, "The Legacy of Karl Gottlieb Pfander," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 20, no. 2, 1996, pp. 76-81. See also Samuel M Zwemer, "KARL GOTTLIEB PFANDER, 1841-1941," *The Muslim World* 31, no. 3, 1941, pp. 217-226.

⁹³ Denis Wright, *The English among the Persians: during the Qajar period 1787-1921* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1977), p. 199.

claim that “[t]here was perhaps no missionary field in the world where there were so many rival ‘Christian’ forces at work, as were found in Urmia at the beginning of this century, all struggling to get prominence among these few people.”⁹⁴ Urmia’s status as a mission destination, primarily due its composition of ethnic and Christian minorities is discernable as early as the Safavid era, however the nineteenth century saw unprecedented forms of international and intercultural interaction concentrated in northwest Persia, many of which used this foothold to attempt purchase in other parts of Persia as well. The U.S. missions were at the forefront of these efforts. Urmia, close to the Kurdish regions, Turkey, and the site of significant Nestorian communities, became a cynosure for the early ABCFM contingent. In the wake of the religious anxiety induced by Pfander amongst Iran’s Shi’i Muslim establishment the ABCFM made a decision initially to undertake its mission exclusively amongst the Nestorian Christians in Persia. Recognizing that this type of intrareligious reform effort was the spearhead of U.S. missions in Iran complicates any sense of assumed Christian-Muslim binary and also helps expand our understanding of the fact that multiple national polities were implicated in ABCFM work in Iran. Indeed, Adam Becker contends that relative to Syrian Christianity, the ABCFM presence in Urmia “helped to create a discursive framework in which the national consciousness and new ideas about community came into being.”⁹⁵ Becker’s assessment focuses on the Nestorians, however, his thesis regarding ABCFM and foreign mission presence as a catalyst for the transformation of minority self-consciousness and ideology in Iran has potential application for later mission engagement with Zoroastrians, Jews, Azalís, and Bahá’ís, as well as reformist Muslims. While the mission institutions that were

⁹⁴ John Joseph, *The Nestorians and their Muslim Neighbors: A study of Western influence on their relations*. Vol. 20 (Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 123.

⁹⁵ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p.102.

established did not necessarily intend to foster new ideas about community or national consciousness, some did serve as physical sites where these ideas could be developed and pursued in a somewhat discreet and protected fashion. The fact that this construction runs counter to the idea of missions as advancing a singular directive of conversion, or a unitary idea of community conformity within proscribed religio-national mold, is part of the paradox of the ABCFM work and legacy in Iran.⁹⁶ And of course in the midst of this engagement the U.S. missions and missionaries were also being transformed themselves.

In 1833 the ABCFM dispatched Justin Perkins⁹⁷ and his wife, Charlotte, “to commence a mission among the Nestorians of Persia.”⁹⁸ Perkins is sometimes styled in mission histories as “apostle to Persia” and is often cited as being the first U.S. citizen to live in Iran.⁹⁹ Of course, even were Perkins to be accorded that recognition, Charlotte Perkins would be equally deserving.¹⁰⁰ This characterization also ignores both an earlier scouting trip conducted by ABCFM missionaries E. Smith and H.G.O. Dwight, as well as, more significantly the contemporaneous permanent presence of ABCFM missionary James Lyman Merrick. Therefore, before continuing with any examination of Perkins and the traditional narrative of the ABCFM in Iran, it worth

⁹⁶ See Aimee E. Barbeau, “Religious voluntarism, political individualism, and the secular: nineteenth-century evangelical encounters in the Middle East,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 53, no. 3, 2017, pp. 454-469.

⁹⁷ See Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia, Among the Nestorian Christians: With Notices of the Muhammedans* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1843).

⁹⁸ Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (New York: MW Dodd, 1842), p. 280.

⁹⁹ E.g. Anahit Khosroeva, “Genocide in the Ottoman Empire: Armenians, Assyrians, and Greeks, 1913-1923” in George N. Shirinian (ed.), *Genocide in the Ottoman Empire: Armenians, Assyrians, and Greeks, 1913-1923* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2017), p. 112.

¹⁰⁰ The ABCFM initially operated out of an assumption that women would assume unnamed but essential leadership roles in the work of foreign missions. One of the under-told stories in the recovery of mission histories is that of the significant roles played by the women within them. While these initial chapters are largely deferential to primary mission sources from the Qajar period in which the role of women has largely been excluded or ignored, Chapter 5 of this thesis will address these acknowledged lacunae in a full and systematic way. However, it should be noted that although men are more regularly referenced throughout the first part of this thesis, particularly from the time of the Presbyterian transition women are on their way to forming the majority of the U.S. mission cohort in Iran.

pausing to consider why the legacy of Perkins became burnished in mission histories while the memory of Merrick was left to fade.

The ABCFM had commissioned James Lyman Merrick, at relatively the same time as Justin Perkins, with the express task of exploring missions among the Muslim population of Iran. These efforts were briefly mounted under the formal auspices of a “Mission to Persians.” Yet Merrick, whose own style of combative and agonistic engagement mirrored that of Pfander, was eventually recalled by the ABCFM, despite his own protests.¹⁰¹ For a short time though ABCFM mission efforts in Persia were bifurcated between the more formalized program of Perkins’s outreach to Nestorian Christians¹⁰² and another strand addressing Muslims that Merrick pursued almost independently.¹⁰³ Merrick’s presence in the mission histories is conspicuously inconspicuous. This is the result of a long falling out between Merrick and the ABCFM, during which he still continued to work in Iran.¹⁰⁴ However, he was eventually recalled from the mission in 1845 and returned to the U.S. where he became Professor of Oriental Literature at Amherst College following his translation of Muḥammad Bāqir ibn Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī’s *Hayāt al-Qulūb*.¹⁰⁵ In the

¹⁰¹ See Thomas S. Kidd, *American Christians and Islam: Evangelical Culture and Muslims from the Colonial Period to the Age of Terrorism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), p. 42. See also: James L. Merrick, *Diaries*, 5 vols, MS Amherst, Mass— Amherst College Archives, Alumni Class Shelves, Class of 1930 [vol. 1 1830, vol. 2 Mar.-Jul. 1834, vol. 3 Oct.1855-1856, vol. 4 Apr. –Jun. 1856, vol. 5 Jun.-Aug. 1856].

¹⁰² The term Nestorian is used here in a historical sense consonant with the naming conventions of the time in order to avoid confusion when quoting from contemporary references. More recently the term “Church of the East” has been preferred as the non-derogatory naming convention. It is beyond the scope of this study to enter into the intricacies of the various branches of the Church of the East. For more see Baum, Wilhelm, and Dietmar W. Winkler, *The Church of the East: A Concise History*. Vol. 1 (London and New York, Routledge, 2003).

¹⁰³ See Timothy Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 120-131.

¹⁰⁴ See Merrick’s letter of appeal: J. L. Merrick, *An Appeal to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Springfield: John M. Wood, 1847).

¹⁰⁵ Muḥammad Bāqir ibn Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī (d. 1699) was a Shi’i scholar of *fiqh* and *hadith*. *Hayāt al-Qulūb* is a multi-volume work on the life of on the lives of prophets and Shi’i *imams*. Merrick’s translation is titled: *The Life and Religion of Mohammed*. See also See Akmal al-Majlisi

preface to this translation Merrick expresses his desire to introduce a U.S. audience to a more detailed understanding of Islam in the Shi'i tradition. Despite the ostensible effort at bridge building Merrick writes from a position of cultural superiority, and Merrick's pugnacious engagement with the religious other most often reads as being abrasive and supercilious. Yet Merrick clearly also sought to advance work that tended toward meliorating attitudes in regard to Islam amongst a U.S. audience.

Ironically, the ABCFM chose to emphasize a different mode of melioration as evidenced in their decision to prefer Perkins's approach to that of Merrick. Murre-van den Berg contends that "[w]hen planning for the new mission in Urmia, the secretary of Board, Rufus Anderson, together with Smith and Dwight carefully considered what the objective of the new mission should be."¹⁰⁶ She holds that they "came to the conclusion that the goal of the missionaries should be to contribute to a renewal of the Church of the East and to the restoration of its former glory, as it existed in the time of the great missions to Mongolia and China."¹⁰⁷ However, Flynn notes that at least "initial sympathies" amongst ABCFM leadership may have "lay with Merrick's more direct methods and radical mission to Persian Muslims."¹⁰⁸ This may have been one reason for the significant tensions between Merrick and Perkins. Their differences of opinion on optimal mission methodology were multiple. For instance, "Merrick attacked Perkins on his conservative policy toward Assyro-Chaldeans," for the reason

Muhammad Bakir ibn Muhammad Taqi, *The Life and Religion of Mohammed, as Contained in the Shee'ah Traditions of the Hâyal ul-Kuloob* (Boston: Philips, Sampson and Company, 1850).

¹⁰⁶ H.L. Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants. The Role of Assyrians in the Development of Written Urmia Aramaic," *Journal of the Assyrian Academic Society*, Issue 2, vol. X, 1996, p. 5

¹⁰⁷ H.L. Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants. The Role of Assyrians in the Development of Written Urmia Aramaic," *Journal of the Assyrian Academic Society*, Issue 2, vol. X, 1996, p. 5

¹⁰⁸ Flynn, Thomas O. *The Western Christian Presence in the Russias and Qājār Persia, c. 1760–c. 1870* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 649.

that Perkins was “unwilling to press for a separatist Evangelical Syriac Church.”¹⁰⁹ This was a significant point of difference and illustrates an early conflict within the ABCFM over starkly divergent operational norms. Flynn summarizes Merrick’s position as a desire to, “break with the dead weight of the past,”¹¹⁰ indicating a forward facing impulse more creative than reformist. Buoyed by the search for a pure form Merrick’s instincts with regard to the Nestorians were largely uncompromising. In contrast, the position ultimately taken by the ABCFM to primarily pursue a mission to the Nestorians is well reflected by the introductory remarks, which Asahel Grant, who served alongside Perkins in the capacity of medical doctor, makes in his memoir. Grant writes, the Nestorians, “gave us their undivided influence and co-operation...[t]hey regarded us as coadjutors with them...and not as their rivals or successors.”¹¹¹ According to Grant, “[w]e had come, not to pull down, but to build up; to promote knowledge and piety, and not to war against their external forms and rites.”¹¹² The language is remarkable for its tempered tone of egalitarianism. The work is described as work “with.” U.S. missionaries and Nestorian Christians were understood to be “coadjutors.” The overall intention initially comes across as being one of mutual edification within a traditional framework. Yet in the same breath Grant is also able earnestly to contend that the Nestorian “bishops and priests ...

¹⁰⁹ Flynn, Thomas O, *The Western Christian Presence in the Russias and Qājār Persia, c. 1760–c. 1870* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 649.

¹¹⁰ Flynn, Thomas O, *The Western Christian Presence in the Russias and Qājār Persia, c. 1760–c. 1870*, (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 649.

¹¹¹ Asahel Grant, *The Nestorians; or The Lost Tribes. Containing Evidence of Their Identity, An Account of Their Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, Together With Sketches of Travel in Ancient Assyria, Armenia, Media, and Mesopotamia, and Illustrations of Scripture Prophecy* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1841), p. 6.

¹¹² Asahel Grant, *The Nestorians; or The Lost Tribes. Containing Evidence of Their Identity, An Account of Their Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, Together With Sketches of Travel in Ancient Assyria, Armenia, Media, and Mesopotamia, and Illustrations of Scripture Prophecy* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1841), p. 6.

drank in instruction with child-like docility”.¹¹³ In this light the language of cooperation is revealed more accurately as being affirmation of obedience. The use of the term “child-like” is also significant here and a reminder that shared cultural assumptions of imperial paternalism prove an essential lens through which to view and understand the work of the ABCFM Mission to the Nestorians.

Yet strikingly the dynamics of paternalism that Grant reveals in his description of the Nestorian efforts in Urmia circa 1835 flip for the mission only a few years later in the context of the Anglo-Afghan War. Up to this point the ABCFM contingent had relied upon the umbrella of British protection as they prosecuted their work. However, when the British withdrew their diplomatic presence from Persia due to this conflict the U.S. mission was forced to acknowledge its own real sense of dependency. The ABCFM-British relationship in Iran helps demonstrate that national mission forms were far from limpidly clear. Despite the premise underlying various national forms of mission directed towards Qajar Iran, namely that that their own particular embodiment of Christian identity was so far to be preferred that it singularly justified arduous travel and significant material investment, these foreign missions were in reality patchwork productions whose influences and performance depended upon networks of power that often crisscrossed national and religious edges.

Grant, for instance, prominently acknowledges early on in his London published work, “the kindest offers of aid and protection” that he received from the British Ambassador to Persia, Henry Ellis, and likewise notes, “the same kind and unremitted

¹¹³ Asahel Grant, *The Nestorians; or The Lost Tribes. Containing Evidence of Their Identity, An Account of Their Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, Together With Sketches of Travel in Ancient Assyria, Armenia, Media, and Mesopotamia, and Illustrations of Scripture Prophecy* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1841), p. 6.

favours from his successors and other English gentlemen whom we have met in the East.”¹¹⁴ Given this sense of connection and comfort with the British legation Perkins’s comment, “[w]e naturally felt not a little solicitude respecting the political rupture, between the English and Persians governments...”, is understandable.¹¹⁵ This was something that affected the mission directly. Accordingly, the mission felt that it faced two possibilities: to wind up operations or to rely more significantly than they previously had upon Qajar protections. Again, Perkins:

The only alternative before us seemed, for some time, to be the abandonment of our charming missionary field, at least temporarily, in the then incipient and critical state of its culture, or to entrust ourselves, in this remote Mūhammedan land, to the mercy of the excited Persians, in the storms of hostile collision, who, we supposed, would naturally identify us with the English, whose protection we had previously enjoyed, – especially as our distinct nationality as Americans, was still but very imperfectly understood.¹¹⁶

These remarks bear reflection on several counts. One is the self-conscious wrestling with national form and understanding that stands as a hallmark of the U.S. mission enterprise throughout its time in Persia. Related to this is the very specific way Perkins acknowledges that the mission is engaged in a process of cultural formation. He does not speak of a preformed culture that is being imported, but rather a culture that is new, and as a result of its newness, in a critical state. Perkins uses the word

¹¹⁴ Asahel Grant, *The Nestorians; or The Lost Tribes. Containing Evidence of Their Identity, An Account of Their Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, Together With Sketches of Travel in Ancient Assyria, Armenia, Media, and Mesopotamia, and Illustrations of Scripture Prophecy* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1841), p. 5.

¹¹⁵ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with Notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 400.

¹¹⁶ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with Notices of Muhammadans*, (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 400.

culture sparingly throughout the long work. Another significant instance occurs when he is memorializing Judith Grant, whose significant impact on the affairs of the mission arguably equaled that of her husband, Asahel Grant. Following her death Perkins refers to “the cast and culture of her mind” which he describes as “of a very high order ... enlarged, polished and enriched by extensive cultivation...[i]ts powers symmetrically and early developed.”¹¹⁷ Understanding how culture was framed and deployed has implications for understanding the longer trajectory of the U.S. mission presence in Iran. In these instances what Perkins’s reflections underscore is the fact that for the ABCFM culture, whether individual or group, was held to be something that could be cultivated and that had both an identifiable beginning, as well as an end.

There is a discernable sense throughout the mission literature that cultural traditions are formed and transmitted primarily within the context of religious, national and family unit, all of which are ideally within the scope of one another. This is perhaps why it is somewhat surprising that Perkins, in order to maintain a paternal influence on the Nestorians, is willing to accept in turn the paternal protection of the governor of Urmia in 1839. He frames the shift from British to Qajar protection in the following way:

Some time before the English embassy withdrew from the country, however, the Persian authorities, of their own accord, relieved us (before we applied for the protection of the Russian embassy,) by pledging to us their efficient protection,

¹¹⁷ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with Notices of Muhammadans*, (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 369.

whatever might be the issue of the pending difficulties
between them and the English.¹¹⁸

It is entirely unclear whether Perkins grasped the complex geopolitics of the moment, nor whether he recorded the reference regarding a preempted turn to Russia as a demonstration of his negotiating savvy or, more likely, simply as a faithful listing of one possibility faced by the mission that he understood to have been providentially avoided. Given Perkins's subsequent affirmation of God's vigilance as "the great Head of missions" the latter seems more likely.¹¹⁹ What is most illustrative here is that the ABCFM mission seems to have been utterly sanguine about changing the political banner under which they work so long as "the door of faith ... should not be closed...by political commotions".¹²⁰ And while Perkins does not relent in his prejudicial assessment of the "treacherous" of Persians, he is nonetheless nonplussed when the governor of Urmia indicates to him, "[h]itherto...I have regarded you as my *brothers*; now that the English ambassador leaves the country, I shall assume the place of a *father* to you."¹²¹ This symbolic language of adoption became a background text for future mission efforts in the country; its gendered aspect in particular became more significant as the mission sought to advance substantively countercultural claims, for instance access to girls' education, which risked being taken as filial insubordination. This episode is the first and foremost example of a fine line that the U.S. missions walked between deference to protectionism and idealistic integrity as they increasingly pursued progressive social reforms within a

¹¹⁸ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with Notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 400.

¹¹⁹ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with Notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 400.

¹²⁰ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with Notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 400.

¹²¹ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with Notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 400.

conservative religious framework that depended upon the dynastic and monarchical power of the Qajars, and later the Pahlavis.

For Perkins this language of family and of fatherly protection assumes yet another layer. In the summer of 1839, the same summer that the mission lost its English protection, Perkins and his wife Charlotte buried a second child in Persia.¹²² In all, six of the seven children in the Perkins family would die in Persia.¹²³ The death of this son, Justin, bears remark in the first instance for response it elicits from Merrick, who composes a poem, which he shares with Perkins, as a form of comfort.¹²⁴ It is a helpful reminder that despite their differences the two were joined quite closely in a very particular set of circumstances and that any attempts to distinguish between their mission methodologies and purposes should recall the tremendous common ground which they shared as well. In the second instance, these family losses underscore the way in which Perkins attained the status of a father figure amongst certain *individuals* in the Nestorian communities. Perkins himself died while in the U.S., but when news of his death was received in Urmia it elicited the following sermon from a preacher named Shamasha Yonan:

...let us think somewhat about the character of Mr. Perkins.
Was he not like a father calling his children to him, did he
not call everybody to him, and did we not grow up on his
lap? To which of us did he ever say “Go”? Like a father, he
did not want his family to be dispersed, but rather that all of

¹²² Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 386.

¹²³ Gordon Taylor, *Fever and Thirst: An American Doctor Among the Tribes of Kurdistan, 1835-1844* (Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers, 2005), p. 46.

¹²⁴ The full text of the poem, titled “The Infant’s Call,” is in Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with Notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 386.

them should be close to him; so was Mr. Perkins. He thought of the whole people as his family. He did not want one of his children to be far from home.¹²⁵

Perkins may be taken to represent an ABCFM mission impulse, which prioritized mission continuity through the deployment of pragmatism and a heavy-handed paternalism. It is Perkins's style that best reflects the dominant and prevailing 19th century model of mission.

From Tabriz to Urmia

The Perkins family was an anchor for the ABCFM in Persia. In fact, their time in the country is more or less coincident with the official ABCFM tenure in Persia.¹²⁶ Yet, before settling into life in Urmia Perkins, like Merrick, first spent time in Tabriz. Tabriz, was a city viewed by many missionaries as having great potential to host mission work precisely because of its international character. In his book on Tabriz, Christoph Warner relies on a statement by the French civil servant E. Boré about Tabriz to characterize its appeal to Europeans: "Aujourd'hui Tauris a l'avantage d'être plus civilisée, grâce au bon nombre d'Européens qui y font leur résidence."¹²⁷ In

¹²⁵ Qtd. in H.L. Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants. The Role of Assyrians in the Development of Written Urmia Aramaic," *Journal of the Assyrian Academic Society*, Issue 2, vol. X, 1996, p. 6. See Shamasha Yonan of Ada, *Sermon in Memory of Perkins (Kározuta 'al Mota d-Perkins Sahab, men Shamasha Yonan d-Ada* (Urmia, 1870), p. 3.

¹²⁶ The ABCFM mission presence in Persia was handed over to the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Mission Board in 1870. By the 1880s mission centres had become concentrated in Urmia, Tehran, Tabriz and Hamadan. See James F. Goode, "A Good Start: The First American Mission to Iran, 1883-1885," *The Muslim World*, 74 no 2 Apr 1984, p. 100. Goode notes that "by the early 1880s more American missionaries had gone to Iran than the total number of missionaries from all other nations" and estimates this number to have been around 60 missionaries by the year 1883.

¹²⁷ "Tabriz today has the advantage of being more civilized, thanks to the good number of Europeans who make their residence there." Translation mine. Qtd. Christoph Werner, *An Iranian Town in Transition: A Social and Economic History of the Elites of Tabriz, 1747-1848* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000), p. 92. Boré was a French civil servant instrumental in securing a presence in Persia for the Vincentians (Lazarists), who was, however, sometimes mistaken for a priest himself, or mischaracterized as a Jesuit.

fact, Boré would help the Congregation of the Mission to establish a school in Tabriz in 1838. Werner notes that the U.S. Episcopalian Horatio Southgate viewed the city similarly, writing, “Tebriz is the most eligible point in Persia for commencing an effort at education. It has been more frequently visited by foreigners than any other city, and has been more affected by the introduction of European arts and manners.”¹²⁸ Southgate’s use of the term European here also indicates the way in which the mantle of U.S. culture was still trimmed in European style. The term is used freely throughout many of the missionary accounts and carries less of a geographical and legal weight than it does cultural and religious associations. Lest these descriptions seem to indicate a flourishing mid-nineteenth century expatriate community in Iran, Werner clarifies that there was only a “limited presence of foreigners in Tabriz,” and that in the 1830s and 1840s their number would not have exceeded fifty individuals.”¹²⁹ However, he suggests, “their presence in Tabriz was a constant reminder that the town was now in close contact with the larger outside world, and became a symbol for the growing influence of European powers and the continuous influx of Western culture in Iran.”¹³⁰ Its importance as a city stemmed from its population, commercial importance, links to the ruling Qajar dynasty and geographical proximity to Turkey and Europe.

Tabriz may be contrasted profitably with Urmia, where the largest ABCFM mission investment was ultimately rooted. Where Tabriz had cosmopolitan diversity encouraged by commerce, Urmia was a provincial border town. Sitting at the edge of Iranian territory, near Turkey and the Kurdish enclaves of the Hakkari Mountains, it

¹²⁸ Cited in Christoph Werner, *An Iranian Town in Transition: A Social and Economic History of the Elites of Tabriz, 1747-1848* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000), p. 92.

¹²⁹ Christoph Werner, *An Iranian Town in Transition: A Social and Economic History of the Elites of Tabriz, 1747-1848* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000), p. 92.

¹³⁰ Christoph Werner, *An Iranian Town in Transition: A Social and Economic History of the Elites of Tabriz, 1747-1848* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000), p. 92.

was ultimately Urmia's marginal status, combined with its population demographics that proved attractive to international mission work. Joseph Wolff,¹³¹ a German Jewish convert to Christianity, working with London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews may have been the first foreign missionary to recommend this region for mission work.¹³² His notes from an 1827 trip to the Azerbaijan region seem to have influenced Smith and Dwight in their own travel and subsequent recommendations to the ABCFM.¹³³ As evidenced in the move from Tabriz to Urmia geography itself was a critical concern for the early mission efforts. Joseph Tracy in his mission history of the ABCFM highlighted the question of physical access to Nestorians in the following way: a "considerable portion of them inhabit the deep and almost inaccessible glens of the Koordish mountains. Neither Turks or Persians have ever been able to bring them under tribute."¹³⁴ Tracy's summary encapsulates the ABCFM view of the Nestorians. His is a language of anticipatory penetration that suggests the innate violence of a hunt, or a bellicose campaign; it is illustrative of the cultural mentality present as ABCFM missionaries sought to impose their own transformative presence. While it is clear that in response Nestorians undertook delicate negotiations in an attempt to secure support for their communities, such negotiations were not conducted through an egalitarian framework, as we have seen in the evidence of Grant's description, and tended to be economically or socially coercive.

¹³¹ Justin Perkins was highly critical of Wolff, placing him in a class of "eratic, idle ramblers" who "perhaps interrupt the labors and endanger the lives of more prudent, humble, indefatigable and useful missionaries." Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with Notices of Muhammadans*, (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 315.

¹³² See William Thomas Gidney, *The History of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews: From 1809 to 1908* (London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews, 1908).

¹³³ See Paul S. Seto, "CONVERSION vi. To Protestant Christianity in Persia," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, V/3, pp. 238-241, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/conversion-vi>

¹³⁴ Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (New York: MW Dodd, 1842), p. 314.

*The Nestorians, or the Church of the East*¹³⁵

Yet Grant's description also hints that at the same time they sought to transform the Nestorians' very ground of being the ABCFM missionaries felt some sense of immediate sympathy with the Nestorians. This existential connection turned primarily on a sense of common anti-Catholic bias. For instance, Smith, writing of his first encounter with the Nestorians held, "I have never found among the native Christians of Western Asia, any who would go such lengths with me in arguing against the papists."¹³⁶ However, Smith seems somewhat surprised, calling it "a striking fact", that this form of Christianity eschewed appeals to the "authority of the Fathers and Councils".¹³⁷ His expression of small wonder around the absence of conciliar authority from Nestorian religious practice abuts an approbatory observation regarding their "generally correct quotations from Scripture".¹³⁸ Smith obviously sees himself, and by extension the ABCFM, as being custodian and arbiter of correct religious knowledge. Yet his own assessments serve as an example of how limited the contextual knowledge of U.S. missionaries in Persia was. Many missionaries professed to be "self consciously aware of the ancient history of the land"; some "often remarked upon the antiquity of sites and noted where famous events took

¹³⁵ See Appendix A for a watercolour image of a Nestorian woman and child commissioned by Justin Perkins in 1839. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. LOT 14187, no. 5.

¹³⁶ See Eli Smith, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia: Including a Journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833), p. 252.

¹³⁷ See Eli Smith, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia: Including a Journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833), p. 253.

¹³⁸ See Eli Smith, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia: Including a Journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833), pp. 252-253.

place.”¹³⁹ However, this romantic attitude toward the past often found little purchase in concrete facts. For instance, Nestorian avoidance of reliance on Councils should not have been surprising in the least to Smith were he to have possessed any rudimentary understanding of the development of Nestorian Christianity in relation to the Councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451). These convocations were instrumental in the schismatic development of the Church of the East and certainly would not have been viewed in any authoritative sort of terms. Further, when Smith observes disapprovingly that “the Nestorians declared their sentiments with diffidence, as if they expected a frown from every body, and especially from Europeans, for their heresy”¹⁴⁰ he likewise ignores, or does not understand the role that previous European and Catholic influences may have had in shaping Nestorian tentativeness with regard to community assertion in the face of foreign presence.¹⁴¹ Admittedly, this problem of historical obliviousness across nineteenth century Persia was not limited to the U.S. missions. Neglect for common history is a Qajar problem too; the governor of Urmia, after confusing Perkins for an Englishman, mistakenly contended to him that English presence in Persia extended back only half a century from 1836.¹⁴² The English presence in Persia dates from at least the late sixteenth century.¹⁴³ But Smith’s contextual mischaracterization in this regard is especially

¹³⁹ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 306.

¹⁴⁰ See Eli Smith, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia: Including a Journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833), p. 253.

¹⁴¹ Most notably Fr. Victor of Blois had a mission to the Nestorians in Urmia. See Francis Richard, “Capuchins in Persia,” *Encyclopedia Iranica*. Vol. IV, Fasc. 7, pp. 786-788. There was also a Jesuit presence in neighboring Gilan until 1760. See Rudi Matthee, “Jesuits in Safavid Persia,” *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Vol. XIV, Fas. 6, pp. 634-638. See also Archives des Missions Étrangères, Paris, Anonymous, in H. Chick (ed.), *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, 2 vols. (London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1939).

¹⁴² See Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 291.

¹⁴³ Chloe Houston, “‘Thou glorious kingdome, thou chiefe of Empires’: Persia in early seventeenth-century travel literature,” *Studies in Travel Writing* 13, no. 2, 2009, pp. 141-152.

egregious with regard to its long-term consequences for ABCFM-Nestorian interaction. By deploying a dehistoricized *ad fontes* logic, Smith misunderstood the Nestorian position with regard to scripture as “a standard of ultimate appeal”.¹⁴⁴ This allowed him to imagine a common fidelity to an idealized sovereign referent and, in his capacity as scout, suggest to the nascent ABCFM the possibility of a preexisting theological union as an entry point to the process of cultural reform. This construction was cemented by the rationale of mistaken solidarity, i.e. Smith’s blinkered desire “to show them that they are not alone in their disapprobation of papacy.”¹⁴⁵ In effect this only set the Nestorians “in opposition to the Chaldeans”, and initiated a previously nonexistent process of ethnic differentiation within diverse but integrated communities.¹⁴⁶ By transposing their own paradigm onto a people and place which they made claim to, but did not know, the ABCFM missionaries essentially framed an indigenous tradition as being their own, thus cleaving it from its complex root system and planting it instead in their own thin layer of transported soil.

If incognizant of the spiritual ground surrounding them Smith and Dwight were acutely aware of the richness of the physical earth en route to Urmia and recorded their visceral experience of travel across it by noting how “[t]he plain maintained in this direction its general character for beauty and fertility, and as we passed across several ploughed fields, we were made more sensible of the lightness of its soil by the

¹⁴⁴ Eli Smith, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia: Including a Journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833), p. 253.

¹⁴⁵ See Eli Smith, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia: Including a Journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833), p. 252.

¹⁴⁶ See Eli Smith, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia: Including a Journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833), p. 252.

depth to which our horses sunk into it at every step.”¹⁴⁷ Thus, the ABCFM treated the metaphysical groundwork of the region as the detritus of a distant past while clumsily navigating its present on their own terms with difficulty. This idea of the Nestorians existing as a beleaguered shell of a once proud people remarkable only by way of comparison to a contemporary Protestant experience is echoed and supported by Austen Henry Layard in his popular two-volume work *Nineveh and Its Remains* (1848-49). Layard contends, “[a]s the only remnant of a great nation, every one must feel an interest in their history and condition; and our sympathies cannot but be excited in favor of a long persecuted people, who have merited the title of, ‘the Protestants of Asia.’”¹⁴⁸ Becker is quick to note that Layard’s “own Huguenot background perhaps made this final missionary cliché poignant for him”.¹⁴⁹ The self-referential expression appears in Perkins’s assessment of the Nestorians as well. He writes, “[i]ndeed, the Nestorians may, with great propriety, be denominated, the *Protestants of Asia*.”¹⁵⁰ Such categorizations underscore the quintessentially subjective nature of the mission enterprise, and also indicate the ways that such subjectivity mediated contemporary academic, philological and archaeological inquiries dependent upon the missions for information and access.

¹⁴⁷ Eli Smith, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia: Including a Journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833), p. 254.

¹⁴⁸ A.H. Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains: With an Account of a Visit to the Chaldean Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezidis, or Devil-worshippers; and an Inquiry into the Manners and Arts of the Ancient Assyrian*, Vol. 1 (New York: George P. Putnam, 1850), p. 224. See also Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 304.

¹⁴⁹ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 304.

¹⁵⁰ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with Notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 21.

Yet, despite their hermeneutical bias, the mission texts, especially through their descriptive travel logs of disparate geographies and politics, do help demonstrate local variances¹⁵¹ amongst the people they understood as the Nestorians, and who in the more recent scholarship are generally identified as East Syrians.¹⁵² Becker's systematic advancement of this linguistic and geographic, rather than theologically oriented term, exemplifies changes in norms around group and minority rights, as well as changed understandings of the theological claims made by this group, especially as they have come to be understood through self articulation and apart from the mediation of a mission apparatus. Girling for instance recognizes that "[t]he Christological controversy ... has coloured views of the Church of the East by nearly all who have interacted with or studied the community", but argues that in fact the "association with the Christology which appeared to be expounded and has been termed 'Nestorianism' has never been decisively resolved".¹⁵³

Yet it was the theological claims perceived to have been made by these Christians that shaped their relationship with the ABCFM. Anti-Catholic thought in ABCFM praxis¹⁵⁴ was used strategically in attempts to insinuate relationship with the Nestorians. For instance, Perkins only grudgingly recommends Asseman's *Bibliotheca*

¹⁵¹ See Aryo Makko, "The Historical Roots of Contemporary Controversies: National Revival and the Assyrian 'Concept of Unity'," *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 24.1, 2010, p.1. See also Adam H. Becker, "The Ancient Near East in the Late Antique Near East: Syriac Christian Appropriation of the Biblical East," *Antiquity in Antiquity: Jewish and Christian Pasts in the Greco-Roman World*, 2008, pp. 394-415. See also, J.F Coakley, *The Church of the East and the Church of England: A History the Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission* (Clarendon Press Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), p. 5.

¹⁵² See F. Kristian Girling, "The Chaldean Catholic Church: A study in modern history, ecclesiology and church-state relations (2003–2013)," PhD diss., University of London: Heythrop College, 2015, p. 13.

¹⁵³ F. Kristian Girling, "The Chaldean Catholic Church: A study in modern history, ecclesiology and church-state relations (2003–2013)," PhD diss., University of London: Heythrop College, 2015, p 12. For more on the background Christology debates see John A. McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria: The Christological Controversy* (Leiden: Brill, 1994). See also John A. McGuckin, "The Christology of Nestorius of Constantinople," *Patristic and Byzantine Review* 7, no. 1, 1988, pp. 2-3.

¹⁵⁴ For more on the transnational scope of U.S. nativism see José Casanova, "The politics of nativism: Islam in Europe, Catholicism in the United States," *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, Vol. 38, Issue 4-5, 2012, pp. 485 – 495.

orientalis Clementino Vaticana, Vol. IV. as a history of “the origin and progress of Nestorianism” because, while he finds it “in general very correct,” he also finds that “it savors strongly of Papal prejudice.”¹⁵⁵ The result of this sectarian approach by the ABCFM meant that a shifting and complex web of inter-communal relationships that had been experienced historically in Iran, less in terms of dualism, than in terms of multipolar exchange, became more concretized.¹⁵⁶ In turn the missions became an artificial nexus of unity amongst regional groups. Where Qajar governance was run as a form of tribute system practicing functional devolution, the ABCFM coordinated disparate communities and consolidated cultural differences under a singular identity. While this centrifugal force tore at the historical fabric of various Nestorian communities, relative to the Qajar state the ABCFM mission also served as a modest political and economic resource for Nestorian groups. For this reason many Nestorians engaged the U.S. presence in an ambiguous fashion. It both disrupted and threatened traditional ways of life, but also offered physical security and material goods, which their historic tributary relationships could not match. For this reason it is important to consider the reasons why the Nestorians may have transferred their historic tributary networks to the new U.S. missions, as well as the ways that the ABCFM may have mistaken the stricter structure of tribute for the more voluntary structure of reciprocity or gift.¹⁵⁷ Many Nestorians seemed to realize the antagonistic anxiety and insular eccentricity inherent in the U.S. approach and use it to their own advantage by holding out allegiance or affiliated identity as a bargaining chip for

¹⁵⁵ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 3. Footnote. See also Giuseppe Simone Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis clementino-vaticana*, Vol. 2 (Sacra Congreg. de Propaganda Fide, 1721).

¹⁵⁶ See also Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹⁵⁷ See Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), pp. 97-101.

physical resources and community development in the forms of healthcare and education.

But while the ABCFM missionaries may have been historically adrift in Persia they were linguistically better anchored. Language was understood as a critical pathway for mission engagement and those preparing for mission work often invested significant time in language study, specifically Turkish (Azeri) as a lingua franca of the Azerbaijan region of northwest Persia, Syriac, and Persian, as well as the Hebrew and Greek which they would have been expected to have acquired in the course of their theological studies. For the Nestorians, alongside English acquisition, active participation in the language transfer process forged a link to technology, in the form of the mission printing press, and offered hope for community preservation through the cultivation of linguistic memory.¹⁵⁸ However, these dynamics were even further complicated by the idiosyncratic historical theses around Nestorianism advanced by Asahel Grant. As will be seen in the following chapter Grant labored under the assumption that the Nestorians were one of the lost tribes of Israel.¹⁵⁹ This is the climate of epochal assumptions, political disruption, and socio-religious prejudice that marked the advent of the ABCFM missionaries in Urmia.

¹⁵⁸ One of the early additions to the Urmia mission was a printer, Edward Breath, who arrived in 1840. Urmia was thus not only important as an early centre of concentrated U.S. mission efforts, but also as an early printing site in Persia due to the presence of a mission supported press. See J.F. Coakley, "Edward Breath and the Typography of Syriac," *Harvard Library Bulletin* (n.s., v. 6, no. 4, Winter, 1995). See also *Yulpane d-men hemezmane d-alaha*. [Lessons from the Words of God]. Urmia, Persia: [American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions], 1841. 50 p.; 19 cm. [R.B.R. tract BS399.S99 A44 1841]. See also Ulrich Marzolph, "TULLIP: A Projected Thesaurus Universalis Libri Lithographici Illustrati Persorum," in Philip Sadgrove (ed.) *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East*, Journal of Semitic Studies, Supplement 15 (Oxford and New York: published by Oxford University Press on behalf of the University of Manchester, 2004), 27.

¹⁵⁹ See Asahel Grant, *The Nestorians; or The Lost Tribes. Containing Evidence of Their Identity, An Account of Their Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, Together With Sketches of Travel in Ancient Assyria, Armenia, Media, and Mesopotamia, and Illustrations of Scripture Prophecy* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1841). See also Zvi Ben-Dor Benite, *The Ten Lost Tribes: A World History*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009. Notably, though not surprisingly given its status as a seminary, Hebrew was also a language of study at the ABCFM school in Urmia.

Conclusion

Ultimately in attempting to describe the reception with which the ABCFM missionaries were greeted in Persia we are faced with a conundrum: they were both welcomed and rejected. When they were welcomed it tended to be for their social contributions such as healthcare and education; their rejection or opposition derived from a sense that they were culturoclasts, zealous to strip the country of religious heritage and tradition as orienting values. Their Presbyterian successors in the mission increasingly adopted a pragmatic attitude in an attempt to resolve this conundrum. Concern with conversion was subordinated to concern for political standing and humanitarianism. This can be seen particularly in the context of Iran's constitutional revolution and World War I. These Presbyterian efforts reached an apex in the pedagogy of Samuel Jordan and his work at the American College of Tehran (later Alborz College), which was granted a charter in 1928 by the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York to confer B.A. degrees.¹⁶⁰ In chapters three, four, and five we will consider further the culture of Alborz and other mission institutions through various prisms, such as ideological orientation and position with regard to the status of women, while looking especially at their cultural impacts and influences in light of their operation as transnational institutions rooted in and branching from religious identities. However, before doing so we turn next in chapter two to a closer examination of the Qajar context into which these U.S. missions were extended.

¹⁶⁰ See Y. Armajani, "Alborz College," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, I/8, pp. 821-823; available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/alborz-college>

We have seen in this chapter how, despite the presence of Christian missions and Christian communities throughout the Persian past, nineteenth century mission activity still presented itself as novel in a Qajar dynasty struggling to assert its credibility as the Safavid successor to Shi'i authorities. We have also traced the advent of the U.S. foreign missions movement in Iran by examining the formation of the ABCFM and its theological orientation in a New Divinity school of thought, as well as by briefly placing the ABCFM in the context of other foreign mission movements. This chapter has underscored the tendency of U.S. missions in Iran to be largely unreflective on their own intellectual entanglement with strands of Middle Eastern Christianity and highlighted their complex relationship with Nestorian communities, particularly around Urmia. We can conclude that the ABCFM understood itself to be representative of a new nationally inflected faith that was focused on questions of religious reform, willing to engage those questions through the veins of social development, and hesitant to initiate any formal programme of religious engagement with regard to Iran's Muslim majority population. Finally, by focusing on the dynamics of paternalism and dependency, we have seen how the ABCFM, originally reliant on British diplomatic goodwill, came to walk a fine line in Persia between evangelical engagement and dependence upon the dynastic power of the Qajars. The second chapter will show us the ground upon which that line was drawn by analyzing both the relationship between the Qajar dynasty and Shi'i ulama and the ways in which each influenced networks of power and governance in Persia, particularly in relation to a minority religious populations.

CHAPTER 2: Missions, Minorities and Majority Modes of Rule in the Qajar Context

Introduction

In the English language the political entity governed by the Qajars is most often referred to as a realm. Ultimately the word derives from the Latin *regimin* designating its primary idea as being one of control. Katouzian indicates that at turn of the twentieth century “*Muluk al-Tawa’if*” was “the term used by Iranian intelligentsia to describe the Qajar realm”.¹⁶¹ He suggests this “may be roughly translated as ‘rulers of the [various] communities’”.¹⁶² Katouzian also observes that “the term itself ... could describe any multi-ethnic or multi-national state or empire”, but aligns it particularly with an idea of decentralization in the Iranian context.¹⁶³ Susanne McElrone affirms this when she notes that in the 1800s “Qajar rule was decentralized, nonintegrated, and thus weak.”¹⁶⁴ She explains “[t]here was no uniform legal code or currency,” and “[t]he government’s power and strength varied according to the strength and wisdom of its individual rulers.”¹⁶⁵ In support of these claims Nikki Keddie observes that, at least based upon a Weberian understanding of the state, “[t]he Qajars had no state, since tribes, city factions, local governors, and even members of the ‘*ulama* class, had private armies and engaged in battles without the central government’s being able to

¹⁶¹ Homa Katouzian, *State and Society in Iran: The Eclipse of the Qajars and the Emergence of the Pahlavis* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000), p. 16.

¹⁶² Homa Katouzian, *State and Society in Iran: The Eclipse of the Qajars and the Emergence of the Pahlavis* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000), p. 16.

¹⁶³ Homa Katouzian, *State and Society in Iran: The Eclipse of the Qajars and the Emergence of the Pahlavis* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000), p. 16.

¹⁶⁴ Susynne McElrone, “Nineteenth-Century Qajar Women in the Public Sphere: An Alternative Historical and Historiographical Reading of the Roots of Iranian Women's Activism,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 25.2, 2005, p. 302.

¹⁶⁵ Susynne McElrone, “Nineteenth-Century Qajar Women in the Public Sphere: An Alternative Historical and Historiographical Reading of the Roots of Iranian Women's Activism,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 25.2, 2005, p. 302.

intervene.”¹⁶⁶ It is also important to underscore in the context of an appraisal of Qajar Iran that it already bore marks of historic Christian mission presence. Most immediately there were Safavid-era Jesuit, Carmelite, and Augustinian mission presences in Iran.¹⁶⁷ And before that the ingress of Nestorian Christians to Sasanian Iran in the 5th century set the stage for Christian missions emanating out from Iran and along the Silk Road during the 7th to 14th centuries.¹⁶⁸ Even these skimmed recollections of the different forms of Christianity existing throughout Iranian history should help demonstrate that Christian dynamics had unfolded in pockets and patches regularly across the Iranian landmass and timescape that was contained within the idea of a Qajar realm. The advent of U.S. Christian missionaries in Qajar Iran was therefore not a new event but rather part of an older typology, whether fully known or understood by those enacting and experiencing it or not.

ABCFM-Qajar relations

The porousness of the Qajar state and its largely open door policy relative to freedom of movement is what allowed ABCFM missionaries such as Perkins, Merrick, and Grant to establish a foothold for U.S. mission efforts in Iran. From an imperial

¹⁶⁶ Cited in Susynne McElrone, “Nineteenth-Century Qajar Women in the Public Sphere: An Alternative Historical and Historiographical Reading of the Roots of Iranian Women's Activism,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 25.2, 2005, p. 302.

¹⁶⁷ See H. Chick (edited and translated [from the Latin & Persian]); introduction by Rudi Matthee, *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia: the Safavids and the Papal Mission of the 17th and 18th centuries* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012). Sonja Brentjes, “Immediacy, Mediation, and Media in Early Modern Catholic and Protestant Representations of Safavid Iran,” *Journal of Early Modern History*, 13, 2009, pp. 173-207. Eliz Sanasarian, *Religious Minorities in Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). John M. Flannery, *The Mission of the Portuguese Augustinians to Persia and Beyond (1602–1747)* (Leiden: Brill, 2013). Rudi Matthee and Jorge Flores (eds.), *Portugal, The Persian Gulf and Safavid Persia*, in association with the Iran Heritage Foundation and the Freer Gallery of Art & Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (Smithsonian Institution: Peeters, 2011). Rudi Matthee, “Jesuits in Safavid Persia,” *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Vol. XIV, Fas. 6, 2008, pp. 634-638.

¹⁶⁸ James R. Russell, “CHRISTIANITY i. In Pre-Islamic Persia: Literary Sources” in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. V, fasc. 5 (Los Angeles: Costa Mesa, 1991), pp. 327-28. See also M. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (Princeton New Jersey: Princeton, 1984), pp. 384-430.

perspective the idea of a national conversion effort being advanced by a handful of families, even if understood as such, was not threatening. The physical presence of the ABCFM mission was limited and its numbers relatively small. At the same time the Qajars seemed to have understood that the missions served as unique channels into a U.S. national polity that would otherwise remain distant. Thus the ABCFM missionaries attained the status of influencers, not of religious mores in Persia, as was their intent, but of a U.S. populace, where their standing as part of an elite stratum of Protestant leadership was influential. And early missions later became the basic foundations for U.S. foreign policy, particularly in terms of the human capacity they offered across generations around questions of cultural and linguistic knowledge.

From the ABCFM side it is possible that there was an overestimation of the protection and power that connections to the large Qajar court could provide. They may also have mistaken Qajar strategic interests for openness to the idea of conversion itself. Despite this, the ABCFM experienced quiet growth in Iran that was supported by home communities in the U.S. as well as fostered by sections of the Qajar elite. By 1838 there were three free mission schools in the Urmia area, in addition to a boarding seminary.¹⁶⁹ As the ABCFM continued building a presence in Persia through infrastructure the question of whether its missionaries, were to some degree representing, if not embodying U.S. interests, especially during the years preceding state relations is a vexing one. Christian Van Gorder asserts that in the later part of the 19th century the “growing surge of American missionaries was one of the axial reasons that American diplomatic relations with the Qajar Dynasty were elevated to a

¹⁶⁹ Annual Report: - “Nestorians and Muhammadens of Persia – Mahrattas,” *Missionary Herald*, Volume 34, Boston: Crocker and Brewer, 1838, p. 7.

more active status.”¹⁷⁰ Prior to 1850 the U.S. did not have any recognition agreement with Persia. Diplomatic relations were not established between the two countries until 1883.¹⁷¹ Yet the easy consociation of missionaries with foreign governmental representatives may have helped contribute to the perception of a more formal coordination between government and missionary efforts. The construction of a Protestant Cemetery outside Tehran, which received government funds from the U.S., and Britain, as well as Germany, and the administration of which was directed by a coordinating committee composed of governmental ministers and missionaries is an excellent example of this.¹⁷² Some confusion over the roles and responsibilities of missionary and minister of state continued throughout the Qajar period in part because these were both representative functions tied to the extension of national and religious cultures, which were often mutually entangled.

The ABCFM presence does seem to have accentuated Christian-Muslim communal differences by mediating access to social goods based upon a religious kinship network. The ability of the ABCFM’s presence to act as a community wedge in this regard is notable. Rather than fielding push back against the intrusion of foreign ideas, as occurred elsewhere in Persia, the ABCFM Mission to the Nestorians was instead compelled to manage the popular desire of local Muslims to benefit from the mission as well. According to Tracy, eager as ever to present a round apologetic for the mission, “Muhammedans, seeing ... preparations for the education of their Christian

¹⁷⁰ Van Christian A. Gorder, *Christianity in Persia and the Status of Non-Muslims in Iran* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), p. 139.

¹⁷¹ The first diplomatic accord was established in 1883 when the US “Chargé d’Affaires S.G.W. Benjamin presented his credentials to the Shah of Persia.” See “A Guide to the United States’ History of Recognition, Diplomatic, and Consular Relations, by Country, since 1776: Iran,” Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, online: <https://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5314.htm>, accessed 5 November 2017.

¹⁷² See Denis Wright, “Burials and Memorials of the British in Persia,” *Iran* 36, no. 1, 1998, pp. 165-173.

neighbors, resentfully asked, “Are we to be passed by?”¹⁷³ As a result Grant was diverted from his medical duties to act as an occasional ad hoc tutor for the Muslims of Urmia. In order to accomplish this task Grant worked with Nestorian bishop Mar Yohannan, who served as an interpreter for the Turkish speaking Muslims. Thus, in a startling example of role reversal and mission creep, the earliest American educational efforts in Persia soon extended beyond a single religious reform mission directed toward Nestorian Christian communities. In fact, they relied upon the expertise and skills of the Nestorians themselves in order to respond to an interest in education evidenced by their Muslim neighbors, with whom they were historically, culturally, and linguistically bound.

In other parts of Persia, however, there was violence linked to religious and national identity around mission presence, for instance, when Merrick travelled with missionaries from the Basel Mission, Hoernle and Schneider, to explore further outreach to the Muslim population of Persia. In Isfahan they encountered especially acute demonstrations against them organized by the Shi’i ulama.¹⁷⁴ In Merrick’s words, “[a]t Tehran the prospect for missionary labour was but faint starlight, here at Isfahan it is clouded midnight”.¹⁷⁵ This episode demonstrates different regional reactions to the prospect of mission work in Persia and also helps contextualize the restricted focus on Nestorian Christians, which characterized the ABCFM’s early mission efforts.

¹⁷³ Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (New York: MW Dodd, 1842), p. 315.

¹⁷⁴ See Thomas O Flynn, *The Western Christian Presence in the Russias and Qājār Persia, c. 1760–c. 1870* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 642–643. Per Flynn see ABCFM 16.8.7 vol. 1 no. 67; ABCFM Persia Report 1837, 67–8. See also Lyle L. Vander Werff, *Christian Mission to Muslims: The Record: Anglican and Reformed Approaches in India and the Near East, 1800–1938.*, William Carey Library, 1977, pp. 116.

¹⁷⁵ J. Elder, *History of the Iran Mission*, Presbyterian Historical Society (ms ca. 1960), 6. Qtd. in Flynn, Thomas O. *The Western Christian Presence in the Russias and Qājār Persia, c. 1760–c. 1870* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 643.

Judaism and Zoroastrianism

Historically and numerically the ABCFM missionaries were part of a well-established minority context in a multi-ethnic empire. Yet they acted as if they didn't know or accept this. We have previously noted the irony in the fact that individuals who self-identified as epistemic messengers for a certain form of Christian knowledge were at the same time subject to a destitution similar to that from which they promised deliverance. But the fact is that the ABCFM missionaries were not totally devoid of Iranian and regional cultural history upon arrival in Qajar Persia.¹⁷⁶ However, in an act of selective memory they appear to have chosen to emphasize national links to dominant modes of being over religious links that would have emphasized their solidarity with communities of relatively powerless religious minorities. It is clear for instance that many of these missionaries had recourse to a Greek oriented canonical education in the U.S. Through this they had come to view Persian history as something marginal to a normative Hellenic discourse, of which they considered themselves the rightful heirs. Grant, for instance, refers early on in his writing to “Xenophon and the Ten Thousand” aligning himself with a classical heroic narrative of retreat amidst the challenges of Persian geography.¹⁷⁷ Most of the missionaries could also claim a theological education in which this Hellenic frame was

¹⁷⁶ The initial 1833 mission scoping report of Smith and Dwight did help to sketch something of a picture of the complex society into which they were venturing. See Eli Smith, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia: Including a Journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a Visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833).

¹⁷⁷ Asahel Grant, *The Nestorians; or The Lost Tribes. Containing Evidence of Their Identity, An Account of Their Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, Together With Sketches of Travel in Ancient Assyria, Armenia, Media, and Mesopotamia, and Illustrations of Scripture Prophecy* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1841), pp.16, 19. See also Grant's footnote on p. 170 referring to *Xen., Anab.*, iv. 3,4; v.5,9; vii. 8, 14, suggesting even more intimacy with the text. Perkins also makes a similar reference in Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia Among the Nestorian Christians with Notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 5.

complemented by a Jewish context that included religiously mediated descriptions of Persian spaces, such as those found in the books of Ezra, Esther and Daniel. However, the distinction between these textual figures and the contemporary flesh and blood communities the missionaries encountered, or overlooked, must be stressed. The Jewish context of Qajar Iran with regard to Christian mission is a space that has been afforded little critical research. However, as Tsadik has emphasized, during this era, “[t]he Jews did not exist in their own universe, separated from Iranian soil and society.”¹⁷⁸

An excellent example of this observation can be found in the encounter Perkins had with a Jewish physician in 1840. Perkins had him read from a Hebrew language New Testament. He recounts the physician as being “much amused”;¹⁷⁹ Perkins took this humor as evidence of ignorance. Recognizing the Psalms referenced in the passage Perkins had directed him towards in the book of Hebrews the physician inquired, “this is your work is it, Sir?”¹⁸⁰ Perkins took this as a query of confusion and corrected him explaining that the text “was about eighteen hundred years old and the work of one of his own nation.”¹⁸¹ At that point Perkins recalls that the physician “excused himself from the discussion, being as he said, a physician, and not a *Rabbi*.”¹⁸²

As Perkins presents it this is a sure and certain narrative in which the Jewish physician is reduced to the briefest of punch lines before disappearing. However, read

¹⁷⁸ Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi 'is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 3.

¹⁷⁹ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia Among the Nestorian Christians with Notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 425.

¹⁸⁰ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia Among the Nestorian Christians with Notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 425.

¹⁸¹ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia Among the Nestorian Christians with Notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 425.

¹⁸² Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia Among the Nestorian Christians with Notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 425.

against the mission's own structure, the exchange can be understood with the Jewish physician directing the encounter. The ABCFM placed great emphasis on printing and production of translations. Perhaps the Jewish physician, in ascribing the work to Perkins and the ABCFM, was simply inquiring whether they had printed the volume. It is equally reasonable to imagine then that, when Perkins attempted to explain Judaism to him as a Jewish person, he exited quickly under the cover of a harmless bromide. In either way of reading the encounter there is a sense that the distance of difference between the two is never closed. This inability to bridge difference through understanding was a constant problem for the ABCFM in Persia. Beyond its untapped existential scope as a moral problem, the ABCFM experienced this comprehension gap in terms of a technical impediment to conversion. For, of course, in presenting a Jewish person with a Hebrew language New Testament Perkins was doing nothing less than essaying a clumsy attempt at conversion. This episode helps us to understand how the ABCFM initially tried and ultimately failed to appeal to people of other religions through text rather than context. In doing so they cut anchor with the intellectual weight afforded their mission work in other ways by Jonathan Edwards, who had demonstrated the ability to, if not close the gap of interreligious understanding, at least meet a religious other across that distance with respect and some form of admiration.¹⁸³ These are virtues absent from Perkins's own recounting of the incident above; instead he chose to emphasize his own certainty and correctness.

¹⁸³ In 1722 Jonathan Edwards describes a Jewish neighbor he sees from a distance as "the devoutest person that I ever saw in my life; great part of his time being spent in acts of devotion, at his Eastern window ... not only in the daytime, but sometimes whole nights." Qtd. in George Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 48. See also "Port Jews in the Atlantic: further thoughts," *Jewish History* 20, no. 2, 2006, pp. 213-219. J.D. Sarna credits Prof. Louis Hershkowitz with identifying the Jewish neighbor as Jacob Lousada.

The same compulsion toward notions of “certainty” and “correctness” helped drive the creation of nineteenth century mission organizations devoted specifically to addressing Jewish conversion to Christianity.¹⁸⁴ In Qajar Iran the presence of such organizations, combined with antisemitism expressed through millenarianism and the fact of an overlapping scriptural tradition, placed ABCFM engagement with Jewish peoples immediately in the context of a larger world history. The other pre-Islamic religious presence extant in Qajar Iran, Zoroastrianism, receives significantly less treatment and attention throughout the ABCFM mission literature. Yet Grant and Perkins are both also at least shallowly acquainted with the tradition, though in each instance such familiarity seems fairly utilitarian. However, that does not stop Perkins from laying claim to the genealogy of the founder; he describes Zoroaster as “a native of Oróomiah”, and dangles this folklore as an orientalist charm before his U.S. reading audience in order to excite interest in the mission’s work there. In Perkins’s narrative colonization Zoroaster’s reputed place of birth becomes “[o]ur home in Persia”.¹⁸⁵ Grant is even more explicit about the way that he coopts the religion; his attention to Zoroastrianism is largely instrumental and often engaged only to advance his other arguments about the nature of Judaism in relation to Nestorian Christianity. For instance, drawing on the writings of Humphrey Prideaux, material he clearly considers as sympathetic support, Grant advances a Nestorian tradition that Zoroaster was a disciple of Jeremiah and uses the idea of prophetic discipleship to support an argument that Zoroaster himself was Jewish.¹⁸⁶ In another instance of pondering the

¹⁸⁴ See W. Cantuar, “London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews,” *The British magazine*, 1832-1849, 20, 1841, pp. 451-452. See Yaron Perry and Elizabeth Yodim, *British mission to the Jews in nineteenth-century Palestine* (London: Frank Cass, 2003). See also George L. Berlin, “Joseph SCF Frey, the Jews, and Early Nineteenth Century Millenarianism,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 1, no. 1, 1981, pp. 27-49.

¹⁸⁵ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p.146.

¹⁸⁶ Asahel Grant, *The Nestorians; or The Lost Tribes. Containing Evidence of Their Identity, An Account of Their Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, Together With Sketches of Travel in Ancient*

correspondence between Zoroastrianism and Judaism Grant turns to the Yazidis seeking in them an interpretive heuristic to unlock his arcane theories; he wonders, “[w]ere they followers of Zoroaster, and, at the same time, the children of Israel?”¹⁸⁷ Grant’s willingness here to entertain the notion of dual religious belonging is rather remarkable, but it inevitably surfaces in service to a larger organizing principle of Christian conversion.

Mission and certainty

Grant must be admitted as something of an intellectual outlier amidst the ABCFM missionaries. While Judaism’s imbrication in millenarian concerns was certainly not unusual as an *idée fixe* of the era Grant’s assiduity in pursuing documentary evidence linking the Nestorians with “the lost tribes” made him one of that line of thought’s more zealous practitioners. He summed up his rationale in the following way:

A spiritual resurrection is connected with the conversion of God’s ancient people; a resurrection, affecting not merely themselves, but the whole of the world. ... Who, then, can estimate the importance of their discovery and conversion? ... since it is clear, from the prophecies of Scripture, that this final ingathering of Israel will be the brightest harbinger of the latter-day glory!¹⁸⁸

Assyria, Armenia, Media, and Mesopotamia, and Illustrations of Scripture Prophecy (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1841), p. 223.

¹⁸⁷ Asahel Grant, *The Nestorians; or The Lost Tribes. Containing Evidence of Their Identity, An Account of Their Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, Together With Sketches of Travel in Ancient Assyria, Armenia, Media, and Mesopotamia, and Illustrations of Scripture Prophecy* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1841), p. 323.

¹⁸⁸ Asahel Grant, *The Nestorians; or The Lost Tribes. Containing Evidence of Their Identity, An Account of Their Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, Together With Sketches of Travel in Ancient Assyria, Armenia, Media, and Mesopotamia, and Illustrations of Scripture Prophecy* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1841), pp. 116-117.

This logic of Jewish discovery and conversion as a lynchpin for parousia was central to the restorationist impulses of the day and continues to survive in contemporary forms of Christian Zionism. It is worth noting that being sent in mission as a medical doctor Grant lacked the theological training more common amongst other members of the mission contingent. And yet it would also be unfair to say that his eschatological concerns were not generally shared by that first generation of missionaries from the U.S. However, Perkins is more demanding and more textually precise in his evidentiary approach to this subject. He writes:

Nor is there any absurdity in the supposition, that their remote ancestors may have been some portion of the *Israelites*, who were carried away captive, by the kings of Assyria, as mentioned in 1 Chron. 5:26, and 2 Kings, 15:5, 29, into places probably not distant from regions now occupied by the Nestorians. But *to demonstrate as certain, the Jewish origin* of this people, must, from the nature of the case, in the absence of all written records on the subject, be a very difficult, if not an unsatisfactory undertaking...¹⁸⁹

In an addendum to this text Perkins is more direct about Grant's hypothesis noting:

[h]is theory has been examined by Dr. Robinson¹⁹⁰ and rejected, many of the arguments being found to prove too much, by adducing, as peculiar to the Ancient Israelites and

¹⁸⁹ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 2.

¹⁹⁰ Edward Robinson was a significant philologist of the era perhaps most notable for his work, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petrae: A Journal of Travels in the Year 1838*, based upon archaeological research which he executed with the aid of Eli Smith, the same ABCFM missionary whose reports earlier in the decade opened the way for the Mission to the Nestorians. At the time of its publication Robinson already held a prominent professorship of biblical literature at Union Theological Seminary in New York.

the Modern Nestorians, customs and practices which, from time immemorial, have been *oriental*, rather than national.

These two interventions help again to clarify the diverse positions inherent within the ABCFM contingent. Even while addressing him as “one of my respected fellow-laborers”¹⁹¹ Perkins clearly distances himself from Grant’s ideas. And the foremost problem for Perkins, as he demonstrates above by emphasizing the text, seems to be their lack of certainty.

Certainty was central to the way in which Perkins approached the idea of mission and the practice of religion. In this he drew especially on a tradition of self-examination geared toward self-knowledge developed influentially by Edwards.¹⁹² This premium placed by Perkins on certainty both reflected and informed ABCFM efforts to project and transplant a particular form of epistemological certitude with regard to both religion and nationality. This may be traced partly to the continuing cultural forces of evangelical revivalism, and also to the waxing influence of an emergent U.S. national culture interested in differentiating with some conviction, the religious, political and social experiences of U.S. citizens from those of Europeans. Indeed, after being referred to as an Englishman by the governor of Urmia Perkins observed, “[f]ew of the Persians can, or will, comprehend our distinct nationality as Americans, however much we proclaim it.”¹⁹³ In the midst of a biblically haunted landscape, this newly “American” compulsion for epistemological certainty and theological control set

¹⁹¹ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 2.

¹⁹² See Wayne Proudfoot, “From theology to a science of religions: Jonathan Edwards and William James on religious affections,” *Harvard Theological Review* 82, no. 2, 1989, pp. 149-168.

¹⁹³ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 291.

about to order the uncanny ghosts of past religious presence as well as their living hosts.

One of the ways in which this attempt was made was through corrective technologies imported for purposes of transformation. This is most evident in the way that the mission approached language and texts. For instance, Perkins writes:

Very little attempt had been made to reduce the vernacular language of the Nestorians to *writing*, until we commenced our missionary operations. The ancient Syriac being a *dead* language, and entirely unintelligible to the people until studied as a *learned tongue*, it seemed to us, at the outset, quite indispensable to the due accomplishment of our object, to make their *modern dialect* the medium of *written*, as well as *oral*, instruction.

This drive toward vernacular reduction and its estimation as forming an essential part of the mission objective led to the ABCFM to tamper with a living language and attempt popular resurrection of a language understood to be dead. Thus there was debate over which “dry bones”¹⁹⁴ had the best sample DNA – “the Chaldaic, as exhibited in the books of Daniel and Ezra” or “the ancient Syriac of those portions of Scripture”.¹⁹⁵ In the event, the decision was taken to base derivation work on the Syriac text, i.e. the *Peshitta*, which Perkins observed “is the only version of the New

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 246: “As Christians, the Nestorians, when we reached them, resembled the valley of Ezekiel’s vision of dry bones.”

¹⁹⁵ See Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p.13 for the linguistic comparison. See also The American Biblical Repository, conducted by Absalom Peters and Selah B. Treat. Vol VI. No. XII. Art IX. Edward Robinson “The Nestorians,” (New York: Wm. R. Peters, Brick-Church Chapel, 1841), p. 459, note. In this note, which Perkins read and references in his own work, Robinson argues that, “The Chaldaic of Daniel and Ezra is hardly a fair standard of comparison, since it approaches much nearer to the Hebrew than does the ordinary Chaldee dialect. The comparison should rather have been made with some portion of the Chaldee translations exhibited in the Targums.”

Testament with which [the Nestorians] seem ever to have been acquainted.”¹⁹⁶ Yet, Perkins simultaneously recognized, and directed as an aside to philological readers, that “*popular language* is not that *tractable* thing, which will come and go at one’s bidding, – and especially, march far in a *retrograde* direction”.¹⁹⁷ In rather remarkable language about the power of language he calls the demotic form “an *absolute sovereign*, whom we may indeed, approach and conciliate, but whom we try in vain to coerce.”¹⁹⁸ Yet even admitting impotence in this regard Perkins is careful to patrol the fence between power and doubt. Once more he enlists Robinson as a reliable buttress citing the following epistolary reply he received from the New York scholar:

[t]here can be no doubt, I think, as to the propriety and necessity of cultivating the modern Syriac, in the manner you mention ... It is the language and the only language of *the people*,¹⁹⁹ and must remain so, though it should be purified and refined, by a reference to the ancient language, so far as possible.²⁰⁰

The vocabulary of purification and refinement here echoes the reductive impulses of the ABCFM and is consonant with the metaphor of heat, primarily in the form of fire, that is used to describe the symbolic somatic and luminal transformations of peoples,

¹⁹⁶ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p.14. See also Murre-van den Berg, H.L. 1996. *The Missionaries' Assistants. The Role of Assyrians in the Development of Written Urmia Aramaic*. Journal of the Assyrian Academic Society, 1996. p.13.

¹⁹⁷ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p.14.

¹⁹⁸ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p.14.

¹⁹⁹ Robinson’s analysis here is arguably influenced by 19th century Herderian thought relative to language and nationalism. His time at Halle and Berlin, as well as his partnership with Therese Albertine Luise and her own correspondence with Goethe all indicate a tangible link to that circle of thought. For more on Herder, *volk* and nationalism see Frederick M. Barnard, *Herder's Social and Political Thought from Enlightenment to Nationalism*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965). See also David Motadel, “Iran and the Aryan myth,” in Ali Ansari (ed.), *Perceptions of Iran: History, Myths and Nationalism from Medieval Persia to the Islamic Republic* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014), p. 121.

²⁰⁰ Qtd. Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 14.

cultures and languages across early mission narratives, particularly those of Perkins. But it is imperative to note that for Robison this process of refinement, or reduction, is ultimately subject to the limits of a possibility defined by popular terms.

Recognizing the reality of popular pushback against an ABCFM obsession with certainty helps us to contest “the erasure of indigenous agency in such accounts”.²⁰¹ As one example of this we witness Perkins being confronted by popular fiat with an impossibility relative to text in his failed attempt to remove a copy of the New Testament from the village of Kowsee in order to bring it to the U.S. Perkins had become attracted to this copy “as an object of interest” when the villagers dated it as being fifteen hundred years old. Upon examining it, Perkins observed, “[a] few of the first parchment leaves are gone and their place is supplied by paper, on which that early date is recorded, with how much certainty is uncertain.”²⁰² Here we see again the fascination with certainty as well as the impulse to draw the uncertain into a U.S. domain, in this instance both physically as well as intellectually, in order to fix the date of the text. Yet, the removal is prevented by “the Mūhammadan master of the village” who “interposed and forbade its being taken away.”²⁰³ His rationale for the arrest, according to Perkins, was apprehension “that some dire calamity would befall (sic) the inhabitants, should so sacred a deposit be removed from among them.”²⁰⁴ This episode demonstrates the popular limits of mission power and also showcases the defense of a New Testament by a resident Muslim leader as a necessary part of

²⁰¹ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 115.

²⁰² Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 16.

²⁰³ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p.16.

²⁰⁴ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p.16.

village sacral culture.²⁰⁵ Such an action breaks open the binary ideas of religious exclusivity and essentialism that overwhelmingly shaped the theology and practice of the ABCFM relative to its Nestorian/Persian mission overtures, as well as those which guided statecraft and sovereign practice of the Qajar realm.

Violence, power, and innovation

Previously we have remarked how the foreign presence of the missionaries in Iran both compromised and soldered what were otherwise more flexible ethno-national joints in communities incorporated through slow growth over time. And while Perkins's remarks that the "Nestorians often suffer lawless extortion and oppression from their Mūhammedan masters" and are "a people in bondage"²⁰⁶ are both representative of mission observations and not without socio-legal evidence within the Qajar historical record it is also important to observe the ways, as we saw above, that concord was an equally normative state of affairs amongst local religious leaders. Another example of this can be seen in the trusting relationship described by Perkins between an unnamed mullah and Nestorian bishop Mar Yohannan. Following the mullah's request for a Bible Perkins queries Yohannan whether it might not be his "intention to procure and destroy it."²⁰⁷ Yohannan, however, vouches staunchly for the mullah stating, "that the Moolah is his old acquaintance, belongs in a village near

²⁰⁵ Perkins explains that the book's "antiquity and sanctity" were such that Muslims and Nestorians both swore oaths upon it. Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p.16.

²⁰⁶ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 9.

²⁰⁷ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 315.

his own, is a very amiable man, and in his (the bishop's) opinion, a sincere inquirer after truth."²⁰⁸

Mission windows like this one into daily community interaction across Qajar Persia demonstrate the existence of meliorating qualities such as familiarity and sincerity in the interreligious exchanges of the time. Perkins draws attention to his outsider position with regard to these dynamics upon immediately considering the possibility of textual desecration. Where Perkins processed the mullah's request through a hermeneutic of skepticism Mar Yohannan corrected his view with reference to a veritable practice of co-inquiry. Such indigenous encouragement toward moderation in local contexts appears to have had an effect on Perkins and fellow foreign missionaries. For instance, Perkins expresses criticism that the Basle Missionary Society would not listen to contrary advice from their missionaries on the ground who "had been in Persia ... a considerable period, had acquired a familiar acquaintance with the native languages, and had successfully commenced operations", and instead "decided not to continue operations in Persia, unless the gospel could be openly proclaimed to the Mūhammedans."²⁰⁹ He opines, "[t]his is impracticable. Life would be the price of the attempt."²¹⁰ It is on the very next page that Perkins shares the above story of Mar Yohannan and the mullah, following which he observes, "[i]ndirect missionary efforts – and those of an interesting and encouraging character – are practicable amongst the Mūhammedans."²¹¹ This methodologically moderate

²⁰⁸ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 315.

²⁰⁹ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 314.

²¹⁰ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 314.

²¹¹ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 314.

position, which Perkins held as being ideologically consonant with epistemic transferal and transformation, became a hallmark of ABCFM work in Persia. A similar stance is discernable in Perkins's self-conscious reflection on mission approaches to Nestorian communities. He writes, "[w]e are careful not to press what the Nestorians regard as innovations, lest we should become obnoxious as new measure men."²¹² Perkins's care relative to the Nestorian mission was obnoxiousness; his care relative to the Persian mission was death. In order to understand this disparity it is important better to understand how religion and power were structured in the Qajar realm.

Perkins's speculation of death was not idle. Retributive violence as an expression of social or political power was a normalized phenomenon at the time and one which Perkins himself seems willing to have excused so long as it worked toward the protection of the mission. For instance, following an attack upon his person by a *lūtī*²¹³ Perkins pursued a chain of meetings with Qajar officials. He describes the result of those meetings in the following way: "I have since been informed, two of the LooTEE were seized, their bodies split in two parts, and the halves hung over the gates of the city, [Oroomiah] to deter their comrades".²¹⁴ Perkins noted, "this was by no

²¹² Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 290.

²¹³ Algar's glossary definition of *lūtī* is "a member of the originally chivalrous brotherhoods that, in the nineteenth century, turned increasingly to brigandage. Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969). For early English usage of the term *LooTEE Bâzâr* as related to general insurrection see John Malcolm, *The History of Persia from the Early Period to the Present Time* (London: John Murray Albemarle Street, 1815), p. 6. See also Bernard Lewis, "The Islamic Guilds," *The Economic History Review* 8, no. 1, 1937, p. 35. See also Mohsen Zakeri, *Sasanid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society: The Origins of Ayyārān and Futuwwa* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995).

²¹⁴ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 293.

means a strange transaction in Persia”.²¹⁵ Such authorized violence must be understood against the strictures and limitations of monarchical rule in which a comparatively weak center of government relied upon provincial authority and negotiation with a highly influential religious majority to govern.

The delicacy of such ruling relationships may be observed in Algar’s assessment of the Griboyedov episode, an event in which a mob in Tehran attacked and killed the Russian, A.S. Griboyedov, following his arrival as envoy in 1829. Others in the Russian mission died also, as well as many rioters.²¹⁶ Recognizing the backdrop of the second Russo-Persian war Algar concludes, “[t]he episode appears above all as a confrontation between people and government, in which the ulama act as inspirers and leaders of popular feeling and defenders of the national honor.”²¹⁷ He further expands on this idea, writing, “[t]he episode provided the first clear confrontation between the government and the people; that the confrontation was religiously motivated ... was not coincidental.”²¹⁸ This is Algar’s particular take on the popularly brokered tug-of-war between the Qajar elite and Shi’i ulama. While the assessment is convincing and well supported, as will be expanded on below, Algar’s larger narrative can at times fail to account for the minority voices and experiences we have pointed towards in the first part of this chapter. The minority experience under Qajar rule was unique and differed significantly in comparison to the better-documented context of

²¹⁵ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 293.

²¹⁶ See Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 94-99. Per Algar see also Ridā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, *Raudat us-Safā-yi Nāsiri*, IX (Tehran 1339 Sh/1960-1961), p.708. See also R.G. Watson, *A History of Persia from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century to the Year 1858* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1866), pp. 250-252. See also D.P. Costello, “The Murder of Griboyedov,” *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, VIII, 1957, pp. 64-78.

²¹⁷ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 99.

²¹⁸ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 99.

neighboring Ottoman Turkey.²¹⁹ In this regard the insights of U.S. missionaries, as non-endogenous religious minorities, provide helpful counterpoints to arguments such as Algar's, which while largely correct, have a tendency to conflate an idea of "the people" in Qajar Persia with the Muslim majority population in Qajar Persia. Taken together, the mission insights that we have been accumulating help explain the complex realities of political power, social order and religious influence in nineteenth century Persia.

For instance, Perkins's own self-description as an innovator in relation to the Nestorian communities, alongside his anxiety not to be labeled a "new measure man", coheres with Tavakoli-Targhi's contention that at this time "[w]ith the increased cultural significance of innovation (*inventio*), European interlocutors constituted themselves as the repositories of originality and authorship."²²⁰ Tavakoli-Targhi writes about the ways in which this self-constitution authorized and excused modes of orientalism that enabled cultural appropriation, such as Perkins's attempt to take the New Testament from Kowsee. In other instances, the historical intrusion of new cultural forms helps draw attention to preexisting balances of power. For example, Asahel Grant, recounting a trip to Mosul, recalled, "[m]y passport was demanded and examined at the gate of the city, a formality of recent date in Turkey, and quite unknown in Persia."²²¹ Grant's biographer contends, "[t]he passport checks were

²¹⁹ See Kamel S. Abu Jaber, "The Millet System in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," *The Muslim World* 57, no. 3, 1967, pp. 212-223. See Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: the functioning of a plural society*. Vol. 2. (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1982). See also Ahmet İcduygu and B. Ali Soner, "Turkish minority rights regime: Between difference and equality," *Middle Eastern Studies* 42, no. 3, 2006, pp. 447-468.

²²⁰ Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, "Early Persianate Modernity," in Sheldon Pollock (ed.), *Forms of Knowledge in Early Modern Asia: Explorations in the Intellectual History of India and Tibet, 1500-1800* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), p. 272.

²²¹ Asahel Grant, *The Nestorians; or The Lost Tribes. Containing Evidence of Their Identity, An Account of Their Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, Together With Sketches of Travel in Ancient*

especially important for Mohammed Pasha ... to catch young Muslim men who might be leaving the city to avoid conscription in his army. Christians and Jews were exempt.”²²² This state of exemption for religious minorities and its combination with a contextually novel political technology underscores how modernizing movements transformed Turkey and Persia in different ways. The permeability of Persia’s national boundaries contrasts here with Turkey’s more rigid state framework. Each carried a unique set of implications and possibilities for their respective Muslim, Jewish, Armenian and Assyrian communities over time.

For instance, toward the tail end of the Qajar dynasty, in December 1914, a Turkish invasion of Russian occupied Iran led to a Russian retreat and the synchronized mass exodus of “much of the Christian population”.²²³ This “was followed in the early months of 1915 by massacres and the destruction of dozens of Christian villages.”²²⁴ In this case lack of Qajar control at the extremities of their territory was a double-edged sword for minorities. On the one hand it allowed them easier egress, as can be noted in the historical movement of Christian minorities toward Russia for reasons of economic and human security. Indeed, Tsadik notes how “Jews, Nestorians, and Armenians used to depart from Iran via Urumiyyah and Khuy toward Russia ‘and elsewhere ... in order to earn their livelihood’”;²²⁵ this dynamic acted as a release

Assyria, Armenia, Media, and Mesopotamia, and Illustrations of Scripture Prophecy (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1841), p. 41.

²²² Gordon Taylor, *Fever and Thirst: An American Doctor Among the Tribes of Kurdistan, 1835-1844* (Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers, 2005), p. 49.

²²³ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 340.

²²⁴ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 340.

²²⁵ Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi ‘is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 10. Qtd. from FO 60/425, no. 21, October 31, 1879,

valve during instances of conflict, including state-based, state-supported, and state-countenanced episodes of persecution, abuse and discrimination. On the other hand the weak government often deprived minorities of state protections and made the regular enforcement of state-recognized rights more difficult.

Such protections and rights were more formalized in the Sunni Ottoman *millet* system, yet it was ultimately it was from Turkish space that the most serious aggression against minorities emerged before spilling over into the Qajar realm. In this regard Becker chronicles how “[t]he Armenian genocide affected the Syriac communities to the west of Hakkari...along with the Armenians”,²²⁶ in this instance the realm’s porosity proved not just a double-edged sword, but an inescapable one.²²⁷ In contrast to the regimented Turkish system of minority rights and surveillance Becker highlights the fact that “[t]he Qajars did not have a *millet* system”.²²⁸ He explains that instead, “various tribal, religious, and ethnic forces were negotiated through local intermediaries.”²²⁹ Qajar politics then tended to be intensely regional, even local, and extraordinarily relational. Such flexibility allowed for negotiated

Abbott to FO, and enclosures. Per Tsadik see also H. Hakimian, “Wage Labor and Migration: Persian Workers in Southern Russia, 1880-1914,” *IJMES* 17, 1985, pp. 443-62.

²²⁶ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 340.

²²⁷ Becker notes that these events occurring during 1915 “are referred to by Christians in the Syriac church tradition as the *Sayfa* (*Seyfo*), ‘(the year of) the sword.’” Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p.340. Per Becker see also Gabriele Yonan, *Ein vergessener Holocaust: Die Vernichtung der christlichen Assyrier in der Türkei* (Göttingen and Vienna: Pogrom, 1989). Also John Joseph, *The Modern Assyrians of the Middle East* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2000), pp. 131-49.

²²⁸ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 110.

²²⁹ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 110.

stability along pragmatic lines in the absence of significant foreign intervention. Indeed, it was along just such a line that U.S. missions walked in Persia.

Politics and polemics

A century before the *Seyfo* Smith and Dwight described their initial approach east of the Hakkari mountains in the following way:

...the plain of Oormiah opened, projecting for some distance into the lake on the left, and extending up between the mountains on the right. It seemed of great extent and almost perfectly level. A road led directly to the town of Oormiah ... We turned to the left, and were soon surrounded by marks of a dense population and of extreme fertility. Villages were separated but a little from each other, and the fruit trees and poplars around them resembled a continuous forest. Almost every spot was cultivated with grain or cotton ... altogether the finest, the most densely populated and highly cultivated tract we had seen in Asia.²³⁰

As they continued they encountered a Kurdish shepherd who mistook them for Russians and asked “When are you coming to take the country ... ?”²³¹ This echoed another question, which they were asked by the Nestorian bishop Mar Yohannan who wondered when they “thought the authority would pass from the hands of moslem

²³⁰ Eli Smith, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia: Including a Journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833), p. 235. See also Violet Conolly, “The industrialization of Persia,” *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, 22:3, 1935, p. 457.

²³¹ See Eli Smith, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia: Including a Journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833), p. 234.

[sic] into those of Christian kings.”²³² At first Smith and Dwight thought the question Yohannan was asking to be a theological one with reference to millenarian expectations. However, upon clarification they realized, “he was not speaking of latter days ... but to a time not far distant”.²³³ With this recognition Smith and Dwight also better understood that “[t]he salutation of the old Kurd, on the road, was an indication of political discontent”, in which the prospect of sovereign transfer to Russian authority would not be unwelcome, particularly to Kurdish inhabitants little connected to and benefiting less from the social and political ethic of a Persian realm.²³⁴

The expectation of Russian power and intervention is especially notable throughout the Qajar period. Smith and Dwight’s initially conflation of Russia with the second coming is in many ways apposite given the looming sense of presence of this northern neighbor projected as a geostrategic force with existential implications. Russia’s attempts to stoke tensions between the Christian and Muslim communities in Iran in the service of political destabilization,²³⁵ also had religious accompaniment in the form of an Orthodox mission to the region,²³⁶ which provided yet another religious layer and linguistic script to a plain already busy with many peoples. In the northwest

²³² See Eli Smith, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia: Including a Journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833), p. 242.

²³³ See Eli Smith, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia: Including a Journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833), p. 242.

²³⁴ See Eli Smith, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia: Including a Journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833), p. 242. The Kurds, operating at the margins of the Persian territory, were quite excluded from socio-political networks of influence and acceptance although the mission maintained some forms of outreach and recognition. For more on the Kurds specifically and anti-Persian sentiment in this moment see Wadie Jwaideh, *The Kurdish National Movement: Its Origins and Development* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2006), p. 115. See also Abbas Vali, *Kurds and the State in Iran: The Making of Kurdish Identity* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011).

²³⁵ See Emineh Pakravan, *Abbas Mirza, Prince Réformateur* (Tehran, The French-Iranian Institute 1958), I, p. 80.

²³⁶ See Nikolai N. Seleznyov, “The Church of the East & Its Theology: History of Studies,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 74, 2008, p. 123.

border region these included indigenous Iranian Christians, such as the Nestorians and Armenians, as well as the Jewish and Zoroastrian minorities who continued to be subject to forms of a patronage arrangement with the Qajar dynasty. These arrangements, as observed above by Becker, were inflected by a customary religious law rooted in Shi'i Islam. In entering into these arrangements the Qajars were guided by pragmatic concerns that, absent a policy of protectionism, these groups would be left vulnerable to political overtures from an external imperial force, such as Russia, resulting in loss of territory, or subjected more directly to the internal control of Shi'i ulama, resulting in loss of political power.

A typically utilitarian Qajar approach toward minority religions in this regard may be observed in the response to a crisis in the Jewish community of Urmia that occurred during the reign of Fath 'Ali Shah. In 1821 "the disappearance of a Muslim child in Urumiyyah caused 'the Persians' of the city to imprison all the Jews, with the exception of their elderly leader, to kill one of them, and to brutally beat another."²³⁷ Tsadik ascribes the escalation of this incident in part to the importation of "long-standing Christian anti-Jewish motifs" including "allegations of blood libel" that he suggests were being "introduced by Christian missionaries, as well as European merchants and consuls".²³⁸ Following consultation with a mujtahid, 'Abbās Mīrzā, Fath 'Ali Shah's heir, "ordered the immediate release of the Jews."²³⁹ The situation was resolved in characteristic Qajar manner, with deference to religious authority that

²³⁷ Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi 'is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 33. See also Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 75.

²³⁸ Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi 'is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 33.

²³⁹ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 75. Per Algar see also Habīb Levi, *Tārīkh-i Yahūd-i Īrān* (Tehran, 1339 Sh/1960-1961), III, p. 553.

nonetheless communicated decisive monarchical absolutism.²⁴⁰ However, this particular example also illustrates how the “increasing Western penetration of Iran”,²⁴¹ in this instance represented by the blood libel allegations, was changing community dynamics. To wit, two months after the incident, “Rabbi David D’Beth Hillel,” from whom we originally receive the account, “was still apprehensive about walking through the city’s streets”.²⁴² His native space made strange to him, D’Beth Hillel’s narrative demonstrates the precariousness of being for minority religious groups in nineteenth century Urmia and the many ways in which they were made doubly vulnerable – by the internal religious politics of Qajar Persia and the exogenous forces of international actors.

Despite their complicity in such community destabilization the ABCFM were largely welcomed by the Qajars and enjoyed the receipt of several farmans²⁴³ that wrote them into the history of the land through sovereign words that, even if of dubious strength,²⁴⁴ still provided narrative purchase to justify and advance their efforts.

²⁴⁰ See Mehrdad Kia, “The Making of Modern Authoritarianism in Contemporary Iran,” in Nouredine Jebnoun, Mehrdad Kia, Mimi Kirk (eds.) *Modern Middle East Authoritarianism*, (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 73-94.

²⁴¹ Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi ‘is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 33.

²⁴² Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi ‘is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 33.

²⁴³ See especially the supportive *farmans* given to Justin Perkins with reference to education and schooling in 1836 and 1840. These are presented in translation in Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), pp. 287 and 420 respectively. Also notable by way of comparison is the farman issued to the Lazarist Fathers of St. Vincent de Paul in 1840, which prohibited the proselytization of indigenous Christians to new Christian sects. See Heleen L. Murre-van den Berg, “The American Board and the Eastern Churches: The “Nestorian Mission” (1844-1846),” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 65.1, 1999, p. 120. In this article Murre-van den Berg draws on unpublished ABCFM correspondence at Houghton Library, Harvard, specifically: Justin Perkins, ABC 16.8.1 vol. 3, no. 252 (31 Jan 1845). Finally, the 1839 farman given to J.L. Merrick in his role as missionary to the Persians sanctioning educational activity is a notable instance of the first official interreligious cooperation in U.S.-Iran relations. The original of this farman is kept in the U.S. Library of Congress, African and Middle Eastern Division, Washington, D.C.

²⁴⁴ When the 1839 farman was granted to J.L. Merrick the official ABCFM record opined, “[t]he real value of such an instrument can be known only by experiment but probably it is not much, so far as propagating the gospel among Mohammedans is concerned.” See “Persia,” in *Report of the American*

Understanding the rationale for such liberal welcome is helped by knowledge of earlier regional history. From the Qajar side the reform minded ‘Abbās Mīrzā (1789-1833) had been working to stabilize the region against Russia as governor of Azerbaijan. In doing so sought recourse in British people and power. For instance, ‘Abbās Mīrzā even made an “attempt in 1242/1826 to attract, through advertisements in the London press, English agricultural colonists for the Sāvujbalāgh (present day Mahābād) region of Azerbaijan.”²⁴⁵ In light of the extremity of these outreach efforts the reception of a small number of U.S. missionaries, who early on were often associated with the English, or simply taken to be such, seems substantially less dramatic. Missionary zeal met political need at an opportune moment. However, this mutual alignment of elite interests was not without complex social tension. For the missions as well as the Qajars, that tension was often at its height when triangulated with the demands of Shi’i ulama.

The engagement between missionaries and ulama in Iran can be categorized as largely polemical in nature, even if in various forms it was also familiar. Tsadik articulates these dynamics well in his interpretation of the relationship between the Jewish minority and the Shi’i majority. He writes, “[p]olemical relationships constituted one avenue through which communication and discourse – of a certain kind and at a certain level – did exist between the disputant communities.”²⁴⁶ Indeed, he argues, “[t]he very existence of polemical contacts, however, indicates that some Shi’is did

Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Thirty-first Annual Meeting (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1840), p. 112.

²⁴⁵ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p.75. Per Algar see S. Nafīsī, “Jalb-i Muhājirīn-i Urūpā’ī dar Sāl-i 1242,” *Sharq*, I (1310 Sh / 1931-1932), pp. 57-64, 125-127; and *Tārīkh-i Ijtīmā’ī va Sīyāsi-yi Irān dar Daura-yi Mu’āsir* (Tehran, 1340-1344 Sh/1961-1965), II, 144 ff.

²⁴⁶ Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi’is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 31. See also D. Tsadik, “Religious Disputations of Imami Shi’is Against Judaism in the Late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” *Studia Iranica* 34, 2005, pp. 95-135.

not disparage the Jewish minority to the extent of not bothering to interact with it at all. The Jewish worldview was still worthy of a serious and detailed rebuttal.”²⁴⁷ In many ways the model for a mission polemic in Iran worthy of rebuttal was forged twenty years before Smith and Dwight first essayed some form of U.S. evangelical communication in Urmia. In 1811 an Anglican priest serving as a chaplain to the British East India Company, Henry Martyn, entered Iran alone. Martyn was idiosyncratic and almost entirely polemical. He was both a final point on the abandoned foreign mission presences of the Safavid era and a herald for the new foreign missions of the Qajar era. Martyn was unique in his primary place as an evangelical Adam in Iran, and at the same time undeniably embedded in a thick network of diplomatic connections furnished by the British empire.

Like Jonathan Edwards, Martyn’s reputation was burnished more by his intellectual contributions to the history of missions, particularly his co-translation of the New Testament into Persian with Sayyid ‘Alī Nawwāb Shīrazī, than by any sense of achievement relative to the steadily cited but specious rubric of mission success – conversion. Both Martyn and Edwards died rather suddenly of communicable diseases and so to their legacies both have had appended the air of a martyr, but Martyn stands out particularly in the context of Christian missions for the direct, indeed almost combative, way in which he addressed Muslim audiences and peers. Indeed Gleave contends that “Martyn’s brief stay in Iran, and his encounter between 1811 and 1812 with the ‘*ulama*’ of Shiraz, in particular, gave rise to a genre of anti-Christian (or more accurately, anti-Imperialist Christian) literature.”²⁴⁸ Amanat

²⁴⁷ Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi‘is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 31.

²⁴⁸ Robert Gleave, “Preface,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 11.

supports this assessment and identifies the “new theological genre ... as *radd-i padrī* (refuting the padre, as Martyn and other missionaries were known to the Persians).”²⁴⁹ However, Bennett takes a slightly softer tone in his assessment suggesting, “Martyn’s ecumenical openness ... and his concern for spiritual exchange with Muslims have often been obscured by his reluctant use of polemic.”²⁵⁰ Inspired himself by the same David Brainerd who motivated scores of ABCFM missionaries, Martyn, in his legacy, Clinton suggests, “inspired later missionaries ... toward a more irenic approach to Muslims and Islam.”²⁵¹

One of Martyn’s most noted debates was with Mīrza Ibrāhīm Fasā’ī, a *mujtahid* of the Usūlī school. Amanat writes that “a sense of religio-cultural anxiety” followed the debate.²⁵² By 1834, driven by this sense of anxiety, “Shī’ī jurists, philosophers, Sufi scholars and lay writers” had produced “at least twenty-eight ‘refutations of the padre’”.²⁵³ Amanat observes, “[t]he earliest, and in some way the most significant,” of these *radd-i padrī* were “commissioned by the Qajar state and patronized by the influential Mīrza Buzurg Qā’im-Maqā Farāhānī in Azerbaijan.”²⁵⁴ Tabriz and Urmia were two principal cities in the Azerbaijan region of Persia towards which the earliest ABCFM efforts were directed. Therefore, we see that Martyn is crucial to setting the

²⁴⁹ Abbas Amanat, “Mujtahids and Missionaries: Shī’ī responses to Christian polemics in the early Qajar period,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 248.

²⁵⁰ Clinton Bennett, “Martyn, Henry,” in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. Gerald H. Anderson (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 1998), pp. 438-39.

²⁵¹ Clinton Bennett, “Martyn, Henry,” in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. Gerald H. Anderson (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 1998), pp. 438-39.

²⁵² Abbas Amanat, “Mujtahids and Missionaries: Shī’ī responses to Christian polemics in the early Qajar period,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 255.

²⁵³ Abbas Amanat, “Mujtahids and Missionaries: Shī’ī responses to Christian polemics in the early Qajar period,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 256.

²⁵⁴ Abbas Amanat, “Mujtahids and Missionaries: Shī’ī responses to Christian polemics in the early Qajar period,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 256.

stage, as it were, for later ABCFM efforts. It was into this very climate of state supported Shi'i opposition that the ABCFM missionaries following Martyn entered Iran. Yet to view Martyn's importance in terms of an oppositional inheritance is at best entirely reductive, at worst fallacious, and overall fairly boring. According to Amanat, Martyn, and particularly his exchange with Fasā'ī, "deserves to be revisited not so much because it throws light on the largely futile Christian missionary endeavors among the Muslims," which he suggests is "an exhausted and altogether uninspiring topic", but rather "because of the cultural make-up of Martyn and his Shī'ī interlocutors, and the context in which his refutations and the Shī'ī rejoinders were produced."²⁵⁵

Martyn's own presence in Persia both bequeathed and began in anxiety. Prior to his arrival, in a letter of introduction addressed to the new British ambassador to Iran, Gore Ouseley, the East India Company administrator, John Malcolm, who had also served to advance British interests on occasion in Iran before the appointment of a permanent ambassador, wrote, "I told him I thought you would require him to act with great caution and not allow his zeal to run away with him."²⁵⁶ Martyn's zeal can be profitably compared with the zeal of the Shi'i ulama in Iran. Notably both the Qajar and British governments shared concerns about how this zeal would affect the machinery of government; this was also a concern that later U.S. administration figures would voice with regard to U.S. missionaries in Iran. Malcolm's concerns also signal the importance that the British, in the form of the Foreign Office and the

²⁵⁵ Abbas Amanat, "Mujtahids and Missionaries: Shī'ī responses to Christian polemics in the early Qajar period," in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 247.

²⁵⁶ Abbas Amanat, "Mujtahids and Missionaries: Shī'ī responses to Christian polemics in the early Qajar period," in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 249.

British East India Company, understood these mission efforts to have on foreign policy. At the time Malcolm wrote, the British “were reluctant to allow missionary activities in Iran” citing “the recently resumed relations between the two countries”, which were yet tenuous.²⁵⁷ In any case, Martyn made his way to Iran.

Martyn seems to have been prepared for debates with Muslim ulama upon arrival, as en route to Iran he “collected a number of anti-Islamic polemics then in circulation in Europe.”²⁵⁸ It was on reaching Shiraz that he began what actually became series of conversations with Fasā’ī. Fasā’ī was a jurist of note having “studied in Najaf under such prominent scholars as Sayyid ‘Alī Tabatabā’ī.”²⁵⁹ He came from the Usuli school of thought²⁶⁰ and his arguments were distinguished by their use of jurisprudential thought and their deployment of *ijtihad*, or reasoning. Yet the dominance of the Usulis was still in question at the time Martyn arrived in Shiraz and Amanat explains that “*mujtahids* such as Fasā’ī were facing lively competition from the Ni‘matallāhī and Dhahabī Sufis, not to mention closet agnostics.”²⁶¹ Yet all the same, according to Amanat, Fasā’ī seemed to evidence “a spirit of toleration which contrasted not only with Martyn’s zeal, but also with the haughtiness of many ... Usūlī colleagues.”²⁶² However, beyond that personal commendation, Amanat finds

²⁵⁷ Abbas Amanat, “Mujtahids and Missionaries: Shī ī responses to Christian polemics in the early Qajar period,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 249-250.

²⁵⁸ Abbas Amanat, “Mujtahids and Missionaries: Shī ī responses to Christian polemics in the early Qajar period,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 251.

²⁵⁹ Abbas Amanat, “Mujtahids and Missionaries: Shī ī responses to Christian polemics in the early Qajar period,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 251.

²⁶⁰ A part of the largest Shi’i group, the Twelvers, or Ithnā‘ashariyyah.

²⁶¹ Abbas Amanat, “Mujtahids and Missionaries: Shī ī responses to Christian polemics in the early Qajar period,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 252.

²⁶² Abbas Amanat, “Mujtahids and Missionaries: Shī ī responses to Christian polemics in the early Qajar period,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 252. See also: Hasan Fasā’ī, *Fars-nāmih-yi Nāsiri* (2nd edn M. Rastigār-Fasā’ī

“almost nothing new” in the exchange between Fasā’ī and Martyn.²⁶³ He writes, “[f]ew exceptions aside, it could have taken place centuries earlier in Baghdad or al-Andalus or Damascus.”²⁶⁴ Yet he continues:

...what made the debate significant, and controversial, was not so much the text as context. Martyn represented a European movement of religious awakening reacting to the unsettling forces of industrialization and enlivened by the new possibilities in frontiers of an expanding colonial empire. Fasā’ī, and a host of his Iranian co-religionists, who then and later tried to refute Martyn, represented a religio-national community, at least on the surface confident of its own identity, even complacent of its place in the world and not yet fully aware of the torrents of Western military, diplomatic and eventually cultural intrusions which were soon to arrive.²⁶⁵

The ABCFM must surely be numbered as one among those incipient cultural intrusions. Yet just as Amanat argues that the Martyn-Fasā’ī exchange stands “[a]mong the precious few cultural encounters between the Iranians and the Europeans in the early part of the nineteenth century”,²⁶⁶ so too the exchanges in its wake between ABCFM missionaries and individuals across the Qajar realm arguably stand as the earliest ever cultural encounters between Iranians and Americans.

(ed.): Tehran, 1367sh/1989) II, 927-9. Abbas notes that Persian biographies of Fasā’ī do not make record of the meetings with Martyn, which raises the interesting question of the comparative cultural importance of the encounters.

²⁶³ Abbas Amanat, “Mujtahids and Missionaries: Shī’ī responses to Christian polemics in the early Qajar period,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 255.

²⁶⁴ Abbas Amanat, “Mujtahids and Missionaries: Shī’ī responses to Christian polemics in the early Qajar period,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 255.

²⁶⁵ Abbas Amanat, “Mujtahids and Missionaries: Shī’ī responses to Christian polemics in the early Qajar period,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 255.

²⁶⁶ Abbas Amanat, “Mujtahids and Missionaries: Shī’ī responses to Christian polemics in the early Qajar period,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 247.

Shi'ism and the construction of Qajar

Having gained some rough appraisal of the outline of Qajar politics in relation to missions and religious minorities we now turn more fully to the world of Fasā'ī and his co-religionists in order better to essay the “complex relationship between Shi'ism, the Shī'ī, and the Qajar state.”²⁶⁷ Arjomand deftly addresses the early Qajar anxieties and compromises around questions of political leadership and dynastic rule in relation to religion when he writes:

The first Qajar monarchs sought to relate themselves to the Safavids and to continue their tradition of Shi'ite monarchy from the very beginning. Before long, however, they turned for legitimation to the Shi'ite hierocracy whose power and independence had grown imperceptibly but tremendously during the intervening decades of civil strife. Some important Shi'ite jurists responded favorably, and Fath 'Alī Shāh showed his gratitude to the clerical support for the new dynasty with deference, stating, ‘our rulership is on behalf (*bi-niyābat*) of the *mujtahids* of the Age’.²⁶⁸

There can be a tendency, exacerbated by anachronistic association with the 1979 Islamic revolution, to collapse Qajar authority with Shi'i identity. Arjomand helps explain the ways in which this relationship was more complicated. Qajar power was

²⁶⁷ Robert Gleave, “Preface,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 6.

²⁶⁸ Saïd Amir Arjomand, “Political Ethic and Public Law in the Early Qajar Period,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p.21. Per Arjomand see in A. Hā'irī *Nakhustīn rūyārū'ihā-yi andīshagārān-i Īrān bā daw raviya-yi tamaddun-i burjwasī-yi Gharbī* (Tehran, 1367sh/1998), p. 357. See also S.A. Arjomand “The *Mujtahid* of the Age and the *Mullābāshī*: An Intermediate Stage in the Institutionalization of Religious Authority in Shi'ite Iran” in S.A. Arjomand (ed.), *Authority and Political Culture in Shi'ism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), pp. 89-90.

wielded, at least rhetorically, *on behalf* of a religious body. This implies an inherent *separation*. In advancing the idea of Qajar independence from Shi'ism Arjomond identifies a point of sovereign Qajar stability, which he estimates has been “underappreciated ... namely, the decrees of kings and governors.”²⁶⁹ Amongst these decrees he includes the farman, mentioned previously with regard to the ABCFM. From the perspective of Qajar officialdom the issuing of a farman signaled openness to engagement.²⁷⁰ It was a type of executive order, a socio-legal document that was a written manifestation of dynastic authority. The farman did not necessarily establish royal preferment or endorsement. It could equally be used to denounce. In the case of the ABCFM these edict like papers often sanctioned mission ingress, serving in lieu of passports. They also condoned educational activities and on occasion helped secure the protection of a regional governor. Sometimes a farman was simply laudatory, e.g. the farman issued by Fath ‘Alī Shāh “in 1229/1814, at the request of his ‘dear friend, the worthy and respectable Sir Gore Ouseley’, acknowledging the receipt of a manuscript copy of the new translation of the New Testament.”²⁷¹ In this last case Amanat supposes, “[t]hough the *farmān* did not refer to the publication of the New Testament, it is not impossible that Ouseley and later the Bible Society used this decree as an authorization for distributing the printed edition.”²⁷² They functioned as a sort of currency in this way. A significant asset in bureaucratic toolkit, the farman carried the force of law but could materialize from a monarch’s caprice. In some cases they might even be best described as interpersonal communication animated as law.

²⁶⁹ Saïd Amir Arjomand, “Political Ethic and Public Law in the Early Qajar Period,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 22.

²⁷⁰ See Bert G. Fragner, “FARMĀN,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, 2016, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/farman> (accessed 8 November 2017).

²⁷¹ Abbas Amanat, “Mujtahids and Missionaries: Shī ʾ responses to Christian polemics in the early Qajar period,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 264.

²⁷² Abbas Amanat, “Mujtahids and Missionaries: Shī ʾ responses to Christian polemics in the early Qajar period,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 264.

Arjomand argues that these decrees are “‘public law’ in the strict sense, with the proviso that in this period, public law became less ‘public’, as the Qajar rulers did not revive the Safavid practice of inscribing royal decrees in prominent public places for the communities affected by them to read.”²⁷³ Without codification Arjomand argues that Qajar political ethic and enforcement of public law were effectively merged into a single “ethico-normative context.”²⁷⁴ Combined with weak territorial control this merger encouraged the growth of local and regional customary arrangements mediated by provincial governors and popular ulama.

Another structure of governance that marked a distinction between Qajar and Shi‘i roles was the particular parallel justice system at work in nineteenth century Iran. Gleave, in concert with earlier scholarship, identifies a “dual system of religious and secular courts (*shar‘* and *urf*).”²⁷⁵ He also notes that the “relative powers of these two systems, their jurisdiction and the personal responsibility for their operations are matters which have not, yet, come under detailed scrutiny by commentators.”²⁷⁶ However, Algar generally notes an aspect of competition between religious and state justice up until the introduction of a civil code in 1911.²⁷⁷ While it is beyond the scope of this inquiry to delve too deeply into the intricate questions as to the kind and quality of justice achieved by such a dual system we can descriptively assert that

²⁷³ Saïd Amir Arjomand, “Political Ethic and Public Law in the Early Qajar Period,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 22.

²⁷⁴ Saïd Amir Arjomand, “Political Ethic and Public Law in the Early Qajar Period,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 22.

²⁷⁵ Robert Gleave, “Preface,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p.6.

²⁷⁶ Robert Gleave, “Preface,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p.6. Gleave goes on to note the work of Irene Schneider as pioneering in this regard. See Irene Schneider, *The petitioning system in Iran: state, society and power relations in the late 19th century*. Vol. 11. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006).

²⁷⁷ See J. Greenfield, “Die geistlichen Schariagerichte in Persien,” *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, XLVIII, 1934, pp. 157-58.

shar' courts were judged by ulama and *'urf* courts were adjudicated by the state.

Irene Schneider's assessment of "the *'urf* jurisdiction" suggests that it was "characterized by the 'might before right', arbitrariness, corruption and patronage."²⁷⁸ Indeed, she writes, this aspects of the *'urf* courts are "unanimously stated by Persian and European observers."²⁷⁹ Algar adds that some find *'urf* to be analogous to an English common law tradition. However he disagrees with this characterization "since no written records of proceedings were kept, and since the verdicts delivered were not necessarily committed to writing".²⁸⁰ As a result he argues, "it is difficult to see what basis of precedent could have been referred to."²⁸¹ Algar, concurs with Schneider instead that "*'urf* lacked established principles".²⁸² He concludes that it was dispensed "according to the needs of the state at a given time, through the medium of governors of towns."²⁸³ Accordingly, Algar suggests a more apt description of *'urf* would be "arbitrary law."²⁸⁴

The parallel jurisdictions could engender significant conflict or reinforce each other depending on the conditions of the case at hand. Algar offers the following as general examples:

²⁷⁸ Irene Schneider, "Religious and State Jurisdiction During Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh's Reign," *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran*. in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 85.

²⁷⁹ Irene Schneider, "Religious and State Jurisdiction During Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh's Reign," *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran*. in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 85.

²⁸⁰ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 12.

²⁸¹ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 12.

²⁸² Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 12.

²⁸³ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p.12.

²⁸⁴ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 12.

Shar' courts were powerless in that they lacked the ability, for the most part, to enforce their decisions: the execution of verdicts was in the hands of the *dārūgha* or *kadkhudā* (the town or village headman), an appeal to whom by bribery might nullify any decision. Similarly ... [t]he 'shar court might serve as a court of appeal in which a decision reached by 'urf could be reversed.²⁸⁵

The simultaneous existence of 'shar and 'urf courts again underscores how arbitrary and often corrupt rule in the Qajar context was, as well as how the moral edge of the Shi'i majority functioned as a check on its power.

Iranian ulama as power brokers

Algar's thesis, which has figured prominently here, leads to almost inevitably to the idea of an Islamic state. While it is hard to fault his technical arguments there is, at the same time, too little attention paid to minority groups and leaders within the context of his analysis. Where he flourishes is in identifying the Iranian religious and civic majority – the ulama. It may be helpful then to pause briefly, benefit from this focus, and establish some sense of who is encompassed by the term ulama and what the term ulama intends, especially with regard to other distinctions of religious authority or leadership within Shi'i Islam.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁵ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p.13. See Sir Harford Jones Brydges, *Account of the Transactions of His Majesty's Mission to the Court of Persia in the Years 1807-1811* (London: Printed for James Bohn, King William Street, West Strand, MDCCCXXXIV, 1834), p. 407.

²⁸⁶ See also Fatih Varol, "The Politics of the Ulama: Understanding the Influential Role of the Ulama in Iran," *Milel ve Nihal* 13, no. 2, 2016.

An understanding of the power vested in and claimed by the ulama in the Qajar period is essential to attaining some basic understanding of the religious dynamics that the ABCFM would have encountered in due course of living in Qajar Iran, even as they initially chose to focus their efforts on the Nestorian community. Algar himself relies in the first instance upon the work of Henri Corbin. Corbin traces the development of Shi'ism in the Safavid period and demonstrates the ways in which the growth of "something like an official clergy"²⁸⁷ depended on an ability to channel the charismatic power of the Imams²⁸⁸ rather than any formal or vested political influence. The analogy suggested by Mahmood Shehaby as a way to imperfectly illustrate the relationship between imam and ulama in this part of the Shi'i tradition is as follows: the ulama are to the Hidden Imam as the imams are to God.²⁸⁹ By this he means to emphasize a sense of relative difference with regard to the function of each as intermediary. "It would be wrong," underscores Algar, "to conclude from this comparison that the ulama possessed any authority similar to that of the Imams, or that they could legitimately lay claim to infallibility. The resemblance of the ulama to the Imams lies rather in their supplying a living source of reference and leadership for the Shi'a community."²⁹⁰ Yet, according to Algar, "[t]he ulama acted not merely as

²⁸⁷ Corbin, *Pour une Morphologie de la Spiritualité Shî'ite*, *Eranos-Jahrbuch* (Zurich), XXIX (1960), 69. Qtd. in Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 5.

²⁸⁸ For more on the Shi'i concept of imamate, the relationship of the imams to the house of Muhammad and infallibility see Said Amir Arjomand, "The Crisis of the Imamate and the Institution of Occultation in Twelver Shi'ism: A Sociohistorical Perspective," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28, no. 4, 1996, pp. 491-515. See also Hamid Mavani, "Ayatullah Khomeini's Concept of Governance (wilayat al-faqih) and the Classical Shi'i Doctrine of Imamate," *Middle Eastern Studies* 47, no. 5, 2011, pp. 807-824.

²⁸⁹ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 5. See Mahmood Shehaby, "Shi'a," in K.W. Morgan (ed.), *Islam: The Straight Path* (New York: Motilal Banarsidass Pub, 1958), p. 202. See also Said Amir Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam: religion, political order, and societal change in Shi'ite Iran from the beginning to 1890* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

²⁹⁰ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 6.

communal but also as national leaders.”²⁹¹ In using the term national Algar cannot deploy it in a statist sense, where it would logically collect different, more local, communities into a larger structural affiliation dependent upon a network of common cultural and political constructs, because, as he explains, “[n]ational consciousness did not exist as a motive force until considerably later than the Qajar period”²⁹² Rather, he argues, “the prime sense of loyalty was to Islam rather than Iran.”²⁹³ Only over time posits Algar would the majority of people living in Qajar Iran come to the idea that community “was neither purely religious nor purely national, but what may be termed religio-national”,²⁹⁴ an idea summed up most succinctly in Scarcia’s phrase, “the still fresh national voice of Persian Islam.”²⁹⁵ Amended, this turn of phrase used in regard to an early twentieth century context in Iran, would be equally applicable to the United States of the early nineteenth century where the still fresh national voice was arguably one of evangelical Christianity.

Much like Christian missionaries in the U.S., Iranian ulama had the greatest access to learning in Iranian society and were accorded a power associated with that scholarship. The apex of clerical power was occupied by the position of marja‘-i taqlīd.²⁹⁶ Algar clarifies that “none before Shayk Murtadā Ansārī (1216-1281/1801-

²⁹¹ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 24.

²⁹² Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 24.

²⁹³ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 24. Algar credits this argument to “(a)n observation made by an English missionary in Yazd (N. Malcolm, *Five Years in a Persian Town* (London, 1905), pp. 38-39).

²⁹⁴ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 25.

²⁹⁵ Qtd. Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 21. See G. Scarcia, “Kerman 1905: La Guerra tra Šeihī e Bālāsārī,” *Annali del Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, XII, 1963, p. 198.

²⁹⁶ See Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 17. See also Muhammad b. Sulaymān Tunukābunī, *Qisas ul-‘Ulamā*, (Tehran, 1304 Q/1887), p. 163.

1864) was able to establish himself as sole marja‘-i taqlīd.²⁹⁷ This gap in authority, along with the “absence of hierarchic stratification in Shi‘ism” resulted in a very dynamic process whereby lines of authority were most often negotiated in irregular ways. Transmission of authority depended upon those ulama who practiced ijtihād.²⁹⁸ Algar explains, “[a]n aspirant to ijtihād would solicit an *ijāza*, a certificate testifying to his piety and knowledge, from a prominent mujtahid, hoping to gain for himself a share of the respect accorded the mujtahid, but at the same time helping to increase the extent of that respect.”²⁹⁹ Occasionally, however, this kind of aspirational elitism practiced amongst the ulama clashed with popular religious practices such as “*ta‘zīya* and *raudakhvāni* (dramatic performances and recitations commemorating the martyrdom of the Imam Husayn), both of which grew in popularity throughout the Qajar period”.³⁰⁰ These “were considered reprehensible by many ulama.”³⁰¹ Algar explains that “the emotionalism of the *ta‘zīya* ran counter to the scholastic spirit of their learning”, and that the “*raudakhvān*’s (reciters) were, to a certain extent, their rivals in the control of religious loyalties”.³⁰²

²⁹⁷ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 16.

²⁹⁸ Ijtihād can be quite loosely understood as the use of independent reasoning within Islamic jurisprudential thought. One who practices ijtihād is a mujtahid. See Wael B. Hallaq, “Was the gate of ijtihad closed?,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 16, no. 1, 1984, pp. 3-41. See also Bernard Weiss, “Interpretation in Islamic Law: The Theory of Ijtihād,” *The American Journal of Comparative Law* 26, no. 2, 1978, pp. 199-212.

²⁹⁹ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 17. E.g. per Algar see Muhammad b. Sulaymān Tunukābunī, *Qisas ul-‘Ulamā* (Tehran, 1304 Q/1887), p. 155.

³⁰⁰ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 20.

³⁰¹ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 20.

³⁰² Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 20.

Mulla and missionary

In between these two poles of scholarship and popular religious practice fell another group in Qajar society: the mullās (also called ākhūnd’s).³⁰³ These were individuals who “at least made pretensions to religious learning” but at the same time “were in more immediate contact with the people, and even to an extent financially dependent upon them.”³⁰⁴ Indeed, reflecting the way in which the financial stratagems of some mullās occasionally ran afoul of a larger community ethic, phrases such as “[m]ullābāzī (mulla’s tricks) or ākhūndbāzī (ākhūnd’s tricks) became pejorative terms”³⁰⁵ that infiltrated the demotic rhythms of speech.

According to Algar the term mullā refers in the first instance to “one distinguished by his dress and pretensions to knowledge as a member of the religious classes who had not attained the rank of ijtihād”,³⁰⁶ but “it also is used to designate anyone learned or even literate.”³⁰⁷ As a result “the mullā often taught in the local *maktab* (elementary school) or was employed as tutor in private, especially well-to-do, homes.”³⁰⁸ The relationship of mullās to schools had additional implications later in the Qajar period when students (*tullāb*) sometimes doubled as something akin to a local security force.

³⁰³ See Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p.17.

³⁰⁴ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 21. E.g. per Algar see Jane Dieulafoy, *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane* (Paris: Hachette, 1887), p. 56.

³⁰⁵ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 21.

³⁰⁶ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 18. See Algar’s note 73: “It is worth noting, however, that many of the ulama who attained the rank of ijtihād kept the title of “mullā” as part of their popular appellation”.

³⁰⁷ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 18. See Algar note 70 on definitional references in *Burhāni Qatī‘*, ed. Muhammad Mu‘īn (Tehran, 1330 Sh/1952), IV, 2030 and Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāma*, Fasc. I (Tehran, 1325 Sh/1946).

³⁰⁸ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 18.

“Hence,” concludes Algar, “the control of a madrasa was doubly desirable – it offered the financial power of the auqāf³⁰⁹ and the physical strength of the tullāb.”³¹⁰ With regard to the subject of education it is easy to see how, beyond even theological differences, the social roles of the missionary and the mullah would have come into direct conflict. The mission schools could easily have been viewed, not just as sites challenging ideology and culture, but also as more direct and immediate affronts to localized religious power networks and sources of income. Something similar could be said regarding healthcare. Algar notes, “when the Dār ul-Fanūn³¹¹ printed books on the prevention of disease and on the advantages of inoculation, it was decided to distribute them among the mullās so that they might impress the importance of the contents on the people.”³¹² Again, as with social access to education, the presence of mission hospitals and doctors also bedeviled the mullā’s standing as a gatekeeper to knowledge, as well as perhaps his livelihood as folk teacher or pseudo-social worker.

It is telling that in 1932, following a century of U.S. mission presence in Iran and in the midst of a Pahlavi push towards national modernization, Abdolhossein Teymūrtaāsh, who served as First Minister at the Pahlavi Court, made a complaint to Charles Calmer Hart, then U.S. Envoy to Iran, in which he linked mullās and missionaries in terms none too flattering:

³⁰⁹ Loosely the auqāf may be understood as a collection of charitable assets united for some social purpose.

³¹⁰ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 19.

³¹¹ Dār ul-Fanūn was a pioneering institution in the history of higher education in Iran. Envisioned by Amir Kabir, a reformer under Naser al-Din Shah, it opened in 1850 and served as the foundation for the University of Tehran. See Gurney and Nabavi, “Dār al-Fonūn,” *Eh*, Vol. 6, 1993, pp. 662- 668. See also Maryam D. Ekhtiar, “The *Dar al-Funun*: Educational Reform and Cultural Development in Qajar Iran,” Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1994. See also Ann KS. Lambton, “The Impact of the West on Persia,” *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, 1957, pp. 12-25.

³¹² Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 18. See Firūdūn Ādamīyat, *Fikr-i Āzādī va Muqaddima-yi Nihdat-i Mashrūtīyat-i Īrān* (Tehran, 1340 Sh / 1961), p. 49.

Iran wanted ‘all the American education you will send us, but why send us preachers instead of teachers.’ He continued, ‘What would your Government and people think if we were to gather up a group of these dirty old mullahs you see around here and send them over to the United States to teach your people?’³¹³

The communication doubly condemns both sets of religious actors and draws an equivalency between them as being antithetical to the political and developmental interests of the state. Teymūrtāsh’s words of disparagement are admittedly an extreme position that underscores the marked difference between Pahlavi and Qajar approaches to Iran’s religious landscape. At the same time they also reflect a heightened mutual hermeneutic of suspicion and engagement, one that had ebbed in less pronounced fashion throughout the Qajar period, during which time “the state ... appeared (particularly in the provinces) as alien and external”.³¹⁴ Algar suggests that this “common alienation from the state served to bring the nation and the ulama more closely together.”³¹⁵ Yet, excluded from this national union of circumstance and necessity were Zoroastrian, Jewish, Armenian, Assyrian (and of course later Bahá’í) religious minority groups, who then had purchase neither within the snug space of Persian Islam nor with an alien Persian state. While unfair to associate any of these rich cultures with a form of poverty, there remains the fact that the arrival of foreign mission presences in the Qajar context provided some of these minority actors an additional source for social and economic support. And in offering this provision, as

³¹³ Michael Zirinsky, “Render Therefore unto Caesar the Things Which Are Caesar’s: American Presbyterian Educators and Reza Shah,” *Iranian Studies*, vol. 26. no. 3-4, 1993, p. 349.

³¹⁴ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 24.

³¹⁵ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 24.

we have already noted, the missions also brought with them the potential both to destabilize and to rupture the complex community dynamics between these religious minorities and the Shi'i ulama that had evolved over time.

Nation and dhimmah

The relatively favorable treatment that Qajar officials tended to show foreign missionaries in many ways contradicted their status as minorities operating amidst the primary Islamic legal frameworks in which they were enmeshed. We can gain some insight into the depth of this disparity by examining it with reference to Tsadik's study of Shi'i legal attitudes toward the Jewish community in Iran. As a religious minority with strong and influential international support, Iran's Jewish community during the Qajar era provides a helpful point of comparison with the ABCFM. Indeed Tsadik highlights how "[f]oreign pressure elicited concessions on the part of Iran in favor of the Jews, culminating in the Shah's 1873 pronouncement of equality for the Jews".³¹⁶ This, he notes, was "in marked contrast to the status of religious minorities under Islam."³¹⁷ In the Qajar realm imperial anxieties with regard to external influence appear to have inoculated, in theory, certain minority groups with strong or essential foreign national connections from minority discrimination on the basis of religion. Yet the "rule of colonial difference" was also in effect. The ABCFM, as a colonial presence, were "granted political, economic, and social privileges", which were denied to other minorities.³¹⁸ Julian Go observes that in many colonial contexts

³¹⁶ Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi'is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 4.

³¹⁷ Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi'is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 4.

³¹⁸ Julian Go, "'Racism' and colonialism: Meanings of difference and ruling practices in America's Pacific empire," *Qualitative Sociology* 27, no. 1, 2004, p. 36. See also Partha Chatterjee, *The nation*

this kind of “hierarchy was typically sustained by claims that the latter were racially inferior.”³¹⁹ A variant of these dynamics is visible in the Qajar context as well. Becker, in analyzing how the ABCFM contributed to the emergence of a more positivistic culture of ethnoreligious distinction in Iran, suggests that the mission apprehension of national differences was sometimes racialized through a religious framework.³²⁰ This occurred, he suggests, when “a Protestant emphasis on ... biblical themes ... combined with nineteenth-century American biological theories about race and the racializing effects of culture, which were distinct from local notions of race or genus.”³²¹ He also notes, “[t]his racialization frequently played on themes deriving from the Western discourse on Jewish difference”.³²² In this way, “the Syriac tradition”, including the Nestorian communities with whom the ABCFM engaged, “was recast as a Semitic, ethnic, nonuniversal other against Western Christianity”.³²³ Becker notes “some irony” in this given that “the Syriac tradition ... had its own strong trend of anti-Judaism”.³²⁴

However, our attention to the status of Jewish minorities in the Qajar realm relative to ulama demands we frame our investigation more narrowly with regard to trends in Shi'ism. Tsadik focuses his discussion of the *dhimma* (protection) clauses relevant to

and its fragments: Colonial and postcolonial histories (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 19 and 33.

³¹⁹ Julian Go, ““Racism” and colonialism: Meanings of difference and ruling practices in America's Pacific empire,” *Qualitative Sociology* 27, no. 1, 2004, p. 36.

³²⁰ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 31.

³²¹ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 31. See also Craig R. Prentiss (ed.), *Religion and the creation of race and ethnicity: An introduction* (New York: NYU Press, 2003), 6-7.

³²² Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 31.

³²³ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 31.

³²⁴ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 31.

Jewish peoples around their presentation in Muhammad Hasan Najafi's (d. 1266/1850) commentary on the Usuli jurist Najm al-Din al-Muthaqqiq's (d. 676/1277) work, *Sharai' al-Islam*. According to Tsadik legal works such as Najafi's were extremely important for understanding how "the Iranian authorities, Shi'i ulama, and large sectors of Muslim society" understood the *dhimmah* community.³²⁵ He goes so far to claim, "[t]he significance of this material for understanding the status of Iranian Jews in the nineteenth century cannot be overemphasized."³²⁶ As "[t]he *dhimmah* regulations were regarded as part of a Pact ('*ahd*;' '*aqd*') between the Muslim authorities and the people of the Book³²⁷ who dwell under Muslim authority" we can understand them in theory to also be applicable to the ABCFM and other foreign mission actors in Persia. Thus, while Tsadik's arguments are specific to the Jewish minority in Iran, his conclusions have implications that extend further to other religious minorities.

Humiliation and embarrassment in law and society

One aspect of the *dhimmah* regulations that touched all minorities was the *jizyah*, which Tsadik identifies as "one of the fundamental components of the *dhimmah* contract."³²⁸ The *jizyah* was "an annual tax imposed on *dhimmis*...as a poll tax or on a per capita basis"; subject to imamate³²⁹ decision it could "be paid in cash or kind

³²⁵ Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi'is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 16.

³²⁶ Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi'is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 16.

³²⁷ It is worth underscoring, especially in this context, that Zoroastrians are also taken as "people of the Book." See Ismail Albayrak, "The People of the Book in the Qur'an," *Islamic Studies*, 2008, pp. 301-325.

³²⁸ Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi'is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 25.

³²⁹ Tsadik also addresses the issue of *jizyah* implementation the problem of occultation (*ghaybah*). He turns to Abu al-Qassim Qummi's (d. 1231/1816) *fatwa* collection in which he finds "that the obligation of the *jizyah* holds even during the absence of the Imam." Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi*

(*'urund*).³³⁰ Tsadik's assessment, via Najafi, is that one of the purposes of the *jizyah* was to inculcate a sense of humiliation. According to Tsadik, such humiliation may even have been leveraged "occasionally in order to encourage them to embrace Islam."³³¹ Specifically, he explains, "[w]hat causes the *saghar*, humiliation, is that a *dhimmi* payer of the *jizyah* is obligated to pay whatever is demanded of him and does not know the rate at which he is being taxed every year."³³² Tsadik even locates "in some facets of the *jizyah*" what he identifies as "need to humiliate".³³³ According to Tsadik this impulse toward humiliation is related to a Shi'i "elitist worldview" in which "Imani Shi'i literature assigns Shi'is an inherently superior status in relation to all other human beings, non-Imami Muslims included."³³⁴

Such a stance of superiority was a direct affront to Qajar administrators who pushed back on occasion by expressing their embarrassment with Shi'i leaders. Perkins, for instance, while in the midst of a conversation with the governor of Urmia observed: "Two moollâhs sat by and he was evidently embarrassed by their presence."³³⁵ However, despite the emotive slight, Perkins calculated the greater balance of power to be in the mullahs' favor. Following his initial observation about the governor's embarrassment he wrote, "[l]ike all Persian governors, however, he is doubtless, more

'is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 26.

³³⁰ Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi 'is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 25

³³¹ Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi 'is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 25

³³² Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi 'is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 25

³³³ Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi 'is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 25.

³³⁴ Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi 'is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p.16.

³³⁵ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p.184.

or less a creature of the *moollâhs*.”³³⁶ He continued, “[w]hile the latter are quiet, the missionary can have protection and pursue his labors; but he must expect to desist, or depart from the field even, if they demand it.”³³⁷ Clearly Perkins understood himself and the ABCFM to have been subject to the same Shi’i influence that bound Jews and other people of the Book in a restrictive and dependent regulatory framework.

Minority architectures

This same framework controlled many aspects of daily life and living for minorities in Qajar Iran. Its injunctions included:

Not to Establish a House of Worship
(*Kanisah*), Not to Play the Bell (*Naqus*),
Not to Build a Tall (or: Taller) Building³³⁸

According to Tsadik “[t]hese three prohibitions constitute one article in the Pact.”³³⁹ He continues, “[i]f religious freedom is generally granted to the people of the Book, Muslims still took care to mark its boundaries, thereby reminding non-Muslims of the Law and authority to which they are subject.”³⁴⁰ Specifically, Tsadik notes, “[t]he superiority of Islam is also manifested through the third aforementioned requirement; not to build high buildings or buildings taller than those of the Muslims.”³⁴¹ And so,

³³⁶ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p.184.

³³⁷ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 184.

³³⁸ Qtd. Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi’is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 27.

³³⁹ Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi’is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 27.

³⁴⁰ Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi’is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 27.

³⁴¹ Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi’is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 27.

he argues, “Islam’s superiority is thus visually and palpably emphasized by the architectural landscape.”³⁴²

This last prohibition became an important one as the ABCFM’s presence in Persia grew and took physical form through the construction of various edifices. When he arrived in Urmia Perkins found the Nestorian church there “built of stone and brick, on, or rather *in*, an elevated spot, all but the roof being imbedded in the ground.”³⁴³ It offers an example of obedience to the injunction not to build buildings taller than Islamic structures. In Urmia, as Perkins points out, there was “an immense mosk – the only one in the city ... surmounted with a dome and cupola – which was once a christian church.”³⁴⁴ The comparison could not have been clearer. The urban mosque cast a proud silhouette to which the collective point of Nestorian religious expression was constantly bowed in deference.

It was in this context and against this small skyline that Perkins “rode to Gavalân, with Mar Yohannan, to make arrangements for commencing a rude building” himself.³⁴⁵ He noted:

Scarcely had we laid the foundations ... when the selfish
Mūhammedan nobleman, who farms the village ... sent his
son, at the head of eight or ten armed ruffians, who fell upon

³⁴² Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi ‘is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 28.

³⁴³ Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi ‘is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 177.

³⁴⁴ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 178.

³⁴⁵ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 377.

our workmen, beat them severely and drove them from their work...³⁴⁶

The building in question was envisioned by the missionaries to serve as a “health-retreat”.³⁴⁷ Several of them had struggled with the climate and Judith Grant had recently died of “fever”.³⁴⁸ However, it is entirely unclear if the purpose of the new building was transparent to the surrounding community. Following the initial sally the group “then seized the unoffending bishop, Mar Yohannan, tied him to a cart and brutally bastinadoed him”.³⁴⁹ It is worth noting that it is Yohannan here, the head of the Nestorian community who is humiliated and hurt while Perkins is left unmolested. Had it been understood as the start of a church, depending on *dhimmah* stipulations, it could have been seen as impermissible as “new (*istinaf*) houses of worship” could be disallowed under the “rationale” that “these places are houses of error (*dadal*)”.³⁵⁰ Were this the case, there is an ironic symmetry to be observed in the mission’s construction being rejected with such certainty as a site for the transmission of incorrect knowledge.

Perkins imagines Yohannan’s punishment to have been “for the alleged crime of having invited the missionaries to the village”, however, given the general context of construction, even absent conclusive evidence of a religious function, it is possible that the offending element was the building’s potential rather than its presence or that

³⁴⁶ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 378.

³⁴⁷ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 377.

³⁴⁸ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 377.

³⁴⁹ Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 378.

³⁵⁰ Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi ‘is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 28.

of the missionaries. According to Najafi, “the buildings (*dur*) of the *dhimmis* should not be higher than those of Muslims, nor even equal to them in height.”³⁵¹ Of course, presence and potential are interconnected and absent additional primary evidence it is futile to speculate as to whether this project was seen as affront to the aforementioned pact for any of the above reasons. Indeed, Tsadik as much admits, “[w]hether all the above laws were actually implemented in the reality of the nineteenth century is not known.”³⁵² However, even gleaning how the trace elements of this legal framework may have functioned in a piecemeal fashion, or the idea of categorical superiority presented itself as a normative, if sometime unrealized, state of affairs, helps to extend our understanding of the ambient impact of a popular religious majority in Qajar Persia.

The episode above also helps en flesh our understanding of the politics that were constantly being negotiated between the Qajar court and the provincial forces of a Shi'i majority. Merrick, drawing upon a relationship that was carefully cultivated, apparently from both sides, referred the incident involving Perkins and Yohannan at Gavalân to the prince Malik Kasim Mirza (1807-62), who broached the topic directly with Mohammad Shah Qajar. The result was a reply from the shah commending the missionaries to the prince governor of Azerbaijan, Kāmran Mīrzā, and instructing the governor to punish the local noble who had led the attack. Mirza seems to have used his position as a point of exchange in the incident to secure a post as “chief of the public schools in Azerbaijân”, a role³⁵³ for which he simultaneously relied on the

³⁵¹ Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi 'is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 29.

³⁵² Daniel Tsadik, *Between Foreigners and Shi 'is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 29.

³⁵³ See Arian Ishaya, “Ethnicity, Class, and Politics: Assyrians in the History of Azerbaijan 1800-1918,” *Journal of the Assyrian Academic Society*, 1990, p. 10. This would also have allowed Mirza to

mission for a structural model³⁵⁴ The missionaries received symbolic restitution and real assurance of support, and the shah was offered an opportunity to demonstrate the reach of his power. Additionally, response to the incident provided the Qajars an opportunity to shore up relations with an international element in the realm, the ABCFM, that was well aligned with English empire, had demonstrated its capacity to provide local educational opportunities, and was simultaneously acting as a check on the power of the mullahs. All these reasons may help account for the fact that the shah answered the query regarding the incident “*with his own hand* on the head of the petition presented by the prince”.³⁵⁵ He wrote:

Kahramân Meerza:

Those learned men [meaning the missionaries] must be held in honor; especially the holy stranger who has come from the New World at his own expense, and teaches knowledge to our subjects. By all means, inquire into the wishes of his heart, and cause him to be satisfied. Let him erect a dwelling for himself there. And that man, Nazir Ali Khan, who has so much annoyed the man from the New World, you must surely punish.³⁵⁶

The clear and uncompromising license to build is striking. Mohammad Shah Qajar appears to sanction not only the health retreat, but the missionary enterprise itself. In this way, through this farman, he tears down the strictures *dhimmah* regulations and

pursue his interests in European science and technology. See Jennifer Scarce, “Some Interpretations of Religious and Popular Culture in Qajar Tilework,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 430.

³⁵⁴ Qtd. Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians with notices of Muhammadans* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1843), p. 397.

³⁵⁵ Justin Perkins, *A residence of eight years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians: with notices of the Muhammedans* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1843), p. 397. See also See p. 397, note, where Perkins observes, “The *desti-khōd* – *autograph*, of the king, on any document, is regarded as a mark of great respect shown to the person or party in favor of whom it is given, and as imparting special authority to the document itself. The king’s seal, and this only, is usually affixed by the secretaries.”

³⁵⁶ Qtd. Justin Perkins, *A residence of eight years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians: with notices of the Muhammedans* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1843), p. 397.

exempts the ABCFM from them. By offering this kind of *carte blanche* to Perkins (inquire into the wishes of his heart, and cause him to be satisfied) the shah opened a space for the ABCFM's utopic designs. It was a moment in which evangelical desire was met by the "*padishah-i islam panah ki vali-yi amr ast* (padishah protector of Islam who is guardian of the command of God)".³⁵⁷ And so far from being polemical, it must have seemed rather uncanny.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have sought to establish the way in which the decentralized and weak nature of Qajar rule shaped and related to minority religious communities, particularly Christian and Jewish communities, as well as the varied ways that the Qajar dynasty vied with the power of the Shi'i ulama as they navigated the politics of governing a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, Muslim majority realm. By focusing on regional and local differences we have been able to identify the highly relational political methodologies that guided a Qajar approach to questions of borders, freedom of movement and religious freedoms, particularly in the forms of royal decrees and a parallel justice system. And by analyzing the politics of internal power struggles and external imperial influences we were able to determine the rationale for a mission foothold from the Qajar perspective. We have also considered the ways in which the ABCFM presence accentuated Christian-Muslim communal differences through a mission framework that was initially overtly focused on Nestorian communities. By acknowledging the violence linked to the mission presence we discovered how in the

³⁵⁷ Honorific by which Haji Mirza Aqasi, a Ni'matollahi with significant influence on Muhammad Shah, addressed him in a letter. Qtd. in Vanessa Martin, *Islam and Modernism: The Iranian Revolution of 190*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 1989), p. 20.

absence of understanding or admiration attempts at textually based minority/majority religious transmission, where correctness is a guiding value, are prone to conflict.

In reflecting on the above and studying the compression of religion and nationality in ABCFM efforts to shape indigenous epistemological attitudes we were able to extend previous analyses of the cultural forces of nineteenth century evangelical revivalism to the context of Iran. This allowed us to argue that the presence of U.S. missionaries in Iran had significantly detrimental effects on community cohesion across ethno-national lines, despite simultaneously standing as an early achievement in the intercultural relationship between the U.S. and Iran. In the next chapter we will work to extend our comprehension of the tension between these two mutually implicated outcomes by applying a variety of interpretive approaches to gain a better understanding of the mission ethic.

CHAPTER 3: Perspectives, Understanding, and Power

Introduction

Throughout the last two chapters we have undertaken a critical process of comparative and relational remembering. By juxtaposing and interrogating the ideas of normative ethnohistories we have highlighted the diversity of encounters and interaction between persons and institutions constituting an early U.S.-Iran transnational timeline. In doing so we have worked to break down binary ideas of religious exclusivity and national essentialism. In the following chapter we will work to address the problem of perspective within this complex history in order to demonstrate how questions of intercultural understanding and comprehension in this context depend upon architectural, economic, intellectual, religious, national, aesthetic, and geographic sightlines. As we continue to interpret the idea of a return to a point of origin this chapter provides a plethora of crosscutting perspectives that place U.S. mission impulses within larger contexts of international influence and domestic reform in Iran. By engaging a dynamic interpretive method that moves between multiple contrasting points of view we are able to winnow through the thicker husks of hermeneutic hegemony attending interpretations of ABCFM and Presbyterian mission work in Iran; this exposes them to the currents of minority, external, and changing perspectives. In this chapter we find those perspectives in the observations of an Austrian traveller, the memoirs of an Episcopal priest, an article in an Assyrian periodical, and a column in the revolutionary newspaper *Sur-e Esrafil*. This winnowing work also leaves us with a better sense of what is significant about the mission ethic of recognition and thus how its quality of moral interaction may be defined across various incarnations and times.

The hermeneutics of liberation

The development of any hermeneutic may be understood as a project of liberation.³⁵⁸

Hermeneutical liberation is a social form of liberation with individual consequences that is ultimately grounded in an instance or instances of human understanding.³⁵⁹

Francis Mootz and George Taylor write, “[u]nderstanding is our primary means of participation in, and belonging to, the world ... [t]he primary task hermeneutics takes for itself is to think through the nature of human understanding.”³⁶⁰ Within this stream of thought, the freedom envisioned as a product, or by-product, of any hermeneutical process is itself experienced through the related activities of participation and belonging. As such, the freedom found in hermeneutical work is most often bounded by the context of the very personal and cultural forms to which hermeneutical access is sought. Thus, being able to view the unshaded countenance of another, or view with a view akin to that which another’s cultural position offers, is made possible, and in turns makes possible the reconsideration of one’s own countenance and one’s own cultural point of view.³⁶¹

In this sense the freedom of hermeneutics is a freedom that offers an understanding of limits, in all likelihood because its search is premised upon the assumption of forms

³⁵⁸ See Andrea Deciu Ritivoi, “Hermeneutics as Project of Liberation: The Concept of Tradition in Paul Ricoeur and Hans-Georg Gadamer,” in Francis J. Mootz III. and George H. Taylor (eds.), *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics* (London: Continuum, 2011), pp. 63-82.

³⁵⁹ Francis Mootz and George Taylor, “Introduction” in Francis J. Mootz III. and George H. Taylor (eds.), *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics* (London: Continuum, 2011), p. 1.

³⁶⁰ Francis Mootz and George Taylor, “Introduction” in Francis J. Mootz III. and George H. Taylor (eds.), *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics* (London: Continuum, 2011), p. 1.

³⁶¹ See Friedrich Ast, *Grundlinien der Grammatik, Hermeneutik und Kritik* (Landshut: Jos. Thomann, Buchdrucker und Buchhändler, 1808): “The foundational law of all understanding and knowledge” is “to find the spirit of the whole through the individual, and through the whole to grasp the individual”... Translation cited in C Mantzavinos, “Hermeneutics,” *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2016 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2016/entries/hermeneutics/>

that are delimited in a certain way. A tacit respect for these limits, even when the freedom is afforded, or discovered, to move between them, is the way in which the value of participation in, and of belonging to, dominant or normative social forms is signaled. Yet, occasionally, the freedom that is realized through hermeneutical practice may be arguably greater, leading to instances where the previously sacrosanct bounds of cultural traditions are enlarged or transformed, or individuals undergo some form of self-rupture that leads to new wisdom emerging like Athena springing from Zeus. In these calving moments movement occurs from an entrenched position to a new identity or way of being in the world. In such cases the act of participation is more likely to be realized in the negative terms of rejecting dominant or normative social forms, while a sense of belonging may remain elusive, or, like the sheltering roof of a new house under construction, be anticipated, but not experienced.

Moving through this range of possibilities related to the project of hermeneutical liberation helps us begin to sketch some theoretical designs around the various U.S. missions in Iran. Mootz and Taylor suggest that, “[i]n the contemporary globalized environment where many people seem different from us, understanding renders the seemingly strange more familiar.”³⁶² This is related in part to what Freud describes as the uncanny³⁶³ and which for him is related to feelings of fear around that which is both familiar and alien. As we have seen in the history of U.S. missions in Iran, the globalized environment is not time limited in scope, but rather stretches and echoes

³⁶² Francis Mootz and George Taylor, “Introduction” in Francis J. Mootz III. and George H. Taylor (eds.), *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics* (London: Continuum, 2011), p. 1.

³⁶³ See Sigmund Freud, “The ‘Uncanny’” in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Volume XVII (1917-1919): An Infantile Neurosis and Other Work* (London: Vintage, 1955), pp. 217-256. I am also indebted to Susannah Heschel’s (Dartmouth) unpublished paper, “The Philological Uncanny: German-Jewish Readings of the Qur’an during the Long Nineteenth-Century,” presented at the Mellon funded Summer School held at the University of Cambridge Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences and the Humanities, 1 July- 13 July 2018, for raising this category of uncanny in the context of inter-religious exchanges.

across various eras; this expansive sense of time with its instances of repetition is another contributing factor to an uncanny air. Nineteenth and twentieth century missions are an aspect and enabler of the complex and long standing development of a globalization that is perennially glossed as being “contemporary.” This is all the more reason to take the challenge of rendering the seemingly strange more familiar seriously – in order to discern whether such movements toward understanding have been conducive to irenic and integrative action, served as a causeway to conflict, or had less robust functions, e.g. tripped a switch of toleration that regulates and preserves spaces of difference.

As regards the impulse towards understanding, in other words the hermeneutic turn, there can be a crude division made between those missionaries who approached the work with some sense of hermeneutical sensitivity and those who were otherwise rooted in what “Karl-Otto Apel (1985) has called the ‘dogmatic-normative’ traditions of epistemology and metaphysics.”³⁶⁴ The organizing logic at the foundation of the ABCFM was dogmatic-normative. Geographic spaces were envisioned as knowledge deserts; a particular form of Christian doctrine was understood as necessarily corrective and essentially normative.³⁶⁵ This epistemological framework, enshrined constitutionally in the organization’s creation, led to a rigid form of knowledge projection that was incapable of simultaneous reception and either agnostic or antipathetic to mutual forms of negotiated understanding. In short, there was little of the curiosity present that drives good hermeneutical work. Instead there was a posture of solid certitude.

³⁶⁴ David G. Smith, “Hermeneutic Inquiry: The Hermeneutic Imagination and the Pedagogic Text,” in Edmund C. Short (ed.), *Forms of Curriculum Inquiry* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), p. 188.

³⁶⁵ Qtd. in Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (New York: MW Dodd, 1842), p. 27.

The geography of understanding

According to Hutchison the “‘opening’ of the non-Western world,” was taken not as opportunity for exchange and learning, but rather “as God’s warrant for Christian expansion” and “helped forge a fundamental link between missions and imperialism.”³⁶⁶ The idea of “God’s warrant” in this instance is profitably contrasted with royal farmans that enabled ABCFM ingress to Persia. The one seized strategically upon a geopolitical theology to effect a strategy of religious expansion; the other strategically opened its religious geopolitics to combine a strategy of religious containment with programme of imperial containment. This spatial dimension is mirrored in the way that the militancy of foreign missions’ certitude in the 1820s and 1830s condenses around a fortress metaphor. This occurs self-referentially, i.e. with the internal certitude being walled off in defense, yet it also can be seen in the way other religious systems of knowledge are envisioned. For instance, a young Horatio Southgate “figured the Islamic world as ‘a ruined fortress entrenched by a high mound and a deep mote.’”³⁶⁷

Southgate was an Episcopal missionary from Maine,³⁶⁸ though despite the denominational distinction is quite clear that Perkins and Southgate were in conversation as mission contemporaries from the U.S. in Persia. Indeed, Perkins, in

³⁶⁶ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 60.

³⁶⁷ Timothy Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 127.

³⁶⁸ Horatio Southgate, *Narrative of a Tour Through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia and Mesopotamia: With Observations on the Condition of Mohammedanism and Christianity in Those Countries*, Vol. 2 (London: Tilt and Bogue, 1840). See also Charles T. Bridgeman, “Mediterranean Missions of the Episcopal Church from 1828-1898,” *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 31, no. 2, 1962, pp. 95-126.

the introduction to his first travel narrative asserts, “much assistance has been derived from the map of Smith and Dwight and from that of Mr. Southgate.”³⁶⁹ However, Southgate and Perkins initially shared an interest not only in the cartography of the land itself, but also in ideas of territorial control, as well as the semi-militant hermeneutic structures, with their attendant ideas of cultural separation, that enabled and excused these ideas. This is best exemplified in Perkins’s initial description of the ABCFM Urmia mission:

Thus, far away in a benighted land, and in the heart of a
Muhammedan city,
We are a garden, walled around,
Chosen and made peculiar ground,
A little spot, enclosed by grace,
Out of the world's wide wilderness.³⁷⁰

Tellingly, the poetic portion of Perkins’s text is a quote from an Isaac Watts hymn. The text that constructs his meaning in a foreign land has no local reference; it is one that was already a traditional part of his own *weltanschauung*, and which he has imported with him and intends to reproduce. Indeed, as Becker notes, one of the mission publications in Urmia would eventually be the translated works of Isaac Watts.

Texts such as the Watts, alongside those of Philip Dodderidge, another reproduction from the mission press, were intended as manuals for “self analysis” in a “process of searching for signs ... to true faith” and were used by the mission in this way coherent

³⁶⁹ Justin Perkins, *A residence of eight years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians: with notices of the Muhammedans* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1843), p. vii.

³⁷⁰ Justin Perkins, *A residence of eight years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians: with notices of the Muhammedans* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1843), p. 542.

with their original purpose.³⁷¹ As such these printings formed “an important part of the introspection of conversion” that the mission attempted to advance through a “semiotic ideology” within which the Muslim majority culture and the cultural light of the Nestorian tradition were equally effaced.³⁷² Perkins made no attempt to solve, resolve, or appreciate a palimpsest because he did not see one. Instead, as if he were viewing gold under an x-ray, an element that has such a density it displays as blackness, Perkins saw only a “benighted” space. Rather than engage with any seriousness with what he took to be darkness he instead sought to emphasize, preserve and project his own transplanted community across the difference. The ruined fortress remained unknown.

It is perhaps unfair to expect anything different from Perkins. As Becker notes, his ideas, rather than being generative, are “representative of his day.”³⁷³ And Perkins was representative of the ABCFM’s founding culture as well. Referring to one of the ABCFM founders, Samuel Worcester, and his 1815 “Christian survey of the Pagan world”, Hutchinson notes that he “concluded that, without exception, those outside Christianity ‘have no good hope.’”³⁷⁴ Worcester wrote, “their religion...does not dissipate the darkness which heavily broods over them, thickening into the blackness

³⁷¹ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 195.

³⁷² Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 195.

³⁷³ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 134. Becker makes this observation in the course of pursuing a brief and ultimately abandoned comparison between Perkins and John Stuart Mill.

³⁷⁴ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 47-48.

of eternal night!”³⁷⁵ The degree to which this dualism of us/them and light/dark is related to a legacy of dissenting and non-conformist communities in the context of U.S. evangelical revivalism exceeds the scope of this inquiry. It is suffice to note how physical attributes such as darkness were ascribed to a foreign other’s religion and intellect. Such descriptions may also be read as evidence of the conflict between foreign mission outreach and simultaneous impulses toward domestic reform. A more conservative argument for domestic duty at times bristled against the perceived necessity of novel external action.

Hutchison addresses this secondary oppositional tension when he rehearses the mission arguments “against those who thought the churches’ resources, however, abundant, should be spent at home.”³⁷⁶ While acknowledging that “Christendom itself presents scenes for pious exertion,”³⁷⁷ the argument ran that “[p]agan conditions...were vastly worse than those in the apostate regions of Christendom.”³⁷⁸ Such arguments made any idea of relative religious virtue entirely untenable. As Hutchison explains, “[t]his kind of invective betrayed ignorance (or studied obliviousness) even to what Jesuits and other Westerners had learned about Eastern religions; and it was scarcely suggestive of the compassion or human understanding in those who voiced it.”³⁷⁹ Therefore, while “compassion was central to the response

³⁷⁵ Qtd. in William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 48. See Worcester, *Paul on Mars Hill*, p. 26.

³⁷⁶ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 58-59.

³⁷⁷ Qtd. in William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 48. Worcester, *Paul on Mars Hill*, p. 27.

³⁷⁸ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 48.

³⁷⁹ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 48.

people like Worcester were proposing”³⁸⁰ such compassion depended on a construction of the other that voided positive qualities. It placed them amidst a knowledge desert and saw them as epistemologically empty, in order that it could then obviously deploy a hermeneutic of salvation.

Interestingly, the difference, according to Hutchison, between the “new errand” of missions emanating from the “new nation” of the U.S. and the work which the ABCFM’s Puritan predecessors had attempted in the evangelism and colonization of North America was exactly this motive force of compassion. The move towards a discourse of compassion can be traced in part to Hopkins interpretation of Edwards. According to Hutchinson, “[e]ven ‘the greater glory of God’ had receded to the background as an argument for missions, while benevolence and compassion had assumed leading places.”³⁸¹ On this point, however, Hutchison, while unmistakably describing the real contours of an emotive force grounded in a new socio-national theology of benevolence, seems overly ready to abandon the imaginative and experiential construct of a “wilderness” experience that continued to unite these alternate era approaches to religious action.

Perry Miller famously set forth an argument as to how Perkins’s American predecessors in mission saw themselves as being engaged in “an errand into the wilderness.”³⁸² Perkins, despite travelling great distance with missionary intention,

³⁸⁰ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 48.

³⁸¹ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 48. See also Beaver, “Missionary Motivation,” pp. 139-47.

³⁸² See Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1956). See also David Hollinger’s more recent, if tentative, invitation to reconsider the reception of Miller’s “big idea” approach in the Society for U.S. Intellectual History’s “Classic Series” of retrospective book reviews: Robert Green II. (ed.), “David A. Hollinger on Reconsidering Perry Miller’s *Errand into the*

admits his first action, even following assiduous efforts at language acquisition, is to found a cloistered, sectarian community, seemingly less interested in the transformation of the world than in retreat and protection from it. The irony in this is exacerbated by the fact that the walled garden, a staple of local architecture, has been appropriated by Perkins and transformed into a fortification against an aspect of the very culture from which it emerged, thus wrenching meaning from indigenous form. Writing on the very subject of Persian gardens Vita Sackville-West reminds us, “the beautiful word ‘Paradise’ is one of the few that the English language owes to a Persian derivation. *Pairidaēza*, from *pairi*, ‘around’, and *diz*, ‘to form or mould’, meant an enclosure or park, as in modern Persian *firdaus* still means a garden or paradise.”³⁸³ The simplistic dualism upon which Perkins relies here, predicated upon physical separation and ideational protection suggests a complex, and perhaps fundamental, lack of awareness, or to use Hutchinson’s term, “studied obliviousness” on the part of the ABCFM of the many ways in which physical presence and intellectual formation are intertwined.³⁸⁴ That this approach was not unique to Perkins is clear by way that the first ABCFM scouts in the region, Smith and Dwight, reacted to similar structures. For instance, on their first approach to Urmia they saw that “[v]ineyards were numerous in every part, and like the gardens were invariably enclosed by a wall ... Both the vineyards and the gardens generally contained small houses, which reminded us of Matt. 21:33 and Is. 1:8”.³⁸⁵ The immediate turn was not to local context, but to their own predetermined biblical hermeneutic. The Matthew

Wilderness (1956),” July 19, 2015: <https://s-usih.org/2015/07/david-a-hollinger-on-reconsidering-perry-millers-errand-into-the-wilderness-1956/>

³⁸³ V. Sackville-West, “Persian Gardens,” in A.J. Arberry (ed.), *The Legacy of Persia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953).

³⁸⁴ See also Nikki R. Keddie and Rudolph P. Matthee (eds.), *Iran and the surrounding world: interactions in culture and cultural politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), p. 185.

³⁸⁵ Eli Smith, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia: Including a Journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833), p. 254.

passage is known as the parable of the tenants and describes a landowner's attempts to collect a harvest from rented land and tenants who refuse to yield it. The Isaiah passage, using metonymic representation, speaks of a daughter of Zion and likens her to such a garden, abandoned. In both instances it would seem that Smith and Dwight are projecting alternate fantasies of combative and restorative salvation onto the people of Urmia by attempting to locate and fix them in Biblical paradigms, thus sublimating their living reality to a textual one even, perhaps especially, before any form of interaction.

The architecture, economics, and religious habit of understanding

Glancing ahead we can see how the palimpsestic process of cultural overwriting becomes both more entrenched, as well as more attentive to positive cultural content, in the construction of much later buildings, such as Rolleston Hall – part of what Abbas Amanat terms the Alborz American Presbyterian College, but which herein will be referred to as either the American College Tehran, or Alborz College when discussing it in any context post 1932³⁸⁶. Rolleston Hall, completed in the 1920s, was a grand structure funded by Oklahoma oil baron, A.A. Rolleston, himself a Presbyterian immigrant to the U.S. from Ireland. Samuel Jordan described its architecture in the following way:

The style of architecture is Persian-Saracenic. ... It has been our aim to use the ordinary materials of the country and erect a building that for years to come will be a visible lesson in

³⁸⁶ See Abbas Amanat, *Iran: A Modern History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), p. 458. In 1932, as part of Reza Shah's nationalization measures to push all institutions with foreign names to Iranize the college president Samuel Jordan, keeping the acronym A.C.T., effected the change from American College Tehran to Alborz College Tehran in reference to the nearby Alborz mountains, which he regularly hiked and climbed with students.

good architecture. In appearance it is distinctly Persian, but with a difference. We have tried to retain every good feature of the architecture of the country – and there are many – and at the same time introduce modern improvements.³⁸⁷

The building imposed itself as a “visible lesson” on the face of a rapidly changing Tehran cityscape, in line with past mission pedagogies of transformation and reform. But Jordan’s description, one likely drafted with U.S. supporters of the mission in mind, also signally acknowledged the importance of indigenous materials. The construction was abetted by a Pahlavi desire to modernize, and thereby distinguish its political identity from Qajar traditionalism. Yet the political dynamics can be seen as similar to those surrounding the first ABCFM mission in Urmia where Qajar support was linked to tangible benefits in science and education. In both instances a U.S. mission presence that was economically independent and amenable to serving, whether wittingly or not, as an institutional chess piece within Iranian domestic politics, remained at liberty to undertake core projects in relation to education and medicine. The freedom afforded the missions by financial independence and generous funders runs throughout the U.S. mission enterprise from the first Urmia compound to the completion of Rolleston Hall a century later.

Ida Pfeiffer, an Austrian traveller visiting the Urmia mission in 1848, summarily addressed some of these dynamics around mission finances. She observed:

The house of the missionary society is most charmingly situated ... The house itself is so large, and furnished with every possible convenience, so that I thought I was in the

³⁸⁷ See Ali Pasha Saleh, *Cultural Ties between Iran and the United States: On the Occasion of American Revolution Bicentennial* (Tehran: Sherkat-e Chapkhaneh Bistopanj-e Shahrivar, 1976), p. 180.

country-house of wealthy, private people, and not under the roof of simple disciples of Christ. ... I [had] thought that they were so absorbed with zeal and the desire to convert the heathen, that, like the disciples of Christ, quite forgetting their comforts and necessities, they dwelt with them under one roof, and ate from one dish, &c. Alas! these were pictures and representations which I had gathered out of books; in reality the case was very different. They lead the same kind of life as the wealthy... indeed their position is pleasanter and freer from care than of most people ... I do not think it can be easy to gain the confidence of the natives in this way. Their foreign dress, and elegant mode of life, make people feel too strongly about the difference of rank, and inspire them with fear and reserve rather than confidence and love...³⁸⁸

Pfeiffer's description is hard to reconcile with the motivating compassion that Hutchison accords wholesale to the ABCFM's "new errand." Pfeiffer laments the contrast between the reality she witnesses and the "pictures and representations" she had gathered from reading. Here Pfeiffer's travel diary does the hermeneutical work of drawing attention to the disparity between popular print representations of missionary lives and the incorporated reality of mission in this instance. Her understanding results in a form of skepticism, but she nevertheless tightens her own social moorings and seeks to retain a cultural connection to moral corona with which the idea of missions was popularly adorned. As a result she continues, "I hope that my views may not be misunderstood; I have great respect for missionaries, and all whom

³⁸⁸ Ida Pfeiffer, *A woman's journey round the world, from Vienna to Brazil, Chili, Tahiti, China, Hindostan, Persia, and Asia Minor* (London: Ward and Lock, 1856), pp. 286-88.

I have known...everywhere they showed me the greatest kindness and attention.”³⁸⁹

Despite this good faith coda meant to cinch tight a critical perspective, Pfeiffer’s outsider record is a helpful reminder of the diverse opinions held with regard to mission activity. It marks as well a critical space in which some intuitions around indigenous solidarity may be observed, namely in “dress” and “mode of life,” which Pfeiffer connects with the cultivation of fear and reserve.³⁹⁰ Just as importantly, there are exceptions that prove the rule. However, these tended to come in the earliest instances from an Anglican presence. As Armanjani notes, the British based Church Mission Society (CMS), with which A. J. Maclean was associated, “ate, slept, and dressed exactly as did the Nestorian priests, which contrasted sharply with the Western garb and life style of the American missionaries.”³⁹¹ It is notable that the U.S. Episcopalian missionary in Persia, Horatio Southgate, would also eventually “assume Eastern clothing and mingle with the people of the lands he visited”.³⁹² Concurrent with this, later in his mission career Southgate voiced, “his willingness ‘to throw off those antipathies which the Christian world has too freely cherished against the followers of Mohammed, and to regard them as men and immortal.’”³⁹³ Here are instances in which more genuine hermeneutical inquiry seems to lead to some form of recognition, or recognition to hermeneutical inquiry, which in turn spurs creative

³⁸⁹ Ida Pfeiffer, *A woman's journey round the world, from Vienna to Brazil, Chili, Tahiti, China, Hindostan, Persia, and Asia Minor* (London: Ward and Lock, 1856), pp. 286-88.

³⁹⁰ This theme and its intersection with gender and cultural power is addressed in relation to the work of Fidelia Fiske in Persia by Amanda Porterfield. See *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

³⁹¹ Yahya Armanjani, “CHRISTIANITY viii. Christian Missions in Persia,” in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. V, fasc. 5 (Los Angeles: Costa Mesa, 1991), pp. 344-47. See also Waterfield, Robin, *Christians in Persia: Assyrians, Armenians, Roman Catholics and Protestants* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), p. 124 ff.

³⁹² Timothy Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 128.

³⁹³ Qtd. in Timothy Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.128. From Horatio Southgate, *Narrative of a Tour Through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia and Mesopotamia: With Observations on the Condition of Mohammedanism and Christianity in Those Countries*, Vol. 2 (London: Tilt and Bogue, 1840), I: 73.

moral practices such as sumptuary equivalence and the working out of an egalitarian eschatology.³⁹⁴

The modes of life entertained by Maclean and Southgate can also be observed in ways even more pronounced in the later Presbyterian examples of Howard Baskerville³⁹⁵ and J. Richard Irvine of Iranzamin Tehran International School (Irānzamin, Madrasa-ye Baynalmelali-e Tehrān).³⁹⁶ Baskerville died in Tabriz in 1909 having forsaken the mission to fight with the revolutionary Constitutionalists and Irvine resigned from the mission in 1967 in order to continue as an educator under Iran's Ministry of Education. Both demonstrate contrapuntal examples of conversion that belie the idea of baptism as being the uniform and homogenous end of mission evangelization. Their histories echo Adorno's contention in *Negative Dialectics* that "[n]onidentity is the secret *telos* of identification. It is the part that can be salvaged; the mistake in traditional thinking is that identity is taken for the goal."³⁹⁷

Pfeiffer's closing remarks about the ABCFM mission in Urmia exemplify this type of mistaken "traditional" thinking. "I have made the minutest inquiries in all places", she

³⁹⁴ See also Arthur John Maclean, *The Catholicos of the East and His People: Being the Impressions of Five Years' Work in the "Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission," an Account of the Religious and Secular Life and Opinions of the Eastern Syrian Christians of Kurdistan and Northern Persia (known Also as Nestorians)* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1892).

³⁹⁵ Each of the following devotes some attention to Baskerville in way that is critical rather than hagiographical: Ramin Asgard, "US-Iran Cultural Diplomacy: A Historical Perspective," *The Fletcher School Online Journal for issues related to Southwest Asia and Islamic Civilization*, Spring 2010, pp. 1-12; Kamyar Ghaneabassiri, "US foreign policy and Persia, 1856-1921," *Iranian Studies* 35, no. 1-3, 2002, pp. 145-175; Sassan Pejman, "A picture postcard view of the Persian constitutional revolution," *Journal of Persianate Studies* 3, no. 2, 2010, pp. 192-221.

³⁹⁶ See J. Richard Irvine, "Iranzamin, Tehran International School," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. XIII, Fasc. 5, pp. 541-543.

³⁹⁷ See also Theodor W. Adorno (E.B. Ashton (Trans.)), *Negative Dialectics* (New York: Continuum, 1973), p. 149.

writes, “and have always heard that a baptism is one of the greatest rarities”.³⁹⁸ In this traditional analysis baptism functions a marker of Christian conversion; there is the imputation that absent conversion the work of mission is less intelligible and less popular, both institutionally and ideologically. Hutchison seizes upon a similar idea when he remarks of the rise of foreign missions in the U.S. in the 1820s and 1830s:

Certain words or ideas that became deeply embedded during this period – that became a part of the orthodoxy – were destined to encounter more opposition as they persisted into later eras. One of those was a belief that expansion is a part of the definition of Christianity; and that in consequence, the Christian who raises questions about conversionist foreign missions is somehow not a genuine believer.³⁹⁹

Hutchison’s primary point is made more with regard to territorial expansion and he goes on to relate this to ideas of imperialism, as does this work. However, the helpful contribution that should not be overlooked here is Hutchison’s adjectival choice of “conversionist.” This is bundled into the very idea of foreign missions that Hutchinson contends was made sacrosanct during the formative period of expansion that saw the first U.S. mission to Persia. The alignment of conversion and mission allows for an argument to take root that leads to the growth of identitarian forms of mission, which are antithetical to the realization of interpersonal understanding. The way that Adorno uses the term, “identitarian thinking says what something comes

³⁹⁸ Ida Pfeiffer, *A woman's journey round the world, from Vienna to Brazil, Chili, Tahiti, China, Hindostan, Persia, and Asia Minor* (London: Ward and Lock, 1856), pp. 286-88.

³⁹⁹ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 6.

under, what it exemplifies or represents, and what, accordingly, it is not itself.”⁴⁰⁰ For Adorno, “[t]he more relentlessly our identitarian thinking besets its object, the farther will it take us from the identity of the object.”⁴⁰¹ This effectively walls off the other just as effectively as the ABCFM’s first ringfort in Urmia walled in members of the mission in a construction of imagined superiority. Adorno’s “critique” of identitarian thinking suggests “[t]o define identity as the correspondence of the thing-in-itself to its concept is *hubris*...”⁴⁰² This hubris was the guiding star of the identitarian core of the ABCFM’s mission work in Persia.

It is worth considering the relationship between this hubris and the mission’s financial standing. To return to the role that money, or more specifically access to wealth, played in this drama of *translatio imperii* and *translatio studii*⁴⁰³ it is helpful to consult the work Hutchison has done around the mission revenues for the ABCFM. According to Hutchison the ABCFM’s income for 1828 was 114,000 USD.⁴⁰⁴ This was second among “benevolent societies” of the time only to the American Bible

⁴⁰⁰ Theodor W. Adorno (E.B. Ashton (Trans.)), *Negative Dialectics* (New York: Continuum, 1973), p. 149.

⁴⁰¹ Theodor W. Adorno (E.B. Ashton (Trans.)), *Negative Dialectics* (New York: Continuum, 1973), p. 149.

⁴⁰² Theodor W. Adorno (E.B. Ashton (Trans.)), *Negative Dialectics* (New York: Continuum, 1973), p. 149.

⁴⁰³ The ideas and reception history of the related concepts of *translatio imperii* and *translatio studii*, or the transmission of rule and culture, would seem to be another way to frame a critical and historically consonant inquiry around the ABCFM missions in Persia, particularly as these terms are originally grounded in the Persian context of the book of Daniel. To do this justice as an interpretative framework for analyzing mission discourse, reception and effect would, however, require a different methodological approach than this paper has chosen to take. Yet, I am especially grateful to Theodor Dunkelgrün (Cambridge) for the initial suggestion to engage in a larger-scale development of how *translatio imperii*, in particular, could work as an interpretive lens for ABCFM mission analysis. See Carol Ann Newsom and Brennan W. Breed, *Daniel: A Commentary* (Westminster John Knox Press, 2014); K. Alfons Knauth, “Translatio Studii and Cross-Cultural Movements or Weltverkehr,” in Lisa Block de Behar et al (eds.) *Comparative Literature - Sharing Knowledges for Preserving Cultural Diversity*: v.2. (Oxford: EOLSS, 2010). See also Timothy Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 109-111. Of note, Justin Perkins himself wrote a commentary on Daniel while in Urmia.

⁴⁰⁴ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 44. See footnote 1.

Society, and both he notes, “came off rather well if one compared their expenditures with what the Federal Government was spending on roads and canals.”⁴⁰⁵ Hutchison further observes the way in which the mission promoters “boasted about the size of their budgets...”⁴⁰⁶ He writes:

New England had also been blessed with relative affluence, and the promoters referred to this constantly, both in order to reinforce the theme of special obligation and to underline the connection between godliness and a happy, successful civilization. The American Board in its 1811 ‘Address to the Christian Public’ stressed that, of all the nations on earth, only England and New England had the resources to pursue foreign missions ...⁴⁰⁷

This notion of economic exceptionalism relative to foreign mission presence and U.S. productive ability was twinned with an ecclesiastical exceptionalism that likewise depended upon a national framework. In an 1813 sermon preached at Sandwich, Massachusetts, Edward Dorr Griffin, held forth:

If the Church, now chiefly confined to two countries [the United States and her current enemy, Great Britain], is to rise from this day forth, where is it more likely to rise than in the United States, the most favoured spot on this continent which was discovered, as I may say, by the light of the Reformation? And if in the United States, where rather than in Massachusetts, which has been blessed by the prayers of

⁴⁰⁵ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 43. See also Foster, *Errand of Mercy*. 21.

⁴⁰⁶ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 43.

⁴⁰⁷ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 57.

so long a succession of godly ancestors? And if in
Massachusetts, on what ground rather than this ...?⁴⁰⁸

If the rhetorical crescendo can be viewed somewhat risible in retrospect, perhaps it is because there is no little echo, though one suspects, not intentionally, of the previous century's picaresque novel *Tom Jones*, in which Henry Fielding's aptly named character, Mr. Thwakum declares: "When I mean Religion, I mean the Christian Religion; and not only the Christian Religion, but the Protestant Religion; and not only the Protestant Religion, but the church of *England*." This type of formal bravado devoted to a narrowing exclusivity reveals the way in which a myopic and gathering certainty with regard to an ideal historical form lends itself all too easily to successive positions of cultural encroachment, acquisition and colonization.⁴⁰⁹ One reason for this type of position being held, suggests Hutchison, was the prevailing attitude of the time that "foreign missions are in reality only domestic missions extended, – the sound which has been uttered on the frontiers of a country, going out into all lands."⁴¹⁰ This seems to have been another way to duck the criticism of diverting domestic resources abroad. At the same time this idea of a sonic wave of national domesticity travelling across the globe captures the early, and in some cases, enduring, expectations that the very movement of these missionaries treading across

⁴⁰⁸ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 56. See Footnote 17: Edward Dorr Griffin, *A Sermon, Preached October 20, 1813, at Sandwich, Massachusetts: At the Dedication of the Meeting House, Recently Erected for the Use of the Calvinistic Congregational Society in that Town* (no. 76, State Street: Nathaniel Willis., 1813), p. 33.

⁴⁰⁹ In addition to Fielding see the epigraph to T. Jeremy Gunn, "The Complexity of Religion and the Definition of Religion in International Law," *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 16, 2003, pp. 189-216.

⁴¹⁰ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 58. The quote is from the first annual report of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions in 1815. Elsewhere Hutchison explains that the Baptist mission presence was neighbor of the ABCFM on Beacon Hill in Boston, founded subsequent to it, and that they were "soul mates in both rhetoric and strategy." William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 45.

See also Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, *First Annual Report* (Philadelphia: William Fry, 1815), pp. 6-7.

the world would remake it in the image of *home*.

This idea of exponential embodiment over space is of course textually founded in what is known as the “Great Commission” in the book of Matthew.⁴¹¹ The significance of this passage as a site for understanding ranges from its incorporation in the ABCFM’s founding constitution to the moment in 1956 when Michael Zirinsky, then a student at Community School in Tehran, learned that “‘Inculcate Tehran’ was the cable address of the Presbyterian Mission in Iran”.⁴¹² Sacred semiotics thus undergirded the “enthusiastic craze of domestic support for foreign missions during the years 1830-7”, which historian Charles Foster called “world-conquest fever”,⁴¹³ and then extended the fever well into the twentieth century. There the mission telegraph’s modern hermeneutic handle still invoked an active and imperative verb, which called to mind an old image of disciples shaking the dust of the world off their feet.⁴¹⁴

The national and intellectual character of understanding

On a wider scale it can also be instructive to compare how the dynamics of foreign missions intersected with and influenced other domestic “crazes”. For instance, “[f]rom the late 1840s onward, an interest in certain sectors of the Euro-American public in the archaeological discoveries of the Ancient Near East led to a cultural fad

⁴¹¹ See Mathew 28: 16-20.

⁴¹² See Michael Zirinsky, “Inculcate Tehran: Opening a Dialogue of Civilizations in the Shadow of God and the Alborz,” *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5, 2011, p. 659.

⁴¹³ Qtd. Timothy Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.117.

⁴¹⁴ See the root of inculcate in the Latin *calx* (heel).

of ‘Assyrian chic,’”.⁴¹⁵ Such effects of multivectoral popular movements and their transnational expansion helps to underscore the ways that quotidian and sometimes personal elements of U.S. mission experiences in Iran and the wider Near East redounded upon the U.S. domestic sphere. This has been has been gestured towards in the reflective and material culture scholarship offered by academics such as Michael Zirinsky and Ali Gheissari.⁴¹⁶ Such a turn toward the “interactional perspective”, which “takes into account the effects upon, and function within the Christian culture at home that the missionary discourse and bureaucratic apparatus had”,⁴¹⁷ is attended to only briefly in any particularity throughout this study. However, it is worth suggesting the way in which this dynamic, with its concern for multivariable regression could be helpfully complemented by the language of epidemiology to which it is already open in its concern with metaphors of health and disease.

For instance, if we take the above language of fever seriously we can recognize that being flush or burning is a capacious metaphor capable of multiple directions. Many 19th and early 20th century mission advocates chose to understand the purpose of their endeavors in a limiting sense, i.e. conversion for the sake of salvation, where salvation was taken to entail the theological narrowing of access to a superhuman realm in an individual sense. And there is indeed a feverish quality to much of this writing. It is also possible, however, to identify instances where missions were framed as purposeful activities in a more expansive sense, i.e., work undertaken with the

⁴¹⁵ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 304.

⁴¹⁶ See Michael Zirinsky, “Inculcate Tehran: Opening a Dialogue of Civilizations in the Shadow of God and the Alborz,” *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5, 2011, pp. 657-669; Ali Gheissari, “The American College of Tehran, 1929–32: A Memorial Album,” *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5, 2011, pp. 671-713.

⁴¹⁷ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 33. See Peter Van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters Religion and Modernity in India and Britain* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 8.

intent of effecting interaction for the sake of human liberation. This strand of the mission experience offers a complexity in which the initial fever becomes a burning for justice, or the flush of excitement at a space of cultural contestation, change, or interaction. In this category of mission “healthy” outcomes may be understood as mutual processes of energetic exchange in which liberation is realized through the fluid process of negotiation with a recognized other – something akin to the way that the cosmopolitanism of nineteenth century Tabriz itself functioned.⁴¹⁸

Such a stance is largely in line with what now might be understood as a secular orthopraxy, one that would privilege the form of an argument or exchange rather than its content or conclusion.⁴¹⁹ The distinction between orthopraxy and orthodoxy is a helpful one here. Hutchison reminds us that orthodoxies change across time when he queries the assessment of “foreign missions” as “the new orthodoxy,” of the 1820s, a position he suggests prescient but wrong.⁴²⁰ He also points out that “[a] persistent minority, throughout the history of the missionary movement, questioned the right to impose one’s own cultural forms... and doubted the complementary ‘right’ to suppress or seek to displace another culture”.⁴²¹ This later part of his argument, although framed by the language of orthodoxy seems more properly a comment about

⁴¹⁸ See James D. Clark, “Tabriz v. The city in the 19th century,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/tabriz-05-city-in-19th-cent> (accessed on 25 August 2018). It is worth noting here that Justin Perkins, with his philological disposition, permits himself a brief digression on the name of the city Tabriz and allows for its popular significance, “fever dispersing,” as “being formed from the Persian word *tâb*, heat, and *reektân*, to pour or scatter...” before remarking further “that it took this name from its renowned salubrity.” Justin Perkins, *A residence of eight years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians: with notices of the Muhammedans* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1843), p. 146.

⁴¹⁹ I am grateful here to Simon Goldhill (Cambridge) and Suzanne Marchand (LSU) for their shared mediations around this idea.

⁴²⁰ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 60. He refers here to the following work: John A. Andrew III., *Rebuilding the Christian Commonwealth: New England Congregationalists & Foreign Missions, 1800-1830* (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1976), 135.

⁴²¹ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 12.

orthopraxy. What is especially interesting about this section, however, is the way in which Hutchison offers an implicit comparison between an ironic “right” to cultural displacement (as the obverse and malign heteropraxic consequence of a mistaken right to freedom of religion or belief) and the larger body of human rights, which in Hutchison’s estimation has been an enduring legacy imparted through foreign mission pioneers. In this analysis missions gave “lasting embodiment to the ideals of compassion, service, human rights, and self-sacrifice”.⁴²² Rather than an embarrassment, Hutchinson points out these “have not been thought ludicrous, nor even seriously questioned (though methods, of course have been) in later phases of American world outreach.”⁴²³ If such a logical connection can be made (and for the purposes of this work the argument is conceded in theory) such claims, particularly those proposing a wholesale alignment between such very different spaces such as compassion, human rights and self-sacrifice need to be more assiduously disentangled than Hutchison is able, or indeed intends, to do when mentioning this strand of thought in the concluding thoughts of a chapter. Hutchison’s more immediate and stronger claim is that as the arc of U.S. foreign missions travelled its course from minority movement to culturally entrenched position minority voices splintered from it giving form and experience to new, sometimes secular, modes of modernity, however out of a religious groundwork. Both claims are provable. This work attempts to buttress the first with its attention to women and the eventual advancement of women’s rights through religious and social practices mediated by the missions. The

⁴²² William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 60.

⁴²³ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 60. The distinction Hutchison draws between an unassailable ideal position here and methodological critiques, while perhaps more coherent and apt when written in 1987 now seems entirely susceptible to a more robust retort, especially following the work that has come out of the loosely collected body of Third World Approaches to International Law (TWAIL) scholarship since the mid 1990s, in many cases which the ideals themselves would be contended.

second claim is pursued in this work through the lens of biographical experience and by drawing attention to the complex and changing ways that religious and political claims are fit together in the individual lives of people associated with the missions.

Another enduring legacy of the long arc of U.S. foreign missions as a social movement, Timothy Marr concludes, is that “[t]he eschatological faith held by many antebellum Protestants also absolved them of the need for meaningful dialogue with Muslims about the tenets of their religion”. Marr’s particular interest is in the U.S. context, a context geographically and theologically separate from the dialogical premises that overtly and formally governed the mission works of Henry Martyn and Safavid era Catholic presence in Iran. The tense relationship between Marr’s purported legacy and Hutchison’s purported legacy returns us to the enduring question of how the differentiable curves of the international and interreligious relationships arising from exchange and interaction between the U.S. and Iran will continue to be sectioned off into discernable arcs into the future.

Marr concludes in *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism* that inability to grapple with Islam as an enduring world religion led many “American Christians to resolve the problem of Islam by explaining it within the terms of their own cultural desires and beliefs.”⁴²⁴ Specifically, he continues, “[u]sing scripture to authorize their utopian projections, they painted Islam as an enemy whose existence was a result of Christian error rather than an established religious tradition in its own right.”⁴²⁵ Here Marr flags the connection between the continuation and refinement of an enemy ethic, with roots

⁴²⁴ Timothy Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 133

⁴²⁵ Timothy Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 133.

far deeper and more complex than its 18th and 19th century, often contradictory, manifestations in the national context of the U.S., and a Christian theological lump category of error. This same connection helps advance understanding as to why, even beyond pragmatic considerations, the early ABCFM efforts to the Nestorian Christians were credited with such importance. This was a work of reform and correction undertaken within a larger Muslim majority context in which religious error had assumed, and yet retained, a particular relationship both to the eschaton as well as an interim idea of progressive human development and flourishing.⁴²⁶ In other words, while the effect relative to Islam may have been utopian projection, the work advanced in the midst of Nestorian Christian communities was a utopian project - one they believed could ultimately be leveraged ‘to resolve the problem of Islam’.

As noted previously in the Pfeiffer quote the mission’s finances were a significant factor in its ability to pursue such a utopian project. By 1838 it was recorded in the *Missionary Herald*⁴²⁷ that “a tide of prosperity” attended the mission.⁴²⁸ A suitable font of “Syro-Chaldaic” type, which was “adapted to the taste of the Nestorians”, had been sourced from London.⁴²⁹ Taking into account the question of access and availability of such materials, the bespoke font from London communicates the

⁴²⁶ Such constructions are visible in part through popular representations and arguments relating to religious preference and superiority, many of which were simultaneously aligned with parallel arguments about the advantages of U.S. democracy as contrasted with autocracy, especially as it was understood to have taken shape and power in the Ottoman Empire, e.g. “Differences on the Effects of Mohomedanism and Christianity on Human Happiness,” *The New Haven Gazette and the Connecticut Magazine* 3 (1 May 1788).

⁴²⁷ A bulletin detailing the course and correspondence of missionaries regularly published out of Boston by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions from 1821-1934.

⁴²⁸ “Annual Report: - “Nestorians and Muhammadens of Persia – Mahrattas,” *Missionary Herald, Volume 34*, Boston: Crocker and Brewer, 1838, p. 7.

⁴²⁹ “Annual Report: - “Nestorians and Muhammadens of Persia – Mahrattas,” *Missionary Herald, Volume 34*, Boston: Crocker and Brewer, 1838, p. 7.

privilege and relative wealth enjoyed by the mission.⁴³⁰ The eye to replicating a foreign cultural aesthetic for the purpose of language preservation and advancement, even as the larger culture within which that language was embedded and from which it sprang was being called into question, hints at the shape of a paradox by which utopias are often bedeviled. At the same time the manufacture of special type is also in line with the role that craft and production have historically played in commonweal utopias. In this instance the careful attention to language and printing helps demonstrate the hermeneutical concerns of the ABCFM and the ways in which these attempts to forge, literally in the case of the printing press⁴³¹, and aid intercultural understanding, had conflicting consequences for the advancement their utopian project.

The relationship between utopic mission efforts and the physical forms of modernity used to encase them, and in this way control traditional modes of knowledge, is a complex one. A singular, exclusive, and often unidirectional logic around identity production and value was at least initially⁴³² at work, in which cultural, national, and epistemological identities imposed by the mission served to buttress or bridge places of real or perceived division. While this could lead to instances of local women's

⁴³⁰ As noted this led criticism of the mission from some outside travellers and observers. See Anna M. Stoddart, *The Life of Isabella Bird* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011). See also Waterfield, Robin, *Christians in Persia: Assyrians, Armenians, Roman Catholics and Protestants* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), p.105.

⁴³¹ For more on the historiography of Muslim printing see of Nile Green, "Journeymen, Middlemen: Travel, Transculture, and Technology in the Origins of Muslim Printing," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 41, no. 2, 2009, pp. 203-224.

⁴³² Over time this dynamic became less rigid, and in later mission forms was helped particularly by individuals such as Samuel Jordan who were receptive to and instrumental in the creation of a new educational culture (*farhang-i nau*) that could be amenable to forms of syncretism and indigenous valorization. See John H. Lorentz, "Educational Development in Iran: The Pivotal Role of the Mission Schools and Alborz College," *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5, 2011, p. 649.

empowerment, visible through magazines such as *Zahrir d-Bahra (Rays of Light)*,⁴³³ which was printed at the ABCFM press in Urmia from 1849-1918, the same magazine's Assyrian focus (it was the first community based periodical printed in Iran) stoked and enflamed the embers of religio-nationalism that were otherwise dormant in the slow burn of Qajar authority.

This can be observed in at least three distinct ways. The first, which has already been rehearsed, is the way in which, despite individual and elite engagement with Muslim communities in Persia, especially vis-à-vis members of the Qajar royal family and regional governors, the ABCFM acted as both a firewall (from the perspective of the Qajars) and as a firebrand from the perspective of Shi'i ulama, effectively highlighting, and vying with, Islam as an oppositional force in way different than that of other native or indigenous religious minorities.

The second can be seen in the ascent of an Assyrian nationalism, particularly around Urmia, in relation to the rigid imposition of missions structures, even as an older indigenous and local culture less concerned with sharp lines of national and religious division withered in the same context. Thorough and significant work on this has been done by Adam Becker, and in his book, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism*, Becker observes how the building of a mission sponsored church on the Urmia plain in 1867 provides

⁴³³ See H.L. Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants. The Role of Assyrians in the Development of Written Urmia Aramaic," *Journal of the Assyrian Academic Society*, X (2), 1996, pp. 3 - 17 (1996). See also H.L. Murre-van den Berg, "Nineteenth-century Protestant Missions and Middle-eastern Women" in Ingvild Flakerud and Inger Marie Okkenhaug (ed.), *Gender, religion and change in the Middle East: two hundred years of history* (Oxford: Berg. 2005), p. 117. footnote 26.

the occasion for a short composition of self-reflective local history.⁴³⁴ This history was then published in *Rays of Light*. The text from that publication includes the following:

The name of our nation [*meletan*] is Nestorian Syrians. For a long period our nation preserved a healthy faith [*todita*], but after this a spiritual cancer began to work its way within it, the laxity of our priests increased, bad traits became abundant, our Scriptures were almost lost, errors from perverse churches filled our faith [*toditan*], our generations groped in the dark, and a small spark of truth remained, until the Lord with mercy sent American evangelists.⁴³⁵

From this Becker concludes that the “story told of the ‘nation’ (*melat*) of ‘Nestorian Syrians’ shows the extent to which an emergent national consciousness, or protonationalism, had already developed among the East Syrians in proximity to the mission ”.⁴³⁶ Becker also demonstrates the way in which by the late 1860s the ideas of nation and religious confession are distinguishable from each other in this part of the Persian context. He suggests, careful not to accord this assertion normative weight, “[t]he fact that a *melat* can preserve or not preserve its *todita* and yet still remain a *melat* means that it can exist prior to or without that *todita*”.⁴³⁷ The idea that Becker puts forward of “a distinct entity, perhaps not yet with the precise meaning of

⁴³⁴ Becker suggests that the anonymous article was perhaps “the native assistant of Moses of Chahargushe.” Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 176.

⁴³⁵ Qtd. in Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 177. See original ZB 20, no. 2, Feb. 1870, pp. 16-17.

⁴³⁶ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 178. See also Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions” in Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (ed.) *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 1-14.

⁴³⁷ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 178.

‘nation,’ but something more stable and grounded than religious identity or a religiosity that can increase or decrease over time”, and which he traces in Persia to the presence of what he calls “an evangelical Protestant historiography”⁴³⁸ is novel and politically quite powerful.

This leads to the third example, perhaps most difficult to delineate⁴³⁹, and which, while important, should not be overstated, namely the way in which a secularly tending and constitutionally aspirant Persian nationalism located at the nexus of select religious reformers and a Shi’i powerbase found one fulcrum of many in the evolving ethos and culture of the ABCFM mission schools. Although admittedly reductive, this can best be personified in the person and influence of Samuel Martin Jordan.

Following his graduation from Princeton Theological Seminary Jordan spent the years from 1898 to 1940 as a Presbyterian missionary in Iran and was the driving force behind the institution that became Alborz College in Tehran. He is widely credited with being a significant educator within the history of modern Iran, and like Amīr Kabīr’s foundation of the Dār al-Fonūn in Tehran in 1851, Jordan’s vision for the American College was also one of modern learning, which subjects were understood to include, “medicine, surgery, pharmacology, natural history, mathematics, geology, and natural science.”⁴⁴⁰ This focus on reform and a liberal curriculum, alongside national sympathies for democracy made Jordan something of natural ally for the

⁴³⁸ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 178.

⁴³⁹ Any project even attempting to approach this problem of intellectual history and cultural influence would need first to account both for the relationship of mission school graduates to the 1906-1911 Majles (national assembly) in a more systematic way than has yet been done, as well as devote itself to recovering the curricula present and taught during the graduates’ tenure at the mission institutions.

⁴⁴⁰ H. Algar, “AMĪR KABĪR, MĪRZĀ TAQĪ KHAN,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 1/9, pp. 959-963, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/amir-e-kabir-mirza-taqi-khan>

Constitutionalists. As Zirinsky notes of the *fin de siècle* generation, “[j]udging from their writings, the American missionaries in Iran regarded themselves as liberals. They favored freedom, freedom from the dead hand of the past and freedom for each individual to learn, to grow and to choose.”⁴⁴¹

For their part the indigenous reformists within Persia were joined together by an “eclecticism” that Amanat suggests “was typical of Persian “modernists” (*motajaddedīn*)”.⁴⁴² He argues, “[t]he most pertinent theme that emerged in the writings of the late 19th century was the idea that ... it was essential to inaugurate a constitutional order.”⁴⁴³ Amanat in turn identifies three main contingents behind this revolutionary push for constitutionalism as it crystalized at the turn of the 20th century. The first he terms “*the proconstitutional mojtaheds*” – *these were figures such as* Sayyed Moḥammad Ṭabāṭabā’ī and Sayyed ‘Abd-Allāh Behbahānī who he estimates as being involved both due to pragmatic power politics as well as instinctual “liberal proclivities.”⁴⁴⁴ The second group he names are the merchants of the *bāzār*, “who sought greater control over their economic and political destinies.”⁴⁴⁵ And the third group he credits with influence are the “Western-oriented secular

⁴⁴¹ Michael Zirinsky, “Inculcate Tehran: Opening a Dialogue of Civilizations in the Shadow of God and the Alborz,” *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5, 2011, p. 665.

⁴⁴² A. Amanat, “Constitutional Revolution. i. Intellectual Background,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. VI, Fasc. 2, pp. 163-176, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/constitutional-revolution-i>

⁴⁴³ A. Amanat, “Constitutional Revolution. i. Intellectual Background,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. VI, Fasc. 2, pp. 163-176, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/constitutional-revolution-i>

⁴⁴⁴ A. Amanat, “Constitutional Revolution. i. Intellectual Background,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. VI, Fasc. 2, pp. 163-176, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/constitutional-revolution-i>

⁴⁴⁵ A. Amanat, “Constitutional Revolution. i. Intellectual Background,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. VI, Fasc. 2, pp. 163-176, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/constitutional-revolution-i>

intellectuals.”⁴⁴⁶ This later group was the most natural point of interface with the missionaries, although the use of the term secular here is contentious. As Amanat explains, “[w]ith few exceptions, the early advocates of political reform were preoccupied with the compatibility of the Islamic Šarī‘a with constitutionalism, an issue that presented a doctrinal obstacle to formulation of a truly secular outlook.”⁴⁴⁷

Despite Zirinsky’s insistence that the idea of a secular education was central to their work, the Presbyterian socio-religious position in Persia, at least insofar as it was preserved institutionally, was largely akin to that of the first generation of Iranian reformers who attempted to work within a wide majoritarian religious framework.⁴⁴⁸ To wit, while the Presbyterian position on freedom of religion as separation from government may have appeared more robust than a state reform position grounded in Islam, at the same time it was still clearly a position of apologetics – freedom from the state rather than freedom as positive choice. This is evidenced by the way in which the Presbyterians tended to share a popular anti-Bahá’í bias with the Muslim majority in Persia⁴⁴⁹

Such overt bias can be observed in contemporary writings such as those of Ali Akbar Dehkhoda, an Iranian contemporary of Samuel Jordan, who as well as being a prominent constitutionalist, was also a linguist who produced the first significant and

⁴⁴⁶ A. Amanat, “Constitutional Revolution. i. Intellectual Background,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. VI, Fasc. 2, pp. 163-176, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/constitutional-revolution-i>

⁴⁴⁷ A. Amanat, “Constitutional Revolution. i. Intellectual Background,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. VI, Fasc. 2, pp. 163-176, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/constitutional-revolution-i>

⁴⁴⁸ See Michael Zirinsky, “Inculcate Tehran: Opening a Dialogue of Civilizations in the Shadow of God and the Alborz,” *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5, 2011, p. 666.

⁴⁴⁹ See William McElwee Miller, *Bahá’ism: Its Origin, History, and Teachings* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1932). This is in some ways typologically a successor to C.G. Pfander’s *Mizan al-Haqq* a century previous.

comprehensive Persian language dictionary. As a cultural critic Dehkhoda was an anti-imperialist, but equally attempted “to dissect and analyze the problems within his own society that rendered it so vulnerable to despotism, poverty, and the manipulation of others.”⁴⁵⁰ As a result, Mozaffari suggests, his “editorials and satirical *charand parand* essays provide a map, or an epidemiology, of culture which is fascinating to study.”⁴⁵¹ One of Dehkhoda’s primary critiques was around “a culture of servility (*farhang-e ta’abbod*), which he considered to be the greatest obstacle to the establishment of a modern culture.”⁴⁵² This culture of servility arose from the “collusion” of corrupt political leaders “with the reactionary ulema,” whom Dehkhoda “called ‘*olama-ye su*’ (malignant ulema)” and saw as “promoting a backward looking religion.”⁴⁵³ As such the culture of servility can be profitably contrasted with the new education (*farhang-i nau*) being advanced at mission schools such as Alborz where Samuel Jordan was combining a tradition of American pragmatism with the muscular Christianity of the age.⁴⁵⁴

At the heart of Dehkhoda’s concern with a culture of servility seems to be anxiety

⁴⁵⁰ Nahid Mozaffari, “An Iranian Modernist Project: Ali Akbar Dehkhoda’s Writings in the Constitutional Period” in H.E. Chehabi and Vanessa Martin (ed.), *Iran’s Constitutional Revolution: Popular Politics, Cultural Transformations and Transnational Connections* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2010), p. 205.

⁴⁵¹ Nahid Mozaffari, “An Iranian Modernist Project: Ali Akbar Dehkhoda’s Writings in the Constitutional Period,” in H.E. Chehabi and Vanessa Martin (ed.), *Iran’s Constitutional Revolution: Popular Politics, Cultural Transformations and Transnational Connections* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2010), p. 205.

⁴⁵² Nahid Mozaffari, “An Iranian Modernist Project: Ali Akbar Dehkhoda’s Writings in the Constitutional Period,” in H.E. Chehabi and Vanessa Martin (ed.), *Iran’s Constitutional Revolution: Popular Politics, Cultural Transformations and Transnational Connections* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2010), p. 205.

⁴⁵³ Nahid Mozaffari, “An Iranian Modernist Project: Ali Akbar Dehkhoda’s Writings in the Constitutional Period,” in H.E. Chehabi and Vanessa Martin (ed.), *Iran’s Constitutional Revolution: Popular Politics, Cultural Transformations and Transnational Connections* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2010), p. 205.

⁴⁵⁴ See Michael Zirinsky, “Inculcate Tehran: Opening a Dialogue of Civilizations in the Shadow of God and the Alborz,” *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5, 201, p. 661. See also Arthur C. Boyce, “Alborz College of Tehran and Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan, Founder and President,” reprinted in Ali Pasha Saleh, *Cultural Ties between Iran and the United States: On the Occasion of American Revolution Bicentennial* (Tehran: Sherkat-e Chapkhaneh Bistopan-j-e Shahrivar, 1976), p. 198.

about corruption, both political on which he is more explicit, but also moral – the language he uses to describe the reactionary ulama is that of malignancy. He also turns this preoccupation with cancerous or abnormal growth toward what he considers similarly worrisome development that he takes to challenge the standing and integrity of Islam. Writing in the influential weekly paper, *Sur-e Esrāfil*, Dehkhoda chronicled his concerns with “false prophets, fake *imams* and phony leaders” who “have ignored the rest of the world and have descended their holy selves right into this small piece of land which is the centre of the true religion of Islam.”⁴⁵⁵ He lists specifically, “A First Point (*Noqteḥ-ye owlā*), A Blessed Step (*Jamal Qadam*), an Eternal Morning (*Sobh-e Azal*), He whom God has shall Manifest (*Man Yazharuhu Allah*), a Fourth Pillar (*Rokn-e Rabe*)”⁴⁵⁶. Mozaffari notes that these are “titles of the leaders of the following religious communities respectively: Babi, Azali, Baha’i, and Sheykhi.”⁴⁵⁷ Disparaging these religious minorities outright allowed Dehkhoda more leeway to address what he saw as the simultaneous failings of the dominant Shi’i ulama who he felt were failing to do justice to the ‘pure religion of Islam.’ In many ways the motivation bears some resemblance to the way the early ABCFM mission efforts were anchored in concerns over the integrity of religious knowledge.

Interestingly, Dehkhoda’s conclusion seems to be that a political movement toward constitutionalism would actually better buttress Islam as a religion in what he

⁴⁵⁵ Nahid Mozaffari, “An Iranian Modernist Project: Ali Akbar Dehkhoda’s Writings in the Constitutional Period” in H.E. Chehabi and Vanessa Martin (ed.), *Iran’s Constitutional Revolution: Popular Politics, Cultural Transformations and Transnational Connections* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2010), pp. 193-212.

⁴⁵⁶ Nahid Mozaffari, “An Iranian Modernist Project: Ali Akbar Dehkhoda’s Writings in the Constitutional Period” in H.E. Chehabi and Vanessa Martin (ed.), *Iran’s Constitutional Revolution: Popular Politics, Cultural Transformations and Transnational Connections* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2010), pp. 193-212.

⁴⁵⁷ Nahid Mozaffari, “An Iranian Modernist Project: Ali Akbar Dehkhoda’s Writings in the Constitutional Period” in H.E. Chehabi and Vanessa Martin (ed.), *Iran’s Constitutional Revolution: Popular Politics, Cultural Transformations and Transnational Connections* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2010), p. 451. Endnote 51.

understands to be its true and essential nature. This becomes his mission. He offers as evidence for this the misguided, but seemingly genuine, observation that in Europe and the U.S., places he saw as exemplars and bastions of constitutionalism, there were no attempts at new religious revelation or novel prophecy.⁴⁵⁸ In his blunt words, “none of these useless good-for-nothings appear in any of the mountains of Europe or any of the villages in America, because of the rule of law and widespread education.”⁴⁵⁹ Amanat explains that “[i]n the earlier stages of the constitutional movement they often seemed to understand the “rule of law” as implementation of the Šarī‘a.”⁴⁶⁰ However, Dehkhoda’s remarks on education are less subject to contextual clarification, and they are important given that the primary and most immediate experience that the majority of Iranians would have had with any form of education connected to the U.S. context was by way of the ABCFM and Presbyterian mission schools. While the Constitutional Revolution did yield welcome political gains for some minorities in Persia – establishing precedent for the current allotment of two seats in the Majles for Armenian Christians, one for Assyrian and Chaldean Christians, one for Jews and one for Zoroastrians – it would seem that points of U.S. mission support for the movement toward constitutionalism in Persia were motivated less by a programme of religious politics than by assent to an emotive internationalism articulated as democratic solidarity.

⁴⁵⁸ Mozaffari excuses his lack of knowledge of Mormonism in the U.S., but there is no mention of the U.S. millenarian-utopian movements that might be thought most comparable to Babism. Nahid Mozaffari, “An Iranian Modernist Project: Ali Akbar Dehkhoda’s Writings in the Constitutional Period” in H.E. Chehabi and Vanessa Martin (ed.), *Iran’s Constitutional Revolution: Popular Politics, Cultural Transformations and Transnational Connections* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2010), p. 451. See also D. M. MacEoin, “BABISM,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, III/3, pp. 309-317, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/babism-index>

⁴⁵⁹ Nahid Mozaffari, “An Iranian Modernist Project: Ali Akbar Dehkhoda’s Writings in the Constitutional Period” in H.E. Chehabi and Vanessa Martin (ed.), *Iran’s Constitutional Revolution: Popular Politics, Cultural Transformations and Transnational Connections* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2010), pp. 193-212.

⁴⁶⁰ A. Amanat, “Constitutional Revolution. i. Intellectual Background,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. VI, Fasc. 2, pp. 163-176, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/constitutional-revolution-i>

Solidarity, zeal, and understanding

This solidarity is apparent in the visceral way that Annie Stocking Boyce describes the Iranian Constitutional revolution in a 1908 letter back to the U.S. Boyce was a Presbyterian missionary and educator working at Iran Bethel School, a girl's secondary school that was a sibling institution to Alborz. Remarking on the fighting in Tabriz, Boyce relates: "[t]he last word we had was that the Revolutionists were victorious. I hope so ... it does my American blood good to know that there are Persians who are willing to fight to the bitter end for liberty."⁴⁶¹ Boyce's colleague, Howard Baskerville, another Presbyterian and a teacher at the mission school in Tabriz would, in fact, die fighting on behalf of the constitutionalist cause the next year.⁴⁶² In both these instances there is an echo of Becker's observation that "[r]eligion for Durkheim is a functional equivalent of nationalism. The body of Christ is an unconscious prefiguration of the national body, where the latter is more easily observable and more manifestly observes itself."⁴⁶³ Yet it would mischaracterize the Presbyterian presence in Persia to suggest that a sense of national affiliation constantly overshadowed theological commitments and religious expression. Given the Reformed emphasis on democratic polity, and that tradition's own influence on the development of U.S. democracy, it is perhaps possible to remain somewhat agnostic, not as to the fact of, but rather as to the exact motivating force that drove U.S. missionaries and 'secular' intellectuals in Iran to overlap in common cause. While causation is more difficult to prove, there is clearly a correlation.

⁴⁶¹ Qtd. in Sarah F. D. Ansari and Vanessa Martin, *Women, Religion and Culture in Iran* (London: Routledge, 2014).

⁴⁶² See Michael Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian missionaries at Urmia during the Great War," *Bibliothèque iranienne* 52, 2002, pp. 353-372.

⁴⁶³ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 220.

This is made apparent in the language Mīrzā Āqā Khan Kermānī used to argue for the necessity of revolution. He called for both “the establishment of a constitutional parliamentary system of government to eliminate the power of the Qajars and for an ‘Islamic Protestantism’ to crush the power of the ‘*olamā*’.”⁴⁶⁴ The result of the convergence of these twin forces he suggests would be liberatory. According to Bayat Kermānī believed the result would “convert religious fanaticism into patriotic zeal. It would also bring about the reform of the educational system and the study of “meaningful” sciences...” and that finally, “[t]his dissemination of true knowledge would then lead to national strength.”⁴⁶⁵ Here we return to the very language of, and concern with, the problem of knowledge distribution that initially preoccupied the ABCFM. Pairing this concern with the language of zeal we can now identify the twin tent poles upon which the common fabric of these projects was pitched. In both instances, the foreign mission movement and the constitutional movement, there was an attempt to efficaciously extend an epistemic system aligned with ‘correct’ religious content in order to effect political change.

The operation of zeal and its capacity to act as a driver of social discourse and political change relates to one of the great interests of governing polities in the early 19th century, namely, how to keep fanaticism down, especially in multinational empires. This was a central question for the porous and decentralized Qajar dynasty. We attended briefly to the politics of zeal in analyzing the context of Henry Martyn’s disputations with Fasā’ī during the early 19th century where Fasā’ī’s toleration was suggested as the natural opposite of zeal. It has been clear throughout the work that a

⁴⁶⁴ M. Bayat, “ĀQĀ KHAN KERMĀNĪ,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, II/2, pp. 175-177, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/aqa-khan-kermani>

⁴⁶⁵ M. Bayat, “ĀQĀ KHAN KERMĀNĪ,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, II/2, pp. 175-177, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/aqa-khan-kermani>

central governing problem for the Qajars was how to incorporate the zeal of a Shi'i majority in such a way that it became both subject to regulation and also symbolically appropriable. The relationship negotiated with the ABCFM became one plank in this programme.

At the same time the new zeal of the ABCFM undermined traditional methods of doing religion amongst the Nestorians and recalibrated religious thought and practice. Having discovered on arrival in Urmia that "[t]heir Scriptures are not found in *one volume*, but are usually in six",⁴⁶⁶ the ABCFM attempted a process of textual "repair". Rather than functioning as unifying event this actually acted as a driver of community fragmentation. For example, Mar Elias, as "he became acquainted with the Epistles" then "began to read portions of them to his people on the Sabbath, translating them into the modern language."⁴⁶⁷ Tracy notes that while "[s]ome of the people were delighted. Others impatiently complained that he was always annoying them with the precepts of 'Paul, Paul, Paul;' but their opposition only excited his zeal."⁴⁶⁸ This relationship between zeal and an oppositional force⁴⁶⁹ provides a basic emotive framework for interpreting larger dynamics of socio-religious expression and freedom in Persia during the long nineteenth century.

⁴⁶⁶ Justin Perkins, *A residence of eight years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians: with notices of the Muhammedans* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1843), p.15.

⁴⁶⁷ Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: Compiled Chiefly from the Published and Unpublished Documents of the Board* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1842), p. 369.

⁴⁶⁸ Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: Compiled Chiefly from the Published and Unpublished Documents of the Board* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1842), p. 369.

⁴⁶⁹ See also James Lyman Merrick, *The Pilgrim's Harp* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1847), p. 89. In this volume of verse Merrick's somewhat wooden poem "Despised Pious Zeal" offers a concise example of the way in which he understood the relationship between religious zeal and social derision. As such it encapsulates a theological rationalization of how external accusations of "wickedness" may be transformed into an understanding of "righteous" behaviour.

Nabavi extends this discussion to the context of the constitutional period when he addresses the relationship between the idea of zeal and the Persian term *gheyrat*. He writes, “[g]heyrat is a difficult term to translate. It has connotations of honour⁴⁷⁰, jealousy, and passion, and is often translated as ‘zeal’. However, in the constitutional writings, *gheyrat* is construed as a quality that urges people not to remain passive but to take action.”⁴⁷¹ Nabavi chooses to translate the term as ‘strength of conviction’.⁴⁷² Pinpointing zeal as form of active and self-assured emotive expression that is rooted in a strength of conviction inimical to dialogue, compromise or hermeneutical curiosity helps to explain, in part, the instances of special rapport that were established between U.S. missions and arms of the Qajar state, as well as U.S. missions and the constitutional reformers. All identified elements of the Persian Shi’i religious establishment in terms of zealotry, while remaining largely unreflective about their own ‘strength of conviction.’ The epistemology of this “other” was viewed with a sense of natural competition; it interrupted mutually converging, if exclusive, goals for hegemony.

This hegemonic turn inherent in Qajar dynastic preservation, U.S. foreign mission translation, and the dominant social aspiration of the constitutionalists for the authority of rule of law invites us to consider the political forms and functions each utilized or rebuffed, whether consciously or not, in their respective attempts to conserve, convert, and create.

⁴⁷⁰ Honor is Algar’s preferred translation for *gheyrat*. See Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 98.

⁴⁷¹ Negin Nabavi, “Readership, the Press and the Public Sphere in the Constitutional Era,” in H.E. Chehabi and Vanessa Martin (eds.), *Iran’s Constitutional Revolution* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2010), pp. 453-454. Footnote 21.

⁴⁷² Negin Nabavi, “Readership, the Press and the Public Sphere in the Constitutional Era,” in H.E. Chehabi and Vanessa Martin (eds.), *Iran’s Constitutional Revolution* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2010), pp. 453-454. Footnote 21.

The politics of empire and colony against understanding

The U.S. foreign missions enterprise in Persia and the Iranian constitutional revolution intersect in a moment in which “the ‘*ulamā*’ developed independent strategies to maintain their rank within society at large,” as way of contending with the process of modernization within the Qajar state.⁴⁷³ According to Gleave this “explains, in part at least, the participation of leading members of the ‘*ulamā*’ in movements aimed at restricting state power in the late Qajar period.”⁴⁷⁴ They were forced to navigate the shared forces, actions and reactions of early 20th century political liberalism and its ‘progressive’ impulses vis-à-vis secular nationalism. At the same time the Qajar dynasty continued to labor in the far shadow of the Safavid empire and near shadow of the Russia and Britain. Not itself a true imperial presence it was constantly forced to navigate the geopolitical and economic pressures imposed by imperial Britain and Russia in and around its territory. In attempts to avoid either formal political colonization or fatal imperial aggression the Qajars have often been criticized for opening their realm to forms of economic and cultural colonization which they believed would be more amenable to control and which could simultaneously serve as international bulwarks against a more radical loss of power. Such arrangements demonstrate the close proximity in which questions of empire and colony rest.

Kohn and Reddy observe that the two terms are used as synonyms with some frequency. They turn to the etymology of the words to talk about the differences between them, observing:

Robert Gleave, “Preface,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 6.

⁴⁷⁴ Robert Gleave, “Preface,” in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 6.

The term colony comes from the Latin word *colonus*, meaning farmer. This root reminds us that the practice of colonialism usually involved the transfer of population to a new territory, where the arrivals lived as permanent settlers while maintaining political allegiance to their country of origin. Imperialism, on the other hand, comes from the Latin term *imperium*, meaning to command. Thus, the term imperialism draws attention to the way that one country exercises power over another, whether through settlement, sovereignty, or indirect mechanisms of control.⁴⁷⁵

In this way the distinction between colonialism as “a practice of domination, which involves the subjugation of one people to another” and imperialism as the deployment of “political and economic control over a dependent territory” becomes more clear.⁴⁷⁶

Cultural colonialism, in the form of an overtly epistemic campaign divorced from the political trappings of a governing apparatus connected to land or territorial claims, formed a significant part of U.S. mission work. The reality of missions in the context of Qajar Iran, much as in the Ottoman Empire, Becker explains, differs from that of other expressions of “colonial evangelism” throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries because of “the absence of a concomitant colonial authority.”⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁵ Margaret Kohn, and Kavita Reddy, “Colonialism,” in Edward N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2017 Edition),

URL = <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2017/entries/colonialism/>

⁴⁷⁶ Margaret Kohn and Kavita Reddy, “Colonialism,” in Edward N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2017 Edition),

URL = <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2017/entries/colonialism/>

⁴⁷⁷ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 29. Becker acknowledges the debt to Beidelman’s *Colonial Evangelism* and suggests the following for more on the literature: Porter, “Religion and Empire.”; Copely, “Christianity as an Arm of Empire.”; Stuart, “Introduction: ‘Mission and Empire’”; Etherington, “*Missions and Empire* Revisited.” Becker, Endnote 104, 363. See also Kenneth Scott Latourette, “Colonialism and missions: Progressive separation,” *J. Church & St.* 7, 1965, pp. 330-349.

One result of this, Becker suggests, is that “[d]espite their ability to bring in diplomatic pressure when needed ... and their abundant material resources, the American missionaries in Urmia did not have a colonial political arm.”⁴⁷⁸ Here Becker leaves unresolved the source and direction of the diplomatic pressure reference. The relationships between both British and Russian political presences in Iran as they relate to U.S. subjects in the form of missionaries are complex. And as U.S. missions in Iran extend into the 20th century context Presbyterian stewardship became even more closely aligned with U.S. congressional and executive power.

Becker briefly refers this later convergence when he write about William Ambrose Shedd, missionary to Persia and first cousin to U.S. vice president Charles G. Dawes. Shedd played a role in focusing U.S. popular attention and diplomatic pressure on the 1904 murder of his fellow missionary in Urmia, Benjamin Labaree.⁴⁷⁹ Becker’s summary that “the US Department of State involved itself in the affair, which put Urmia officials and their practices under the scrutiny of the authorities in Tabriz...” helps to clarify that the extension of a U.S. colonial political arm, in Iran specifically, was the result of a protectionist policy in relation to missionaries. In Iran a more developed political muscle would later flex itself much more aggressively during the course of the 1953 CIA directed coup d’état, in which Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddegh was overthrown and Pahlavi monarchic power was consolidated in the person of Mohammad Reza Shah. With the Suez crisis three years later, in 1956, the

⁴⁷⁸ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 29.

⁴⁷⁹ For more on the Labaree affair see Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, “American Crosses, Persian Crescents: Religion and the Diplomacy of US–Iranian Relations, 1834–1911,” *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5, 2011, pp. 607–625. See also Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810–1927* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota Press, 1971), p. 138. Grabill also notes that by 1918 Shedd “was both mission head in Urmia and an American vice consul.” 142.

U.S. moved into a more openly imperial position with regard to a post World War II Middle East.

Even this most superficial tracing of later history, in which the imperial vectors of U.S. foreign policy can be seen multiplied by the scalar of oil, helps to underscore Becker's observation that earlier on in Qajar Iran "the absence of colonialism may have at times made missionary impacts more prominent as the missionaries had the 'ability to borrow and build on certain constructions of imperial ideology without being burdened by the exigencies and compromises inherent in colonial rule.'"⁴⁸⁰

Hutchison further supports this contention with his assertion that a mid to late nineteenth century American imperialism "connoted a 'colonialism' that Americans, generally oblivious to the colonialism involved in their conquest and management of the native Americans, were inordinately proud of having avoided."⁴⁸¹ Again, we see the role of studied obliviousness that enabled non-state actors engaged in an intentional, if minor, process of population transfer without (on the whole) a change of original political allegiance to understand their mission work without any serious moral reflection on its colonial underpinnings, the very underpinnings that would open the way for a later extension of U.S. empire. Taken together, the arguments of Becker and Hutchison help articulate the ways in which U.S. mission action in Iran

⁴⁸⁰ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 30. Quoting Ussama Makdisi, "Reclaiming the Land of the Bible: Missionaries, Secularism, and Evangelical Modernity," *American Historical Review* 102, no.3, June 1997, p. 682.

⁴⁸¹ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 60-61. Hutchison's remark here can be read as drily condemnatory, and rightly so. However, in its absolutism it does risk overlooking some of the forms which mission work in Native American contexts took that were oppositional to the colonial laws and programs of U.S. state power. See for instance the ABCFM involvement in the question of Cherokee sovereignty in the case *Worcester v. Georgia*, 31 U.S. 515 (1832). Another context that escapes Hutchison's summation here, and which would further complicate the category he asserts is that of the American Colonization Society, an organization whose disputed and conflicted history is addressed in Douglas R. Egerton, "'Its Origin Is Not a Little Curious': A New Look at the American Colonization Society," *Journal of the Early Republic* 5, no. 4, 1985, pp. 463-480.

began rooted in a colonial desire for epistemic hegemony that was framed in terms of disinterested benevolence and continued, as their strength of conviction was translated and transformed into more nationally attuned concerns related to material culture.

In so far as this new mission emphasis on material culture in Iran retained a link to the ideological tradition of benevolence it can be seen in more conscious and articulate manifestations of education and healthcare. As Becker puts it:

...the ideology of the mission changed with the times. Progressive ideas, which went hand in hand with the Social Gospel, were creeping in by the end of the nineteenth century. ... The use of the language of progress and enlightenment increased among the missionaries, whereas the millennialism of the earlier mission either disappeared or at times was reconfigured with a this-worldly understanding of the end-time, the millennium albeit in a bourgeois mode...⁴⁸²

As a result “a greater focus on health and hygiene displaced the earlier ubiquity of the language of sin”, and “[t]he concern to improve the lives of Christians, long part of missionary discourse, became something more overtly material”.⁴⁸³ Hutchinson also suggests that this strand of mission history coheres with the contours of the North American Social Gospel movement as it gestated in the medium of nineteenth century imperialism – both anticipating a “religious and cultural conquest of the world.”⁴⁸⁴ Yet Hutchison disputes that this linkage between the twinned forces of religion and

⁴⁸² Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 268.

⁴⁸³ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 269

⁴⁸⁴ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 60-61

culture⁴⁸⁵ in the context of global transformation emerged in the late 19th century. Rather Hutchison argues that relationship had, “been equally important to the millennial enthusiasts of the earlier part of the century”.⁴⁸⁶ In support of this Hutchinson references Nathaniel Emmons, the first president of the Massachusetts Missionary Society, who, he claims, “ranked next to Hopkins as prime developer of the Edwardsean system”.⁴⁸⁷ In an 1800 Thanksgiving sermon Emmons preached:

...if our present enterprising spirit continues to operate...we shall in a very short time have the possession and dominion of this whole western world. It seems to be the design of Providence to diminish other nations and strengthen ours ... Hence there is great reason to believe that God is about to transfer the empire of the world from Europe to America, where he has planted his peculiar people.... This is probably the last great empire which he means to erect, before the kingdoms of this world are absorbed into the kingdom of Christ.⁴⁸⁸

If possible, Emmons’s heady sense of theological and practical possibility leapfrogs over even anything claimed by Josiah Strong in his touchstone 1885 work, *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis*, a text that arguably anchors the

⁴⁸⁵ Hutchinson indicates that his use of the term culture is primarily anthropological and uses it “to designate the entire secondary or humanly made environment.” He clarifies that “[i]n phrases that juxtapose ‘religion’ and ‘culture’ the latter is shorthand for what, strictly speaking, should read ‘the rest of culture’ or ‘secular culture.’” William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 5. note.

⁴⁸⁶ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 61.

⁴⁸⁷ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 61.

⁴⁸⁸ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 60-61. See N. Emmons, volume 5 of *Works*. 6 vols. Boston: Congregational Board of Publications, 1862, pp. 179-80. See, N. Emmons, *A sermon, preached on the annual Thanksgiving in Massachusetts. November 27, 1800* (Wrentham, Mass.: Printed by Nathaniel Heaton, 1800).

idea of the expansive importance of missions in a later U.S. generation, and is perhaps even more sympathetic to an imperial tone.⁴⁸⁹

Thus, from the start of the 19th century we see the ways in which religious millennialism aligns itself with what becomes a colonial project of foreign missions en route to a utopic vision of the fulfillment of messianic promise. And by the end of the 19th century we see the ways in which this utopic vision, while still articulated within a religious context, had come to draw more liberally from the well of political liberalism, as well as the language of progressive realization in socio-national humanitarian programs, than from the premise of an immediate and absolute eschatological horizon.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have acknowledged the importance of perspective and interpretation in approaching various forms of understanding around the theoretical designs and practical outcomes that comprise the history of U.S. missions in Iran. In doing we have also identified understanding as a key to navigating difference in environments where international dynamics place a primary accent on alterity. By critically engaging the movement of the U.S. missions in Iran toward states of familiarity in religious, cultural and political spaces we have been able to discern in

⁴⁸⁹ Josiah Strong, *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis* (New York: The American Home Missionary Society, 1885). For a comparative understanding of the emerging U.S. imperial ethos in this decade consider the popular and influential trio of books written by U.S. Navy admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan. The first two dealt with historic naval empires. The last was titled: *The Interest of America in Sea Power*. It was published in 1897, a year prior to U.S. annexation of Hawai'i. Hawai'i was another context in which the ABCFM was a notable force. For more on this context and history see Jennifer Fish Kashay, "Agents of Imperialism: Missionaries and Merchants in Early-Nineteenth-Century Hawaii," *The New England Quarterly* 80, no. 2, 2007, pp. 280-298. See also Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The cultural power of law* (Princeton University Press, 2000).

this chapter that a preference for integrative action and an epistemological dogmatic-normativity remained the organizing logic of the ABCFM, despite the meliorating influence of a motive force of compassion traceable to the mission's intellectual roots. By establishing the mission's early antipathy to mutual forms of negotiated understanding we were also able to chart in this chapter its change along an axis of understanding over time, as evidenced in the architectural progression from a fortress mentality on the plain of Urmia to a culturally engaged creativity in Rolleston Hall at Alborz College. The chapter's attention to these physical spaces and their social and economic implications also reveals the underappreciated importance of the mission apparatus as a site of contention in Qajar-Shi'i power politics, as a site of national formation in the development of Assyrian culture, and as a site of innovation in the larger history of Iranian educational and political reform. In identifying the U.S. mission progression from a minority religious movement to a culturally entrenched institution in Iran this chapter also posits a reciprocal relationship between the operation of zeal, with its capacity to act as a driver of political change, and the cultivation of solidarity. Finally in this chapter we have sought to clarify the positions of colony and empire and their relationship with regard to the idea of an ideal historical form. This has led us to apprehend the utopic nature of the mission efforts, a further study of which comprises the final chapter. However, we now turn to our next chapter on women in mission in order to observe how, in contradistinction to the utopic, a model of piecemeal social change advanced both with and within these missions with regard to women's rights, opportunities, and education.

Chapter 4: Women and Mission

Introduction

The relationship between mission, women and utopia is one that is broached by the work of Amanda Porterfield in her study, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries*.⁴⁹⁰ In it Porterfield observes the similarities between Mount Holyoke and the Oneida Community. Mount Holyoke was the women's seminary founded by Mary Lyon that sent the first unaccompanied woman missionary, Fidelia Fiske, to Persia in 1843. Oneida, New York became the ultimate home of the eponymous community founded by John Humphrey Noyes in 1848. Oneida is a good example of a utopian community in which the communitarian, socialist, and millenarian strains of thought present in the early to middle 19th century U.S. cohered.⁴⁹¹ Michael Barkun identifies in the utopian communities of this era, a “fusion of belief and practice,” as well as “a distinctive attitude toward the efficacy of human actions”, both of which markers also characterize the Jordan era U.S. missions in Iran.⁴⁹² Barkun also notes that in these utopias there was a belief that “communal living promoted higher states of individual virtue.”⁴⁹³ This focus on virtue can be seen especially in the development of mission efforts to cultivate women's ministry as distinctive form of outreach and transformation.

⁴⁹⁰ See Amanda Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

⁴⁹¹ See Richard Francis, *Transcendental Utopias: Individual and Community at Brook Farm, Fruitlands, and Walden* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997). See also Michael Barkun, *Crucible of the Millennium: The Burned-Over District of New York in the 1840s* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986).

⁴⁹² Michael Barkun, *Crucible of the Millennium: The Burned-Over District of New York in the 1840s* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986), p. 64.

⁴⁹³ Michael Barkun, *Crucible of the Millennium: The Burned-Over District of New York in the 1840s* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986), p. 64.

Porterfield notes the comparison between Mount Holyoke and Oneida as being “especially instructive” and articulates the similarities in the following way:

Despite radical differences in their interpretation of Protestant doctrine, both Lyons and Noyes were steeped in the theology of Jonathan Edwards and his disciples, both attempted to institutionalize Christian principles in every facet of community life; and both were optimistic and millenarian about social change. Both fused the enthusiasm for invention and efficiency characteristic of the new industrial age with an ideal of psychological consensus and mutuality characteristic of earlier Puritan communities.⁴⁹⁴

Noting these common drivers and characteristics, when examining the extension of Mount Holyoke in its mission to Persia, we can affirm the ways in which U.S. women’s foreign mission work was also rooted alongside utopian motivations.

Women in U.S. foreign missions

Women’s foreign missions, however, raise issues that exceed condensation or consideration in utopian terms. By exploring more broadly the distinguishing characteristics of women’s mission work in the 19th and 20th centuries we may also consider how the use of a gender lens affects our vision of the past, as well our understanding of its impact on the potential of contemporary U.S.-Iran relations. In this regard, having already noted Hutchison’s foundational work in tracing academic re-engagement with the study of missions during the 1970s, we can more precisely stipulate that this return to the idea of mission was also inclusive of “[m]odern

⁴⁹⁴ Amanda Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 33-34.

scholarship on American women missionaries”, which Barbara Reeves-Ellington holds “began with the new social history in the 1970s”.⁴⁹⁵ According to Reeves-Ellington this scholarship emerged “as historians asked questions about the significance of religion in women’s lives and the ways in which religion shaped women’s agency.”⁴⁹⁶ Similar concerns continue to motivate this chapter, which will consider the relationship between women, mission, and social reform in the specific context of Iran.⁴⁹⁷

According to Reeves-Ellington one of the reasons that mission proved an attractive site of engagement for some women was that “[m]issions offered a less radical form of activism than abolition and suffrage.”⁴⁹⁸ Such an observation underscores the reality that foreign missions, abolition, and suffrage were mutually entangled insofar as they shared common origins in a hope for social transformation. During the years when the foreign missions movement was extending itself globally, and in this instance, throughout Iran, abolitionism and women’s suffrage were often supported

⁴⁹⁵ Barbara Reeves-Ellington, “Women, Protestant Missions, and American Cultural Expansion, 1800 to 1938: A Historiographical Sketch,” *Social Sciences and Missions* 24, 2011, p. 191.

⁴⁹⁶ Barbara Reeves-Ellington, “Women, Protestant Missions, and American Cultural Expansion, 1800 to 1938: A Historiographical Sketch,” *Social Sciences and Missions* 24, 2011, p. 191. See also, for example, Ann Douglas, *Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977); Barbara Welter, “The Feminization of American Religion: 1800-1860,” in Mary S. Hartman and Lois W. Banner (eds.), *Clio’s Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women* (New York: Harper, 1974), pp. 137-57.

⁴⁹⁷ In “Cultural hermeneutics: a postcolonial look at mission,” *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 20, no. 1, 2004, pp. 23-40, Letty Russell acknowledges that scholarship around feminist missiology can be difficult to find. For historically situated scholarship addressing other geographic contexts she suggests reading Kwok Pui-Lan and Mercy Amba Oduyoye. See Kwok Pui-Lan, “Unbinding our feet: Saving brown women and feminist religious discourse,” in Kwok Pui-Lan and Laura E. Donaldson (eds.), *Postcolonialism, feminism and religious discourse* (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 62-81. See also Kwok Pui-Lan, “The Image of the “White Lady”: Gender and Race in Christian Mission,” in Fiorenza, Elisabeth Schüssler (ed.), *The Power of Naming: A Concilium Reader in Feminist Liberation Theology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1996), pp. 250-258. See also Mercy Amba Oduyoye (ed.) “Women in Mission,” special issue, *International Review of Mission* 81, no. 322 (April 1992). Russell also refers to the work of Katja Heidemanns; see “Missiology of Risk?: Explorations in Mission Theology from a German Feminist Perspective.” *International Review of Mission* 93, no. 368 (2004), pp. 105-118.

⁴⁹⁸ Barbara Reeves-Ellington, “Women, Protestant Missions, and American Cultural Expansion, 1800 to 1938: A Historiographical Sketch,” *Social Sciences and Missions* 24, 2011, p.192

and advanced by a cross-section of similar persons and institutions.⁴⁹⁹ Abolition and suffrage were pursued more specifically in terms of rights-based language that was overtly attentive to questions racial and gender inequality and their socio-legal dimensions. Missions conversely at times exacerbated racialized discourse, and as we will see relied upon a gendered notion of difference even as they sought to alleviate gender disparities to some extent, particularly in educational settings. Notably, the first society of women organized around missionary purposes, the Boston Female Society for Missionary purposes, established in 1800, preceded the founding of the ABCFM by a decade. And as Reeves-Ellington notes “[b]y 1839, 680 female societies actively collected funds for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (American Board) alone.”⁵⁰⁰ This funding stream was instrumental in establishing the level of financial independence that has been previously observed as a defining characteristic of the U.S. missions in Persia.

The Woman’s Union Missionary Society, organized in the mid-nineteenth century, stands historically as the preeminent independent sending body for women’s foreign mission in the U.S.⁵⁰¹ However, following the general tendency toward denominational specialization and separation, visible in the transfer from ABCFM to Presbyterian control in Persia, by the later half of the nineteenth century denominations began to establish their own women’s mission boards. According to Reeves-Ellington “[b]y 1900, forty-one American women’s boards existed across the

⁴⁹⁹ See for instance the ordination of Antoinette Brown (1853) in the context of her work on abolitionism and women’s rights. For more on Brown see J.S. J.S., “Antoinette Brown Blackwell,” in M.E. Waithe M.E. (eds.), *A History of Women Philosophers*, vol. 3 (Dordrecht: Springer, 1991), pp., 185-196.

⁵⁰⁰ See Barbara Reeves-Ellington, “Women, Protestant Missions, and American Cultural Expansion, 1800 to 1938: A Historiographical Sketch,” *Social Sciences and Missions* 24, 2011, p.193-4

⁵⁰¹ See Barbara Welter, “She Hath Done What She Could: Protestant Women’s Missionary Careers in Nineteenth-Century America,” *American Quarterly* 30, no. 5, 1978, pp. 624-638. See also Ann White, “Counting the Cost of Faith. America’s Early Female Missionaries,” *Church History* 57, no. 1, 1988, pp. 19-30.

United States.”⁵⁰² The result of all this organization was a large-scale movement⁵⁰³ that was financially persuasive, with “annual sums in excess of a million dollars”, and popular.⁵⁰⁴ Membership across these organizations exceeded that of the National Women’s Suffrage Association.⁵⁰⁵ Indeed such was the impact that Heuser claims “by the end of the nineteenth century, the American Protestant overseas missionary force had become feminized.”⁵⁰⁶ In support of this characterization Zirinsky finds that by the time of the Presbyterian transition two thirds of missionaries in Iran were women. He suggests that this is because “[m]issionary service was one of the few careers open to unmarried women, and in some respects it offered more freedom and opportunity than did those few choices open to them in America.”⁵⁰⁷

However, Welter draws attention to the fact that even this measure of freedom, realized against the emerging background of the U.S. women’s suffrage movement⁵⁰⁸ came about gradually as a result of “the changing role of women within the American

⁵⁰² See Barbara Reeves-Ellington, “Women, Protestant Missions, and American Cultural Expansion, 1800 to 1938: A Historiographical Sketch,” *Social Sciences and Missions* 24, 2011, p.193-4.

⁵⁰³ For a contemporary overview of the half-century of structured women’s mission organizing celebrated in 1910 see Helen Barrett Montgomery, *Western Women in Eastern Lands* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1910).

⁵⁰⁴ See Barbara Reeves-Ellington, “Women, Protestant Missions, and American Cultural Expansion, 1800 to 1938: A Historiographical Sketch,” *Social Sciences and Missions* 24, 2011, p.193-4.

⁵⁰⁵ See Barbara Reeves-Ellington, “Women, Protestant Missions, and American Cultural Expansion, 1800 to 1938: A Historiographical Sketch,” *Social Sciences and Missions* 24, 2011, p.193-4.

⁵⁰⁶ Frederick J. Heuser Jr., “Women’s Work for Women: Belle Sherwood Hawkes and the East Persia Presbyterian Mission,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 65, No. 1, WOMEN IN MISSION, Spring 1987, p. 7.

⁵⁰⁷ Michael P. Zirinsky, “Harbingers of Change: Presbyterian Women in Iran, 1883—1949,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 70, No. 3, Fall 1992, p. 175. See also Kendal P. Mobley, *Helen Barrett Montgomery: the global mission of domestic feminism* (Waco Texas: Baylor University Press, 2009); Ruth Tucker, “Female mission strategists: a historical and contemporary perspective,” *Practical Anthropology* 15, no. 1, 1987, pp. 73-89; Robert Pierce Beaver, *American Protestant women in world mission: History of the first feminist movement in North America* (Grand Rapids: WB Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1980).

⁵⁰⁸ See Holly J. McCammon, Karen E. Campbell, Ellen M. Granberg, and Christine Mowery, “How movements win: Gendered opportunity structures and US women’s suffrage movements, 1866 to 1919,” *American Sociological Review*, 66 (1), 2001, pp. 49-70. See also Anne M. Boylan, “Women and politics in the era before Seneca Falls,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 10, no. 3, 1990, pp. 363-382; Sally McMillen, *Seneca Falls and the origins of the women’s rights movement* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Protestant foreign missionary movement”.⁵⁰⁹ She notes that “[t]he role of missionary wife” was “the only role within missionary life that women were expected to fill in the first generation of service”.⁵¹⁰ The opening of roles within missions may be traced to a complex confluence of factors ranging from shifting social norms within the U.S. domestic sphere to the recognition of emerging social needs with foreign mission contexts. While we may posit that foreign missions increasingly offered some women a path toward social and professional liberation that, due to its religious framework, became acceptable, respectable and realizable prior to other peer opportunities in the U.S. sought by way of a more explicit women’s rights discourse,⁵¹¹ it is also important to recognize the way in which such roles were also instrumentalized by the mission boards for which these women worked.

For instance, following the mid-century determination by many mission boards that “pagan women wielded great power, and these powerful women, because of local custom and taboos, were inaccessible to male missionaries”,⁵¹² there was a more concerted effort “to send single ladies to foreign missions”.⁵¹³ Here we have an early and unintended example of cross-cultural liberation in which the gender-bound structures U.S. women were being sent to transform were simultaneously instrumental in affording those very women greater agency. Welter confirms this when she notes

⁵⁰⁹ Barbara Welter, “She Hath Done What She Could: Protestant Women’s Missionary Careers in Nineteenth-Century America,” *American Quarterly* 30, no. 5, 1978, p. 624.

⁵¹⁰ Barbara Welter, “She Hath Done What She Could: Protestant Women’s Missionary Careers in Nineteenth-Century America,” *American Quarterly* 30, no. 5, 1978, p. 626.

⁵¹¹ See Ruth Crocker, “From widow’s mite to widow’s might: The philanthropy of Margaret Olivia Sage,” *American Presbyterians* 74, no. 4, 1996, pp. 254-255. See also Judith Wellman, “The Seneca Falls women’s rights convention: A study of social networks,” *Journal of Women’s History* 3, no. , 1991, pp. 9-37.

⁵¹² Barbara Welter, “She Hath Done What She Could: Protestant Women’s Missionary Careers in Nineteenth-Century America,” *American Quarterly* 30, no. 5, 1978, p. 631.

⁵¹³ Barbara Welter, “She Hath Done What She Could: Protestant Women’s Missionary Careers in Nineteenth-Century America,” *American Quarterly* 30, no. 5, 1978, p. 631.

such concerns relative to such cultural difference as one impetus behind the founding of Women's Union Missionary Society in 1861.⁵¹⁴ She writes:

...the Indian zenanas, the women's quarters in Japan, Africa, and Persia, could not be entered by a male, whether missionary or doctor. And the married women missionaries were very busy being the 'light and solace' of Christian homes. The answer to this dilemma was found in recruiting single women for the mission field.⁵¹⁵

As a result, particularly for women who stood independently outside a family matrix, missions were a mix of opportunity and agency that were yet subject to organizational structures of control.

The women involved in these missionary societies had to navigate their own palimpsest, layers of geography, religious history, and national identity, to which was also added the "ideal of American domesticity".⁵¹⁶ This gender dimension of U.S. foreign missions "shaped women's interactions with male missionaries and female proselytes, provoked conflicts between married women and single women, and constrained or facilitated the efforts of all women to participate in the work of evangelization."⁵¹⁷ Amidst these crosscutting dynamics Reeves-Ellington argues for "a recognition of the importance of everyday struggles to exercise power, mold identity, and influence change among multiple groups of individuals caught up in the

⁵¹⁴ Barbara Welter, "She Hath Done What She Could: Protestant Women's Missionary Careers in Nineteenth-Century America," *American Quarterly* 30, no. 5, 1978, p. 631.

⁵¹⁵ Barbara Welter, "She Hath Done What She Could: Protestant Women's Missionary Careers in Nineteenth-Century America," *American Quarterly* 30, no. 5, 1978, p. 631.

⁵¹⁶ Barbara Reeves-Ellington, "Women, Protestant Missions, and American Cultural Expansion, 1800 to 1938: A Historiographical Sketch," *Social Sciences and Missions* 24, 2011, p. 199. See also Amy Kaplan, "Manifest domesticity," *American Literature* 70, no. 3, 1998, pp. 581-606.

⁵¹⁷ Barbara Reeves-Ellington, "Women, Protestant Missions, and American Cultural Expansion, 1800 to 1938: A Historiographical Sketch," *Social Sciences and Missions* 24, 2011, p. 199.

missionary encounter”.⁵¹⁸ Such sympathy for the complexity of interaction aligns with the methodological approach already taken by this work, as does Reeves-Ellington’s suggestion of “focused readings of the missionary archive” as a tool to help receive and shape views around women in mission.⁵¹⁹ As such we now turn to what must be ranked as one of the foremost sites in the history of the U.S. women’s missionary movement – Mount Holyoke.

Mount Holyoke and Fidelity Fisk

In 1858 Joseph P. Thompson called Mount Holyoke the “nursery of missionaries.”⁵²⁰ Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, founded 1837 by Mary Lyon in South Hadley, Massachusetts, was an instrumental and influential staging ground for early American mission work.⁵²¹ It was from Mount Holyoke that recent graduate Fidelity Fiske travelled to Urmia as part of the ABCFM’s Mission to the Nestorians and established a seminary there in 1843 where girls and young women could board.⁵²² The school was seen as an extension of Mount Holyoke in Persia and was called by Fiske herself

⁵¹⁸ Barbara Reeves-Ellington, “Women, Protestant Missions, and American Cultural Expansion, 1800 to 1938: A Historiographical Sketch,” *Social Sciences and Missions* 24, 2011, p. 199.

⁵¹⁹ Barbara Reeves-Ellington, “Women, Protestant Missions, and American Cultural Expansion, 1800 to 1938: A Historiographical Sketch,” *Social Sciences and Missions* 24, 2011, p. 199.

⁵²⁰ Joseph Parrish Thompson, *Memoirs of Rev. David Tappan Stoddard, Missionary to the Nestorians* (New York: Putney & Russell, 1858), p. 11.

⁵²¹ See Joseph Conforti, “Mary Lyon, the founding of Mount Holyoke College, and the cultural revival of Jonathan Edwards,” *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 3, no. 1, 1993, pp. 69-89. See Kathryn Manson Tomasek, “Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 30, no. 1, 1999, pp. 143-145. See also Sherrie A. Inness, “‘Repulsive as the multitudes by whom I am surrounded’: Constructing the contact zone in the writings of Mount Holyoke Missionaries, 1830–1890,” *Women’s Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 23, no. 4, 1994, pp. 365-384.

⁵²² See Thomas Laurie and Fidelity Fiske, *Woman and Her Saviour in Persia* (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1863). See also Fidelity Fiske, *Recollections of Mary Lyon: With Selections from Her Instructions to the Pupils in Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary* (Boston: American Tract Society, 1866). For critical studies that attend to Fiske see Dana Lee Robert, *American women in mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1996). See also Amanda Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

the “Holyoke of Oroomiah”.⁵²³ In fact, Porterfield notes “Fidelia Fiske had been recruited as a missionary to Persia by Justin Perkins” precisely because he was “an enthusiastic advocate of the system of education that Mary Lyon has established at Mount Holyoke”.⁵²⁴ Perkins’s role as gatekeeper in this process underscores the mechanics of masculine control that attended women’s mission work. And yet Fiske’s presence as a missionary in her own right, distinct from the unique position of undefined influence enjoyed by missionary spouses, also highlights the way in which the U.S. missions supported an idea of women’s agency and leadership from relatively the first instance of their presence in Persia. Mission work was a space of liberation for U.S. women and a space of cultural challenge around gender norms for women and men of various religions and ethnicities in Persia who came in contact with or enrolled in the mission schools. Although sometimes referred to simply as “the female seminary”, the building in Urmia where Fiske taught came officially to bear her name – an open and public reminder that a woman was at the helm.⁵²⁵

However, to suggest that Fiske’s work in the mission signaled a move toward gender parity would be anachronistic and historically inaccurate. The core idea that undergirded the approach of U.S. missions to questions of involvement came to be known as “women’s work for women”, a philosophy that presupposed a separate, and unequal, woman’s sphere of influence centered largely around the home and domestic tasks.⁵²⁶ Heuser notes that these limitations were often self-imposed and articulated in

⁵²³ Amanda Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 68.

⁵²⁴ Amanda Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 69.

⁵²⁵ For photos of the building and Fiske with her students see Vasili Shoumanov, *Assyrians in Chicago* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2001), p. 16. This work incorporates significant photographic archival material from the Ashurbanipal Library of the Assyrian Universal Alliance Foundation.

⁵²⁶ See Leslie Fleming (ed.), *Women’s Work for Women: Missionaries and Social Change in Asia* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989).

the following way: “Our work is women’s work for women; not high to low; not rich to poor; but wife to wife; sister to sister.”⁵²⁷ As such women’s missions often supposed a capacity to influence through targeted socio-religious change that did not seek radically to unseat existing community structures. In this way they reflected and reproduced the value commitments of their sending society in ways that challenged particular gender norms and roles, but which did not intend to press their new context on points of governance or legality.⁵²⁸ Theirs was a customary advocacy that first had effect on individual lives. Heuser suggests that such logic was premised upon the ideas that “[f]oreign women exerted tremendous power and influence within their own families”, as well as that “the best way of reaching the male population was through the women.”⁵²⁹ He concludes, “[s]ince foreign customs and restrictions, however, often made indigenous women inaccessible to male missionaries, the use of female missionaries, especially single women, represented an answer to this dilemma.”⁵³⁰ Zirinsky expounds upon these restrictions explaining, “[a]lthough Iranian women and their families’ private quarters (*andiruns*) were forbidden (*haram*) to unrelated men, women could gain access to them. Hence women’s work for women theoretically opened more than half of the population to the mission.”⁵³¹

⁵²⁷ Qtd. Frederick J. Heuser Jr., “Women’s Work for Women: Belle Sherwood Hawkes and the East Persia Presbyterian Mission,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 65, No. 1, WOMEN IN MISSION, Spring 1987, p. 8. See also Lois A. Boyd and R. Douglass Brackenridge, *Presbyterian Women in America: Two Centuries of a Quest for Status* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983), p. 165.

⁵²⁸ It should be noted that this observation is offered more in reference to ABCFM activity. Later Presbyterian work engaged in governmental advocacy particularly around family law. See Michael P. Zirinsky, “Harbingers of Change: Presbyterian Women in Iran, 1883—1949,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 70, No. 3, Fall 1992, p. 7.

⁵²⁹ Frederick J. Heuser Jr., “Women’s Work for Women: Belle Sherwood Hawkes and the East Persia Presbyterian Mission,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 65, No. 1, WOMEN IN MISSION, Spring 1987, p. 8.

⁵³⁰ Frederick J. Heuser Jr., “Women’s Work for Women: Belle Sherwood Hawkes and the East Persia Presbyterian Mission,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 65, No. 1, WOMEN IN MISSION, Spring 1987, p. 8.

⁵³¹ Michael P. Zirinsky, “Harbingers of Change: Presbyterian Women in Iran, 1883—1949,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 70, No. 3, Fall 1992, p. 175-6.

Porterfield explains that in Persia, “[i]n replication of the educational system at Mount Holyoke, the Fisk seminary became an outpost of American Protestant Orthodoxy and a staging ground for the implementation of ideas about the role of women in society”.⁵³² She continues that they “challenged traditional conventions of gender differentiation in Persia” as “Nestorian women learned to read and write, and to expect *companionship* in marriage.”⁵³³ A key qualification here is that the work was initially limited to Nestorian women. In the same way that Perkins’s mission was limited to Nestorian Christians, so too was Fiske’s. And much in the same way that we have previously contended, Porterfield observes that “Fiske’s work among the Assyrian women constituted the overriding factor in destabilizing the relations between the Assyrian and Muslim communities of the region in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.”⁵³⁴ Murre-van den Berg rejects the gender exclusivity of this argument, but affirms once again “that the influence of the American missionaries on the Assyrian community as a whole contributed significantly to a further deterioration of the relationship between Assyrians and Muslims.”⁵³⁵

It is clear that the Assyrian community was deeply affected by the presence of Fiske and the Mount Holyoke ethos. This is made evident in the testimony of Mar Yohannan, the Nestorian bishop who was an influential interlocutor for the ABCFM. He “lived for a time with Perkins and his wife in Persia, taught them Syriac, and

⁵³² Amanda Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 68.

⁵³³ Amanda Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 68.

⁵³⁴ See Heleen Murre-van den Berg, ““Dear Mother of My Soul”: Fidelia Fiske and the Role of Women Missionaries in Mid-Nineteenth Century Iran,” *Exchange* 30, no. 1, 2001, p. 34, footnote.

⁵³⁵ See Heleen Murre-van den Berg, ““Dear Mother of My Soul”: Fidelia Fiske and the Role of Women Missionaries in Mid-Nineteenth Century Iran,” *Exchange* 30, no. 1, 2001, p. 34, footnote.

accompanied them on their second visit to the United States.”⁵³⁶ On his return from the 1843 visit to the U.S. Yohannan “was remembered to have said, more than once, ‘Of all the colleges in America, Mount Holy Oke to be the best; and when I see such a school here I die.’”⁵³⁷ Yohannan also expressed his amazement at women’s literacy in the U.S. and was a supporter of Fiske upon his return. When her first students arrived they were accompanied by Yohannan himself, “[o]ne of them was his own niece, Selby, of Gavalan, seven years of age; the other, Hanee, of Geog Tapa, about three years older.”⁵³⁸ Yohannan, then “placing their little hands in hers, said, in his broken English, ‘They be your daughters’”.⁵³⁹

This model of parental authority was one that Fiske encouraged and is reflected in the way Fiske was addressed by her students. Murre-van den Berg’s essay on these dynamics is titled with reference to the opening line of one of Selby’s letters to Fiske. “Dear mother of my soul”, it begins.⁵⁴⁰ Fiske herself referred to her “pupils as ‘daughter’ or ‘children,’ speaking of her school as ‘my own little family’”.⁵⁴¹ This family dynamic extended as well to other members of the mission. For instance, in the memorial book created following the death of Samuel Perkins’s daughter, Judith, we see the way that she had also viewed Fiske in familial terms as a source for emulation.

⁵³⁶ Amanda Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 69.

⁵³⁷ Amanda Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 70.

⁵³⁸ Thomas Laurie and Fidelity Fiske. *Woman and Her Saviour in Persia* (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1863), pp. 51-52.

⁵³⁹ Thomas Laurie and Fidelity Fiske. *Woman and Her Saviour in Persia* (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1863), pp. 51-52.

⁵⁴⁰ Heleen Murre-van den Berg, ““Dear Mother of My Soul”: Fidelity Fiske and the Role of Women Missionaries in Mid-Nineteenth Century Iran,” *Exchange* 30, no. 1, 2001, p. 36.

⁵⁴¹ Heleen Murre-van den Berg, ““Dear Mother of My Soul”: Fidelity Fiske and the Role of Women Missionaries in Mid-Nineteenth Century Iran,” *Exchange* 30, no. 1, 2001, p. 36.

The anonymous author⁵⁴² writes that “[o]bserving a small mole on Ms. Fisk’s face, in her strong desire to be like “Aunt Fidelia” in all things, she requested, and repeatedly importuned, that a “spot,” as she called it, might be made on her own face”.⁵⁴³ Judith’s desire for physical transformation in the face of Fiske’s presence and Selby’s affirmation of spiritual transformation help underscore the ways in which gender changed the dynamics of conversion in the early period of the ABCFM mission.

The East Persia mission and Belle Hawkes

Family claims, as we have already seen, were not necessarily limited in terms of either their cultural origin or gender orientation. The Qajars could also adopt a rhetoric of paternal protectionism. However, as U.S. missions established a history in Persia, the fact that women in mission undertook almost exclusively to focus on a “domestic” sphere led to varieties of regular and small-scale interaction that proved conducive to enhancing modest claims of cross-cultural understanding and belonging. An excellent example of this may be witnessed in the exchange between Sarah “Belle” Sherwood Hawkes, a Presbyterian missionary in Hamadan⁵⁴⁴ at the turn of the twentieth century, and “[a] young Moslem woman who had been attending Mrs. Hawkes’ weekly Bible class.”⁵⁴⁵ Heuser indicates that reason for the student’s

⁵⁴² The book is credited to a missionary associate of Judith’s parents. See Judith Grant Perkins, *The Persian Flower: A Memoir of Judith Grant Perkins of Oroomiah* (Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1853), p. xi.

⁵⁴³ Judith Grant Perkins, *The Persian Flower: A Memoir of Judith Grant Perkins of Oroomiah* (Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1853), p. 15.

⁵⁴⁴ The Presbyterian mission in Hamadan dates from 1872, and the educational work that James Hawkes undertook amongst Jewish and Armenian boys. See Frederick J. Heuser Jr., “Women’s Work for Women: Belle Sherwood Hawkes and the East Persia Presbyterian Mission,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 65, No. 1, WOMEN IN MISSION, Spring 1987, p. 9.

⁵⁴⁵ Frederick J. Heuser Jr., “Women’s Work for Women: Belle Sherwood Hawkes and the East Persia Presbyterian Mission,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 65, No. 1, WOMEN IN MISSION, Spring, 1987, p. 7.

attendance at the class was not from an openness to conversion, but rather from a desire to interrogate “the Koran’s relevance to the present age.”⁵⁴⁶ Such reformist impulse was obviously welcomed, even if misunderstood, by the mission. However, the more striking ground of congress was not explicitly theological, but rather social concern expressed in sororal outreach that exceeded religious categories altogether. Hawkes had fallen ill at the start of 1919; upon hearing Hawkes’ indisposition “the woman sent her young son to the Hawkes’ residence with a small bag of flour.”⁵⁴⁷ Heuser recounts that Hawkes “expressed gratitude, but later remonstrated her, ‘knowing how slender her own resources were.’”⁵⁴⁸ The young women replied, “I call you my sister, should not a sister do that much?”⁵⁴⁹ Heuser notes further that this type of relationship “was not unique” but rather “exemplified the kind of relationship that often developed between American Protestant women and the indigenous women of diverse foreign cultures to whom they ministered.”⁵⁵⁰ This leads him to conclude that “[w]hat developed between these women was a bond that transcended ethnic and cultural boundaries.”⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁶ Frederick J. Heuser Jr., “Women’s Work for Women: Belle Sherwood Hawkes and the East Persia Presbyterian Mission,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 65, No. 1, WOMEN IN MISSION, Spring 1987, p. 7.

⁵⁴⁷ Frederick J. Heuser Jr., “Women’s Work for Women: Belle Sherwood Hawkes and the East Persia Presbyterian Mission,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 65, No. 1, WOMEN IN MISSION, Spring 1987, p. 7.

⁵⁴⁸ Frederick J. Heuser Jr., “Women’s Work for Women: Belle Sherwood Hawkes and the East Persia Presbyterian Mission,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 65, No. 1, WOMEN IN MISSION, Spring 1987, p. 7.

⁵⁴⁹ Frederick J. Heuser Jr., “Women’s Work for Women: Belle Sherwood Hawkes and the East Persia Presbyterian Mission,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 65, No. 1, WOMEN IN MISSION, Spring 1987, p. 7. See also Belle Sherwood Hawkes (BSH), “Report on Womens’ Work: Hamadan, 1 July 1918—30 June 1919,” Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Board of Foreign Missions Secretaries’ Files, Iran Mission, Record Group 91, box 1, folder 16, Presbyterian Historical Society (PHS), Philadelphia, PA

⁵⁵⁰ Frederick J. Heuser Jr., “Women’s Work for Women: Belle Sherwood Hawkes and the East Persia Presbyterian Mission,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 65, No. 1, WOMEN IN MISSION, Spring 1987, p. 7.

⁵⁵¹ Frederick J. Heuser Jr., “Women’s Work for Women: Belle Sherwood Hawkes and the East Persia Presbyterian Mission,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 65, No. 1, WOMEN IN MISSION, Spring 1987, p. 7.

Examples of these demographically diverse developmental bonds may be found by examining the history of the Faith Hubbard School in Hamadan, which was managed by Hawkes. Zirinsky describes Hawkes as “the heart of the mission at Hamadan.”⁵⁵² Hawkes tried “to break down prejudices and to create friendships with Iranian women.”⁵⁵³ As a way of doing this Hawkes “spent a great deal of her time on social visits (often more than fifteen a day) to the homes of Iranian women, especially at ‘feast’ times (e.g., *No Ruz* [Iranian New Year], Passover, and Armenian Easter.)”⁵⁵⁴ One result of this outreach was a gradual change in the composition of the school itself. Rostam-Kolayi notes that in the early twentieth century the minutes of the East Persia mission suggest that “attendance...gradually changed from Armenian to Persian”.⁵⁵⁵ Zirinsky offers more specific numbers with regard to the Faith Hubbard Girls’ School in Hamadan. He writes, “[i]n 1917 ... two-thirds of the students were Armenian, but by 1936 the religio-ethnic breakdown was as follows: forty-three Muslims, twenty Christians, and nine Jews/Baha’is.”⁵⁵⁶ These numbers reflect two realities relative to mission-based education in Iran in the early twentieth century. The first was the influence of women’s work and its capacity to engage with a wider spectrum of the Iranian population. The second was the establishment of a consensus that “especially as regards women’s education, the ‘best’ elementary and secondary

⁵⁵² Michael P. Zirinsky, “Harbingers of Change: Presbyterian Women in Iran, 1883—1949,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 70, No. 3, Fall 1992, p. 179.

⁵⁵³ Michael P. Zirinsky, “Harbingers of Change: Presbyterian Women in Iran, 1883—1949,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 70, No. 3, Fall 1992, p. 179.

⁵⁵⁴ Michael P. Zirinsky, “Harbingers of Change: Presbyterian Women in Iran, 1883—1949,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 70, No. 3, Fall 1992, p. 179.

⁵⁵⁵ Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi, “From Evangelizing to Modernizing Iranians: The American Presbyterian Mission and Its Iranian Students,” *Iranian Studies* 41, no. 2, 2008, p. 225.

⁵⁵⁶ Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi, “From Evangelizing to Modernizing Iranians: The American Presbyterian Mission and Its Iranian Students,” *Iranian Studies* 41, no. 2, 2008, p. 225.

schools during the reign of Reza Shah were considered to be those run by missionaries and minorities.”⁵⁵⁷

However, it would be disingenuous to suggest that the presence of women as members of the U.S. missions inevitably or necessarily led to instances of better intercultural communication and states of mutual respect. Given that the stance of the majority of U.S. women in mission remained one of haughty instrumentalism, in which cultural biases and prejudice went largely unchallenged, it seems that these advances often happened in spite of, rather than because of their best efforts. For example, for all of her community engagement Hawkes’s “attitude toward Persian society ... was marked by condescension, pity and often downright contempt.”⁵⁵⁸ She regularly described her students as “poor ignorant things” and “poor hampered creatures” in contrast to “the self-reliance and independence of American women”.⁵⁵⁹ Such views were consistent with contemporary mission publications that made derogatory and dismissive claims as matters of fact, such as, “Persian women ... did not possess the intelligence of an American ten year old female”, or “[t]hey are so unaccustomed to application of thought ... that all instruction must be of the simplest character and with the most wearisome repetition.”⁵⁶⁰ It can be difficult to square the small-minded cruelty of such language with the generosity of presence that simultaneously accompanied so many U.S. women in mission. The key to unlocking

⁵⁵⁷ Camron Michael Amin, “Propaganda and remembrance: gender, education, and “the women’s awakening” of 1936,” *Iranian Studies* 32, no. 3, 1999, p. 366.

⁵⁵⁸ Frederick J. Heuser Jr., “Women’s Work for Women: Belle Sherwood Hawkes and the East Persia Presbyterian Mission,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 65, No. 1, WOMEN IN MISSION, Spring 1987, p. 10-11.

⁵⁵⁹ Frederick J. Heuser Jr., “Women’s Work for Women: Belle Sherwood Hawkes and the East Persia Presbyterian Mission,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 65, No. 1, WOMEN IN MISSION, Spring 1987, p. 10-11.

⁵⁶⁰ Frederick J. Heuser Jr., “Women’s Work for Women: Belle Sherwood Hawkes and the East Persia Presbyterian Mission,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 65, No. 1, WOMEN IN MISSION, Spring 1987, pp. 23-25.

this tension lies in recognizing that many were motivated by an operative theology that both affirmed a sense of universal humanity, in this instance spoken of in terms of sisterhood or family, but also privileged a particular set of existential and epistemic religious claims, particularly as they related to a sense of social progress and reform.

The link between progress and religious content is visible in “[m]issionaries like Belle Hawkes” who “attributed the favorable status of western women to what they perceived as feminist reforms that were “based squarely on the principles of the Bible.”⁵⁶¹ As Heuser observes, it was expected that “Christianity was the means by which native women would be uplifted socially as well as spiritually.”⁵⁶² “Hence,” he continues “it became the duty of western women to liberate their foreign sisters”.⁵⁶³ And this liberation was understood as being synonymous with evangelism. Such a conflation of religious ideology with utopian social impulses tended toward a narrowing and domineering approach to difference that was explained on the grounds of moral superiority and practical beneficence. The scope of such instincts could at times be dizzying. For instance, Florence Smith, seeking to become part of the Presbyterian mission presence in Persia following World War I, wrote the following in her application:

I do not believe that the League of Nations or any other organization on earth can bring about peace on earth unless dominated by the principles of Christ. I feel that it is only

⁵⁶¹ Frederick J. Heuser Jr., “Women's Work for Women: Belle Sherwood Hawkes and the East Persia Presbyterian Mission,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 65, No. 1, WOMEN IN MISSION, Spring 1987, p. 11.

⁵⁶² Frederick J. Heuser Jr., “Women's Work for Women: Belle Sherwood Hawkes and the East Persia Presbyterian Mission,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 65, No. 1, WOMEN IN MISSION, Spring 1987, p. 11.

⁵⁶³ Frederick J. Heuser Jr., “Women's Work for Women: Belle Sherwood Hawkes and the East Persia Presbyterian Mission,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 65, No. 1, WOMEN IN MISSION, Spring 1987, p. 11.

through teaching Christ to the peoples of the earth that the
causes which make for war can be eradicated.⁵⁶⁴

Here the language of Christian domination is made explicit, as is the desire to infuse an organizational architecture with particular theological principles.

Throughout the Progressive Era, mission infrastructure and networks in Iran continued to influence U.S. national politics and positions. This is particularly evident in the effect that advocates for Middle Eastern missions, such as the Presbyterian Cleveland Dodge, had on Wilsonian diplomacy around the Treaty of Versailles.⁵⁶⁵ As a result the integrative aspirations voiced by Smith should be understood as reflecting a social discourse that was central rather than marginal. Such impulses toward religious dominance for the sake of social reform, insofar as they found operational purchase within Persia, were necessarily more modest and, as we have seen, more likely to be directed at educational system reform. Initially this was due to a more explicit authoritarian desire to influence and shape group epistemology. However, a comparative exposition of women's education in Iran and its correlation to social status in the U.S. increasingly became, in the words of Hawkes's co-worker, medical doctor Blanche Wilson⁵⁶⁶, yet another way in Iran "to arouse an interest in and a longing for those greater [blessings] that have been given to us and which have not

⁵⁶⁴ Qtd. Frederick J. Heuser Jr., "Presbyterian Women and the Missionary Call, 1870–1923," *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 73, No. 1, Spring 1995, p. 29.

⁵⁶⁵ See Joseph L. Grabill, "Cleveland H. Dodge, Woodrow Wilson, and the Near East," *Journal of Presbyterian History* (1962-1985) 48, no. 4, 1970, pp. 249-264. See also Kamyar Ghaneabassiri, "US foreign policy and Persia, 1856–1921," *Iranian Studies* 35, no. 1-3, 2002, pp. 145-175.

⁵⁶⁶ See Blanche Wilson Stead, "Kurdistan for Christ," *The Muslim World* 10, no. 3, 1920, pp. 241-250. See also the reference to Stead in Paul S. Seto, "CONVERSION vi. To Protestant Christianity in Persia," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, V/3, pp. 238-241.

yet been shared with them.”⁵⁶⁷ In this way the women’s work for women movement of the Presbyterian period both extended and transformed the initial ABCFM mission encounters around education. By emphasizing beatitude as a theological category realizable through education with tangible social consequences, in addition to the older salvific claims, the missions opened themselves to interpersonal and relational approaches championed by women that, while they were largely egalitarian in method, remained tethered to an ideological prejudice anchored by the logic of conversion.

Women and education in Iran

Even despite a structural prejudice for a particular form of Christian practice, mission education proved an increasingly attractive elective for many of the peoples of Iran in the first half of the 20th century. By comparing it with the nineteenth century tradition of education in Iran we can better understand how a system of formal and modern education emerging in the missions proved popular, alongside other national and minority educational programs in the country.⁵⁶⁸ The mission system widened access to social capital for women across economic divides, and it also cultivated the support of an Iranian elite who found a form of cultural liberation in the mission schools.

⁵⁶⁷ Frederick J. Heuser Jr., “Women’s Work for Women: Belle Sherwood Hawkes and the East Persia Presbyterian Mission,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 65, No. 1, WOMEN IN MISSION, Spring 1987, p. 11.

⁵⁶⁸ For general background see Willem M. Floor, “Education, Religion, and the Discourse of Cultural Reform in Qajar Iran,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 21, no. 1, 2001, pp. 78-79. See also Mikiya Koyagi, “Modern Education in Iran during the Qajar and Pahlavi Periods,” *History Compass* 7, no. 1, 2009, pp. 107-118; David Menashri, *Education and the Making of Modern Iran* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); Rudi Matthee, “Transforming dangerous nomads into useful artisans, technicians, agriculturists: education in the Reza Shah period,” *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3-4, 1993, pp. 313-336.

McElrone notes that although there are no statistics that were kept, mission records from the Qajar period indicated that “in many villages only two or three men can read, while a woman who can read is very rare”.⁵⁶⁹ McElrone and Rostam-Kolayi both distinguish between two strands of education in 19th century Iran. A more general type of education consisted mainly of religious instruction; this was accessible to the poor and took the form of *maktabs* and *madrassas*.⁵⁷⁰ The other was a system of private tutors that elite and upper-class families employed to educate their sons and daughters. This instruction occurred in the home.⁵⁷¹ According to Rostam-Kolayi the private tutoring of women in this regard had its antecedents in the Safavid period.⁵⁷² However, she acknowledges that “[f]emale education at the Qajar court (1796-1925) is better documented.”⁵⁷³ In particular, there are numerous accounts of women receiving private education at the royal harem. Not only did royal women seek an education, but some of their teachers were also women. Rostam-Kolayi gives the example of “a *mulla baji* (female religious instructor) named Khadijah, the mother of

⁵⁶⁹ Qtd. in Susynne M. McElrone, “Nineteenth-Century Qajar Women in the Public Sphere: An Alternative Historical and Historiographical Reading of the Roots of Iranian Women’s Activism,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 2005, p. 304

⁵⁷⁰ Susynne M. McElrone, “Nineteenth-Century Qajar Women in the Public Sphere: An Alternative Historical and Historiographical Reading of the Roots of Iranian Women’s Activism,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 2005, pp. 304-305. See also Badr al-Muluk Bamdad (Frank Ronald Charles Bagley (trans. and ed.), “From Darkness Into Light Women’s Emancipation in Iran,” (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1977).

⁵⁷¹ Susynne M. McElrone, “Nineteenth-Century Qajar Women in the Public Sphere: An Alternative Historical and Historiographical Reading of the Roots of Iranian Women’s Activism,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 2005, p. 304. See also Jasmin Rostam-Kolayi, “Origins of Iran’s Modern Girls’ Schools: From Private/National to Public/State,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3, *Special Issue: Innovative Women: Unsung Pioneers of Social Change*, Fall 2008, p. 60.

⁵⁷² Jasmin Rostam-Kolayi, “Origins of Iran’s Modern Girls’ Schools: From Private/National to Public/State,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3, *Special Issue: Innovative Women: Unsung Pioneers of Social Change*, Fall 2008, p. 60. See also Maria Szuppe, “The “Jewels of Wonder”: Learned Ladies and Princess Politicians in the Provinces of Early Safavid Iran,” *Women in the Medieval Islamic World*, 1998, pp. 325-348.

⁵⁷³ Jasmin Rostam-Kolayi, “Origins of Iran’s Modern Girls’ Schools: From Private/National to Public/State,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3, *Special Issue: Innovative Women: Unsung Pioneers of Social Change*, Fall 2008, p. 61.

Bibi Khanum Astarabadi who was a prominent educator of the late Qajar period”.⁵⁷⁴ The education itself was structured around “the Qur’an and religious stories, Persian and Arabic language, Persian literature, reading, writing, and perhaps some limited instruction in European geography, history, and languages”.⁵⁷⁵ In this regard Rostam-Kolayi notes that it was “neither entirely female-specific, nor substantially different from what was taught in *maktab*s (clerically-run elementary schools).”⁵⁷⁶ Perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic of this strand of education was its degree of segregation. Whether in a *harem* or a private family home, the women’s education of this era was structured to ensure that the private realm (*andarūn*)⁵⁷⁷ remained a space both sacrosanct and suppressive.

The memoir of Taj al-Saltanah, daughter of Nasir al-Din Shah, provides illustrative confirmation of these dynamics. In it she recounts how she “was assigned her own personal tutor, who was an older male relative with a clerical background and of dubious educational qualifications.”⁵⁷⁸ Taj al-Saltanah was unhappy with her early education, in particular with the level of knowledge and education her teacher possessed. She writes:

⁵⁷⁴ Jasmin Rostam-Kolayi, “Origins of Iran’s Modern Girls’ Schools: From Private/National to Public/State,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3, Special Issue: Innovative Women: Unsung Pioneers of Social Change, Fall 2008, p. 61.

⁵⁷⁵ Jasmin Rostam-Kolayi, “Origins of Iran’s Modern Girls’ Schools: From Private/National to Public/State,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3, Special Issue: Innovative Women: Unsung Pioneers of Social Change, Fall 2008, p. 61.

⁵⁷⁶ Jasmin Rostam-Kolayi, “Origins of Iran’s Modern Girls’ Schools: From Private/National to Public/State,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3, Special Issue: Innovative Women: Unsung Pioneers of Social Change, Fall 2008, p. 61.

⁵⁷⁷ Badr ol-Mouluk Bamdad describes the “houses of the Iranian notables”, which were close in design to the royal *harem*. She writes, “[t]he Houses of Iranian notables were divided into two sections, the outer apartments for the master and the men servants and the inner apartments for the wives and the maids.” It was the inner section that is referred to as *andarun*. Badr ol-Moluk Bamdad (F.R.C. Bagley (trans. and ed.)), *From Darkness into Light: Women’s Emancipation in Iran*, (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2013), p. 12.

⁵⁷⁸ Jasmin Rostam-Kolayi, “Origins of Iran’s Modern Girls’ Schools: From Private/National to Public/State,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3, Special Issue: Innovative Women: Unsung Pioneers of Social Change, Fall 2008, p. 61.

...the teacher really knew barely more than he taught us; all he wanted to do was earn a living and make ends meet. Ah misery, that I was unfortunate enough never to have a good understanding teacher and thus remained deprived of progress in life.⁵⁷⁹

She saw this lack of knowledge in her teacher as being part a larger predicament endured by women throughout Iran and beyond:

But alas, a thousand times alas, that through history women have found the door of knowledge closed in their face and discovered no guide or teacher. For this very reason, my education was severely limited, ultimately nonexistent, and eternal loss came to be my companion and mate.⁵⁸⁰

The rudimentary education came to an end when Taj al-Saltana was betrothed and married around the age of nine. Early marriages were widespread in Persia, both amongst the elite and the general populace. Criticism of this practice is repeatedly advanced in the writings of U.S. missionaries who made the connection, as did Taj al-Saltana, between unhappiness and gender inequality. Writing in a post Qajar period, and reflecting on this history in Iran, Samuel Jordan held, “[b]ecause of child marriage, polygamy, and easy divorce, the position of the wife has been inferior”.⁵⁸¹ Jordan, with unintentional irony, offers a solution to this problem from a masculine perspective, commenting on the fact that in 1935 “the young men are insisting on

⁵⁷⁹ Taj al-Saltana (Anna Vanzan and Amin Neshati (trans.), Abbas Amanat (edited with Notes and Introduction), *Crowning Anguish, Memoirs of a Persian Princess From the Harem to Modernity, 1884-1914* (Washington, DC: Mage Publishers, 2003), p.97.

⁵⁸⁰ Taj al-Saltana (Anna Vanzan and Amin Neshati (trans.), Abbas Amanat (edited with Notes and Introduction), *Crowning Anguish, Memoirs of a Persian Princess From the Harem to Modernity, 1884-1914* (Washington, DC: Mage Publishers, 2003), p. 97.

⁵⁸¹ S.M. Jordan, “Constructive Revolutions in Iran,” *Moslem World*, 25/4, 1935, pp. 349-50.

educated wives, who can become real helpmates, friend, and confidantes”.⁵⁸² This line of logic neatly sums up the Presbyterian approach to women’s education. It was understood as being a good worth pursuing insofar as it might ameliorate the status of women within Iranian society. However, the concern with status of women was more often than not couched in terms of complementarity rather than parity. Additionally, the attention paid to women, and questions of marriage and divorce, in particular, was often used in the context of mission as a proxy for arguments against Islam. There is an echo of this in Jordan’s conclusion that as a result of an increase in women’s education “the harem is becoming a thing of the past.”⁵⁸³ Here Jordan invoked the harem both as a restrictive social space enforcing gender norms leading to the diminishment of women, and at the same time, symbolically, as a religiously informed artifact of Islam.

Therefore, we can see that both social concern and the oppositional posturing of religious ontologies both played some role in the fact that by the turn of the twentieth century the number of mission schools in Iran, including schools for women and girls, had increased considerably. Rostam-Kolayi affirms that this growth in mission education was part of a larger trend, observing, “[b]y the early 1900s, new forms of schooling for girls began to overshadow private instruction at home.”⁵⁸⁴ Missionaries deserve recognition in advancing the modern education movement in Iran. However, the role that national reformers and Iranian religious minorities played in parallel demonstrates that the missionaries were neither operating in isolation nor as influences entirely alien to the cultural context and mores. In fact, indigenous

⁵⁸² S.M. Jordan, “Constructive Revolutions in Iran,” *Moslem World*, 25/4, 1935, pp. 349-50.

⁵⁸³ S.M. Jordan, “Constructive Revolutions in Iran,” *Moslem World*, 25/4, 1935, pp. 349-50.

⁵⁸⁴ Jasmin Rostam-Kolayi, “Origins of Iran’s Modern Girls’ Schools: From Private/National to Public/State,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3, Special Issue: Innovative Women: Unsung Pioneers of Social Change, Fall 2008, p. 61.

religious minorities were at the forefront of establishing and running many of the modern schools in Iran, including some of the first schools for girls.⁵⁸⁵ Rostam-Kolayi makes the following argument in which she posits a correlation between minority status and openness to internationalization:

Because Iranian religious minorities often had more contact with the international arena – especially the Ottoman Empire, the Caucasus, Russia, India, Western Europe and the United States – they were the first communities in Iran to have access to modern foreign and missionary education and to open their own schools for boys and girls beginning in the mid-nineteenth century.”⁵⁸⁶

The historical significance of these minorities, including their impact on women’s education, is, however, often lost as “[m]ost discussions of female education in Iran often omit or downplay the role of Armenian, Jewish, Baha’i, Zoroastrian, and foreign missionary schools.”⁵⁸⁷ Instead, there has been a tendency to “prioritize the establishment of Muslim-initiated schools as the starting point of modern education in Iran.”⁵⁸⁸ This narrative contest over education in Iran marks and extends the continued complex power negotiations we have previously identified between ulama, minorities, missionaries, and the state. Within this history Reza Shah’s nationalization

⁵⁸⁵ See Monica M. Ringer, *Education, Religion, and the Discourse of Cultural Reform in Qajar Iran* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2001). See also Parvin Paidar, *Women and the political process in twentieth-century Iran*. Vol. 1. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). pp. 67-77.

⁵⁸⁶ Jasmin Rostam-Kolayi, “Origins of Iran’s Modern Girls’ Schools: From Private/National to Public/State,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3, Special Issue: Innovative Women: *Unsung Pioneers of Social Change*, Fall 2008, p. 61-62

⁵⁸⁷ Jasmin Rostam-Kolayi, “Origins of Iran’s Modern Girls’ Schools: From Private/National to Public/State,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3, Special Issue: Innovative Women: *Unsung Pioneers of Social Change*, Fall 2008, p. 59. See also Susynne M. McElrone, “Nineteenth-Century Qajar Women in the Public Sphere: An Alternative Historical and Historiographical Reading of the Roots of Iranian Women’s Activism,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 25, no. 2, 2005: 297-317.

⁵⁸⁸ Jasmin Rostam-Kolayi, “Origins of Iran’s Modern Girls’ Schools: From Private/National to Public/State,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3, Special Issue: Innovative Women: *Unsung Pioneers of Social Change*, Fall 2008, p. 59.

programme abuts religious and reformist claims and has been recognized as the moment in which “the first national system of education was founded.”⁵⁸⁹ According to Sansarrian, “the Pahlavi rulers’ policy on ethnonationals and religious minorities was shaped by the goal to homogenize society and do away with diversity – to make everyone in an ethnic and religious minority into an “Iranian.”⁵⁹⁰ Lorentz argues, “this development was eventually to cause the displacement of the missionaries in the field of education.”⁵⁹¹

As transnational exchanges became more highly regulated under the Pahlavis U.S. missions were called into question by the new rulers. Ultimately, as has been noted, they were expelled and their schools nationalized. Yet the mission stance on gender norms was actually in line with the Pahlavi modernization push. As such, U.S. missions might have been culled as natural allies had the social overhaul been more idealistic in nature and less about the Machiavelian mechanics of power. Najmabadi explains this by observing that the era was marked by antipathy to foreign intrusion even as there was acknowledgement that these external “social and political achievements provided the model for modernity and progress.”⁵⁹² Against such unidirectional national narrowing the rich and often tensional histories of minority exchange and regional difference became even more marginalized, and remained so. Particularly with regard to what Najmabadi calls the “‘woman question’ (*mas‘ale-ye zan*)” of this period, the ways in which minority communities navigated networks of

⁵⁸⁹ John H. Lorentz, “Educational Development in Iran: The Pivotal Role of the Mission Schools and Alborz College,” *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5, 2011, p. 649.

⁵⁹⁰ Elizabeth Sanasarian, *Religious Minorities in Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). 5. See also Houchang E. Chehabi, “Staging the emperor’s new clothes: dress codes and nation-building under Reza Shah,” *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3-4, 1993, pp. 209-233.

⁵⁹¹ John H. Lorentz, “Educational Development in Iran: The Pivotal Role of the Mission Schools and Alborz College,” *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5, 2011, p. 649.

⁵⁹² Afsaneh Najmabadi, “Hazards of Modernity and Morality: Women, State and Ideology in Contemporary Iran,” in Deniz Kandiyoti (ed.) *Women, Islam and the state* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1991), p. 48.

exchange and influence independent of majoritarian political control or ideas remains ripe for critical study.⁵⁹³ These minority networks, often fragile and ephemeral, prove difficult to chart. Rostam-Kolayi suggests they were constantly subject to “fears of loss of cultural, religious, and national distinctiveness.”⁵⁹⁴ Ironically, Reza Shah capitalized on similar fears around the “administrative chaos in the wake of the Constitutional Revolution and World War I” in order to build a “strong centralized government” that would largely efface these networks.⁵⁹⁵ Yet, following from the first girls’ school opened by the ABCFM in Urmia in 1838, the legacy of minority and mission exchanges, often manifest specifically in questions around education for women and girls, continues to help shape the complex relationship between gender and modernity in the context of Iran.

The women’s movement in Iran

The small but critical body of literature around missions, minorities, and gender also offers insight into the foundations of the women’s movement in Iran. The development of this literature has been stunted due both to the continuing influence of a heavy-handed Pahlavi⁵⁹⁶ national narrative, as well as to the realities of a procrustean approach to gender and diversity stemming from the country’s Islamic

⁵⁹³ Afsaneh Najmabadi, “Hazards of Modernity and Morality: Women, State and Ideology in Contemporary Iran,” in Deniz Kandiyoti (ed.) *Women, Islam and the state* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1991), p. 48.

⁵⁹⁴ Jasmin Rostam-Kolayi, “Origins of Iran’s Modern Girls’ Schools: From Private/National to Public/State,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3, *Special Issue: Innovative Women: Unsung Pioneers of Social Change*, Fall 2008, p. 62. See also Houri Berberian, “Armenian women in turn-of-the-century Iran: education and activism,” in Rudi Mathee and Beth Baron (eds.), *Iran and beyond: Essays in honor of Nikki R. Keddie* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2000).

⁵⁹⁵ M. Reza Ghods, “Iranian Nationalism and Reza Shah,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 27, no. 1, 1991, pp. 35-45.

⁵⁹⁶ Pahlavi is here used to refer to the Reza Shah period, the subsequent reign of Mohammad Reza Shah exceeding the temporal scope of this study. However, it is important to note that difference in dynamics with regard to U.S. interaction between these two rulers is significant. For more on this transition and the impact of World War II on the interregnum see Ervand Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 96-100.

revolution. At the same time, the extant emic mission literature, to which this study is largely tethered, also holds significant lacunae around gender that must be addressed. What is most often lacking in these mission accounts is a holistic view of Iranian women in historical context. Many are regionally focused, and throughout the Qajar period there is little contact noted with women from the *andarūn* tradition of elite education. While missionary men forged working relationships with Qajar nobility missionary women were far more likely to interface with women in poverty or women who, owing to their minority status, did not have significant social capital. However, far from being isolated subjects for saving, by the turn of the century Iranian women led by the *andarūn* elite were gathering together to support burgeoning movements of national consciousness and conscience that were entirely independent of the mission schools or foreign influences. These movements had their roots in the private realm of the *andarūn* and yet began to extend *bīrūn* (outside)⁵⁹⁷ as they were made manifest in demonstrations against the Reuters concession (1872) and in the Tobacco Protest (1891-92).

In their extension to a public sphere these highly segregated sites of education mirrored the movement of U.S. mission schools from spaces of inward reflection for spiritual development to outward facing institutions where women's agency was developed for social impact. In the case of the mission schools we see a clear trajectory here, beginning from the way in which a mid-nineteenth century atmosphere of religious revival emphasized, if not enforced, the ideal of seclusion as a pathway to self-knowledge. Becker notes, "[i]n the revival of 1850, young women at

⁵⁹⁷ For more on this spatial dimension in the context of Iranian social life see M. A. Djamalzadeh, "ANDARUN," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, II/1, p. 11, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/andarun>

the female seminary spent up to five hours a day in their closets.”⁵⁹⁸ The closets he refers to were called prayer closets and considered a pedagogical mainstay by Fidelia Fiske. Becker designates them as “a technology, a ritual space, that supported individualization and the cultivation of an interior self”⁵⁹⁹ He confirms that “[i]n his description of the layout of the female seminary, Thomas Laurie designates as closets several small rooms with windows in the building that served as both school and dormitory.”⁶⁰⁰ This architecture of education, despite its antecedents in the fusion of Syriac culture and U.S. evangelicalism, is spatially quite similar to the *andarūn*. Becker notes that, “the term the missionaries used for ‘prayer closet,’ *kuhta*” was “commonly employed to refer to a pantry”.⁶⁰¹ Similarly, it was in the *andarūn* “that the kitchen, pantry, and storage room were located”.⁶⁰² Both spaces assumed an overlapping relationship between confinement, domesticity, and women’s education.

The transformation of these separate but parallel women’s worlds in Iran was roughly synchronic. Zirinsky notes that Belle Hawkes began to engage in acts of “itineration” or “rural evangelical tours” in 1887 – something that “was theoretically men’s work.”⁶⁰³ This late nineteenth century moment also saw Iranian women storming from the *andarūn* to form part of nationalist opposition to Russian and British

⁵⁹⁸ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 198.

⁵⁹⁹ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 198.

⁶⁰⁰ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 198.

⁶⁰¹ Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 198.

⁶⁰² M. A. Djamalzadeh, “ANDARUN,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, II/1, p. 11, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/andarun>

⁶⁰³ Michael P. Zirinsky, “Harbingers of Change: Presbyterian Women in Iran, 1883—1949,” *American Presbyterians* 70, no. 3, 1992, p. 179.

imperial gains in the form of street and symbolic protests that challenged or intruded upon traditionally masculine spaces. Fazaeli traces the beginning of the Iranian women's movement to this period and such actions.⁶⁰⁴ Yet, to date, there has been no comparison made between the *andarūn* tradition of education for women and girls and its similarities to the U.S. mission tradition. Both were predicated upon a particular alignment between gender and national identity, in which a religious ethos was a central motive force. Both also evolved towards a telos of women's liberation from these cults of domestic confinement, but simultaneously retained a religious logic and language. And both were finally rejected as national models during a Pahlavi period in which the aims of an idealized European modernity were wrenched into being by way of fiat, such as Reza Shah's anti-veiling measures in schools (1935-36), which fundamentally undermined women's agency despite a rhetoric of liberation.⁶⁰⁵ The two traditions can be seen to have a brief moment of historical coherence in persons such as Sattareh Farman-Farman, as will be discussed below. However, given that information on the broad context of women's roles in Iran is so often a blindspot for studies concerned with questions of mission, it is important first to provide some gendered sense of the larger landscape in which these missions existed, even if the contours of that landscape were largely ignored or disdained at the time by missionaries either ill equipped or ill disposed to confront women's agency rooted in such religious and national alterity as a constructive and shared concern.

⁶⁰⁴ See Roja Fazaeli, *Islamic Feminisms: Rights and Interpretations Across Generations in Iran* (London: Routledge, 2017).

⁶⁰⁵ Houchang E. Chehabi, "Staging the emperor's new clothes: dress codes and nation-building under Reza Shah," *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3-4, 1993, p. 216.

From andarūn to agency

To start, the contrast between the women of the *andarūn*, who actively sought to realize some sense of national autonomy, personal agency and power, and the cardboard cutout descriptions of Iranian women emphasizing weakness and passivity, which we saw offered above by Belle Hawkes, could not be more different. This in some ways is a tale of two national narratives in conflict, despite compatibility. Hawkes used pity as a pathway to promote and prop up her own centering sense of independence as a woman from the U.S. Such characterizations owed more to ideology than observation. In other regions of Iran “[w]omen became part of the active nationalist opposition to territorial and commercial concessions gained by both Russia and Britain.”⁶⁰⁶ Indeed, in the context of the Tobacco Protest, Bamdad writes how women of the *harem* “smashed their *qalayáns* (waterpipes) in defiance of their royal benefactor’s express command and absolute power.”⁶⁰⁷ The anti-authoritarianism inherent in such symbolic action demonstrates a political ken and capacity for public power that the heterochthonous missions rarely realized. In becoming part of the nationalist movement, the world of the *andarūn* challenged women’s segregation by inhabiting traditional modes of power while subverting traditional modes of being.

One example in support of this can be found in the concerted campaign by Iranian women against imported European textiles that was pursued in the context of Iran’s Constitutional Revolution. Janet Afary writes, “[i]t was believed that the boycott of

⁶⁰⁶ Nikkie Keddie, *Iran: Religion, Politics and Society: Collected Essays* (London: Frank Cass, 1980), p. 54.

⁶⁰⁷ Bard ol-Moluk Bamdad (F.R.C. Bagley (trans. and ed.)), *From Darkness into Light, Women’s Emancipation in Iran* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2013), p. 9.

European textiles in Iran would free the nation from its dependence on European merchants and manufacturers.”⁶⁰⁸ This protest also demonstrates the extent to which women’s roles in the home economy were being reinvented in nationalist terms. A contemporaneous newspaper article speaks to the strength of national conviction undergirding these trends in women’s public participation during the late Qajar period. Published in a Tehran daily, *Habl al-Matin*, in 1907 the article reads in part:

Our comfort, dignity, constitutionalism, freedom, and everything else are dependent on [our] strength of conviction (*gheyrat*). If we don’t have conviction (*gheyrat*), we will not protect our country (*vatan*) ... If we do not have conviction, we will continue to need foreigners, and will not [be able to] get rid of the despots and tyrants.⁶⁰⁹

In another part of this study we established a semantic relationship between the term *gheyrat* and the idea of zeal. The zeal for national independence that we witness above, and the support demonstrated by the women of the *andarūn* for this ideal comes to a head during the Constitutional Revolution in what Kashani-Sabet calls “patriotic motherhood.”⁶¹⁰ Kashani-Sabet notes, “[i]n 1907 ... the popular Persian newspaper, *Habl al-Matin*, which significantly informed the Iranian nationalist

⁶⁰⁸ Janet Afary, *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution, 1906-1911: Grassroots Democracy, Social Democracy, & the Origins of Feminism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 179. See also Mangol Bayat-Philipp, “Women and Revolution in Iran, 1905–1911,” in Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie (eds.), *Women in the Muslim world* (Cambridge M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. 295-308; Meir Litvak, “Nationalism and Islam in a provincial setting: Late Qajar Isfahan,” in Mir Litvak (ed.), *Constructing Nationalism in Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 86-100.

⁶⁰⁹ Qtd. Negin Nabavi, “Readership, the Press and the Public Sphere in the Constitutional Era,” in H.E. Chehabi and Vanessa Martin (ed.) *Iran’s Constitutional Revolution* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2010), p. 217. For the full text see ‘Mojassameh-ye gheyrat’, *Habl al-Matin* no. 23, 25 May 1907, p. 3. N.B. The Tehran *Habl al-Matin* should not be confused with the Calcutta based weekly bearing the same name, of which it was a branch.

⁶¹⁰ Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, “Patriotic Womanhood: The Culture of Feminism in Modern Iran, 1900-1941,” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 32(1), May 2005, p. 29.

debate, declared patriotism ‘a necessary duty’.”⁶¹¹ According to Kashani-Sabet, “[t]he theme of patriotism (*vatan parasti*) would pervade discussions of Iranian politics and feminism after the constitutional revolution as well.”⁶¹² As a result, she argues, “the rise of the women’s movement in Iran *must* be viewed against this nationalist backdrop.”⁶¹³ It was in this nationalist context that a debate over women’s education came to the fore of public life, especially its relationship to the centrality of motherhood and wifehood in Iran. According to Najmabadi, the idea of educating women was pressed for by constitutionalists in relational terms. Women were understood as the “educators of children, companions of men.”⁶¹⁴ Najmabadi also extends the argument “that educated women made better mothers and wives”⁶¹⁵ by positing that during this time a linguistic shift occurred that affected how the role of women was understood in both conceptual and practical terms. She suggests that during this time, where previously a woman might be referred to in premodern synechdotal fashion as “‘house’ (*manzil*)”, she now began to be referred to as “‘manager of the house’ (*mudabbir-i-manzil*).”⁶¹⁶ Here we see the move toward agency, albeit still framed in overtly domestic terms, that accords with the beginning

⁶¹¹ Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, “Patriotic Womanhood: The Culture of Feminism in Modern Iran, 1900-1941,” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 32(1), May 2005, p. 30.

⁶¹² Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, “Patriotic Womanhood: The Culture of Feminism in Modern Iran, 1900-1941,” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 32(1), May 2005, p. 30.

⁶¹³ Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, “Patriotic Womanhood: The Culture of Feminism in Modern Iran, 1900-1941,” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 32(1), May 2005, p. 30.

⁶¹⁴ Afsaneh Najmabadi, “Crafting an Educated Housewife in Iran,” in Lila Abu-Lughod (ed.), *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 65.

⁶¹⁵ Afsaneh Najmabadi, “Crafting an Educated Housewife in Iran,” in Lila Abu-Lughod (ed.), *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 61.

⁶¹⁶ Afsaneh Najmabadi, “Crafting an Educated Housewife in Iran,” in Lila Abu-Lughod (ed.), *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 61.

of a time when women ceased being seen as passive residents of the *andarūn* and began being acknowledged as active participants in the *anjuman*.⁶¹⁷

Material culture, women's journals, and depictions of gender

Kashani-Sabet notes that journalistic descriptions of these new patriotic mothers tended to portray them “as attentive women who strove to understand and promote the essentials of hygiene and cleanliness within the domestic sphere, particularly where pregnancy and childrearing were concerned.”⁶¹⁸ She suggests that “[e]ducation and in particular, hygienic education became a mantra of patriotic motherhood because of the high rates of infant mortality and prevalence of epidemics in Iran.”⁶¹⁹ “Without healthy children and families” it was reasoned, “Iran could not raise a nation of dutiful compatriots.”⁶²⁰ Even a publication such as the journal *Danish* (Knowledge), which made the claim to be “written by a woman for a woman” and sought to promote women’s formal education and literacy, framed its mission in terms of domesticity. According to Kashani-Sabet, it “aspired to educate women primarily about their roles in domestic circles.”⁶²¹

Amidst the zeitgeist of zeal for national duty that was inspiring a push for

⁶¹⁷ Bayat et al explain that “[a]njomān was the designation of political organizations during the Constitutional Revolution of 1324-27/1906-09.” For more see M. Bayat, H. Algar, W. L. Hanaway, Jr., “ANJOMAN (Organization),” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, II/1, pp. 77-83, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/anjoman-gathering-association-society-general-designation-of-many-private-and-public-associations>; See also Janet Afary, “On the origins of Feminism in early 20th-century Iran,” *Journal of Women's History* 1, no. 2, 1989, p. 68.

⁶¹⁸ Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, “Patriotic Womanhood: The Culture of Feminism in Modern Iran, 1900-1941,” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 32(1), May 2005, p. 32.

⁶¹⁹ Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, “Patriotic Womanhood: The Culture of Feminism in Modern Iran, 1900-1941,” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 32(1), May 2005, p. 32.

⁶²⁰ Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, “Patriotic Womanhood: The Culture of Feminism in Modern Iran, 1900-1941,” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 32(1), May 2005, p. 32.

⁶²¹ Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, “Patriotic Womanhood: The Culture of Feminism in Modern Iran, 1900-1941,” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 32(1), May 2005, p. 31.

instrumentalized learning, Afary observes that “a grassroots campaign for women’s education began”.⁶²² She also asserts that “[t]he creation of the new schools was closely tied into the activity of the women’s anjumans that were formed throughout the years 1907-08, as well as during the Second Constitutional period of 1909-11”.⁶²³ Her estimate is that “[b]y April 1910 fifty girls’ schools had opened in Tehran”.⁶²⁴ Rostam-Kolayi writes, “[i]n 1913, one of the earliest women’s journals, *Shikufah*, published an accounting of 63 private girls’ schools in Tehran, which included several foreign and Iranian religio-ethnic minority schools, estimating that 2,474 girls in Tehran were attending school”.⁶²⁵ However, as Guity Nashat observes, “the first public school for girls did not open until 1918.”⁶²⁶ Nashat points out that there was some popular opposition to the opening of these state-sponsored girls’ schools. She writes, “[t]hese schools were regarded as the means of “luring Muslim girls and leading their minds astray and turning them into unbelievers and wantons by pretending to give them lessons.”⁶²⁷ Annie Stocking Boyce, a Presbyterian missionary in Tehran from 1906-1949, wrote supportively of the government initiative to provide public education that took off in the 1920s, but was critical of the infrastructure noting, “[t]he school buildings were formerly used as residences and therefore are not ideal for school purposes since the rooms are built around an open court and the doors

⁶²² Janet Afary, *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution, 1906-1911: Grassroots Democracy, Social Democracy, & the Origins of Feminism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 182.

⁶²³ Janet Afary, “On the origins of Feminism in early 20th-century Iran,” *Journal of Women's History* 1, no. 2, 1989, p. 70.

⁶²⁴ Janet Afary, *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution, 1906-1911: Grassroots Democracy, Social Democracy, & the Origins of Feminism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 182.

⁶²⁵ Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi, “Origins of Iran’s modern girls’ schools: From private/national to public/state,” *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 4, no. 3, 2008, p. 70.

⁶²⁶ Guity Nashat, “Introduction,” in Lois Beck and Guity Neshat (eds.), *Women in Iran from 1800 to the Islamic Republic* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004), p. 21.

⁶²⁷ Guity Nashat, “Introduction,” in Lois Beck and Guity Neshat (eds.), *Women in Iran from 1800 to the Islamic Republic* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004), p. 24.

and windows are all on the court side.”⁶²⁸ She was also aware that spatially these buildings still replicated the older power and gender dynamics of the *andarūn*. She observed, “[t]he doorkeeper is always an old man, for only old men can be trusted to guard the way to the *andaroon*”.⁶²⁹ These formal cultural holdovers may have been intended to alleviate concerns about the nature of women’s education, however, writing in 1923 “Ayatollahzadeh Mehdi Khalesi expressed more concern about Iranian Muslim women being educated by missionaries than about women’s education per se.”⁶³⁰ Amin notes that “[i]n one speech, he demanded that the state open more schools for them in order to counter the missionary threat”.⁶³¹ According to Rostam-Kolayi the first school in Iran founded specifically for girls by Muslims had been established in 1900, but soon lost its charter.⁶³² However, she notes “[a] series of other girls’ schools founded by Muslims followed.”⁶³³ The first of these was *Parvarish* (Cultivation), founded in 1903.⁶³⁴ Other girls’ schools in this tradition included: “Mukhaddarat (Ladies) in 1905 and Hurmatiyah-yi Sadat (Honor of Sadat) and Dushizigan (Maidens) in 1906.”⁶³⁵ There was also, despite their religious associations, clerical opposition to these school – demonstrating that Khalesi’s acceptance of women’s education within an Islamic framework was not universally

⁶²⁸ Annie Stocking Boyce, “Government Education for Girls in Persia,” *The Muslim World* 10, no. 3, 1920, pp. 290-291.

⁶²⁹ Annie Stocking Boyce, “Government Education for Girls in Persia,” *The Muslim World* 10, no. 3, 1920, pp. 290-291.

⁶³⁰ Camron Michael Amin, *The Making of the Modern Iranian Woman, Gender, State Policy, and Popular Culture, 1865-1946* (Gainesville: University of Florida, 2002), p. 150.

⁶³¹ Camron Michael Amin, *The Making of the Modern Iranian Woman, Gender, State Policy, and Popular Culture, 1865-1946* (Gainesville: University of Florida, 2002), p. 150.

⁶³² Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi, “Origins of Iran’s modern girls’ schools: From private/national to public/state,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies* 4, no. 3, 2008, p. 69. See also Dawlatabadi, Sidiqah. “Taraqqi-yi nisvan (Women’s progress),” *Alam-i nisvan* 3, 1923, p. 21.

⁶³³ Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi, “Origins of Iran’s modern girls’ schools: From private/national to public/state,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies* 4, no. 3, 2008, p. 69.

⁶³⁴ Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi, “Origins of Iran’s modern girls’ schools: From private/national to public/state,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies* 4, no. 3, 2008, p. 69. See also Sidiqah Dawlatabadi, “Taraqqi-yi nisvan (Women’s progress),” *Alam-i nisvan* 3, 1923, p. 21. See also Rushdiyah, *Shams al-Din. “Savanih-i ‘Umr,”* (Life events) (Tehran: Nashr-i Tahrikh-i Iran, 1983).

⁶³⁵ Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi, “Origins of Iran’s modern girls’ schools: From private/national to public/state,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies* 4, no. 3, 2008, p. 69.

accepted. The cleric Sayyed Ali Shushtari lamented their existence. He “distributed a letter of religious denunciation declaring, ‘Woe to the country, what a terrible thing to have a girls’ school open’”.⁶³⁶

In stark contrast to such religiously rooted opposition the U.S. missions at that time “preached equality of men and women.”⁶³⁷ While this did not necessarily entail radical egalitarianism Armajani notes that the sentiment did guide the classroom experience within the mission schools. In terms of practical application he recalls that Mary Park Jordan developed a mantra linking national success to the advancement of women that she instilled in the students of Alborz College. Her constant watchword was, “[n]o country rises higher than the level of the women of that country”.⁶³⁸ According to Armajani, “[a]lmost every one her students memorized the statement ... and practically every student had to write a composition on the subject.”⁶³⁹ Zirinsky suggests, “[i]f Alborz played a major role in training a new, westernized Iranian elite, as the mission fervently believed, Mary Jordan may be said to have been a mother of

⁶³⁶ Jasmin Rostam-Kolayi, “Origins of Iran's Modern Girls' Schools: From Private/National to Public/State,” *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3, Special Issue: Innovative Women: Unsung Pioneers of Social Change, Fall 2008, p. 77. See also for more on clerical and/or governmental opposition to girls' schools see Farzaneh Milani, *Veils and Words: The Emerging Voices of Iranian Women Writers* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1992), pp. 96–7. See also Janet Afary, “On the origins of Feminism in early 20th-century Iran,” *Journal of women's history* 1, no. 2, 1989, p. 71; Jasmin Rostam-Kolayi, “Origins of Iran's Modern Girls' Schools: From Private/National to Public/State,” *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3, Special Issue: Innovative Women: Unsung Pioneers of Social Change, Fall 2008, pp.79-80.

⁶³⁷ Qtd. Michael P. Zirinsky, “Harbingers of Change: Presbyterian Women in Iran, 1883—1949,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 70, No. 3, Fall 1992, p. 181. See Yahya Armajani, “Sam Jordan and the Evangelical Ethic in Iran,” in Robert J. Miller (ed.), *Religious Ferment in Asia* (Lawrence, Kansas: Kansas University Press, 1974), pp. 32-33.

⁶³⁸ Qtd. Michael P. Zirinsky, “Harbingers of Change: Presbyterian Women in Iran, 1883—1949,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 70, No. 3, Fall 1992, p. 181. See Yahya Armajani, “Sam Jordan and the Evangelical Ethic in Iran,” in Robert J. Miller (ed.), *Religious Ferment in Asia* (Lawrence, Kansas: Kansas University Press, 1974), pp. 32-33.

⁶³⁹ Qtd. Michael P. Zirinsky, “Harbingers of Change: Presbyterian Women in Iran, 1883—1949,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 70, No. 3, Fall 1992, p. 181. See Yahya Armajani, “Sam Jordan and the Evangelical Ethic in Iran,” in Robert J. Miller (ed.), *Religious Ferment in Asia* (Lawrence, Kansas: Kansas University Press, 1974), pp. 32-33.

this elite.”⁶⁴⁰ Zirinsky’s decision to frame Mary Jordan’s accomplishment in maternal rather than educational terms highlights how an ideal similar to that of Kashani-Sabet’s patriotic motherhood also carried strong sway in missionary circles and continued to color later understanding of these movements. With a double national referent, the goal of U.S. missionaries such as Mary Park Jordan was to “help remake Iran on the model of modern America”⁶⁴¹ According to Armajani, “[i]t was their deepest desire to change the country by conversion, but realizing the impossibility of that, they were happy to change the attitude of the young through education and to introduce new values.”⁶⁴² Armajani suggests that these values may be summarily grouped under the term “evangelical ethic.”⁶⁴³ As such we may assert that by strategically choosing to harness and deploy an evangelical ethic U.S. missions contributed supportively to the formation of an Iranian women’s movement that was already running independently in parallel to these missions, but which nonetheless benefited from their educational offerings and was strengthened by their publications.

As we have already noted mission publication has a long history in Iran, and the relationship between U.S. missions and print culture in the country is complex. During the early twentieth century newspapers, journals, and other periodicals were central to public argument and discussion around questions of women’s rights and

⁶⁴⁰ Michael P. Zirinsky, “Harbingers of Change: Presbyterian Women in Iran, 1883—1949,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 70, No. 3, Fall 1992, p. 181.

⁶⁴¹ Michael P. Zirinsky, “Harbingers of Change: Presbyterian Women in Iran, 1883—1949,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 70, No. 3, Fall 1992, p. 183.

⁶⁴² Qtd. Michael P. Zirinsky, “Harbingers of Change: Presbyterian Women in Iran, 1883—1949,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 70, No. 3, Fall 1992, p. 183. See Yahya Armajani, “Sam Jordan and the Evangelical Ethic in Iran,” in Robert J. Miller (ed.), *Religious Ferment in Asia* (Lawrence, Kansas: Kansas University Press, 1974), p. 27.

⁶⁴³ Qtd. Michael P. Zirinsky, “Harbingers of Change: Presbyterian Women in Iran, 1883—1949,” *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 70, No. 3, Fall 1992, p. 183. See Yahya Armajani, “Sam Jordan and the Evangelical Ethic in Iran,” in Robert J. Miller (ed.), *Religious Ferment in Asia* (Lawrence, Kansas: Kansas University Press, 1974), p. 27.

roles in Iran.⁶⁴⁴ In the midst of this context the mission affiliated journal, *Alam-e Nesvan* (Women's World), "enjoyed the distinction of being the longest running and most successful of all the women's periodicals published in that time."⁶⁴⁵ Ringer explains, "*Women's World* was founded and published by Iranian graduates of the American Protestant girls' school (*Iran Bethel*) in Tehran, with the headmistress Annie Stocking Boyce acting as impetus, advisor, and overseer."⁶⁴⁶ In this instance Boyce seems to have continued Fiske's role as a matriarchal force; in at least two letters Boyce described *Alam-e Nesvan* using the language of progeny. In these she referred to the publication as being "very much my child" and "specially my child".⁶⁴⁷ Amin affirms the centrality of the U.S. mission to the journal's existence and observes, "although the owner of the publishing license was an Iranian, the board of directors always included American women."⁶⁴⁸ Indeed, Ringer argues, "[i]n no small part due to its association with the American mission, *Women's World* was very influential – seeking directly and indirectly to advise the Iranian government as it formulated its own women's reform agenda."⁶⁴⁹ As, Paidar notes, "[d]uring its thirteen years of publication *Women's Universe*⁶⁵⁰ printed many articles on the

⁶⁴⁴ See Elizabeth Sanasarian, "Characteristics of Women's Movement in Iran," in Asgar Fathi (ed.) *Women and the Family in Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), pp. 86-106.

⁶⁴⁵ Monica M. Ringer, "Rethinking religion: Progress and Morality in the Early Twentieth-century Iranian Women's Press," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24, no. 1, 2004, p. 49. See also Jasmin Rostam-Kolayi, "The Women's Press, Modern Education, and the State in Early Twentieth Century Iran, 1900-1930," Ph.D. diss. University of California, Los Angeles, 2000.

⁶⁴⁶ Monica M. Ringer, "Rethinking religion: Progress and Morality in the Early Twentieth-century Iranian Women's Press," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24, no. 1, 2004, pp. 49-50. See Michael Zirinsky, "A Presbyterian Vocation to Reform Gender Relations in Iran: The Career of Annie Stocking Boyce," in Vanessa Martin and Sarah Ansari (eds.), *Women, Religion and Culture in Iran* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 51-69.

⁶⁴⁷ Qtd. Michael P. Zirinsky, "Harbingers of Change: Presbyterian Women in Iran, 1883—1949," *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 70, No. 3, Fall 1992, pp. 183, 186 endnote 41.

⁶⁴⁸ Camron Michael Amin, *The Making of the Modern Iranian Woman, Gender, State Policy, and Popular Culture, 1865-1946* (Gainesville: University of Florida, 2002), p. 60.

⁶⁴⁹ Monica M. Ringer, "Rethinking religion: Progress and Morality in the Early Twentieth-century Iranian Women's Press," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24, no. 1, 2004, p. 50.

⁶⁵⁰ N.B. Paidar choses to translate *Alam-e Nesvan* as *Women's Universe*.

backward position of women in Iran and the harm caused by seclusion and veiling, and campaigned for the improvement of women's rights".⁶⁵¹

The veil and the nation

Unlike some of the earlier U.S. women in mission in Persia who, at least in written records, tended to reflect an interest in local and regional affairs, Annie Stocking Boyce took a firm interest in the wide scope of Iranian national politics, in particular where women's education and veiling were concerned. Zirinsky, in noting Boyce's affiliation with the Iran Bethel School in Tehran,⁶⁵² also observes that "Iran Bethel had been founded in 1874 as the first western style school in Tehran open to Muslim girls."⁶⁵³ He underscores that "[t]he mission intended its course of studies to be 'similar to that given in the boys' school.'"⁶⁵⁴ This early push for some degree of gender parity in education was continued by Boyce, who, in a fashion similar to her predecessor Hawkes's rural tours, "visited eight of the ten government schools for girls and in nearly every school asked the girls whether their mothers could read and

⁶⁵¹ Parvin Paidar, *Women and the political process in twentieth-century Iran*. Vol. 1. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 95.

⁶⁵² Zirinsky also relates that Iran Bethel was later renamed Sage College following a bequest from Margaret Olivia Slocum Sage, a U.S. Presbyterian philanthropist who took special interest in women's education. The name was changed again to Nurbakhsh following Reza Shah's nationalization decrees with regard to foreign names. See Michael P. Zirinsky, "Harbingers of Change: Presbyterian Women in Iran, 1883—1949," *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 70, No. 3, Fall 1992, p. 182. See also Ruth Crocker, "From widow's mite to widow's might: The philanthropy of Margaret Olivia Sage," *American Presbyterians* 74, no. 4, 1996, pp. 253-264. See also Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi, "From Evangelizing to Modernizing Iranians: The American Presbyterian Mission and Its Iranian Students," *Iranian Studies* 41, no. 2, 2008, pp. 213-240.

⁶⁵³ Michael P. Zirinsky, "Harbingers of Change: Presbyterian Women in Iran, 1883—1949," *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 70, No. 3, Fall 1992, p. 182.

⁶⁵⁴ Michael P. Zirinsky, "Harbingers of Change: Presbyterian Women in Iran, 1883—1949," *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 70, No. 3, Fall 1992, p. 182. See also Arthur Judson Brown, *One Hundred Years: A History of the Foreign Missionary Work of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, with Some Account of Countries, Peoples and the Policies and Problems of Modern Missions* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1936), pp. 498-499.

write.”⁶⁵⁵ She found that “[s]carcely five out of a hundred had mothers who could read, some of these could read only the Koran and scarcely one could write.”⁶⁵⁶ Boyce also found, somewhat to her surprise, that the Iranian Ministry of Education shared her concern over these numbers. As a result, she writes favourably of the Minister for Education, Nasr-ed-Douleh, whom she refers to as “a man of broad Persian scholarship, supplemented by some knowledge of European schools gained though his resident in Belgium for a time as foreign minister to that country.”⁶⁵⁷

According to her assessment:

If his Excellency stays long enough in the Cabinet there is hope of a real system of education for Persia before many years. In eighteen months his department has opened normal school for young men and another for girls in the capital... opened free schools in a number of provinces, and established forty free primary schools in Teheran. Most remarkable of all, ten of these forty free schools are for *girls*.⁶⁵⁸

Boyce appears to have been most struck by the fact that, in her words, the educational reforms enacted meant, “Moslem girls are getting the rudiments of education *at the expense of the Persian government*.”⁶⁵⁹ The incredulity indicated by the italics seems less to do with governmental provision of education – the progressive era was also a

⁶⁵⁵ Annie Stocking Boyce, “Government Education for Girls in Persia,” *The Muslim World* 10, no. 3, 1920, p. 292.

⁶⁵⁶ Annie Stocking Boyce, “Government Education for Girls in Persia,” *The Muslim World* 10, no. 3, 1920, p. 292.

⁶⁵⁷ Annie Stocking Boyce, “Government Education for Girls in Persia,” *The Muslim World* 10, no. 3, 1920, p. 292.

⁶⁵⁸ Annie Stocking Boyce, “Government Education for Girls in Persia,” *The Muslim World* 10, no. 3, 1920, p. 290.

⁶⁵⁹ Annie Stocking Boyce, “Government Education for Girls in Persia,” *The Muslim World* 10, no. 3, 1920, p. 290.

time of increased access to public education in the U.S.⁶⁶⁰ – than with the fact that it was the Persian government behind the provision⁶⁶¹ Coming at the tail end of a Qajar era of *andarūn* culture such developments stood in stark contrast to previous historical context in which the mission had worked. Stocking interpreted this gender sensitive government intervention as presaging “a new era for Mohammedan women”.⁶⁶² Her hopeful attitude, which nonetheless remained rooted in an anti-Islamic bias⁶⁶³, may also help explain the degree of Presbyterian support for the new Pahlavi regime. Despite the autocratic cast of Reza Shah there existed some coherence between his vision of a progressive and modern Iran and that of the Presbyterian mission. As a result, whether through lack of foresight, lack of understanding, or muddled ethics, in order to celebrate a momentary cultural paradigm shift in line with mission hopes of transformation, the missionaries seem to have been willing to excuse, or overlook (in yet another iteration of studied obliviousness) the fact that Reza Shah represented a centralizing bureaucracy with dictatorial tendencies engaged in a nationalization project⁶⁶⁴ – one that was ultimately antithetical to their own advancement of a U.S. national ethos articulated in Christian terms. Rostam-Kolayi refers to this as “Presbyterian missionary approval of the authoritarian modernization model implemented in Iran.”⁶⁶⁵ Such approbatory

⁶⁶⁰ See Karen Graves, *Girl's Schooling During The Progressive Era: From Female Scholar to Domesticated Citizen* (New York and London: Routledge, 2014).

⁶⁶¹ Karen Graves, *Girl's Schooling During The Progressive Era: From Female Scholar to Domesticated Citizen* (New York and London: Routledge, 2014).

⁶⁶² Annie Stocking Boyce, “Government Education for Girls in Persia,” *The Muslim World* 10, no. 3, 1920, p. 290.

⁶⁶³ See Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi, “From Evangelizing to Modernizing Iranians: The American Presbyterian Mission and Its Iranian Students,” *Iranian Studies* 41, no. 2, 2008, p. 216.

⁶⁶⁴ See Touraj Atabaki and Erik J. Zürcher, *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization under Atatürk and Reza Shah* (London: IB Tauris, 2004). See M. Reza Ghods, “Iranian Nationalism and Reza Shah,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 27, no. 1, 1991, pp. 35-45.

⁶⁶⁵ Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi, “From Evangelizing to Modernizing Iranians: The American Presbyterian Mission and Its Iranian Students,” *Iranian Studies* 41, no. 2, 2008, p. 234.

engagement did nothing to mitigate the realization of Reza Shah's hegemonic impulses, which ultimately resulted in the eclipse of the mission itself.

Where there was challenge to this model it came from women. For instance, Mary Jordan, on hearing of Reza Shah's plans to ban the *chador*, wrote:

...in late years this outdoor covering has been no hindrance to education or progress, though resented by some...as a badge of ignorance and servitude and an insult to the men of Persia. One of the leaders of what might be called the feminist movement in Persia has frequently said: 'We are working for the lifting of the veil of ignorance and superstition. The removal of the *chuddar* is of no great importance.'⁶⁶⁶

Mary Park Jordan's moderate and considered agreement with an Iranian feminist peer represents a small, but well formed challenge to the policy of forced unveiling. Her position was shared by Annie Stocking Boyce, who had contended, "[w]hen unveiling does come, it will not be compulsory, and doubtless many of the older generation will never change their costume."⁶⁶⁷ Boyce made this claim in a 1930 article, six years prior to Reza Shah's decreed enforcement of the policy.⁶⁶⁸ While Boyce did not adequately anticipate the starkness of Reza Shah's authoritarian turn following his

⁶⁶⁶ Qtd. Michael P. Zirinsky, "Harbingers of Change: Presbyterian Women in Iran, 1883—1949," *American Presbyterians*, Vol. 70, No. 3, Fall 1992, p. 182.

⁶⁶⁷ Annie Stocking Boyce, "Moslem Women in the Capital of Persia," *The Muslim World* 20, no. 3, 1930, p. 266.

⁶⁶⁸ See Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi, "Expanding Agendas for the 'New' Iranian Woman: Family Law, Work, and Unveiling," in Stephanie Cronin (ed.), *The making of modern Iran: State and Society under Riza Shah, 1921-1941* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 164-189. See Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi and Afshin Matin-Asgari, "Unveiling ambiguities: Revisiting 1930s Iran's *kashf-i hijab* campaign," in Stephanie Cronin (ed.), *Anti-Veiling Campaigns in the Muslim World: Gender, modernism and the politics of dress* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 121-148. See also Chehabi, H.E., "Staging the emperor's new clothes: dress codes and nation-building under Reza Shah," *Iranian Studies*, 26 (3-4), 1993, pp. 217-221.

consolidation of political power through the 1930s,⁶⁶⁹ her foresight regarding the traditional adamant of an earlier generation demonstrates social sympathy and understanding that breaks with any preconceived mission ideology and similarly serves as evidence of feminist fissuring in the mission's alignment with a Pahlavi plan for utopian modernism. Despite viewing the ultimate removal of the *chador* in emancipatory terms Boyce appears to have embraced a piecemeal approach to the issue. While confident in a socially ensconced sense of inaugurated eschatology, which is evident in her statement relative to the question of the veil that "no one seems to doubt" that "emancipation will take place in the not far distant future", Boyce also allowed that any sense of "eager anticipation" relative to this event "has faded away."⁶⁷⁰ In moderating their zeal for an outcome of which both were already convinced, Park and Boyce were also better able to recognize that "[f]or the vast majority of Iranian women ... difficult times had begun."⁶⁷¹ This recognition constituted a solidarity, one that allowed the mission a foothold in its act to bridge traditional social mores with progressive social designs. The primary beneficiaries of this form of solidarity were upper-class, primarily Muslim, women⁶⁷² such as Sattareh Farman Farmaian. However, Iran Bethel was also a gateway to a more diverse Iran.

⁶⁶⁹ See Stephanie Cronin, "Introduction" in Stephanie Cronin (ed.), *The making of modern Iran: State and Society under Riza Shah, 1921-1941* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 2-6

⁶⁷⁰ Annie Stocking Boyce, "Moslem Women in the Capital of Persia," *The Muslim World* 20, no. 3, 1930, p. 266.

⁶⁷¹ H.E. Chehabi, "Staging the emperor's new clothes: dress codes and nation-building under Reza Shah," *Iranian Studies*, 26 (3-4), 1993, pp. 220.

⁶⁷² NB It is important here to affirm McElrone's careful distinction that "'Iranian women' were not (and are not) a homogenous group in terms of ethnicity, religion, lifestyles, life experiences, or cultural values". She argues, "to relate to the primarily middle- and upper-class urban Muslim women's newly found public voice during the constitutional revolution years in isolation, as is often done historiographically, distorts and oversimplifies a more intricate picture." See Susynne M. McElrone, "Nineteenth-Century Qajar Women in the Public Sphere: An Alternative Historical and Historiographical Reading of the Roots of Iranian Women's Activism," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 2005, p. 301. The argument being made here is more targeted, not that this group is necessarily representative, but rather that it was disproportionately supported by, and supportive to, the late stage Presbyterian missions, perhaps somewhat ironically given the early ABCFM prohibition on mission to "Persians." See also Rostam-Kolayi, Jasamin. "From Evangelizing to Modernizing Iranians: The American Presbyterian Mission and Its Iranian Students." *Iranian Studies* 41, no. 2, 2008, p. 234.

Farman Farmaian acknowledges, “[t]he school, which more Moslem girls had also began attending in recent years, was a magnet for the daughters of well-off minority families from all over Iran”.⁶⁷³ She recalls “sitting side by side not only with Moslems ... but with Iranians who were also Armenian Christians or Zoroastrians or Jews, with Kurds and Azeris and Bakhtiari chieftains’ daughters.”⁶⁷⁴ She admits, “[m]any were girls I would never have met otherwise because they were the daughters of middle-class factory owners or pharmacists or grocers, and, as they were not related to us, weren’t part of our social set.”⁶⁷⁵ Yet they were largely united as a generation struggling to reject the gender politics of the Qajar *andarūn* without embracing the anti-agentic liberation meted out in a narrow Pahlavi nationalism.

Sattareh Farman Farmaian

Farman Farmaian recalls, “[w]hen my mother had learned that she was to lose the age-old modesty of her veil, she was beside herself. She and all traditional people regarded Reza’s order as the worst thing he had yet done”.⁶⁷⁶ According to Farman Farmaian, Reza Shah was not so much “anxious to emancipate women” as “rather, to create the appearance of emancipation.”⁶⁷⁷ She explains that although he promulgated acts such as the “opening of higher education and professions like nursing and schoolteaching to women ... he did not give women the right to vote, run for political

⁶⁷³ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman’s Journey from Her Father’s Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 59.

⁶⁷⁴ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman’s Journey from Her Father’s Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 59.

⁶⁷⁵ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman’s Journey from Her Father’s Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 59.

⁶⁷⁶ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman’s Journey from Her Father’s Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 95.

⁶⁷⁷ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman’s Journey from Her Father’s Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 95.

office, divorce their husbands, have custody of their own children, or even get a passport without their husbands' permission".⁶⁷⁸ She concludes by observing that despite these rather Potemkin reforms the Shah "was universally praised in the West for his enlightened 'Western' views on women's rights."⁶⁷⁹ In this context the U.S. mission schools such as Iran Bethel became places where women were able to work out their own liberation. They provided an alternative to what Farman Farmaian describes as "[t]he subcompounds where we and our mothers lived", which she writes "were known collectively as the *andarun*, the 'inner' quarter, or harem".⁶⁸⁰ In contrast to this proscribed space the U.S. girls' mission schools provided access to places previously prohibited. This meant access to the "*biruni*", the "'outer,' or public, quarter", which included "the central garden and other buildings surrounding it".⁶⁸¹ She describes it as "where my father lived".⁶⁸² "This", she asserts, "was the realm of men. It reflected the greater world beyond, which was also the realm of men."⁶⁸³

Farman Farmaian speaks of an immediate love for the school, according it to "the first day I set foot its leafy, poplar-shaded old garden".⁶⁸⁴ This garden was the analogue of the central garden of her home; she was now able to experience the public realm unencumbered and in doing so also take part in transforming it. She writes, "[t]he

⁶⁷⁸ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman's Journey from Her Father's Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 95.

⁶⁷⁹ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman's Journey from Her Father's Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 95.

⁶⁸⁰ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman's Journey from Her Father's Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 5.

⁶⁸¹ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman's Journey from Her Father's Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 5-6.

⁶⁸² Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman's Journey from Her Father's Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 6.

⁶⁸³ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman's Journey from Her Father's Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 6.

⁶⁸⁴ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman's Journey from Her Father's Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 58.

freedom the mission school gave us was extraordinary.”⁶⁸⁵ She recalls, “Dr. Jordan and Miss Doolittle, the school principal, allowed girls at the American School to gallivant about with their women teachers on school picnics and hikes in the mountains in summer”.⁶⁸⁶

Farman Farmaian allows that “the American School was not the most obvious place for a prominent nobleman to send his daughter.”⁶⁸⁷ In fact, she contends “[n]obody, including my father, knew anything about America”.⁶⁸⁸ Given that her father was the Qajar prince Abdol Hosayn Mirza Farman Farma this is a significant indicator of the level of knowledge extant in Iranian society at the time.⁶⁸⁹ In explaining this she writes:

In those days⁶⁹⁰ there were no more than a few dozen Americans in Tehran, mostly missionaries like Dr. Jordan and his medical colleagues. These people and the small American embassy and consular staffs were vastly outnumbered by Russians, Englishman, Germans, and other Europeans, and their remote country was so far away that Iranians usually referred to it as *yengeh donya*, ‘the land at the end of the earth.’⁶⁹¹

⁶⁸⁵ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman's Journey from Her Father's Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 59.

⁶⁸⁶ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman's Journey from Her Father's Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 58.

⁶⁸⁷ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman's Journey from Her Father's Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 56.

⁶⁸⁸ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman's Journey from Her Father's Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 56.

⁶⁸⁹ Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi, “From Evangelizing to Modernizing Iranians: The American Presbyterian Mission and Its Iranian Students,” *Iranian Studies* 41, no. 2, 2008, p. 234.

⁶⁹⁰ Farman Farmaian is writing about the year 1933. However, her description, save for the presence of the consular staff, could equally describe U.S. presence in the country a century earlier.

⁶⁹¹ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman's Journey from Her Father's Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 56.

Where the original ABCFM contingent travelled to Iran driven by a zeal to impart correct knowledge for the sake of salvation after being commissioned “unto the end of the world”,⁶⁹² Farman Farmaian, was led to a space of social liberation in its successor body not due to the historical success of this ideology, but rather because after a century U.S. interests were still largely unknown and undefined relative to the sharp legacy of other imperial and colonial influences. What impact had been made through the missions, and increasingly U.S. governmental interests, was largely interpersonal and humanitarian. Farman Farmaian observes that despite a general ignorance about the U.S. “Americans were regarded with near universal affection and admiration.”⁶⁹³ She suggests this is because, “[t]he American contribution to the improvement and ... dignity of our impoverished, strife-torn country had gone far beyond their small numbers.”⁶⁹⁴ In support of this statement Farman Farmaian references how “[i]n 1911, for example, a young American financial expert named W. Morgan Shuster had come to Iran at the request of the Iranian government to try to bring our country’s economic chaos under control.”⁶⁹⁵ It was this same Shuster who observed admiringly in his memoir, “[t]he Persian women since 1907 had become at a bound the most progressive, not to say radical, in the world.”⁶⁹⁶ “Then, eight years after Shuster left,” Farman Farmaian continues, “an American president made himself

⁶⁹² Justin Perkins, *A residence of eight years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians: with notices of the Muhammedans* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1843), p. 33.

⁶⁹³ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman’s Journey from Her Father’s Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 56.

⁶⁹⁴ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman’s Journey from Her Father’s Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 56.

⁶⁹⁵ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman’s Journey from Her Father’s Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 56. See also William Morgan Shuster, *The Strangling of Persia: A Story of the European Diplomacy and Oriental Intrigue that Resulted in the Denationalization of Twelve Million Mohammedans, a Personal Narrative* (New York: The Century Company, 1912).

⁶⁹⁶ William Morgan Shuster, *The Strangling of Persia: A Story of the European Diplomacy and Oriental Intrigue that Resulted in the Denationalization of Twelve Million Mohammedans, a Personal Narrative* (New York: The Century Company, 1912), p. 191.

an Iranian national hero.”⁶⁹⁷ She refers to Woodrow Wilson at the Paris Peace Conference at Versailles who contested the British exclusion of Iran from war damages and “indignantly protested this hypocrisy.”⁶⁹⁸ However, according to Farman Farmaian, “it was Presbyterian missionaries ... who made the greatest impression on us.”⁶⁹⁹ She explains, “[w]ithout attempting to force their way of life on people or convert us to their religion, they had learned Persian and started schools, hospitals, and medical dispensaries all over Iran.” Farman Farmaian’s picture of pre-World War II U.S. influence in Iran as being one of gender conscious economic justice opposed to hypocrisy and driven by humanitarian ideals may now seem difficult to recognize. Yet its shaping nature on Farman Farmaian’s life is undeniable – as it was on other Iran Bethel and Nurbakhsh graduates. These include “[n]otable women, such as Iran Taymurtash...Moluk Khanom Jalali...Mehrtaj Rakhshan...and Parvin Etessami”.⁷⁰⁰ Farman Farmaian would ultimately travel to the U.S. where, drawing on the strength of the mission network, she became the first Iranian student at the University of Southern California.⁷⁰¹ She would later return to Iran and found the profession of social work in the country.⁷⁰² As Saleh notes:

⁶⁹⁷ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman’s Journey from Her Father’s Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 57.

⁶⁹⁸ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman’s Journey from Her Father’s Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 57.

⁶⁹⁹ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman’s Journey from Her Father’s Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p. 57.

⁷⁰⁰ Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi, “From Evangelizing to Modernizing Iranians: The American Presbyterian Mission and Its Iranian Students,” *Iranian Studies* 41, no. 2, 2008, p. 234.

⁷⁰¹ Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman’s Journey from Her Father’s Harem Through the Iranian Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992), p.160.

⁷⁰² See Mahasin F. Saleh, “Sattareh Farman Farmaian: Iranian Social Work Pioneer,” *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work* 23, no. 4, 2008, pp. 397-402. See also Mojgan, Padyab, Hassan Mousavi Chelak, Lennart Nygren, and Mehdi Ghazinour, “Client violence and mental health status among Iranian social workers: A national survey,” *British Journal of Social Work* 42, no. 1, 2011, p. 114. See also Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi, “From Evangelizing to Modernizing Iranians: The American Presbyterian Mission and Its Iranian Students,” *Iranian Studies* 41, no. 2, 2008, p. 234.

In 1958, Sattareh founded the Tehran School of Social Work and served as its director for 20 years. She also founded and was executive director of both the Family Planning Association of Iran and the Community Welfare Centres of Iran. Concurrently, she served on the Faculty of Social Sciences and Research at Tehran University. Some of her international involvement included membership on the boards of both the International Planned Parenthood Foundation and the International Association of Schools of Social Work.

A missionary in reverse, Farman Farmaian's advancement of gender justice in Iran, while thoroughly secular in scope, had religious roots. Hers is yet another layer in the palimpsest of U.S.-Iran relations that continues to be piecemealed together through the contingent influence of individuals interacting faithfully, fearfully, forcefully, and fortunately into the unknown.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have explored broadly the history and impact of U.S. women in foreign mission in Iran, as well as the impact of the U.S. mission on Iranian women. Against the background of abolition and suffrage movements missions offered women in the U.S. a social space for personal and career advancement that did not carry significant social challenge. This is one reason that women steadily and surely became drivers and majority actors of U.S. missions in Iran. Yet despite the significant presence of women within their infrastructure U.S. missions still relied upon a gendered notion of difference, evidenced in the program of "women's work for women," to advance efforts to alleviate gender disparities in Iran, particularly in Iranian educational settings. However, overall, mission work provided both a space of

liberation for U.S. women and a related space of freedom for Iranian women, which was conducive to indigenous social reform efforts, as well as personal educational development. At the same time U.S. women in mission often relied unreflectively upon deeply culturally biased and prejudicial frameworks in their engagement with Iranian women. Despite this, regular interaction organized largely around the domestic and educational spheres proved conducive to enhancing modest claims of cross-cultural understanding and belonging. This chapter has also demonstrated how the education offered for women by U.S. missionaries gained the support of an Iranian elite, who found a form of cultural liberation in the mission schools distinct from the women's education that had previously taken place in private family homes in the space of the *andarūn*. At the same time national education reformers and Iranian religious minorities were also challenging this older tradition. Finally, by comparing these efforts linked to the early Iranian women's movement to transform the *andarūn* tradition of education for women and girls to the U.S. mission tradition of women's education we were able to articulate the ways in which both moved mutually towards spaces of women's liberation from cults of domestic confinement, while simultaneously, and in contrast to the more extreme position of Reza Shah's anti-veiling measures in schools, retaining varying degree of openness to a religious logic and language.

Chapter 5: The Critical Importance of Utopia

Introduction

Utopia remains as the last of the political forms, following imperialism, colonialism and humanitarianism, which we have undertaken to study in relation to the hegemonic impulse of mission. Amongst these modes of political organization the utopian suggests itself as especially mercurial. This chapter will attempt first to define better the utopian impulses and contours of U.S. mission in Iran, specifically by utilizing the definitional work advanced by Paul Ricoeur and relating this to the concerns around domination foregrounded by Karl Popper. Ricoeur and Popper may seem unlikely choices at first glance for this kind of theoretical work in a project largely concerned with forms of U.S.-Iran interaction across the long 19th century. However, each brings a perspective to bear on these matters that is uniquely well situated to help further understanding of the intercultural and existential dynamics at stake.

Ricoeur writes on the subject of utopia with a theological sensitivity that is conversant with a Reformed tradition, and which interfaces well with ABCFM epistemic concerns and Presbyterian social positions, especially with regard to eschatological and messianic elements. Ricoeur also, somewhat uniquely amongst utopian theorists, is willing to consider seriously the form of conservative utopia that most aptly describes the earliest mission efforts. Finally, Ricoeur also attends to the relationship between utopias and the type of social reform projects that we see realized in the Presbyterian mission's educational flagship, Alborz College.

For his part, Popper, writing in the shadow of World War II, was forced to confront a totalitarian strain that was militarized and more politically integrated than the subtler hegemonic impulse that would lead missions toward worldwide evangelization attempts.⁷⁰³ However ethically and operationally different, there are overlaps of scope that make Popper an important voice in assessing the global aspirations of 19th century U.S. foreign missions and their desultory alignment with imperial concerns. As a result, Popper's reflections on the nature of utopia, specifically utopian engineering in the perspective of historicism, are entirely relevant to the mission's programme of social construction and influence. Using these arguments to clarify the position and development of the U.S. missions around utopian constructs the chapter concludes by looking at the relationship between utopia and solidarity.

Politics of utopia

The political sensitivities of the U.S. missions in Persia have been previously observed. From its founding the ABCFM navigated the politics of the General Association of Massachusetts, especially around the economics of international expansion. The embodiments of the ABCFM in Persia demonstrate a less nuanced awareness, tending to resolve potential conflict through a process of withdrawal. Thus, contra Henry Martyn's example of robust polemical engagement with Shi'i ulama, the ABCFM chose to wind down its short-lived mission to the Persians, against the objections of J.L. Merrick, and concentrate on the less politically

⁷⁰³ For the idea of the subtle distinction between domination and hegemony I am indebted to Andreas Pickel. See "Never ask who should rule: Karl Popper and political theory," *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique* 22, no. 1, 1989, p. 86. Footnote.

contentious, though no less ideologically ambitious, mission to the Nestorians.⁷⁰⁴

When comity agreements⁷⁰⁵ led to the ABCFM missions in Persia being transferred to Presbyterian leadership in 1871 the general political strategy of short-term concessions in the service of long-term presence remained largely unchanged. Even following the Pahlavi turn toward nationalization, and at the edge of a U.S. mission exodus, Zirinsky notes there was “a certain ambivalence on the part of the missionaries” toward Reza Shah’s authoritarianism, which “[t]hey apparently tolerated”.⁷⁰⁶ Zirinsky chooses to interpret this toleration in morally positive terms and cites in support a contemporary mission rationalization that, “[n]ationalism, the struggle against western colonialism and the drive for economic self-determination [are]...accepted more sympathetically by the missionary than by any other foreigner.”⁷⁰⁷ However, what Zirinsky frames as toleration might be more accurately assessed as part of a fairly consistent, though complex, mission history of ideological accommodation. This proto-pragmatism⁷⁰⁸ makes an early appearance in Perkins’s explanation of his respect for Qajar court etiquette:

⁷⁰⁴ Although it has exceeded the framework of previous chapters, it should be noted that scholars such as Thomas Ricks have chosen to see the utilitarian focus on the Nestorians not just in specific terms as a gateway population toward Muslim conversion in general, but more specifically as regionally specific to concerns with the Sunni Kurdish populations living at the intersection of Ottoman Turkey and Iran, as well as later mandate Iraq. See Thomas M. Ricks, “Alborz College of Tehran, Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan and the American Faculty: Twentieth-Century Presbyterian Mission Education and Modernism in Iran (Persia),” *Iranian Studies*, 44:5, 2011, p. 628.

⁷⁰⁵ For a more general history on these comity agreements, suggested in this work as being a secondary example of the type utopian engineering that Popper laments, see: Robert Pierce Beaver, *Ecumenical beginnings in Protestant world mission: a history of comity*, (New York: Nelson, 1962), pp. 42-68.

⁷⁰⁶ Michael P. Zirinsky, “Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar’s: American Presbyterian educators and Reza Shah,” *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3-4, 1993, p. 344.

⁷⁰⁷ Qtd. in Michael P. Zirinsky, “Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar’s: American Presbyterian educators and Reza Shah,” *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3-4, 1993, p. 344. See also John S. Badeau, “The Role of the Missionary in the Near East,” *International Review of Mission* 43, no. 4, 1954, pp. 402-403.

⁷⁰⁸ See Christopher Hookway, “Pragmatism,” *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2016 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2016/entries/pragmatism/>

I ought, perhaps, earlier in this volume, to have noticed the fact of having had frequent occasion, in the course of our work, to address superiors in Persia, in a more formal, and possibly, more *courtly*, manner, than may appear to all as suitable in a missionary, if it be so in a republican. I need only say that we must be guided by conventional usage, – becoming, on points unessential, all things to all men, – heeding the apostle’s injunction to be ‘courteous,’ and following his example in giving honor to whom honor is due, and using *proper titles*, as he did in addressing a heathen governor, *Most Noble Festus* ...⁷⁰⁹

Perkins enlaces his deference with a biblical rationale, but the phrase “points unessential” leaves open just what was defined as non-negotiable in the mission’s *raison d’etre*. In this way Perkins approximates a quintessentially Jamesian sort of pragmatic turn wherein “[u]nless some ‘practical difference’ would follow from one or the other side’s being correct, the dispute is idle.”⁷¹⁰ Hookway suggests that this sort of “[p]ragmatism is important because it offers a way of overcoming the dilemma,” and in higher stakes metaphysical contexts it also offers “a way of seeing that, for example, science, morality and religion are not in competition.”⁷¹¹ Indeed, following such a course allowed U.S. missions in Iran to become some of the early providers of modern medical care and institutionalized scientific education; these

⁷⁰⁹ Justin Perkins, *A residence of eight years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians: with notices of the Muhammedans* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1843), p. 398.

⁷¹⁰ Christopher Hookway, “Pragmatism,” *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2016 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2016/entries/pragmatism/>

⁷¹¹ Christopher Hookway, “Pragmatism,” *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2016 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2016/entries/pragmatism/>

ranged from the earliest Medical College of Urmia to the later mission hospitals in Tehran and Tabriz.⁷¹²

As such we can note a marked difference between the positivistic polemical approach embraced by Martyn, Merrick, and members the Basel Mission and the politics of an ABCFM establishment line that was less formally dialogical (and as a result less egalitarian), but more open to, largely passive, forms of negotiation. Under Presbyterian auspices these mission methodologies were mostly extended. Similarly engaged in what Ricoeur refers to as the “art of orienting oneself among conflicting groups”⁷¹³ the strange mix of static toleration and transformative engagement crosses generations. Relative to royal autocracy mission toleration served a political function; it was yet another iteration of the studied obliviousness that had long characterized the mission ethos. However, there are notable instances in which this pragmatism transformed into something approaching a utopian solidarity marked by enlarged practices of cross cultural engagement and affiliation.⁷¹⁴ Examples may be seen in Baskerville’s self-sacrificial alignment with the Constitutionalist cause in 1909, Shedd’s adamant drive for humanitarian action in the midst of the 1918 cholera epidemic, Jordan’s valorization of Persian culture at Alborz, and Irvine’s individual dedication to the cause of Iranian education. Each of these is illustrative as we explore the notion of solidarity as a potential marker of hope for the future of U.S.–Iran relations. It is therefore important to understand more completely how such instances

⁷¹² See Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, “The politics of reproduction: Maternalism and women's hygiene in Iran, 1896–1941,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 38, no. 1, 2006, p. 10. See also Md. Abul Kalam Azad, “The Legacy of the American Presbyterian Mission in Iran,” *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh (Hum.)* 58, no. 1, 2013, p. 196.

⁷¹³ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 179.

⁷¹⁴ See Mark S. Cladis, “Beyond solidarity? Durkheim and twenty-first century democracy in a global age,” in Jeffrey C. Alexander and Philip Smith (eds.) *The Cambridge Companion to Durkheim* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 383 ff. See also Kurt Bayertz, “Four uses of “solidarity,”” in *Solidarity*, Springer, Dordrecht, 1999, pp. 3–28.

of solidarity emerged from these missions as they navigated between channels of ideological certainty, pragmatic toleration, and utopian creativity.

Praxis and ideology

Of all the examples above that of Samuel Jordan must be reckoned most enduring. Jordan was at one point a towering figure in U.S.-Iran relations who came to embody the ideology of the late mission period as well as serve as an astonishingly effective personal conduit for intercultural relations in Iran.⁷¹⁵ Tehran's Jordan Boulevard was named in his honor,⁷¹⁶ and in the U.S. the Samuel M. Jordan Center for Persian Studies and Culture was established at the University of California, Irvine following a bequest from Fariboorz Maseeh. When the U.S. needed to build goodwill with Iran following their alliance with the U.K. and Russia during World War II, Jordan was invited to act as a goodwill ambassador to the country. He made a tour at the request of the U.S. State Department in 1944 to restore a sense of friendship and trust between the two countries. This culminated in a banquet at which the great and the good of Iranian society gathered at the Ferdousi Hotel. One of the guests, Mohammad Taghi Bahar, a poet, former Minister of Education and former member of Parliament, offered the following poem in Jordan's honor:

⁷¹⁵ For more on Jordan see Thomas M. Ricks, "Alborz College of Tehran, Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan and the American Faculty: Twentieth-Century Presbyterian Mission Education and Modernism in Iran (Persia)," *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5, 2011, pp. 627-646; Arthur C. Boyce, "Alborz College of Tehran and Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan," in 'A Pasha Saleh (ed.), *Cultural Ties between Iran and the United States* (Tehran, 1976), pp. 155-234; Y. Armajani, "Sam Jordan and the Evangelical Ethic in Iran," in Robert J. Miller (ed.) *Religious Ferment in Asia* (Lawrence, Kan.: 1974), pp. 23-36; William N. Wysham, "Mr. Chips of Teheran," *Presbyterian Life*, 1 November 1952, pp. 13-14; Michael Zirinsky, "Inculcate Tehran: Opening a Dialogue of Civilizations in the Shadow of God and the Alborz," *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5, 2011, pp. 657-669.

⁷¹⁶ Despite being renamed Africa Boulevard following the 1979 revolution, a name more recently changed to Nelson Mandela Boulevard, the original moniker of Jordan has persisted in daily use.

When to our country Jordan came to stay,
 A wilderness he helped to beautify.
 In this fair garden, till now far away,
 His eyes were brightened by this beauty nigh.

What ignorance is this by which we die?
 Relief we must discover if we can.
 Who is the doctor with discerning eye?
 A wise man said to me, Jordan, Jordan.⁷¹⁷

The old tropes of a wilderness transformed, a garden cultivated, and salvific knowledge all reappear here even a century after their first suggestion. Bahar's verse is so entirely deferential that it might seem diplomatic fabrication were there not such strong supporting evidence that Jordan and the U.S. mission were popular enough to warrant such panegyric.⁷¹⁸ Jordan had clearly reached an elite level of influence and access, to the degree that in 1941, following the overthrow of Reza Shah, Jordan could claim, "I know all the members of the new cabinet with one exception. Dr. Foroughi has been lifelong friend ... Hekmat and Sayah are alumni. Ahi, another friend, is the brother of an influential alumnus whom he sent to the college."⁷¹⁹ According to Jordan the new government was "well disposed to Americans in general

⁷¹⁷ Qtd. in Arthur C. Boyce, "Alborz College of Tehran and Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan, Founder and President," reprinted in Ali Pasha Saleh, *Cultural Ties between Iran and the United States: On the Occasion of American Revolution Bicentennial* (Tehran: Sherkat-e Chapkhaneh Bistopanj-e Shahrivar, 1976), p. 224.

⁷¹⁸ See Harlan Cleveland, Gerald J. Mangone, and John Clarke Adams, *The Overseas Americans* (McGraw Hill: New York, 1960), p. 23. See also Arthur C. Boyce, "Alborz College of Tehran and Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan, Founder and President," reprinted in Ali Pasha Saleh, *Cultural Ties between Iran and the United States: On the Occasion of American Revolution Bicentennial* (Tehran: Sherkat-e Chapkhaneh Bistopanj-e Shahrivar, 1976), p. 207.

⁷¹⁹ Qtd. in Michael P. Zirinsky, "A panacea for the ills of the country: American Presbyterian education in inter-war Iran," *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 1-2, 1993, p. 135.

and the College and Nurbakhsh in particular.”⁷²⁰ This good will is traceable in part to what Jordan termed his programme of “constructive revolutions”. In a 1935 article of the same title he suggested, “[t]he program of the missionary might be stated, take the best the country has, make it better than it has ever been before, and then add to it the best we have to give.”⁷²¹ This superlative construction in which a cultural change built on addition rather than denigration aligned with era specific notions of progress appears to have been not only palatable to, but generally welcome by Iranians and Americans alike. In part this is attributable to Jordan’s proclivity for practical action and experiential education. As Zirinsky notes:

One day during the Great War he bought a mule-load of shovels and had the dormitory residents carry them ‘past the home of the prime minister and other grandees’ to the new bare school grounds where he led them ‘in several hours of good stiff work.’ Afterwards he told them:

I trust you realize what you have done. I want it to go down in the history of the college that the first work on the new campus should not be done by peasants receiving twenty cents a day for their labor but by self-respecting students of the college who wished to show by action as well as by words that a New Era had come to Iran and henceforth any kind of work that is of service to mankind is honorable.⁷²²

⁷²⁰ Qtd. in Michael P. Zirinsky, “A panacea for the ills of the country: American Presbyterian education in inter-war Iran,” *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 1-2, 1993, p. 135.

⁷²¹ Qtd. in Michael P. Zirinsky, “A panacea for the ills of the country: American Presbyterian education in inter-war Iran,” *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 1-2, 1993, p. 133. See also S.M. Jordan, “Constructive Revolutions in Iran,” *Moslem World*, 25/4, 1935, pp. 347-8.

⁷²² Michael Zirinsky, “Inculcate Tehran: opening a dialogue of civilizations in the shadow of God and the Alborz,” *Iranian Studies*, 44 (5), 2011, p. 661.

Ricks describes these constructive revolutions as Jordan's intentions "to convert Iran to Christianity through a transformation of Iran's youth by means of a practical and disciplined education ... by efficacious example, hard work and social action."⁷²³ Popularly, and in an approbatory manner, Alborz was even referred to as "a factory, which makes men."⁷²⁴ The attention paid by Jordan to the category of work and transformation demonstrates the degree to which by the late nineteenth century a rigid mission *episteme* had opened to more synthetic possibilities.

In his *Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* Paul Ricoeur addresses the importance of understanding this type of praxis in relation to ideology. He suggests that for Habermas "praxis includes both instrumental action and the structure of symbolic interaction".⁷²⁵ Agreeing that "[l]abor is the source of synthesis," he also claims "human labor is always more than instrumental action because we cannot work without bringing in our traditions and our symbolic interpretation of the world."⁷²⁶ Therefore he concludes, "[w]e can no longer say that people first have a praxis and then have some ideas about praxis, which is their ideology. Instead we see that praxis incorporates an ideological layer; this layer may become distorted, but it is a component of praxis itself."⁷²⁷ The mission ideology, warped by practical action as the mission moved across various enterprises from printing to medicine to schools to political negotiation, is a ghost in the machine of the mission factory. It is an

⁷²³ Thomas M. Ricks, "Alborz College of Tehran, Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan and the American Faculty: Twentieth-Century Presbyterian Mission Education and Modernism in Iran (Persia)," *Iranian Studies*, 44:5, 2011, p. 633.

⁷²⁴ Qtd. in Thomas M. Ricks, "Alborz College of Tehran, Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan and the American Faculty: Twentieth-Century Presbyterian Mission Education and Modernism in Iran (Persia)," *Iranian Studies*, 44:5, 2011, p. 627.

⁷²⁵ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 223.

⁷²⁶ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 223.

⁷²⁷ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 223.

ideological layer, itself a plane in the mission palimpsest, that becomes all too easy to confuse with other functions of religion that have written themselves across the same space.

Religious critique and ideological power

Ricoeur clarifies the relationship between religion and ideology when he writes, “[r]eligion may act not only as an ideology but as a critical tool”.⁷²⁸ Ricoeur locates ideology as having largely moved from religion to areas of science, technology and economics. This is a movement we can see clearly in post-war Iran up to the point of the Islamic revolution. However, it seems apparent that Ricoeur's arguments are not intended to be global, but rather distinguish between, in his parlance, “developing countries” and “industrial societies.”⁷²⁹ Ricoeur's observations on new ideological drivers and the wane of religious ideology then seem more geared toward a “G7” type of audience, which was well established by the time of he offered these lectures in 1986.⁷³⁰ Thus, while he claims “the present ideological role of religion may be less a burning issue” this statement should be understood as restricted by geography and cultural position; it certainly does not take into account a post 1979 Islamic Republic of Iran. Yet, more broadly, Ricoeur's comments about the supersession of the ideological role of religion are part of his attempt to locate “religion in a dialectical

⁷²⁸ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 231.

⁷²⁹ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 262.

⁷³⁰ I refer here to the coalescence of national groupings around shared market concerns beginning formally in 1975 at the Rambouillet, France meeting that gathered France, West Germany, Italy, Japan, the U.K. and the U.S. (with Canada being added a year later). For more on the evolution of these summits see N. Bayne, *Hanging in There: The G7 and G8 Summit in Maturity and Renewal* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018). See also Peter Hajnal (ed.), *The G8 System and the G20: Evolution, Role and Documentation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

position between ideology and utopia.”⁷³¹ This construction in turn leads to the trenchant observation that “[r]eligion functions as an ideology when it justifies the existing system of power, but it also functions as a utopia to the extent that it is a motivation nourishing the critique.”⁷³² Such a theory gives some shape to the histories we have been tracing relative to U.S. missions in Iran. The dialectical position that Ricoeur identifies, if taken seriously, leads us to a better understanding of the complex nature of U.S. mission activity in Iran, both how it was conducted, framed, and understood, as well as how its legacies continue to be interpreted and challenged.

This dialectical position also allows Ricoeur to join Geertz’s conclusion “that analysis of culture is ‘not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretative one in search of meaning.’”⁷³³ This is a much more nuanced and believable take with regard to culture than the well intentioned but flat and binary schema presented by Hutchinson in which religion is opposed to culture and culture made “shorthand for what, strictly speaking, should read ‘the rest of culture’ or ‘secular culture.’”⁷³⁴ When U.S.-Iran relations, or U.S. mission activity in Iran more discreetly, is understood reductively in ideological terms alone there is a danger of sidestepping a rigorous and religiously sensitive analysis. This in turn renders significant intercultural aspects of US-Iran exchange desiccated of vital substance and sandbags the potential for

⁷³¹ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 231.

⁷³² Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 231. Taylor also suggests the following text for an expanded version of these ideas: Paul Ricoeur, “L’Herméneutique de la Sécularisation: Foi, Idéologie, Utopie,” *Archivio di Filosofia* 46(2-3), 1976, pp. 49-68. An abridged translation of this article is available as “Ideology, Utopia, and Faith,” *The Center for Hermeneutical Studies*, 17, 1976, pp. 21-28.

⁷³³ Qtd. Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 255.

⁷³⁴ William Hutchinson, *Errand to the World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p.5. Footnote.

adequately describing those religiously inspired utopian ruptures which are capable of critiquing social and political orders.

Ricoeur chooses to integrate religion as an insistently productive component in the questions of power that interest him in part because he recognizes, drawing on the work of Geertz and the discipline of anthropology, that religion has a “continuing role” in these questions.⁷³⁵ He argues that this endurance is due to the fact that “[r]eligion is beyond the opposition between the traditional and the modern”.⁷³⁶ Accepting such a claim also allows us to approach analysis of U.S. missions in Iran with some degree of integrity, even as they span a century’s transition across different forms of governance and technology. This reach or scope of religion is made possible, according to Ricoeur, by its ability “to establish a mood”.⁷³⁷ Religion is affective. Far from suggesting that this emotive aspect makes religion fickle Ricoeur rather asserts that this “provides a fundamental stability” insofar as these feelings function as avenues to engage “both the ethical and the cosmic.”⁷³⁸ Understood another way the dialectical movement that Ricoeur locates as a function of religion also shapes its relationship to questions of power. That the emotive content of religion presents itself in ritual forms is a basic anthropological tenet that Ricoeur affirms. However, he boundaries this affirmation with the caveat that “[i]deology arises not on the collapse of the ritual dimension but from the open conflictual situation of modernity.”⁷³⁹ This distinction is particularly helpful in regard to our analysis of U.S. missions in which

⁷³⁵ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 260-261.

⁷³⁶ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 260-261.

⁷³⁷ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 260-261.

⁷³⁸ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 260-261.

⁷³⁹ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 260-261.

religious forms of ritual were largely eschewed internally and challenged externally. Having divorced the emergence of ideology from the absence of ritual, or what we might more precisely interpret as the absence of an emotive capacity flexible enough to connect ethics on a human scale with cosmic consequence, Ricoeur instead locates the emergence of ideology in terms of systemic conflict. When “[s]ystems – even religious ones – are confronted with other systems which raise similar claims of authenticity and legitimacy” he suggests that it is then that “[w]e are caught in a situation of ideologies, in the plural.”⁷⁴⁰ In the case of the Nestorians we have seen how the confrontation with a foreign mission presence led to the development of an Assyrian national ideology. It is also important to consider the other ways in which authenticity and legitimacy challenges to and from mission life in Persia led to additional forms of ideological encrustation or emergence.

Tradition and ideology

Ricoeur agrees with Geertz that “the fundamental function of an ideology is to establish identity, whether the identity of a group or of an individual.”⁷⁴¹ “Utopia, on the other hand,” he holds “breaks with the ‘system of self-preservation and urges toward utopian fulfillment.’”⁷⁴² As a result “[u]topia is precisely what preserves the three knowledge-constitutive interests – the instrumental, the practical, and the critical – from being reduced to one. The utopian opens the spectrum of interests and prevents

⁷⁴⁰ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 260-261.

⁷⁴¹ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 252.

⁷⁴² Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 252.

it from being closed or collapsed to the instrumental.”⁷⁴³ We have seen the way in which the ABCFM tended to instrumentalize epistemology in an attempt to collapse moral and religious identities within a particular sort of knowledge formation. The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Mission allowed for Jordan to engage in a collapse of a similar sort when he negotiated with the Iranian government in 1933 to abandon the original Urmia⁷⁴⁴ mission station in return for financial compensation and recognition of Alborz’s educational status. When Presbyterians had returned to Urmia in 1923, following devastating years of conflict and occupation in Persian Azerbaijan, there was a stronger sense on the part of the Iranian government, and particularly from then Foreign Minister Mohammad Mosaddegh, that they were inciting separatist sentiment amongst the Kurdish and Assyrian populations and undermining national unity. As a result, according to Zirinsky:

After ten years of reluctant toleration, the Iranian government eased the Presbyterians out of Reza’iyeh ... The government alleged, in the words of Chargé George Wadsworth, that the mission would reap much Iranian goodwill by ceding the Reza’iyeh property...⁷⁴⁵

Zirinsky continues, “[t]he mission agreed to yield as part of a deal to augment the position of the American College of Tehran.”⁷⁴⁶ He writes:

It agreed to abandon Reza’iyeh and to accept only 100,000 *tūmāns* in compensation for property there, in return for government recognition of the college as comparable in

⁷⁴³ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 252.

⁷⁴⁴ From 1925-1979 the city of Urmia was styled Rezaiyeh in honor of Reza Shah.

⁷⁴⁵ Michael P. Zirinsky, “Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar’s: American Presbyterian educators and Reza Shah,” *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3-4, 1993, p. 341.

⁷⁴⁶ Michael P. Zirinsky, “Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar’s: American Presbyterian educators and Reza Shah,” *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3-4, 1993, p. 341.

status to the faculties of law, medicine, and education (the nascent University of Tehran).⁷⁴⁷

This provision of status recognition was significant educationally and socially as it, “allowed ACT students deferment from military service and meant that after graduation they could serve as army officers and government functionaries.”⁷⁴⁸ Zirinsky also notes that, “[t]he mission valued Reza’iyeh properties at 1.4 million rials but accepted less in deference to the government reasoning that they would be used for public purposes.”⁷⁴⁹ There is a glimmer here, in the accepted financial loss, of the legacy of disinterested benevolence that sparked initial U.S. mission impulses; there is also evidence that this decision was taken in the pragmatic tradition of deference to power that guided the ABCFM to forgo its original mission to the Persians. The government was closing the avenue of Urmia and opening the avenue of Tehran and the mission moved accordingly. In abandoning the Urmia station and its nearly century long legacy of regional engagement and transformation the Presbyterian Board of Missions embraced an ideological turn and abandoned a complicated tradition built upon utopian motivation relative to the Assyrian population in Iran.⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴⁷ Michael P. Zirinsky, “Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar’s: American Presbyterian educators and Reza Shah,” *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3-4, 1993, p. 341.

⁷⁴⁸ Michael P. Zirinsky, “Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar’s: American Presbyterian educators and Reza Shah,” *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3-4, 1993, p. 341.

⁷⁴⁹ Michael P. Zirinsky, “Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar’s: American Presbyterian educators and Reza Shah,” *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3-4, 1993, p. 342.

⁷⁵⁰ For an argument constructed around state security and national unity see also John H. Lorentz, “Educational Development in Iran: The Pivotal Role of the Mission Schools and Alborz College,” *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5, 2011, pp. 649-50.

Zirinsky contends that the, “expropriation of mission holdings appears to have been part of a broader attack on traditional Iranian elites.”⁷⁵¹ Pointed embellishments such as, “all roads in Azerbaijan seem to lead not to Rome but through an American missionaries yard”⁷⁵² were made by knowledgeable political actors, and it is clear that Reza Shah treated the missions on par with native minority networks of power⁷⁵³ to the degree they stood in direct confrontation with the realization of new national plans, such as modern highways projects. Perhaps especially owing to their previous favorable intercourse with the Qajars Reza Shah viewed the mission system as a threat to Iranian authenticity and legitimacy – thus the catch identified above by Ricoeur of conflicting ideologies in the plural. In the mission tradition that he succeeded in rooting out it is not unimaginable that Reza Shah glimpsed the uncanny alien, a familiar presence, older than his own Cossack coup that was nonetheless an interloper. Regardless of the general Presbyterian goodwill toward Reza Shah it was not reciprocal and the large remainder of the mission holdings were ultimately nationalized as well.⁷⁵⁴

In the observations above there has been an elision allowed for between the ideas of ideology and tradition. Andreea Deciu Ritivoi suggests that “[b]y some accounts,

⁷⁵¹ Michael P. Zirinsky, “Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's: American Presbyterian educators and Reza Shah,” *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3-4, 1993, p. 342.

⁷⁵² Qtd. in Michael P. Zirinsky, “Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's: American Presbyterian educators and Reza Shah,” *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3-4, 1993, p. 342.

⁷⁵³ See Arianne Ishaya, “Ethnicity, Class, and Politics: Assyrians in the History of Azerbaijan 1800-1918,” *JAAS* 4, 1990, pp. 3-17.

⁷⁵⁴ For a specific account of the nationalization of Presbyterian institutions in 1940 see Arthur C. Boyce, “Alborz College of Tehran and Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan,” in 'A Pasha Saleh (ed.), *Cultural Ties between Iran and the United States* (Tehran, 1976), 208-212. Boyce notes, “The new government finally agreed to pay a total sum of \$1,200,000 for seven school properties, namely Alborz College of Teheran, Sage College for Women, Teheran, Boys and Girls Schools in Hamadan, Boys and Girls Schools in Tabriz and the Girls' School in Resht,” p. 212. For a more general overview of this nationalizing project in broad historical context see Afshin Marashi, *Nationalizing Iran: culture, power, and the state, 1870-1940* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011).

tradition and ideology could be even deemed synonymous.”⁷⁵⁵ However, she contends, “[t]o distinguish between them is important, however, because it allows us to see precisely what makes a tradition so powerful and also what might be required to change it.”⁷⁵⁶ This is an especially important point to have made in the context of a political tradition in which the U.S. and Iran have come to assume roles as ideological others. Ritivoi suggests that “[w]hat makes traditions both useful – as a space of belonging – and potentially oppressive – as a space of captivity – is their marriage to particular ideologies”.⁷⁵⁷ Just so, we can recognize that the current tradition of international relations between the U.S. and Iran is largely captive to a narrative of ideological conflict. This work attempts to show that previous systems of power relations, which have been largely forgotten or obscured, opened toward alternate cultural dialectics, some of which were functionally utopian, and as such may yet provide nourishment for critique of the current ideological impasse, as well as motivation for traditional reconstruction.

National inflections

One of the enduring difficulties of U.S.-Iran relations appears to be the continuous confusion and entanglement of national and religious ideologies. Hutchinson speaks to the way in which this occurred even despite a viable transnational counter narrative

⁷⁵⁵ Andreea Deciu Ritivoi, “Hermeneutics as Project of Liberation: The Concept of Tradition in Paul Ricoeur and Hans-Georg Gadamer,” in Mootz, Francis J. and George H. Taylor, *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics*. Continuum: New York, 2011. 78-79.

⁷⁵⁶ Andreea Deciu Ritivoi, “Hermeneutics as Project of Liberation: The Concept of Tradition in Paul Ricoeur and Hans-Georg Gadamer,” in Francis J. Mootz, and George H. Taylor, *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics* (Continuum: New York, 2011), pp. 78-79.

⁷⁵⁷ Andreea Deciu Ritivoi, “Hermeneutics as Project of Liberation: The Concept of Tradition in Paul Ricoeur and Hans-Georg Gadamer,” in Francis J. Mootz and George H. Taylor, *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics* (Continuum: New York, 2011), pp. 78-79.

that would emphasize universal religious claims against particular national formations. He writes:

...American promoters of foreign missions, conscious of an active and continuing collaboration with British and other European colleagues, could plausibly have contended that Christian world obligations were unrelated to national ideology. In fact, however, they seldom advanced such an argument; they were much less concerned to disentangle Christian missions and the American mission than later apologists have been on their behalf. The religious rationale did have to be primary; and as far as possible the Gospel was to be offered in universal rather than parochial terms. But, given those caveats, spokesmen were comfortable with formulations that pictured a universal, nonparochial faith being carried to the world by certain clearly chosen emissaries: by the Protestant West, by the Anglo-Americans, and above all by God's New Israel.⁷⁵⁸

In demonstrating the accepted, largely unquestioned, alignment between national formation and a biblically inherited identity Hutchinson describes the conflation of religion and nationalism as an extendable ideology with transformative intent. The idea of “new Israel”, already familiar from the colonial American context, which as we have noted demonstrably informed the genesis of the ABCFM, here rebounds from a North American context to a Middle Eastern one once more. In doing so it loops a new civil polity into a sense of religious destiny that Karl Popper categorized

⁷⁵⁸ William Hutchinson, *Errand to the World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp. 8-9.

under the rubric of historicism.⁷⁵⁹ The core synchronization is especially apparent in the following words from a sermon Justin Perkins delivered at Urmia in 1853:

No American heart throbs more warmly and tenderly than the missionary's with love of his native country. His honest language in regard to it habitually is, 'If I forget thee O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy.'⁷⁶⁰

The language of Psalm 137 explored by Perkins in this sermon expresses the pain of Jewish exile in Babylon and at the same time anticipates the destruction of Babylon by Persia and a subsequent return to Judah enabled by Cyrus.⁷⁶¹ By dwelling on this language Perkins inhabits the prayer formed by a Jewish people whose existence his own mission organization had commissioned members to engage for instrumental conversion, while at the same time residing in a land that was historically instrumental in an act leading to their restoration. In the penitential language of prayer Perkins find and modifies patriotic ardor. Notably for our palimpsestic concerns, Jerusalem has been written onto a "native" script in such a way that the deep layer of historical pining associated with the city via Judaism becomes the de facto doorway through which national memory is sincerely engaged. Such a construction, in which national forms are transported and act as transponders, is also extremely important in recognizing and understanding the way that an anti-Catholic nativism associated with politically ascendant forms of U.S. Protestantism was carried through the mission

⁷⁵⁹ See Karl Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957).

⁷⁶⁰ Justin Perkins, *Our Country's Sin: A Sermon Preached To The Members And Families Of The Nestorian Mission At Oroomiah, Persia, July 3, 1853* (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co., 1854).

⁷⁶¹ See Y. Shavit & B. Harshav, "Cyrus King of Persia and the return to Zion: A case of neglected memory," *History and Memory*, 2(1), 1990, pp. 51-83. See Amélie Kuhrt, "The Cyrus cylinder and Achaemenid imperial policy," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 8, no. 25, 1983, pp. 83-97.

framework and apparatus from a domestic context to an international one. The anti-foreign impulse associated with nativism was, somewhat ironically, replicated internationally. In Iran it duly assumed existential importance as it was entwined with the epistemological concerns that focused global outreach.⁷⁶²

Reading this sermonic text in light of U.S. nationalism, it warrants observation that by fusing Jerusalem and the U.S. Perkins simultaneously signals the possibility of a Middle Eastern presence affirmatively shaping his own sense of national place and belonging. As if this tangle of identities overlaid across time was not already enough, the context of the sermon was Perkins's desire to denounce the evils of slavery in the years preceding the U.S. Civil War. Preached primarily to a U.S. circle of missionaries and families, while Perkins may have simultaneously intended to offer a guarded critique of slavery in Persia⁷⁶³, it seems clear that the primary goal of this sermon was to practice national scrutiny and self-criticism of the sort that had dominated the evangelical experience relative to sin. He writes:

The very ardor, sincerity, and depth of our love for country, however, should, and they doubtless do, lead us as heartily to deplore its sins, as gratefully to glory in its superiority over all other lands.⁷⁶⁴

⁷⁶² While the anti-Catholic impulses of the first U.S. missions to Iran have been touched upon briefly with reference to the theology and ecclesiology of the Church of the East this topic deserves greater attention than the present study affords it. For further background more generally on the element of nativism see John Higham, *Strangers in the land: Patterns of American nativism, 1860-1925* (Rutgers University Press, 2002). For an instructive and useful comparison between the effect of nativist politics on Catholicism and Islam across different time periods and geographies that would also be germane to an extended and enlarged study of U.S.-Iran relations see Jose Casanova, "The politics of nativism: Islam in Europe, Catholicism in the United States," *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 38, no. 4-5, 2012, pp. 485-495.

⁷⁶³ For more on the practice of slavery in Persia see Behnaz A. Mirzai's groundbreaking work in *A History of Slavery and Emancipation in Iran: 1800-1929* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017).

⁷⁶⁴ Justin Perkins, *Our Country's Sin: A Sermon Preached To The Members And Families Of The Nestorian Mission At Oroomiah, Persia, July 3, 1853* (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co., 1854).

Exceptionalism, here evidenced in the form of patriotic zeal, is tethered by a social critique issued in theological language. The legacy of such a critical social stance, gained through the extension of an active, and anxious, interior life of prayer to public and political problems, critically distinguishes U.S. missions across the long nineteenth century. Alongside the practice of disinterested benevolence this reflective capacity establishes a buffer between missions and the colonial and imperial forms with which they might otherwise blend more seamlessly.

Agency and the critical stance

While this self-critical component does not absolve the mission of its hegemonic impulses it does offer a structural distinction between forms of political dominance and heavy-handed attempts at religious or cultural leadership. It may be remembered here that the idea of hegemony is rooted in the Greek verb *hēgeisthai* meaning "to lead". This same verb is also the ultimate locus of *exegesis* – thus the mission hegemony may be linked once more to an intellectual tradition of correct interpretation of knowledge. And as Becker demonstrates this epistemological certitude was not entirely at odds with the cultivation of agency that would otherwise undermine a totalitarian project. Advancing Partha Chatterjee's argument against Benedict Anderson's work on modular nationalism and the assumed binary between colonial rule and indigenous resistance, Becker notes:

One of Chatterjee's concerns is the erasure of indigenous agency in such accounts, but this leads to a conundrum in examining the East Syrians' encounter with the missionaries: our own heuristic concern for agency is genealogically

related to a similar concern held by the missionaries themselves. The *Annual Report for the Mission to the Nestorians* in 1845 declares: ‘The rearing of a native agency, and the employment of that agency, – not only as a means of influence, but also of disciplining and improving the agency itself, – enters deeply into the plan of the missions prosecuted by the Board.’⁷⁶⁵

And yet here the historiography of the missions runs up against the historicism to which many missionaries assented and were notably confined. At this confluence we can identify complex tensions running between, on the one hand, the dialectical position that anchors Ricoeur's functional argument, wherein religion is a fulcrum between ideology and utopia, and on the other hand, Popper's position against what he terms utopian engineering, which he anxiously considers the most immediate response to the problems of historicism. Popper suggests historicism “can be well illustrated by one of the simplest and oldest of its forms, the doctrine of the chosen people.”⁷⁶⁶ We have seen how Hutchinson affirms the adoption and practice of this very doctrine at a foundational stage in U.S. foreign missions. Popper further contends that such “[t]heistic historicism shares with these other forms the doctrine that there are specific historical laws which can be discovered, and upon which predictions regarding the future of mankind can be based.”⁷⁶⁷ In the context of our study this position is most distinctly occupied by the figure of Asahel Grant, his

⁷⁶⁵ Qtd. Adam H. Becker, *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), p. 115. Becker also suggests Manu Goswami's work as an amendment to the modularity argument: “Rethinking the modular nation form: toward a sociohistorical conception of nationalism,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44, no. 4, 2002, pp. 770-799. See also Partha Chatterjee, “Whose imagined community?,” *Millennium* 20, no. 3, 1991, pp. 521-525. Additionally: Partha Chatterjee, “Anderson's utopia,” in *Diacritic*, vol. 29, No. 4, Grounds of Comparison: Around the Work of Benedict Anderson Winter, 1999, pp. 128-134.

⁷⁶⁶ Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 8.

⁷⁶⁷ Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 8

preoccupation with the Nestorians, and what he takes to be the historicist problem of the lost tribes of Israel. Like Ricoeur, who is anxious to avoid the early and easy dismissal of religion, Popper makes quick to clarify that “[a]n attack on this form of historicism should therefore not be interpreted as an attack upon religion.”⁷⁶⁸ One of Popper’s main qualms with regard to the chosen people doctrine in particular, however, is its impermeability to experiential refutation. He condemns “the remoteness of what it proffers as the end of history.”⁷⁶⁹ Where Ricoeur locates the stabilizing function of religion in its very ability to drill into the ethical and cosmic simultaneously Popper is intensely suspicious of the remote and ineluctable draw of a cosmic dimension, in part because he is concerned with how a secularized historicism seems to have filled this dimension throughout the nineteenth century. Preston King, in attempting to summarize Popper’s position on this argues:

It is sufficient to say that the nineteenth century, especially, gives the appearance of being overwhelmed by the desire to convert history into some species of quasi-divine guide to human behavior. ... The course of history presented itself as a potentially superb directional substitute for the will of God.⁷⁷⁰

By Popper’s light the easiest, though errant, counter to such a historicist design is an anti-agentic utopianism, that is, not a utopian turn intended to nourish critical reflection, but rather one seeking to wrangle a narrative of destiny with outright authoritarianism. According to Popper this “[Utopian approach is more dangerous as it may seem to be the obvious approach to an out-and-out historicism – to a radically

⁷⁶⁸ Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 8.

⁷⁶⁹ Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 8.

⁷⁷⁰ P. King, *Toleration* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1976), p.113.

historicist approach which implies that we cannot alter the course of history”.⁷⁷¹ He distinguishes this utopian engineering from another type of social engineering that he designates as piecemeal engineering. According to Popper the piecemeal engineer “may or may not hope that mankind will one day realize an ideal state, and achieve happiness and perfection on earth.”⁷⁷² However, regardless of their position on this question, piecemeal engineers will nonetheless seek to address the immediate suffering of others. As a result Popper suggests, “[t]he piecemeal engineer will, accordingly, adopt the method of searching for, and fighting against, the greatest and most urgent evils of society,” utilizing “a method which can be applied at any moment,” rather than “a method whose advocacy may easily become a means of continually postponing action”.⁷⁷³ It is the piecemeal type of social engineering that that may be said to best characterize the later U.S. mission efforts epitomized in forms of culturally hybrid education with their focus on progressive and experiential learning.⁷⁷⁴ These schools, as places of a new style of education,⁷⁷⁵ where different national and religious groups mixed, became sites for the formation and expression of a particular ideology that is deserving of attention by any project concerned with the current state of U.S.-Iran discord. As unique spaces of social congress the mission schools began as sites of utopian conservation amidst the libertarian mood of the Qajar period and in turn became ideological incubators, which ultimately dimmed and cooled in the face of increasing pressure from a more regimented Pahlavi historicism,

⁷⁷¹ Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 147.

⁷⁷² Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 148

⁷⁷³ Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 148

⁷⁷⁴ See J. Richard Irvine, “Iranzamin, Tehran International School,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. XIII, Fasc. 5, pp. 541-543; available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/iranzamin-tehran-international-school> (accessed online at 19 September 2018). See also C. H. Allen, Chairman of the Educational Committee, Hamadan, Iran, “Statement of Educational Policy of the East Persia Mission,” 18 October 1918: on deposit at the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa., Record Group 91, Series 1, East Persia Mission, 1911-1930, Boxes 1-3, Folders 4 and 16.

⁷⁷⁵ John H. Lorentz, “Educational Development in Iran: The Pivotal Role of the Mission Schools and Alborz College,” *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5, 2011, pp. 647-655.

and were finally removed following the 1979 Islamic revolution, which itself proved to be a dominant example of utopian engineering.⁷⁷⁶

According to Ritivoi, one of the ways these schools worked in a Ricoeurian ideological sense was “by creating and reinforcing social bonds, and thus by offering concretions of identity” which, she suggests, “is what grounds a tradition”.⁷⁷⁷ At the same time these schools were also spaces in which dominant systems of authority were mediated. These included Iranian political and religious structures, as well as those of the mission itself. According to Ricoeur, “it is when the mediating role of ideology encounters the phenomenon of domination that the distorting and dissimulating character of ideology comes to the fore”, and this “is what makes utopia necessary.”⁷⁷⁸ Therefore we see that for Ricoeur utopia is a largely a space of liberation. This is related to the way in which he speaks of utopia as carrying a sense of extraterritoriality. He suggests that it is “from this strange spatial extraterritoriality – from this nonplace, in the literal sense of the word – that we are able to take a fresh look at our reality”.⁷⁷⁹ The injunction to take a fresh look at reality was indeed the clarion call of the Haystack prayer meeting and in this way its genesis may be held as being a distant antiphon in Christian form to the later utopian engineering of Iran’s

⁷⁷⁶ See Zirinsky’s assessment of Homa Katouzian’s argument in *The Persians: Ancient, Medieval and Modern Iran* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010) that Iranian history cycles “between extremes of anarchy and absolute rule.” Michael Zirinsky, “Inculcate Tehran: Opening a Dialogue of Civilizations in the Shadow of God and the Alborz,” *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5, 2011, pp. 668-669.

⁷⁷⁷ Andreea Deciu Ritivoi, “Hermeneutics as Project of Liberation: The Concept of Tradition in Paul Ricoeur and Hans-Georg Gadamer,” in Francis J. Mootz and George H. Taylor (eds.), *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics* (Continuum: New York, 2011), p. 80.

⁷⁷⁸ Qtd. Andreea Deciu Ritivoi, “Hermeneutics as Project of Liberation: The Concept of Tradition in Paul Ricoeur and Hans-Georg Gadamer,” in Francis J. Mootz and George H. Taylor (eds.), *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics* (Continuum: New York, 2011), p. 80. See Paul Ricoeur (K. Blamey and J.B. Thompson (trans.)), *From Text to Action, Essays on Hermeneutics II* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1991), pp. 250-52.

⁷⁷⁹ Andreea Deciu Ritivoi, “Hermeneutics as Project of Liberation: The Concept of Tradition in Paul Ricoeur and Hans-Georg Gadamer,” in Francis J. Mootz and George H. Taylor (eds.), *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics* (Continuum: New York, 2011), p. 80. See Paul Ricoeur (K. Blamey and J.B. Thompson (trans.)), *From Text to Action, Essays on Hermeneutics II* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1991), pp. 184.

Islamic revolution. Both contained similar impulses to “radically rethink the nature of family, consumption, government, religion, and so on” as well as a common desire to stand as “formidable challenge to what-is”.⁷⁸⁰ As such both incorporate Ricoeur’s central function of utopia, namely, “to create a breach in our everyday world, to bring the ‘far’ into the ‘near’”.⁷⁸¹ Yet Ricoeur also argues that “the utopian mode projects one outside one’s familiar universe of reference, that is, tradition”.⁷⁸² And here any neat attempt to fit both the U.S. foreign missions movement and Iran’s Islamic revolution under the broadest banner of utopia buckles. Both are deeply rooted in particular interpretations of religious traditions. It is in fact the telos of these traditions that each movement attends to in order to “identify the realm of what may be possible”.⁷⁸³ Thus it must be understood that the impulse in both instances does correspond to Ricoeur’s stated utopian imperative “to change an existing order”,⁷⁸⁴ but that the rationale for doing so is fidelity to an already recognized, but yet unrealized, tradition that stands as a self-evident first principal, an event horizon.

⁷⁸⁰ Andreea Deciu Ritivoi, “Hermeneutics as Project of Liberation: The Concept of Tradition in Paul Ricoeur and Hans-Georg Gadamer,” in Francis J. Mootz and George H. Taylor (eds.), *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics* (Continuum: New York, 2011), p. 80. See Paul Ricoeur (K. Blamey and J.B. Thompson (trans.)), *From Text to Action, Essays on Hermeneutics II* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1991), p.184.

⁷⁸¹ Andreea Deciu Ritivoi, “Hermeneutics as Project of Liberation: The Concept of Tradition in Paul Ricoeur and Hans-Georg Gadamer,” in Francis J. Mootz and George H. Taylor (eds.), *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics* (Continuum: New York, 2011), p. 80. See Paul Ricoeur (K. Blamey and J.B. Thompson (trans.)), *From Text to Action, Essays on Hermeneutics II* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1991), p.184.

⁷⁸² Andreea Deciu Ritivoi, “Hermeneutics as Project of Liberation: The Concept of Tradition in Paul Ricoeur and Hans-Georg Gadamer,” in Francis J. Mootz and George H. Taylor (eds.), *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics* (Continuum: New York, 2011), p. 80. See Paul Ricoeur (K. Blamey and J.B. Thompson (trans.)), *From Text to Action, Essays on Hermeneutics II* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1991), p. 184.

⁷⁸³ Andreea Deciu Ritivoi, “Hermeneutics as Project of Liberation: The Concept of Tradition in Paul Ricoeur and Hans-Georg Gadamer,” in Francis J. Mootz and George H. Taylor (eds.), *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics* (Continuum: New York, 2011), p. 80. See Paul Ricoeur (K. Blamey and J.B. Thompson (trans.)), *From Text to Action, Essays on Hermeneutics II* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1991), p. 184.

⁷⁸⁴ Andreea Deciu Ritivoi, “Hermeneutics as Project of Liberation: The Concept of Tradition in Paul Ricoeur and Hans-Georg Gadamer,” in Francis J. Mootz and George H. Taylor (eds.), *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics* (Continuum: New York, 2011), p.80. See Paul Ricoeur (K. Blamey and J.B. Thompson (trans.)), *From Text to Action, Essays on Hermeneutics II* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1991), p. 184.

Utopia and reason

In this sense, both impulses adhere to Popper's description of "Utopianism as a result of a form of rationalism".⁷⁸⁵ In our study we see a good example of such rationalism in the motivation Horatio Southgate provides for his mission work in Persia. Marr observes that "[a]lthough Southgate paid little explicit attention to prophecy – which he felt was comprised of 'appeals' that might engender a groundless and ephemeral zeal' – the eschatological heritage nevertheless influenced what he called his 'rational and abiding conviction of duty.'"⁷⁸⁶ Here we see conviction hitched to reason in the very way that Popper most deplores. For Popper an action may be deemed rational insofar as "it makes the best use of the available means in order to achieve a certain end."⁷⁸⁷ Popper's deep concern, however, is that "it is impossible to determine ends scientifically."⁷⁸⁸ Thus the idealism of what Popper refers to as a "utopian blueprint"⁷⁸⁹ leaves no room for argument, back and forth, or the dialectical structure essential to hermeneutic function, understanding and change. This inflexibility, Popper claims, it is "likely to produce violence", and in this regard Popper suggests differing utopian visions "will at least partly have the character of religious differences."⁷⁹⁰ While it's true, as previously noted, that there was some demonstrable violence, as well as threats of violence, traceable to mission presence in Iran, Popper's argument draws thin in the way it reckons with religious subjects by analogy without affording sufficient attention to differences in theological nuance and practice. When he denies the possibility of tolerance by suggesting that the utopian

⁷⁸⁵ Karl R. Popper, "Utopia and violence," *World affairs* 149, no. 1, 1986, p. 5.

⁷⁸⁶ Qtd. in Timothy Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp.126-127. From Horatio Southgate, *Encouragement to the Missionary Effort among Mohamedans* (New York: Protestant Episcopal Press, 1836), pp. 25, 30, 32, 26.

⁷⁸⁷ Karl R. Popper, "Utopia and violence," *World affairs* 149, no. 1, 1986, p. 5.

⁷⁸⁸ Karl R. Popper, "Utopia and violence," *World affairs* 149, no. 1, 1986, p. 5.

⁷⁸⁹ Karl R. Popper, "Utopia and violence," *World affairs* 149, no. 1, 1986, p. 6.

⁷⁹⁰ Karl R. Popper, "Utopia and violence," *World affairs* 149, no. 1, 1986, p. 6.

and religious are partially overlapping with totalitarian grounds Popper seems unwilling to consider the idea that religious differences or utopian differences might be subject to negotiation.

Perhaps unsurprisingly Ricoeur's line of thought around utopia helps to recast its compatibility with religious subjects and liberty in a more positive light. For Ricoeur, “[i]nsofar as utopias distance us from our practices, they offer a counterpoint to ideology: while the latter integrates individuals into a tradition, the former provides the possibility of changing that tradition by offering a vantage point from which the seemingly ‘given’ can be questioned and a replacement considered.”⁷⁹¹ We might turn again to Southgate here as an example. Following his time in mission Southgate voiced “his willingness ‘to throw off those antipathies which the Christian world has too freely cherished against the followers of Mohammed’”.⁷⁹² Southgate’s actions cohere with Ricoeur's theory on utopias, which emphasizes their capacity for reformation and speaks to an approach framed not in terms of pseudo-rationality, but rather the logic of imagination and experience.⁷⁹³ Popper’s condemnation of utopianism, on the other hand, is a rejection of cosmic idealism that forsakes concrete and contingent human need and experience. Both are ultimately concerned with the question of domination and both accordingly speak to different aspects of the mission impulse and incorporation that first brought a U.S. presence to Iran.

⁷⁹¹ Andreea Deciu Ritivoi, “Hermeneutics as Project of Liberation: The Concept of Tradition in Paul Ricoeur and Hans-Georg Gadamer,” in Francis J. Mootz and George H. Taylor (eds.), *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics* (Continuum: New York, 2011), pp. 80-81.

⁷⁹² Timothy Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 128. See Horatio Southgate, *Narrative of a Tour Through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia, and Mesopotamia* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1840), I: 73.

⁷⁹³ See George H. Taylor, “Delineating Ricoeur’s Concept of Utopia,” *Social Imaginaries* 3, no. 1, 2017, pp. 41-60.

In a rebuke that would undermine the ideology of disinterested benevolence Popper argues, “[u]topian rationalism is self-defeating rationalism. However, benevolent its ends, it does not bring happiness”.⁷⁹⁴ Happiness here may not be a sufficiently broad term to cover a more apposite theological category, such as glory, in the ABCFM context, however the essential question and main concern here for Popper is how to differentiate between “admissible plans for social reform and inadmissible Utopian blueprints”.⁷⁹⁵ Interestingly, the rubric that Popper suggests might guide this differentiation sounds at points quite similar to the programme of work undertaken by the U.S. missions. His admissible plans for social reform are directed by the following injunctions:

Work for the elimination of concrete evils rather than for the realization of abstract goods ... in more practical terms: fight for the elimination of poverty by direct means – for example, by making sure that everybody has a minimum income. Or fight against epidemics and disease by erecting hospitals and schools of medicine. Fight illiteracy as you fight criminality. But do all this by direct means. Choose what you consider the most urgent evil of the society in which you live, and try patiently to convince people that we can rid of it.⁷⁹⁶

There is a self-evident resonance between the work of the missions and this list. The literacy initiatives pursued across the mission schools⁷⁹⁷, the medical work of Asahel Grant, Austin Wright, and particularly Joseph Plumb Cochran,⁷⁹⁸ and indeed the

⁷⁹⁴ Karl R. Popper, “Utopia and violence,” *World affairs* 149, no. 1, 1986, p. 7.

⁷⁹⁵ Karl R. Popper, “Utopia and violence,” *World affairs* 149, no. 1, 1986, p. 7.

⁷⁹⁶ Karl R. Popper, “Utopia and violence,” *World affairs* 149, no. 1, 1986, p. 7.

⁷⁹⁷ Michael P. Zirinsky, “A panacea for the Ills of the country: American Presbyterian education in inter-war Iran,” *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 1-2, 1993, p. 123.

⁷⁹⁸ Robert Elliott Speer, “*The Hakim Sahib.*” *The Foreign Doctor: A Biography of Joseph Plumb Cochran, MD, of Persia* (Fleming H. Revell Company, 1911). Ahmadreza Afshar, “The Westminster

mission's efforts with regard to elevating the status of women in Iranian society⁷⁹⁹ all dutifully employ and anticipate the direct means that Popper advocates. At the same time these mission efforts also countenance the sort of indirect design that Popper anxiously and vociferously opposes. The notion that mission work is understood as a means to achieve a greater end or ideal, specifically salvation through conversion, is antithetical to Popper's position. He continues:

But do not try to realize these aims indirectly by designing and working for a distinct ideal of a society which is wholly good. However deeply you may feel indebted to its inspiring vision, do not think that you are obliged to work for its realization, or that it is your mission to open the eyes of others to its beauty. Do not allow your dreams of a beautiful world to lure you away from the claims of men who suffer here and now. Our fellow men have a claim to our help.⁸⁰⁰

Popper's arguments are most immediately directed toward certain moral and political programmes, more often incorporating categories of positive atheism or assuming the force of religion, than traditional or historic religious cosmologies. It is thus not entirely fair to apply his critical lens wholesale to other forms of Christian practice that through arguments of incarnational theology may in fact approach the ideal of social vision directly through the claims of suffering. In fact it is possible to note, bracketing questions of gendered language and cultural superiority, how the language

Medical College and Hospital in Urmia, Iran, 1879-1915," *Archives of Iranian Medicine (AIM)* 20, no. 12, 2017.

⁷⁹⁹ Camron Michael Amin, "Propaganda and remembrance: gender, education, and "the women's awakening" of 1936," *Iranian Studies* 32, no. 3, 1999, p. 369. Frederick J. Heuser, "Women's Work for Women: Belle Sherwood Hawkes and the East Persia Presbyterian Mission," *American Presbyterians* 65, no. 1, 1987, pp. 10-12.

⁸⁰⁰ Karl R. Popper, "Utopia and violence," *World affairs* 149, no. 1, 1986, p. 7.

framing Popper's appeal to help is mirrored in both the early and later North American and U.S. mission literature.⁸⁰¹

The point to be stressed here with regard to U.S. mission in Iran is the way in which a certain structural ideology guiding the foreign missions movement was in constant tension with the inventive and transformative possibilities raised by sustained human contact across cultures.⁸⁰² Ritivoi reflects upon an aspect of this tension in a way that incorporates a utopian sensitivity more directly:

When the ideology that defines a tradition becomes oppressive, and that tradition works as domination and prejudice in the original, nonenlightened sense of the term, utopia functions as a way of exposing the domination through reflection upon alternative possibilities.⁸⁰³

Such a description resonates with the histories of European persecution and displacement that led to the founding of the very communities that gave initial rise to the U.S. foreign missions movement. It also corresponds with Ricoeur's notion of "ideology as integration" in which he argues for "the integration of a group not

⁸⁰¹ See William Hutchinson, *Errand to the World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp. 10-11. Images: "Come and Help Us," 1630. An early seal of the Massachusetts Bay Colony from Nehemiah Adams, *The Life of John Eliot* (Boston: Sabbath School Society, 1847), frontispiece. "Come and Help Us," 1920. Cover illustration for *Missionary Review of the World* 43 (May 1920). Courtesy of the Publication Office, World Council of Churches.

⁸⁰² The complex relationship between eschaton and parousia understood in a Barthian sense might serve as a productive comparative space for reflection on this type of tension between final form and organic development in more focused theological terms see John C. McDowell, *Hope in Barth's eschatology: interrogations and transformations beyond tragedy* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017).

⁸⁰³ Andreea Deciu Ritivoi, "Hermeneutics as Project of Liberation: The Concept of Tradition in Paul Ricoeur and Hans-Georg Gadamer," in Francis J. Mootz and George H. Taylor (eds.), *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics* (Continuum: New York, 2011), pp. 80-81.

simply in space but in time.”⁸⁰⁴ According to Ricoeur “[i]deology functions not only in the synchronic dimension but also in the diachronic dimension.” He concludes that as a result, across time, “the memory of the group’s founding events is extremely significant” and locates a fundamental aspect of ideology in these founding events, which he suggests leads to “an element of repetition of the origin.”⁸⁰⁵ We see this confirmed in the way that the wilderness trope and its attendant language of epistemic reform boomerangs, first issuing from the Middle East, winging into Europe, extending through North America, before retreating towards its point of origin and a marginalized Nestorian minority,⁸⁰⁶ where it is snatched out of the air by the haughty hand of superiority. This cyclical pattern, in which a hermeneutic of suspicion both connects and replicates the social forms of domination from which egress was originally sought, creates a repetitive layering that warps and distorts the original ideological impulse.

Ricoeur understands this repetition across ideological processes “in the pathological sense”.⁸⁰⁷ A similar interest in the “epidemiology of culture” is shared by Mozaffari who, as we have seen, explores the oncology of despotism via the work of Dehkhoda.⁸⁰⁸ These common concerns with the distorting and metastasizing tendencies of ideological power are related to “[o]ne of the targets of Popper’s

⁸⁰⁴ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 261.

⁸⁰⁵ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 261.

⁸⁰⁶ As has been previously noted the history of Nestorianism in Persia is complex; the reductionist ABCFM worldview is reflected rather than seconded in this assessment. For a more detailed analysis of Nestorian social position see Arianne Ishaya, “Ethnicity, Class, and Politics: Assyrians in the History of Azerbaijan 1800-1918,” *JAAS* 4, 1990, pp. 3-17.

⁸⁰⁷ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 261.

⁸⁰⁸ Nahid Mozaffari, “An Iranian Modernist Project: Ali Akbar Dehkhoda’s Writings in the Constitutional Period” in H.E. Chehabi and Vanessa Martin (ed.), *Iran’s Constitutional Revolution: Popular Politics, Cultural Transformations and Transnational Connections* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2010), p. 205.

profound criticism ... a phenomenon he called holistic social engineering.”⁸⁰⁹ According to Václav Havel, Popper “used this term to describe human attempts to change the world for the better completely and globally, and on the basis of some preconceived ideology”.⁸¹⁰ The description is an accurate one with reference to the genesis of U.S. foreign missions. As Zirinsky puts it, “Protestant America provided a template, a form into which the American missionaries in Iran strove to shape all among whom they worked.”⁸¹¹ In this way we also see how Popper’s dreaded totalitarianism merges quite seamlessly with a historic, nationally inflected, Christian desire for unity. This raises an important question about the role that equality plays in these utopian discourses of holistic engineering as well as helping us to think about the ways that the historic pathways of egalitarian respect between the U.S. and Iran may inform the current state of international discourse.

Equality and conservatism

As Hutchinson notes, “[a]n ‘Address to the Christian Public’ in November 1811 placed the ABCFM’s earliest activities in the context of two justifications for missions: the oneness of humanity and the instructions of Christ.”⁸¹² This justificatory basis in common creation, or oneness of humanity, has been previously remarked upon in the context of the early ABCFM history with regard to the General Association referral committee’s choice to draw upon the more expansive language Mark’s gospel, which references the whole of creation, rather than more proscribed

⁸⁰⁹ Václav Havel “Preface: Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* in the contemporary global world” in Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. xi

⁸¹⁰ Václav Havel “Preface: Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* in the contemporary global world” in Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. xi

⁸¹¹ Michael Zirinsky, “Inculcate Tehran: Opening a Dialogue of Civilizations in the Shadow of God and the Alborz,” *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5, 2011, p. 667.

⁸¹² William Hutchinson, *Errand to the World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 46.

emphasis of Matthew's gospel on international relations, discipleship and baptism. The framing of this justification is important in the sense that it presents the question of unity differently. Rather than envision a unity that must be achieved as a distant goal, the initial assumption of the ABCFM seems to have been that unity was a preexisting fact. As a result, "foreseeing the objection that Christians ought to expend their resources closer to home, the Board's spokesmen pressed the theme of universality."⁸¹³ The language "our brethren" "common parents" and "inhabiting the same world" was used to argue for global mission "so long as the means of access to them are in our power."⁸¹⁴ Yet the key, if understated, proviso here may be the qualifier "in our power." The U.S. missions, even if affirming a theoretical equality were structurally a directive enterprise that rationalized the projection of a prejudicial tradition by way of a predetermined altruistic end. The result, even in later years where there was a more conscious and concerted effort to advance, support, and shape an Iranian national culture, was still an educational context in which "those who were not Protestant or American understood that they were not quite equal".⁸¹⁵ The last reflection, offered by Zirinsky out of his own time as a student at Community School, leaves open the question of whether inequality intrinsic to the mission ethos was derivative more from religious or national influence. Hutchinson is also somewhat equivocal on the question of influence characterizing the mission movement "in its American expressions, as rooted both in a Christian, a-nationalistic zeal for expansion and active evangelization, and equally in a fervent belief, less obviously Christian but just as religious, that Americans were under special obligation to save and renovate

⁸¹³ William Hutchinson, *Errand to the World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 47.

⁸¹⁴ Qtd. William Hutchinson, *Errand to the World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 47. See ABCFM, *Minutes of the Second Annual Meeting*, p. 25 (bound in *First Ten Annual Reports* [Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1834].

⁸¹⁵ Michael Zirinsky, "Inculcate Tehran: Opening a Dialogue of Civilizations in the Shadow of God and the Alborz," *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5, 2011, p. 667.

the world.”⁸¹⁶ Yet here, the claim of a special national obligation stands out when compared with the early theological turn toward universality and gives some hint that, while fused at various points, a U.S. political habitus was the main ideological driver behind the disparity. We can suppose, alongside Ricoeur, that “ideology perhaps does not exist as long as a common culture is not broken. There must be the notion of an antimony, of an antagonism.”⁸¹⁷ Religiously reformist and politically revolutionary the ruptures popularly associated with a new U.S. national culture give evidence of this antagonism.

Via Mannheim, who is one of the thinkers, alongside Saint-Simon and Fourier, who anchor his work on utopia,⁸¹⁸ Ricoeur suggests that given this essentially antagonistic orientation of utopias some may necessarily be deemed counterutopias. He continues “[t]he notion of counterutopia allows Mannheim to list conservatism as a utopia, which ordinarily is rather questionable.”⁸¹⁹ However, continues Ricoeur using Mannheim’s own criteria, “as long as we have present in conservatism a form which structures life, appear non-congruent, and includes a dominant wish, then it is a utopia.”⁸²⁰ Ricoeur contends that because conservatism is “a counterutopia that is

⁸¹⁶ William Hutchinson, *Errand to the World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 8.

⁸¹⁷ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 275.

⁸¹⁸ Indeed, George Taylor, questions “whether we can make much of his elaboration of utopia when his main discussion of the topic takes up only about 45 pages in his *Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (Ricoeur 1986) and even in these pages, Ricoeur allocates considerable space simple to the exegesis of Mannheim, Saint-Simon and Fourier. See George H. Taylor, “Delineating Ricoeur’s Concept of Utopia,” *Social Imaginaries* 3, no. 1, 2017, p. 41. I note this not in agreement with the question, as Taylor is not either, but more to excuse and explain the awkward movement of having to seem to quote Ricoeur through Mannheim.

⁸¹⁹ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p.275.

⁸²⁰ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 275.

compelled to legitimate itself under the attack of others, it then becomes a utopia of a certain kind".⁸²¹ The U.S. missions stand as an excellent example in this regard.

We can note further correspondence in Ricoeur's elaboration that utopic conservatism is marked by the development of "some fundamental symbols like that of the *Volksgeist*, the spirit of a people".⁸²² Ricoeur continues in this vein to detail the temporal aspects of utopic conservatism:

As for the time sense of conservatism, priority is given to the past, not the past as abolished but one that nourishes the present by giving its roots. There is a notion of tradition, an assertion that something is transmitted and still living and that the present without this subterranean efflux of the past would be empty.⁸²³

The importance placed on duration and the suggestion of a layered effluence support the palimpsestic view of missions that this study has attempted to develop. It is also notable that for Ricoeur utopic conservatism is more concerned with structural elements than positive ideological content. This makes it amenable to Popper's social reform injunctions. Additionally it means that this strain of conservatism in U.S. missions does not disqualify liberal or progressive political impulses, as has already

⁸²¹ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 279.

⁸²² Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 279.

⁸²³ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 279.

been described with attention to Hutchinson's work. It is for this reason that Zirinsky is able to classify Samuel Jordan as "a *conservative liberal*."⁸²⁴

Piecemeal experimentation

As has been mentioned, Jordan is a key figure in understanding the apogee of the U.S. missions movement in Iran. With regard to education the enduring tradition of Alborz College, and Jordan's influence within it, helps prove Popper's argument that social experiments with a utopian bent need not "be carried out on a 'large scale'," nor "involve the whole of society if they are to be carried out under realistic conditions."⁸²⁵ Indeed, the existence and history of Alborz and affiliated mission institutions are proof positive supporting Popper's contention that "piecemeal social experiments can be carried out under realistic conditions, in the midst of society, in spite of being on a 'small scale', that is to say, without revolutionizing the whole of society."⁸²⁶ Jordan seems to confirm this when he writes, "[p]erhaps the best way to define a missionary these days would be to say he is an efficiency engineer."⁸²⁷

Popper contrasts this small-scale approach with "Utopian planning or historical prophecy" and instead emphasizes its importance to "the introduction of scientific method into politics".⁸²⁸ By this he means most basically "a readiness to learn from mistakes,"⁸²⁹ which we may take as being synonymous with the self-critical component we see exercised, irregularly but repetitively, throughout the history of the

⁸²⁴ Michael Zirinsky, "Inculcate Tehran: opening a dialogue of civilizations in the shadow of God and the Alborz," *Iranian Studies*, 44 (5), 2011, p. 664.

⁸²⁵ Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 153.

⁸²⁶ Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 153.

⁸²⁷ S.M. Jordan, "Constructive Revolutions in Iran," *Moslem World*, 25/4, 193, p. 347.

⁸²⁸ Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 153.

⁸²⁹ Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 153.

missions. Examples of this are also in line with Ricoeur's understanding of religion as critical tool. The self-reflective tradition is discernable throughout various Christian forms, but it features especially prominently across the U.S. Great Awakenings. There is a curious irony in the fact that from one such small space of critical reflection – the Williams Haystack prayer meeting – “[t]he American foreign mission enterprise” emerges as a series of “countercyclical gestures of openness to the world in a period better known for cultural nationalism and relative isolationism.”⁸³⁰ This impulse carries on throughout the life of the U.S. mission movement in Iran.

An excellent later stage example of such countercyclical openness may be found in the Presbyterian-backed Community School, which was the sole mission institution that continued on in the wake of Reza Shah's national reform movement. As Zirinsky notes, following World War II the Community School “met on the former mission hospital grounds”.⁸³¹ Included as part of campus life was a “daily recitation in chapel”, which was made “facing the massed flags of all the countries represented in the student body”.⁸³² The content, modeled on the U.S. pledge of allegiance to the flag, was the following: “I pledge allegiance to my own country, and to the United Nations, of which it is a part. One world brotherhood, of peaceful nations with freedom and justice for all.”⁸³³ This communal affirmation serves as an example of how the moral education grounded in Jordan's pedagogy of constructive revolutions manifested itself. At the same time the dual pledge to established national form and

⁸³⁰ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 7.

⁸³¹ Michael P. Zirinsky, “Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's: American Presbyterian educators and Reza Shah,” *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3-4, 1993, p. 352. Footnote 58

⁸³² See also Michael Zirinsky, “Inculcate Tehran: opening a dialogue of civilizations in the shadow of God and the Alborz,” *Iranian Studies*, 44 (5), 2011, p. 667.

⁸³³ Michael P. Zirinsky, “Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's: American Presbyterian educators and Reza Shah,” *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3-4, 1993, p. 352. Footnote 58. See also Michael Zirinsky, “Inculcate Tehran: opening a dialogue of civilizations in the shadow of God and the Alborz,” *Iranian Studies*, 44 (5), 2011.

newly imagined international creation also highlights the tension that accompanied U.S. missions' movement in Iran across the dynamic dialectic between ideology and utopia.

This dialectic is comprised of alternate emphases on “the passive *conservation* of the social imagination from its given past” in the case of ideology, and the “the active *subversion* of the social imagination in the direction of its own possible futures” in the case of utopia.⁸³⁴ According to Ricoeur it is from utopia that “an exterior glance is cast on our reality, which suddenly looks strange, nothing more taken for granted. The field of the possible is now opened up beyond that of the actual, a field of alternative ways of living.”⁸³⁵ This opening to alterity is exactly what suggests a focus on utopia in the context of a study on the religious and interpersonal origins of U.S.-Iran relations. It is at precisely the moments where ideological commitments to mission or nation either prompt or transform intercultural engagement with lasting social consequence that we may recognize both precedent and promise for piecemeal change.

Solidarity and equality

In the context of U.S. missions in Iran such examples also raise the question of how solidarity and equality are related in the context of national and religious differences.

⁸³⁴ John Wall, *Moral Creativity: Paul Ricoeur and the Poetics of Possibility* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 148. See also Paul Ricoeur, “Ideology and Utopia” [French original 1983], in Paul Ricoeur (Kathleen Blamey (trans.)), *From Text to Action: Essays in Hermeneutics II* [French original 1986] (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1991), pp. 308-24, 318, 320.

⁸³⁵ Qtd. John Wall, *Moral Creativity: Paul Ricoeur and the Poetics of Possibility* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 148. See also Paul Ricoeur (Kathleen Blamey (trans.)), “Ideology and Utopia” [French original 1983], in Ricoeur, *From Text to Action: Essays in Hermeneutics II* [French original 1986] (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1991), pp. 308-24, 318, 320.

Mark Cladis suggests that Durkheim's work on moral education demonstrates the "capacity to connect social solidarity with pluralism and conflict".⁸³⁶ He continues:

Moral education, then, in Durkheim's view takes place at the junctures of the familiar and the unfamiliar, the past and the present. Schools are to foster in students the capacity to evaluate contemporary practices in light of alternatives found in foreign or past cultures, in new developments taking place within contemporary society, and in long-standing ideals that need to be more fully realized in social practices.⁸³⁷

Such a description is readily applicable to the ethos cultivated by Jordan at Alborz. Zirinsky suggests that "[a] vignette of Jordan's work is provided by Sattareh Farman Farmaian, who studied at the mission's schools and earned a BA from Alborz in 1940."⁸³⁸ According to Farmaian, "Jordan looked upon our country as his own home and was as eager as any Persian for Iran to become strong and self-sufficient ... He especially wanted us to be able to stand up to foreign interference".⁸³⁹ Zirinsky also notes of Farmaian that "[a]fter graduate training at the University of Southern California, guided there by Dr. Jordan's advice, she established the profession of social work in Iran."⁸⁴⁰ The relationship of support and respect between Jordan and Farmaian does not collapse difference, but at the same time it works out new possibilities through the relational aspects that difference enables. In the same way,

⁸³⁶ Mark S. Cladis, "Beyond solidarity? Durkheim and twenty-first century democracy in a global age" in Jeffrey C Alexander and Philip Smith (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Durkheim* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 393.

⁸³⁷ Mark S. Cladis, "Beyond solidarity? Durkheim and twenty-first century democracy in a global age" in Jeffrey C Alexander and Philip Smith (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Durkheim* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 394.

⁸³⁸ Michael Zirinsky, "Jordan, Samuel Martin," *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Vol. XV, Fasc. 1, pp. 14-21

⁸³⁹ Michael Zirinsky, "Jordan, Samuel Martin," *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Vol. XV, Fasc. 1, pp. 14-21

⁸⁴⁰ Michael Zirinsky, "Jordan, Samuel Martin," *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Vol. XV, Fasc. 1, pp. 14-21

Cladis suggests “Durkheim’s argument ... works in both directions.”⁸⁴¹ He contends, “[i]t defends not only diversity but also solidarity, for it maintains that these two social goods need not threaten one another, but can mutually enhance one another.”⁸⁴² In the case of Jordan and Farmaian this enhancement leads to Farmaian’s own educational advancement, and through that the creation of a new scientific field in the country. Simultaneously, through Farmaian, Jordan’s status in and claims to a space within Iran are affirmed.

Such overlapping assurances and concrete instances of assistance and effect give substance to Ricoeur’s particular interest in the “notion of utopia” as “an imaginative variation on power”.⁸⁴³ Reading the relationship between Jordan and Farmaian, but one example in a long mission history, “makes the actual world seem strange” and “introduces a sense of doubt that shatters the obvious”.⁸⁴⁴ The alternative way of life it suggests in relation to the exchange of persons and ideas between the U.S. and Iran highlights Ricoeur’s contention “that what is at stake in ideology and utopia is power”⁸⁴⁵ Ricoeur is most particularly concerned with “how to end the relation of subordination” and instead “find alternatives that work through cooperation and egalitarian relationships”.⁸⁴⁶ Admittedly, the relationship between Jordan and Farmaian is framed more by a sense of benevolent protectionism than egalitarian

⁸⁴¹ Mark S. Cladis, “Beyond solidarity? Durkheim and twenty-first century democracy in a global age” in Jeffrey C. Alexander and Philip Smith (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Durkheim* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 395.

⁸⁴² Mark S. Cladis, “Beyond solidarity? Durkheim and twenty-first century democracy in a global age” in Jeffrey C. Alexander and Philip Smith (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Durkheim* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 395.

⁸⁴³ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 299-300.

⁸⁴⁴ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 299-300.

⁸⁴⁵ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 299.

⁸⁴⁶ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 299.

respect from a U.S. perspective. What makes it uniquely subversive is the way that Farmaian, standing in the line of the Qajar dynasty, continues to extend a metaphorical farman of acceptance through her conscious participation in the mission enterprise, which she understood as contributing towards the ongoing work of national self-sufficiency.

It remains difficult however to draw a more general tendency toward equality from such a symbolic and *sui generis* relationship, though in the following chapter we will reconsider this relationship yet again in another framework, that of the women's movement in Iran. However, summarizing now, we can assess the Alborz model as having been, on the whole, more cooperative than egalitarian. To take just one more example we might consider how, on the foot of new construction for Alborz College, Jordan unashamedly made the claim, "the Persians were out with conceit of their own architecture."⁸⁴⁷ His intention here seems to have been to spur a return to traditional forms, which he suggested were widely recognized for "grace and beauty", but which at the time, because it was considered they "could not be adapted to twentieth century needs", were being forsaken, as perceived necessity led to Iranians "importing from Russia the worst the West had to give."⁸⁴⁸ Here we see Jordan attempting to demonstrate cultural solidarity. However, his method for doing so is paternalistic. Yet the paternalism still reflects a family claim in line with that "deinstitutionalization of the main human relationships" which Ricoeur assesses as being "the kernel of all utopias".⁸⁴⁹ This familiar, or familial mode, often couched in an unaware attitude of dominance, appears most often in the history of U.S. missions in Iran through the

⁸⁴⁷ S.M. Jordan, "Constructive Revolutions in Iran," *Moslem World*, 25/4, 1935, p. 347.

S.M. Jordan, "Constructive Revolutions in Iran," *Moslem World*, 25/4, 1935, p. 347.

⁸⁴⁹ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 299.

language of adoption. In the preface to his book, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia, Among the Nestorian Christians: With Notices of the Muhammedans*, Perkins ends his introduction in the following way: “My task being finished, I now turn my thoughts, and hope soon again to turn my face, toward the distant clime and people of my adoption.”⁸⁵⁰ The power dynamic here is again quite clear. Perkins’s language is possessive and voluntary. It is very similar to the language of Jordan’s privilege years later. Both chose to look upon Iran as home. This family-based language is likewise appropriated and used by the women of Mount Holyoke in Persia to establish relationships along a *big sister/little sister* and *mother/daughter* axis, as we will see in the following chapter.⁸⁵¹ Perhaps precisely because of background reliance on biblical motifs of adoption U.S. mission solidarity tended towards hierarchical forms of social coercion that were deployed in transformative attempts undertaken, either for the sake of benefit imagined to accrue to a community, or accrued to an imagined community. As such solidarity rooted in constructions of family or home complicated power dynamics across multiple national frameworks. It allowed missionaries to horn themselves into a snug of moral attachment through which national impulses moved as alternating currents; this enabled them in turn more readily to justify practices of cultural construction *as if* they were practicing them upon their very selves.

Cladis argues that “when solidarity does emerge, it is often interpreted as either a contingent confluence of individuals with a shared cultural or ethnic inheritance, or an

⁸⁵⁰ Justin Perkins, *A residence of eight years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians: with notices of the Muhammedans* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1843), p. xi

⁸⁵¹ See Fiske, Fidelia and Justin Perkins, *Nestorian Biography: Being Sketches of Pious Nestorians Who Have Died At Oroomiah, Persia* (Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, 1857).

enforced uniformity that merely gives the impression of solidarity.”⁸⁵² According to him, “[i]n this latter view, solidarity is a form of imperialism or colonialism.” Yet we have sought to point out the ways in which mission, while contingent with forms of imperialism and colonialism is distinct from either. Similarly, to say that mission solidarity is reducible to a situation in which “[a]lien norms, practices, and symbols of identity are imposed by the powerful on those lacking power” in which case “[s]olidarity turns out to be hegemony” is likewise an inexact description of the complex process of cultural affinity and difference that the U.S. religious missions navigated alongside national forms for altruistic or humanitarian ends.⁸⁵³

In part this is because the religious solidarity of the missions both presupposes a common humanity, but simultaneously recognizes radical difference, specifically with regard to religious knowledge. Thus, while the assertion that “[o]n epistemological grounds, many doubt that there is a shared universal human nature that could provide common ground among diverse human communities and individuals” is something that U.S. missionaries to Iran would have fundamentally rejected,⁸⁵⁴ at the same time they might still have been able to join “[t]he anti-imperialist scholar of world politics, Stanley Hoffman,” who “argues: ‘The assumption that ‘people everywhere are all alike’ is something you have to get out of your system’.”⁸⁵⁵ Indeed, a similar sentiment is reflected in the following, rather self-congratulatory, claim from Jordan:

⁸⁵² Mark S. Cladis, “Beyond solidarity? Durkheim and twenty-first century democracy in a global age” in Jeffrey C Alexander and Philip Smith (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Durkheim* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 386.

⁸⁵³ Mark S. Cladis, “Beyond solidarity? Durkheim and twenty-first century democracy in a global age” in Jeffrey C Alexander and Philip Smith (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Durkheim* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 386.

⁸⁵⁴ Mark S. Cladis, “Beyond solidarity? Durkheim and twenty-first century democracy in a global age” in Jeffrey C Alexander and Philip Smith (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Durkheim* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 386.

⁸⁵⁵ Qtd. George H. Taylor, “Understanding as Metaphoric, Not a Fusion of Horizons,” in Mootz, Francis J. and George H. Taylor (eds.), *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary*

We missionaries happen to be the only group of people in the world who, when going abroad, make it our business to learn the language of the people to whom we go and so we get to understand what is going on inside their heads. Getting into sympathetic touch with them, making friends with them, learning of their hopes and fears, their longings and desires, their ideas and ideals, we get to understand something far more important, namely, what is going on inside their hearts.⁸⁵⁶

Jordan here describes the anthropological turn of mission that is distinguished by its emotive framework and constructive goal to engineer and transform. Yet the evidence afforded in this study suggests that this orotund, if also sensitive, projection offers itself as a partial answer to Taylor's most basic query: "How then in today's diverse world is it possible to engage in dialogue?"⁸⁵⁷ Taylor notes "we are now witnessing how much more problematic is conversation and understanding across cultures" and specifies, "[t]he relationship between the West and the Islamic world is, of course, the most prominent current example".⁸⁵⁸ In the case of Iran, U.S. missions provide a flawed, but functional starting point for, and history of, exchange. These missions highlight the potential perils and pitfalls of a hegemonizing approach to cultural conflict guided by appeals to common humanity that would seek resolution through epistemological conformity. At the same time they also underscore the possibilities inherent in a solidarity-based approach that provides a piecemeal utopic critique of

Hermeneutics (Continuum: New York, 2011), p. 104. See also J. Stout, *Democracy and Tradition* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 14.

⁸⁵⁶ S.M. Jordan, "Constructive Revolutions in Iran," *Moslem World*, 25/4, 1935, p. 347.

⁸⁵⁷ George H. Taylor, "Understanding as Metaphoric, Not a Fusion of Horizons," in Mootz, Francis J. and George H. Taylor (eds.), *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics* (Continuum: New York, 2011), p. 104.

⁸⁵⁸ George H. Taylor, "Understanding as Metaphoric, Not a Fusion of Horizons," in Mootz, Francis J. and George H. Taylor (eds.), *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics* (Continuum: New York, 2011), p. 104.

dominant ideologies while encouraging the transformative potential of new cultural ethics in which differences are claimed as points of connection and common experience, rather than problems to be collapsed, resolved or erased.

The recurrence of romanticism

Although this work makes no attempt to interrogate the Islamic Republic of Iran⁸⁵⁹ with regard to U.S. or Christian missions it is nonetheless a political form that begs mention in the concluding context of these discussions around utopia, if for nothing else than to acknowledge that its presence affectively colors discussions of previous history – a reverse anxiety of influence. Or, to use the metaphor we have been pursuing, it can be difficult to read previous layers without seeing them through this topmost accretion on the palimpsest. While it would be possible to pursue a more detailed comparison between U.S.-centric manifestations of Christian expression in Iran and the romantic Islamic utopianism that emerged in the 1979 Iranian revolution, in the present instance it is enough to acknowledge initially that, contra Jordan's constructive revolutions, the Islamic revolution was a historical instance well anticipated by Popper's utopianism in which "[a]estheticism and radicalism" were found to supplant reason and "replace it by a desperate hope for political miracles."⁸⁶⁰ Popper explains, "[t]his irrational attitude which springs from an intoxication with dreams of a beautiful world is what I call Romanticism."⁸⁶¹ Such romanticism was a

⁸⁵⁹ See Arshin Adib-Moghaddam, "Islamic utopian romanticism and the foreign policy culture of Iran," *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies* 14, no. 3, 2005, pp. 265-292. See also Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, *Refashioning Iran: Orientalism, Occidentalism and Historiography*, (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 2, 102, 135.

⁸⁶⁰ Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 155-57.

⁸⁶¹ Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 155-57.

strong factor as well in the history of ABCFM origins,⁸⁶² albeit one that was subsequently moderated in Iran by the pragmatic turns taken by missionaries navigating humanitarian crises and emerging progressive liberal impulses.⁸⁶³

While the U.S. romantic strand ensnarled in the roots of the foreign missions movement may have withered, its branching utopian designs, admixed with national characteristics, continues to cast a weak but discernable profile across time. In contrast, Arshin Adib-Moghaddam suggests that the romantic impulses discernable in late twentieth century Iranian Shi'i thought continue to actively "challenge the international system in general and the U.S. state as its most dominant power in particular, because of a 'utopian-romantic' meta-narrative that constitutes the Iranian foreign policy culture."⁸⁶⁴ Recalling Ricoeur's contention that utopias are always relational⁸⁶⁵ it important to consider how the present Iranian symbolic system of tradition relates to the previous arms of utopic critique extended by U.S. missions. In the following chapter we will consider specifically one such area, namely the role of women in U.S. missions and the manner in which their position vis-à-vis the national mission form also impacted gender norms in Iran in ways that continue to resonate.

⁸⁶² See John L. Thomas, "Romantic Reform in America, 1815-1865," *American Quarterly*, 17, 1965, pp. 656-81. See also Lois W. Banner, "Religion and Reform in the Early Republic: The Role of Youth," *American Quarterly* 23, no. 5, 1971, pp. 677-695.

⁸⁶³ See Andrew Feffer, *The Chicago pragmatists and American progressivism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 9.

⁸⁶⁴ Arshin Adib-Moghaddam, "Islamic utopian romanticism and the foreign policy culture of Iran," *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies* 14, no. 3 (2005): 266.

⁸⁶⁵ See Paul Ricoeur: *Lectures on Ideology and Utopia*. Ed. George H. Taylor. New York: Columbia UP, 1986. 275.

Conclusion

However, first let us recapture what we have learned in this chapter. By leaning upon the theoretical work of Paul Ricoeur and Karl Popper we have been better able to understand mission methodologies and the larger Iranian context in terms of forms of negotiation influenced by ideological ambition and accommodation relative to utopic designs. By studying group orientation and conflict in this interactional process we have also been able to discern a slender but persistent preference for pragmatic solutions arising out of a common history and to conclude that it is linked in positive terms to manifestations of a particular sort of intercultural solidarity. Specific to the missions, having chosen to focus on the person of Samuel Jordan as representative of this preference, we have seen the ways in which the pragmatic preference depends significantly upon the categories of work and education in order to access a state of transformative potential capable of cultural synthesis. Using specific historical examples, we have argued that this model of cultural change organized around additive properties and experiential methodology need not be imperialist in aspect. We have also paid special attention to how in the context of U.S. missions in Iran the question of religious ideology demands special negotiation in this regard. By using Ricoeur's work on utopia to analyze the dual justificatory and critical functions of religion in relation to power we have demonstrated that the history of U.S. missions in Iran offers an alternative template for contemporary cultural dialectics frozen in a state of systemic conflict relative to religion and its cultural visages. In turn, we have argued for the preferential nature of this model against an authoritarian paradigm conducive to violence by relying upon Popper's response to the problems of historicism and proffering his model of piecemeal engineering.

Conclusion

It is hoped that this study will make a small contribution to a more positive future for U.S.-Iran relations through instigating a focused process of critical examination and remembering around past points of interaction. As such it is important to recall that the initial impetus for intercultural communication from the U.S. context emerged from an environment of religious revivals. Despite the way in which current U.S.-Iran tensions are often interpreted through a language of religious difference that assumes repulsion we can see that historically it was exactly religious difference that first attracted interaction between the two polities. Through contextual and critical analysis this thesis has demonstrated that U.S. mission activity, as embodied by the ABCFM and Presbyterians, at work in Iran from 1833-1980 contained conflicting ideological stands that were variously linked to and elided with national concerns. The foremost of these was a form of domination vested in a knowledge economy that emerged from U.S. foreign missions' founding event – the Williams Haystack prayer meeting. This in turn led to the mobilization of a mission organization for world evangelization. Within this infrastructure in Iran a theology of disinterested benevolence became translated over time into forms of humanitarian practice and social engagement. In place of the complete certitude sought as normative confirmation of shared security in an exclusively eschatological narrative, the legacy of disinterested benevolence opened up new ways of knowing and being known through interpersonal exchange focused more immediately on altruistic outcomes. Throughout this process the doctrinal basis of U.S. missions' epistemology in Iran was replaced by a contingent and pragmatic schema of experiential learning.

We have explored how missions ranged across this spectrum of religious expression from instances of popular conservatism to examples of internationalist cosmopolitanism. And we have noted how in cases across this spectrum missionaries sometimes chose to forsake personal interest in predetermined national and religious categories in order to build paths toward hoped for, but unknown, benevolent outcomes. Here it is important to return again to an idea that has strategically guided this research, namely how to makes sense of return to a point of origin, as well as relatedly, the mutually transformative possibilities that such a return contains. By returning to consider the origins of U.S.-Iran relations in international mission activity this research actively engages in the palimpsestic process it has sought to describe. As such it addresses aspects of both conservative traditionalism and creative cosmopolitan. Across both of these spaces religion is acknowledged as a grundnorm that both allows for intercultural engagement and which mediates intercultural concord.

Perhaps disappointingly for readers expecting immediate and concrete solutions for reconciliation this work has instead, in the main, situated itself in the layers of a complex history of exchange and interaction between people across polities. In this sense, much as Ervand Abrahamian “aspires to Eric Hobsbawm’s goal of presenting not just political history or social history, but a history of the whole society,”⁸⁶⁶ this research has sought to widen categories of consideration and demonstrate how in the course of U.S.-Iran relations religious history, social history, and political history share common core concerns and moments. It has attempted to do this by mining prior interaction in a process loosely modeled on Hellot’s theory of micro-history. In

⁸⁶⁶ Ervand Abrahamian, *A History of Modern Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008), p. 7.

this case persons and their networks have been invested with a representative capacity to carry forward ideas, which extend beyond them. At the same time there has also been an attempt to treat lived and personal experiences as *sui generis* moments in time. Such a process allows future composition of political, religious, and personal relationships the latitude to engage in a comparative perspective without being forced automatically into replicating past structures.

By attending to the physical movement of individuals across national boundaries and borders, from Justin Perkins to Sattareh Farman Farmaian, we have also been compelled to take seriously the importance of the ethical and regulatory frameworks that govern mission, religious interaction and exchange, and by extension larger questions of religious freedom. While this thesis has not engaged religious freedom questions in any classic or formal way it has attempted to show through various instances how the political protection of religious liberties leads to the creation of cultural artifacts and social systems that both reposition and defy some of the supposedly foundational binaries, such as us/them, East/West, Muslim/Christian developed/developing traditional/modern, that otherwise often impede or unnecessarily predetermine dialogical efforts along a U.S.-Iran axis of engagement. Such artifacts and systems range from Henry Martyn's Persian New Testament to the foundation of the International Baccalaureate Programme at Community School in Tehran. Because the focus of the research has been largely on the effect of U.S. religious actors operating within the physical geography of Iran it has also been important to link such examples to Iran's complex imperial history. While it is noted that Iran never experienced direct colonization, its political fortune has been variously conceded to and contested by Russian, British, European and U.S. political and

economic forces, thus undercutting a sense of national sovereignty and extending a sense of national precarity. However, U.S. religious missions, particularly under the leadership of Shedd, Baskerville, and Jordan conversely sought to strengthen and support the integrity of an Iranian national political fabric. This history demonstrates how porous borders and weak governing structures enabled a cluster of transnational religious actors to enter patterns of local conviviality with various outcomes. By foregrounding the concept of disinterested benevolence this research brings renewed attention to a particular religious history and the ways it edged slowly out in spirals from spaces of paternalistic control engaged in epistemic and social violence towards modes of mutuality. As such it presents a history with the capacity to disrupt the sense of utopic totality that seems to dominate the current state of U.S.-Iran international relations.

By reengaging transformational social histories through personal narratives this research proceeds in piecemeal fashion to challenge forms of domination through critical interrogation. Alongside Popper in this regard, this thesis also relies on Ricoeur for theoretical support and advances his assertion that there is a mutual challenge between ideology and utopia to explore the possibility of unseating those forms of domination that have turned the narrative of U.S.-Iran relations into “a kind of frozen fantasy.”⁸⁶⁷ In his discussion on utopia Ricoeur suggests, with reference to Ruyer,⁸⁶⁸ that such instances of stasis are best addressed by creative activities to which he ascribes “the role of the social imagination.”⁸⁶⁹ In order to better the international, as well as intercultural, relations between the two polities in question,

⁸⁶⁷ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 296.

⁸⁶⁸ See Raymond Ruyer, *L'Utopie et les Utopies* (Presses Universitaires de France, 1950).

⁸⁶⁹ Paul Ricoeur (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 296.

each of which as has been scrupulously designated as encompassing several cultures and religious traditions, this conclusion frames the operative question moving forward in terms of how future facing ethical reflection around historical events and persons might spark and feed a common future oriented social imagination. This study has attempted to assemble material essential to the history of U.S.-Iran relations that might be read in terms that are hopeful, with a focus on the possibilities afforded by the exercise of moral creativity over time. It has admittedly and self-consciously done this primarily from a U.S. perspective. As such the work has taken particular care to address Tavakoli-Targhi's concern that prioritizing a cultural category of inventiveness may also buttress an orientalist tradition of authorizing and excusing cultural appropriation and domination. Tavakoli-Targhi's concern derives from a history wherein "European interlocutors constituted themselves as the repositories of originality and authorship."⁸⁷⁰ It is for precisely this reason that the category of solidarity is queried in the sections of this research dealing with utopia and women respectively. These investigations are meant as firewalls against the unconscious or unwitting replication of nationalistic or patriarchal forms either in this work or in any subsequent arguments deriving from it that may focus on creative diplomacy through the lens of missiology.

As we conclude with the suggestion that it is possible to write new purposes across the bulk of this historical interaction, Perkins's own narrative methodology is worth remembering. Perkins recorded his own intentions for writing *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia* in the following way:

⁸⁷⁰ Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, "Early Persianate Modernity," in Sheldon Pollock (ed.), *Forms of Knowledge in Early Modern Asia: Explorations in the Intellectual History of India and Tibet, 1500–1800* (Durham: Duke UP, 2011), p. 272.

It would have been easy to prepare the volume for the use of the civil historian; or make it a general collection of statistics. But I have intended to combine miscellany and incident with accurate, missionary and general information ... From that vast and varied forest in which I have so long lived and ranged, I have desired to cull a few leaves, of all the different colors, descriptions and sizes, and so group them together, that the reader may see them in some measure as the author saw them, and be furnished with a correct miniature of that forest...⁸⁷¹

Perkins eschews the disinterested analytic option for emotive and experiential representation; this thesis has attempted to respect the anchor of such sentiment while at the same time contesting the idea that a “correct miniature” of either knowledge or experience might be possessed and passed on. The core affirmation of difference that Perkins offers here may be read as a corollary to George Taylor’s central question, which bears repetition here: “How then in today’s diverse world is it possible to engage in dialogue?”⁸⁷² The preceding research has sought to cull some “leaves” in answer to this question from the branching interaction of U.S. missions in Iran. However, it has also been cautious about attempting to draw from that history a new vision for future relations, both for the reasons that have been detailed in Popper’s concerns with utopianism, as well from a reticence to replicate the unilateral thrust of an orientalist approach previously mentioned. As Wall frames it, “any substantive vision of a reconciled human history is fraught with the likelihood, perhaps even the

⁸⁷¹ Justin Perkins, *A residence of eight years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians: with notices of the Muhammedans* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1843), pp. vi – vii.

⁸⁷² George H. Taylor, “Understanding as Metaphoric, Not a Fusion of Horizons,” in Mootz, Francis J. and George H. Taylor (eds.), *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics* (New York: Continuum, 2011), p. 104.

inevitability, of replacing one narrow ideology with another.”⁸⁷³ In place therefore of a prejudicial synthetic approach this study has remained content instead to detail the growth, change, conflict and understanding occurring over more than a century of U.S. missions in Iran in the service of social dialogue and social hope. According to Wall, “what hope ‘gives’ is neither an actual plan or narrative for this world nor a transcending vision beyond it. What it gives is an ongoing renewed capability for new historical direction.”⁸⁷⁴ Having argued and determined in this thesis that such capability exists we are now at liberty to question any seemingly predetermined telos that offers hope in hegemony. If such a capability is taken seriously it also challenges the passivity of isolationism. Therefore, nor may we, if we wish to live in hope, “refrain altogether from changing or ameliorating the world, from devising long-range concepts, strategic plans or visions”.⁸⁷⁵ Rather, what we learn from the history of U.S. mission in Iran, as it relates to the future of U.S.-Iran relations, is that epistemic fallibilism does not have to equate to skepticism.⁸⁷⁶ We can acknowledge the difficulties of knowing how to move forward without abstaining from the work itself or despairing of where it will lead.

⁸⁷³ John Wall, *Moral Creativity: Paul Ricoeur and the Poetics of Possibility* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 164.

⁸⁷⁴ John Wall, *Moral Creativity: Paul Ricoeur and the Poetics of Possibility* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 155

⁸⁷⁵ Václav Havel “Preface: Karl Popper, The Open Society and Its Enemies in the contemporary global world” in Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. xii.

⁸⁷⁶ I am indebted here to the ideas of Maria Baghramian (University College Dublin). See <http://whenexpertsdisagree.ucd.ie/interview-maria-baghramian-on-the-topic-of-truth-trust-and-expertise/>

accounting ('ilm-i hisab). The last line of the decree states it was written (tahrir) on 21 Rabi' I, 1255 or 5 June 1839.



27 x 21 cm, mount 51 x 38 cm A Nestorian woman carrying water. [Urmia, Iran], [ca. 1839]. Perkins, Justin, 1805-1869. Qajar paintings commissioned by Justin Perkins. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C.: LOT 14187, no. 5

Bibliography

A Century of Mission Work in Iran (Persia) 1834-1934 (Beirut: Printed at the American Press, 1936).

"A Guide to the United States' History of Recognition, Diplomatic, and Consular Relations, by Country, since 1776: Iran," Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, online: <https://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5314.htm>

Abrahamian, Ervand, *A History of Modern Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

Abu Jaber, Kamel S., "The Millet System in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," *The Muslim World* 57, no. 3, 1967, pp. 212-223.

Adams, Nehemiah, *The Life of John Eliot* (Boston: Sabbath School Society, 1847).

Adelman, Jeremy and Aron, Stephen, "Of Lively Exchanges and Larger Perspectives," *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 4, 1999, pp. 1235-1239.

Adib-Moghaddam, Arshin, "Islamic utopian romanticism and the foreign policy culture of Iran," *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies* 14, no. 3, 2005, pp. 265-292.

Adorno, Theodor W. (E.B. Ashton (Trans.)), *Negative Dialectics* (New York: Continuum, 1973).

Afary, Janet, "On the origins of Feminism in early 20th-century Iran," *Journal of Women's History* 1, no. 2, 1989.

Afary, Janet, *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution, 1906-1911: Grassroots Democracy, Social Democracy, & the Origins of Feminism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

Afary, Janet, "Civil Liberties and the Making of Iran's First Constitution," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 25, no. 2 (2005): 341-359.

Afary, Janet, "The place of Shi'i clerics in the first Iranian constitution," *Critical Research on Religion* 1, no. 3 (2013): 327-346.

Afshar, Ahmadreza, "The Westminster Medical College and Hospital in Urmia, Iran, 1879-1915," *Archives of Iranian Medicine (AIM)* 20, no. 12, 2017.

Aghaie, Kamran Scot, and Marashi Afshin (eds.), *Rethinking Iranian Nationalism and Modernity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014).

Algar, Hamid, *Religion and State in Iran 1785-1906: The Role of the Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).

Algar, Hamid, "AMĪR KABĪR, MĪRZĀ TAQĪ KHAN," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, I/9, pp. 959-963, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/amir-e-kabir-mirza-taqi-khan>

Allen, Benjamin, "The Islamic Opportunities Of Bible Translation," in Nile, Green, *Terrains of Exchange: Religious Economies of Global Islam* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 103-141.

Allen, C. H., Chairman of the Educational Committee, Hamadan, Iran, "Statement of Educational Policy of the East Persia Mission," 18 October 1918: on deposit at the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa., Record Group 91, Series 1, East Persia Mission, 1911-1930, Boxes 1-3, Folders 4 and 16.

Amanat, Abbas, *Resurrection and renewal: The making of the Bábí movement in Iran, 1844-1850*. Vol. 20. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989).

Amanat, Abbas, "Mujtahids and Missionaries: Shi'i Responses to Christian Polemics in the Early Qajar Period," in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).

Amanat, Abbas, *Iran: A Modern History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

Amanat, Abbas, "Constitutional Revolution. i. Intellectual Background," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. VI, Fasc. 2, pp. 163-176, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/constitutional-revolution-i>

Amanat, Mehrdad, *Jewish Identities in Iran: Resistance and Conversion to Islam and the Baha'i Faith*, Vol. 9. IB (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013).

Ameer, John P., "Fidelia Fiske: Missionary in Urmia," *JAAS* 21, no 2 (2007): 41-56.

Ameer, John P., "Curriculum and Literacy in Urmia Mission Schools," *JAAS* 24, no 1 (2010): 8-18.

Amin, Camron Michael, "Propaganda and remembrance: gender, education, and "the women's awakening" of 1936," *Iranian Studies* 32, no. 3 (1999): 351-386.

Amin, Camron Michael, *The Making of the Modern Iranian Woman, Gender, State Policy, and Popular Culture, 1865-1946* (Gainesville: University of Florida, 2002).

Amin, Camron Michael, "The Press and Public Diplomacy in Iran, 1820–1940," *Iranian Studies* 48, no. 2 (2015): 269-287.

Amirahmadi, Hooshang, *The Political Economy of Iran Under the Qajars: Society, Politics, Economics and Foreign Relations 1796-1926*. Vol. 30. (London: IB Tauris, 2012).

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London and New York: Verso Books, 2006).

Anderson, Rufus, *History of the Missions of the ABCFM to the Oriental Churches*, 2 vols., (Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1872).

Andrew III., John A., *Rebuilding the Christian Commonwealth: New England Congregationalists & Foreign Missions, 1800-1830* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1976).

Andrews, Charles. W., *Historic Notes of Protestant Missions to the Oriental Churches*, (Richmond, Va., 1866).

Annual Report: – “Nestorians and Muhammadens of Persia – Mahrattas,” *Missionary Herald*, Volume 34, Boston: Crocker and Brewer, 1838.

Ansari, Ali (ed.), *Perceptions of Iran: History, Myths and Nationalism from Medieval Persia to the Islamic Republic* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014).

Ansari, Sarah F. D., and Vanessa Martin, *Women, religion and culture in Iran* (London: Routledge, 2014).

Appiah, Kwame, “Identity Against Culture: Undrestandings of Multiculturalism,” *Occasional Papers of the Dorteen B. Townsend Center for the Humanities*, no. 1. (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1994, pp. 1-52.

Arasteh, Reza, “The growth of higher institutions in Iran,” *International Review of Education* 7, no. 3 (1961): 327-334.

Arasteh, Reza, *Education and social awakening in Iran* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1962).

Arberry, A. J. (ed.), *Religion in the Middle East: Three Religions in Concord and Conflict*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

Archives des Missions Étrangères, Paris, Anonymous, in H. Chick (ed.), *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, 2 vols. (London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1939).

Armajani, Yahya, “Sam Jordan and the Evangelical Ethic in Iran,” in Miller, Robert J. (ed.) *Religious Ferment in Asia* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas 1974), pp. 23-36.

Armajani, Yahya, *Middle East. Past and Present*, 2nd ed., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1986.

Armajani, Yahya, “CHRISTIANITY viii. Christian Missions in Persia,” in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. V, fasc. 5 (Costa Mesa, 1991), pp. 344-47; available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/christianity-viii>.

Armajani, Yahya, "Alborz College," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, I/8, pp. 821-823; available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/alborz-college>

Arjomand, Said Amir, "The Ulama's traditionalist opposition to parliamentarianism: 1907-1909," *Middle Eastern Studies* 17, no. 2 (1981): 174-190.

Arjomand, Said Amir, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam: religion, political order, and societal change in Shi'ite Iran from the beginning to 1890* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

Arjomand, Said Amir (ed.), *Authority and Political Culture in Shi'ism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988).

Arjomand, Said Amir, "The *Mujtahid* of the Age and the *Mullābāshī*: An Intermediate Stage in the Institutionalization of Religious Authority in Shi'ite Iran" in S.A. Arjomand (ed.), *Authority and Political Culture in Shi'ism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988).

Arjomand, Said Amir, "Constitutions and the struggle for political order: a study in the modernization of political traditions," *European Journal of Sociology* 33, no. 01 (1992): 39-82.

Arjomand, Said Amir, "The Consolation of Theology: Absence of the Imam and Transition from Chiliasm to Law in Shi'ism," *The Journal of religion* 76, no. 4 (1996): 548-571.

Arjomand, Saïd Amir, "Political Ethic and Public Law in the Early Qajar Period," in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).

Armstrong-Ingram, R., "American Bahá'í Women and the Education of Girls in Tehran, 1909-1934'," *Studies in Babi and Bahá'í History* 3 (1986).

Asad, Talal, "Comments on Conversion," in Peter van der Veer (ed.), *Conversion to Modernities: The Globalization of Christianities* (New York and London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 263-73.

Assemani, Giuseppe Simone, *Bibliotheca orientalis clementino-vaticana*. Vol. 2. (Rome: Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1721).

Ast, Friedrich, *Grundlinien der Grammatik, Hermeneutik und Kritik* (Landshut: Jos. Thomann, Buchdrucker und Buchhändler, 1808).

Asgard, Ramin, "US-Iran Cultural Diplomacy: A Historical Perspective," *The Fletcher School Online Journal for issues related to Southwest Asia and Islamic Civilization* (2010): 1-12.

Atabaki, Touraj and Zurcher, Erik J., *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization under Atatürk and Reza Shah* (London: IB Tauris, 2004).

Atkins, Gareth, "William Jowett's Christian Researches: British Protestants and Religious Plurality in the Mediterranean, Syria and the Holy Land, 1815–30," *Studies in Church History* 51 (2015): 216-231.

Austin, J. "Unfair to Facts," in J. O. Urmson and G. J. Warnock (eds.), *Philosophical Papers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 154-175.

Azad, Md. Abul Kalam, "The Legacy of the American Presbyterian Mission in Iran," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh (Hum.)* 58, no. 1, 2013.

Badeau, J.S., "The Role of the Missionary in the Near East," *International Review of Missions* (1954): 402-3.

Badger, G. P., *Nestorians and their Rituals: with the Narrative of A Mission to Mesopotamia and Coordistan in 1842-1844* (London: Joseph Masters, 1852).

Balaghi, Shiva, *Nationalism and Cultural Production in Iran, 1848-1906*, PhD dissertation, New York University, 2008.

Balmer, Randall, *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory: A Journey into the Evangelical Subculture in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Barkun, Michael, *Crucible of the Millennium: The Burned-Over District of New York in the 1840s* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986).

Bamdad, Badr al-Muluk (Frank Ronald Charles Bagley (trans. and ed.)), *From Darkness Into Light Women's Emancipation in Iran* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1977).

Banakar, Reza and Max Travers (eds.), *Theory and method in socio-legal research* (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2005).

Banner, Lois W., "Religion and Reform in the Early Republic: The Role of Youth," *American Quarterly* 23, no. 5, (1977): 677-695.

Barbeau, Aimee E., "Religious voluntarism, political individualism, and the secular: nineteenth-century evangelical encounters in the Middle East," *Middle Eastern Studies* 53, no. 3, (2017): 454-469.

Barnard, Frederick M., *Herder's Social and Political Thought from Enlightenment to Nationalism*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).

Barrett Montgomery, Helen, *Western Women in Eastern Lands* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910).

Barton, James L. *Story of the Near East Relief 1915-1930* (New York: Macmillan Co.,

1930).

Barzilai, Gad, *Communities and law: Politics and cultures of legal identities* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005).

Bashir, Hassan, *The Iranian press and modernization under the Qajars*, University of Leicester, 2000 (Doctoral dissertation), Retrieved from Leicester Research Archive: (<http://hdl.handle.net/2381/30547>)

Bassett, James, *Persia: Eastern Mission: A Narrative of the Founding and Fortunes of the Eastern Persia Mission* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1890).

Baum, Wilhelm, and Winkler, Dietmar W., *The church of the east: A concise history*. Vol. 1 (London and New York: Routledge, 2003).

Baumer, Christoph, *The Church of the East: an illustrated history of Assyrian Christianity* (London: IB Tauris, 2006).

Bayat, M., "ĀQĀ KHAN KERMĀNĪ," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, II/2, pp. 175-177, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/aqa-khan-kermani>

Bayat, M., Algar, H., Hanaway Jr., W. L., "ANJOMAN (Organization)," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, II/1, pp. 77-83, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/anjoman-gathering-association-society-general-designation-of-many-private-and-public-associations>

Bayat-Philipp, Mangol, "Women and Revolution in Iran, 1905–1911," in Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie (eds.), *Women in the Muslim world* (Cambridge M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1978).

Bayertz, Kurt, "Four uses of "solidarity"," in *Solidarity*, Springer, Dordrecht, 1999, pp. 3-28.

Bayle, P. *Commentaire philosophique sur ces paroles de Jésus-Christ, contains-les d'entrer, ou Traité de la tolerance universelle* (A Rotterdam: Chez Fritsch et Böhm, 1713).

Bayne, N., *Hanging in There: The G7 and G8 Summit in Maturity and Renewal* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018).

Beaver, Robert Pierce, *Ecumenical beginnings in Protestant world mission: a history of comity* (New York: Nelson, 1962).

Beaver, Robert Pierce, "Missionary Motivation Through Three Centuries," in Brauer, Jerald (ed.), *Reinterpretation in American Church History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

Beaver, Robert Pierce, *American Protestant women in world mission: History of the first feminist movement in North America* (Grand Rapids: WB Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1980).

Becker, Adam H., *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom: The School of Nisibis and the Development of Scholastic Culture in Late Antique Mesopotamia* (Chicago and London: Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

Becker, Adam H., *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism* (University of Chicago Press, 2015).

Benite, Zvi Ben-Dor, *The Ten Lost Tribes: A World History*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Bennett, Clinton, "The Legacy of Karl Gottlieb Pfander," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 20, no. 2, 1996, pp. 76-81

Berberian, H. "Armenian women in turn-of-the-century Iran: education and activism," in Rudi Matthee and Beth Baron (eds.), *Iran and beyond: Essays in honor of Nikki R. Keddie* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers. 2000). Berlin, I. *Four Essays on Liberty* (Oxford, 1969).

Binder, Leonard, *Iran: political development in a changing society* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1962)

Bird, Mary RS, *Persian Women and Their Creed* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1908).

Bloch, Ernst (trans. Neville Plaice, Stephen Plaice), *The Principle of Hope* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1995).

Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., *A Century of Mission Work in Iran (Persia), 1834-1934* (Beirut: American Press, 1936).

Boháč, Artur, "Assyrian ethnic identity in a globalizing world," *Beyond Globalisation: Exploring the Limits of Globalisation in the Regional Context* (2010): 66-72.

Bohman, James. "How to make a social science practical: pragmatism, critical social science and multiperspectival theory." *Millennium* 31, no. 3 (2002): 499-524.

Bolshakoff, Serge N., *The Foreign Missions of the Russian Orthodox Church*, (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1943).

Boyce, Arthur C., "Alborz College of Tehran and Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan, Founder and President," reprinted in Saleh, Ali Pasha, *Cultural Ties between Iran and the United States: On the Occasion of American Revolution Bicentennial* (Tehran: Sherkat-e Chapkhaneh Bistopan-j-e Shahrivar, 1976).

Boylan, Anne M., "Women and politics in the era before Seneca Falls," *Journal of the Early Republic* 10, no. 3, (1990): 363-382.

Brackney, William H., "The Legacy of Adoniram Judson," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 22, no. 3, (1998): 122-127.

Braude, Benjamin and Lewis, Bernard (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: the functioning of a plural society*. Vol. 2. (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1982).

Brauer, Jerald (ed.), *Reinterpretation in American Church History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

Brentjes, Sonja, "Immediacy, Mediation, and Media in Early Modern Catholic and Protestant Representations of Safavid Iran," *Journal of Early Modern History*, 13, (2009): 173-207.

Bridgeman, Charles T., "Mediterranean Missions of the Episcopal Church from 1828-1898," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 31, no. 2 (1962): 95-126.

Brookshaw, Dominic Parviz, and Fazel, Seena B., *The Baha'is of Iran: socio-historical studies*. Vol. 12. (London and New York: Routledge, 2012).

Brown, Arthur Judson, *One Hundred Years: A History of the Foreign Missionary Work of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, with Some Account of Countries, Peoples and the Policies and Problems of Modern Missions* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1936).

Brown, Richard D. "Microhistory and the post-modern challenge." *Journal of the Early Republic* 23, no. 1 (2003): 1-20.

Browne, Edward, *A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896).

Browne, Edward G., *The Persian Revolution of 1905–1909* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910).

Brownlie, Ian (ed.), *Basic Documents on Human Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971).

Brydges, Sir Harford Jones, *Account of the Transactions of His Majesty's Mission to the Court of Persia in the Years 1807-1811* (London: Printed for James Bohn, King William Street, West Strand, 1834).

Buchanan, Claudius, *Christian Researches in Asia: With Notices of the Translation of the Scriptures Into the Oriental Languages* (Cambridge: J. Smith, 1811).

Buck, Christopher, "The Universality of the Church of the East: How Persian was Persian Christianity?" *Journal of the Assyrian Academic Society* 10.1 (1996): 54–95.

Cameron, Kenneth Walter, "The Oriental Manuscripts of Horatio Southgate," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 10, no. 1, 1941, pp. 57-61.

Campbell, William W., *A Memoir of Mrs. Judith S. Grant, Late Missionary to Persia*

(New York: J. Winchester, 1844).

Casanova, José., "The politics of nativism Islam in Europe, Catholicism in the United States," *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 38, no. 4-5 (2012): 485-495.

Chatterjee, Partha, *The nation and its fragments: Colonial and postcolonial histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

Chatterjee, Partha, "Whose imagined community?," *Millennium* 20, no. 3, 1991.

Chatterjee, Partha, "Anderson's utopia," in *Diacritic*, vol. 29, No. 4, Grounds of Comparison: Around the Work of Benedict Anderson Winter, 1999, pp. 128-134.

Chehabi, H. E., "Diversity at Alborz," *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5 (2011): 715-729.

Chehabi, Houchang E., "Staging the emperor's new clothes: dress codes and nation-building under Reza Shah," *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3-4 (1993): 209-233.

Chick, H. (ed.), *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, 2 vols. (London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1939).

Cladis, Mark S., "Beyond solidarity? Durkheim and twenty-first century democracy in a global age," in Jeffrey C. Alexander and Philip Smith (eds.) *The Cambridge Companion to Durkheim* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Clark, James D., "Tabriz v. The city in the 19th century," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/tabriz-05-city-in-19th-cent>

Cleveland, Harlan, Mangone, Gerald J. and Adams, John Clarke, *The Overseas Americans* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1960).

Christy Wilson, J., "A Persian Apostle-Dr. Sa'eed Kurdistani," *Muslim World*, Vol. 33 Issue 2 (1943): 129-139.

Coakley, James F. "The Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission Press: A Bibliography," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 30, no. 1 (1985): 35-73.

Coakley, J.F. *The Church of the East and the Church of England: A History the Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

Coakley, J. F. "The First Modern Assyrian Printed Book." *Journal of the Assyrian Academic Society* 10, no. 2 (1995): 30-31.

Cohn, Bernard, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996).

Cole, Juan R.I., "Iranian Millenarianism and Democratic Thought in the 19th Century," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 24, no. 1 (1992): 1-26.

Cole, Juan Ricardo, and Momen, Moojan, *Studies in Babi and Baha'i History: From Iran East and West*, Vol. 2. (Los Angeles: Kalimát Press, 1984).

Cole, Juan Ricardo, *Modernity and the millennium: the genesis of the Baha'i faith in the nineteenth-century Middle East*. Vol. 9. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

Comaroff, Jean, and Comaroff, John L., *Of revelation and revolution*. Vol. 1. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

Comprehensive Plan for Iranzamin, Tehran International School, 1975, available at archives of West Tehran Development Organization. International Baccalaureate Office, *General Guide to the International Baccalaureate*, 3rd ed., 1977.

Conforti, Joseph, "Jonathan Edward's Most Popular Work: "The Life of David Brainerd" and Nineteenth-Century Evangelical Culture," *Church History* 54, no. 2, 1985.

Conforti, Joseph, "David Brainerd and the nineteenth century missionary movement," *Journal of the Early Republic* 5, no. 3, 1985.

Conforti, Joseph, "Mary Lyon, the founding of Mount Holyoke College, and the cultural revival of Jonathan Edwards," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 3, no. 1 (1993): 69-89.

Conforti, Joseph, *Jonathan Edwards, Religious Tradition and American Culture* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1995).

Conolly, Violet, "The industrialization of Persia," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, 22:3, 1935.

Conroy-Krutz, Emily, *Christian Imperialism: Converting the World in the Early American Republic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015).

Corbin, Pour une Morphologie de la Spiritualité Shî'ite," *Eranos-Jahrbuch* (Zurich), XXIX (1960).

Costello, D.P., "The Murder of Griboyedov," *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, VIII, 1957, pp. 64-78.

Crocker, Ruth, "From widow's mite to widow's might: The philanthropy of Margaret Olivia Sage," *American Presbyterians* 74, no. 4, (1996): 254-255.

Cronin, Stephanie, "Introduction" in Cronin, Stephanie (ed.), *The making of modern Iran: State and Society under Riza Shah, 1921-1941* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 2-6.

Curzon, GN, *Persia and the Persian question* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1892).

Davaney, Sheila Greeve, *Pragmatic historicism: a theology for the twenty-first century* (Albany, New York: SUNY Press, 2000).

Davis, Matthew Mark, *Evangelizing the Orient: American Missionaries in Iran, 1890-1940*. (Ph.D. dissertation) Ohio State University, 2001.

Dawlatabadi, Sidiqah, "Taraqqi-yi nisvan (Women's progress)," *Alam-i nisvan* 3, 1923.

Dehqani-Tafti, H.B., *Design of My World* (London: Lutterworth, 1959).

De Vries, Hent (Geoffery Hale (trans.)), *Minimal theologies: Critiques of secular reason in Adorno and Levinas* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

Djamalzadeh, M. A., "ANDARUN," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, II/1, p. 11, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/andarun>

Djavad Hadidi, "FRANCE xv. FRENCH SCHOOLS IN PERSIA," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, X/2, pp. 178-181, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/france-xv>

Dodge, Bayard, "American Missionary Efforts in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Annals of the American Academy of Political Social Science*, Vol. 401 (May, 1972): 15-22.

Dogan, Mehmet Ali, *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and "Nominal Christians": Elias Riggs (1810-1901) and American Missionary Activities in the Ottoman Empire*, PhD diss., The University of Utah, 2013.

Douglas, Ann, *Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977).

Dunch, Ryan, "Beyond cultural imperialism: Cultural theory, Christian missions, and global modernity," *History and Theory* (2002): 301-325.

Dunch, Ryan, *Fuzhou Protestants and the making of a modern China, 1857-1927* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

Ebrahimnejad, Hormoz, *Medicine, Public Health, and the Qājār State: Patterns of Medical Modernization in Nineteenth-century Iran*. Vol. 4. (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

Ecumenical Missionary Conference, *Report of the Ecumenical Conference of Foreign Missions Held in Carnegie Hall and Neighboring Churches April 21 – May 1*, 2 vols., (New York: American Tract Society, 1900).

Edalatnejad, Saeid, *Shiite Tradition, Rationalism and Modernity: The Codification of the Rights of Religious Minorities in Iranian Law (1906-2004)*, PhD diss., Free University Berlin, 2009.

Eells, Robert J., "Theodore Frelinghuysen, Voluntaryism and the Pursuit of the Public Good," *American Presbyterians* 69, no. 4, 1991, pp. 257-270.

Ekhtiar, Maryam D., "The *Dar al-Funun*: Educational Reform and Cultural Development in Qajar Iran," Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1994.

Ekbladh, David, *The great American mission: Modernization and the construction of an American world order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

Elsbree, Oliver Wendell, "The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in New England, 1790-1815," *The New England Quarterly* 1, no. 3, 1928, pp. 295-322.

Egerton, Douglas R., "Its Origin Is Not a Little Curious": A New Look at the American Colonization Society," *Journal of the Early Republic* 5, no. 4, 1985.

Elder, John, "History of the Iran Mission," (Np, nd). On file with the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

Enayat, Hadi, *Law, State, and Society in Modern Iran: Constitutionalism, Autocracy, and Legal Reform, 1906-1941* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

England, John C., "The Earliest Christian Writings in Asia: An Appreciation," in Brett Knowles (ed.), *Proceedings of the Research Group for Asian and Pacific Christianity and Cultures 1993-1994* (Dunedin: Centre for Contextual Theology, 1995), pp. 1-20.

Engle Merry, Sally, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The cultural power of law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

Etherington, N. (ed.), *Missions and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Faghfoory, Mohammad H., "The impact of modernization on the Ulama in Iran, 1925-1941," *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3-4 (1993): 277-312.

Farmaian, Sattareh Farman and Munker, Dona, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman's Journey from Her Father's Harem Through the Islamic Revolution* (London: Bantam, 1992).

Farmayan, Hafez Farman, "The Forces of Modernization in Nineteenth Century Iran: A Historical Survey, *Beginnings of modernization in the Middle East* (1968): 119-51.

Farsoun, Samih K., and Mehrdad Mashayekhi (eds.), *Iran: political culture in the Islamic republic* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).

Fasā'ī, Hasan ibn Ḥasan (Heribert Busse (trans.)), *History of Persia Under Qājār Rule: Transl. from the Persian of Ḥasan-e Fasā'ī's Fārsnāma-ye Nāṣeri* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972).

Fatih, Varol, "The Politics of the Ulama: Understanding the Influential Role of the

Ulama in Iran,” *Milel ve Nihal* 13, no. 2, 2016.

Fazaeli, Roja, *Islamic Feminisms: Rights and Interpretations Across Generations in Iran* (London: Routledge, 2017).

Fischer, Michael MJ., *Iran: From religious dispute to revolution* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003).

Fiske, Fidelia and Perkins, Justin, *Nestorian Biography: Being Sketches of Pious Nestorians Who Have Died At Oroomiah, Persia* (Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, 1857).

Fish Kashay, Jennifer, “Agents of Imperialism: Missionaries and Merchants in Early-Nineteenth-Century Hawaii,” *The New England Quarterly* 80, no. 2, 2007, pp. 280-298.

Flannery, John M. *The Mission of the Portuguese Augustinians to Persia and Beyond (1602–1747)* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

Fleming, Leslie (ed.), *Women’s Work for Women: Missionaries and Social Change in Asia* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989).

Floor, Willem M., “The first printing-press in Iran,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 130, no. 2 (1980): 369-371.

Floor, Willem M., “Education, Religion, and the Discourse of Cultural Reform in Qajar Iran (review),” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 21, no. 1 (2001): 78-79.

Flynn, Thomas O., *The Western Christian Presence in the Russias and Qājār Persia, c. 1760–c. 1870* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

Foreman, Charles W., “A History of Foreign Mission Theory in America,” in R. Pierce Beaver (ed.), *American Missions in Bicentennial Perspective* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1977), pp. 69-140.

Forst, Rainer, “The limits of toleration,” *Constellations* 11, no. 3 (2004): 312-325.

Foster, Charles I, *An errand of mercy: The evangelical united front, 1790-1837* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960).

Francis-Dehqani, Guli, “CMS Women Missionaries in Persia: Perceptions of Muslim Women and Islam, 1884-1934,” in Ward, Kevin, and Brian Stanley (eds.), *the Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799-1999* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000).

Francis-Dehqani, Guli, “Dialogue Under Persecution: Anglicanism in Iran Engaging with Shi’a Islam,” *Anglican Theological Review* 96, no. 1 (2014): 133-146.

Fragner, Bert G., “FARMĀN,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, 2016, available

at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/farman>

Frazee, Charles A., "Vincetian Missions in the Islamic World," *Vincetian Heritage Journal* 5, no. 1, 1984.

Freud, Sigmund, "The 'Uncanny'" in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Volume XVII (1917-1919): An Infantile Neurosis and Other Work* (London: Vintage, 1955).

Gandhi, Leela, *Affective communities* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

Gandhi, Leela. *Postcolonial theory: A critical introduction*, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019).

Gardiner, Michael, "Bakhtin's carnival: Utopia as critique," *Utopian Studies* 3, no. 2 (1992): 21-49.

Geertz, Clifford, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

Ghaneabassiri, Kamyar, "US foreign policy and Persia, 1856–1921," *Iranian Studies* 35, no. 1-3 (2002): 145-175.

Ghani, Cyrus, *Iran and the West: a critical bibliography* (London and New York: Routledge, 1987).

Gheissari, Ali, *Democracy in Iran: history and the quest for liberty* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Gheissari, Ali, "The American College of Tehran, 1929–32: A Memorial Album," *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5 (2011): 671-714.

Ghods, M. Reza, "Iranian Nationalism and Reza Shah," *Middle Eastern Studies* 27, no. 1, (1991): 35-45.

Gidney, William Thomas, *The History of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews: From 1809 to 1908* (London: London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews, 1908).

Ginzburg, Carlo, "Microhistory: Two or three things that I know about it." Translated by John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi. *Critical Inquiry* 20, no. 1 (1993): 10-35.

Girling, F. Kristian, "The Chaldean Catholic Church: A study in modern history, ecclesiology and church-state relations (2003–2013)," PhD diss., University of London: Heythrop College, 2015.

Gleave, Robert (ed.), *Religion and society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004).

Go, Julian, "'Racism' and colonialism: Meanings of difference and ruling practices in America's Pacific empire," *Qualitative Sociology* 27, no. 1, 2004.

Goode, James F., "A Good Start: The First American Mission to Iran, 1883-1885," *The Muslim World*, 74 no 2 Apr 1984.

Goode, JF., "Samuel Benjamin: unorthodox observer of the Middle East," *Islam and Christian-Muslim relations* 9, no. 1 (1998): 23-29.

Goswami, Manu, "Rethinking the modular nation form: toward a sociohistorical conception of nationalism," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44, no. 4, 2002.

Grabill, Joseph L, *Protestant diplomacy and the Near East: missionary influence on American policy, 1810-1927* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971).

Grafton, David, *Piety, Politics, and Power: Lutherans Encountering Islam in the Middle East*, (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2009).

Grant, Asahel, *The Nestorians; or The Lost Tribes. Containing Evidence of Their Identity, An Account of Their Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, Together With Sketches of Travel in Ancient Assyria, Armenia, Media, and Mesopotamia, and Illustrations of Scripture Prophecy* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1841).

Grant, Asahel (compiled by Rev. A.C. Lathrop with his commentary) *Memoir of Asahel Grant, M.D.* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1847).

Grant Perkins, Judith, *The Persian Flower: A Memoir of Judith Grant Perkins of Oroomiah* (Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1853).

Grantham, David, "Righteous Foreign Policy: The American Missionary Network and Theodore Roosevelt's Middle East Policy," *American Diplomacy*, 2013, accessed online: americandiplomacy.org

Graves, Karen, *Girl's Schooling During The Progressive Era: From Female Scholar to Domesticated Citizen* (New York and London: Routledge, 2014).

Greenfield, J., "Die geistlichen Schriagerichte in Persien," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, XLVIII, 1934.

Green, Judith M., *Deep democracy: Community, diversity, and transformation*. (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999).

Green, Nile, "Paper Modernity? Notes on an Iranian Industrial Tour, 1818," *Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, vol. 46, issue 1 (2008): 277-284.

Green, Nile, "Persian Print and the Stanhope Revolution: Industrialization, Evangelicalism, and the Birth of Printing in Early Qajar Iran," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 30, no. 3 (2010): 473-490.

Green, Nile, "The Madrasas of Oxford: Iranian Interactions with the English Universities in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 6 (2011): 807-

829.

Green, Nile, "Parnassus of the Evangelical Empire: Orientalism and the English Universities, 1800–50," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 40, no. 3 (2012): 337-355.

Green II., Robert (ed.), "David A. Hollinger on Reconsidering Perry Miller's *Errand into the Wilderness* (1956)," July 19, 2015: <https://s-usih.org/2015/07/david-a-hollinger-on-reconsidering-perry-millers-errand-into-the-wilderness-1956/>

Greeve, Davaney S, *Pragmatic Historicism: A Theology for the Twenty-First Century* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2000).

Griffin, Edward Dorr, *A Sermon, Preached October 20, 1813, at Sandwich, Massachusetts: At the Dedication of the Meeting House, Recently Erected for the Use of the Calvinistic Congregational Society in that Town* (no. 76, State Street: Nathaniel Willis., 1813).

Griffin, Edward Dorr, *The Kingdom of Christ. A Missionary Sermon [on Col. 1.16], Preached Before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, May 23, 1805* (Andover: Published by the Society of Inquiry Respecting Mission in Theological Seminary, 1821).

Griffith, Sidney H., *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2012).

Gunn, Jeremy, "The Complexity of Religion and the Definition of Religion in International Law," *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 16, 2003.

Habermas, Jürgen, "Religious Tolerance – The Pacemaker for Cultural Rights," *Philosophy*, 79(1), (2004): 5-18.

Haddad, Robert M., *Syrian Christians in a Muslim Society: An Interpretation* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2015).

Hairi, Abdul-Hadi, "The legitimacy of the early Qajar rule as viewed by the Shi'i religious leaders," *Middle Eastern Studies* 24, no. 3 (1988): 271-286.

Hajnal, Peter (ed.), *The G8 System and the G20: Evolution, Role and Documentation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

Hakimian, H., "Wage Labor and Migration: Persian Workers in Southern Russia, 1880-1914," *IJMES* 17, 1985, pp. 443-62.

Hall, Catherine, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

Hallaq, Wael B., "Was the gate of ijtihad closed?," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 16, no. 1, 1984.

Haney, Richard L., *Mapping mission as translation with reference to Michael Polanyi's heuristic philosophy*, PhD diss., Middlesex University, 2014.

Harrington, Austin, "Dilthey, empathy and verstehen a contemporary reappraisal," *European Journal of Social Theory* 4, no. 3 (2001): 311-329.

Hart, H.L.A., "Are There Any Natural Rights?" in Quinton, A. (ed.), *Political Philosophy* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).

Hatch, Nathan O., *The Democratization of American Christianity*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

Havel, Václav, "Preface: Karl Popper, The Open Society and Its Enemies in the contemporary global world" in Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (London: Routledge, 2011).

Heidemanns, Katja, "Missiology of Risk?: Explorations in Mission Theology from a German Feminist Perspective." *International Review of Mission* 93, no. 368 (2004): 105-118.

Heyes, Cressida "Identity Politics," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2018 Edition), Zalta, Edward N. (ed.), URL = <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2018/entries/identity-politics/>

Hawkes, Belle Sherwood (BSH), "Report on Womens' Work: Hamadan, 1 July 1918—30 June 1919," Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Board of Foreign Missions Secretaries' Files, Iran Mission, Record Group 91, box 1, folder 16, Presbyterian Historical Society (PHS), Philadelphia, PA.

Hayes, Kevin J. ((ed.) and introd.), *Oxford Handbook of Early American Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.)

Hellot, Florence, "The Western Missionaries in Azerbaijan Society (1835-1914)," in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 270.

Hellot-Bellier, Florence. "Les chretiens d'Iran au XIXe sifecle (1800-1918): une page se tourne." *Chre-tiens en terre d'Iran: implantation et acculturation, textes reunis par R. Gyselen (Studia Iranica, cahier 33), Paris (2006): 79-104.*

Hellot-Bellier, Florence, "Les presbytériens et leurs élèves israélites en Perse: une breve rencontre (1871-1900)," *L'enseignement français en Méditerranée. Les missionnaires et l'Alliance israélite universelle* (2010): 324.

Hermann, Denis, "Akhund Khurasani and the Iranian Constitutional Movement," *Middle Eastern Studies* 49, no. 3 (2013): 430-453.

Heuser, Frederick J. "Women's Work for Women: Belle Sherwood Hawkes and the East Persia Presbyterian Mission." *American Presbyterians* 65, no. 1 (1987): 7-17.

Heuser, Frederick J. "Presbyterian Women and the Missionary Call, 1870–1923." *American Presbyterians* 73, no. 1 (1995): 23–34.

Higham, John, *Strangers in the land: Patterns of American nativism, 1860–1925* (Rutgers University Press, 2002).

Hill, James L. "John Marrant," in Nelson, Emmanuel Sampath (ed.), *African American Autobiographers: A Sourcebook* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 2002).

Hopkins, Philip O., "Modern Western Christian Missions in Iran: The Connection Between Government and Missionary," *Iran and the Caucasus* 19, no. 4 (2015): 299–309.

Hookway, Christopher, "Pragmatism," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2016 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2016/entries/pragmatism/>

Horkheimer, Max, *Critical Theory: Selected Essays* (New York: Continuum, 2002).

Houston, Chloe, "'Thou glorious kingdome, thou chiefe of Empires': Persia in early seventeenth-century travel literature," *Studies in Travel Writing* 13, no. 2, 2009.

Hubers, John, "Making Friends with Locusts: Early ABCFM Missionary Perceptions of Muslims and Islam, 1818–50," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 33, no. 3 (2009): 151

Hultvall, John, *Mission and Revolution in Central Asia*, Tr. Birgitta Åhman. Mission och revolution i Centralasien (Gummessons, Stockholm: STUDIA MISSIONALIA UPSALIENSIA XXXV, 1981).

Hume, David, "Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion," in Wollheim, R. (ed.), *Hume on Religion*, (London and Glasgow: Collins (Fontana Library), 1963).

Hunter, Erica C.D., "The Church of the East in Central Asia," *Bulletin of John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 78/3, 1996, pp. 129–142.

Huntington, Samuel P., "The Clash of Civilizations?," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 72, no. 3, 1993, pp. 22–49.

Hutchison, William R, *Errand to the world: American Protestant thought and foreign missions* (London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

Içduygu, Ahmet and Soner, B. Ali, "Turkish minority rights regime: Between difference and equality," *Middle Eastern Studies* 42, no. 3, 2006, pp. 447–468.

Inness, Sherrie A., "'Repulsive as the multitudes by whom I am surrounded': Constructing the contact zone in the writings of Mount Holyoke Missionaries, 1830–1890," *Women's Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 23, no. 4 (1994): 365–384.

Iranzamin, Tehran International School, *Iranzamin Yearbooks*, 1967-68, 1979-80. Microfilms of the East Persia Mission, at Archives of Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa., 189/2.

Irvine, J. Richard, "Iranzamin, Tehran International School," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. XIII, Fasc. 5, pp. 541-543.

Isaacs, A. A., *Biography of the Rev. Henry Aaron Stern, DD: For More Than Forty Years a Missionary Amongst the Jews: Containing an Account of His Labours and Travels in Mesopotamia, Persia, Arabia, Turkey, Abyssinia, and England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Ishaya, Arian, "Ethnicity, Class, and Politics: Assyrians in the History of Azerbaijan 1800-1918," *Journal of the Assyrian Academic Society*, 1990.

Ishaya, Arianne, "Settling Into Diaspora: A History of Urmia Assyrians in the United States," *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 20, no. 1, 2006.

Jahanbegloo, Ramin, *Democracy in Iran* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

Jalagin, Seija, Okkenhaug, Inger Marie and Småberg, Maria, "Introduction: Nordic missions, gender and humanitarian practices: from evangelizing to development," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 40, no. 3 (2015): 285-297.

Jordan, Samuel M. "Constructive Revolutions in Iran," *The Moslem World* 25, (1935): 347-53.

Joseph, John, *The Nestorians and their Muslim Neighbors: A study of Western influence on their relations*. Vol. 20 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961).

Joseph, John, *Muslim-Christian relations and inter-Christian rivalries in the Middle East: the case of the Jacobites in an age of transition* (Albany, New York: SUNY Press, 1983).

Jullien, Christelle and Jullien, Florence, *Apôtres des confins. Processus missionnaires chrétiens dans l'empire iranien*, Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe Pour L'Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 2002.

Jwaideh, Wadie, *The Kurdish National Movement: Its Origins and Development* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2006).

Kamali, Masoud, "The modern revolutions of Iran: Civil society and state in the modernization process," *Citizenship Studies* 1, no. 2 (1997): 173-198.

Karimi, Linda Colleen, *Implications of American missionary presence in 19th and 20th century Iran*, Dissertations and Theses (1975), Paper 1827: http://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/open_access_etds/1827

Kashani-Sabet, Firoozeh, "Patriotic Womanhood: The Culture of Feminism in Modern Iran, 1900-1941," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 32(1), May 2005.

Kashani-Sabet, Firoozeh, "The politics of reproduction: Maternalism and women's hygiene in Iran, 1896-1941," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 38, no. 1, 2006.

Kashani-Sabet, Firoozeh, "American Crosses, Persian Crescents: Religion and the Diplomacy of US-Iranian Relations, 1834-1911," *Iranian Studies* 44.5 (2011): 607-625.

Kashani-Sabet, Firoozeh, *Conceiving citizens: women and the politics of motherhood in Iran* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Kashani-Sabet, Firoozeh, *Frontier fictions: shaping the Iranian nation, 1804-1946* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014).

Katouzian, Homa, *The Persians: Ancient, Medieval and Modern Iran* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010).

Katouzian, Homa, "Alborz and its Teachers," *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5 (2011): 743-754.

Kawerau, Peter, *Amerika und die orientalischen Kirchen: Ursprung und Anfang der amerikanischen Mission unter den Nationalkirchen Westasiens*. Vol. 31. (Walter de Gruyter, 1958).

Keddie, Nikki R., "Religion and irreligion in early Iranian nationalism," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 4, no. 03 (1962): 265-295.

Keddie, Nikki R., "The Origins of the Religious-Radical Alliance in Iran," *Past and Present* (1966): 70-80.

Keddie, Nikki R., "The Iranian Power Structure and Social Change 1800-1969: An Overview," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2, no. 01 (1971): 3-20.

Keddie, Nikki R., *Iran: Religion, Politics and Society: Collected Essays* (London: Frank Cass, 1980).

Keddie, Nikki R., and Rudolph P. Matthee (eds.), *Iran and the surrounding world: interactions in culture and cultural politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002).

Keddie, Nikki R., *Religion and Rebellion in Iran: The Iranian Tobacco Protest of 1891-1902* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012).

Keevak, Michael. *The story of a stele: China's Nestorian Monument and its reception in the West, 1625-1916*. Vol. 1. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008).

Khalaf, Samir, *Protestant Missionaries in the Levant: Ungodly Puritans, 1820-1860*.

Vol. 13. (London and New York: Routledge, 2012).

Khosroeva, Anahit, "Genocide in the Ottoman Empire: Armenians, Assyrians, and Greeks, 1913-1923" in Shirinian, George N. (ed.), *Genocide in the Ottoman Empire: Armenians, Assyrians, and Greeks, 1913-1923* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2017).

Kia, Mehrdad, "The Making of Modern Authoritarianism in Contemporary Iran," in Nouredine Jebnoun, Mehrdad Kia, Mimi Kirk (eds.) *Modern Middle East Authoritarianism*, (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 73-94.

Kidd, Thomas S., *American Christians and Islam: evangelical culture and Muslims from the colonial period to the age of terrorism* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009).

Kieser, Hans-Lukas, "Muslim heterodoxy and protestant utopia. The interactions between Alevis and missionaries in Ottoman Anatolia," *Die Welt des Islams* 41, no. 1 (2001): 89-111.

King, Preston, *Toleration* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1976).

Klein, Ira, "Prospero's Magic: Imperialism and Nationalism in Iran 1909-11," *Journal of Asian History* (1980): 47-71.

Kling, David W., "The New Divinity and the Origins of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 72, no. 04 (2003): 791-819.

Knauth, K. Alfons "Translatio Studii and Cross-Cultural Movements or Weltverkehr," in Block de Behar, Lisa et al (eds.) *Comparative Literature - Sharing Knowledges for Preserving Cultural Diversity: v.2.* (Oxford: EOLSS, 2010).

Knowles, Brett (ed.), *Proceedings of the Research Group for Asian and Pacific Christianity and Cultures 1993-1994* (Dunedin: Centre for Contextual Theology, 1995), pp. 1-20

Kohn, Margaret and Reddy, Kavita, "Colonialism", in Zalta, Edward N. (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Fall 2017 Edition. Accessed online: <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2017/entries/colonialism/>

Koyagi, Mikiya, "Modern Education in Iran during the Qajar and Pahlavi Periods," *History Compass* 7, no. 1 (2009): 107-118.

Kuhrt, Amélie, "The Cyrus cylinder and Achaemenid imperial policy," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 8, no. 25, (1983): 83-97.

Kuklick, Bruce, *Puritans in Babylon. The Ancient Near East and American Intellectual Life, 1880-1930* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996).

Kuran, Timur, "The economic ascent of the Middle East's religious minorities: the role of Islamic legal pluralism," *The Journal of Legal Studies* 33, no. 2 (2004): 475-515.

Kurzman, Charles, *Democracy Denied, 1905-1915* (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 2008).

Lambton, Ann KS., "The Impact of the West on Persia," *International Affairs*, XXXIII, 1, 1957, pp. 12-25.

Lang, C. L., "Les minorités arménienne et juive d'Iran," *Politique étrangère* 26, no. 5/6, 1961, pp. 460-471.

Latourette, Kenneth Scott, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity, Vol. 2: The Thousand Years of Uncertainty, AD 500-1500* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1938).

Latourette, Kenneth Scott, "Colonialism and missions: Progressive separation," *J. Church & St.* 7, 1965, pp. 330-349.

Laurie, Thomas, *Dr. Grant and the Mountain Nestorians* (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1853).

Laurie, Thomas and Fiske, Fidelia, *Woman and Her Saviour in Persia* (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1863).

Layard, Austen Henry, *Ninevah and Its Remains: With an Account of a Visit to the Chaldean Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezidis, or Devil-worshippers; and an Inquiry into the Manners and Arts of the Ancient Assyrian*, Vol. 1 (New York: George P. Putnam, 1850).

Layton, Peter, "The Idea of Grand Strategy." *The RUSI journal* 157, no. 4 (2012): 56-61.

Lee, S., *Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mohammedanism by the late Reverend Henry Martyn B.D. of St. John's College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1824).

Leffers, M. Regina, "Pragmatists Jane Addams and John Dewey inform the ethic of care," *Hypatia* 8, no. 2 (1993): 64-77.

Lepore, Jill. "Historians who love too much: Reflections on microhistory and biography." *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 1 (2001): 129-144.

Levitas, Ruth, *The concept of utopia*. Vol. 3. (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010).

Lewis, Bernard, "The Islamic Guilds," *The Economic History Review* 8, no. 1, 1937.

Linton, Bishop James H, *Persian Sketches* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1923).

Litvak, Meir "Nationalism and Islam in a provincial setting: Late Qajar Isfahan," in Mir Litvak (ed.), *Constructing Nationalism in Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017).

Livingston, James, *Pragmatism, Feminism, and Democracy: Rethinking the Politics of American History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013).

Lockhart, Laurence, "The Constitutional Laws of Persia: An Outline of Their Origin and Development," *The Middle East Journal* (1959): 372-388.

Lorentz, John H., "Iran's great reformer of the nineteenth century: an analysis of Amir Kabir's reforms," *Iranian Studies* 4, no. 2-3 (1971): 85-103.

Lorentz, John H., *Modernization and Political Change in Nineteenth-Century Iran*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1974.

Lorentz, John H., *The A to Z of Iran*, No. 209 (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010).

Lorentz, John H., "Educational Development in Iran: The Pivotal Role of the Mission Schools and Alborz College," *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5 (2011): 647-655.

Lovett, Richard, *The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895*, vol. 1. (H. Frowde, 1899).

Ma'ani, Baharieh Rouhani, "The Interdependence of Baha'i Communities: Services of North American Baha'i Women to Iran," *Journal of Baha'i Studies* 4, no. 1 (1991): 19.

MacEoin, D. M., "BABISM," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, III/3, pp. 309-317, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/babism-index>

Maclean, Arthur John, *The Catholicos of the East and His People: Being the Impressions of Five Years' Work in the" Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission," an Account of the Religious and Secular Life and Opinions of the Eastern Syrian Christians of Kurdistan and Northern Persia (known Also as Nestorians)* (London: S.P.C.K., 1892).

Madani, Mitra, "Educational Modernization in Iran and the Ottoman Empire," *Language, Culture, and Education*, Oman: Euro-Khaleeji Research and Publishing House, (2015): 45-70.

Madelung W., "A Treatise of the Sharīf al-Murtaḍā on the Legality of Working for Government (mas'alafīl-'amal ma'a'l- ṣultān)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 43, 1 (1980).

Mahdavi, Shireen, "Shahs, Doctors, Diplomats and Missionaries in 19th Century Iran," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 32, no. 2 (2005): 169-191.

Makdisi, Ussama. "Reclaiming the land of the Bible: Missionaries, secularism, and evangelical modernity." *The American historical review* 102, no. 3, (June 1997): 680-

713.

Makdisi, Ussama, *Artillery of heaven: American missionaries and the failed conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

Makko, Aryo, "The Historical Roots of Contemporary Controversies: National Revival and the Assyrian 'Concept of Unity,'" *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 24, no. 1 (2010): 58-86.

Malcolm, John, *The History of Persia from the Early Period to the Present Time* (London: John Murray Albemarle Street, 1815).

Mansoori, Ahmad, *American missionaries in Iran, 1834-1934*, Ball State (Ph.D. dissertation), 1986.

Mantzavinos, C, "Hermeneutics," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2016 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2016/entries/hermeneutics/>

Marashi, Afshin, *Nationalizing Iran: culture, power, and the state, 1870-1940* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011).

Marr, Timothy, *The cultural roots of American Islamicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Marsden, George, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

Martin, V. A., "Shaikh Fazlallah Nuri and the Iranian revolution 1905-09," *Middle Eastern Studies* 23, no. 1 (1987): 39-53.

Martin, Vanessa, *Islam and Modernism: The Iranian Revolution of 190*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 1989).

Martyn, Henry, *Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mohammedanism* (Cambridge: J. Smith, 1824).

Marzolph, Ulrich "TULLIP: A Projected Thesaurus Universalis Libri Lithographici Illustrati Persorum," in Sadgrove, Philip (ed.) *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East*, *Journal of Semitic Studies*, Supplement 15 (Oxford and New York: published by Oxford University Press on behalf of the University of Manchester, 2004).

Masters, Bruce, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Matin, Kamran, "Democracy without Capitalism: Retheorizing Iran's Constitutional Revolution," *Middle East Critique* 21, no. 1 (2012): 37-56.

Matthee, Rudi, "Transforming dangerous nomads into useful artisans, technicians,

agriculturists: education in the Reza Shah period,” *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3-4, 1993, pp. 313-336.

Matthee, Rudi “Jesuits in Safavid Persia,” *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Vol. XIV, Fas. 6, 2008, pp. 634-638.

Matthee, Rudi and Flores, Jorge (eds.), *Portugal, The Persian Gulf and Safavid Persia*, in association with the Iran Heritage Foundation and the Freer Gallery of Art & Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (Smithsonian Institution: Peeters, 2011).

Matthee, Rudi, “Poverty and Perseverance: The Jesuit Mission of Isfahan and Shamakhi in Late Safavid Iran,” *Al-Qantara* 36, (2015): 463-501.

Mavani, Hamid, “Ayatullah Khomeini's Concept of Governance (wilayat al-faqih) and the Classical Shi ‘i Doctrine of Imamate,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 47, no. 5, 2011, pp. 807-824.

McAlister, Melani, *The Kingdom of God Has No Borders: A Global History of American Evangelicals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

McDaniel, Robert A., “The Shuster mission and the Persian constitutional revolution,” No. 1. *Bibliotheca Islamica*, 1974.

McElrone, Susynne M., “Nineteenth-Century Qajar Women in the Public Sphere: An Alternative Historical and Historiographical Reading of the Roots of Iranian Women's Activism,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 25, no. 2 (2005): 297-317.

McGuckin, John A., *St. Cyril of Alexandria: The Christological Controversy* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

McGuckin, John A., “The Christology of Nestorius of Constantinople,” *Patristic and Byzantine Review* 7, no. 1, 1988.

McKenna, Erin, *The task of utopia: A pragmatist and feminist perspective* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001).

McLoughlin, William G., *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978).

McMillen, Sally, *Seneca Falls and the origins of the women's rights movement* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Melville, C., “The Persian Famine of 1870-1872: Prices and Politics,” *Disasters*, 12, (1988): 309-325.

Menashri, David, *Education and the Making of Modern Iran* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

Merrick, J. L., *An Appeal to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Springfield: John M. Wood, 1847).

Merrick, James Lyman, *The Pilgrim's Harp* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1847).

Meserve, Ruth I., "A Description of the Position of Turkmen Tribal Leaders according to 19th Century Western Travellers," in *Altaica Berolinensia. The Concept of Sovereignty in the Altaic World* (Permanent International Altaistic Conference, 34th Meeting 1993): 139-48.

Miller, Jon, *The social control of religious zeal: A study of organizational contradictions* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994).

Miller, Perry, *Errand into the Wilderness* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1956).

Miller, William McElwee, *Baha'ism: Its Origin, History, and Teachings* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1932).

Miller, William M., *My Persian Pilgrimage: An Autobiography* (revised edition) (Pasadena, California: William Carey Library, 1995).

Mingana, Alphonse, "The Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East: A New Document," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 9 (1925) 297-371.

Minkema, Kenneth P. and Stout, Harry S. "The Edwardsean Tradition and the Antislavery Debate, 1740–1865," *Journal of American History* 92(1), 2005.

Mirsepasi, Ali, *Intellectual discourse and the politics of modernization: Negotiating modernity in Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Mirzai, Behnaz A., *A History of Slavery and Emancipation in Iran: 1800-1929* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017).

Mission Problems in New Persia: A Report of the All-Persia Intermission Conference (Beirut: American Press, 1926).

Moaddel, Mansoor, *Islamic modernism, nationalism, and fundamentalism: episode and discourse* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

Moazami, Behrooz, "The ulema and the nationalization of religious morality in Iran, 1925–63," *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies* 17, no. 1 (2008): 41-61.

Mobley, Kendal P., *Helen Barrett Montgomery: the global mission of domestic feminism* (Waco Texas: Baylor University Press, 2009).

Mohammadi, Majid, *Judicial reform and reorganization in 20th century Iran: State-building, modernization and islamicization* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).

‘Mojassameh-ye gheyra’, *Habl al-Matin* no. 23, 25 May 1907, p. 3.

Momen, Moojan (ed.), *Studies in Bábí and Bahá'í History*. Vol. 1. (Los Angeles: Kalimát Press, 1982).

Momen, Moojan, "The Role of Women in the Iranian Baha'i Community during the Qajar Period," *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (2005): 356-370.

Moore, Edward Caldwell, "Comments upon President G. Stanley Hall's Paper, Mission Pedagogy," *The Journal of Race Development* (1911): 503-504.

Moore, Edward Caldwell, "Some Aspects of the Relation of Missions to Civilisation," *International Review of Mission* 4, no. 3 (1915): 353-370.

Moore, Edward Caldwell, "Bible Societies and Missions: Their Joint Contribution to Race Development," *The Journal of Race Development* (1916): 47-73.

Moore, Edward Caldwell, "The Church and International Relations," *Religious Education* 16, no. 5 (1921): 243-248.

Mootz, Francis J. III and George H. Taylor, *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics* (New York: Continuum, 2011).

Moranian, Suzanne Elizabeth, "Bearing Witness: The Missionary Archives as Evidence of the Armenian Genocide," in *The Armenian Genocide*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1992), pp. 103-128.

Moreshead, Ashley E., "*The seed of the missionary spirit*": *foreign missions, print culture, and evangelical identity in the Early American Republic*, PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2015.

Morony, M., *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (Princeton New Jersey: Princeton, 1984), pp. 384-430.

Motadel, David, "Iran and the Aryan myth," *Perceptions of Iran: History, Myths and Nationalism from Medieval Persia to the Islamic Republic* (2014): 119-46.

Mott, John Raleigh, *The Evangelization of the World in this Generation* (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1905).

Mottahedeh, Roy, *The mantle of the prophet* (London: Oneworld Publications, 2014).

Mozaffari, Nahid, "An Iranian Modernist Project: Ali Akbar Dehkhoda's Writings in the Constitutional Period" in H.E. Chehabi and Vanessa Martin (ed.), *Iran's Constitutional Revolution: Popular Politics, Cultural Transformations and Transnational Connections* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2010).

Mr. Leishman to Mr. Hay, September 5, 1901. In *FRUS*: 1902, 997.

Mukherjee, Arun P., "BR Ambedkar, John Dewey, and the Meaning of Democracy," *New Literary History* 40, no. 2 (2009): 345-370.

Murphy, Andrew R., "Tolerance, toleration, and the liberal tradition," *Polity* 29, no. 4 (1997): 593-623.

Murre-van den Berg, Heleen L. "The Missionaries' Assistants. The Role of Assyrians in the Development of Written Urmia Aramaic," *Journal of the Assyrian Academic Society*, X (2), 3 - 17 (1996).

Murre-van den Berg, Heleen L. "A Syrian Awakening. Alqosh and Urmia as Centres of Neo-Syriac Writing," in R. Lavenant, S.J. (ed.), *Symposium Syriacum VII*, Uppsala University, Department of Asian and African Languages, 11-14 August 1996 (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 256, 1998).

Murre-Van Den Berg and Hendrika Lena, "From a Spoken to a Written Language. The Introduction and Development of Literary Urmia Aramaic in the Nineteenth Century," (Publication of the De Goeje Fund. 28) Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten 1999. 499 S.

Murre-Van Den Berg, Heleen L., "Why Protestant Churches? The American Board and the Eastern Churches: Mission among 'Nominal' Christians (1820-70)," *Studies in Church History Subsidia* 13 (2000): 98-111.

Murre-van den Berg, Heleen L., "'Dear Mother of My Soul': Fidelia Fiske and the Role of Women Missionaries in Mid-Nineteenth Century Iran," *Exchange* 30, no. 1 (2001): 33-48.

Murre-van den Berg, Heleen L., "Nineteenth-century Protestant Missions and Middle-eastern Women" in Flakerud, Ingvald, and Inger Marie Okkenhaug (eds.), *Gender, religion and change in the Middle East: two hundred years of history* (Oxford: Berg, 2005), pp. 103-126.

Murre-van den Berg, Heleen L., *New faith in ancient lands: Western missions in the Middle East in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

Murre-Van Den Berg, Heleen L., "A "Good and Blessed Father" Yonan of Ada on Justin Perkins, Urmia (Iran), 1870," in Nielssen, Hilde (ed.), *Protestant Missions and Local Encounters in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 187-206.

Murre-van den Berg, Heleen L., "The Unexpected Popularity of the Study of Middle Eastern Christianity", in Griffith, Sidney H. and Grebenstein, Sven (eds), *Christsein in der islamischen Welt. Festschrift für Martin Tamcke zum 60. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015), pp. 1-11.

Nabavi, Negin, "Readership, the Press and the Public Sphere in the Constitutional Era," in H.E. Chehabi and Vanessa Martin (eds.), *Iran's Constitutional Revolution* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2010).

Naghibi, Nima, *Rethinking Global Sisterhood: Western Feminism and Iran* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

Najmabadi, Afsaneh "Hazards of Modernity and Morality: Women, State and Ideology in Contemporary Iran," in Kandiyoti, Deniz (ed.) *Women, Islam and the state* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1991).

Najmabadi, Afsaneh, "Crafting an Educated Housewife in Iran," in Abu-Lughod, Lila (ed.), *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 91-125.

Nashat, Guity "Introduction," in Beck, Lois and Neshat, Guity (eds.), *Women in Iran from 1800 to the Islamic Republic* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

Nazir-Ali, Michael, "Christianity in Iran: A Brief Survey," *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 9, no. 1, (2009): 32-40.

Nelson, Joshua Bourne, *Progressive Traditions: Cherokee Cultural Studies*, PhD diss., Cornell University, 2010.

Nestorians of Persia: A History of the Origin and the Progress of that People, and of Missionary Labours among them; with an Account of the Nestorian Massacre by the Koords (Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union Committee of Publication, 1848).

Newsom, Carol Ann and Breed, Brennan W., *Daniel: A Commentary* (Westminster John Knox Press, 2014).

Nielssen, Hilde, Inger Marie Okkenhaug, and Karina Hestad-Skeie (eds.), *Protestant missions and local encounters in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: Unto the ends of the world*. Vol. 40. (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

O'Donovan, Edmund, *The Merv Oasis: Travels and Adventures East of the Caspian During the Years 1879-80-81 Including Five Months' Residence Among the Tekkés of Merv*, Vol. 1. (London: Smith, Elder, 1882).

O'Mahony, Anthony, and Loosley, Emma (eds.), *Christian Responses to Islam: Muslim-Christian Relations in the Modern World* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008).

Obeidat, Marwan M., "Observations in the East: A Bibliography of American Travel Accounts of the Muslim Near Orient before 1900," *Der Islam* 68, no. 1 (1991): 115-26.

Oberling, Pierre, "The Role of Religious Minorities in the Persian Revolution, 1906-1912," *Journal of Asian History*, 12:1 (1978): 1-29.

Oduyoye, Mercy Amba (ed.) "Women in Mission," Special Issue, *International Review of Mission* 81, no. 322 (April 1992).

Özsu, Umut, *Formalizing displacement: international law and population transfers*, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Paidar, Parvin, *Women and the political process in twentieth-century Iran*. Vol. 1. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Pakravan, Emineh, *Abbas Mirza, Prince Réformateur* (Tehran: The French-Iranian Institute, 1958).

Paya, Ali, "Karl Popper and the Iranian intellectuals," *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 20, no. 2 (2003): 50-79.

Padyab, Mojgan, and Mousavi Chelak, Hassan, Nygren, Lennart, Ghazinour, Mehdi, Client Violence and Mental Health Status among Iranian Social Workers: A National Survey, *The British Journal of Social Work*, Volume 42, Issue 1, January 2012, Pages 111–128.

Pejhan, Sassan, "A picture postcard view of the Persian constitutional revolution," *Journal of Persianate Studies* 3, no. 2, 2010, pp. 192-221.

Pfeiffer, Ida, *A woman's journey round the world, from Vienna to Brazil, Chili, Tahiti, China, Hindostan, Persia, and Asia Minor* (London: Ward and Lock, 1856).

Perkins, Justin, *A residence of eight years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians: with notices of the Muhammedans* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1843).

Perkins, Justin, *Our Country's Sin: A Sermon Preached To The Members And Families Of The Nestorian Mission At Oroomiah, Persia, July 3, 1853* (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co., 1854).

Pickel, Andreas, "Never ask who should rule: Karl Popper and political theory," *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique* 22, no. 1 (1989): 83-106.

Phillips, Clifton Jackson, *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half-century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860* (East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distributed by Harvard University Press, 1969).

Poole, Stafford, "Eugene Bore and the Vincentian Missions in the Near East," *Vincentian Heritage Journal* 5, no. 1 (1984).

Popper, Karl, *The Poverty of Historicism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957).

Popper, Karl R., "Utopia and violence," *World affairs* 149, no. 1 (1986): 3-9.

Popper, Karl, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, (London: Routledge, 2002).

Porter, Andrew, "Late nineteenth-century Anglican missionary expansion: a consideration of some non-Anglican sources of inspiration," *Studies in Church History* 15 (1978): 349-365.

Porter, Andrew, "Religion and empire: British expansion in the long nineteenth century, 1780–1914," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 20, no. 3 (1992): 370-390.

Porter, Andrew, *Religion versus empire?: British Protestant missionaries and overseas expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004).

Porter, Stephen R., *Benevolent Empire: US Power, Humanitarianism, and the World's Dispossessed* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

Porterfield, Amanda, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Post, Stephen "Disinterested Benevolence: An American Debate over the Nature of Christian Love," *The Journal of Religious Ethics*, 1986.

Potts, ED., *British Baptist Missionaries in India, 1793-1837: The history of Serampore and its missions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967).

Prentiss, Craig R. (ed.), *Religion and the creation of race and ethnicity: An introduction* (New York: NYU Press, 2003).

Proudfoot, Wayne, "From theology to a science of religions: Jonathan Edwards and William James on religious affections," *Harvard Theological Review* 82, no. 2, 1989, pp. 149-168.

Pruitt, Lisa Joy, *A looking-glass for ladies: American Protestant women and the Orient in the nineteenth century* (Macon, Ga: Mercer University Press, 2005).

Pui-Lan, Kwok, "The Image of the "White Lady": Gender and Race in Christian Mission," in Fiorenza, Elisabeth Schüssler (ed.), *The Power of Naming: A Concilium Reader in Feminist Liberation Theology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1996), pp. 250-258.

Pui-Lan, Kwok, "Unbinding our feet: Saving brown women and feminist religious discourse," in Kwok Pui-Lan and Laura E. Donaldson (eds.), *Postcolonialism, feminism and religious discourse* (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 62-81.

Putney, Clifford, and Burlin, Paul T. (eds.), *The Role of the American Board in the World: Bicentennial Reflections on the Organization's Missionary Work, 1810-2010* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2012).

Rambo, Lewis R., *Understanding religious conversion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

Rasool, Jay M., *Dr. Sa'eed of Iran: Kurdish Physician to Princes, Peasants, Nobles and Nomads* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Grand Rapids International Publications, 1957).

Reeves-Ellington, Barbara, "Women, Protestant Missions, and American Cultural Expansion, 1800 to 1938: A Historiographical Sketch," *Social Sciences and Missions*

24, 2011.

Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Thirty-first Annual Meeting (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1840).

Rezazadeh, Shafagh, "Howard Baskerville," *The Tehran Journal*, 4 December 1959.

Ricoeur, Paul, "The model of the text: Meaningful action considered as a text." *Social research* (1971): 529-562.

Ricoeur, Paul, "L'Herméneutique de la Sécularisation: Foi, Idéologie, Utopie," *Archivo di Filosofia* 46(2-3), 1976, pp. 49-68.

Ricoeur, Paul (George H. Taylor (ed.)), *Paul Ricoeur: Lectures on Ideology and Utopia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

Richter, Julius, *A history of Protestant Missions in the Near East* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1910).

Ricks, Thomas M., "Alborz College of Tehran, Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan and the American Faculty: Twentieth-Century Presbyterian Mission Education and Modernism in Iran (Persia)," *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5 (2011): 627-646.

Richard, Francis, "Capuchins in Persia," *Encyclopedia Iranica*. Vol. IV, Fasc. 7, pp. 786-788.

Richard, Francis, *Transcendental Utopias: Individual and Community at Brook Farm, Fruitlands, and Walden* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).

Ringer, Monica M., *Education, Religion, and the Discourse of Cultural Reform in Qajar Iran* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2001).

Ringer, Monica M., "Rethinking religion: Progress and Morality in the Early Twentieth-century Iranian Women's Press," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24, no. 1, 2004.

Ritivoi, Andrea Deciu, "Hermeneutics as Project of Liberation: The Concept of Tradition in Paul Ricoeur and Hans-Georg Gadamer," in Francis J. Mootz III. and George H. Taylor (eds.), *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics* (London: Continuum, 2011).

Robert, Dana L., "The Origin of the Student Volunteer Watchword: 'The Evangelization of the World in This Generation'" *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 10, no. 4 (1986): 146.

Robert, Dana Lee, *American women in mission: A social history of their thought and practice* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1996).

Robinson, Edward, *The Nestorians* (New York: Wm. R. Peters, Brick-Church Chapel, 1841).

Rockwell, William Walker, *The Pitiful Plight of the Assyrian Christians in Persia and Kurdistan: Described from the Reports of Eye-witnesses*, Vol. 44 (New York: American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, 1916).

Rostam-Kolayi, Jasmin, "The Women's Press, Modern Education, and the State in Early Twentieth Century Iran, 1900-1930," Ph.D. diss. University of California, Los Angeles, 2000.

Rostam-Kolayi, Jasamin "Expanding Agendas for the 'New' Iranian Woman: Family Law, Work, and Unveiling," in Stephanie Cronin (ed.), *The making of modern Iran: State and Society under Riza Shah, 1921-1941* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 164-189.

Rostam-Kolayi, Jasamin, "From Evangelizing to Modernizing Iranians: The American Presbyterian Mission and Its Iranian Students," *Iranian Studies* 41, no. 2, (2008).

Rostam-Kolayi, Jasamin, "Origins of Iran's Modern Girls' Schools: From Private/National to Public/State," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 4, no. 3 (2008): 58-88.

Rostam-Kolayi, Jasamin, "The Tarbiyat Girls' School of Tehran: Iranian and American Baha'i Contributions to Modern Education," *Middle East Critique* 22, no. 1 (2013): 77-93.

Rostam-Kolayi, Jasamin and Matin-Asgari, Afshin, "Unveiling ambiguities: Revisiting 1930s Iran's *kashf-i hijab* campaign," in Stephanie Cronin (ed.), *Anti-Veiling Campaigns in the Muslim World: Gender, modernism and the politics of dress* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 121-148.

Rubin, B. M. *Paved with good intentions: the American experience and Iran* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).

Russell, James R., "CHRISTIANITY i. In Pre-Islamic Persia: Literary Sources" in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. V, fasc. 5 (Los Angeles: Costa Mesa, 1991).

Russell, Letty M., "Cultural hermeneutics: a postcolonial look at mission," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 20, no. 1, 2004, pp. 23-40.

Ruyer, Raymond, *L'Utopie et les Utopie* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950).

Sackville-West, V., "Persian Gardens," in A.J. Arberry (ed.), *The Legacy of Persia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953).

Sadgrove, Philip (ed.) *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages and Countries of the Middle East*, Journal of Semitic Studies, Supplement 15 (Oxford and New York: published by Oxford University Press on behalf of the University of Manchester, 2004).

Sahin, Emrah, *Faithful Encounters: Authorities and American Missionaries in the Ottoman Empire*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018).

Said, Edward, *Culture and imperialism* (London: Vintage Books, 1993).

Said, Edward, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003).

Saleh, Ali Pasha, *Cultural Ties between Iran and the United States: On the Occasion of American Revolution Bicentennial* (Tehran: Sherkat-e Chapkhaneh Bistopan-j-e Shahrvār, 1976).

Saleh, Mahasin F., "Sattareh Farman Farmaian: Iranian Social Work Pioneer," *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work* 23, no. 4, 2008, pp. 397-402.

Sanasarian, Eliz, "'Characteristics of Women's Movement in Iran,'" in Asgar Fathi (ed.) *Women and the Family in Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), pp. 86-106.

Sanasarian, Eliz, *Religious minorities in Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Scarce, Jennifer, "Some Interpretations of Religious and Popular Culture in Qajar Tilework," in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).

Scarcia, G., "Kerman 1905: La Guerra tra Šeihī e Bālāsarī," *Annali del Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, XII, 1963.

Schneider, Irene, "Religious and State Jurisdiction During Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh's Reign," *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran*. in Robert Gleave (ed.), *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).

Schneider, Irene, *The petitioning system in Iran: state, society and power relations in the late 19th century*. Vol. 11. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006).

Seleznyov, Nikolai N., "The Church of the East & Its Theology: History of Studies," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 74, (2008).

Sedra, P., *Textbook Maneuvers: Evangelicals and Educational Reform in Nineteenth-Century Egypt*, Doctoral dissertation, Simon Fraser University, 2006.

Seto, Paul S. "CONVERSION vi. To Protestant Christianity in Persia," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, V/3, pp. 238-241, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/conversion-vi>

Shahvar, Soli, *Forgotten Schools: The Baha'is and Modern Education in Iran, 1899-1934*, Vol. 11. (London: IB Tauris, 2009).

Sharkey, Heather J., *American Evangelicals in Egypt: Missionary Encounters in an Age of Empire* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2013).

Sharp, J., "Egypt: Background and U.S. Relations," 2018 (Report No: RL33003). Retrieved from <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33003.pdf>

Shavit, Y. & Harshav, B., "Cyrus King of Persia and the return to Zion: A case of neglected memory," *History and Memory*, 2(1), 1990.

Shaw, Plato Ernest, *American Contacts with the Eastern Churches, 1820-1870*, No. 2 (Chicago: American Society of Church History, 1937).

Shedd, M.L., *The Measure of a Man: The Life of William Ambrose Shedd, Missionary to Persia* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1922).

Sheikholeslami, A. Reza, "The patrimonial structure of Iranian bureaucracy in the late nineteenth century," *Iranian Studies* 11, no. 1-4 (1978): 199-258.

Shelton, Elizabeth W., *Faith, freedom, and flag: The influence of American missionaries in Turkey on foreign affairs, 1830—1880*, PhD diss., Georgetown University, 2011.

Shenk, Wilbert R. (ed.), *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory, and Policy* (Grand Rapid, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2004).

Shilliam, Robbie (ed.), *International relations and non-Western thought: imperialism, colonialism and investigations of global modernity* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010).

Shirinian, George N. (ed.), *Genocide in the Ottoman Empire: Armenians, Assyrians, and Greeks, 1913-1923* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2017).

Sinha, Manisha, *The Slave's Cause: A History of Abolition*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016).

Shoumanov, Vasili, *Assyrians in Chicago* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2001).

Showalter, Douglas K., "The 1810 Formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," in Putney, Clifford and Burlin, Paul T. (Eds.), *The Role of the American Board in the World: Bicentennial Reflections on the Organization's Missionary Work, 1810-2010* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2012).

Shuster, William Morgan, *The Strangling of Persia: A Story of the European Diplomacy and Oriental Intrigue that Resulted in the Denationalization of Twelve Million Mohammedans, a Personal Narrative* (New York: Century Company, 1912).

Sims-Williams, Nicholas, "Christianity in Iran and Central Asia," in Ronald E. Asher (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, II (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1994): 548-549.

Singer, Beth J., *Pragmatism, rights, and democracy*. No. 11. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999).

Smith, Christopher A. "The Legacy of William Carey," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 16, no. 1, (1992): 2-8.

Smith, David G., "Hermeneutic Inquiry: The Hermeneutic Imagination and the Pedagogic Text," in Short, Edmund C., *Forms of Curriculum Inquiry* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991).

Smith, Eli, and Harrison Gray Otis Dwight, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. HGO Dwight in Armenia: Including a Journey Through Asia Minor, and Into Georgia and Persia, with a Visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas*, Vol. 1. (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833).

Sohrabi, Naghmeh, *Taken for wonder: nineteenth-century travel accounts from Iran to Europe* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Speer, Robert Elliott, and Carter, Russell, *Report on India and Persia of the Deputation: Sent by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA to Visit These Fields in 1921-22* (Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, 1922).

Speer, Robert Elliott, "The Hakim Sahib." *The Foreign Doctor: A Biography of Joseph Plumb Cochran, MD, of Persia* (Fleming H. Revell Company, 1911).

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Nelson, Cary and Grossberg, Lawrence (eds.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1988), pp. 271-313.

Southgate, Horatio, *Narrative of a Tour Through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia and Mesopotamia: With Observations on the Condition of Mohammedanism and Christianity in Those Countries*, Vol. 2 (London: Tilt and Bogue, 1840).

Stamatov, Peter, "Activist religion, empire, and the emergence of modern long-distance advocacy networks," *American Sociological Review* 75, no. 4 (2010): 607-628.

Stanley, Brian and Low, Elaine M. (eds.), *Missions, Nationalism and the end of Empire* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2003).

Stewart, George R., *Names on the Land: A Historical Account of Place-naming in the United States* (New York: Random House, 1945).

Stewart, John, *Nestorian Missionary Enterprise: the story of a Church on fire* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928).

Stocking Boyce, Annie, "Government Education for Girls in Persia," *The Muslim World* 10, no. 3, 1920.

Annie Stocking Boyce, "Moslem Women in the Capital of Persia," *The Muslim World* 20, no. 3, 1930.

Stoddart, Anna M., *The Life of Isabella Bird* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Stoddard, David Tappan, and Joseph P. Thompson, "Memoir of Rev. David Tappan Stoddard, Missionary to the Nestorians," (1859): 228-243.

Stout, J., *Democracy and Tradition* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004).

Strong, Josiah, *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis* (New York: The American Home Missionary Society, 1885).

Strong, William E., *The Story of the American Board: An Account of the First Hundred Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1910).

Sublime Porte Ali to E. Joy Morris, April 7, 1863. In FRUS: 1863, 1186.

Sweetman, Will, "Empire and Mission," *Social Sciences and Missions* 28, no. 1-2 (2015): 11-31.

Szuppe, Maria "The "Jewels of Wonder": Learned Ladies and Princess Politicians in the Provinces of Early Safavid Iran," *Women in the Medieval Islamic World*, (1998): 325-348.

Taj al-Saltana (Anna Vanzan and Amin Neshati (trans.), Abbas Amanat (edited with Notes and Introduction), *Crowning Anguish, Memoirs of a Persian Princess From the Harem to Modernity, 1884-1914* (Washington, DC: Mage Publishers, 2003).

Tamcke, Martin, and Marten, Michael, *Christian Witness Between Continuity and New Beginnings: Modern Historical Missions in the Middle East*, Vol. 39. (Münster: LIT Verlag Münster, 2006).

Tamcke, Martin, "Christian Orientals in Conversation with Islam: Two Examples from German Mission History in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Toronto Journal of Theology* 26, no. 1 (2010): 3-20.

Taqi, Akmal al-Majlisi Muhammad Bakir ibn Muhammad, *The Life and Religion of Mohammed, as Contained in the Sheeâh Traditions of the Hâyat-ul-Kuloob*. Translated by James L. Merrick, (Boston: Philips, Sampson, and Company, 1850).

Tavakoli-Targhi, Mohamad. "Refashioning Iran: language and culture during the constitutional revolution," *Iranian Studies* 23, no. 1-4 (1990): 77-101.

Tavakoli-Targhi, Mohamad, *Refashioning Iran: Orientalism, Occidentalism, and Historiography* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

Tavakoli-Targhi, Mohamad, "Early Persianate Modernity," in Sheldon Pollock (ed.), *Forms of Knowledge in Early Modern Asia: Explorations in the Intellectual History of India and Tibet, 1500–1800* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

Taylor, George, "Ricoeur's Philosophy of Imagination," *Journal of French Philosophy*, Vol. 16, (2006): 93.

Taylor, George H., "Delineating Ricoeur's Concept of Utopia," *Social Imaginaries* 3, no. 1 (2017): 41-60.

Taylor, Gordon, *Fever and Thirst: An American Doctor Among the Tribes of Kurdistan, 1835-1844* (Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers, 2005).

Tejirian, Eleanor H., and Reeva Spector Simon, "Altruism and Imperialism," *New York: Middle East Institute, Columbia University* (2002).

Tejirian, Eleanor Harvey, and Reeva S. Simon, *Conflict, conquest, and conversion: two thousand years of Christian missions in the Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

Teule, Herman, "The Veneration of Images in the East Syriac Tradition," *Die Welt der Götterbilder, Berlin/New York* (2007): 324-46.

The Christian Missionary Herald. Mission to Jerusalem. Nov. 27, 1819, 68.

Theodore Roosevelt (Elting E. Morrison and others (eds.)), *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 8 vols. (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard UP, 1951-54).

Roosevelt, Theodore. Theodore Roosevelt to Senator Eugene Hale, June 27, 1906. Letter. Elting E. Morrison et al (eds.), *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 8 vols. (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard UP, 1951-54), vol. 5, 318.

Roosevelt, Theodore. Theodore Roosevelt to Whitelaw Reid, June 27, 1906. Letter. Elting E. Morrison et al (eds.), *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, 8 vols. (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard UP, 1951-54), vol. 5, 318-319.

Thomas A. Bryson, *American Diplomatic Relations with the Middle East, 1784-1975: A Survey* (New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1977).

Thomas, John L., "Romantic Reform in America, 1815-1865," *American Quarterly*, 17, (1965): 656-81.

Thompson, Joseph Parrish, *Memoirs of Rev. David Tappan Stoddard, Missionary to the Nestorians* (New York: Pudney & Russell 1858).

Tibawi, A. L., *American Interests in Syria, 1800-1901. A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966).

Tomasek, Kathryn Manson, "Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 30, no. 1 (1999): 143-145.

Tracy, Joseph, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (New York: MW Dodd, 1842).

Tsadik, Daniel, *Between Foreigners and Shi'is: Nineteenth-Century Iran and its Jewish Minority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007).

Tsadik, Daniel, "The Legal Status of Religious Minorities: Imāmī Shī'ī Law and Iran's Constitutional Revolution," *Islamic Law and Society* 10, no. 3 (2003): 376-408.

Tucker, Ruth, "Female mission strategists: a historical and contemporary perspective," *Practical Anthropology* 15, no. 1, (1987): 73-89.

Tunukābunī, Muhammad b. Sulaymān, *Qisas ul- 'Ulamā*, (Tehran, 1304 Q/1887).

Vali, Abbas, *Kurds and the State in Iran: The Making of Kurdish Identity* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011).

Van der Veer, Peter, *Imperial Encounters Religion and Modernity in India and Britain* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001).

Van Gorder, A. Christian, *Christianity in Persia and the Status of Non-Muslims in Iran* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010).

Vander Werff, Lyle L., *Christian Mission to Muslims: The Record: Anglican and Reformed Approaches in India and the Near East, 1800-1938* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1977).

Volkov, Denis V., "Rupture or Continuity? The Organizational Set-up of Russian and Soviet Oriental Studies before and after 1917," *Iranian Studies* 48, no. 5, (2015): 695-712.

Waldburger, Andreas, *Missionare und Moslems: die Basler Mission in Persien 1833-1837* (Basel: Basileia-Verlag, 1984).

Wall, John, *Moral Creativity: Paul Ricoeur and the Poetics of Possibility* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Walther, Karine, *Sacred Interests: The United States and the Islamic World, 1821-1921* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

Waterfield, Robin, *Christians in Persia: Assyrians, Armenians, Roman Catholics and Protestants* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011).

Watson, R.G., *A History of Persia from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century to the Year 1858* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1866).

Welter, Barbara, "The Feminization of American Religion: 1800-1860," in Hartman, Mary S. Lois W. Banner, Lois W. (eds.), *Clio's Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women* (New York: Harper, 1974), pp. 137-57.

Welter, Barbara, "She Hath Done What She Could: Protestant Women's Missionary Careers in Nineteenth-Century America," *American Quarterly* 30, no. 5, (1978).

Werner, Christoph, *An Iranian Town in Transition: A Social and Economic History of the Elites of Tabriz, 1747-1848*. Vol. 1. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000).

Wheeler, Sally and Thomas, Phil, "Socio-Legal Studies," in David Hayden (ed.), *Law's Future(s)* (Oxford: Hart, 2000), pp. 267-280.

White, Ann, "Counting the Cost of Faith. America's Early Female Missionaries," *Church History* 57, no. 1, (1988): 19-30.

Wilson, Samuel Graham, *Persian life and customs: with scenes and incidents of residence and travel in the land of the lion and the sun* (New York: FH Revell Company, 1895).

Wilson Stead, Blanche, "Kurdistan for Christ," *The Muslim World* 10, no. 3, (1920): 241-250.

Woodberry, Robert D., "The missionary roots of liberal democracy," *American Political Science Review* 106, no. 02 (2012): 244-274.

Wosh, Peter J., *Spreading the word: The Bible business in nineteenth-century America* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994).

Wright, Denis, "Burials and Memorials of the British in Persia," *Iran* 36, no. 1 (1998): 165-173.

Wright, Denis, *The English amongst the Persians: Imperial Lives in Nineteenth-Century Iran* (London: IB Tauris, 2001).

Wuthnow, Robert, *Boundless faith: The global outreach of American churches* (Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 2009).

Yeselson, Abraham, *United States-Persian Diplomatic Relations, 1883-1921* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1956).

Yonan of Ada, Shamasha, *Sermon in Memory of Perkins* (*Karozuta 'al Mota d-Perkins Sahab, men Shamasha Yonan d-Ada*) (Urmia, 1870).

Yonan, Gabriele, *Ein vergessener Holocaust: Die Vernichtung der christlichen Assyrier in der Türkei* (Göttingen and Vienna: Pogrom, 1989).

Young, Robert JC., *Colonial desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).

Young, Michael P., *Confessional Protest: The Religious Birth of U.S. National Social Movements*. *American Sociological Review* 67, (5), (Oct. 2002): 660-88.

Zabihi-Moghaddam, Siyamak, "Promoting the Advancement of Women: Baha'i Schools for Girls in Iran, 1909–35," *Iranian Studies* 46, no. 2 (2013): 273-305.

Zakeri, Mohsen, *Sasanid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society: The Origins of Ayyārān and Futuwwa* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995).

Zirinsky, Michael P., "Imperial Power and Dictatorship," *IJMES*, xxiv (1992): 639-63.

Zirinsky, Michael P., "Harbingers of Change: Presbyterian Women in Iran, 1883—1949," *American Presbyterians* (1992): 173-186.

Zirinsky, Michael P., "A panacea for the Ills of the country: American Presbyterian education in inter-war Iran," *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 1-2 (1993): 119-137.

Zirinsky, Michael P., "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's: American Presbyterian Educators and Reza Shah," *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3-4 (1993): 337-356.

Zirinsky, Michael P., "Onward Christian Soldiers: Presbyterian Missionaries and the Ambiguous Origins of American Relations with Iran," *Altruism and Imperialism: Western Cultural and Religious Missions in the Middle East* (2000): 236-252.

Zirinsky, Michael P., "Inculcate Tehran: Opening a Dialogue of Civilizations in the Shadow of God and the Alborz," *Iranian Studies* 44, no. 5 (2011): 657-669.

Zito, Angela. "Culture" in Morgan, David (ed.), *Keywords in Religion, Media, and Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).