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Volume 44 Number 5 September 2011

Special Issue: Alborz College

Guest Editor: Nasrin Rahimieh

Articles

Nasrin Rahimieh	*Guest Editor's Introduction*	603
Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet	*American Crosses, Persian Crescents: Religion and the Diplomacy of US–Iranian Relations, 1834–1911*	607
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)*	627
John H. Lorentz	*Educational Development in Iran: The Pivotal Role of the Mission Schools and Alborz College*	647
Michael Zirinsky	*Inculcate Tehran: Opening a Dialogue of Civilizations in the Shadow of God and the Alborz*	657
Ali Gheissari	*The American College of Tehran, 1929–32: A Memorial Album*	671
H. E. Chehabi	*Diversity at Alborz*	715
Farzin Vahdat	*Alborz High School and the Process of Rationalization in Iran*	731
Homa Katouzian	*Alborz and its Teachers*	743
Bahram Bayani	*Mohammad-Ali Mojtahedi: His Life and Work*	755
Mehdi Zarghamee	*Mojtahedi and the Founding of the Arya-Mehr University of Technology*	767
Reviews		777

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Iranian Studies, volume 44, number 5, September 2011

SPECIAL ISSUE: ALBORZ COLLEGE

Guest Editor: Nasrin Rahimieh

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

NASRIN RAHIMIEH	*Guest Editor's Introduction*	603
FIROOZEH KASHANI-SABET	*American Crosses, Persian Crescents: Religion and the Diplomacy of US–Iranian Relations, 1834–1911*	607
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)*	627
JOHN H. LORENTZ	*Educational Development in Iran: The Pivotal Role of the Mission Schools and Alborz College*	647
MICHAEL ZIRINSKY	*Inculcate Tehran: Opening a Dialogue of Civilizations in the Shadow of God and the Alborz*	657
ALI GHEISSARI	*The American College of Tehran, 1929–32: A Memorial Album*	671
H. E. CHEHABI	*Diversity at Alborz*	715
FARZIN VAHDAT	*Alborz High School and the Process of Rationalization in Iran*	731

HOMA KATOUZIAN	*Alborz and its Teachers*	743
BAHRAM BAYANI	*Mohammad-Ali Mojtahedi: His Life and Work*	755
MEHDI ZARGHAMEE	*Mojtahedi and the Founding of the Arya-Mehr University of Technology*	767

REVIEWS

SIAVUSH RANDJBAR-DAEMI	Iraj Amini, *Bar Bal-e Bohran [Flying on the Wings of Crisis]*	777
REZA ZIA-EBRAHIMI	Trita Parsi, *Treacherous Alliance: The Secret Dealings of Israel, Iran and the United States*	782
MARIANNA SHREVE SIMPSON	Lale Uluç, *Turkman Governors, Shiraz Artisans and Ottoman Collectors: Sixteenth Century Shiraz Manuscripts*	785

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Iranian Studies, volume 44, number 5, September 2011

Nasrin Rahimieh

Guest Editor's Introduction

This special issue of *Iranian Studies* has its roots in the Alborz Conference, a day-long international forum held on 10 October 2009 at the Samuel Jordan Center for Persian Studies and Culture at University of California, Irvine. The conference brought together scholars from across the globe to explore the legacy of a school for boys founded in 1899 by Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan (1871–1952) under the name of the American College of Tehran over which he presided until 1940. Jordan's efforts were part of the Presbyterian mission in Iran and were deeply rooted in his own commitment to laying the foundation of a strong modern educational system in Iran. The school was subsequently nationalized and was renamed the Alborz High School and continues to exist and operate today. Since its inception Alborz has enjoyed a remarkable reputation as Iran's foremost high school and its graduates have been among the most renowned men of erudition and scientific achievement both in and outside Iran. Particularly noteworthy in the history of the school is the smooth transition from the American to the Iranian visionaries who oversaw its development. The legacy of the American founder of the school, Samuel Jordan, was superbly preserved by his Iranian successor, Dr. Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi (1908–97), who took it upon himself to expand the school and to enhance its curriculum. It is the study of this dual legacy that informed the conference and is reflected in the essays included in this special issue.

The idea behind the international conference came from men of letters and scholars who had received their education at the Alborz High School and have retained enormous respect and love for Dr. Mojtahedi and the institution he helped fashion. Homa Katouzian, an Alborz alumnus and the editor-in-chief of *Iranian Studies*, made the link between a conference devoted to the Alborz High School and a university center dedicated to the memory of its American founder. Aware of the fact that the Samuel Jordan Center for Persian Studies and Culture had been created in 2006 with the support of an Alborz graduate, Fariborz Maseeh, Homa Katouzian suggested that the Center at University of California, Irvine would be an ideal site for such a conference.

The vision that had guided Fariborz Maseeh in the creation of a center for the study of Iranian history, literature, culture and the arts was informed by a dual desire to improve teaching, research and dissemination of knowledge about Iran and to recognize a particularly instructive chapter in the history of collaborative cultural and educational efforts between Iran and the United States. As a graduate of Alborz, Maseeh was steeped in admiration for Dr. Mojtahedi and he was curious about the history that

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predated the visionary Iranian educator's achievements. As an Iranian-American who had benefited equally from the best of the Iranian and the American educational opportunities, Maseeh found it befitting to honor the memory of the American founder of a school that exemplified Iranian and American collaboration in educational endeavors. A similar spirit informed the Alborz Conference in 2009, which set out to explore the history of the school from its earliest days to its development under Dr. Mojtahedi. Honoring the memory of the two founders of the school who drew on philanthropy to support the school, a group of Alborz alumni from across the United States generously funded the Alborz International Conference. Alborz alumni also played a significant role in naming a state-of-the-art auditorium after their school. The idea, initiated by Fariborz Maseeh, was warmly received by countless Alborz alumni who contributed to the naming of the Alborz Auditorium in close proximity to the Samuel Jordan Center for Persian Studies and Culture at University of California, Irvine, echoing the manner in which Dr. Jordan's name continues to live in the annals of modern Iranian history.

The ten essays in this special issue are divided between the two phases of the history of the American College and the Alborz High School. Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet's essay sets the stage for understanding the history of American missionaries in Iran and offers a critical analysis of their work in the broader context of religion and diplomacy. Her essay helps readers understand the vexed history of political relations between Iran and the United States. Thomas M. Ricks' essay focuses on Dr. Jordan's educational mission and his contribution to the process of modernization in Iran. Ricks provides detailed knowledge about the men and women Dr. Jordan recruited to fulfill his mission and explores the synergy between the American College's educational contribution and Iran's own transformation into a modern nation. John Lorentz continues on this theme and analyzes the American College's role in the creation of a modern educational system which would eventually also make way for women. Michael Zirinsky's essay focuses on the path the work of the American missionaries paved for a dialogue between the Iranian and the American civilizations. Delving into the specific contributions made by the school's curriculum under Dr. Jordan's leadership, he presents a personal reflection on the values with which he, as an American, was inculcated in the mission schools in Tehran. Ali Gheissari's contribution presents a treasure trove of images culled from a school album owned by his father, who, like Gheissari, attended Alborz. These rare images capture the culture of the school and the passion with which the pupils adhered to it.

The remaining five essays in this issue are devoted to the Alborz High School under Dr. Mojtahedi's directorship. Houchang Chehabi's essay is focused on the concept of diversity and its deployment at Alborz. His examination of diversity takes into account gender, ethnic, religious and racial diversity as reflected in the student body as well as among the teachers of the Alborz High School. Chehabi's analysis also focuses on the question of educational diversity in the school's curriculum. In the next contribution, Farzin Vahdat examines the curriculum's focus on scientific knowledge and a positivist approach that emphasized techno-scientific knowledge and instrumental reason. Vahdat's analysis explores the link between the school's near singular curricular

focus on science and technology and the underdevelopment and undervalorization of other types of rationality in Iran's modern educational system. Homa Katouzian's essay recalls the school's teachers, revives their memory and captures the mood of the school during the years in which he attended Alborz. In the next essay, Bahram Bayani offers a detailed biography of Dr. Mojtahedi and situates it within the context of the social and political movements of the time. In his exploration of Dr. Mojtahedi's life, Bayani engages in a critical review of existing sources on Mojtahedi's life, beliefs and values. The final essay in the special issue is by Mehdi Zarghamee and is devoted to Dr. Mojtahedi's role, beyond his contribution to the Alborz High School, in the founding of Iran's preeminent university of technology.

Perhaps there is no better manifestation of the legacy of a school dedicated to the education of young men than to have the female director of a university center named after its founder edit a special volume of this journal devoted to the study of the history and legacy of that school. Equally noteworthy is the fact that at a time of discord between Iran and the United States, there exists a vibrant scholarly exchange that looks beyond the current political impasse.

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Iranian Studies, volume 44, number 5, September 2011

Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet

American Crosses, Persian Crescents: Religion and the Diplomacy of US–Iranian Relations, 1834–1911

The American public came to know Iran through its missionaries who had lived among the Persians. For their part, Iranians grew familiar with Americans through interactions with these missionary pioneers as well. While American Presbyterians quickly established and expanded their institutional presence in the country, it became abundantly clear to them that Muslim converts to Protestantism remained few and far between. Missionary perceptions of Iranian Muslims, however, left an indelible imprint on American public understanding of Iran and its people. The paper argues that religious ideology frequently colored perceptions and influenced policy-making. Even after more than a hundred years of interaction, cultural representations were refracted through religious difference and similarity. Despite the increasingly secular cultures of Iran and America in the early twentieth century, religion remained a salient ideology for the public in both societies—one that has had a profound impact on the nature of US–Iranian relations. Thus, it is important to analyze the origins and impact of this contact beginning in the nineteenth century.

Introduction

Justin Perkins remembered with gratitude his return home from "the deep darkness of benighted Persia"—a distant land where people used "strange languages" to explain themselves. A tutor at Amherst College, Perkins assumed the task of preaching to Nestorian Christians in Iran with the enthusiasm of an adventurer. In fact, Perkins claims that "no American was ever a resident in that ancient and celebrated country before me."[1] Having lived eight years in the Persian countryside, Perkins encountered many "Mohammedans" and non-Muslims alike. Yet he confessed his discomfiture about frequenting once again the churches of America and conversing in his native tongue after a nearly nine-year absence. Never completely at ease in Iran, Perkins returned home an immigrant, alienated simultaneously from American society. Iran, it seemed, had transformed Perkins in unexpected ways.

Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet is Associate Professor of history and Director of the Middle East Center at the University of Pennsylvania.

[1]Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians* (New York, 1843), vii.

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Nearly sixty years later an Iranian traveler appeared on the shores of America just in time to pass through the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Muin al-Saltanah left the port of Anzali and embarked on his journey to Europe and America. His trip began in 1892, a year before the World's Columbian Exposition was scheduled to open in Chicago. He arrived in Russia from the Caucasus, and from there traveled to Austria, Italy, France and England before making his way to the United States.[2] His account of this voyage, written just over a century ago, however, provides a rare glimpse of American society through Iranian eyes. The world was then a much different place. It took Muin al-Saltanah nine days to reach the outskirts of New York from Liverpool, England. Stormy weather and high waves had delayed the arrival of his ship. Once in America, Muin al-Saltanah traveled down the country's East Coast and in the capital had a brief encounter with President Calvin Coolidge. While Mu'in al-Saltanah was not the first Persian traveler to the United States, his travelogue has served as an indispensable window into nineteenth-century American life as reflected in Iranian eyes.[3]

The American public first came to know Iran through its missionaries who had lived among the Persians. These Presbyterian pioneers ventured to the land of the "Lion and the Sun" seeking fresh converts from among the Nestorian Christians residing there. Perkins writes that a large community of Nestorians settled in Kurdistan and "inhabit the wildest and most inaccessible" parts of the mountains. Many subsisted on grazing pasture and flocks, while countless remained "miserably poor." Although Perkins admitted the difficulty of estimating the size of the Nestorian community, he surmised that they numbered "about one hundred and forty thousand." He remained optimistic that over time "the humble Christian population" of northwestern Iran would "quietly inherit this goodly land" as the "Muhammedan masters" gradually became "diminished by their growing corruption."[4] Perkins and Muin al-Saltanah, both adventurers, recorded their experiences as travelers in a society largely unknown to their readers. Perkins was a missionary who adhered to the superiority of his religious beliefs. Muin al-Saltanah wrote about America from his perspective as a Persian notable. The travelogues of these individuals divulge a natural curiosity about a country distinct from their own. Yet they also pinpoint the reasons why contact between the two countries expanded in the nineteenth century: religious conversion, imperial grandeur and commerce.[5]

[2] Hajj Mirza Muhammad Ali Mu'in al-Saltanah, *Safarnamah-i Shikagaw: Khatirat-i Hajj Mirza Muhammad Ali Mu'in al-Saltanah bih Urupa va Amrika, 1310 AH*, ed. by Homayun Shahidi (Tehran, 1363/1984).

[3] Mirza Muhammad Ali Mahallati, better known as Hajji Sayyah, is credited with being the first Iranian to travel around the world. He visited the United States and eventually became a naturalized US citizen. For more on this story, see Ali Ferdowsi, "Hajj Sayyah," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online version: http://www.iranica.com.

[4] Perkins, *A Residence in Persia*, 10–11.

[5] For more on this subject, see my article, "Manifest Destinies: A History of US–Iranian Relations, 1796–1925," forthcoming.

Both practical and historiographical concerns have guided the decision to pursue this study. Recent works have illuminated readers about the origins of America's involvement in the Middle East. With a few exceptions, however, the majority of this literature relies on American documentation rather than on Middle Eastern sources.[6] The present study contributes to this corpus by introducing new sources and offering a different panorama through its examination of America's experiences of a predominantly non-Arab Muslim country, a society that continues to baffle and to test policy makers. America's relationship with the Islamic world has been deeply affected at least twice by Iran's recent political history: the Musaddiq crisis of 1953 and the Islamic Revolution of 1979. The early chapter of this relationship has yet to be explored in the available historiography, perhaps because at the dawn of the twentieth century America's relationship with Iran could hardly be characterized as antagonistic.[7] Yet early American writings on Islam and Iran—often based on European sources—described a confused, benighted religion, one ill-suited to modern life.[8] The first American envoys to Iran frequently relied upon missionary letters to learn about the country, and at times they internalized similar views of Iran's predominant religion—Islam. Historians must consider the genesis of America's relationship with Iran to understand the role of religion in the diplomacy of US–Iranian relations. This article assesses the Presbyterian missionary encounter in Iran from its origins until the end of the constitutional period and argues that religion remained an important factor in the evolution of US–Iranian diplomacy. Second, it emphasizes that the missionary experience, while formative, informed but one facet of this relationship and one that would wane significantly in the interwar era. Instead, other modes of cultural,

[6] Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interest in the Middle East, 1945–2000* (Berkeley, CA, 2001); Douglas Little *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East since 1945* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2002); Bruce Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon: The Ancient Near East and American Intellectual Life 1880–1930* (Princeton, NJ, 1996); Bernard Lewis, *What Went Wrong? The Clash Between Islam and Modernity in the Middle East* (New York, 2002); Rashid Khalidi, *Western Footprints and America's Perilous Path in the Middle East* (Boston, 2004); Fawaz A. Gerges, *America and Political Islam: Clash of Cultures or Clash of Interests?* (Cambridge, 1999), Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca, NY, 2008); Heather Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt: Missionary Encounters in an Age of Empire* (Princeton, NJ, 2008). The works of Makdisi and Sharkey investigate American involvement in the Middle East principally through the role of evangelicals charged with the task of conversion. Both historians are interested in the ways in which evangelicals addressed America's imperial ambitions. Also, Thomas Kidd, *American Christians and Islam: Evangelical Culture and Muslims from the Colonial Period to the Age of Terrorism* (Princeton, NJ, 2008); and Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810–1927* (Minneapolis, MN, 1971).

[7] Ali Pasha Saleh, *Cultural Ties Between Iran and the United States* (1976); Abraham Yeselson, *United States–Persian Diplomatic Relations, 1883–1921* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1956).

[8] Timothy Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism* (New York, 2006); Umar F. Abd-Allah, *A Muslim in Victorian America: The Life of Alexander Russell Webb* (New York, 2006); F. Kashani-Sabet, "From 'Mahomet' to the 'Moslem Sunrise': Early American Expressions of Islam," forthcoming; and Kambiz Ghaneabassiri, *A History of Islam in America: From the New World to the New World Order* (Cambridge, 2010).

economic, and political contact, which also emerged in the nineteenth century, would gain ascendancy.[9]

Iran's Religious Landscape

When Perkins arrived in Iran, he encountered a society in flux. A country steeped in Islamic tradition, and yet vaunting its glorious past as the birthplace of Zoroaster, Qajar Iran grappled with this mixed religious and cultural legacy. The country also accommodated other monotheistic faiths—Judaism and Christianity—within its borders as both religious communities had a long-standing presence in Iran.[10] Installed in 1796, the Qajar dynasty looked to the Shi'i 'ulama for political legitimacy. In the late eighteenth century the Shi'i establishment had itself undergone transformations. Strengthened doctrinally by the Usuli victory, which gave primacy to Shi'i jurists in the interpretation of religious law, Iran's Shi'i authorities began rebuilding their foundation with Qajar patronage. Yet the Russo-Persian wars ending in 1828, and the resulting capitulatory privileges that Russia gained, showed the inability of the shah to thwart the economic penetration of the country by foreign (and predominantly Christian) imperial foes. While it would be simplistic (and erroneous) to reduce the Russo-Persian wars to a battle between Islam and Christianity, it would be equally careless to dismiss the impact of the war on sectarian relations in early nineteenth-century Iran.

Religious tensions, arising out of warfare and territorial squabbles, marked the reigns of the two Qajar monarchs who inaugurated the nineteenth century. Fath Ali Shah Qajar—a dynast remembered as much for the size of his harem as for the length of his beard—challenged Russian imperialist ambitions in neighboring lands. The Russo-Persian wars, begun in 1804, arose over control of the Caucasus. While the founder of Iran's Qajar dynasty, Aqa Muhammad Khan, established himself as an able military commander who had thwarted Catherine the Great's ambitions in the Caucasus, his successors presided over the territorial diminution of the country. In 1828, the Treaty of Turkmanchay concluding the Russo-Persian wars not only insured Russian control of the Caucasus, it imposed a hefty indemnity on the country and gave Russia capitulatory privileges. Thereafter, Russia protected the interests of Orthodox Christians in Iran. In 1829, a year after the conclusion of the Russo-Persian war, Aleksandr Griboyedov, the Russian envoy sent to carry out the terms of the Turkmanchay Treaty, was murdered by a "fanatical" mob claiming that conversion of Muslim women was being forcibly carried out.[11] Complicated

[9]For more on this subject, see my essay, "The Portals of Persepolis: The Cultural Dimensions of US–Iranian Relations, 1882–1925," online version: *New Horizons*, Middle East Center, University of Pennsylvania. Elements of this research have been presented at several public venues, including in 2004 and 2006 (University of Pennsylvania), 2008 (Columbia University) and 2010 (University of Maryland).

[10]Hasan B. Dehqani-Tafti, *Masih and Masihiyat nazd-i Iraniyan* (London, 1992–94); Habib Levy, *Comprehensive History of the Jews of Iran: The Outset of the Diaspora*; ed. and abridged by Hooshang Ebrami; trans. from Persian by George W. Maschke (Costa Mesa, CA, 1999). Also, Ahmad Mansoori, "American Missionaries in Iran, 1834–1934" (PhD diss., Ball State University, 1986), 24–42.

[11]Laurence Kelly, *Diplomacy and Murder in Tehran: Alexander Griboyedov and Imperial Russia's Mission to the Shah of Persia* (London, 2006). For accounts of the Russo-Persian Wars, see Muriel

and politicized, these newly established relationships heightened religious tensions between Christians and Muslims in Iran.

In 1834, when the Presbyterian mission opened its first station in Azerbaijan, a new monarch had ascended the Persian throne. Muhammad Shah, who had relied upon the support of the Russian and British to assert his kingship, advanced cultural contacts with the West. Students traveled to Europe with increased frequency, but America remained a more distant land. Under the auspices of the American Board of Missions, the Reverend Justin Perkins and Dr. Asahel Grant founded a station in Urumiya in 1834 for the Nestorian community there.[12] Considering the provocative charge of American missionaries to convert Iranian subjects to Protestantism, it is perhaps surprising that Christian missionaries enjoyed a relatively peaceful co-existence among Iranian Muslims throughout much of the nineteenth century. However, they did occasionally fall prey to violence. This tension was not unique to American visitors of the nineteenth century.[13]

Christian missionary activity in Iran had its roots in the early modern era going back to 1747 when two Moravian preachers journeyed through eastern Persia in search of converts. Shah Abbas granted permission to Carmelites to establish schools in Isfahan.[14] In the nineteenth century, Christian evangelism throughout Iran became more frequent. In 1811, Henry Martyn of the Church Missionary Society and Chaplain of the East India Company visited Iran and eventually translated the New Testament and the Psalms into Persian. During his stay in Shiraz, Martyn became "the town talk" and even engaged the chief mujtahid of the city, Mirza Ibrahim, in debates about the authenticity of Islam.[15] Martyn's visit spurred interesting refutations from Shi'i jurists who were asserting their newfound authority not only

Atkin, *Russia and Iran, 1780–1828* (Minneapolis, 1980). For a Persian account, see Jahangir Mirza, *Tarikh-i Naw*, ed. by 'A. Iqbal (Tehran, 1949).

[12]Isaac Malek Yonan, *Persian Women* (Nashville, TN, 1898), 148–50. For a recent account, see Badi Badiozamani, *Iran and America: Rekindling a Love Lost* (California, 2005).

[13]These important studies shed light on the Iranian–American encounter: James A. Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion: The Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations* (New Haven, CT, 1989); Badiozamani, *Iran and America*; Mohammad Gholi Majd, *Oil and the Killing of the American Consul in Tehran* (Lanham, MD, 2006); Mansour Bonakdarian, "U.S.–Iranian Relations, 1911–1950," http://128.36.236.77/workpaper/pdfs/MESV3-2.pdf; Kenneth Pollack, *The Persian Puzzle: The Conflict Between Iran and America* (2004); Michael Zirinsky, "A Panacea for the Ills of the Country: American Presbyterian Education in Inter-war Iran," *Iranian Studies*, 26, no. 1 (1993), 119–37; Thomas Ricks, "Power Politics and Political Culture: US–Iran Relations," in *Iran: Political Culture in the Islamic Republic*, ed. by Samih Farsoun and Mehrdad Mashayekhi (London, 1992). Matthew Mark Davis, "Evangelizing the Orient: American Missionaries in Iran, 1890–1940" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2001); Ali Mujani, *Barrisi-i Munasibat-i Iran va Imrika az Sal-i 1851–1951* (Tehran, 1375/1996). Older studies include the following: Yeselson, *United States–Persian Diplomatic Relations*; Saleh, *Cultural Ties Between Iran and the United States*; Kermit Roosevelt, *Countercoup: The Struggle for the Control of Iran* (New York, 1979); Ahmad Mansoori, "American Missionaries in Iran, 1834–1934" (PhD diss., Ball State University 1986).

[14]Yahya Armajani, "Christian Missions," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online version: http://www.iranica.com/articles/christianity-viii.

[15]John Sargent, *A Memoir of the Rev. Henry Martyn* (London, 1819), 383, 378.

in the context of the Usuli victory, but face-to-face with an unfamiliar Western evangelical zeal.[16] Encounters between Henry Martyn and Persian natives gave voice to the murmurings of sectarian divide in Iran, for Martyn embodied the dual image of the missionary as a man of religion and an agent of empire.[17]

To complete his Bible translation into Persian, Martyn enlisted the help of Mirza Sayyid Ali, the brother-in-law of his host. In fact, Martyn's memoirs record fascinating exchanges between the two men about the Gospel and the Qur'an. Although Martyn expressed optimism that Christianity might become the dominant religion in Iran, Sayyid Ali, "Having just read his uncle's work ... argued with me violently in favour of Mahometanism, and said, among other things, 'that the Mahometans would not pay the smallest attention to what we called the Gospel, as it was not the word of Christ, but his disciples.'"[18] These conversations not only revealed the dearth of information on Christianity available to local inhabitants, but they also exposed Martyn's views of Islam. Martyn's translation effort undoubtedly put Iran's Shi'i authorities on the defensive, but Shi'i unease did not delay the printing of the Persian New Testament. In comparison, while Persian Qur'ans existed in manuscript form, they were not easily distributed.[19] When Sir Gore Ouseley, British Ambassador to Persia, first presented Martyn's translation to Fath Ali Shah Qajar (r. 1797–1834), the king expressed approval of the work.[20] In fact, the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine and Religious Intelligencer* printed a copy of the royal letter in April 1815, in which the shah "honored with his 'royal favor' those individuals 'engaged in disseminating and making known the true meaning and intent of the Holy Gospel.'"[21]

[16]For a detailed discussion of Shi 'i refutations of Martyn, see Abbas Amanat, "Mujtahids and Missionaries: Shi'i Responses to Christian Polemics in the Early Qajar Period," in *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran*, ed Robert Gleave (London and New York, 2005), 247–69.

[17]For more on this idea in general—though not in specific reference to Martyn—see Andrew N. Porter, *Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914* (Manchester, 2004).

[18]Sargent, *Memoir*, 392.

[19]Walter J. Fischel, "The Bible in Persian Translation: A Contribution to the History of the Bible Translations in Persia and India," *The Harvard Theological Review*, 45, no. 1. (Jan. 1952): 21. Also Nabia Abbott, "Arabic-Persian Koran of the Late Fifteenth or Early Sixteenth Century," *Ars Islamica*, 6, no. 1 (1939): 91–94.

[20]"A LATE LONDON PAPER. (1815, March 30). THEOLOGY: RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE Communication from the King of Persia to the British and Foreign Bible Society relative to the late Rev. H. Martyn's translation of the New-Testament into Persian From his excellency Sir Gore Ousley, Bart. Ambassador Extraordinary from his Britannic majesty to the Court of Persia, addressed to the Right Hon. Lord Teignmouth, President of the British and Foreign Bible Society Translation of his Persian Majesty's letter, referred to in the preceding In the name of the Almighty God, whose glory is most excellent Concert of Prayer. The Weekly Recorder; a Newspaper Conveying Important Intelligence and Other Useful Matter Under the Three General Heads of Theology, Literature, and National Affairs (1814–1821), 303. Retrieved September 6, 2009, from American Periodicals Series Online." (Document ID: 1394979122).

[21]"PATEH [sic] ALI SHAH KAJAR . (1815, April). Article 2—No Title. *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine and Religious Intelligencer* (1808–15), 8(4), 156 . Retrieved September 6, 2009, from American Periodicals Series Online." (Document ID: 532592582).

Martyn became something of a celebrity after his departure from Iran. Though he died shortly thereafter in 1812, he would be remembered in the annals of missionary history.[22] In Iran, his translation work prompted a genre of Shi'i refutations of Christianity.[23] American Presbyterians also took an interest in him. Martyn's memoir was published in Philadelphia and Boston in 1832 shortly before the arrival of Justin Perkins in Iran.[24]

Several Persian translations of the Bible existed in Iran and antedated the arrival of Christian missions to the country. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Iranian kings Shah Abbas I (r. 1587–1629) and Nadir Shah (r. 1734–47) had ordered the translation of the Bible into Persian. Prior to that time, private individuals had translated various books of the Bible into Persian, but there had been no official interest in this genre of literature until the Safavid era. The impetus for this move came largely from the expansion of trade between Iran and the West during the reign of Shah Abbas, and the concomitant arrival of Christian communities of Jesuits, Carmelites, and others to Iran.[25]

Given the low rates of literacy in Iran in the early nineteenth century, the printing of the Persian Bible was less threatening to Persian authorities because of the purported access it gave the public to Christian scriptures. However, tensions seemed to mount as the circulation of the Gospel became more frequent. In 1838, four years after Perkins' arrival, *The Missionary Register* reported that "In Persia, the circulation of the Scriptures encountered, in the last year, great opposition on the part of the priests. The Missionaries at Tebriz, and the persons employed to sell the books, were exposed to great danger from the irritated people."[26] What seems to have sparked that particular reaction from the Shi'i scholars was the production of a treatise in Persian comparing the Qur'an with the Gospels.[27]

[22]There are numerous biographies of Martyn and several centers dedicated to him: George Smith, *Henry Martyn: Saint and Scholar, First Modern Missionary to the Mohammedans* (1892); David Bentley-Taylor, *My Love Must Wait: The Story of Henry Martyn* (1975); J.C. Martyn, *Henry Martyn (1781–1812), Scholar and Missionary to India and Persia: A Biography. Volume 16 of Studies in the History of Missions* (Indiana, 1999). See also the Henry Martyn Centre for the Study of Mission and World Christianity: http://www.martynmission.cam.ac.uk/; and the Henry Martyn Institute for Research, Interfaith Relations, and Reconciliation: http://www.hmiindia.com/.

[23]Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran: The Role of Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley, CA, 1969); Amanat, "Mujtahids and Missionaries," 247–69.

[24]John Sargent, *A Memoir of the Rev. Henry* (Boston, 1832). Before the arrival of the Americans, missionaries from the Basle Missionary Society and the Scottish Missionary society also settled in Iran for a time. Dr. William Glen, affiliated with the latter society, succeeded in translating the Old Testament into Persian. In 1876, Isfahan became a permanent base for the British Church Missionary Society. For more, see Reverend S. G. Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs: With Scenes and Incidents of Residence and Travel in the Land of the Lion and the Sun* (New York, 1900). Timothy Marr also notes the popularity of Martyn among American missionaries: see T. Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism* (Cambridge, 2007), 120.

[25]Fischel, "The Bible in Persian Translation," 25.

[26]*The Missionary Register*, vol. 25 (1838), 84.

[27]*The Missionary Register*, vol. 25 (1838), 84.

Rooted in religious difference—and often expressed in ways that pitted Islam against Christianity—American Presbyterian writings on Iran often reinforced the depiction of Muslims as benighted, oppressive and misguided. Some of this criticism has merit. Gender inequities, religious obscurantism and political authoritarianism existed in Qajar society. But were these social injustices a direct result of Iran's predominantly "Moslem" character, as some missionaries intimated?[28]

Conversion to Christianity challenged the Islamic mores of the country. Religious tension, however, did not always typify interactions between the Shi'i ulama and the American missionaries. Perkins described with curiosity and good humor his invitation to a Muslim wedding ceremony during his sojourn in Iran. As he recognized, "The fact of our being admitted to a Muhammedan wedding is so novel."[29] He went on to express his appreciation for being included in the Muslim wedding ceremony: "As Christian missionaries, too, we rejoiced that the Lord gives us such favor in the eyes of these Muhammedans, as to be invited to their highest circles and to sit socially with their most venerated Moollahs."[30] Perkins hoped that this gesture signaled a lessening of Muslim prejudice and a possibility that the "followers of the False Prophet" might actually welcome the missionaries' message of "salvation." Perkins may have waxed optimistic about the Persian zeal for Protestantism, yet he was right to show the geniality that also resulted from this contact. In an effort to engage better with the local inhabitants, Perkins even tried to learn Turkish and Persian.[31]

Reverend Bruce of the Church Missionary Society received a similarly warm reception in Isfahan. The Church Missionary Society, founded in England in 1799, sought to appeal to Christian Persians. In 1869, Reverend Bruce embarked on this trip in part to revise Martyn's Persian translation of the Bible. His visit overlapped with the devastating famine and cholera epidemic of 1870–71.[32]

Yet Christians rarely enjoyed the same privileges as Muslims in Iran. The position of the country's Christians as protected People of the Book (*ahl al-kitab*) relegated them to second-class status. That Islam grew out of the Judeo-Christian tradition made it incumbent on Muslims to recognize and respect the monotheistic faiths preceding it, even as Islam asserted its superiority and dominance. Although in Isfahan, Tabriz, Rasht and other cities Iranian Muslims co-existed with Christian missionaries, Jews, Zoroastrians and Babis, they fulfilled their Islamic obligations and upheld annual

[28]For more on this subject, see my essay, "From 'Mahomet' to the 'Moslem Sunrise.'"
[29]Perkins, *A Residence in Persia*, 268.
[30]Perkins, *A Residence in Persia*, 270.
[31]Perkins, *A Residence in Persia*, 388.
[32]Armajani, "Christian Missions in Persia." See also *Missionary Review of the World*, 21: 737–739. Also, Heidi A. Walcher, *In the Shadow of the King: Zill al-Sultan and Isfahan under the Qajars* (London, 2008); Gulnar Eleanor Francis-Dehqani, "CMS Women Missionaries in Iran, 1891–1934: Attitudes Toward Islam and Modern Women," in *Women, Religion, and Culture in Iran*, ed. by Sarah F. D. Ansari and Vanessa Martin (2002): 27–50.

Shi'i ceremonies such as the ta'ziyah to mark the martyrdom of Imam Husayn during 'Ashura.[33]

"Mount Holyoke in Persia"

In 1836, the first mission school began operating in a cellar with seven boys comprising the class. Two years later, in 1838, a school was opened for girls with only four students.[34] Initiating schools for Nestorian girls proved a challenge. Fidelia Fiske, recruited by Perkins from Mount Holyoke, spearheaded the effort to start a boarding school for girls. Mar Yohanan, a bishop of the Nestorian church who lived with Perkins for a time, brought from his family girls willing to join the new boarding school. Upon delivering the girls to Fiske, Mar Yohanan is remembered as saying, "Now you begin Mount Holyoke in Persia."[35]

The Presbyterian mission expanded its institutional presence in Iran during the nineteenth century. New stations appeared in Tehran (1872), Tabriz (1873) and Hamadan (1880). The distance between these stations and the differences of local languages brought about a split in the mission and a division between the West and East Persia Missions.[36] In fact, one Persian newspaper even discussed the expanding influence of American missionaries in Iran from its origins in Urumiyah to the establishment of stations in other provinces. The article was written in 1882, the year in which America dispatched its first minister—Samuel Greene Wheeler Benjamin—to Iran to represent the interests of the United States and of the American missionaries who had hitherto been under the protection of the British legation in Iran.[37] In 1878, the American Presbyterians also initiated medical missions to Iran and launched the first such program in Urumiyah. Medical missions opened in Tabriz and Tehran two years later, and female physicians eventually joined the mission medical staff. Medical missionaries had to grapple with the Islamic injunctions on ritual purity and cleanness and confront popular attitudes among Iranian Muslims of the "uncleanness of the native or foreign Christian."[38]

[33]*Farhang*, 18 December 1879, 1. See same issue, p. 2 for news about the construction of a new mosque in Isfahan. Also, for more on *rawzah khani* during the Shi'i holy month of Safar a few years later, see *Farhang*, 27 December 1883, 1.
[34]William Guest, *Fidelia Fiske* (1870), 43.
[35]Guest, *Fidelia Fiske*, 46.
[36]*Annual report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America*, no. 85 (1922): 374.
[37]*Farhang*, no. 172, 12 October 1882, 3–4.
[38]Julius Richter, *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East* (1910), 320–21. Also see Robert Ellliott Speer, *The Hakim Sahib, the Foreign Doctor: A Biography of Joseph Plumb Cochran* (1911) for more on the medical work of American Presbyterians in Iran. On ideas of hygiene and cleanness in Iran during the nineteenth century, see Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, "Hallmarks of Humanism: Hygiene and Love of Homeland in Qajar Iran," *American History Review* (October 2000), 1171–1203.

American missionaries wrote home about the new society they had uncovered, and these reports did not always spew forth Orientalist fantasies but at times dealt with the very real challenges everyday Iranians faced in the nineteenth century. In 1872, fifty-three citizens of Ohio signed a petition presented to Congress urging it to send contributions to help alleviate the suffering of famine victims in Iran.[39] During another episode of famine in northwestern Persia, both the *Chicago Daily Tribune* and the *Washington Post* published a journal entry by a Nestorian Christian named Siyad that attested to the daily suffering and dire conditions of the inhabitants of Urumiya.[40]

The institutional work of the Presbyterian missionaries continued throughout the nineteenth century despite facing resistance from officials and local residents alike. In the 1880s, Nasir al-Din Shah was informed that Muslims had attended religious meetings held at the premises of the Presbyterian mission in Tehran. An order was subsequently delivered restricting Muslims from attending such religious services. In the aftermath of this episode, the mission itself recommended that it was not "wise to open schools for Mussulmans at the present time."[41] The tensions seem to have subsided somewhat a decade later when Robert Elliott Speer, one of the leading members of the Presbyterian mission who had visited Iran, reported that "at times the majority of boys at the Teheran Boys' School are Moslems, many of them sons of officials."[42] It is important to note that Muslim communities were not the only religious group in Iran to harbor distrust of the missionary enterprise. Writing in 1910, Julius Richter, who had studied missionary movements, noted that although schools geared at Armenians and Jews opened in Hamadan, they were "maintained in spite of the strong opposition of the Armenian bishop and the Jewish rabbis."[43] In short, some Iranians might have been willing to attend Protestant educational and medical facilities, but many did so without abandoning their original religious identity.

Sectarian Tensions

Protestant efforts to proselytize Persians took place in various regions. Islamic law considers Muslim conversion to Christianity—or any other faith—as apostasy.

[39]Serial Set Volume No. 1526, Vol. 3, 42nd Congress, 2nd Session, "Famine in Persia," 10 April 1872.
[40]Mrs. H.M. Humphrey, "Horrors of Famine: Fearful Street-Scenes in the City of Oroomiah, Persia. Starvation, Despair, and Death on Every Hand - Three Thousand Persons Already Perished. American Missionaries the Only Hope of the Sufferers - An Appeal to the Benevolence of Chicago. Journal Written by Siyad, a Nestorian Christian, and Translated by Mrs. Brea", *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 26 July 1880. Retrieved 20 May 2011, from ProQuest Historical Newspapers *Chicago Tribune* (1849–1987), Document ID: 587783762. "Horrors of Famine: The Terrible Sufferings of Famishing Persians," *The Washington Post*, 31 July 1880, 2.
[41]Richter, *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East*, 318.
[42]Robert Elliott Speer, *Presbyterian Foreign Missions: An Account of the Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.* (1901), 227.
[43]Richter, *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East*, 319.

The threat of death associated with apostasy made the mission's task of religious conversion difficult. Yet in 1878 the Annual Report of the Board of Missions stated that there "has been, on the whole, a fair degree of religious toleration. Even Moslems are more accessible than in most Mohammedan countries."[44] Still, local distrust of the foreigner and the unfamiliar at times complicated the task of the Presbyterian missionaries. In April 1878, two boys in training traveled from the Tehran Station to Qazvin in the hopes of spreading the gospel. By early June, they reported that the Muslims had stopped meeting them out of fear. Later that month, the boys wrote back to say that "an Ispahan Mollah complained of us to the officers and said, 'These Armenians who have come here in the midst of the Moslems, have sold many books, and wherever we look in the bazaar they are reading these books, so that the reading of Moslem books is completely stopped.'"[45] When the boys appeared before the prince, it was discovered that the missionaries were feared to be Babis. Having uncovered the mistake, the Persian authority then allowed the Christians to continue selling their books. This incident revealed the acute tensions that existed between the Shi'i and Babi communities of Qazvin more than two decades after the movement's figurehead, Mirza Muhammad Shirazi, had been assassinated by the order of Nasir al-Din Shah.[46] Babism was an offshoot of Shi'ism. It suggested further that for the Iranian 'ulama Babism posed a more serious threat than Christianity precisely because the Babis had likely experienced more success in converting Shi'is than did the Presbyterians. Qazvin was reported as having a population of several thousand Babis at the turn of the twentieth century.[47] Still, it is unsurprising that Shi'i leaders would try to monitor the activities of Christian missionaries and Babis at the same time as both were proselytizing religions viewed as threatening Islam's message and dominance.[48]

Although American Presbyterians quickly established themselves in the country, it became abundantly clear to them that Muslim converts to Protestantism remained few and far between. In fact, the martyrdom of a Muslim convert became a cause célèbre for the Presbyterian mission in the late nineteenth century. The man, Mirza Ibrahim, had attended a service in Khoi and after a time had asked for baptism.[49] Reverend Samuel Wilson of the American Presbyterian mission recounts the "cele-

[44]*Annual report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, in the United States of America*, 41–46 (1878): 38.
[45]PHS, Board of Foreign Mission Correspondence, r. 271, MF, 10 F, 761a, p. 1.
[46]Nikki Keddie, *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution* (New Haven, CT, 2006), 44–48 for a summary of this affair.
[47]PHS, Board of Foreign Mission Correspondence, r. 271, MF, 10 F, 761a, p. 2.
[48]During the Iranian constitutional revolution of 1906, the Persian community of Bombay founded a society called the *Dawat al-Islam* (the Call to Islam) and an accompanying periodical. One issue of this newspaper discussed the publication of a work by Mullah Habib Allah Kashani which rejected Babism. The author of the essay also implored the 'ulama to continue discrediting Babism from their pulpits. *Dawat al-Islam*, no. 15, First Year, (1906–07).
[49]"For Young People, Ibrahim The Persian Martyr," *The Missionary Herald* (Feb. 1894): 90. Accessed via American Periodicals Series Online (APS) at http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:2151/login?COPT=REJTPTE0NGQmSU5UPTAmVkVSPTI=&clientId=3748.

brated case" of this Mirza Ibrahim, who had dared to switch religious allegiance from Islam to Christianity. Baptized in northwestern Iran, Mirza Ibrahim was apparently arrested while relaying his experiences of conversion. For his apostasy, Mirza Ibrahim was not only estranged from his family, but beaten and imprisoned on the order of the governor of Azerbaijan, and eventually killed.[50]

Violence against missionaries occurred sporadically. In May 1890, a young Armenian assailant named Minas stabbed Shushan Wright, a Persian Nestorian and wife of American missionary Reverend John Wright. The motive for the attack remained unclear, but medical attendants quickly discovered that the wound had caused Mrs. Wright to miscarry a well-formed male fetus. The trial of Minas revealed not just national and sectarian tensions, but also the rifts between the Armenian and Nestorian Christian communities of northwestern Iran. During the trial, for example, Minas speculated that the witnesses speaking on behalf of the plaintiff, Reverend Wright, "are in the service of Americans and receive wages varying from 6 to 15 tomans a month, and for the reason that they are servants they are obliged to say and do whatever the gentlemen tell them."[51] Minas went on to say in his defense that since he had allegedly confessed to the murder in prison before the other "Mohammedan" prisoners, they would have come forth at the trial to speak out against him. The British consul noted that even if Minas had "not confessed by word of mouth," he had "confessed in writing."[52] Minas disagreed, claiming that the "writing" was not his. In the end, the court sentenced him to life in prison, a verdict opposed by the American Legation, which had called for Minas' execution.

There may be a kernel of truth to the assertion that missionaries at times served as agents of imperialism. This possibility appears in a close study of another sensational affair that cost an American missionary and his servant their lives more than a decade later. On 9 March 1904 Benjamin Labaree was killed by Sayyid Jaffar, a member of the Dasht Kurds. The murder of Reverend Labaree—an episode almost forgotten in contemporary works on modern Iran—stands out as an example of sectarian strife, highlighting the occasional mistrust of the local inhabitants in Urumia (northwestern Iran) toward the missionaries residing in their midst. The Labaree murder should be studied in the context of heightened tensions between Christian missionaries and the Islamic communities of Urumia, but also seen in light of the political instability of frontier life, particularly on the eve of the constitutional revolution.[53]

Seeking to identify a motive, Dr. Joseph Cochran of the American Presbyterian mission in northwest Iran pieced together the background to the Labaree murder shortly after the incident. As he confirms,

[50]Reverend S. G. Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs: With Scenes and Incidents of Residence and Travel in the Land of the Lion and the Sun* (New York, 1900), 300–01.

[51]Foreign Relations & the United States (FRUS): Persia, 1890–91, 682. Retrieved from http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS

[52]*FRUS*, 1890–91, 683.

[53]For a complementary account of this episode, see Davis, "Evangelizing the Orient,"125–71.

> The sources of our information are the Christians who reside among the Kurds and who know pretty well all that they do whether they dare tell or not; and one Kurd who is a relative of one of the 14 men who made up the party of robber that went to Salmas and probably beyond.[54]

In two informative letters to Richmond Pearson, the American Minister in Tehran, Cochran averred that "this terrible murder and robbery was committed by Sayid Jaffar and three other men from the Dasht Kurds."[55] Sayyid Jaffar had apparently already been implicated in a previous murder of a Syrian British subject. Since the incident, the Dasht Kurds who "have killed and burned and robbed the Christians of Tergawar ... have harbored Sayid Jaffar and now they have been a party to the murder of Mr. Labaree and his servant."[56] Dr. Cochran hoped that these killings would impel the Persian government to "thoroughly punishing these Kurds." Cochran even suggested that after punishing the perpetrator and returning the stolen booty to the Christians, the Persian government might consider holding some of the "chief men" as hostages.[57]

While the details surrounding the Labaree murder remained muddled for months, new developments pointed to a more "satisfactory" resolution of the case. Toward the end of November 1904, Richmond Pearson demanded from the Iranian government the payment of an indemnity and a prompt reply from the Persians about whether they would accept America's demands. Within fifteen days, the Iranian government agreed to pay an indemnity that was reduced from $50,000 to $30,000, which the American Legation received in hand within the required thirty days. Labaree's murderer was captured and jailed for life, while a special commissioner received orders from the shah "to capture the accomplices, dead or alive."[58] Although for expediency the amount of the indemnity was reduced, it was "still three times greater than the maximum ever heretofore paid by the Persian Government for the murder of a private person."[59] The original memorandum outlining the demands of the United States specified, moreover, that Iran would be subject to paying the additional $20,000 of indemnity in the event that the main murderer, Mir Ghaffar, escaped or if his accomplices were not captured by 1906.[60]

Labaree's widow objected to the large size of the indemnity arguing that the "blood money," so to speak, was "too large in proportion to indemnities paid under similar circumstances by the Chinese Government, and too large in proportion to the prevail-

[54]RG 59, Dr. Cochran to Mr Pearson, 18 March 1904, p. 1. For the earlier correspondence, see RG 59, 14 March 1904, Dr. Cochran to Mr. Pearson, 14 March 1904. The citation here comes from the document dated 18 March 1904.

[55]Cochran to Pearson, 18 March 1904, 1

[56]Cochran to Pearson, 18 March 1904, 3.

[57]Cochran to Pearson, 18 March 1904.

[58]United States Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, with the Annual Message of the President Transmitted to Congress December 5, 1905*, Pearson to Secretary of State, p. 722. Accessed online.

[59]US Department of State, Pearson to Secretary of State, 723.

[60]US Department of State, Pearson to Secretary of State, 723.

ing customs and ideas of this country."[61] Mrs. Labaree lamented the manner in which the Persian government raised such funds as "cruel" and "unjust."[62] Despite the brouhaha over the Labaree murder, missionary activism progressed in other regions of the country. In 1904, a new school was opened in Rasht with the hopes of raising "native workers who shall be home missionaries to their own land and people," even as American Presbyterians acknowledged the particular challenges of missionary work in Iran. While the murders of Shushan Wright and Benjamin Labaree demonstrated the anxieties and cultural rifts among different sectarian communities and ethnic groups, they did not impede the Persian and American governments from strengthening their newly established diplomatic ties. Missionary activity continued, and it was estimated that between 1880 and 1895 approximately "60,000 Scriptures were issued in the field."[63] By 1906, a missionary publication regarded the progress made by the evangelists in a positive light: "Every convert from Islam may be put to death, is the Mohammedan law; yet it is rarely enforced in Persia. There have been a number of converts who, in the face of the death penalty, have witnessed for Christ."[64] Yet in reality the number of converts remained minute despite the active efforts to spread not only the Bible, but also the Christian message to Iranians. In Iran, American missionaries numbered less than one hundred in 1893 out of a population of approximately nine million.[65]

Some Qajar officials reacted to the proselytizing activities of missionaries in an unofficial capacity. In 1900, the governor of Kerman, Amir Nezam, prohibited local residents from attending the classes led by Reverend A. R. Blackett, a priest of the Church Missionary Society. According to the report, the "riff-raff" ("*mardum-e bi sar-o-pa*") participated in Sunday classes that included singing and prayers. However, it was later determined that Persian governors could not issue such orders, and an apology was tendered to the priest.[66] Yet Blackett remained under suspicion by others in Iran who objected to his distribution of pamphlets rejecting Islam (*kitabchah dar radd-i Islam*).[67] Although Blackett was not an American missionary, it is nonetheless significant that local residents in certain provinces monitored and countered missionary efforts to undermine Islam.

[61] US Department of State, Pearson to Secretary of State, 724.
[62] US Department of State, Pearson to Secretary of State, 725.
[63] *The Missionary Review of the World*, 28 (1905): 910. For another source on Bible distribution in Iran during this period, see *Bible Society Record*, 53 (1908), 73.
[64] *The Missionary Review of the World*, 29 (1906): 867.
[65] *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, in the United States of America*, Volumes 56–60 (1893), 149. According to this source: "The single station of Oroomiah, which constituted the whole Mission twenty-five years ago, with its little band of missionaries, four clerical and one medical, has been expanded into six well-manned stations ... Including the women the whole missionary staff has increased from eleven to fifty-nine persons, among whom are four lady physicians." J. Bharier lists the population of Iran at 9.86 million for 1900. Julian Bharier, *Economic Development in Iran, 1900–1970* (New York, 1971), 26.
[66] *Habl al-Matin*, no. 19, 2 April 1900, 16. For another account of this incident, see *The Church Missionary Gleaner*, 27 (1900): 139.
[67] *Habl al-Matin*, no. 20, 9 April 1900, 14.

Baskerville: The "Fedayi"

In August 1906, rioting reached new heights in Tehran as over a hundred people were killed, including members of the ulama, who supported the creation of a house of justice (*adalatkhanah*), or parliament. Muzaffar al-Din Shah finally conceded to this demand, and refugees entrenched at the grounds of the British Legation returned to their homes. A committee of legislators assembled promptly thereafter to draw up the constitution.[68] Writing in November 1906, Samuel Jordan seized upon the tide of constitutionalism to make a case for building an American "college" in Iran. He described the political mood in Iran as follows:

> For some years past the Persian government has been growing liberal and is now seeking to introduce free institutions. The intelligent classes believe that constitutional government and Western education will do for Persia what they have done for Japan in the past forty years.[69]

Like many Iranian constitutionalists, Jordan agreed that the country's "greatest need today is a first class educational institution." Yet he recognized the dearth of educated and qualified teachers in the country to realize this goal.

The deteriorating health of Muzaffar al-Din Shah exacerbated the country's political instability. Like native Iranians, American missionaries became attuned to the competing interests of the great powers in Iran. This rivalry even extended to ministering care to Iran's ailing monarch, whose health had deteriorated. At various points, British, American and German physicians served the king virtually simultaneously. According to John Wishard, the "Russians not to be outdone by the Germans have secured a place for their doctor and he sleeps there at night." As Wishard confessed, however, "I do not understand however that he has anything to do but 'report' to his government daily the condition of affairs."[70] In other words, these physicians could offer little professional help to the king; rather their presence served an informational purpose instead of a routinely medical one.

Just before his death in January 1907 Muzaffar al-Din Shah approved Iran's first constitution. His successor, Muhammad Ali Shah, proved himself an opponent of constitutional rule, however. From June 1908 until 1909 the country was caught up in a civil war between the pro- and anti-constitutionalist camps. Muhammad Ali Shah, with the assistance of Iran's Russian-trained Cossack Brigade, bombarded the *majlis*, or parliament, and initiated the period known as "the Lesser Despotism." Rebels from the provinces of Azerbaijan and Gilan led protest movements and eventually succeeded in re-installing constitutional rule in 1909.[71] Although the civil war lasted just over a year, it created chaos in the country.

[68] Richmond Pearson to Secretary of State, Tehran, 12 August 1906, http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/FRUS.
[69] PHS, Reel 271, Samuel Jordan, "An Unprecedented Opportunity—Wanted—A College for Persia," 1.
[70] PHS, Reel 271, Wishard to Vanneman, Tehran, 27 November 1906.
[71] For studies of the Constitutional Revolution, see the following works: Janet Afary, *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution, 1906–1911* (New York, 1996). For studies of Baskerville, see Thomas M. Ricks,

Tabriz remained under siege during this interval, making communication with the outside world difficult and preventing the entry of provisions to the city. Writing from Tabriz in April of 1909, Frederick Nevins Jessup reported on the dire conditions there during the Lesser Despotism:

> The sight of the bake-shops surrounded by throngs of hungry women stretching out their arms and begging for bread, the knowledge that many stand till in the early morning outside the bakeries trying to get their turns to secure a few pieces of bread, and then perhaps having to return empty-handed, makes one very sad.[72]

Yet despite the shortage of food, "the city is holding out and the people talk as though they were determined not to yield. They know that to fall into the hands of ... the other troops of the Shah would be far worse than the present distress, and as the champions of the constitution, they are determined to hold out to the bitter end."

On 1 April 1909, Howard Conklin Baskerville, a member of Princeton's graduating class of 1907, who had joined the mission on a two-year contract to instruct in English and science, resigned and joined the Iranian nationalists in their struggles against the Shah. Baskerville was accompanied by an Englishman, Arthur Moore, a correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*, and the two "threw in [their] lot" with the constitutionalists. Writing to the American consul, Baskerville admitted to suspending his efforts to spread the Christian gospel, and instead "acting in defense of American lives and property, as well as the lives and property of innocent Persian friends." He explained his participation as support for the de facto government of Tabriz in protection of its citizens "from lawless pillage, rape and murder."[73] Jessup seemed optimistic that although "the outlook for this poor city is pretty gloomy," there was a possibility for victory. Sympathetic to the constitutionalist struggle, Jessup summed up the political situation thus:

> The king is hard up for the sinews of war and practically the whole of Persia is up in arms against him. All the sympathy of liberty-loving and of thinking people must be on the side of the nationalists. This is not really a revolution but a stand for the rights of the people to the Constitution which was granted by the late Shah and which this king has many times solemnly sworn to uphold. The way he has upheld it has been by seeking in every way to destroy it, by blowing up the Parliament with a cannon, by killing all the most liberal minded patriots he could lay hands on, and beseiging [sic] and bombarding Tabriz because she has stood for the defence of the Constitution.[74]

"Power Politics and Political Culture: US–Iran Relations," in *Iran: Political Culture in the Islamic Republic*, ed. by Samih Farsoun and Mehrdad Mashayekhi (1992); Davis, "Evangelizing the Orient," 171–211.

[72]PHS, Reel 274, Tabriz, Persia, 16 April 1909. For a brief obituary of Nevins providing basic biographical information, see *Auburn Seminary Record*, 15, no. 5, 10 January 1920, 284.

[73]PHS Reel 274, Tabriz, Persia, Baskerville to W. F. Doty, US Consul in Tabriz, 1 April 1909.

[74]PHS, Reel 274, Tabriz, Persia, 16 April 1909.

It is worth noting, as Jessup does in his letter, that in the midst of the civil war, the "missionary" aim of American Presbyterians assumed secondary importance. Jessup appreciated the struggle between liberalism and despotism and the aspirations of Iranian nationalists to implement their hard-won constitution. As he implores, "Do not cease to pray for poor Persia that she may be delivered from all these distresses and enter upon a new era of liberty."[75] Caught up in the war, and apprehensive about the possibility of famine, Jessup's engagement in Iranian politics allied him temporarily with the Persian patriots and superseded his missionary duties.

In a letter to his family Baskerville observed that the rebels lacked organization and readily turned over the drilling of the troops to him. He was headquartered with the chief of the Tabriz resistance, Sattar Khan. Within days, Baskerville became a victim of the civil war. Persian patriots, promptly dubbed him a "*fedayi*," or devoted one. The *anjuman*, or society, sent a note expressing their sorrow and a wish to "honor him." Apparently, many Muslim men came to church where Baskerville's body lay.[76]

Baskerville's death hit the missionaries hard. In a communication to Baskerville's family, Annie Wilson recalled the martyr's bravery and his commitment to the constitutionalist cause, as embodied in Baskerville's statement, "I am Persia's." The circumstances surrounding Baskerville's death revealed miscommunication and an absence of tactical coordination. Baskerville was planning a surprise attack on the enemy, but "the expedition was futile, because Sattar Khan, the General failed to send cannon."[77] Baskerville was shot and killed, causing much grief at the Tabriz mission and among the Persian rebels. In fact, Annie Wilson recalls that Baskerville's funeral brought together the religious communities: "Never did foreigner and Christian have such a funeral before this war." Prayers were read in both English and Turkish, as "Moslems and Armenians filled the church, many standing in the rear and women and girls in the gallery ... In all of the history of missions in Persia never did one have such honor from all classes."[78] When Mr. Wilson met with Sattar Khan after Baskerville's death, Sattar Khan "expressed great sorrow" and explained that he had not expected Baskerville "to fight, only to drill."[79] The English and Russian consuls received a telegram after Baskerville's death giving "an armistice of 6 days and permission for provisions to enter the city," although local horsemen initially prevented the passage of wheat that a rich man had donated.[80]

Baskerville's death became a cause célèbre. He was an American martyred in the Iranian constitutional struggle, a movement marked by its patriotic undertones.[81] That a foreigner would sacrifice himself for this civil war revealed the sympathies outsiders felt toward the nationalistic rebels seeking to reinstate liberalism and constitutional rule in Iran. His death further showed the ways in which politics

[75]PHS, Reel 274, Tabriz, Persia, 16 April 1909.

[76]PHS, Reel 274, Tabriz, Persia, 16 April 1909, 3.

[77]PHS, Reel 274, Tabriz, Persia, 16 April 1909.

[78]PHS, Reel 274, Tabriz, Persia, 16 April 1909, 5.

[79]PHS, Reel 274, Tabriz, Persia, 16 April 1909, 10.

[80]PHS, Reel 274, Tabriz, Persia, 16 April 1909.

[81]For example, see http://www.iranian.com/History/Aug98/Baskerville/index.html. Also Hamid Dabashi, *Iran: A People Interrupted* (2007), 83–84.

and social exigencies overrode the sectarian divide. Tabriz chafed under the multiple restrictions imposed upon it. Royalist forces had cut off communication with the outside, intercepting telegrams and the mail. They had blocked roads preventing the passage of provisions, mainly wheat, into the city, and creating a food shortage. In an atmosphere of impinging anarchy and increasing social hardship, Christians and Muslims collaborated to support the good fight and to bring an end to the siege. Baskerville—the *"fedayi"*—exemplified the commitment and self-sacrifice of those immersed in this struggle, and the significance that even foreigners attached to the political transformations in Iran.

Conclusion

Baskerville's death cast a pall over the Presbyterian mission in Iran. Yet some remained optimistic about the possibility of American missionary involvement there. The outbreak of the First World War—declared a jihad not just by the Ottomans but by Iran's Shi'i mujtahids—pitted some Christians against Muslims. Michael Zirinsky has argued that American Presbyterians "became involved in a struggle which came to take on some of the aspects of a Crusade against a Jihad."[82] Yet missionary reports from that time also show that both Christians and Muslims in Iran became victims of foreign military intrusion.

The war years proved a difficult time for Iran. Embattled cities and villages had to contend with the disruption of normal economic life and agricultural output. Sanitary conditions remained far from ideal as well. Childhood diseases, trachoma and cholera were common maladies with which Iranian families contended.[83] In 1915, one newspaper article summed up the situation: "The poor Iranian nation ... in spite of its neutrality ... its northern and southern regions have been subjected to the attacks of the troops of the countries at war ... and each day a new attack is being made to its independence."[84] The absence of state authority during the international conflict even led to the establishment of a rival nationalist administration in Kermanshah. Urumiya, the site of the first Presbyterian mission in Iran, acutely experienced the brunt of the war. A battle zone, Urumiya became subjected to Ottoman incursions, Kurdish raids, and Russian military forays. Reports from missionary workers in Iran confirmed the devastation faced by the local population when the Russians withdrew and the Ottomans entered the nearby villages in early 1915.

Iranian political vulnerability was further exposed after the First World War during the negotiations culminating in the Anglo-Persian Treaty of 1919. Effective opposition to this proposed accord, which would have created a de facto British protectorate, and support for governmental suppression of several postwar regional autonomy

[82]Michael Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian Missionaries at Urmia during the Great War," *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies*, 12, no. 1 (1998): 6–27.

[83]Rockefeller Archive Center, RF Collection, Record Group 1.1, Series 100 N, Box 76, "Conference between Mr. W. A. Shedd of the Board of Foreign Missions," 14 October 1915, 5–8.

[84]*Ittihad*, 30 Rabi al-Avval 1333/15 February 1915, 1.

movements, contributed to a spread of mass support for a strong government that could deal with internal and external threats. This sentiment made many Iranians welcome the February 1921 coup led by Reza Khan and his work to strengthen the army and the state. With the inauguration of the Pahlavi dynasty in 1926, Iran embarked on a path of secular nation-building. Reza Shah strove to mitigate the presence of religion, especially expressions of popular Shi'ism, in the public sphere. Although some American missionaries applauded Reza Shah's secularizing agenda and viewed it as an opportune moment to spread the Gospel, they underestimated both the popular appeal of Shi'ism and the impact of Iranian nationalism.

In 1934, assessing a century of evangelism in Iran, the Presbyterian Board recognized that "sometimes the preachers have grown discouraged and felt they have labored in vain, for as compared with some mission fields, they have seen but meager results of their toil."[85] Missionary perceptions of Iranian Muslims, however, left an indelible imprint on American public understanding of Iran and its people as a class of Iranians embraced American education and values through the schools established originally by American evangelists.

The emphasis on secular nationalism in Iran eventually trickled down to the educational work of American evangelists as Presbyterian missionaries experienced firsthand the impact of Iranian reforms. In 1939, the ministry of education decided to unify education and to take over all foreign schools, including those operated by the American Presbyterian Board, which the ministry oversaw after 1940.[86] Assessing the impact of American education on modern Iran, Wallace Murray, Chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs, noted that mission schools were over a century old, having come to Iran at a time "when education in the western sense of the word was entirely unknown in Iran," and later educating "several generations of Iranians who had risen to power and prominence."[87]

By 1940, the Iranian government decreed the closure of mission schools.[88] From then on, American interactions with Iran operated largely on two levels: through formal networks such as the embassy, its diplomatic corps (including military servicemen) and American business executives and employees; and informally through the educational system. Yet religious identities and ideology colored perceptions and influenced policy-making. Even after more than a hundred years of interaction, Iranian–American engagements were refracted through the lens of religion. Despite the increasingly secular cultures of Iran and America in the early twentieth century, religion remained a salient ideology for the public in both societies—one that has had a profound impact on the diplomacy of US–Iranian relations.

[85]*A Century of Mission Work in Iran (Persia), 1834–1934: A Record of One Hundred Years of the Work of the Iran (Persia) Mission of the Board of the Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A* (Beirut, 1934), 40.

[86]Zirinsky, "A Panacea for the Ills of the Country," 134.

[87]*FRUS*, Vol. IV, Memorandum by the Chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs, (Murray) to the Under Secretary of State (Welles), 21 August 1939, 530. Accessed online 22 December 2007.

[88]Zirinsky, "A Panacea for the Ills of the Country," 134.

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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)

The article addresses the twentieth-century social and cultural history of Alborz College (The American College of Tehran) in terms of its curricula, mission education, the faculty and Dr. Samuel Jordan, founder and president. The courses taught, from the natural sciences and humanities to business and journalism, shaped the lives and aspirations of so many of the graduates for decades. Of great importance were the academic training and personal lives of Dr. Jordan, Mary Park Jordan, and the American faculty, particularly those graduates from Lafayette College (Easton, Pennsylvania) who served as role models of modernity and generous public service that so enriched the lives of their young Iranian charges and won the hearts and minds of the Alborzi graduates.

> Our students imbibed liberal ideas, they agitated for reforms, they cooperated with other forward-looking patriots in transforming the medieval despotism of thirty years ago [in 1906] into the modern, progressive democracy today.[1]
>
> [Jordan] was a strong believer in physical fitness and outdoor sports in a day when a gentlemanly Persian was sedate rather than vigorous.[2]
>
> In Iran, American missionaries have been educating Persians since 1830; many middle-aged Persians remember with nostalgia Dr. Jordan, the saintly American who ran a secondary school.[3]
>
> Up in Teheran, the Americans have a factory, which makes men.[4]

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[1] Samuel M. Jordan, "Constructive Revolutions in Iran," *The Moslem World*, xxv (1935): 347.

[2] Herrick B. Young, *Strange Lands and Wonderful People* (New York, 1975), 89.

[3] Harlan Cleveland, Gerard J. Mangone, and John Clarke Adams, *Americans Overseas* (New York, 1960), 23.

[4] The expression, which was made by an anonymous Iranian parent, "became Dr. Samuel Jordan's favorite slogan for the work of the Tehran-based Presbyterian American Boys' School which he supervised as principal" (William N. Wysham, "Mr. Chips of Teheran," *Presbyterian Life*, 1 November 1952, 13–14). In addition, see Herrick B. Young, *Strange Lands and Wonderful People* (New York, 1975); Yahya Armajani, "Sam Jordan and the Evangelical Ethic in Iran," in *Religious Ferment in Asia*, ed. by Robert J. Miller (Lawrence, KS, 1974), 23–36; and Yahya Armajani, "Alborz College," *Encyclopedia Iranica*, 1: 821–823. Wysham taught at Alborz College from 1920 to 1928, Young taught business and journalism at Alborz from 1925 to 1935, and Armajani taught ethics and was the Lincoln Hall resident headmaster at Alborz from 1933 to 1940.

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The era of the four-year liberal arts Alborz College of Tehran (1924–40)—which began as the American School for Boys in 1873 near the west Tehran Qazvin Gate and ended up in Yusufabad in north Tehran on the eve of World War II—was remarkable indeed.[5] The success and prestige of Alborz College was in many ways an unexpected accomplishment. A major factor of its success was the blend of personalities and academic expertise of Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan (1871–1952), and the forty-five excellent European, American and Iranian faculty members and staff. The contributions of the twelve Lafayette College graduates including Samuel Jordan were particularly noteworthy. The other principal reason for the prestigious reputation of Alborz College was the exceptional qualities of its Iranian students and the widespread support for the College in and by the Iranian government of the day.[6]

The American Presbyterian missionaries who came to Iran in 1833 under the auspices of the Boston-based Congregationalist American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) arrived in Iran as part of an evangelical mission to the Nestorian Assyrian peoples in the northwestern Azerbayjani region of Qajar Iran (Persia) and in the Hakkari mountains in southeastern Anatolia of Ottoman Turkey. The Iranian Muslim town of Urumia—which had a sizable Christian population of Nestorians and Armenians—dominated the piedmont eastern slopes of the Zagros mountain chain of west Azerbaijan. The exclusive focus on the Nestorian (Assyrian) Christians in the Urumia region was formally known as the "Mission to Nestorians." The American missionaries sought to convert the Nestorians of northwestern Iran/southeastern Anatolia to American Presbyterianism with the eventual aim of conversion of the larger Sunni Kurdish populations in northwestern Iran, northern Iraq and southeastern Ottoman Turkey. By the early 1870s, the American Presbyterian three-fold strategy, of itinerant village and town evangelism, medical clinics and a network of schools for boys and girls, was firmly in place. The Presbyterian practice of employing the Nestorian converts in missionary work in Iran as evangelical intermediaries in roles as boarding school mistresses, colporteurs or bible instructors and elementary school teachers already had begun earlier in the 1850s. In time, the Nestorian converts also became apprenticed nurses, medical assistants

[5]The paper uses the 1932 name, "Alborz College" for the former American College of Tehran (1922–32) for ease and clarity in reading the text. Alborz College existed as the American Presbyterian college for nine years from 1932 to 1940. After 1945 when the school was reopened for classes under the control of the Iranian Ministry of Education, it was renamed "Alborz High School" or *Dabiristan-e Alborz*—a name it continues to use to the present day.

[6]Alborz College was not the only American Presbyterian school established either in Tehran or in Iran by the American missionaries. See J. Richard Irvine's "Community and Iranzamin Schools in Tehran, Iran" (2009), a 17 page manuscript in which he describes the Presbyterian schools and colleges, such as the Urumia Medical College 1879–1918/1997, Alborz College 1924–40 and Sage/Damavand College 1935–40/1965–79 . He also details the founding of the K-12 Community School of Hamadan which later moved to Tehran, and the establishment of the K-13 preparatory international school called "Iranzamin, Tehran International School." Irvine was first a Presbyterian missionary faculty member from 1951–67 at Community School, and then became the first and only Tehran headmaster of Iranzamin, 1967–80.

and interns in the American missionary clinics and hospitals, as well as teachers and administrators in the high schools.

Presbyterian Expansion, 1871 to 1921

In 1870, the Presbyterian Church, USA established a New York-based Board of Foreign Missions (BFM) to assume control of all the former ABCFM mission work in Iran, extending its presence beyond Urumia to include the towns of Tabriz, Hamadan, Kermanshah, Rasht and Tehran as part of an expanded and refocused "Mission to Persia." Within ten years, the BFM had four new mission stations—Tehran in 1872, Urumia in 1873, Tabriz in 1873 and Hamadan in 1880.[7] Furthermore, four more stations were founded in the first decades of the twentieth century: in Rasht and Qazvin (1906), Kermanshah (1910), and Mashhad (1911).[8] The nineteenth-century stations became, in time, the leaders in setting up kindergarten to twelfth grade boys and girls schools, including boarding schools, and two- and three-year college programs.[9]

The girls' schools in the new mission stations were modeled on the earlier Fiske Seminary academic curricula and evangelical goals.[10] After 1873, two boys' schools were founded: one in Tabriz known as the Memorial Training and Theological School for Boys, and one in Tehran—founded by James Bassett (1834–1906) in 1873—known as the American School for Boys (ASB). In 1899, Samuel Martin Jordan became the new principal of the Tehran boys' school; a job that he held for the next forty-one years. By 1907, Jordan was joined in Tehran at ASB by his Lafayette College colleague, Arthur C. Boyce, inaugurating the first of many Lafayette College graduates involved in the Lafayette-in-Persia project to "to help start a little Lafayette in the capital of Persia."[11] By 1913 upper level high school grades were added, and then in 1924 a new school was established north of Tehran's walls and gates on

[7]See Record Group 91, Series I and II in the Presbyterian Historical, and Frederick Heuser, *A Guide to Foreign Missionary Manuscripts* (Santa Barbara, CA, 1988), 71–74.

[8]Two other stations were established and then closed by the end of World War I—Salmas in the West Azerbaijan plains between Khoi and Urumia, and Qazvin in the northern plains between Tabriz and Tehran.

[9]The medical missionary work had begun earlier in 1835 in Urumia, but formal hospitals known always as *Marizkhaneh-ye Amrika'i* (American Hospitals) were established at the same time in Kermanshah in 1882, in Tehran in 1890 and in Tabriz in 1913, with others opening in Mashhad, Hamadan and Rasht by the 1920s.

[10]The history of Fidelia Fiske and Susan Rice—the first Mount Holyoke College (South Hadley, MA) graduates to arrive in Urumia, and to inaugurate the girls' boarding school known later as the "Fiske Seminary"—is found in the Mount Holyoke College Archives and Special Collections, MS 0539 "Fidelia Fiske, 1816–66." In addition, the Presbyterian Historical Society's archives in Philadelphia, PA have the 23pp. unsigned manuscript, MS T766 titled "Spiritual Peaks in the History of the Persia Mission" that records the early years of Fidelia Fiske and the Fiske Seminary in Urumia, 1–8.

[11]*The Lafayette*, a campus weekly news bulletin, had three issues about the story of Arthur Boyce (Class of 1907) and his travel to Iran with Samuel Jordan to teach science (xxxiii, no. 25, 3 May 1907: 203; xxxiv, no. 6, 25 October 1907: 48; and xxxiv, no. 12, 6 December 1907: 93). In the lead 1907 issue (xxxiii, no. 15, 25 January 1907: 116), the weekly wrote that "[t]he college as a whole has taken this matter up [of the Lafayette-in-Persia project] and it must be successfully run through if

forty-four acres of desolate land known as the American College of Tehran (ACT). Jordan's dream was then physically realized with the completion of Rollestone Hall the following year. Finally, in 1928, Alborz College of Tehran became fully accredited by the New York Board of Regents as a four-year liberal arts college.

In addition, two successful girls' elementary schools were established in Tehran and Hamadan: the Iran Bethel School for Girls, later known as Nurbaksh, was founded in Tehran in 1874; and the Faith Hubbard School for Girls was founded in Hamadan with generous support from the New York benefactor, Faith Hubbard, in 1885. Both girls' schools, as was the case with the American School for Boys in Tehran, eventually expanded their programs and curricula to grades K-12, emerging into the twentieth century as leading Iranian educational programs for girls. It was not by accident—given its earlier history as a Presbyterian station—that Urumia took the lead among Presbyterian higher education institutions with the founding in 1879 of the Urumia College of Arts and Medicine through the efforts of Dr. Joseph Cochran.[12] By the early twentieth century, Urumia College had begun to attract the attention of American medical programs for possible affiliation agreements and exchanges.

With operating clinics, hospitals, elementary and secondary schools in each of the stations, including an arts and science (medical) college in Urumia, the new Presbyterian mission stations in Iran began, by the 1880s, to include Muslim patients and students—in addition to the Nestorian, Armenian, Zoroastrian, Jewish and Bahai minorities—in their missionary work. Their earlier focus on special programs for Nestorian, Armenian, Jewish and Zoroastrian girls and women (as "women's work") continued as usual.

It was during this expansion period (1871 to 1921) that the roots of Alborz College of Tehran were planted. American Presbyterian presence from 1833 to 1870 marked the period of "evangelical beginnings;" the 1871 to 1921 period became a time of "mission expansions;" and 1922 to 1940 were two decades of "triumphs and troubles" with the birth of Alborz College as a capstone moment. The vacillating Presbyterian educators' commitments, particularly in the elementary schools, to carry on evangelical work while, at the same time, introducing the latest European and American developments in technology and science to a growing student body of Muslims, Christians and Jews created a series of tensions between the missionaries and the Iranian Ministry of Education. The US Department of State intervened once, without success, on behalf of the Presbyterian elementary educators' requests to maintain biblical studies in their curricula. Eventually, US diplomats left the Presbyterians to resolve their religious issues directly with the Iranian Ministry of Education. By 1932, the Iranians had enough of discussions with the foreigners about curricula, and simply forbade any Muslim student from attending foreigners' elementary schools. It was not only a blow to missionary educators, but also a harbinger of other closures yet to come for the Presbyterians in the age of rising Iranian nationalism.

from no other reason than college pride" (p. 116). The latter issue carried five pages (114–18) on the project and its finances, including Jordan's appeal for help to create "a good college" in Iran.

[12]See Robert E. Speer, *"The Hakim Sahib," The Foreign Doctor. A Biography of Joseph Plumb Cochran, M.D. of Persia* (New York, 1911); and the history of Dr. Cochran by Marjan Abdi, "An American Family Who Served Iran," http://www.payvand.com/news/07/feb/1380, where the author cites Professor Esmaiel Yourshahian's novel, *An Ja Keh Zadeh Shodam* (Where I Was Born) on the life of Dr. Joseph P. Cochran, MD (1855–1905), the "Founder of Urmia's First Medical College."

By 1922, it was becoming clear that the missionary teachers were walking a narrow and, at times, contradictory path in advocating spiritual but secular-like values, and espousing American-like but national aspirations. Their educational purposes were Christian and ethical but respectful of Islam and Iranian cultural values. From the lowest grades to the highest, Jordan and his faculty in Tehran embraced a holistic and modern curricula infused with an international ambience, while respectful of Iranian traditions and local customs. As a result, Alborz College of the 1930s exemplified, at one time or another, the character and personality of their headmaster and president, Samuel Martin Jordan, and the dedication and academic prowess of the international faculty.

The educational and medical work of the American missionaries, particularly from 1871 to the 1924 founding of Alborz College, changed many Iranians' earlier perceptions about missionaries as self-serving, annoying and meddling foreigners. The earlier missionary pursuits of an exclusive focus on Christian texts, translation work, literacy, computation, composition and hygiene programs expanded to include classes in biology, physics, archaeology, the social sciences, business and journalism. The earlier rural schools' religious songs, biblical studies, geography and history had evolved into a more extensive study of the natural and social sciences, the use of patriotic and school songs, the introduction of school clubs, sports and physical exercise, and instruction in ethics and philosophy.

By the 1920s, an emerging Iranian urban middle class and a more assertive upper class began to view the missionary teachers and doctors as possible allies and partners in reforming modern Iran. As their sons and daughters thronged to the mission schools and teaching hospitals for a successful modern education that enabled them to enter the American University of Beirut, the American University of Cairo, the University of Cairo, and the University of Damascus, their fathers and mothers gradually embraced the American schools and hospitals as important centers of "modernism." An unspoken partnership gradually emerged between the Iranian reformers and their new American partners in raising modern standards for a "new" Iran.

Presbyterian Pietism and Christian Modernism

The 1871 expansion by the New York-based BFM, therefore, created several important long-term and highly successful diversified programs devoted to Presbyterian social services, the founding of several leading educational institutions, and the building of hospitals and clinics in six principal northwestern and northern urban missions. The dominant evangelical focus of the earlier ABCFB stations had gradually given way to serving the ongoing important social (educational and medical) crises facing an ever-expanding Presbyterian community of upper-class Muslims, and middle and working class Nestorians and Armenian Christians, Zoroastrians, and Jews. The increasingly divided and fractious monarchy proved itself unable to handle a series of national crises that took place between 1890 and 1921, including food shortages,

famines, and endemic diseases, such as cholera, typhoid, and para-typhoid. As one of the Iranian faculty members of Alborz College wrote of those years:

> During the epidemics of 1853, 1861, 1822, 1871, and 1904, the missionaries gave unstintingly of their service and their lives. In the great famine of 1917–18, which gripped the whole country, the missionaries, as usual, set up relief work.[13]

Caught up in a series of political emergencies—such as the 1890–92 Tobacco Concession boycott, the secret, active *anjumans* in Iran's principal northern and northwestern cities, and the widespread impact of the Constitutional Revolution of 1906–11—the new Iranian Parliament was overwhelmed by domestic intrigue and the devastated state of the economy. The Presbyterian missionaries in Iran and the BFM overseas fundraising activities in US Presbyterian parishes and college communities met some of the critical Iranian areas of need with funds and relief services.

> Dr. Jordan challenged the members of the senior class [of ASB] to volunteer their services [in the midst of the 1917–18 great famine]. They accepted the challenge, made a social survey of the city, and manned the relief centers. It is estimated that they fed over fifty thousand persons.[14]

An increase in full-time and "short term" teachers, doctors and nurses, and an escalation in Presbyterian building schools, colleges and hospitals could not have come at a more important time. The Iranian government was fragmented and disoriented by the international interventions, political strife and domestic hardships of the World War I Russian and British occupations of northern and southwestern Iran respectively. The educational and medical works of the missionaries were timely and filled pressing social needs at the time.

In focusing on education and national health standards, the missionaries were slowly moving away from the earlier full-time evangelical and religious revival work towards new and long-term educational and medical assistance, and development projects in the midst of rising Iranian political activism from the 1890s to the first decades of the twentieth century. It may be more accurate to say that the American missionaries were themselves slowly "being converted" to pursuing social service work, and to serving as "models" of modern men and women rather than "converting" Iranians to the religious and spiritual practices of nineteenth-century America. The changes in the practices of missionary work were also reflected in the now-famous 1910 Edinburgh international conference on missions with its lengthy discussions on ecumenism, Christian liberalism and evangelical work.[15] In turning to school and hospital work, the American missionaries were not abandoning their earlier evangelical

[13] Armajani, "Sam Jordan and the Evangelical Ethic in Iran," 31.

[14] Armajani, "Sam Jordan and the Evangelical Ethic in Iran," 31–32.

[15] See Harold H. Rowdon, "Edinburgh 1910, Evangelicals and the Ecumenical Movement," *Vox Evangelica*, V (1967): 64–67. The author follows the growing disenchantment of the Evangelical Alliance with

mission work entirely, but rather were broadening their earlier goal of the Christian conversion of Iran to include bringing to Iran twentieth-century modernity. In promoting "Women's Work," literacy programs, social work among both the poor and the non-Muslim minorities, and in their commitment to reformed public education and hygiene, the missionaries found that they were turning to the liberal or "modernist" goals of scientific knowledge, self-discipline, social work and patriotism, none of which implied any wholesale commitment to forms of secularism.

As a community of teachers and doctors, the Presbyterian missionaries from Tabriz to Mashhad and from Tehran to Hamadan remained intensely religious and spiritually committed Christians. Given the dire social conditions of Iranian women, and the increased presence of college-educated Presbyterian female missionaries—including medical doctors, nurses and graduates of leading American universities—the American missionaries saw themselves as "models of modernism" as well as examples of pious, spiritually-guided peoples who cared deeply about Iran and its peoples. Their progressive, heterogeneous, companionate gender relations were impressive to those who knew them.[16] The shift from village preaching to urban "models" gradually widened the intellectual and spiritual gap between the American female and male missionary educators and doctors from the work of the itinerant American evangelists or "pietists." Issues such as respecting other religions, cultures and political aspirations; the role of preaching versus modeling in mission work; and the servicing of the national social and cultural interests of the Iranian community as a whole rather than the spiritual welfare of the minorities were divisive and subjects of continued intra-missionary discussions.[17] Samuel M. Jordan's famous borrowed quotation about factories of knowledge[18] nicely sums up the intentions of Jordan to convert Iran to Christianity through a transformation of Iran's youth by means of a practical and disciplined education rather than by the bible and itinerant preaching. Jordan called it his "constructive revolutions."[19] For Jordan and his missionary academic colleagues, the best and most efficient preaching was by living well and modeling a Christian way of life; that is, by efficacious example, hard work and social action.

the inclusion of liberal clergymen, such as R. F. Horton among the special delegates, as "another factor that has continued to serve as a wedge between evangelicals and the ecumenical movement" (67).

[16] See the impressive research and analyses of Iran's modern social history that includes discussions of the American Presbyterian missionaries and their schools in Janet Afary's *Sexual Politics in Modern Iran* (Cambridge, UK, 2009).

[17] In his paper "Historians and Asia: The Missionary Matrix of a Historiographical Revolution," presented at the American Historical Association Annual Meeting in New York City on 3 January 2009 David A. Holliger points out that "the missionaries who were sent out to Asia after around 1910 were more likely than their predecessors to be highly educated, to have been influenced by the social gospel of Washington Gladden and Walter Rauschenbusch, and to have a historical perspective on Christianity ... [their] more liberal starting points led missionaries to be more open to foreign cultures, and produced in the 1920s and 1930s a substantial but vocal minority of missionaries who began to describe themselves as 'guests' of the indigenous peoples whom they tried to serve" (2).

[18] See epigraph to this article as well as footnote 4.

[19] See Jordan, "Constructive Revolutions in Iran," 347–53.

With the turn-of-the-century social and political revolutionary movements in Azerbaijan and Iran, the Presbyterians increasingly became drawn into Iran's internal crises. They were better informed and linguistically more competent than the earlier missionaries in Iran, more knowledgeable about if not more sympathetic to the nationalists' demands for a constitution, and just as ardently opposed as many Iranian dissidents were to the arbitrary and autocratic rule of Iran's shahs.[20] Furthermore, the American teachers and doctors were very cognizant of the tensions between the Iranian constitutionalists and the military and political interests of Britain, Russia and the United States; a tension that at times threatened the well-being and even survival of their Nestorian and Armenian Christian missions. World War I and the subsequent 1917–18 military occupations of northwestern Iran by Turkish, British and Russian troops devastated Iranian food production and set off a two-year national grain shortage and famine in 1918–19. Various attacks and destructions of Nestorian homes and Presbyterian mission buildings, schools and churches were followed by the successive and brutal banishment of thousands of Nestorian Christians to the southern Caucasus and to western Iran.[21]

From 1919 to 1939, the American missions increasingly found themselves on the defensive about Iranian nationalists' aspirations, religious and cultural sensitivities, and centralizing policies. They also found themselves on the defensive regarding some of the goals of the United States, Middle East governments, and rising Russian, British and US corporate interests in Iran's gas and oilfields. Although the third period appeared to be one of growth in both revenues and students in the Presbyterian schools, a significant influx of American missionaries, and an impressive expansion of the missionary hospitals and clinical work, it was also a period of frequent intra-missionary conflict over mission strategies. In addition, there were a series of confrontations with both US officials and Iranian ministers over biblical studies in the schools in particular, and the continuation of evangelical work in general. The high water mark of the Presbyterian "Mission to Persia" during this period was clearly the emergence Alborz College and the dominant role of Samuel Jordan.

[20]See Michael Zirinsky, "Onward Christian Soldiers: Presbyterian Missionaries in the Late Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *Altruism and Imperialism: Western Cultural and Religious Missions in the Middle East*, edited by Eleanor H. Tejirian and Reeva Spector Simon (New York, 2002): 236–52. The Azerbayjani teachers and school administrators—Dr. Samuel Graham Wilson, principal of the Boys' Memorial School in Tabriz, and Howard C. Baskerville, the short-term teacher and Iranian hero—were but a few examples of the "progressive" Presbyterian education personnel. In addition, the women in the Zimmerman, Pittman and Wrights families of Tabriz were devoted Christians and passionate supporters of Iranian constitutionalism and democracy as seen in the diaries and letters of Sarah Wright (McDowell) to be published by the author in 2011.

[21]See Michael Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian Missionaries at Urmia During the Great War," in *La Perse et La Grande Guerre*, ed. by Oliver Bast (Téhéran, 2002), 353–72, for a detailed description of the Turkish-Kurdish west Azerbayjan war front, and the heroic actions of Rev. William A. Shedd (1876–1918), director of the Urumia mission and the medical legacy of Dr. Joseph P. Cochran (1855–1905). Also see Amanda Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke Missionaries* (New York, 1997), 85–86 for a Nestorian background to the Azerbayjan war front.

Alborz College and, Samuel Jordan

There can be no doubt that Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan (1871–1952)—simply called "Sam Jordan" by his colleagues—was an extraordinarily gifted and spiritual person with very modern ideals. He once proclaimed: "perhaps the best way to define a missionary in these days [1935] would be to say that he is an efficiency engineer."[22] For Jordan, the proof of efficiency and excellence in an Alborz College education was the actions of the students themselves. Indeed, he purposefully chose a school name with the acronym ACT to reflect the summation of his life's educational goal. In 1935 he kept the acronym intact when the school's name was changed to "Alborz College of Tehran," a change that conformed to a government request that all institutions bear Persian names.

The long-term Presbyterian educational goal was to create a university in Tehran to be called the "American University of Tehran" along the lines of the well-known former Presbyterian universities in Beirut (the American University of Beirut) and in Cairo (the American University in Cairo). Events in 1939–40 Iran, however, prevented the Presbyterian "AUT dream" from being fulfilled. One does not know what Dr. Jordan would have done if the name of his beloved Alborz College of Tehran had to undergo the planned change.

In explaining the leadership qualities of the students who were attending the American College of Tehran, Jordan expansively wrote that:

> Our students imbibed liberal ideas, they agitated for reforms, they cooperated with other forward-looking patriots in transforming the medieval despotism of thirty years ago into the modern, progressive democracy today.[23]

Such optimism was based not only on the academic and post-graduate performances of the Alborz students, or "old boys," but also on Jordan's own deeply-held patriotic and religious convictions about America's role in his contemporary world. Jordan was fervently attached to the transformative and global nature of both American education and his own Presbyterian values on and for other cultures and peoples. In his pronouncements about the liberal accomplishments and apparent progress in 1930s Iran, Jordan both demonstrated his can-do Yankee ideals as well as his enthusiasm for change in his adopted country.

While Jordan and his American colleagues lived and worked in Reza Shah's era of widespread repression of Iranian leftist and reformist intellectuals, worker movements and the protests of land-hungry peasantry, the American missionaries tended to pay more attention to education, women's rights and public health and hygiene issues, particularly during the recurrent famines and outbreaks of cholera, malaria and typhoid. Entirely devoted to his students, faculty and school, Jordan focused on transforming Iranian youth through the agency of Presbyterian schools.

[22]Jordan, "Constructive Revolutions in Iran," 347.

[23]Jordan, "Constructive Revolutions in Iran," 348.

In advocating the introduction of athletics into Iranian public school curricula, Jordan was drawing on his own experiences at Pennsylvania's Lafayette College. where he participated in competitions and games that taught him sportsmanship and hard work. In proposing that every Iranian school compose its own school song, Jordan and his wife, Mary Park Jordan, were importing the American concepts of camaraderie, patriotism and collective identities. In promoting the Boy Scouts movement, Jordan was endorsing its manly virtues, the Scout oath and devotion to public service as important ideals for youth. He was also combining physical exercise with a consciousness of society's needs while stressing the social and economic leveling process in a uniform dress code that broke down outward signs of class differences and privilege.[24] In their own way, Dr. and Mrs. Jordan embodied the twentieth-century values of immigrant and pluralistic America and their public schools that taught the virtues of hard work, the ethic of camaraderie, the benefits of social equality, and the consequences of collective action. In sum, the Jordans were as much ambassadors of modernism as they were missionaries for American Protestantism; during their tenure, Iran became, in time, less Islamic and Persian, and more secular and American than the Jordans themselves may have realized. According to Jordan:

> From time immemorial, etiquette required the men and boys of Iran (Persia) to keep on their hats in the presence of others. This national custom was changed last July [1935] by an imperial decree by which all men were commanded to wear "international hats"—in other words, they were to conform to the customs of Europe and America. At the same time, women were urged to discard the veil and adopt international dress. Nearly all the teachers and pupils in girls' school [s] throughout the empire conformed.[25]

On balance, the educational and social changes that Alborz College's faculty and the Jordans help bring about in mid-twentieth-century Iran were impressive and far-reaching. Elementary and secondary public schools imitated the Presbyterian mission schools in Iran in many ways. An observer was quick to point out that "like all the mission schools in Iran, the boys' school and college in Teheran set new educational standards for the nation".[26] In hindsight, however, the greatest influences on the individual students were the Jordans themselves and the "Alborz College way." Of course, some rose to high office due, in great part, to their inherited social and political status as members of many of Iran's leading families. Many, however, who spent their formative lives under the tutelage and in the company of the Jordans and the faculty of Alborz College, found that it was observing and emulating the lives of these urban missionary educators that mattered the most to them.

[24]Jordan, "Constructive Revolutions in Iran," 350–53.
[25]Samuel A. [M.] Jordan, "Startling Changes in Iran," *Women and Missions* (April 1936): 6.
[26]Wysham, "Mr. Chips of Teheran," 14.

One graduate who wrote, in Persian, a biography of Dr. Jordan ... recalls with special nostalgia the Sunday evenings the boarding boys spent in the Jordan home, where they enjoyed music and games and refreshments in close association with the 'headmaster' whom they otherwise held in considerable awe.[27]

In 1939, the Iranian Ministry of Education ordered the closure of all missionary high schools and colleges throughout Iran. However, Jordan did return to Iran four years later at the request of the US Department of State that was seeking ways to bolster flagging pro-American sympathies among Iranians in the midst of World War II. In October 1944, Jordan flew to Tehran, met with a number of the Alborz Alumni, and visited the principal government officials of some of the "old boys" whom he had taught, and whom had since attained high positions in the fields of government, industry and the professions. He met with the monarch, Muhammad Reza Shah, on two occasions. He also made an exhausting grand tour of north, west and southwest Iran, meeting officials and attending convocations in local schools to packed audiences of the curious and the faithful alumni of the region. One of the American Lafayette College graduates and Alborz faculty member wrote that, "The influence of Alborz College has been tremendous. Wherever one finds a person of real integrity in Iran, in no matter how remote a village, that person almost invariably turns out to be one its graduates."[28]

In the course of that five-month tour, Jordan attended a number of dinners, such as one given in his honor at Ferdowsi Hotel in Tehran. The banquet hall that evening was crowded with over 200 people, most of whom were alumni in addition to a few invited American guests and honored government officials, such as Husayn Ala, Minister of the Court, and Muhammad Taghi Bahar, the national poet of Iran's constitutional period.

It was at that dinner that Minister Ala surprised the entire gathering including Jordan by expressing in his welcome speech a hope that Jordan would be able to re-establish the Alborz College of Tehran. The reaction to the "announced hope" from someone close to the Shah was thunderous and prolonged. But it was not to be, since the decision to reject the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Mission's proposal was made soon after, and the property of all the American mission schools including the two colleges of Sage and Alborz passed into Iranian hands by the end of the war.

Part of the joy of the October evening at Ferdowsi Hotel, however, was a poem written and read in Jordan's honor by Bahar—not only a poet of renown in Iran, a former Minister of Education, and a member of the Parliament but also a longtime friend of Jordan—in which he recited the following last quatrain of "Jordan! Jordan!"

> What ignorance is this by which we die?
> Relief we must discover if we can

[27]Wysham, "Mr. Chips of Teheran," 14.
[28]Wysham, "Mr. Chips of Teheran," 36.

Who is the doctor with discerning eye?
A wise man said to me, Jordan, Jordan.[29]

Though they were far away, the Jordans were not forgotten by their friends. The "old boys," friends and fellow missionaries made frequent pilgrimages to the "small bungalow" as the Jordan Pacific home in Los Angeles was known over the next dozen years. Indeed, on 5 January 1948 the Alborz Alumni Association honored Dr. Jordan by commissioning a stone bust of him to be placed in the vestibule of Jordan Hall on the campus of the former college, then renamed "Alborz High School."

On 21 June 1952, after a period of increasingly poor health prompted, according to a family member, in large part by the exhausting 1944–45 travels to and in Iran, Samuel Martin Jordan passed away in a Los Angeles hospital to the great consternation and collective grief of his Iranian and American friends from Los Angeles to Tehran.[30] Two years later, he and Mrs. Mary Park Wood Jordan (1887–1954) were buried together in a grave in the Jordan family plot in the Centre Presbyterian Church's cemetery on a gentle slope overlooking the verdant farmlands of southern Pennsylvania in New Park, PA. On 2 July 1952, less than two weeks after Jordan's death, a memorial ceremony was held in his honor in Tehran on the campus of the former Alborz College. From the steps of Rollestone Hall, Dr. Ali Asghar Hekmat, Allahyar Saleh, Dr. Abol Ghassem Bakhtiyar, Dr. Jahanshah Saleh and the US ambassador Loy Henderson made presentations to the nearly 1,000 Iranian alumni, friends, and officials.[31]

Lafayette-in-Persia Project and Alborz College

While it is certainly true that Samuel Martin Jordan created Alborz College, it is also true that its international faculty of European, American and Iranian scholars made Alborz College a prestigious academic institution. Usually overlooked amid the accolades for Jordan, the faculty members were a critical part of the College's national and international success, particularly Jordan's Lafayette College classmates and colleagues.

Once, Jordan was asked where he found his teachers. He was said to have answered, "We did not find them. We made them."[32] With the move into Rollestone Hall in 1925, Jordan, his faculty, and a large Iranian staff were ready to launch the College. The American faculty at that time included Dr. Jordan, Arthur C. Boyce, Reverend Robert Steiner, Mr. Elgin Sherk, Reverend William N. Wysham, Dr. Ralph Cooper Hutchinson, Dr. Walter A. Groves and Herrick B. Young. Samuel Jordan was the President and professor of history and social sciences, Arthur Boyce was Vice President

[29]The Ferdowsi Hotel dinner and the entire poem are in Arthur C. Boyce, "Alborz College of Teheran and Dr. Samuel M. Jordan, Founder and President," in *Cultural Ties Between Iran and the United States*, ed. by Ali Pasha Saleh (Tehran, 1976), 224.

[30]Personal comments of Mrs. Kathryn Brown Jordan, the niece-in-law to Samuel Jordan, during a visit to her home in New Park, PA on 21 May 2009.

[31]Irvine, "Community and Iranzamin Schools," 4.

[32]Boyce, "Alborz College of Teheran," 177.

and professor of education and psychology, Reverend Steiner was a professor of commerce and Elgin Sherk was in charge of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Reverend Wysham was the professor of religion and sacred literature, Ralph Hutchinson assumed the position of College Dean and professor of religion and philosophy, and Walter Groves was the Registrar, subsequent College Dean and professor of philosophy and ethics. Herrick Young was the director of resident students and professor of English literature. The Americans not only held key administrative positions within the new College, but also taught key subjects in the humanities and social sciences. Importantly, five of the eight 1925 American faculty members were graduates from Lafayette College in Easton Pennsylvania, a little known but essential source of funds and faculty for Jordan's Alborz College.[33] Indeed, Lafayette College played a major role in the financial and academic successes of Alborz, contributing nearly $16,000 over the forty years to the Tehran college, as well as twelve of the thirty-one American faculty members. The histories of both colleges shared a common bond, so much so that "men of Lafayette knew the institution [Alborz College] in Teheran as 'Lafayette-in-Persia.'"[34] The following biographies from the Lafayette College's David Bishop Skillman Library collection on "Lafayette-in-Persia" give a sampling of the impressive backgrounds of those "Lafayette Men" of Easton, Pennsylvania:

Twelve Lafayette College Graduates at Alborz College, 1898 to 1940[35]

1. *Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan* (1871–1952) B.A. from Lafayette College, '95, M.A. from Princeton Theological Seminary, '98, D.D. from Lafayette College, '16, and L.L.D. from Washington & Jefferson College, '35. Born in New Park, Pennsylvania near Stewartstown, PA on January 6, 1871 and whose brother Ralph R. Jordan was a member of the Class of 1898. Jordan was Freshman class president, Captain of football team, studied at Princeton Theological Seminary, M.A., and Phi Beta Kappa '23, and missionary to Tehran, Persia (Iran) from 1898 to 1941 as principal of the American High School which was advanced to a Junior College in 1921 and then full grade College in 1925. President and director of Alborz College "known as

[33]Boyce, "Alborz College of Teheran," 170–71. The graduates are listed here by class seniority. Boyce adds that Mrs. Mary Park Wood Jordan "declared that she was also a Lafayette man" as an Alborz faculty member in the role of Professor of English, and music instructor. Boyce also notes that Reverend Charles R. Pittman, class of 1897, was "another Lafayette man in Persia who was engaged in evangelical work in Tabriz, and a strong supporter of the college in Teheran."

[34]Boyce, "Alborz College of Teheran," 171. An estimate of the buying power of $16,000 ($400 times 40 years) with an annual inflation rate of 3.99 percent is $246,798 which only approximates the financial largesse from Lafayette College's faculty, students, and alumni for the period. See http://www.dollartimes.com/calculators/inflation.htm.

[35]D. Arthur Hatch, *Biographical Record of the Men of Lafayette, 1832–1948* (Easton, PA, 1948). A special thanks to Diane Windham Shaw, Special Collections Librarian and College Archivist and her staff at David Bishop Skillman Library, Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania for their graciousness in gaining access to the records of "Lafayette-in-Persia" and the Lafayette alumni.

'Lafayette-in-Persia' for the entire period until taken over by the Persian Government in 1940"; retired and decorated with Iranian Department of Education with Science Medal of 2nd Degree in 1921; with Shah's approval, Dr. and Mrs. Jordan received the Science Medal of Highest Degree in 1940. Married Mary Wood Park on July 21, 1898. 1948 residence is 1055 N. Kingsley Drive, Los Angeles, CA.

2. *Dr. Arthur Clifton Boyce* (1884–1959) B.Phil. from Lafayette College, '07, M.A. from the University of Illinois, '11, Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, '33. Born in Tuscola, Illinois on September 24, 1884. Faculty instructor in sciences at the American High School in Tehran, Iran from 1907 to 1910; graduate student at the University of Ill, 1910–11, vice principal of Township High School in Armington, Ill, 1911–12, graduate student and assistant in education at the University of Chicago, 1912–15. Vice principal, vice president, and professor of education and psychology at Alborz College from 1915 to 1940. Education missionary at the American mission in Tehran, 1940–48. Received the Science Medal (1st class). Married Anne W. Stocking on March 24, 1914. 1918 residence at the American Mission, Tehran, Iran.
3. *Dr. Frederick Lucien Bird* (1890–1975) B.A. from Lafayette College, '13, M.A. and Ph.D. from Columbia University '31. Born in Houtzdale, Pennsylvania on November 26, 1890. Teacher at the American College of Iran (Alborz College) from 1916 to 1922; degrees from Occidental College in Los Angeles and Columbia University, NYC, and lecturer on military government in Washington DC. In 1948, Dr. Bird was director of municipal research and residing at 235 East 22nd Street, NYC.
4. *Dr. William Norris Wysham* (1890–1982), B.A. from Lafayette College, '13, M.A. from Princeton University, '15, and D.D. from Coe College, '32. Born in Baltimore, Maryland on September 10, 1890 and graduate student at Princeton Theological Seminary, '16 and missionary in Tehran and lecturer in English and Religion departments at Alborz College from 1920 to 1923 and from 1925 to 1928. Secretary of the Board for Foreign Missions from 1923 to 1925; he served as secretary and lecturer on mission at the San Francisco Theological Seminary, 1938 to 43 and chairman of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, USA in NYC from 1943 to 48. He married Laura S. Dickey on June 1, 1916 (deceased in 1919) and remarried Mariam Graham on March 6, 1920. In 1918, he resided at 9 Elm Road, Scarsdale, NY.
5. *Dr. Ralph Cooper Hutchinson* (1898–1966) B.A. from Lafayette College, '18 (entered from Sterling College, Kansas in 1916), M.A. from Harvard University, '19, and Ph.D. from University of Pennsylvania, '25 with D.D. from Lafayette College, '30 and honorary degrees from Otterbein College, University of Pittsburgh, Rutgers University, Jefferson Medical College, and Lehigh University. Born in Florissant, Colorado, February 27, 1898. Joseph C. Hutchinson (father) graduated from Lafayette College, '85 and James E. Hutchinson (brother) graduated from Lafayette College, '24. Student at Princeton Theological Seminary, '19 to '22, and director of athletics and international publications for the Y.M.C.A. in Constantinople, Turkey from 1920–21 and director of Young Peoples Work, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education in Philadelphia, PA from 1924–25. He became the Dean and professor of Religion and Philosophy at Alborz College in Tehran from 1925 to 31; he then became the President of Washington and Jefferson College in Washington, PA from 1931-45, and President of Lafayette College from 1945 to 57; he became the president of the Alborz College board of trustees, 1931–40, was appointed chancellor of the Abadan Institute of Technology (AIT), Abadan, Iran from 1957–61 and widely published in academic and popular journals. Married Harriet Sydney Thompson on January 2, 1925 and resided in Easton, PA from 1945 to 1957.
6. *Dr. Walter Alexander Groves* (1898–1983) B.A. from Lafayette College, '19, M.A. from Princeton University, '22, Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania, '25 with a D.D. from Lafayette College, '46. Born in Philadelphia, PA on March 10, 1898, 2nd Lieutenant Field Artillery in World War I, and instructor in Bible and History at Lafayette College, 1922–24, and Secretary of Board of Missions, Presbyterian Church, 1924–25. He was registrar for the American College of Tehran (Alborz College) from 1921-31, Dean and Registrar from 1931–40, and professor of Philosophy and Ethics from 1925–40. He became professor of Philosophy and Ethics at Centre College in Danville, KY from 1940–42 and then professor of theology at Louisville Presbyterian Seminary in Louisville, KY from 1942–46. He was then President of Centre College from 1946 to 1956, trustee to Alborz College and received the Science Decoration 1st class (highest honorary award) in 1944, and a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Geographical Society, and from 1956 to 1966, he was the President of the Abadan Institute of Technology (AIT) in Abadan, Iran, and then became Chancellor of Pahlavi University in Shiraz, Iran from 1966 to 71. He married Estelle Crawford on February 28, 1925.
7. *William Clarke McNeill* (1911–?) B.A. from Lafayette College, '31 and M.B.A. from New York University, '40. Born in Paterson, New Jersey on November 20, 1911. Instructor at Alborz College from 1931 to 35, statistician and then accountant to NYC corporations. Married Marion L. Hageman on April 29, 1938. In 1948, he resided at 51 Sherman Street in Ridgewood, NJ.
8. *Dr. Edward Stewart Kennedy* (1912–?). B.A. from Lafayette College, '32, M. A., and Ph.D. in Electrical Engineering from Lehigh University, '37 and '39. Instructor in mathematics at Alborz College from 1932 to 1936, and University of Alabama, 1939–41. A Major in the U.S. Army infantry in World War II, he was the military attaché in Tehran, Iran and teacher at the American College in Beirut, Syria [Lebanon] from 1946 to ? Born in San Angel, Mexico on January 3, 1912. Unmarried and resided at the American University of Beirut, Lebanon.
9. *Dr. George Walton Brainerd* (1909–56). B.S. from Lafayette College, '30, M.S. and Ph.D. from Ohio State University in '35 and '37. Born in Blacksburg,

Virginia on July 1909. Teacher at the American College of Tehran from 1930 to 33 and with the University of Pennsylvania Persian Expedition'34. He was an assistant professor of zoology at Ohio State University, 1935–37, an archeologist with the American Exploration Society, 1935–39 and Carnegie Institute of Washington, '39–43. He was a researcher from 1943 to 1948 with the U.S. Navy as a lieutenant at Sands Point, Long Island, NY and as an archeologist in the Southwest Museum Highland Park, Los Angeles, CA. He contributed to academic publications, and married Katharine Babcock in 1940 residing in Pasadena, CA.

10. *Samuel LeRoy Rambo* (1906–72). B.S. in engineering from Lafayette College, '30. Born in Norristown, Pennsylvania on July 10 1906. Teacher and athletic director at the Alborz College [American College in Tehran] from 1930 to 1932.
11. *Arthur Clarence Haverly* (1914–?). B.A. from Lafayette College and B. Theology from Princeton Theological Seminary. Teacher in Bible Studies at Alborz College, 1936 to 1939. Married Etha Hartman on December 2, 1941 and resided in Hallock, Minnesota.
12. *James Heilman Hill* (1905–65). B.A. from Lafayette College. Born in Williamsport, Pennsylvania on August 4, 1905. Teacher of business at "Lafayette-in-Persia" from 1928 to 1931. Worked as an auditor and accountant for the U. S. military, State Department overseas and New York-based companies. Married Marjorie Palmer on November 20, 1933. Resided in Cape Elizabeth, Maine.

The Lafayette-in-Persia concept actually began shortly after Samuel Jordan arrived in Tehran in November 1898. Jordan received an 1899 letter from Lafayette College's Brainerd Society, known on the campus as the Brainerd Evangelical Society with the aim, articulated in 1833, to "promote Christian missions and the Evangelization of the World." Affiliated by the 1880s with the on-campus YMCA, the Brainerd Society, named for David Brainerd, a young missionary to Native Americans in the Delaware Valley, had among its many purposes "an avid interest in foreign mission work."[36] By the time Jordan enrolled in the Presbyterian Lafayette College, the Society was organizing student events on campus, and working with underprivileged boys in Easton, PA. The members also "maintained its avid enthusiasm for foreign missions through the Student Volunteer Band, an on-campus national Christian organization composed of Lafayette students who 'seriously intended to become foreign missionaries after graduation.'" Jordan was a member of the Band as a student, and returned, as did other Lafayette College alumni missionaries from around the world, to report on "their pioneering work at the annual meeting of the Brainerd Society."[37] The 1899 letter from the Society asked for information about the American Boys' School of

[36]The information is taken from the typed scripted account, "Historical Sketch" in the Brainerd Society Records in the David Bishop Skillman Library at Lafayette College, Easton, PA, 1.
[37]"Historical Sketch."

Tehran and for "suggestions as to how Lafayette College could cooperate." The students and faculty sent a contribution that year and continued to do so almost every year until the college in Iran was closed in 1940.[38]

The 1899 Brainerd Society letter to Samuel Jordan was just the beginning. When the Jordans returned to the US and then to Easton on their 1906–07 furlough, they made Lafayette College their center of activity. During their stay, a Committee on the Lafayette Education Work in Persia organized fundraising from Lafayette College alumni for the Presbyterian educational work in Tehran with a particular interest in supporting the Lafayette men appointed to the high school and college faculty. In 1923, the Board of Trustees of Lafayette College formally adopted the American College in Tehran as Lafayette's special interest abroad with Dr. John H. MacCracken, Lafayette College's President, appointed as president of Alborz College's Board of Trustees.[39] The ties between the two colleges never wavered for the next seventeen years. Alborz College had American faculty members with college and graduate degrees from leading American universities, including the University of Chicago, University of Pennsylvania, Columbia University, the University of Pittsburgh, Indiana University, Coe College, Wooster College, New York University, Lehigh University, and the US Naval Academy. Alborz had an American college as its academic mentor and working partner with the usual educational, business and diplomatic network of contacts and financial supporters on hand.

The College faculty of forty-five men from 1925 to 1940 had earned thirteen doctoral degrees (10 PhDs, 2 DDs), and forty-one master and bachelor degrees (1 MBA, 40 BAs and BScs) in a wide range of fields within the humanities, and social and natural sciences. In a number of cases, including those of Arthur Boyce, Walter Groves, Ralph Hutchinson, William Wysham, William McNeill and Edward Stewart, the doctoral and Master of Business Administration degrees were earned during extended leaves from Tehran, partially funded by the BFM, the Brainerd Society and the individual faculty member. In addition, Robert Steiner, F. Taylor Gurney, Herrick B. Young, Rezazadeh Shafaq and Yayha Armajani earned their doctorates while employed at Alborz College, and received assistance from Alborz College's faculty and scholarship fund replenished constantly by Jordan's aggressive annual fundraising and brochure campaigns.

A 1932 six-page fundraising brochure on Alborz College offered potential American donors an excellent insight into the operations of a Christian private school in Iran. The first page was a 1924 photograph of Rollestone Hall with a close-up of the faculty and staff. The second page was partially text with a photograph of students in a typing class wearing the Pahlavi hat of the day. The text read "The American College of Teheran and the Nation of Persia" and stated:

> As the only college of Persia, its opportunity to affect national life is challenging and unique. At present in its several schools, eight thousand students—predominantly

[38]Boyce, "Alborz College of Teheran," 170.
[39]Boyce, "Alborz College of Teheran."

Moslem—representing every part of Persia and every phase of Persian life. Beirut University [The American University of Beirut] is 1,000 miles west. Forman Christian College [founded in Lahore, Pakistan by Dr. Charles William Forman in 1864] is more than 1,000 miles to the east. The American College of Teheran is the only college in more than 2,000 miles. Princes of the royal family, sons of Cabinet Ministers, sons of statesmen, sons of generals and tribal chieftains, sons of great Moslem priests, sons of common people—the destiny of Persia rests largely in these students. ... A new Persia with enlightened leaders, Democratic government, Christian in ideals and actions—the goal of the American College of Teheran.

A quote appears on the second page by Arbab Kai Khosro Shahrokh, an influential member of Majles, who was speaking in the presence of the Prime Minister and other notables, stating that, "The one great hope for lasting reform and real progress in Persia is the young men of character being turned out by the American College."[40]

On third page of the same brochure, titled "The American College of Teheran and the Education of Persian Youth," was the following text:

For fifty years, this school has been leading education at Persia's capital city. Incorporated under the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York [in 1924 and permanently chartered in 1928], it is doing full college work. The A.B. degree has been granted for the past two years, and for the first time in the history of Persia. Courses include Arts, pre-Medical, Education, Commerce, and special majors in Persian and Arabic, English, Religion, Philosophy, and an engineering school. This great opportunity lies before us. ... Hundreds of Persian students now in the Universities of Europe and America.

A quotation included from Dr. A. C. Millspaugh, the 1922–27 Director of the American Financial Commission in Persia, reads:

I think you are aware of my view that the American College is performing in Persia a work of the first importance, not only in the enlightenment of the people but indirectly in the economic, financial and political development of the country. I hope that you will be able to continue expanding the efforts that have brought to you such deserved appreciation.[41]

The final page of text titled "The Campus of the American College of Teheran" listed the American faculty members with their degrees. The text stated that:

[40]The brochure is part of the Kathryn Brown Jordan private collection of Jordan memorabilia, New Park, Pennsylvania, now at the Samuel Martin Jordan Center for Persian Studies at the University of California/Irvine, Los Angeles, CA, 2.

[41]1932 brochure, 3.

Fifty-seven acres of desert land waiting to be transformed, surrounded in part by a crumbling mud wall and at the center the most beautiful modern building of Persia. A new wall is imperatively needed. The gatehouse planned is in harmony with the beautiful Persian-Saracenic [Arabic] architecture of Rollestone Hall. ... Water must be brought, trees planted and the small enclosed desert made into a campus of beauty—a "Persian garden"—a point of contact through which we may capture the Persian love of beauty and associate it with high idealism. Amount needed [is] $16,000.

The brochure ended with a plea for better homes for the American staff and the lack thereof noting that "the home of the American family ministers not only to those who live in it but also to Persian youth who make it their model and ideal. Each residence will cost $10,000." A list of the 1932 American faculty members (*Lafayette College alumni) followed:

*S.M. Jordan, D.D. and Mrs. Jordan—President
*Arthur C. Boyce, M.A. and Mrs. Boyce—Vice President
*R.C. Hutchinson, Ph.D. and Mrs. Hutchinson—Dean of the College
*W.A. Groves, Ph.D. and Mrs. Groves—Registrar
Herrick B. Young, M.A., and Mrs. Young.—Dean of Students
F. Taylor Gurney and Mrs. Gurney
*Charles A. Hoffman, M.A.
Hugh McCarroll
*L.S. Rambo
Felix Howland.[42]

The final page of the 1932 brochure explained the specific needs of the College in reference to the Library, the telephone system, wiring and electrical equipment, athletic equipment, the elementary school and a "moving picture machine." The total budget requested was $240,000.[43]

While Jordan granted that Iran had done much in the 1904 to 1929 period towards improving the "schools in all the cities and towns and in many larger villages, for girls as well as for boys [through] ways and means of initiating free education throughout the country," the Iranian teachers and superintendents were not properly educated and knew "little or nothing about modern theories and up to date methods."[44] Jordan continued to clarify his overall point that:

[42]1932 brochure, 7.

[43]The approximate 2010 buying power of $240,000 with an annual inflation rate of 3.51 percent over the past seventy-eight years is $3,549,846.58, which puts Jordan's budgetary ambitions into perspective. See http://www.dollartimes.com/calculators/inflation.htm.

[44]Samuel M. Jordan, "The Power Plant in Persia," *Women and Missions* (December 1929): 328.

> Even if these [Iranian] teachers could give the intellectual training desired, they cannot supply the Christian standards, the ideas and the ideals requisite for the regeneration of the country. We can and do in the American College of Teheran and in other mission schools, and this fact is widely recognized by the Persians.[45]

Jordan concluded that due to the "high moral standards and earnest religious spirit of our schools," the mission schools excel, and the character building programs are successful at "turning out of men who are efficient."

Overall, the American Presbyterian missionaries who had began in 1834 as evangelical messengers of the "Good News" in northwestern Iran had by the 1870s and 1880s moved in new directions in their missionary work in response to both Presbyterian and Iranian interests. The shift to expand their educational and medical missionary activities in addition to evangelical work had far greater social and cultural impact than the preaching of "Good News." At a 1947 Presbyterian memorial ceremony in Tehran for Dr. Phillip McDowell, a twenty-year American missionary doctor at the American Hospital in Tehran, one of his Iranian patients noted that "he preached by his action and not his words" best summing up the mentorship and role-modeling that many former Iranian students of those "Presbyterian Days" remember so fondly to this day.[46]

[45]Jordan, "The Power Plant in Persia."

[46]Personal comments by Martha McDowell Dutton, the daughter of Dr. Phillip McDowell, in her home in Wooster, OH, on 23 July 2007.

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John H. Lorentz

Educational Development in Iran: The Pivotal Role of the Mission Schools and Alborz College

There were many channels of Western impact on nineteenth-century Iran. The military sphere was the first and continued to be of importance throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Diplomatic interchanges, travelers and new types of economic activity were all influential in opening Iranians to awareness of another world. But perhaps the foremost channel through which the impact of the West was transmitted to Iran was education. Several areas in the educational sphere were important in the influx of Western ideas and ways into nineteenth and early twentieth century Iran. These were: students sent abroad; Western-inspired educational institutions set up by the Iranian government, and later by private individuals; and mission schools. This analysis focuses on the last of these influences and, above all, on the most renowned of the mission schools, Alborz College. In surveying the evidence, one can conclude that mission-provided Western education formed a significant chapter in the early modern period of Iranian history.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the paucity of government involvement assured few institutional channels for wider awareness of the world on the part of Iranians. Not many students were sent on study missions abroad and other than the Dar al-Funun, the first western-styled government institution of higher learning in Iran which officially opened in 1852 as part of the reform efforts of Amir Kabir,[1] local educational facilities were insufficient and few in number. Limited government activity in the field of education left a gap. This gap was partially filled by foreigners, in particular foreign missionaries. Mission education thus constituted an extremely important channel in the educational sphere through which Western techniques and ideas filtered into Iran.

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[1]Amir Kabir was the reform-minded first Grand Vizier (Chief Minister) of the Qajar King Nasir al-Din Shah. His extensive reforms constituted a major step in modernization efforts in nineteenth century Iran and the establishment of the Dar al-Funun was perhaps the foremost and most consequential of those reforms. For details on Amir Kabir and the Dar al-Funun see: John H. Lorentz, "Iran's Great Reformer of the Nineteenth Century: An Analysis of Amir Kabir's Reforms," *Iranian Studies* 4, no. 2–3 (1971): 85–103. A full account in Persian can be found in Faridun Adamiyat, *Amir Kabir va Iran* (Tehran, 1969).

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The impact and influence of mission school graduates on Iranian society has received less attention than it deserves.[2] While this impact was limited in numerical terms, true also of Iranians educated in the West and in local Western-styled educational institutions, it was nonetheless noteworthy. On the basis of the percentage of graduates who contributed substantially to the process of Westernization, the products of mission schools were effective promoters of change. Certainly the contributions of mission school graduates form a significant chapter, particularly in the social sphere, in the past century and a half of Iran's struggle to modernize.

Since the first third of the nineteenth century there were missionaries in Iran representing many different Christian sects and various western countries, particularly France, Britain and the United States. Many of these missionaries were active in the field of education. Perhaps the most active were the American Protestants of the Presbyterian sect. They sent their first missionary in the 1830s. Some 105 years later, the Iranian government takeover of their educational facilities effectively marked the end of direct, first-hand control of American mission schools. As perhaps the best illustration of the impact of mission education, we have chosen to focus on this mission.

The first American missionary to Iran was Justin Perkins, who arrived in Urumia in 1834. One of his first endeavors was in the field of education. Within months of his arrival he had opened a mission school for the Nestorian Christians of the area. The early missionary efforts were directed towards the Eastern Christian churches rather than the majority Muslim population, and from the beginning the primary vehicle through which these efforts were channeled was education. This policy was the result of earlier negative responses to the founding of missions aimed directly at Muslim peoples of the Ottoman Empire. Serious opposition arose and induced Mission Boards to direct their attention to Christian rather than Muslim subjects. This policy was of significance in allowing the early missionary activities amongst the Persians to grow and develop relatively free of government influence.

It was not until the last quarter of the nineteenth century that government opposition to missionary work arose. What had previously been a mission to the Nestorians changed to a mission to the Persians. Missionaries spread their activities amongst a wider audience and, as a result, there were times when Muslim religious opposition erupted. Reacting to pressure from Muslim religious scholars ('ulama), the government

[2]The literature on mission education in Iran is sparse. Some works, which by dint of their titles might be expected to have considerable information, in fact have little. A notable example would be *Education, Religion and the Discourse of Cultural Reform in Qajar Iran* by Monica M. Ringer which barely mentions the subject. Perhaps the most extensive work in published form is that of Michael Zirinsky, who has written a number of articles and chapters on missionaries and mission education in Iran. See, for example, "Harbingers of Change: Presbyterian Women in Iran, 1883–1949," *American Presbyterian* 70, no. 3 (1992): 171–86; "A Panacea for the Ills of the Country: American Presbyterian Education in Inter-War Iran," *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 1–2 (1993): 119–37; and "Render Therefore unto Caesar That Which Is Caesar's: American Presbyterian Educators and Reza Shah," *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3–4 (1993): 337–56. Overall, there are many bits here and there, but the topic of mission education in Iran awaits a comprehensive examination in book form.

took an occasional hard line against mission schools. Generally, though, the Qajar government was receptive to the work of the missionaries in Iran, which tended to be less centered on direct proselytizing than on the areas of education and medicine.

Educational activities did encounter opposition from the 'ulama. Indicative is the fact that a mission school was not established in the important religious center of Mashhad until 1925, despite much earlier efforts to do so. The opposition of Muslim religious leaders was as much directed against the introduction of "new education" (*Farhang-i Nau*)[3] as it was against Christian missions. Even private Muslims were largely unsuccessful in establishing schools in Mashhad and other religious strongholds during the nineteenth century. Despite royal support, for instance, Rushdiyih,[4] the first individual to introduce "new education" in Iran by founding private schools, was forced out of Tabriz several times before succeeding, and he failed entirely in Mashhad. The vacillation of government in the face of religious opposition can best be seen in such instances, and also in the several cases in which the government would order a mission school closed and then allow it to reopen a short time later.[5] There is even an instance in which the government facilitated such a reopening with a grant of money for school maintenance. Overall, the latter part of the nineteenth century witnessed a sporadic conciliatory attitude on the part of Nasir al-Din Shah towards the 'ulama, but an essentially favorable view by the government of missionary work in Iran.

Mission schools fared well and expanded greatly in number in the last fifty years of Qajar rule. But the emergence of the Pahlavi Dynasty opened a new chapter. Reza Shah aimed at creating a modern state with fundamental loyalties rooted in a sense of Persian nationalism. Education was a basic means towards this end.[6] The first national system of education was founded and this development was eventually to cause the displacement of the missionaries in the field of education.

The development of an Iranian national system of education was gradual and yet incomplete by the time that mission schools were incorporated into that system. It was only a matter of time until the requirements of modern nationhood would dictate ever-increasing government participation in educational development and the eventual decline of foreign-owned and operated educational facilities. But, it was political and not strictly educational matters that hastened the demise of the mission schools.[7] Reza Shah sought to inculcate a sense of patriotic nationalism in

[3]"New education" was the name attributed to western-styled educational institutions in all the major political entities in the Middle East when such schools were established during the nineteenth century.

[4]Rushdiyih got this sobriquet because this was the name of his school. Nikki Keddie has suggested in a personal communiqué that the term was probably taken from new schools of that generic name in the Ottoman Empire. Details on the educational efforts of Rushdiyih are found in: "Farhang-i Nau Chiguih Dar Iran Aghaz Shod? Khidmat-i Rushdiyih bih Ma'arif," *Amuzish va Parvarish*, 25, no. 8–9, n.d.

[5]John Elder, *History of the American Mission to Iran, 1834–1860* (Tehran, n.d.), 25–26, 33, 37, 47, 49.

[6]Amin Banani, *The Modernization of Iran, 1921–1941* (Stanford, CA, 1961), 96.

[7]John A. DeNovo, *American Interests and Policies in the Middle East, 1900–1939* (Minneapolis, 1963), 294.

Persian citizens that would change the status of minority groups vis-à-vis the state. Minorities were strongly represented in mission schools and many schools were operating amongst minority communities, a circumstance dating back to the early mission thrust. The unique cultural background of the minorities was an element that was cultivated by missionary education and minorities were taught to be proud of their language and heritage. As a consequence, in order to ensure that feelings of minority patriotism were not encouraged, the central government in 1933 closed the Protestant American mission schools in northwest Iran after nearly 100 years of operation. The pretext given was that this was a military zone and that it was for the protection of the missionaries that they were to leave. However, it was clearly a move to diminish the threat of internal rebellion and to strengthen the bonds of national loyalty.

An earlier blow had been dealt when in 1932 all foreign schools were forbidden to allow Persian children to enroll in the first six grades of elementary school. According to one mission account, this cut enrollments by 75 percent.[8] The reason given was that the Soviets, who had themselves founded schools in Iran, were using these schools for political indoctrination. Prior to this, in 1926–27, the Ministry of Education required all mission schools to conform to government regulations concerning curriculum and methods. These regulations required Koranic law to be taught to all pupils and forbade the teaching of a non-Muslim religion to Muslim pupils.[9] A compromise was worked out which softened these regulations for mission schools, though they were still not allowed to teach the Bible to Muslim children. However, even this was circumvented to a certain extent as they were allowed to teach the sayings of prophets and wise men which, of course, included Jesus. The final blow was dealt in 1939 with the government order that private schools be turned over to the government. Thus ended over one hundred years of directly administered missionary education in Iran.

What then can we deduce of the impact of American mission schools in the century of their operation? One can begin by looking at the advantages of the education offered by American missionaries. There is no doubt that mission schools were popular, even amongst Muslims. Nineteenth century mission schools offered elementary courses in reading, writing, spelling, composition, grammar, singing, geography, arithmetic, foreign languages and theology. At a higher level there was also instruction in physiology, chemistry, natural philosophy and astronomy. Such broad offerings provided a liberal education and a strong background for those students who later wished to further their education in Iran, or abroad. Iranians were becoming increasingly aware of the Western world and its advances. Some of the wealthier families sought to send their children abroad for studies. In order to obtain the necessary educational and language skills, and perhaps contacts as well, many first sent their children to the mission schools in Iran. This was so in spite of the fact that some, being devout Muslims, considered such schools religiously suspect. However, the benefits of a Western-style education were beginning to be recognized and were an over-riding consideration.

[8]Elder, *History of the American Mission*, 74.

[9]DeNovo, *American Interests*, 291.

It would be useful to have exact enrollment figures for all the mission schools, but there is no single comprehensive source. From a compendium of several sources, however, some idea of the expansion in the nineteenth century can be gathered.[10] The Tehran Boys' School was opened in 1873 with 20 students. In 1889 it still had only 60 students. But in 1897 there were 134 boys in the school, of whom half were Muslim. Growth in like manner can be seen in the Tehran Girls' School founded in 1874. It opened with 12 students, all Christian. By 1905 there were 95 students of whom 24 were Muslim. The Hamadan Boys' School opened in 1880 with 31 students. By 1911 the school catered to 125 students. The Tabriz Boys' School also opened in 1880. In 1883 it had 52 students (13 Muslim). Enrollment increased fivefold in the next quarter century. In 1909 there were 263 boys, nearly half of whom were Muslims (124), enrolled in the Tabriz school. The following year the figure jumped to 313 students (156 Muslims).

From the early days of missionary educational work, one of the major concerns was the financial support of the students. This has long been a source of disagreement among observers as some have seen financial assistance as just a lure to attract students to the mission schools. However, the early students were nearly all Christian and were not from wealthy families. The parents could not afford to send their children to school without at the same time decreasing the family's earning power. As an inducement, missionaries initially waived tuition payments and even offered free board.[11] This soon proved unworkable and a nominal fee was charged in accordance with ability to pay. By the twentieth century this method was standard practice. If the students were unable to make such payments, they were allowed to work their way through school. In the case of the Tehran Boys' School and Alborz College, an additional scholarship practice was introduced. Though there was no written policy, the principal of the schools made a practice of charging enough to the relatively well-to-do so that nine students would enable a tenth to attend free of charge.[12]

Because there were students of all financial and social levels attending, the mission schools tended to serve as equalizers in society. Each student was accepted as an individual on his own merits. Students of the nobility and landholding class were predominant, but peasants were also represented.[13] This, of course, sent a powerful social message.

This social spread contrasted sharply with the limited educational access of lower socio-economic levels, a circumstance reflected in both Iranian individuals sent

[10]The most important source of enrollment figures is the Presbyterian Church in the USA, *Iran Mission: A Century of Mission Work in Iran (Persia), 1834–1934* (Beirut, 1936).

[11]Elder, *History of the American Mission*, 12.

[12]Letter of former missionary John Elder to author dated 28 June 1977.

[13]In a letter dated 17 February 1973 Professor Yahya Armajani, a former student of a mission school, writes that mission school students were generally the "well to do 'liberal' type, with lots of poor thrown in." He adds that in his Alborz College high school class (1927), "four or five of us came from the peasant class with illiterate parents and did not pay any tuition. We had in our class the second cousin of the Shah (Qajar), two sons of tribal chiefs and several from the provinces as well as sons of merchants, administrators, etc. The 'rule' was for nine students to pay extra tuition to take care of a tenth."

abroad and students of the Dar al-Funun. Boarding students in mission schools slept in the same rooms, ate at the same table, and did chores assigned to all, which in some cases even included scrubbing floors. Former students and teachers attest to this and indicate that the dignity of labor and worth of the individual were an important part of the missionary legacy.[14] Thus, it is clear that the mission schools not only provided basic education skills, but also ushered in Western ideas and values.

One of the notable social changes championed by the missionaries was in the role of women. Upon their arrival in Iran the missionaries found only one woman, Heleneh, the sister of Assyrian Patriarch Mar Shimun, who was able to read. This was to change, however, with the establishment of the first girls' school in Urumia in 1838, predating the first such government school by sixty years. Other girls' schools were established in Tehran and Tabriz, both in 1874, and in Hamadan in 1882. Schools for girls required even more in the way of inducement when first opened. The Tehran Girls' School operated for nine years furnishing, without charge, tuition, board and clothing until the first parental payment in 1883.[15] The first training program for nurses in Iran was also established through missionary efforts.[16] Beginning in Tehran in 1916 with the training of four graduates of the Tehran Girls' School, programs were soon instituted in other medical missionary stations. The Tehran program was the most formalized and is generally considered to have been the first nursing school in Iran.

Significant numbers of women mission school graduates pioneered in roles not previously open to women, particularly in social service roles. Examples include the poetess Parvin Itisami; the prominent psychiatrist and former Dean of Women at the University of Tehran, Dr. Parvin Sirjandi; the woman who organized the School of Social Service of the University of Tehran, Sattareh Farmanfarmayan; one of the first women members of the Majlis (Parliament), Neyereh Ibtihaj-Sami'i; and the first Iranian woman ambassador to a foreign country, Mihrangiz Daulatshahi, who was appointed ambassador to Denmark in 1976. Such pioneering is indicative of the overall impact of mission education on Iranian women in the twentieth century. Also revealing is the fact that in 1962, at the first International Conference of Middle Eastern Women held in Tehran, over half of the Iranian delegates were graduates of Iran Bethel,[17] successor to the mission school for girls established in 1874 and the predecessor of what later became Damavand College for Women in Tehran.

Apart from the effects of formal education, the role of women in Iran was affected by missionaries in other ways. Women missionaries, for instance, served as role models in that they wore no veil, were shown professional respect by men, and were educated.

[14]This point clearly emerged in interviews with, or personal communiqués from, former mission students, Yahya Armajani and William Yoel, and former missionaries, John Elder, F. Taylor Gurney, T. Cuyler Young and Walter Groves.

[15]Elder, *History of the American Mission*, 28.

[16]Elder, *History of the American Mission*, 70.

[17]Letter of former missionary, William Wysham, dated 23 January 1973.

As young Iranian men attended the mission schools and were sent abroad for study they began to accept this new status for women. Many sought wives who were educated. Thus, some families, in order to ensure good marriages for their daughters, found it necessary to see to their education.

Another example of the social impact can be seen in the effects of at least one aspect of the school curriculum. Missionaries first introduced sports as part of an academic education. Significantly, some of these were team sports, including volleyball and soccer. Traditional Iranian sports, such as wrestling, were mostly individual in nature and it was by conscious intent of the mission educators that sports involving cooperative effort were introduced. Sports activity had the benefit of providing much-needed physical exercise, but it also had a benefit in the social realm. It served to free children from certain restrictions placed upon their physical activity, restrictions of both manner and dress.[18] Children were not traditionally encouraged to run about. Furthermore, the dress of boys of well-to-do Persian families made strenuous physical activity difficult. However, as sports became a part of the mission school curriculum, both the dress and parental disapproval of such activity changed. Again, the value placed upon the type of education that the mission schools offered proved paramount and allowed the missionaries to introduce new ways. Eventually, sports were incorporated into the curriculum of government schools.

The social impact of mission school education was evident also in other areas. Character development was a stated goal. Therefore, attempts were made to encourage certain values. As mentioned previously, there was emphasis on the "dignity" of labor. Manual labor was not to be seen as a demeaning task reserved for servants. Dr. Samuel Jordan, President of the American Boys' School in Tehran (later Alborz College), tells of his students setting off with picks and shovels to help in the building of a soccer field for their school.[19] Jordan mentions the consternation that this aroused from onlookers and the stares and whispers as the boys walked down the street with their tools in hand.

Dr. Jordan also worked at instilling a sense of social welfare in his students. For instance, he required his students to play an active role in 1917 in food distribution during the famine of that year.[20] Not infrequently, mission students looking back on their education point to these social values as an integral part of their learning.

Dr. Jordan deserves a special mention. He is the best-known American missionary to Iran in the field of education. Arriving in Iran in 1898, Dr. Jordan took over principalship of the Tehran Boys' School which had been established in 1873 as an elementary school. He worked diligently from his arrival to ensure that the Boys' School would someday fulfill the necessary requirements to become a college. By 1900 it was a high school with Muslim students comprising 60 percent of the enroll-

[18]Arthur C. Boyce, "Alborz College of Tehran and Dr. Samuel Jordan, Founder and President," *Cultural Ties Between Iran and the United States* (Tehran, 1976), 193.

[19]Boyce, "Alborz College of Tehran," 198.

[20]Elder, *History of the American Mission*, 69.

ment. In 1913 it became a junior college, and in 1924 it was granted college status. Dr. Jordan served as principal until the school's closure in 1940.

The American College of Tehran, later renamed Alborz College, was the most renowned school in Iran during the 1920s and 1930s. The excellence of the college was a tribute to the guidance of Dr. Jordan, whose name became almost synonymous with the school. His work and his person inspired great admiration. To the present day, Dr. Jordan is warmly remembered by many Persians, particularly those who were connected in any way with the college. In my interviews with former students and teachers of Alborz College, without exception Dr. Jordan was brought into conversation in praiseworthy terms. The literature also reflects the esteem with which he was held both by fellow missionaries and Iranians. It is not by accident that of the two academic centers in the United States devoted exclusively to Persian Studies, one is named the Samuel Jordan Center for Persian Studies and Culture (University of California, Irvine). The benefactor of this Center, Fariborz Maseeh, was himself a graduate of Alborz College and considered his education there a profound influence on his life.

Alborz College was perhaps the foremost legacy of American missionary endeavors in Iran. Alborz graduates rank among the leading persons of the twentieth century in Iran. They have held positions in government, business, science, banking, medicine and education. Their prominent role in modern developments suggests that mission school education had a significant impact on Iranian society in the direction of modernization. However, it should be noted that the success of Alborz graduates in modern occupations, while supportive of the conclusion that career activities were largely related to the type of education, may equally point to the role of education as a means of social advancement within an already established social elite. That is, as the state instituted programs modeled after the West there was a demand for the types of skills provided by "new education." Those who possessed these skills and their families were advantaged in the ever-continuing shuffle for power and prestige among the elite. This could well account for the previously noted point that Muslim families were quick to take advantage of Christian mission education. Education was most likely viewed as a means to an end, apart from the religious implications. Such a conclusion is further warranted in view of the fact that mission schools were first opened to Muslims due less to missionary desire than to the clamor of Muslim families seeking to educate their young in a "foreign" school.[21] It is hardly surprising then to find "great" family names among mission school students, and particularly amongst those who were later prominent. For instance, among graduates of the Alborz College are found the family names Bakhtiar, Amini, Hikmat, Afshar, Ibtihaj and Farmanfarmayan.

As for the overall impact of the mission schools on Iranian society, they served the purpose of transmitting Western ways and knowledge into Iran. Several factors lend weight to this conclusion. Previously discussed were two factors, the attitudinal changes and the acquisition of knowledge applicable to modern development that mission education provided. Third and fourth factors, both of which were of considerable importance, were the acquisition of a foreign language skill and of foreign contacts. Both were crucial when it came to the continuing input of Western ideas and knowledge, and even more so in the matter of continuing formal education. Mission education was primarily aimed at the lower levels. But the graduates of mission schools were superbly prepared to continue their higher education abroad, and many did so. Additionally, both the attitudes and skills derived from the mission education were basic qualifications for jobs with foreign nationals.[22] Economically, socially and politically these jobs were often among the most desirable in Iranian society. Furthermore, these jobs were additional links to Western ways and ideas.

[21]Boyce, "Alborz College," 176. See also Elder, *History of the American Mission*, 27.

In sum, mission education was a significant channel in transmitting Western ways and Western knowledge into Iran. Alborz College was the "crown jewel." Alborz and the other mission schools served as key points of contact between the very different social and political systems of Iran and the West. These schools produced reformers and modernizers out of proportion to their total numbers of graduates. Their contributions form an important chapter in the educational development of Iran.

[22]It is not by accident, for instance, that the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company hired many graduates of the American mission schools.

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Michael Zirinsky

Inculcate Tehran: Opening a Dialogue of Civilizations in the Shadow of God and the Alborz

This essay discusses the establishment of Alborz College by American Presbyterian missionaries. Alborz's early years, before its 1940 nationalization by Iran, were shaped by the vision of its first president, Samuel Jordan, a liberal, athletic, pragmatic Christian reformer who led by example, a practitioner of what we now call "social work" and an encourager of female empowerment. Alborz and the Presbyterian mission which gave it birth grew in the context of American social history, including the religious awakening of the early nineteenth century, American doctrines of freedom and universal education, as well as the contradictory impulses of ethnocentricity and ecumenicism. The essay is based on private and governmental archival sources and the experience of the author as a high school student in Tehran.

This history needs to be told.
—Yahya Armajani[1]

All writing is autobiographical.
—Donald Murray[2]

This essay discusses the origins of Alborz College as an effort by private Americans to share with Iran the blessings of their own culture. This they did for decades, cooperating with the Tehran government, without involving Washington. Remarkably, Alborz survived Reza Shah's assault on foreign schools during the 1930s, and it flourished after nationalization as a premier Iranian institution preparing secondary students for modern university studies. It continues as such today.[3]

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[1]This is a paraphrase of a remark made to me by Alborz alumnus and history professor Yahya Armajani in November 1988 at the MESA banquet in Los Angeles, following our panel on Presbyterian education in interwar Iran.

[2]Donald Murray was a Pulitzer Prize winning editorial writer, subsequently a writing teacher at the University of New Hampshire and a columnist for the *Boston Globe*. This phrase appears repeatedly in his books about writing.

[3]Not all sources appear in footnotes; the most important archive is that of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, Philadelphia; other archives consulted include those of the Alliance Israelite Universelle,

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Introduction

Writing in 2010, 112 years after Alborz-founder Samuel Jordan first arrived in Tehran—and 54 years after my own first arrival there as a thirteen-year-old schoolboy—it is perhaps inevitable that my thoughts are shaped by the complexity of contemporary Iranian–American relations. On the one hand the two governments have been at loggerheads since the 1978–79 revolution, with Tehran proclaiming the US to be "The Great Satan," and with Washington declaring that Tehran sponsors "terrorism" and seeks nuclear weapons and regional hegemony. On the other hand, individual Americans who visit Iran are welcomed by legendary Iranian hospitality, which includes frequent assertion by individual Iranians that they love Americans and have family members who live in places like Houston and Los Angeles. Indeed, I have personally experienced this incongruity: in October 1997 I was embraced by a mullah on the tarmac of Mashhad airport as I was about to fly to Shiraz, whose Homa Hotel, like that of the one I had just left, greeted guests with the slogan "DOWN WITH USA." The cleric instructed me to "tell the American people, the Iranian people love them." How can we explain this apparent contradiction?

Part of the story is *taarof*, of course, the elaborate Iranian courtesy by which individuals seek to smooth relations with others by praising them and giving them preference. The "flattery" is not necessarily meant to be taken literally, and Americans are often confused by the practice, despite its kinship to the American folk wisdom that "you catch more flies with honey than with vinegar."

But there is more, much more.

For well over a century following their first arrival in 1829, Americans in Iran were primarily private citizens motivated by their Calvinist Protestant faith to preach in Iran the gospel of Jesus, in both word and works. While Iranians of all faiths, Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians and Bahais as well as Muslims, were largely immune to the word—religion being understood in Iran to be a matter of family and community which one did not change—they responded favorably to the American works on offer. Characterizing their secular work as "bait for the gospel hook" to their supporters in the US, Presbyterian missionaries in Iran sought to develop Iranian access to modern medicine and education. In my view, the American mission thus became a vector of modernization, a road toward integration of Iran with the world economy and international politics. The hospitals and schools begun in Iran by these missionaries were eventually closed or nationalized, but their legacy included the dual notions of Americans as fundamentally hard-working and well-meaning, supportive of Iranian efforts to resist European aggression, as well as America as a land of opportunity and refuge.

Paris; the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission to the Church of the East, London; the Church Missionary Society, Birmingham; the Archives Lazaristes, Paris; and the US and UK diplomatic archives.

Alborz was the most visible and most durable of these American missionary works in Iran before the Second World War. That conflict, which coincided with the closing of most foreign schools in Iran, saw US government policy toward Europe and the Middle East transform from neutrality to engagement. And, we must note, this post-1940 engagement was frequently characterized as a *Crusade*,[4] unlike the missionary institutions which sought peacefully to build a new modern synthesis based on Iran's ancient, unique culture.

My title might be characterized as having been chosen in a fit of being what the British call being "too clever by half," but I offer some words of explanation before turning to discussion of Samuel Jordan's vision and the American contexts for his development of Alborz. "Inculcate Tehran" was the cable address of the Presbyterian Mission in Iran, as I learned shortly after enrolling at Community School in Tehran in 1956. Community (*Madrasa-ye Amrika'i*)[5] was the only Presbyterian school to survive Reza Shah's 1939–40 nationalization of foreign schools and it was a successor to Alborz, housed by the time I arrived in the premises of the mission's 1890-built former hospital. Rightly or not, I draw on my experience as a Community School student as I try to understand what went on during Alborz's formative years.

My dictionary defines "inculcate" as a transitive verb meaning "to teach and impress by frequent repetitions,"[6] and I have always been interested that this was how the mission wanted to be addressed, in the days when telegrams were charged by the word. Whatever else the mission may have sought to do, I believe it saw education as its most important task.

"Opening a Dialogue of Civilizations" is a triple reference: to Iranian President Muhammad Khatami's famous address to the United Nations,[7] of course, which in turn was a riposte to Samuel Huntington's essay,[8] which spoke of a *clash* of civilizations. More fundamentally, however, it is a reference to the ongoing process of world history that we now call globalization. Great human civilizations arose separately in many different places, including East, South and Southwest Asia, the Mediterranean basin, and Central and South America. Each of these—and many other cultures—has been unique. As technology advanced and communication and transportation improved, however, cultures have increasingly been in contact with each other. They have "spoken" to one another and stimulated each other to change over time. This change over time is to me what makes the past *history*.

As an American inculcated practically since birth that "in 1492, Columbus sailed the ocean blue," it has always seemed to me that the rise of the west has been an enormously important process, and my choice of career as a teacher of "western civilization"—as the

[4]E.g., Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe* (Garden City, NY, 1948).

[5]J. Richard Irvine, "Iranzamin," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, http://www.iranica.com/newsite/index.isc?Article=http://www.iranica.com/newsite/articles/unicode/v13f5/v13f5014.html.

[6]*Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (Springfield, MA, 1981), 1146.

[7]Elaine Sciolino, "Iranian President Paints a Picture of Peace and Moderation," *New York Times*, 22 September 1998, http://www.nytimes.com/1998/09/22/world/united-nations-iran-iranian-president-paints-picture-peace-moderation.html?scp=1&q=Khatami%20UN%20speech&t=cse.

[8]Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York, 1996).

introductory European history course at my university is called—and as a teacher of the history of the Middle East (i.e. of the central lands of Islam) reflects this. So, my study of the history of the American Presbyterian Mission in Iran has always been conscious of the fact that the encounter—which began in 1829 and which continued for a century and a half, until after the proclamation of the Islamic Republic in 1979—was about the communication of two civilizations: the 3,500 year old culture of Iran—largely Muslim since the mid-seventh century and predominantly Shia since the sixteenth century—and the post-Columbian culture of North America. Both societies, of course, have changed tremendously since their contact began.

Then there is "in the Shadow of God and the Alborz." "In the Shadow of God" is a dual reference, to the God of Zoroastrians, Jews, Christians, Bahais and Muslims and also to one of the titles of the Shah, under whose authority Americans in Iran lived. The missionaries served God, but they also had to obey the laws of Iran and the will of its sovereign.

"In the Shadow of the Alborz" is also deliberately ambiguous, referring both to the college which Samuel Jordan established in Tehran—the subject of this collection—and to the magnificent mountains north of the city. To Americans from the flatlands of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, from which most of the Presbyterian missionaries in Iran came—as did I in 1956—the Alborz range loomed over mere mortals in a way which demonstrates the magnificence of creation. Certainly for me, as a teenager in Tehran, the shadow of the Alborz mountains impressed me. I believe it has shaped my life ever since, not least in my appreciation for the people and civilization of Iran. And since this essay is my interpretation of what led the Presbyterian missionaries in Iran to found Alborz, I hope I am not going too far to think that they also were transformed by this beautiful landscape which became their home, and, of course, by the culture of the people among whom they lived, and with whom they made friends and worked.

Jordan's Vision

Alborz College came into existence as a result of the vision and work of Samuel Jordan. I vividly recall reading one of his early reports from the field. He recounted a climb in the Alborz, perhaps to the top of Tochal, at the end of which he looked down at Tehran below, containing then some 100,000 souls, and expressed his desire to create there a Christian college, for the improvement of man and the glory of God.[9] He worked steadily toward this goal for the remainder of his career in Iran, at the end of which he had created an institution which has endured through wars, famines, coups and revolutions.

Previously, I have written about Jordan's work at Tehran.[10] My understanding of his vision can be summarized as follows.

[9]Microfilms of the Board of Foreign Missions, PCUSA.

[10]Michael Zirinsky, "Jordan, Samuel Martin," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, http://www.iranica.com/articles/jordan-samuel-martin.

1. Dr. Jordan explicitly saw himself as a liberal reformer. He saw his work as not just providing modern education to young men; he wanted to improve Iran, to make it better able to survive in the difficult times in which he lived. Reflecting on his work in the mid-1930s, he wrote, "Our students have imbibed liberal ideas, they agitated for reforms, they cooperated with other forward-looking patriots in transforming the medieval despotism of thirty years ago into ... modern, progressive democracy."[11]
2. An athletic Christian, Jordan believed in the saving power of exercise and competitive games. In college he had excelled at football among other sports, and he made outdoor activity a major part of the Alborz experience. As he wrote in the 1930s, "How do you teach people to cooperate, how do you teach them to 'play the game'? Obviously by playing games, and so we introduced football, baseball, volley-ball, basket-ball ... and naturally the boys took to them. ... Young Iran is learning to 'play the game' of life."[12]
3. He was not content to simply preach. He made his own life an example for emulation by his students. As a teacher he led from the front. Perhaps most remarkably, he had his students level the football field on which they later played—a field which is still visible on GoogleEarth. 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 the 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.[13]

Jordan loved to hike, and he regularly organized climbing expeditions in the Alborz mountains. In 1914 he and eight colleagues and students—including Abol Ghassem Bakhtiar, the future dean of the University of Tehran medical school—climbed to the top of Damavand. A photograph of the party atop Iran's highest mountain was published in America in 1921 (Figure 1).[14]

[11]Samuel M. Jordan, "Constructive Revolutions in Iran," *The Moslem World* 25 no. 4 (1935): 353.

[12]Arthur C. Boyce, "Alborz College of Teheran and Dr. Samuel Marin Jordan, Founder and President" (Duarte, CA, 1954), reprinted in Ali Pasha Saleh, *Cultural Ties between Iran and the United States*, ed. by Ali Pasha Saleh (Tehran, 1976), 198.

[13]Boyce, "Alborz College of Teheran," 198.

[14]F. L. Bird, "Modern Persia and Its Capital and an Account of an Ascent of Mount Demavend, the Persian Olympus," *The National Geographic Magazine* (April 1921): 399.

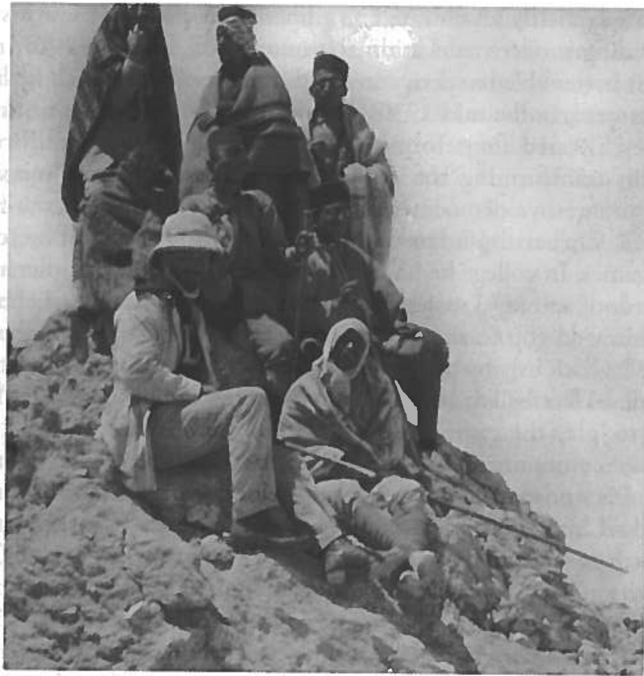

Figure 1. Samuel Jordan (front row, left), colleagues and students (Abol Ghassem Baktiyar, middle row, left) atop Mt. Damavand, summer 1914. Photo courtesy of National Geographic Society.

4. He also undertook to use his educational ministry to encourage practical action to help those in need. During the great famine of 1918 he organized student famine relief in Tehran; he inspired generations of "do-gooders" among the Iranian elite. Because of his encouragement of Sattareh Farman Farmaian, founder of Iran's first professional school of social work, he might well be called the "godfather" of that modern discipline in Iran.[15]
5. Jordan consciously sought to level the social distance between men and women in Iran, seeking in practical ways to improve the position of women. "By having Mrs. Jordan and the wives of other faculty members teach in the College, we have convinced these sons of nobles that girls too can be educated," he wrote in 1935. "By the example of husbands and wives working together, and by definite teaching, we have convinced our students ... the young men are insisting on educated wives, who can be real helpmates, friends, and confidantes."[16]

[15]See Sattareh Farman Farmaian with Dona Munker, *Daughter of Persia; A Woman's Journey from Her Father's Harem through the Islamic Revolution* (New York, 1992). The continuing importance of social work in Iran is reflected in Samira Makhmalbaf's 1998 film *"Sib"* (The Apple).

[16]Jordan, "Constructive Revolutions in Iran," 349–50.

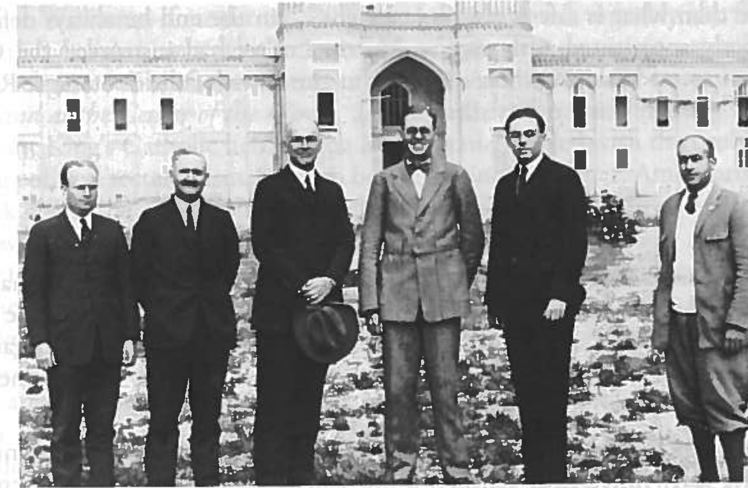

Figure 2. American College of Tehran faculty in front of the newly completed Rollestone Hall, ca. 1925: Walter Groves, Arthur Boyce, Samuel Jordan, Herrick Young, Ralph Hutchison and Elgin Sherk, left to right. Photo courtesy of Presbyterian Historical Society, Presbyterian Church (USA), Philadelphia, PA.

6. He was a pragmatic politician, frequently negotiating with the Iranian government and always willing to compromise. For example, when in the early 1930s the Iranian government pushed to close the American mission station at Orumiyeh, Jordan arranged a settlement which recognized Alborz as comparable in status to the Iranian faculties of law, medicine and education, of the future University of Tehran. This acceptance allowed Alborz students to be deferred from military service and its graduates to serve as Iranian military officers and government officials.[17]
7. Jordan attracted teachers and students of extraordinary capacity to his school. He was justifiably proud of the achievement of his students, many of whom went on to become successful professionals, academics, physicians and servants of the Iranian state. Less well known, however, was the achievement of his faculty members. In the mid-1920s he posed with Walter Groves, Arthur Boyce, Herrick Young, Ralph Hutchison, and Elgin Sherk in front of the newly erected Rollestone Hall; Groves, Young and Hutchison went on to become presidents of Presbyterian colleges in America.[18]
8. In the final analysis, Samuel Jordan knew his place in society, both American and Iranian. Even though he told his colleagues "In my opinion to do a little

[17]Wadsworth, Tehran, 28 December 1933, D.1607 and 10 January 1934, D.1615; Speer to Murray, 20 December 1933, USNA, RG59, 391.1163/46–48.

[18]Ralph Hutchison at Lafayette College and Washington and Jefferson College, Herrick Young at Western College for Women, and Walter Groves at Centre College.

more than what is safe is always just right,"[19] in the end he always deferred to properly constituted authority, as Martin Luther had instructed the German peasantry to do during their rebellion, at the dawn of the Protestant Reformation.[20] Jordan was a *conservative* liberal.

Contexts

If Jordan's mission, and Alborz College which is its most durable institutional legacy, is to be understood, I believe they should be seen in context, especially in the context of American social history. The American mission in Iran was private. It began in the early nineteenth century and generally tried to steer clear of the US government. As I tried to think on paper about what to say here, six ideas came to mind.

1. The Great Awakening. The mission emerged from a worldwide Protestant movement in the early nineteenth century, a movement which in America is known as the Second Great Awakening. This process—a "spirit of the age"—stimulated continental European Protestants to develop and share their faith. Among North Americans and Britons the movement led to a desire to send out missionaries throughout the world, to preach the Gospel of Jesus to all "in one generation." In Britain the evangelical Church Missionary Society sent disciples to India, Africa, East Asia and Oceania. Methodist and High Church Anglican organizations also sent many missionaries abroad. In the US there were even more missionary organizations—Congregational, Reformed, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Pentacostal, etc., reflecting the chaotic multiplicity of Protestant sects in America—and they designated thousands of missionaries to preach the gospel, both at home—e.g., to the Indians and the Irish—and abroad—in China, Japan, Korea, Hawaii, Latin America, Africa, India, etc., as well as in what we now call the Middle East.

The American mission to Iran thus was a small part of a worldwide phenomenon. Sometimes these Protestant missions cooperated with each other, but at other times they regarded each other jealously, as competitors "selling" an inferior "product." So their relations with each other, as well as with Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Eastern Christians, was often complex and contentious. Their relations with Islam, Judaism and other religions, of course, were even more fraught.

2. Freedom of religion. From the beginning of British colonization, many Christian sects were represented in North America, and they often conflicted with each other. As I learned in elementary school, the first settlers in Massachusetts were Calvinists fleeing an intolerant Anglican Britain. Maryland was settled by Roman Catholics seeking freedom from Protestant oppression. Rhode Island was settled by schismatics from Massachusetts, who objected to the religion forced upon them there, a process which

[19]William N. Wysham, "'Mr. Chips' of Tehran," *Presbyterian Life*, 1 November 1952: 36.
[20]Martin Luther, "Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation *(1520)*," http://www.cas.sc.edu/hist/faculty/edwardsk/hist310/reader/address.pdf.

led Roger Williams—founder of "Providence Plantations", arguably the first state to decree that religion was wholly a matter of private conscience—to observe that "forced religion stinks in the nostrils of God."[21] And as Russell Shorto has shown in *The Island at the Center of the World*,[22] prior to Britain naming it New York after its Protestant King's Catholic heir, Dutch Manhattan grappled with the problem of contending political sectarianism. So, even before US independence, Americans had begun to think about the relationship of religion to politics, of worship and force, in terms which we now call "separation of church and state."

The formula embraced by American missionaries in Iran was "freedom of religion" *from* the state, to protect all religions from the potential domination of one sect. This controversial idea came to be expressed, notably by Thomas Jefferson in the early nineteenth century, in the context of American society dominated by Protestant churches, organizations which were comfortable not being "established." But logically this separation of church and state meant that non-Protestants—Roman Catholics, Greek Orthodox, Jews, even free thinkers and Muslims—were equal in law to members of the dominant churches. As long as Protestantism remained socially dominant, there was little obvious problem, although from time to time American society was roiled by nasty views, anti-Papist, anti-Semitic, even before the more recent "racist" objection to immigrants of Chinese, Japanese, Hispanic, Arab or Muslim origin.

Judging 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. This included religious freedom, which they wished to spread from America to Iran. Obviously this idea had great potential for conflict with their duty to obey the laws and customs of the land which hosted them. To be a liberal Protestant missionary in a country where Twelver Shiism was the established religion was fraught with danger; the mission survived as long as it did because the missionaries for the most part were skilled "sailors" of seas of Iranian realities, carefully trimming the sails of their mission to the winds of Iranian opinion and politics.

3. Emancipatory liberalism. The American mission to Iran was a *northern* operation. It was established by the Boston-based Congregational American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and—from the 1880s until its formal end in 1960—run by the New York-based Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.[23] Starting long before the 1861–65 American Civil War, the northern churches opposed slavery and split on this issue from their southern co-religionists. This liberal tendency

[21]Anthony O. Carlino, "Roger Williams and His Place in History: The Background and the Last Quarter Century," *Rhode Island History*, 58 (May 2000): 35–71.
[22]Russell Shorto, *The Island at the Center of the World; The Epic Story of Dutch Manhattan and the Forgotten Colony that Shaped America* (New York, 2005).
[23]Long ago my friend Judith Austin—who grew up in New York City and became a professional historian and an Elder of her Boise Presbyterian Church—answered my enquiry as to the difference between Congregationalism and Presbyterianism with three words: "the Hudson River"; i.e., the difference was administrative, not theological.

continued in the post-Civil War social work of these churches among freed slaves. So, in my view—unsophisticated, and largely unformed by literature on church history—the American missionaries in Iran came from an institutional tradition of liberalism, the Church seeking to liberate individuals by education, by social action, and practical improvements in health and welfare.

4. Centrality of secular education. To my mind—shaped by four years of compulsory daily chapel services and required Bible classes at Community School in Tehran—the essence of Presbyterian doctrine is the teaching of literacy, so that every human being can read Scripture and thereby come to know God for him- or herself. There are no intermediaries between the individual and God. Thus, if this Reformed, Calvinist faith is Bible-based, as it asserts, it is the duty of the Church to enable all to read the Bible and to interpret it for themselves. And so the reformed churches in America and abroad established schools, elementary, secondary, collegiate, schools by the dozens and hundreds. Many of the great American institutions of higher education—Harvard, Yale, Williams, Oberlin, Willamette, Macalester, etc.—and many private secondary schools came out of this tradition, as indeed did the American system of compulsory public education financed and controlled at the local level.

In the Middle East, many notable educational institutions were established as a result of this imperative. Robert College, Istanbul—Boğaziçi University since 1971—was established in 1863. The Syrian Protestant College, created in 1866, was renamed the American University of Beirut in 1920. The American University of Cairo came into existence in 1920. And in Iran, Alborz emerged after the First World War out of an elementary school for boys which began in 1872. Under the direction of Samuel Jordan the school expanded to include high school work in 1913. Jordan named it American College of Tehran in 1925; by 1928 it was accredited by the Regents of the State of New York to grant BAs. In 1932 Jordan renamed it Alborz College of Tehran, in response to an Iranian government order that all foreign schools adopt Iranian names. In 1940, when Tehran closed all foreign schools for Iranians, the Iranian government purchased Alborz and continued it as an elite secondary school.

But of course modern education does not stop with the teaching of reading and writing. The curricula at these church-sponsored schools rapidly expanded from narrow, Protestant religious bases to include all facets of what we would now consider well-rounded liberal arts, scientific and professional courses. And this, of course, meant encouraging students to think for themselves, no matter where that thought led them.

Furthermore, both at home and abroad, educational institutions which in origin had been highly religious increasingly became secular in orientation. Heather Sharkey has carefully examined this process at the American University of Cairo under the leadership of Dr. Jordan's Presbyterian colleague Charles Watson (AUC president, 1920–45) in her recent book *American Evangelicals in Egypt*.[24]

[24]Heather J. Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt; Missionary Encounters in an Age of Empire* (Princeton, NJ, 2008), 149–78.

To cite two other examples, when I applied to Oberlin College, which was established by Congregational missionaries in 1833, the institution described itself as Christian in origin; by the time I graduated in 1964 the "Christian" designation was gone. Meanwhile in Iran at the same time, Community School Principal J. Richard Irvine sought to modify his curriculum so as to enable its graduates easily to attend Iranian universities. Irvine met resistance from the mission board for his proposals and so he chose to leave the mission in order to continue his educational work in Iran, which had been his home for almost 20 years, where his children were born and where two of them were buried. With the support of many Community School faculty and parents, he established Iranzamin as a school that offered the International Baccalaureate, enabling its graduates to enter higher education in Iran as well as in many other countries.[25]

Similarly, the secular nature of the Alborz curriculum established by Jordan and his colleagues enabled the school to survive and flourish following nationalization in 1940.

5. Ethnocentricity. Despite their liberal traditions, Presbyterian missionaries in Iran shared in American ethnocentrism. It pains me to say this. However, as I contemplate this statement I suspect that some degree of ethnocentrism may be unavoidable; we are all born into ethnicity and grow up learning to value it, inevitably to measure "others" against "us." But the fact remains that the missionaries were Americans and they regarded the practices of their home country and home churches as norms, against which they measured all other peoples. And no matter how much they tried to include all in what they professed, there was an absolute bottom line.

When I was a student at Community, a hymn frequently sung in chapel was "In Christ there is no East or West, In Him no North or South." I came to interpret this verse as indicating the fundamental fraternity of all human beings. This interpretation was reinforced by the "pledge of allegiance" we recited on assembly days, facing the massed flags of all the countries represented in the student body: "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."[26]

And yet.... Community School WAS an American school, it was a Protestant school and those who were not Protestant or American understood that they were not quite equal; as George Orwell put it in *Animal Farm*, "some ... are more equal than others."[27] The same, I suspect, could be said of Alborz before it was nationalized in 1940. Protestant America provided a template, a form into which the American missionaries in Iran strove to shape all among whom they worked.

[25]Irvine, "Iranzamin."

[26]For the text of the CS pledge, see "A Letter from the Publisher," *Time*, 13 June 1949, http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,800274,00.html.

[27]George Orwell, *Animal Farm*. Online reprint, http://www.msxnet.org/orwell/print/animal_farm.pdf, 52.

6. Ecumenicism. After the Second World War there were many efforts to establish organizations that would foster communication and cooperation among all peoples. Certainly one motivation was the widespread desire to avoid a repetition of the great catastrophes which had roiled the world between 1914 and 1945. Some of these institutions, such as the United Nations Organization and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, were overtly political. Others, for example the ancestors of the European Union, were more obviously economic. But certainly among these efforts initiated, inter alia, by missionaries in the Middle East were efforts to break down barriers among all the children of God, barriers erected as a consequence of sectarian development.

Long before the First World War, the Presbyterian mission initiated a Comity Agreement with the Esfahan-based mission of the Anglican Church Missionary Society to divide Iran between the two societies, so as not to duplicate the expenditure of precious resources. The two groups regularly conferred and cooperated throughout the twentieth century.

During the First World War, when the Archbishop of Canterbury's mission to the Church of the East was withdrawn from Iran, the Anglican community at Orumiyeh essentially merged with the Presbyterians there. Under the pressure of war, the Protestants in Azerbaijan increasingly cooperated with their Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox colleagues against what they saw as the aggression of "pan-Islamist" Ottoman Turkey. In early August 1918, the senior American missionary at Urmia, the Reverend W. A. Shedd, actually died in the rout of the Christian army he had financed against Turkey at the behest of the British government.[28]

And, if my memory serves, the missionaries who educated me at Community School were not only vitally interested in the UN—we celebrated United Nations Day each October—but also in the then new World Council of Churches. Of course, at Alborz Dr. Jordan also expressed this same ecumenical instinct as a desire to merge the best of Iran's culture with that of America, appealing thus to both of his primary constituencies. "Take the best the country has," he wrote in 1935, "make it better than it has ever been before, and then add to it the best we have to give."[29]

Conclusion

Iran today seems wracked by an age-old struggle between its people "yearning to be free," and its state which aspires to absolute control. This struggle, as Homa Katouzian has recently described, is part of a repeated cycle in Iranian history between extremes of anarchy and absolute rule. Anarchy creates a societal desire for orderly government, and this new government in turn increasingly seeks to impose order on society without regard to individual objections. This opposition in its turn causes rebellion against government, and that rebellion devolves into anarchy, in an apparently never-ending process.[30]

Implicit in Katouzian's analysis is a desire for *republican* government, for what Abraham Lincoln described at Gettysburg in 1863 as "government of the people, by the people and for the people." If state and people could agree that government was "the public thing," *res publica*, Iran's endless violent cycling between chaos and arbitrary rule might be moderated, the people recognizing the legitimacy of government and the state recognizing limits to its rule. And, indeed, it seems to me that such an evolution among a people who practice *taarof* with such finesse ought to be possible.

The enduring legacy of Alborz's establishment by American Presbyterian missionaries may well be their reflection of Lincoln's ideal, their effort to inculcate Tehran with the spirit of brotherly love as well as the practical means by which to achieve prosperity and success for the greater good of all humanity in general and of the Iranian nation in particular. Men and women led by Samuel Jordan may have talked among themselves and to their supporters in America of "the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit," but the trinity which in fact they communicated to Iran via Alborz was modern science, western languages and football, all in the service of integrating Iran and its people into a worldwide community of God's children.[31] And this, I think, is why the alumni of Alborz are so loyal to it. It is both a unique Iranian institution and an enduring testament to Iranian–American amity.

And so I end my essay on Alborz's origins as an American Presbyterian mission school, based primarily on reading the written records of the mission preserved at the Presbyterian Historical Society, supplemented by insights drawn from my own experience as an American high school student in the last Presbyterian mission school in Tehran.

[28]Michael Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian Missionaries at Urmia during the Great War," *La perse et la grande guerre*, ed. by Oliver Bast (Tehran, 2002), 353–72.
[29]Jordan, "Constructive Revolutions in Iran," 347–53.

[30]Homa Katouzian, *The Persians; Ancient, Medieval and Modern Iran* (New Haven, CT, 2010).
[31]The importance of football to Iranians cannot be overemphasized; see Jafar Panahi's 2006 film *Offside*; also see "Jafar Panahi Freed from Jail in Iran," *The Guardian*, 25 May 2010, http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/2010/may/25/jafar-pahani-released-iran-prison.

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Ali Gheissari

The American College of Tehran, 1929–32: A Memorial Album

This essay introduces a previously unpublished memorial album of the American College of Tehran compiled by a former student during the early Pahlavi period. The album contains a wide range of contributions by College faculty, associates, occasional visitors as well as fellow students and encompasses material on national history, ethics, sports, military service, mathematics and poetry, as well as numerous pencil drawings and art work. In addition there is a wide range of photographs of the College, its faculty and staff, its diverse student body, classrooms, athletics, special occasions and outdoor activities (a list of the album's contents and samples of contributions and photographs are appended to the essay). As discussed in the essay, and in manifold ways, the documentary evidence illustrates how both physically and cognitively the College provided a necessary space for participation in educational reform during the early decades of the twentieth century. Seen from this perspective, it was part of a wider context of modernization with which a broad range of individuals from different social and community backgrounds and generations identified themselves. On the whole, the album offers valuable glimpses into the social and educational aspects of the early Pahlavi Iran.

Background

The American College of Tehran (later Alborz College) initially started as a Presbyterian missionary institution for boys in 1873 and maintained its American administration until 1940 when it was taken over by the Iranian government and placed under Iranian secondary school system. In 1875, shortly after the College was established, Naser al-Din Shah Qajar (r. 1848–96) agreed to the construction of a new building for the school within the Armenian quarter in Tehran.[1] By 1891 the school had a total of 135 students, over half of whom were Muslims.[2] In 1898, following his graduation from Lafayette College (in 1895) and then from the Princeton Theological Seminary (in 1898), Reverend Samuel Martin Jordan (1871–1952) and his wife Mary Woods Park Jordan (1867–1954) arrived in Tehran. He was appointed as the school's President in the same year, a position he held until 1940. In 1925 the

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[1]Mir-Asadollah Mousavi Makoui, ed., *Dabirestan-e Alborz va Shabaneh-rouzi-ye An* [Alborz High School and its Dormitory Section] (Tehran, 1378/1999), 11.

[2]Yayha Armajani, "Alborz College," *The Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 1 (1985): 822.

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school moved to the newly built Rolestone Hall, an extensive building designed by the Georgian architect and long time resident of Tehran Nikolai Markov (1882–1957)[3] and constructed under the supervision of Ostad Hossein Me'mar[4] on a new campus outside the Yousefabad Gate, on the then northern periphery of Tehran.[5] The new facilities included laboratories, a relatively large library with some 20,000 books and over 3,000 bound pamphlets, a dormitory and playing fields.[6] Although the College was originally a missionary school, like its sister institution Sage College for girls, it had little evangelical impact amongst its pupils. The Presbyterian administration of the school viewed the domestic political changes of the Pahlavi era as a positive development for Iran and was overall supportive of the 1921 coup as a "pro-Persian" turn of events as many of its graduates soon assumed high positions.[7] In 1930s the school adopted the name Alborz College.

Throughout its history Alborz College also had a notably diverse mixture of students who came from different social, ethnic and religious backgrounds—a characteristic which continued afterwards, well beyond its American administration.

In 1940 the school was taken over by the Iranian government and its curriculum subsequently changed in accordance with the Iranian state school system. In the same year the Iranian government awarded Dr. Jordan a medal of the first rank for his scientific contributions. Subsequently the school was presided over by Vahid Tonekaboni (1893–

[3]For Nikolai Markov, see Viktor Daniel, Bijan Shafei and Sohrab Soroushiani, *Nikolai Markov Architecture* (Tehran, 2004), 28–39.

[4]See Manouchehr Sotoudeh, "Haftad-o Seh Sal Dousti" [Seventy Three Years of Friendship], *Bukhara*, 38 (1383/2004): 73–78.

[5]The new College campus consisted of two plots of land which totaled 44 acres and was situated outside the city walls, and the Rolestone Hall's foundation covered "2292 square yards." See Arthur C. Boyce, "Alborz College of Teheran and Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan Founder and President," typescript, Westminster Gardens, Duarte, CA, 1954, 54 pp., here 18; reprinted in Ali Pasha Saleh, *Cultural Ties between Iran and the United States* (Tehran, 1976), 155–234, here 180 (hereafter all references to this source will be given to the latter edition).

[6]For College library holdings, see Boyce, "Alborz College of Teheran," 187.

[7]Michael P. Zirinsky, "Render Therefore unto Caesar the Things Which Are Caesar's: American Presbyterian Education and Reza Shah," *Iranian Studies*, 26, no. 3–4 (1993): 342. See also 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): 119–37; Michael P. Zirinsky, "Onward Christian Soldiers: Presbyterian Missionaries and the Ambiguous Origins of American Relations with Iran," in *Altruism and Imperialism: Western Cultural and Religious Missions in the Middle East*, ed. by Reeva S. Simon and Eleanor H. Tejirian (New York, 2002); and Michael P. Zirinsky, "Jordan, Samuel Martin," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (New York, 2009), http://persica.org/articles/jordan-samuel-martin. For Presbyterian missionary activities in Iran, see Michael P. Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian Missionaries at Urmia During the Great War," *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies*, 12, no. 1 (2008): 6–27, http://www.iranchamber.com/religions/articles/american_presbyterian_missionaries_zirinsky.pdf. For the Presbyterian school for girls, see Michael P. Zirinsky, "Harbingers of Change: Presbyterian Women in Iran, 1883–1949," *American Presbyterians: Journal of Presbyterian History*, 70, no. 3 (1992): 173–86. For education in the early Pahlavi period, see 'Isa Sadiq, *Modern Persia and Her Educational System* (New York, 1931); David Menashri, *Education and the Making of Modern Iran* (Ithaca, NY and London, 1992). See also Rudi Matthee, "Transforming Dangerous Nomads into Useful Artisans, Technicians, Agriculturists: Education in the Reza Shah Period," *Iranian Studies*, 26, no. 3–4 (1993): 313–36.

1957) during 1940–41, Ali-Mohammad Partovi (Mani' al-Molk) (1891–?) during 1941–42, Hasan Zowqi (1888–?) during 1942–43, Lotf-Ali Souratgar (1900–69) during 1943–44, and Mohammad-Ali Mojtahedi (1908–97) during 1944–79.[8] During his long tenure Dr. Mojtahedi was instrumental in expanding the school's resources, administrative efficiency and raising the caliber of its teaching staff. The school's rigorous standards in part explain the later distinguished careers of many of its graduates. In contrast to the administrative continuity under Mojtahedi, during the twenty-year period following the Iranian revolution of 1978–79, the school's presidency changed twelve times, but overall the school maintained its high rank within Iran's expanding secondary school system.[9]

Organization and Faculty

At first the American College of Tehran was a grade school; later, in 1924, it became a Junior College, and in 1928–29 it became an accredited liberal arts college;[10] at this date it had a total of 900 students.[11] The organization of the College during the early Pahlavi period followed both the Iranian and American systems, as can be seen in Table 1:[12]

Table 1. Organization of the College during the early Pahlavi period

Classes	Iranian	American
1–6	Elementary	Elementary
7, 8, 9	First Cycle of Middle School	Lower Middle School
		Upper Middle School
10, 11, 12	Second Cycle of Middle School	Junior College (1 year)
13, 14, 15	Higher Education	Senior College

According to Arthur Boyce, then Vice President of College: "[i]n later years the Iranian Middle School certificate was given at the end of the 11th Class. The 12th

[8]Mousavi Makoui, *Dabirestan-e Alborz*, 20–22; Habib Ladjevardi, ed., *Memoirs of M. A. Mojtahedi: Principal of Alborz High School (1945–1979) and Founder of Aryamehr University (1965)*, Iranian Oral History Project and Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University (Bethesda, MD, 2000), 20–22.

[9]Mousavi Makoui, *Dabirestan-e Alborz*, 292. During the 1979–99 period, the school was presided over by Hossein Khoshnevisan in 1978–79, Hasan Pourzahed in 1979–80, Naser Naseri in 1980–81, Esmail Sadeq-Kazemi in 1981–84, Rajab-Ali Yassipour Tehrani in 1984–86, Naser Molla-Asadollah in 1986, Ali Mazarei in 1986–88, Abbas Feyz in 1988, Hossein Khoshnevisan in 1988–90, Baqer Dezfoulian in 1991–97, Dastani in 1997–98, and Valiollah Sanaye' Porkar in 1998–99. From 1999 to 2011 the school was presided by Mazaher Hami-ye Kargar.

[10]Armajani, "Alborz College," 821.

[11]Mousavi Makoui, *Dabirestan-e Alborz*, 15.

[12]Boyce, "Alborz College of Teheran," 179.

Class was divided into specialized courses of Literature, Science and Commerce in preparation for corresponding University courses. The Iranian Government Licentiate Degree corresponding to the American B.A. was given at the end of three years of Higher Education."[13]

Following Jordan's appointment in Iran, Lafayette College established close ties with the American College of Tehran.[14] Subsequently a significant number of Lafayette graduates were among the College faculty in Tehran—they included (with their year of graduation in brackets, followed by their area of service and teaching):[15]

Samuel Martin Jordan (1895): College President and professor of history and social sciences
Arthur Clifton Boyce (1907): Vice President, professor of education and psychology
Frederick L. Bird (1913): professor of English
William Norris Wysham (1913): professor of religion and sacred literature
Ralph Cooper Hutchison (1918): Dean and professor of religion and philosophy
Walter Alexander Groves (1919): Dean and professor of philosophy and ethics
James H. Hill (1928): instructor in business
George W. Brainerd (1930): instructor in biology
S. Leroy Rambo (Ex-1930): instructor in physical education
William C. McNeill (1931): instructor in physics and chemistry
Edward S. Kennedy (1932): instructor in mathematics
Arthur C. Haverly (1936): instructor in English

Another Lafayette graduate was Reverend Charles R. Pittman who came to Iran in 1897 and was "mostly engaged in missionary work in western part of the country." Pittman was not on the faculty but "he kept close ties with the College."[16]

Other members of the Alborz College faculty during the 1930s, included:[17]

Henri Behoteguy, Jr. (Wooster College, 1910): instructor of English
Tony Mullen (Emporia College): instructor of English

[13]Boyce, "Alborz College of Teheran," 179.

[14]Named after the French military officer Marquis de La Fayette (1757–1834), who had served under George Washington (1732–99) during the American Revolution, Lafayette College is a private undergraduate liberal arts and engineering college which was founded in 1826 in Easton, Pennsylvania. It became affiliated with the Presbyterian Church in 1854.

[15]Boyce, "Alborz College of Teheran," 170–71. The list follows the same order as given by Boyce; teaching position and area changed to lowercase.

[16]Boyce, "Alborz College of Teheran," 170–71.

[17]Boyce, "Alborz College of Teheran," 185–87. The list follows the same order as given by Boyce; teaching position and area changed to lowercase.

Robert Lisle Steiner (Wooster College, 1916; University of Pittsburg, PhD): acting professor of commerce
F. Taylor Gurney (University of Chicago, 1935, PhD): professor of chemistry
Elgin Sherk (Syracuse University): YMCA
Edgar E. Houghton (Davidson College, 1923): English
Kelley Tucker: physical education
Albert G. Edwards (Yale University): English
Charles Hoffman: biology
Felix Howland (US Naval Academy): mathematics
Thos. L. Peters: English
Hugh McCaroll (Coe College): business methods
George W. Dean (Yale University, 1926): business
James Gibbons (Washburn, 1931): physical education
Howard Benfield: stenography
Arthur Scott (Princeton University): English
James H. McDonough (Washington and Jefferson): biology
Herrick Black Young (Indiana University, 1925): professor of English literature, Director of Resident Students
John McAfee (Wooster College): English
E. Hubert Rieben (Sc.D., Switzerland): French, geology
André Perrinjaquet (Switzerland): French
Maurice Beguin (Switzerland): French
B. Carapet Hagopian: emeritus instructor of English
Mirza Gholamreza Khoshnevees: Persian writing
Dr. Rezazadeh Shafaq (PhD, Berlin):[18] Persian philosophy and literature
Yahya Armajani (PhD, Princeton):[19] religious education
Mohammad Hassan Farhi:[20] Persian and Arabic

[18]Sadeq Rezazadeh Shafaq (c. 1892–1971) was an author, academic, and politician. In his early days during the Iranian Constitutional movement (1906–11) he collaborated with the weekly *Shafaq* (Twilight), a nationalist paper published by his father in Tabriz in 1910, which was critical of Russian interference in Iran. He later studied at the Robert College of Istanbul and in Berlin. Following his return to Iran he taught at the Teachers' Training College in Tehran and at Tehran University, served at the Iranian Academy, and was also an active member of the parliament.

[19]Yahya Armajani (1908–91) was a former student of Jordan and was "the first Iranian ordained in the Evangelical Church of Iran." He went on to teach at the College after receiving a doctorate in history from Princeton University. Armajani later moved to the United States and taught Middle Eastern history for many years at Macalaster College, St Paul, Minnesota. See Zirinsky, "A Panacea for the Ills of the Country," 136; and Zirinsky, "Jordan, Samuel Martin." At College Armajani also taught ethics as well as supervised junior students at the dormitory. For Armajani's own account of Jordan and the College, see Yahya Armajani, "Sam Jordan and the Evangelical Ethic in Iran," in *Religious Ferment in Asia*, ed. by Robert J. Miller (Lawrence, KS, 1974), 22–36.

[20]Mohammad-Hasan Mirza Farhi (c. 1880–1969) had initially studied at the College and was later invited by Jordan to teach Persian literature and Arabic. In later years he also continued his work at the school under Mojtahedi. See Mousavi Makoui, *Dabirestan-e Alborz*, 36–37.

M. Ahmad Nakhosteen,[21] A.B.: Persian and Arabic
Ashot Arakelian, A.B.: English
B. Tirdad Barseghian,[22] A.B.: Bursar
Mansur Zandi, A.B.: mathematics
Nicholas Chaconas, A.B.: Assistant Registrar
M. Khalil Sotoodeh[23]: Elementary School

Iranian teachers also included, among others, Mr Mazraki, who taught athletic ethics, and Mr Ahourai, who was a Zoroastrian and taught elementary English as well as physics and chemistry at the ninth grade.[24]

Impact

The overall impact of the College can perhaps be better seen as part of a larger trend and transformation of certain segments of Iran's urban society in the 1920s and 1930s. The College provided a necessary space for participation in educational reform, and in this respect it was part of a wider context of modernization with which a broad range of people from different social and community backgrounds and generations identified. Although some alumni may have subscribed more closely to American values and way of life and some may have later opted to emigrate to America, the College experience was viewed for the majority of students and their wider family circles in that period as part of a larger context of changing times. It would therefore be somewhat reductive to categorize that experience in such binary and exaggerated terms as either a project for the colonization of the mind of the Iranian youth by the "West" or a *fait accompli* scenario of alienation from one's traditional society—it was also neither a bridge between civilizations nor a superficial spectacle of modernity. Similar to other foreign schools, and perhaps more so, the College provided its pupils with a venue for educational modernization so

[21]Ahmad Nakhostin had also become a Christian and translated into Persian a number of texts with religious themes. These included works by the American author and Presbyterian clergyman Henry van Dyke (1852–1933), and also by William Miller (1782–1849) who was an American Baptist preacher and a pioneer of the millenarian Adventist movement in 1830s and 1840s. For Persian titles, see Henry van Dyke, *Setareh-ye Derakhshan*, trans. by Ahmad Nakhostin (Beirut, 1926); William Miller, *Tafsir-e Enjil-e Luqa*, trans. by Ahmad Nakhostin (Tehran, 1313/1934); and William Miller, *Tafsir-e Ketab-e A'mal-e Rasoulan*, trans. by Ahmad Nakhostin (Leipzig, 1932). Ahmad Nakhostin's own writings included, *Dastour-e Akhlaq* [Moral Law] (Tehran, 1311/1932). Nakhostin also assisted the American Presbyterian missionary William McElwee Miller (1892–1993), who like Jordan had also graduated from Princeton Theological Seminary (in 1919) and was stationed in Mashhad, with the typing of the manuscript of his book on Bahaism. See William McElwee Miller, *Baha'ism, Its Origin, History and Teachings* (New York, 1931), 15.

[22]Barseghian continued in this position until 1978. See Mousavi Makoui, *Dabirestan-e Alborz*, 52–53.

[23]Mirza Khalil Sotoudeh (1883–1966) was the supervisor of the elementary school and instructor of Persian.

[24]See 'Abd al-Amir Dashti, unpublished personal notes, referred to in Mohammad-Ali Javedan, "Este'mar-e Farhangi-ye Gharb" (Western Cultural Colonialism), 4 Mordad 1387 (25 July 2008), http://www.javedan.ir/print.php?news_id=23.

that they could meet the emerging requirements of the Iranian society and economy itself, and be in a more informed position to observe the changes that were affecting the wider world.

There was also an attempt to introduce a gradual change in the practice of education from the customary abstract and repetitive patterns and paradigms to placing more emphasis on applied learning and "experiential education"—to paraphrase John Dewey whose ideas were at the time influential among the College American faculty.[25] In particular the College education was further associated with a variety of hands-on learning methods and extra-curricular activities such as the use of laboratory in chemistry, physics and biology as well as drawing, music, athletics and general teamwork. In particular mathematics was placed high in the hierarchy of subjects, a tradition that became even more strengthened in later years during the long tenure of the French-educated Dr. Mojtahedi.[26]

A Memorial Album

Various aspects of the American College of Tehran can be seen through the pages of a previously unpublished memorial album which was compiled by my father, Morteza Ghaisari[27] (1911–76), who attended the College during the early Pahlavi period. Perhaps in order to fulfill his extra-curricular activities, Ghaisari had organized within the College a society called Neek-Khwah (Benevolent, i.e. a Philanthropic society), and the compilation of this album, titled *Nameh-ye Nami-ye Neek-Khwah* (The Exalted [and] Benevolent Letter), may have taken place in that context—although the society's membership and activities are unknown to me. The album can also be regarded as a kind of scrapbook, compilation of which was a long-time hobby within American schools and colleges,[28] and could have influenced pupils at the American College of Tehran. Pages of the album were bound in 1932, the date which appears on its title page. However, judging by the dates of various contributions, the album could have been compiled during the period 1929–32. Initially the compiler of the album had blank folios (21.3 cm × 28 cm) printed at the Baqerzadeh Printers in Tehran and, possibly after gathering the contributions together, had them all bound in a leather case. I first came across this album among family papers. Regrettably, during his lifetime I did not ask my father for additional information or identification of the photographs. In later years I sought the assistance of a number of

[25]John Dewey (1859–1952), was an American philosopher, psychologist and educational reformer whose ideas were influential in education and social reform in the United States and beyond, particularly during the first half of the twentieth century.

[26]See Homa Katouzian's essay, "Alborz and its Teachers," in the present collection.

[27]Spelling as appears on the album's title page.

[28]For the tradition of producing scrapbooks, see, for example, Jessica Helfand, *Scrapbooks: An American History* (Cambridge, MA, 2008); and Susan Tucker, Katherine Ott and Patricia Buckler, eds., *The Scrapbook in American Life* (Philadelphia, PA, 2006).

informed teachers, friends and colleagues in identifying the photos, and I am much indebted to them.[29]

The album contains a wide range of contributions by College faculty, associates, occasional visitors as well as fellow students. It also includes a wide range of photographs of the College, its faculty and staff, its diverse student body, classrooms, athletics, special occasions and outdoor activities. It further includes essays and short pieces on national history, ethics, sports, military service, mathematics and poetry as well as numerous pencil drawings and art work. On the whole it offers valuable glimpses into social and educational aspects of early Pahlavi Iran.

Album's Content

1. Title Page: *Nameh-ye Nami-ye Neek-Khwah* (The Exalted [and] Benevolent Book), The College Memory Book, prepared by Morteza Ghaisari, American College of Teheran (1p.). [Figure 1]
2. Photograph of Morteza Ghaisari, compiler of the Album (1p.). [Figure 2]
3. Morteza Ghaisari, "Saraghaz" (Preface), in Persian, dated Mehr 1311 (September/October 1932) (2pp.).
4. Photograph of Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan. [Figure 3]
5. Printed brochure, "Address of President Jordan at the Laying of the Cornerstone of Moore Science Hall," dated 27 July 1931, in English (1 + 3pp.).
6. Lafayette in Persia: Sketch of the History of the American College of Teheran and its Relation to Lafayette College, printed essay in English (1 + 4pp.).
7. Photograph of the young Dr. Jordan (c. 1898). [Figure 4]
8. Dr. [Sadeq] Rezazadeh Shafaq, Untitled writing in Persian, dated Ordibehesht 1311 (April 1932), on the occasion of Rabindranath Tagore's visit to College (1p.).[30] [Figure 6]
9. Tagore's visit:
   i Two photographs of Tagore's visit to College; [for one of these photographs, see Figure 7]
   ii N.n., Portrait of Tagore drawn by pencil, with Tagore's autograph;
   iii A short verse by Tagore in his own handwriting.
10. Morteza Ghaisari, "Azemat-e Tarikhi-ye Abniyeh-ye Esfahan" (The Grandeur of Isfahan's Historic Buildings), essay in Persian with photographs (15pp.).

[29]I am particularly grateful to the late Iraj Afshar, Sayyed Abdollah Anwar, Mohsen Ashtiany, Farideh Farhi, the late Zein al-Abedin Motamen, Thomas Ricks, Manouchehr Sotoudeh and Michael Zirinsky for their help with identifying some of the photographs and providing additional information on various contributors.

[30]Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), prominent Indian poet and Nobel laureate. During his two visits to Iran, in 1932 and 1934, he was widely received by the Iranian statesmen and literary community.

11. Hossein Shajareh, "Emarat-e Chehelsoton" (The Chehelsoton Building), essay in Persian with photographs (4pp.).
12. Photographs of various College buildings under construction, Dr. Jordan, College Faculty and students (9pp.). [For samples, see Figures 8–10, 12–14]
13. N.n., "Purpose of the College." Short printed essay in English and a photo of the College dormitory (1p.). [Figure 11]
14. Photographs of College faculty and students (16pp.). [For samples, see Figures 5 and 15–24]
15. Malakeh Khosravi, A rebus in Persian, dated 11 Ordibehesht 1311 (1 May 1932) (1p.). [Figure 30]
16. A photograph of College Iranian faculty and students.
17. Y. Simon, "The Value of Compulsory Military Training," essay in English (2pp.).
18. Portrait in pencil, artist unknown.
19. M. Zandi,[31] "Fava'ed-e Riyaziyyat" (Benefits of Mathematics), essay in Persian, dated 21 Farvardin 1311 (10 April 1932) (9pp.). [Figure 27]
20. G. W. Dean, "Thoughts on the Coming Vacation," essay in English, dated 29 April 1932 (3pp.).
21. Portrait drawn in pencil, artist unknown.
22. Portrait drawn in pencil, signed by Entekhabi, dated Farvardin 1311 (March/April 1932).
23. Brochure in French, "L'Évolution d'un Laboratoire Pharmaceutique: Les Intraits les Cultures Médicinales L'Hémogénol Dansse des Laboratoires Dausse," dated 1922 (1 + 18pp.).
24. A photograph of the poet Mohammad-Reza Mirzadeh Eshqi (1893–1924).
25. Watercolor painting, signed M. T.
26. Amir-Rafi' Mottahedeh, "Ma'loumam Shod ke Hich Ma'loum Nashod" (It is Known to Me that Nothing is Known), a list of seventeen philosophical questions in Persian, dated 29 Ordibehesht 1311 (19 May 1932) (2pp.).
27. Abol-Hasan Mo'addel, drawing (two opposite dispositions of one face), dated 7 March 1932 (1p.).
28. Rahim Hakim-Esagh,[32] "The Man who Knows Where He is Going," essay in English, dated 20 April 1932 (1p.).
29. Rahim Hakim Eshaq, "Midanam be Koja Khwaham Raft" (I Know Where I am Going), essay in Persian, dated April 1932 (2pp.).
30. Arthur Upham Pope,[33] Transcription of a line from the classical Persian Sufi poet Sheikh Mahmoud Shabestari (1288–1340), in English translation, dated 30 November 1932 (1p.).

[31]Manosur Zandi, was the mathematics teacher.

[32]Rahim Hakim-Eshaq.

[33]Arthur Upham Pope (1881–1969), was an American archaeologist and celebrated historian of Persian art.

31. Massoud Farzad,[34] Four poems: three in English ("Hello, You!," "God Save the Pride!," "The Kiss and the Sting") from "Moods and Moments," dated 15 March 1931; and one in Persian ("Arman-e Sha'er" (The Poet's Ideal)) (5pp.).
32. Hossein Niknafs Kermani, "Madreseh-ye Amrika'i Shagerd-ha ra Behtar Bara-ye Zendegani Hazer Mikonad" (The American School is Better at Preparing the Students for Life), essay in Persian, dated 8 May 1932 (2pp.).
33. Talieh Saleh, "Tasavi-ye Zan va Mard Vojoud Nadarad" (There is No Equality between Woman and Man), essay in Persian (2pp.).
34. Hossein-Ali Mirza E'tezadi, "Ahamiyyat-e Sanaye'-e Mostazrafeh-ye Iran dar Donya" (The Importance of Iran's Fine Arts in the World), essay in Persian (4pp.).
35. Seyf al-Din Emami, "Este'dad va Qova-ye Akhlaqi" (Moral Potential and Power), essay in Persian, dated 20 Farvardin 1311 (9 April 1932 [inaccurately recorded as 11 April 1932]) (2pp.).
36. Mohammad-Ali Modarresi Tabari, Untitled composition in Persian praising the goals of the Neek-Khwah Society, dated Farvardin 1311 (March/April 1932) (2pp.).
37. N.n. [probably Mohammad-Ali Modarresi Tabari], "Kar" (Labor), Essay in Persian, and a watercolor of a cottage in winter (3pp.).
38. Mohammad-Baqer Shahami, "Agar Motemayel Hasti Hamisheh dar Omr-e Khish Mozaffar va Movaffaq Bashi Kar ya Taklif-e Emrouz-e Khodat ra be Farda Mohav-val Manema" (If You Want to be Victorious and Successful in Life do not Postpone Your Today's Work or Duty to Tomorrow), essay in Persian (2pp.).
39. [?],[35] Two paragraphs attributed to Pythagoras and written in Persian, "Tazkiyeh-ye Nafs" (The Purification of the Soul) and "Takmil-e Nafs" (Self-Fulfillment) in Persian, dated 7 Ordibehesht 1311 (27 April 1932) (2pp.).
40. Khavari [no first name recorded], Three ruba'is, in Persian, dated Farvardin 1311 (March/April 1932) (2pp.).
41. [?],[36] "Az Nasayeh-e Aflatoun be Eskandar" (From the Counsels of Plato to Alexander), in Persian, dated 30 Farvardin 1311 (19 April 1932) (2pp.).
42. A. B. Rafi'i Mehrabadi, "Hashtomin 'Ajayeb-e Donya" (The World's Eighth Wonder), essay in Persian, dated 1 Ordibehesht 1311 (21 April 1932) (4pp.).
43. Shams al-Din Rostampour, "Bolbol-e Nakam" (Unhappy Nightingale), a literary composition in Persian, dated 1 Khordad 1311 (22 May 1932) (3pp.).
44. An Ode by the poet Sobhi, transcribed by Shams al-Din Rostampour, recorded on 28 Ordibehesht 1311 (18 May 1932) (1p.).
45. Morteza Rostampour, "Bashar Bayad Omidvar Bashad" (Man Must Be Hopeful), an essay and two *ruba'is* in Persian, dated 10 Ordibehesht 1311 (30 April 1932) (2pp.).
46. Aziz Tabaddor Shirazi, transcription of an ode by Hafez and a quatrain by Sana'i decorated with watercolor, dated 10 Ordibehesht 1311 (30 April 1932) (2pp.).

[34]Massoud Farzad (1906–81), writer, poet and translator, with works in Persian and English.
[35]Author's signature not clear.
[36]Author's signature not clear; possibly Ahmad Nakhostin.

47. Mir-Abbas Mir-Hadi, "Akhlaq dar Jame'eh Che Fayedeh Darad?" (What is the Use of Ethics in Society?), composition in Persian, dated 5 Ordibehesht 1311 (25 April 1932) (2pp.).
48. Hashem Mir-Hashemi, transcription of three ruba'is by Badaye'-Negar Lahouti, and a rubai by himself and photograph of a painting of a flower vase, dated Ordibehesht 1310 (April/May 1931) (2pp.).
49. Ahmad Parandeh, transcription of three lines by Ferdowsi and five lines by Sana'i (2pp.).
50. Ahmad Parandeh, "Az Heyvanat Tavajjoh Farma'id" (Look After Animals), a short composition in Persian and transcription of two poems from the *Boustan* of Sa'di (2pp.).
51. Ebrahim Entekhabi, "Moqayeseh-ye Sha'eri va Naqqashi" (Comparing Poetry and Painting), a short piece in Persian and a portrait in pencil, dated 4 Ordibehesht 1311 (24 April 1932) (2pp.).
52. N.n., "Koudaki va Nowjavani" (Childhood and Youth), a composition in Persian (3pp.).
53. N.n., A portrait in pencil (1p.).
54. Ahmad Kowsar Hamedani, "Yek Gol" (One Flower), composition in Persian, dated 5 Ordibehesht 1311 (25 April 1932) (2pp.).
55. Abbas Arianpour Kashani, A cinquain (*mukhammas*); and artwork on thin wooden sheet[37] (3 + 1pp.).
56. Hossein Hashemian, Three drawings, dated 1 Ordibehesht 1311 (21 April 1932) (3pp.).
57. Hossein Hashemian, "Enqelab-e Adabi" (Literary Revolution), essay in Persian (5pp.).
58. N.n., "Ahamiyyat-e Akhlaqi-ye Varzesh" (Moral Importance of Sport), summary of a speech and a poem in Persian, dated 5 Farvardin 1311 (25 March 1932) (4pp.).
59. Abd al-Amir Zamanian, "Nowruz," composition in Persian, dated 1311 (1932) (2pp.).
60. M. A. Eftekhari, A list of 22 general questions to determine one's taste, personality and general knowledge, listed in Persian, dated 10 Ordibehesht 1310 (1 May 1931) (1p.).
61. Group photo of the basketball team with coach Bobgen and Ahmad Nakhostin (1p.). [Figure 25]
62. Group photo at outdoor gathering (Dr. Jordan in white hat, seated back row fourth from left) (1p.).
63. G. Hagopian, [Proverbs 10:4, 10:5, 13:4], written in English, dated 12 March 1932 (1p.).
64. Harold ...,[[38]] A short note of appreciation to Dr. Jordan and College members, written in English, dated 6 October ... [probably 1932].

[37]No name given for the artwork.
[38]Last name and signature not clear.

65. Mohsen Asadi, "Bar Diagaran Mapasand Har Ancheh bar Khod Napasandi" (Don't Approve Anything for Others that You Don't Approve for Yourself), a short moral statement in Persian, and a short Zoroastrian moral declaration in English (2pp.).
66. Feyzollah Sobhi, A photograph, a poem and an essay in Persian, "Adab Chist and Adib Kist [?]" (What is Literature and Who is a Man of Letters?), in his own handwriting (4pp.).
67. Ali-Akbar Mohasses (Deyhim), A long poem in Persian, probably in his own handwriting, dated Ordibehesht 1311 (April/May 1932) (4pp.).
68. Ali-Akbar Mohasses (Deyhim), Two more poems, probably in his own handwriting (2pp.).
69. Amir-Hossein Derakhshan, Three watercolor paintings, dated 29 April 1932 (3pp.).
70. Amir-Hossein Derakhshan, Excerpts from Khwajeh Abdollah Ansari, dated Farvardin 1311 (March/April 1932) (1p.).
71. Amir-Arsalan Khal'atbari, "Dar Nekoukari" (On Good Deeds) and "Dar Olovv-e Nafs" (On Dignity)," two poems in Persian (1p.).
72. Sayyed Ali Mohsenin, *"Nowkar-e Hileh-gar ya Nowkar-e Kha'en: Komedy dar Yek Act"* (Deceitful or Disloyal Servant: Comedy in One Act), in Persian, dated 27 Ordibehesht 1311 (17 May 1932) (3pp.).
73. Photograph of the soccer team with coach Bobgen (with necktie) (1p.).
74. Batoul Nakhostin, "Gham makhor ey Doust keh in Jahan Be-Namanad" (My Friend, Don't give into Sorrow, this World Will Not Last), essay in Persian (4pp.).
75. N.n.,[[39]] Poem in Persian, dated 25 Esfand 1310 (16 March 1932) (2pp.).
76. Karim Zahiri, "Sharareh-ye Qalb, Gol-e Kouchak" (Heart's Flame, Little Flower), literary composition in Persian, dated 3 Farvardin 1311 (23 March 1932) (3pp.).
77. Mohammad-Hossein Mohazzabi Shirazi, "Dast-e Enteqam Qavi Ast" (The Hand of Revenge is Strong), essay in Persian, dated 12 Ordibehesht 1311 (2 May 1932) (2pp.).
78. N.n., A medical and moral essay in Persian on addiction and other ills (4pp.).
79. Iraj Naser, Watercolor drawing (sailboat on the sea) (1p.).
80. Qahremani,[40] Poem in Persian (1p.).
81. Iraj Naser, Watercolor portrait (1p.).
82. Kianpour,[41] Literary essay in Persian, dated Ordibehesht 1311 (April/May 1932) (2pp.).

[39]Signature not clear, probably Taqi Ra'isi.
[40]No first name recorded.
[41]No first name recorded.

83. A photograph of the poet Gholam-Reza Rashid Yasemi (1895–1951), and poems in his own handwriting (6pp.).
84. Abbas Arianpour, Composition in Persian (5pp.).
85. N.n.,[[42]] Untitled composition in Persian and author's photograph (2pp.).
86. A photograph of the poet Sayyed Ahmad Adib Pishavari (1844–1930), and first page of an essay in Persian about him (2pp.).
87. An ode by Hafez, transcribed n.n. (1p.).
88. A photograph of the writer and poet Abd al-Hossein Owrang (Sheikh al-Molk), and poems in Persian, probably in his own handwriting (12pp.).
89.
   (A) Three autographs in English, by David Eugene Smith (dated 10 April 1933), Mrs George T. Scott (New York City), and Ruth Elliott, possibly College visitors (1p.).
   (B) Photograph of one of College buildings, probably a dormitory addition (1p.).
   (C) Ten pencil drawings, mostly portraits; two of which signed by E. Entekhabi, dated 6 Mordad 1310 (29 July 1931) and Farvardin 1311 (March/April 1932) (10pp.).
90. Blank pages.

[42]Probably the writer and poet Gholam-Ali Ra'di Azarakhshi (1909–99).

Figure 1. The Album's title page.

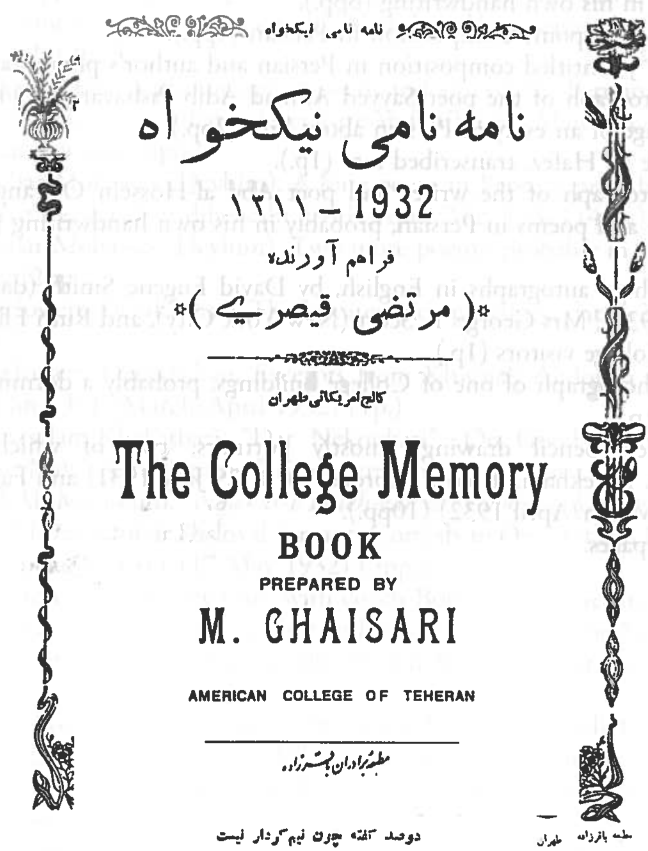

Figure 2. Morteza Ghaisari (1911–76), compiler of the Album.

Figure 3. Samuel Martin Jordan (1871–1952).

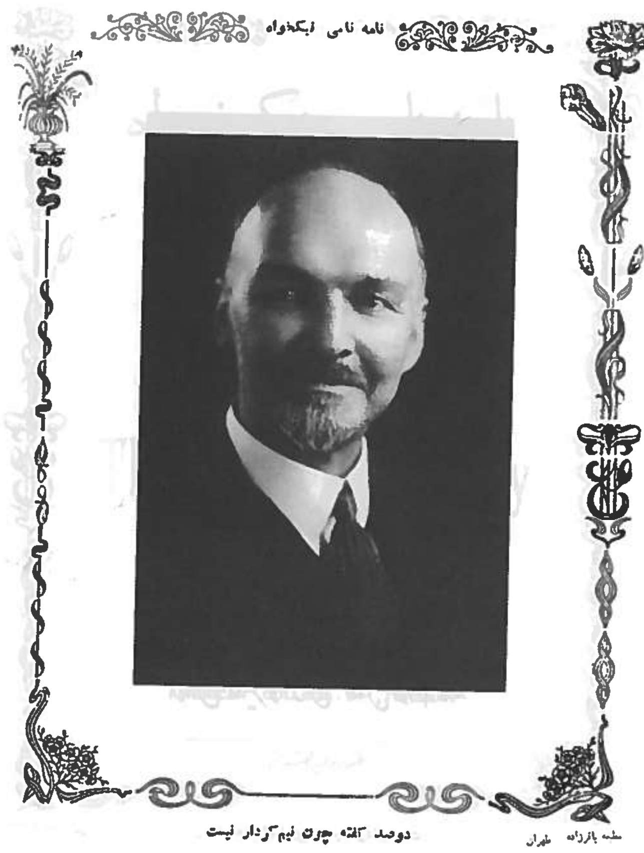

Figure 4. Samuel Martin Jordan, c. 1890s.

Figure 5. College Commencement, 1929.[43]

[43]Abbreviation letters "ACT," for the American College of Tehran, can be seen as decoration on the wall. Indicative of "action," it was widely regarded as College motto. Occasional guest speakers at commencement ceremonies included the poet, literary scholar and politician, Mohammad-Taqi Bahar (1884–1951), and Sadeq Rezazadeh Shafaq (see footnote 18 above).

Figure 6. Note written by Sadeq Rezazadeh Shafaq on the occasion of Rabindranath Tagor's visit to College, Spring 1932.

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Figure 7. College, Spring 1932. Tagore (seated) among College teachers and Iranian officials. Standing behind him Dr. and Mrs. Jordan, Hossein Sami'i (standing, fifth from left),[44] Mohammad-Ali Foroughi (standing, seventh from left),[45] and Ali-Asghar Hekmat (standing, fourteenth from left)[46].

[44]Hossein Sami'i (Adib al-Saltaneh) (1874–1953) had a long and varied career in public service; in 1932, when this photograph was taken, he was serving as the head of Reza Shah's personal office.

[45]Mohammad-Ali Foroughi (Zoka' al-Molk) (1877–1942) was a prominent figure in Iran's scholarly and political elite during the late Qajar and early Pahlavi periods; in 1932 he was serving as foreign minister.

[46]Ali-Asghar Hekmat (1893–1980) was a noted educator and statesman; he was influential in the educational modernization of the early Pahlavi period.

Figure 8. Rollestone Hall, American College of Tehran. Contributed by Mary Park Jordan. From the top: (I) Seniors breaking grounds, May 10, 1924; (II) Laying Cornerstone, September 1924; (III) Completed, [and] Occupied. Spring 192[5].

Figure 9. (I) Dr. Groves, Dr. Hutchison, and Mr. Young going to Isfahan, Nowruz 1926; (II) Mr. Young and Mr. Hoffman.

نامه نامی نیکخواه

Dr. Groves, Dr. Hutchison, and Mr. Young go to Isfahan No Ruz 1926

Mr. Young and Mr. Hoffman

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Figure 10. (I) First chemistry equipment arrives, 1926; (II) Mr. Young at Lashkarak, 1926.

نامه نامی نیکخواه

First Chemistry Equipment Arrives 1926

Mr. Young at Lashkarak 1926

دوصد گفته چون نیم کردار نیست

مطبعه باقرزاده طهران

Figure 11. College Boarding School.

PURPOSE OF THE COLLEGE.

It is the purpose of the American College of Teheran to prepare young men to enter every phase of life in Persia with an intelligent understanding of the new conditions and new problems in all sections of the country, and at the same time to develop in them an integrity of character which shall insure the stability so essential for progress.

Persia needs men trained within their own country to serve the land of their birth. The newly organized departments of Education and Commerce, the Pre-Medical Course, and the projected plans for the departments of Agriculture and Engineering are an indication of the manner in which the College is attempting to meet these growing needs of the country.

It is the belief of those who are responsible for the College that every student should be well-grounded in the fundamental elements of character and integrity. For this reason the courses in ethics are given a prominent place in the curriculum. Definite character education is emphasized not only in the class-rooms of ethics but also in other courses and in the extra-curricular activities. The Persians say: «The Americans have a factory in Teheran where they manufacture men, and it is the aim of the College to give every student the training that will make for manhood. The changing conditions brought about by the new progress in Persia demand more than ever that young men be trained to meet the need for just, strong, enlightened, and patriotic citizens. The College has a rare opportunity to co-operate in a unique way in filling this great educational need in Persia by bringing the best from the west to supplement the great good in Persian culture.

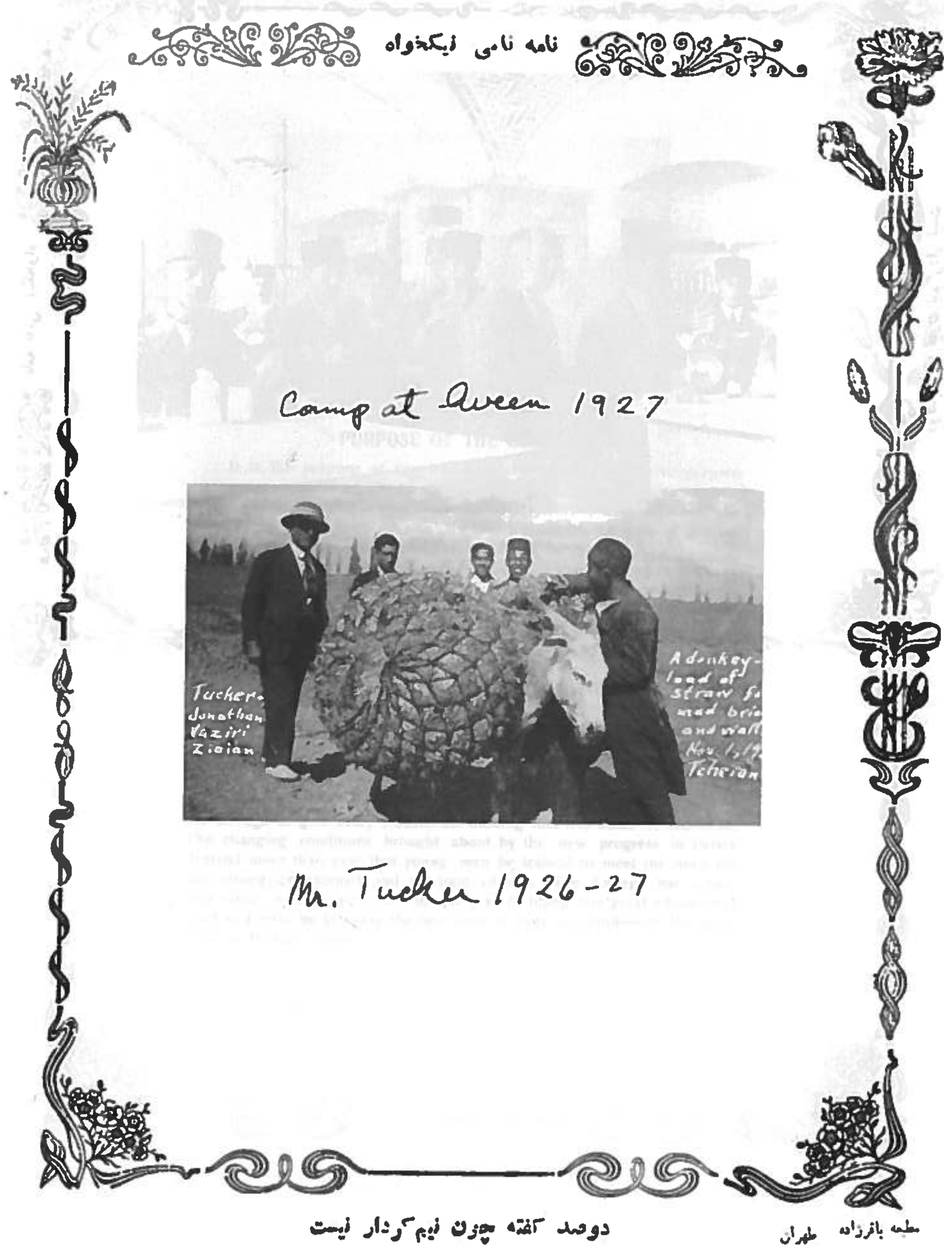
دوصد گفته چون نیم کردار نیست

مطبعه باقرزاده طهران

Figure 12. Prof. Gurney and his Chemistry class, 1930.

Prof. Gurney and his Chemistry Class 1930

Figure 13. Camp at Aveen,[47] 1927. Mr. Tucker, 1926–27. Writing on the left, from left to right: Tucker, Jonathan, Vaziri, Ziaian. Writing on the right: A donkey-load of straw for mud brick and wall. November 1, 1927, Teheran.



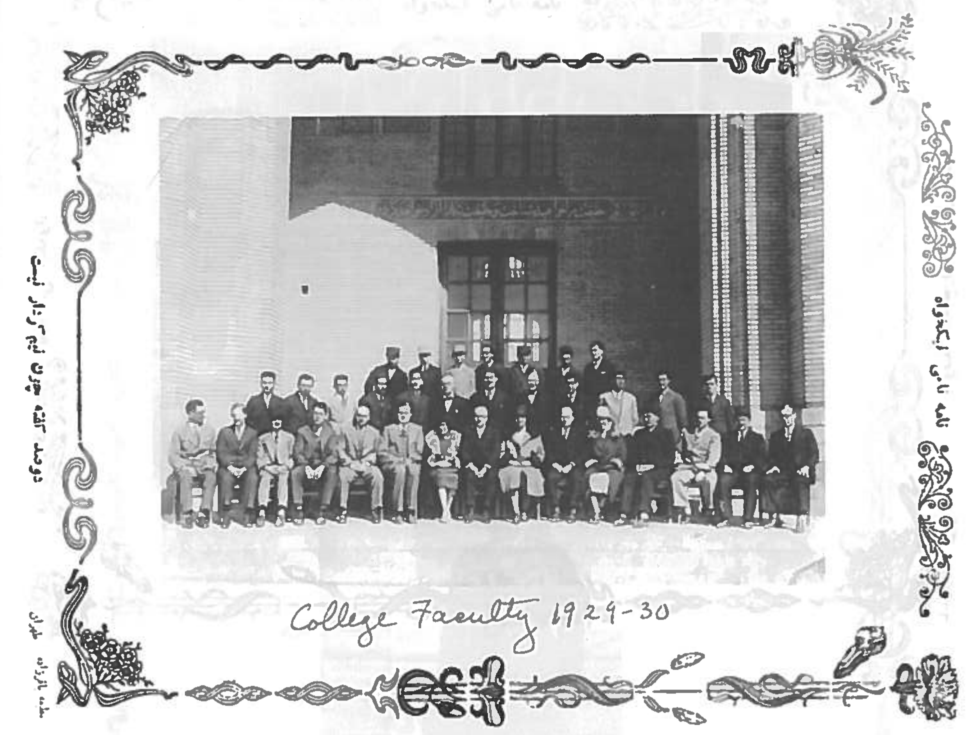
[47]Evin.

Figure 14. (I) The Boarding Department in 1915 (Dr. Jordan, with white hat, seated in the middle row); (II) the Beginning of Athletics, 1912.[48]

[48]Both of these photographs correspond to earlier periods.

Figure 15. College students and faculty, photo taken in front of Moore's Science Hall. Mrs. Boyce (seated, front row, sixth from left), Dr. Arthur C. Boyce (seated, front row, seventh from left), and probably Mr. Razavi, the English teacher (seated, front row, third from left).

Figure 16. College Faculty, 1929–30. Herrick Black Young (seated, sixth from left), Arthur C. Boyce (seated, seventh from left), Mrs. Boyce (seated, eighth from left), Walter A. Groves (seated, ninth from left), Mrs. Goves (seated, fifth from right), Ahmad Nakhostin (seated, second from right).[49]



[49]The tile work, "Haqiqat ra Khwahid Shenakht va Haqiqat Shoma ra Azad Khwahad Kard" ("You Will Know the Truth and the Truth Will Set You Free" [John, 8:32]), was later replaced with "Dabirestan-e Alborz" (Alborz High School)

Figure 17. Dr. Walter A. Groves and 9th class Ethics, 1929.

Figure 18. (I) Left to right: Dr. Hutchison, Mr. Young, M. Adeeb, K. Dadgar, Miss Pomeroy, Mrs. Hutchison, Mrs. Groves, Dr. Groves. Fall 1925; (II) Left to right: "Hammie" and Dr. Groves. Spring, 1926.[50]

[50]Photo takes at the Doushan Tappeh Palace, on the then north-eastern periphery of Tehran.

Figure 19. (I) School Football Team, 1926–27. Left to right: Mr. Sherk (with hat), Grigorian, Sukias, Assadi, K. Ghavami, M. G. Ghavami, Galustian, Dehesh, Arakelian, Davitian, Ziaian, Farzanegan. Seated, left to right: A. Lazarian, Aivazian, ...;[51] (II) Tehran, Lalezar Street, 1926.

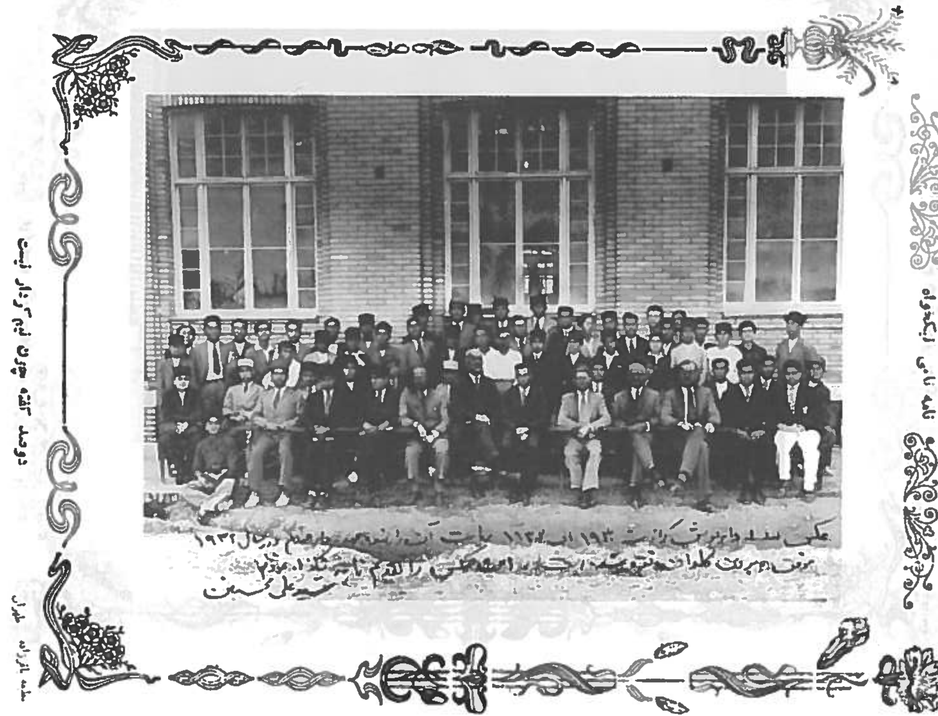
[51] Last name not clear, probably Charles.

Figure 20. Dormitory, 1927.

Figure 21. American Faculty, 1928–29. Dr. Jordan (front row, first from right), Mrs. Jordan (front row, second from right), Arthur C. Boyce (front row, first from left), Mrs. Groves (front row, third from left), Herrick Black Young (standing, fourth from right).

Figure 22. College Faculty, 1928–29. Dr. Jordan (front row, first from left), Mrs. Jordan (second row, second from left), Mrs. Groves (second row, third from left), Arthur C. Boyce (front row, first from right), Herrick Black Young (back row, first from left).

Figure 23. Darius Club. Sayyed Ali Mohsenin, president (1930–32). Group photo with College President and faculty, 1932. Herrick Black Young (front row, seated third from right), Arthur C. Boyce (front row, seated fourth from right), Coach Bobgen (front row, seated fifth from right), Dr. Jordan (front row, seated seventh from right), Walter A. Groves (front row, seated eighth from right).[52]



[52]Photo taken next to Moore Science Hall.

Figure 24. College athletics. Dr. Groves (standing, first from right), possibly Coach Bobgen (standing, first from left), Ahmad Farhi (seated, third from right).

Figure 25. Group photo of the basketball team. Coach Bobgen (standing, second from right), Ahmad Nakhostin (standing, fifth from right).

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دوصد گفته چون نیم کردار نیست

مطبعه باقرزاده طهران

Figure 26. Probably Ahmad Nakhostin (seated in the middle, with "Pahlavi hat"), Musa Kashfi (standing second row, third from left), Ebrahim Banayan (seated, third from right).

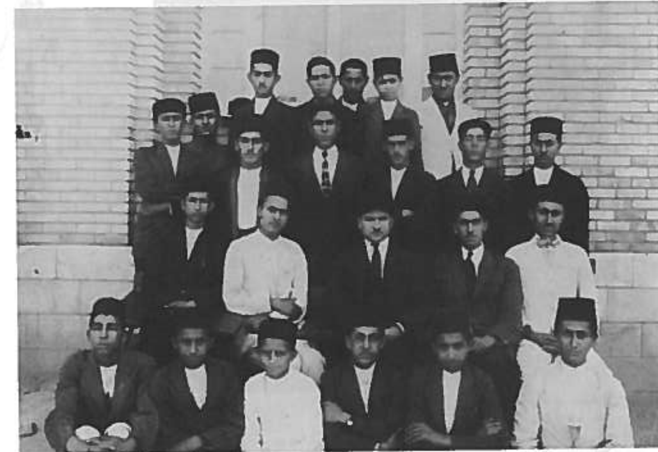

Figure 27. M. [Mansur] Zandi, "Fava'ed-e Riyaziyat" (Benefits of Mathematics), first page of an essay in Persian, dated 21 Farvardin 1311 (10 April 1932) (9 pp.).

نامه نامی نیکخواه

بقلم م. زندی

مورخه ۲۱ فروردین ۱۳۱۱

فوائد ریاضیات

اگر بادیده تحقیق وبصیرت بصفحات تاریخ تمدن دنیا نظر افکنیم
خواهیم دید که یکی از عوامل بزرگی که باعث پیشرفت بشر گردیده وانسان
را از بادیه بربریت بشاهراه ترقی وتعالی سوق داده همانا علم ریاضی بوده
است اگر تاریخ ریاضیات را مطالعه نمائیم وآثار ریاضیون هر عصر را با
آثار سایر علماء آن عصر مقایسه کنیم وبعد نتایج وفوائدی که از آن آثار

دوصد گفته چون نیم کردار نیست

مطبعه باقرزاده طهران

Figure 28. Gholam-Reza Rashid Yasemi (1895–1951).

Figure 29. A poem, titled "Javani" (Youth), by Rashid Yasemi in his own hand writing.

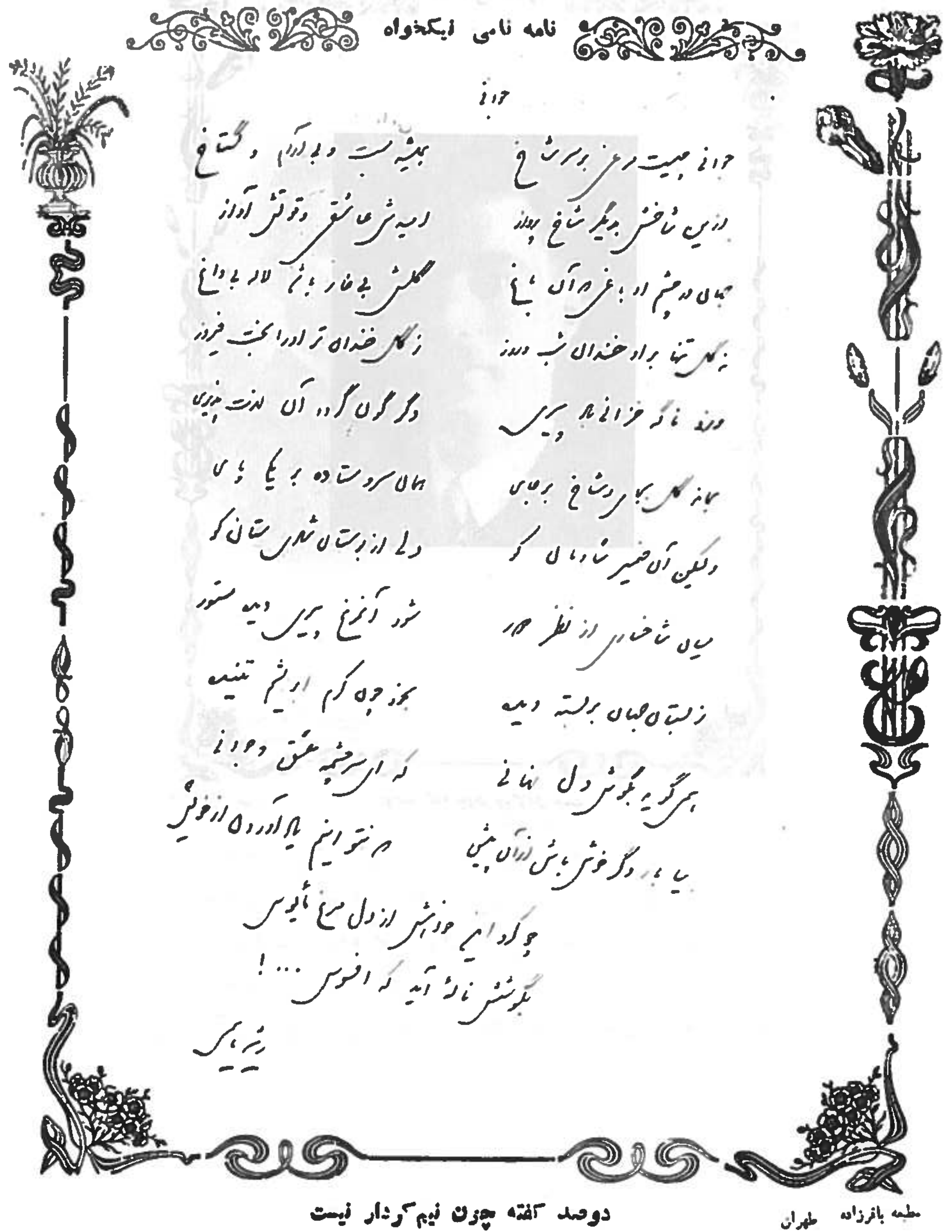

Figure 30. Malakeh Khosravi, A rebus in Persian, dated 11 Ordibehesht 1311 (1 May 1932).

Iranian Studies, volume 44, number 5, September 2011

H. E. Chehabi

Diversity at Alborz

This essay discusses the various dimensions of diversity at Alborz, both when it was run by the American missionaries and when it was under Iranian management. In the first part, the ascriptive traits of human beings are the object of the analysis: gender, race, language, religion and class. In both periods Alborz was characterized by its openness to Iranians of different religious backgrounds, both teachers and students. The second part of the essay discusses the variety of the educational experience enjoyed by students, and concludes that it gradually diminished, as education came increasingly to be defined as instruction and extracurricular activities were reduced after the mid-1960s.

Max Weber writes that scholars "are personally interested in [a problem] because certain concrete situations seem incompatible with, or seem to threaten, the realization of certain ideal values in which they believe."[1] This insight applies to my interest in Alborz, for which I harbor great affection, although I am also critical of certain aspects of it. I attended Alborz High School from 9th to 12th grade, entering in 1967 and graduating in the mathematics track in 1971. There can be no doubt that the topic I have chosen ultimately derives from my own positionality outside the mainstream of Iranian society, a situation that allowed me to experience Alborz as an insider while simultaneously observing it with the detachment of an outsider. But I am in addition a historian, and so the Alborz of Samuel Jordan is also of concern to me. In this article I shall try to address both the Alborz of Jordan and that of Mojtahedi, in the hope of teasing out both continuities and ruptures, for much of the existing scholarship on Alborz focuses on either the Jordan or the Mojtahedi periods, without making any effort to link the two.[2] Given the centrality of Alborz to Iran's educational system under both administrations, it is possible to draw inferences that I hope will shed light on recent Iranian history more generally.

Diversity at an educational institution can be looked at on two levels. First, there is the human diversity among students, teachers and staff; second, there is the diversity of subjects taught and talents fostered. I will take them up in this order.

H. E. Chehabi is a professor of international relations and history at Boston University.

[1]"'Objectivity' in Social Science and Social Policy," in Max Weber, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*, trans. and ed. by Edward A. Shils and Henry A. Shils (New York, 1949), 61.

[2]I am not normally given to such "baring of the soul," but in the case at hand some clarification is called for, as I am trying to write academically about a subject, the analysis of which largely depends on evidence constituted by my own recollections.

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Ascriptive Diversity

A good way to organize one's thoughts on the issue of human diversity is to look at those dimensions of a person's identity with which he or she is born, the so-called ascriptive traits. One can conveniently study them by aligning them on a spectrum proceeding from the biological to the social, looking successively at gender, race, ethnicity, religion and class.[3]

Gender. The Alborz I knew constituted a gendered space if there ever was one. The only women one might encounter were the wives or daughters of those employees who also lived on the sprawling campus, for instance in the apartment buildings beyond the great sports hall; such encounters were very rare. Alborz was an intensely homosocial milieu, and I wonder whether the bonds that unite its graduates would be so intense and long-lasting if Alborz had been coeducational.

Matters had not always been so. In Dr. Jordan's times, the wives of faculty members, such as Mrs. Jordan and Mrs. Boyce, played a major role in the running of the school, and also taught classes. In fact, Mrs. Jordan laid the foundation of Alborz's celebrated boarding department when she took into her home a number of boys whose parents lived outside Tehran. Moreover, in the all-too-short period in which Alborz was a degree-granting college, four women graduated with BA degrees. With the departure of the missionaries in 1940 matters changed, and Alborz became an all-male preserve.

In the 1970s the situation began to change a little. There were rumors that the school might merge with Nurbaksh, a nearby girls' high school, or admit female students independently. When the educational system was changed so as to create a middle school (*Rahnama'i*) going from 6th to 8th grade, the boys entering Alborz were so young that it was deemed safe to employ a number of women teachers for the lowest grades; by the academic year 1974–75 six women taught at Alborz, and one woman was a *nazem* (the staff member in charge of discipline for one age cohort).[4] But these timid developments came to an abrupt end when the revolution of 1979 ushered in a new era in which the state attempted (not very successfully) to deepen gender segregation in Iranian society.

It would of course be ridiculous to criticize Alborz for not having been a coeducational high school after 1940. It was, after all, a public school, and the state educational system, which had briefly experimented with coeducation in the late 1930s, mandated gender segregation of the student body after Reza Shah's abdication in 1941. Even among private high schools, coeducational ones were very few in number, limited to foreign schools and, much later, Iran Zamin.

At the same time, I do not think it is altogether trivial that an educational institution that self-consciously saw itself as the nursery of Iran's educated elite excluded

[3]I take these criteria and their order from Heinz Kloss, *Grundfragen der Ethnopolitik im 20. Jahrhundert: Die Sprachgemeinschaften zwischen Recht und Gewalt* (Vienna, 1969), 23.

[4]Mir Asadollah Musavi Maku'i, *Dabirestan-e Alborz va shabanehruzi-ye an* (Tehran, 1378/1999), 41 and 216.

as a matter of principle half the country's population from enrolling. The positive lesson I would like to draw from this brief discussion is that we should take a closer look at the schools that were created for the other half of the population. The same Protestant missionaries who established Alborz also set up the Iran Bethel School for girls, which became Nurbakhsh (Reza Shah-e Kabir) after 1940.[5] The links between the two survived the nationalization when Mohammad Vahid Tonekaboni became principal of both Nurbakhsh and Alborz,[6] but this arrangement lasted for only one year.

Race. Iranians have been taught that they belong to the "Aryan" race, and most have by now internalized this myth. While it has little basis in reality, very few, if any, Asiatic Turkmens from the northeast or Afro-Iranians[7] from the south attended Alborz, making this criterion of diversity quite literally inapplicable. But the very absence of Iranians of color at Alborz points to the marginality of the inhabitants of the periphery, and the socio-economic inequalities among the country's regions that underlie this marginality.

Ethnicity. Iran is a multi-ethnic country, and so is the capital Tehran, which has over the years attracted the cream of provincial society, given that in the tightly centralized Iranian state opportunities for social advancement have been located mainly at the center. For this very reason many provincial elite families chose to send their sons to Alborz's boarding school.

Under Jordan "all boarders were duty bound to tell each other about ... their home town or province, so that all would get acquainted with their homeland and learn that Lur, Kurd, Arab and Qashqai were all from the same land and the products of the same civilization."[8] This custom was maintained in the early years of the Iranian administration.[9]

Both the teachers and the students at Alborz reflected the ethnic diversity of Iranian society; in fact, no one exemplified it more than Mojtahedi himself, a talented Gilak from Lahijan who made his entire career in Tehran. His accent was forever parodied, and he is one of the few figures in Iranian history who begat his own genre of jokes. These *sounded* like Rashti jokes, but were based on a very *different* premise, namely his supposed propensity to take things literally.[10] At the same

[5]Monica M. Ringer, *Education, Religion, and the Discourse of Cultural Reform in Qajar Iran* (Costa Mesa, CA, 2001), 123. See also Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi, "From Evangelizing to Modernizing Iranians," *Iranian Studies*, xxxxi (2008): 213–40.

[6]Habib Lajvardi [Ladjevardi], ed., *Khaterat-e Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi* (Cambridge, MA, 2000), 31 n.35.

[7]The very existence of Afro-Iranians has only recently been perceived by a few Iranians. See Behnaz A. Mirzai, "African Presence in Iran: Identity and its Reconstruction in the 19th and 20th Centuries," *Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outremer*, lxxxix, nos. 336–37 (2002): 229–46.

[8]Shokrollah Naser, *Ravesh-e Doktor Jordan* (Tehran, 1945), 49–50.

[9]Ali Naqi Alikhani, "Zendegani-ye ma dar shabanehruzi," quoted in Musavi Maku'i, *Dabirestan-e Alborz*, 150. The author graduated from Alborz in the literary track in 1946 and later became minister of economics and president of the University of Tehran.

[10]Two examples: Mojtahedi is invited to attend the opening of the new road between Rasht and Lahijan. At the end of the ceremony, as he says goodbye to the minister of transportation, he tells

time, Mojtahedi's long tenure as director of Alborz and the presence at the school of so many teachers from outside the capital show that at the end of the day the system *was* meritocratic, and that there was no discrimination on account of ethnic background.

Still, there is more to the story. The leitmotiv of the Mojtahedi jokes, his literal-mindedness, illustrates the well-known fact that Tehranis regard provincials who speak Persian with a non-Tehrani accent as simple-minded and ultimately funny—as fair game for jokes. If the almighty Mojtahedi was the butt of ethnic jokes, one can imagine how provincial teachers and pupils fared. Teachers of course had their institutional authority to back them up, but I remember more than one teacher who failed to generate adequate respect and proper manners among his students at least in part because he spoke Persian with a *Torki* or a *Rashti* accent. How much more cruel must the situation have been for boys from the provinces. Adolescents are a famously conformist lot, forever eager to draw sharp boundaries between "cool" and "uncool," and, at least in the years I attended Alborz, few things were more "uncool" than speaking with a provincial inflection. Those who made fun of provincials would probably have insisted that it was all good-natured and innocent, but I wonder whether those on the receiving end of this innocent good-naturedness saw it thus. The way ethnic diversity was handled at Alborz was indicative of the Persocentricity and Tehranocentricity that pervaded Iranian society, which may or may not explain why after the revolution so many members of the new elite, beginning with the founder of the new regime, proudly used a *nisba* as a surname or in addition to it, so as to advertise the fact that their roots lay in the heartland beyond the capital.

Religion. As a school founded by Christian missionaries in a predominantly Muslim country, religious diversity was in a way part of Alborz's DNA; the first pupils enrolled were Armenian and Jewish.[11] The American Presbyterians who founded such centers of excellence as Syrian Protestant College (which later changed its name to American University of Beirut), Roberts College in Istanbul and Alborz College in Tehran[12] prided themselves on their willingness to take students from all religious backgrounds, teaching them to accept each other as equals.[13] As Jordan wrote:

> In Iran the different races—Moslems, Zoroastrians, Armenians, Assyrians, Jews—have had separate schools. The result has been suspicion, distrust, intolerances, and enmity. We have always enrolled students of all races, religions, and ranks of society without discrimination. They have shared the same seats, sat beside each other in classrooms, ... and the result has been that all have learned to be friends, and to cooperate enthusiastically in service of their country.[14]

To show that this was not an empty boast, let me quote from two Muslim graduates of these schools. The scholar-statesman Sadeq Rezazadeh Shafaq wrote about the Memorial School he attended in Tabriz at the beginning of the twentieth century:

> The Memorial School was one of the two foreign schools in Tabriz, (the other being [the] Catholic French School) where Muslims and Christians (i.e., Iranian Armenians) studied together. There it was that I realized for the first time that there were other faiths than mine, learning gradually to tolerate them.[15]

Sattareh Farman Farmaian, who attended the girls' school in Tehran, had a similar experience:

> The school, which more Moslem girls had also begun attending in recent years, was a magnet for the daughters of well-off minority families from all over Iran, and I now found myself sitting side by side not only with Moslems and several of my classmates from Tarbiyat [i.e., Baha'is], but with Iranians who were also Armenian Christians or Zoroastrians or Jews, with Kurds and Azeris and Bakhtiari chieftains' daughters.[16]

As for Alborz itself, a graduate remembers:

> Alborz students were no religious fanatics. One of Dr. Jordan's very useful ideas was the inculcation of a sense of patriotism and nationality in the students. ... There were Turks, Lurs, Kurds, Arabs, Chaldaeans, Armenians, Americans, and Indian Muslims who lived together, ate at the same tables, and slept in the same rooms.[17]

We can see the attractiveness of Alborz for non-Muslims in Iran from the fact that of the graduates of the year 1941, 30 percent in the scientific (*'elmi*) track (15 out of 49) and 27 percent (27 out of 100) in the commercial (*bazargani*) had obviously non-Muslim names, while not a single graduate in the literary track had a non-Muslim name.[18] In subsequent years the percentage of non-Muslims declined, as the total numbers of students shot up drastically.

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him: "it's very nice to have a road from Rasht to Lahijan. Now perhaps you could build one from Lahijan to Rasht." And: Mojtahedi goes to the bazaar to buy his daughter's trousseau. He finds some nice glasses, but something about them bothers him. So he asks the sales clerk: "why are they open at the bottom?"

[11]Arthur C. Boyce, "Alborz College of Teheran and Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan Founder and President," in Ali Pasha Saleh, ed., *Cultural Ties Between Iran and the United States* (Tehran, 1976), 176.

[12]Which might have become the "American University of Tehran" had it not been taken over by the Iranian state.

[13]For the SPC/AUB see H. E. Chehabi et al., *Distant Relations: Iran and Lebanon in the Last 500 Years* (London, 2006), 16–18.

[14]Samuel M. Jordan, "The Only Christian College in Iran," *The Missionary Review of the World*, lviii (1935): 394.

[15]S. Rezazadeh Shafaq, *Howard Baskerville: The Story of an American who Died in the Cause of Iranian Freedom and Independence* (Cambridge, MA, 2008), 2. The text was originally written in 1959.

[16]Sattareh Farman Farmaian, *Daughter of Persia: A Woman's Journey from Her Father's Harem Through the Islamic Revolution* (New York, 1992), 59.

[17]Naser, *Ravesh-e Doktor Jordan*, 49.

Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi continued Jordan's policy regarding those pupils whose religious background differed from that of the majority. Let me share a bit of anecdotal evidence from the 1970s. The son of Armenian friends of my parents, a boy by the name of Abrahamian, was enrolled at Alborz. At the beginning of the school year the teacher was absent for some reason, and Mojtahedi himself went to teach the first class. He went down the list of students to choose a class monitor (*mobser*[19]) and obviously the first name he saw was Abrahamian. He called out this student's name and appointed him on the spot without going down the list—an act of affirmative action which went against customary practice in a country whose official religion teaches that non-Muslims must not acquire authority over Muslims. Another example of Mojtahedi's liberal-mindedness concerns a Sunni former classmate of mine. He recounts that his religion teacher, a cleric, kept insulting the two caliphs whose memory is dear to Sunnis, Abu Bakr and Omar; as a result my classmate skipped religion class and got a bad grade at the end of the year. This prevented his automatic registration the following autumn, and he had to see Mojtahedi to sort matters out. When he explained why he had skipped class, Mojtahedi accepted the explanation without comment and allowed him to register.[20]

Religious pluralism was also the norm at the level of teachers and staff. One man who was a living link between the Jordan and the Mojtahedi administrations was Tirdad Barseqiyan, an Armenian graduate of Alborz College who taught English and later took charge of Alborz's finances, a position he held until 1978.[21] As for teachers, almost all of Iran's religions were represented on the faculty of Alborz. The original staff of Alborz consisted of Presbyterian missionaries, of course, but when they were replaced by Iranians after the takeover of the school in 1940, religious diversity prevailed. Christian teachers included Armenians such as Arshavir Hovsepian and Assyrians such as David Pira; Jewish teachers included Baruch Berukhim, a physics teacher who was the main speaker when alumni in San Francisco commemorated Mojtahedi after his death. A number of Baha'is also taught at Alborz, most famously the longtime physics teacher Misaqollah Ma'ani. Mojtahedi also saw to it that non-Muslims were represented on the *Anjoman-e Khaneh va Madreseh*, the equivalent of the Parent–Teacher Association, that allowed parents to be involved in the affairs of the school.[22]

How did Mojtahedi acquire this *laïque* sensibility, remarkable for one who, as his surname indicates, was a scion of a clerical family? Perhaps it was because he grew up in Gilan, a province known for its progressive politics, or perhaps also because he spent his formative years in the fiercely *laïque* French Third Republic, where his sojourn (1931–38) coincided with the ascendancy of progressive parties, culminating in the Popular Front government of 1936. His French wife may have been an influence as

[18]Musavi Maku'i, *Dabirestan-e Alborz*, 348–54. Since most Baha'is and quite a few Jews do not have obviously non-Muslim names, these numbers probably underreport the total number of non-Muslims.

[19]A student who helps teachers to maintain order and thus enjoys a degree of authority over other students.

[20]Zahed Sheikholeslami, telephone conversation, 1 October 2009.

[21]Musavi Maku'i, *Dabirestan-e Alborz*, 52–53.

[22]Lajvardi, *Khaterat-e Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi*, 65–66.

well. At any rate, the progressive and non-discriminatory policies of Jordan and the Presbyterian missionaries were continued at Alborz until the revolution of 1979 ushered in an age of institutionalized religious discrimination.[23] Let it be recorded that of the Baha'is who throughout the years had taught at Alborz, four were killed by the regime after the revolution.[24]

Class. Until relatively recently education was the privilege of the upper classes in most of Iran. Jordan was proud that his school educated the sons of the elite. In 1929 he wrote:

> One of the remarkable things about the American College of Teheran, and especially the boarding department, is the class of students enrolled. While boys of every grade of society and of every race and creed are accepted without discrimination, an unusually large percentage of them are the children of the nobility and other influential families of the country. Many are the sons of government officials. Among them are the sons of prime ministers and other cabinet ministers; of royal princes; of members of Majles (Congress), of governors of provinces, and other influential men—boys who, whether educated or not, will in future years be among the rulers of Persia.[25]

But he was equally proud of that fact many boys were distinctly non-elite, and that, at least within the confines of the school, all were equals:

> In 1928 three sons of one of the greatest princes in Iran were graduated from our Junior College. When one of them was about fifteen years old he was playing in a football match one afternoon. He and another boy collided and they proceeded to scrap with all the vim and enthusiasm that American boys would show under like circumstances. A cousin on the side lines turned to the servant of the princes, who had come with their carriage to take them home, and exclaimed, "What a good-for-nothing servant you are! You saw the son of His Imperial Highness struck by the son of nobody and you did not avenge the insult!" The young prince overheard the remark. He stalked over to his servant and laid down the law thus, "When one of my friends and I have a difference of opinion on the football field, you understand it is a friendly fight. If you ever dare to interfere and strike one of my friends, I will report it to ... my father, and you will get bastinadoed." He then turned back and resumed the game.[26]

To make the enrollment of poorer boys possible, he overcharged the wealthy parents: "We have charged nine sons of the wealthy and well-to-do enough to

[23]For a brief discussion see H. E. Chehabi, "Religious Apartheid in Iran," *Viewpoints, Special Edition: The Iranian Revolution at 30* (2009): 119–21.

[24]These were Bozorg 'Alavian (?), Abdolhoseyn Taslimi (physics), Alimorad Davudi (philosophy?), and Ruhi Rowshani (history and geography).

[25]S. M. Jordan "'The Power Plant in Persia,'" *Women and Missions* (December 1929): 329.

[26]Jordan, "The Only Christian College in Iran," 394.

support ten. This has met with the full approval of the patrons. In this way we have been able to educate a number of worthy poor boys."[27]

When the number of students increased dramatically under the Mojtahedi administration, the student body became more diverse in terms of class. While many sons of the elite continued to attend Alborz,[28] no one was admitted solely for belonging to Iran's ruling class. I recall an occasion when Farideh Diba, the mother of Empress Farah, took the trouble personally to visit Mojtahedi's home across the street from the Alborz football field to plead the case of a particular boy, an effort which met with Mojtahedi's polite but firm refusal.[29]

While the vast majority of Alborz's students belonged to the middle or upper classes, talented boys from poorer backgrounds could gain admission. According to Mojtahedi, of the 5,500 students enrolled in 1971, 550 did not pay tuition (and many of these received pocket money as well), and of the 240 boarders, 24 paid no fees.[30] In other words, under Mojtahedi the 10 percent ratio of students who did not have to pay tuition that Jordan had instituted was maintained and financed in the same way, namely by voluntary contributions from those parents who *did* pay tuition, for as of 1951 the school's operating budget no longer received any funds from the state.[31]

Given the status of Alborz in Iranian society and the presence there of so many sons of the elite, poor students could be expected to feel self-conscious and ill at ease. But Mojtahedi endeavored to reduce their malaise by ensuring that they enjoyed the same material goods as the rest of the student body. He would ask well-to-do fathers to donate money, which he would then distribute among poor fathers so that they could take their sons to a draper on nearby Shahreza (now Enqelab) street; the sons would choose material, which they would then take to a tailor to be fitted for their *Nowruz* suits, never suspecting that it was not their own fathers who were paying for the material and the tailor.[32]

The above discussion shows that throughout its pre-revolutionary history Alborz was, by the standards of Iranian society, a remarkably diverse and pluralist institution insofar as ascriptive traits are concerned. Let us now turn to the non-ascriptive dimensions of the educational experience Alborz offered, namely the variety of subject taught, the balance between instruction and education, and the way Alborz handled diversity in achievement among its students.

[27] Jordan, "The Only Christian College in Iran," 395.

[28] The corollary of this is that Alborz graduates were over-represented in the country's power elite under the Shah. Marvin Zonis, *The Political Elite of Iran* (Princeton, NJ, 1971), 168–69.

[29] I heard the story from my mother, who had heard it from Mrs. Mojtahedi, with whom she had a weekly coffeeklatsch.

[30] Lajvardi, *Khaterat-e Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi*, 62. Sons of teachers did not pay tuition either.

[31] Lajvardi, *Khaterat-e Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi*, 30, 57, 65.

[32] Lajvardi, *Khaterat-e Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi*, 57, 61–62.

Diversity in the Educational Experience at Alborz

Diversity of subjects. The variety of subjects taught at the early American schools in Iran was meant to create rounded and well-balanced personalities. Literature, the sciences, history, the arts and physical education all had their place. In addition, laboratories helped students visualize the theoretical material learnt in class.

In 1928 the centralizing Iranian state introduced a uniform curriculum and standard textbooks for all schools operating in Iran, private or public.[33] Foreign missionary schools were not exempted; in addition to having to desist from teaching the Bible to Muslims (for whom Muslim religious classes had to be provided), they had to prepare pupils for examinations administered countrywide. In Arthur Boyce's opinion, this led to a situation where the examinations acquired greater importance than developing personality:

> In the years following, "passing the examinations" was the only object of education in the minds of most students. Students became increasingly unwilling to give time to anything which did not prepare them for the examinations. Presenting students for examinations meant that we had to cover carefully the details of the course of study to be sure that our students were prepared, especially at the end of the third, sixth and later fifth classes of the middle school. We were not prevented, however, from adding other details even if we could not subtract anything.[34]

The educational philosophy of the Americans did not meet with the unconditional approval of Jordan's Iranian successors. Mir Asadollah Musavi Maku'i, arguably the most important figure at post-1940 Alborz after Mojtahedi, paraphrased Jordan's views on education thus: "We have a factory for producing men, first we educate and then we teach sciences." Musavi added this personal evaluation: "Briefly put, the instructional work of the American mission was not that advanced and scientific. Instead, to foster [foreign] language and foreign trade, they only offered the literary and commercial tracks."[35]

When the national curriculum was introduced at Alborz, the scientific (*'elmi*) track was added, a track that the ministry of education divided into a natural science (*tabi'i*) and a mathematics (*riyazi*) track beginning in the school year 1940–41. One way to gauge the new educational policy of Alborz is to look at the demographics of the various tracks. In 1949 the last students in the literary and commercial tracks graduated from Alborz, meaning that, as of that year, students had the choice only between the natural sciences and mathematics as the other tracks were discontinued. Beginning in the academic year 1961–62 the numbers in the mathematics track overtook those in the natural sciences track.[36]

[33] David Menashri, *Education and the Making of Modern Iran* (Ithaca, NY, 1992), 95.

[34] Boyce, "Alborz College of Teheran," 189.

[35] Musavi Maku'i, *Dabirestan-e Alborz*, 24 and 26.

[36] See table in Musavi Maku'i, *Dabirestan-e Alborz*, 203.

Mojtahedi had studied mathematics himself, and made no secret of his preference for mathematics and the hard sciences over all other branches of human knowledge. In Iran at the time students chose their functional tracks in the 2nd cycle (10th to 12th grades, also called 4th to 6th grades) not on the basis of taste and inclination, but on the basis of the prestige of the tracks: mathematics had the highest standing, and so the best students chose it, the assumption being that they would go on to university to become engineers or scientists. Natural sciences were for the next best, those who would typically become physicians. The literary track was for low-achievers, which is somewhat ironic in a country that prides itself on its literary heritage. History and geography were bywords for useless subjects that condemned one to a life of poverty as a school teacher. The elimination of the literary track was thus not only due to Mojtahedi's own preferences but also a consequence of the falling demand for it among high school students generally. This hierarchy of disciplines is not unique to Iran and can be found, in addition to most Third World countries, even in France, where the *baccalauréat* in the sciences is the most prestigious track. The reason for this has been diagnosed as lying in the supremely abstract nature of mathematics, which allegedly gives it a purity of purpose that is deemed not only noble in and of itself but also renders it useful to the pursuit of all other branches of knowledge.

Even though Alborz saw itself as the nursery for Iran's leaders, and even though a country can be assumed to need judges, lawyers, journalists, artists, educationists and businessmen as much as it needs engineers and doctors, these careers were not on Mojtahedi's (or most other educationists') radar screen. A statement of his is quite telling: "*mamlekat-e ma ra bayad javanan-e fazel va ba-iman-e irani abad konand,*" loosely translatable as "our country needs to be developed by knowledgeable and believing Iranians."[37] The translation is loose, because *abad kardan*, "to render *abad*," has no precise translation in English. *Abadi* is a locus of human activity outside the towns,[38] and it has the connotation of constructing things. So *abad kardan* is really the work of engineers and scientists, and this probably explains why an intensely patriotic man like Mojtahedi would be so fixated on engineering. One former Alborz teacher, Mahmud Behzad, went so far as to suggest that Mojtahedi had no good rapport with literature teachers, one reason being that he was not well informed about language and literature, the other that most literature teachers he knew were undisciplined.[39]

It is true that the rigid nature of Iran's centralized educational system, with its prescribed number of subjects, left principals with little leeway to "add details," as Arthur Boyce had put it. There was however *some* wiggle room, but that wiggle room was not often used to diversify the instruction offered at Alborz in the direction of the humanities or arts. When it was, such as in the teaching of French in addition to English

[37]See Lajvardi, *Khaterat-e Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi*, 6.

[38]Ahmad Ashraf, "Ābādi," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

[39]In a talk given on the occasion of the first anniversary of Mojtahedi's death, as reprinted in Musavi Maku'i, *Dabirestan-e Alborz*, 254.

between 1964 and 1969,[40] it was motivated not by a desire to broaden students' horizons and make French civilization accessible to them but by the availability of scholarships to study in France—of course only in "the sciences and engineering."[41] As my friend Dr. Zahed Sheikholeslami—who dutifully chose the mathematics track at Alborz and then proceeded to go to Aryamehr (Sharif) University, where in his third year he discovered his vocation as a musician—put it to me recently: "Alborz was a geek factory, but the best geek factory in the country."

Instruction vs. education. The educational philosophy of the Presbyterian missionaries tried to engage the entire human personality, and to this end a great variety of extra-curricular activities was proposed to students to turn them into well-rounded young men. The Jordans introduced music into the curriculum;[42] sang with their students, whom they encouraged to write songs with patriotic Persian lyrics; and had plays performed. Hikes were organized in the mountains that would later give the school its name,[43] and physical education was stressed as never before in Iran.[44] In other words, education mattered alongside instruction, and education also included character-building. As one alumnus remarked: "Dr. Jordan always emphasized education (*tarbiyat*), not merely instruction (*ta'lim*)," noting later in the text:

> The free and open environment of the College gave each student a chance to develop his own talents. To be the best student was not a major goal ... everybody developed his personality in whatever he was good at. For instance one student was the best in swimming, another was a good wrestler, and the third had memorized a dictionary.[45]

Although Iranian educationists in theory distinguish between instruction and education, routinely speaking of *ta'lim va tarbiyat*, Persianized as *amuzesh va parvaresh*, when the state system was established the *tarbiyat* or *parvaresh* part became in practice woefully subordinate to the *ta'lim* or *amuzesh* part. One man who was in a good position to compare the Alborz of Jordan and the Alborz of Mojtahedi was Zeynolabedin Mo'tamen, who had studied under the former and taught under the latter. In his reminiscences of Jordan's Alborz one senses a genuine nostalgia for an era in which education, *tarbiyat*, had counted as much as instruction, *ta'lim*. In an essay he contributed to a festschrift commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the founding of Alborz, he wrote that "in the American period Alborz College had the newest, most pleasant, and most correct educational methods," adding that "the alumni of that institution ... still remember that pleasant era." He then enunciated what had made Alborz so special, and perhaps one can read some veiled criticism of the Alborz of his time into his enumeration:

[40]Musavi Maku'i, *Dabirestan-e Alborz*, 87.

[41]Lajvardi, *Khaterat-e Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi*, 62.

[42]Samuel M. Jordan, "Constructive Revolutions in Iran," *The Moslem World*, xxv (1935): 350.

[43]See for instance "Climbing to the Top of Persia," *Boston Evening Transcript* (Boston, MA), 12 April 1930.

[44]By the mid-1930s the school boasted of three football fields, three basketball, four volley ball, and eight tennis courts, one baseball diamond, and a running track. Jordan, "The Only Christian College in Iran," 394.

[45]Naser, *Ravesh-e Doktor Jordan*, 17 and 49.

The warm and friendly environment and the fatherly demeanor of the teachers, so free of falseness, and especially the spiritual and friendly face of Dr. Jordan; ... the daily mixing of pupils and their gathering in the great hall where lectures and various programs were organized; exciting sports competitions involving both students from within and from outside the school; the close and sincere relations between teacher and pupil and the breaking of the barriers of fear which still, after all these years, separate the two like two unacquainted and indifferent individuals; the establishment of scientific, literary, and artistic societies, especially the Ferdowsi Literary Society, which for forty years organized a Parents' Day on which the students' parents could witness for themselves the scientific and social activities as well as the lives of their sons at the school; the celebration of national holidays and the revival of old customs such as the *Sadeh* feast and *Cheharshanbeh Suri*; the performance of plays and music on different occasions; the publication of the newspaper *Javānān-e Iran*, which was published fortnightly in English and Persian by the students under the supervision of a teacher; the active participation of the students in the administration of the school; the use of the well equipped library; these were the characteristics of the school that will always keep its memory alive in its alumni.

In those days class periods were shorter but there were more of them. For this reason each day a student had one or more free periods in which he could participate in the activities of the various literary, musical, theater, and sports societies or read in the library. What with its size and facilities, Alborz College could have accepted 2,000 students, but their numbers never exceeded 500.

Classes usually had between 20 and 40 students, and the excessive density that today has become such a big but inevitable problem for instruction and education did not exist in those days. I myself studied in the literary track in a class of only five students, and it is obvious how much more fruitful the efforts of both teachers and students are under such conditions. But this era came to an end and new one began. Political and cultural circumstances led to the closing down of foreign cultural institutions. After seventy years of glorious service the American College ended its activities and all its facilities were transferred to Iranian administrators.[46]

Mo'tamen was an exceptional teacher, adored by those fortunate enough to have been his pupils, and it is interesting that Homa Katouzian, who was one of these fortunate people, ascribes his progressive teaching methods to the fact that he had earned his degree at the American College.[47]

For a while the spirit of the old Alborz lived on. In the 1940s and 1950s the school still made room for extracurricular activities; yearbooks and a number of publications came out until 1963.[48] But in the course of the 1960s these activities, while never altogether disappearing, declined in scope. The heightening repression of the Shah's regime may be one reason for this decline, but it is more likely that the growing availability to young people of all sorts of diversions and entertainments outside school is what explains the reduction of extracurricular activities at Alborz after the mid-1960s. Things were better in the boarding department, which, according to its longtime director Musavi Maku'i, organized field trips to the museums of Tehran for the boarders. It was also in the boarding department that Jordan's emphasis on involving students in the day-to-day running of the school was maintained.[49]

The paucity of extracurricular activities was of course a general problem with public education in Iran, and one cannot single out Alborz for privileging instruction at the expense of education. But schools *did* have some scope to tweak the state-imposed curriculum a little bit; yet Alborz used that to *do more of the same* rather than diversify the instruction it dispensed, introducing, for example, car mechanics. One was told to be proud of Iran's glorious past, but I wonder what percentage of Alborzis are familiar with the collections of the Iran Bastan Museum, where the vestiges of that glorious past might be admired but which was never deemed worthy of an organized visit by non-boarders.

If the Alborz experience contributed one thing to character-building, it was the inculcation of discipline. Teachers were dedicated to their task, and students followed their example. Mojtahedi himself was not only disciplined but also incorruptible; unlike many others who have held high positions in Iran, he did not die a rich man.[50] For this and for his other achievements, like the establishment of Aryamehr (Sharif) University, his persona has been the object of a certain transfiguration since the revolution—Homa Katouzian even speaks of "mythologization" (*ostureh-sazi*).[51] But let it also be said that the discipline and work ethic that are a matter of such pride for the alumni of Alborz had a dark side, perhaps inevitable where so many adolescent boys were involved. My and many of my friends' recollection of the feeling Mojtahedi inspired in us when we were at Alborz can be summarized in one word: fear. Most of us were terrorized by Mojtahedi, a feeling that was very different from that which our predecessors had for Jordan, who combined severity with friendliness.[52] As for the work ethic, it had a distinctly instrumental objective, in the sense that it was generated by a desire to succeed at examination time, not by the joy and satisfaction that derive from the sentiment of having accomplished one's task to the best of one's abilities.

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[46] [Zeynolabedin] Mo'tamen, "Alborz dar gozashteh va hal," originally printed in Manuchehr Adamiyat, ed., *Sadehnameh-ye Dabirestan-e Alborz* (Tehran, 1975), 260–61, reprinted in Musavi Maku'i, *Dabirestan-e Alborz*, 61–62.

[47] Doktor Mohammad Ali Homayun Katuziyan [Homa Katouzian], "Adam va mo'allem dar Zeynolabedin Mo'tamen," in his *Hasht maqaleh dar tarikh va adab-e mo'aser* (Tehran, 2005), 93.

[48] See the bibliography of Musavi Maku'i, *Dabirestan-e Alborz*, 873–74.

[49] Adamiyat, *Sadehnameh*, 103.

[50] See Lajvardi, *Khaterat-e Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi*, 70–74, for Mojtahedi's account of how he resisted an influential father's entreaties to change his son's grade.

[51] Katuziyan [Katouzian], "Doktor Mojtahedi va masa'el-e khedmatgozari dar jame'eh-ye kolangi," in his *Hasht maqaleh*, 112.

[52] Cf. Mo'tamen's reminiscences quoted earlier. For a similar assessment see Naser, *Ravesh-e Doktor Jordan*, 6.

Ability tracking within subject tracks. One of the more puzzling aspects of Alborz was the way students were distributed among the many parallel sections in each grade. Originally students were assigned sections by alphabetical order of their surnames in all grades, as a result of which most of the average Alborzi's friends shared the same first letter of their surnames. Since personality probably does not correlate with family initial, this lack of alphabetic diversity cannot have had much of an effect. But then Mojtahedi noticed that the unevenness of students' knowledge made teaching them difficult, as many students had come from other schools and were ill prepared for the rigors of an Alborz education. It is true that in the academic year 1954–55 the number of students enrolled at Alborz jumped from 256 in the previous year to 452.[53] To remedy the situation, he decided to constitute the sections in the second cycle (10th/4th to 12th/6th grade) on the basis of the grade point average students had achieved at the end of the preceding school year. Thus, at the end of the alphabetical triennium, the best-performing fifty found themselves in section 1 of the 4th grade, called 4/1, while the next fifty (and most resentful!) were in 4/2, with the least well performing—informally dubbed *olama o fozala* (scholars and savants)—congregating in 4/7. The exercise was then repeated all the way to the final year, with each set of end-of-year examinations potentially providing an occasion for upward or downward mobility. By constituting homogeneous sections, he hoped to enable teachers to pitch their teaching to the abilities of their students. To help them in this endeavor, the weaker sections contained fewer students.[54]

The problem is that tracking students by ability and constituting homogeneous classes make sense only if they are taught different things, with the stronger students challenged more than the weaker ones.[55] But this was not the case: the curriculum was prescribed by the state, and all had to be prepared for the *konkur* (competitive entrance examination for the universities), which was the same for everybody and which determined whether one went to university or not and, in the former case, to which one. Given that the curriculum was the same for both the high and the low achievers, the only justification for physically separating them would have been to use different pedagogical methods, perhaps assigning the teachers with the greatest pedagogical abilities to the weakest students so as to help them to catch up. But that was not the case either. The only difference was that the "weaker" classes were a little smaller in size.

Even if the introduction of tracking based on performance was justified when Alborz grew as a result of a large influx of ill-prepared students, it is not clear why the system was maintained in the 1960s and 1970s, by which time the growth had stopped and the vast majority of students in the upper grades had received their education at Alborz itself. What is more, in its heyday only the best graduates of the elementary schools could enter the school in the first place. To achieve this goal while maintaining transparency, candidates with a perfect grade point average of 20 were first called in to register, followed by those with a slightly lower one, until the full capacity was reached and all others were told to go home.[56] Whatever inequalities in achievement there were had therefore appeared *within* the school, after the initial expansion had played itself out. Thus it came to pass that the main result of this tracking system was a competition for grades, a competition that was unhealthy because the only reward for the winners was a feeling of superiority, while the greater number were condemned to sadness and disappointment, often generating shame and despair, even resentment.[57] Mojtahedi realized that this might be the case, and reports that he would personally visit the weaker sections and console them by telling them that all students were dear to him.[58] I should not be astonished if 6/1 graduates are disproportionately represented among those Alborzis who are active in alumni affairs.

Conclusion

For over a century Alborz, in its various incarnations, had a central place in Iranian education. Studying it through the prism of diversity, we can detect a clear continuity in Alborz policies regarding ascriptive traits, while when it comes to educational philosophies we discern a clear rupture between the American and the Iranian periods, although that rupture is less drastic in the case of the boarding department headed by Musavi Maku'i—perhaps because he was a history and geography teacher. The tunnel vision cultivated at Alborz in the decades before the Iranian revolution is where the discontinuity with Jordan's vision of fully developed personalities is most evident. Where Jordan, as the quotes given earlier show, hoped to form Iran's political elite, under his successor the emphasis was on training a technocratic elite. Perhaps this reflects not only the different personalities of Jordan and Mojtahedi, but also the changing nature of Iranian state and society. *Allahu a'lam.*

[53]See table in Musavi Maku'i, *Dabirestan-e Alborz*, 203.

[54]He describes his motivations and solutions to the problem in Lajvardi, *Khaterat-e Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi*, 55–56.

[55]Maureen T. Hallinan, "Tracking: From Theory to Practice," *Sociology of Education*, lxvii (1994): 79–84.

[56]Boys who had siblings attending Alborz were exempted from this procedure.

[57]More than one Alborzi has confessed to these feelings to me. Perhaps I should add that my criticism of this aspect of Alborz is not caused by any sense of "sour grapes": I was the only pupil of my cohort in 3/7 who went on to 4/1, 5/1 and 6/1. I am therefore speaking not out of experience but out of empathy.

[58]Lajvardi, *Khaterat-e Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi*, 56. By the 1970s these visits had stopped, however.

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Farzin Vahdat

Alborz High School and the Process of Rationalization in Iran

As a leading foundational institution of modernity, Alborz High School under the leadership of Dr. Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi came to embody and promote techno-scientific (or instrumental) rationality that has been the dominant form of rationality in Iran in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The essay analyzes this form of rationality and its fostering by Alborz High School during the tenure of Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi. It is argued that while instrumental rationality is necessary for any developing country, it poses fundamental problems for the development of democratic ethos. Alternatively, Jürgen Habermas' notion of "communicative rationality" is proposed and analyzed as a way to complement and democratize Iranian approach toward rationality and modernity

The disease of reason is that reason was born from man's urge to dominate nature, and the "recovery" depends on insight into the nature of the original disease.
Max Horkheimer [1]

In the twentieth century, few institutions played such a critical role in laying the foundations of modern rationality in Iran as did Alborz High School under the leadership of Dr. Mojtahedi.[2] This essay analyzes the type of rationality that Alborz High School, under the leadership of Dr. Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi, inculcated among young male Iranians who would later occupy key positions in Iran and Iranian culture in general. Having studied in France, Dr. Mojtahedi brought with him a "positivist" approach to rationality that emphasized techno-scientific and instrumental reason which was absolutely necessary for the conditions of a country that was in

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[1]Max Horkheimer, *Eclipse of Reason* (New York, 1974), 119.
[2]While in its previous incarnation as the American College of Tehran and later as Alborz College of Tehran under the American administration, the role of Alborz in disseminating modern rationality cannot be overlooked, it was Alborz High School under the leadership of Dr. Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi that stamped techno-scientific rationality on the face of modern Iranian culture by inculcating the ethos of this type of rationality among the young men who would later constitute the executive and cultural elite of the country. For a discussion on the different pedagogic orientation at Alborz under American leadership see the essay by Houchang Chehabi in this collection.

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the early stages of development and the process of becoming modern.[3] During the 34 years that Dr. Mojtahedi was at the helm of Alborz High School, the school produced roughly 20,000 highly qualified graduates, many of whom became leaders or at least important players in the fields of science, technology and medicine in Iran and around the world. There were and are some graduates of Alborz who entered other fields such as social sciences and humanities, law and politics, but they constitute, relatively speaking, a minority. This imbalance between the two types of fields, that of hard sciences and technology on the one hand, and humanities and social sciences, on the other hand, I believe, reflects the relative emphasis that Alborz under the tutelage of Dr. Mojtahedi placed on the former. The result has been the development of robust techno-scientific reason among the most influential Iranian elite of the twentieth century, but a relative underdevelopment of other types of rationality that I will discuss below.

First we need to gain some understanding regarding the notion of "techno-scientific rationality." Techno-scientific rationality deals with the control and transformation of nature. The scientist or technologist, even the physician, deals with objects in nature that need to be brought under human control and manipulation, as often declared, for the benefit of humans themselves. When an engineer builds a dam, or a machine, he or she is bringing the elements in nature under human control for human benefit, or at least intended for human good. The same can be said about a biologist or a physician. When they research, say, a virus that can harm people, their ultimate goal is to tame this harmful part of nature and bring it under our control to save and ease human life. In other words, in natural sciences there is, on the one hand, the scientist who is an intelligent being, and who has knowledge or is gaining knowledge. On the other hand, there is this natural object which has no or little intelligence and which the scientist brings under his or her control. In more technical language, on one side of this human–nature relation stands the subject of knowledge who is wielding will and power, and on the other side is the object, the "unconscious" nature which is the recipient of this human will and power. This is what lies at the core of what some thinkers call instrumental or techno-scientific rationality.[4] Jürgen Habermas has dubbed this state of affairs the "philosophy of the subject," by which he means the paradigm governing humans' relation to other humans and to nature that is made up of the pair subject–object, wherein one side possesses power and exercises it on the other side that lacks such power.[5]

The primary, but of course not the only mission of Alborz High School was to lay the foundation for the training of Iranian scientists in natural science fields that are steeped in the ethos of techno-scientific rationality. And in fact Alborz and Dr. Mojtahedi were very successful in laying this foundation, from which arose many of Iran's top ranking men of science, technology and medicine. To be sure, in a developing country like Iran in the mid-to-late twentieth century this type of techno-scientific rationality was absolutely necessary to create the material foundations of a modern civilization. Dr. Mojtahedi and Alborzis, had a great share in forging the path towards a modern Iran—but mostly in this rather narrow sense of modernity. There is no doubt that any society that has the ambition to enter the modern world, with all its positive and negative features, needs advanced factories, efficient roads, sophisticated machines, durable dams, proficient schools, competent physicians and well-equipped hospitals, to name just a few. All these are products of techno-scientific rationality, for the creation of which Alborz High School was a leading foundational institution.

However, when techno-scientific rationality is the dominant form of rationality, inevitably there will also be some very negative consequences, because techno-scientific rationality is a very poor choice when it comes to dealing with the human world. As we saw before, the objects of this type of rationality are just that, objects, or unintelligent beings or at best beings with low intelligence. Natural scientists deal with matter, with earth, with inanimate nature, or with the animal kingdom. Their knowledge is one-directional and the result of their knowledge is control and domination of their object of study.[6] And it should be. Humans need to control and bring under their domination those aspects of nature that work against our well-being. No one can blame a scientist for bringing harmful microbes under human sovereignty.[7]

[3]By positivism, I mean the general approach that views social, political and cultural progress to be mostly, if not entirely, possible through natural sciences and technology. This approach has deep roots in France, where since after the Revolution of 1789, the dominant mindset and *modus operandi* among the ruling elite has been grounded in natural and technological sciences. "The Jacobins wanted to mobilize natural science in the service of the nation. In the year of Terror, 1793–94, they established the first engineering university in the world: the Ecole Polytechnique in Paris ... [A]n astonishing 9 percent of all persons mentioned in French contemporary biographical dictionaries between 1830 and 1960 were graduates of this institution ... The Ecole Polytechnique differed from later, similar institutions in other Western countries in that, to a large extent, it prepared its graduates for higher positions of the civil service. Until recently, Germany and Scandinavian countries were ruled by jurists, while the English civil service was staffed with Oxbridge gentlemen educated in the liberal arts. In the French civil service, however, engineers were perhaps the most influential professionals. The Ecole Polytechnique set a model both for French engineering education and for the French concept of science. It stood for a scientific concept of engineering science, emphasizing natural science, the main didactic principle being mathematical drill." Kjetil Jakobsen et al., "Engineering Cultures: European Appropriation of Americanism," in *The Intellectual Appropriation of Technology: Discourses on Modernity, 1900–1939*, ed. by Mikael Hard and Andrew Jamison (Cambridge, 1998), 111.

[4]This way of analyzing the dominant, and in fact hegemonic, form of modern rationality has its roots in the tradition of Critical Theory and what is known as Frankfurt School, represented by thinkers such as Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer and currently by Jürgen Habermas. For thoughts of Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer on the notion of instrumental rationality see Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, The *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (Stanford, CA, 2002) and Max Horkheimer, *Critique of Instrumental Rationality* (New York, 1996).

[5]See, for example, Jürgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity: Twelve Lectures* (Cambridge, MA, 1987), especially chapters 9–11.

[6]One of the favorite aphorisms of August Comte, one of the founders of positivism and techno-scientific worldview, as Mary Pickering has observed, was "from science comes prediction; from prediction comes action," and, one may add, control. See Mary Pickling, *Auguste Comte: An Intellectual Biography, Volume I* (Cambridge, 1993), 566.

[7]As Horkheimer and Adorno observed, Francis Bacon (1561–1626), who is regarded as the father of the methodology of modern natural sciences, "well understood the scientific temper which was to come after him. The "happy match" between human understanding and the nature of things that he envisioned is a

But when dealing with people and society, if we apply this type of rationality to social and political contexts, the result is inevitably despotism and authoritarianism that in some ways worse than a tyranny exercised by an autocrat or a despotic political system. The "object" of human sciences is not actually an object, but an intelligent, sentient being capable of speech and possessing consciousness. In the case of the human sciences, the scientist and the "object" of science are both conscious human beings. Their relation is two-way and communicative, involving give-and-take and interaction. For this reason, the contemporary German thinker Jürgen Habermas calls this type of rationality, "communicative rationality." For Habermas, the model of human science is the interaction between two conscious human subjects who enter into this interaction to reach mutual understanding which is in contrast to the attempt to gain knowledge in which the scientist attempts to objectify nature.

> If we can presuppose for a moment the model of action oriented to reaching understanding ... the objectifying attitude in which the knowing subject regards itself as it would [toward] entities in the external nature is no longer *privileged*. Fundamental to the paradigm of mutual understanding is, rather, the performative attitude of participants in interaction, who coordinate their plans for action by coming to an *understanding* about something in the world.[8]

In Habermas' schema, the intersubjectivity that results from the above paradigm applies to the self and the other similarly: the self and the other are not objects to be dominated and manipulated, but equal subjects who come to a mutual recognition and understanding. According to Habermas, "this attitude of participants in linguistically mediated interaction makes possible a different relationship of the subject to itself from the sort of objectifying attitude that an observer [qua scientist] assumes toward entities in the external world."[9] Habermas then goes on to explain that as long as there is no alternative to a subject–object paradigm the hegemonic attitude of the subject toward the objective world is inevitable:

> The transcendental–empirical doubling of the relation to self is only unavoidable so long as there is no alternative to this observer-perspective [objectifying attitude]; only then does the subject have to view itself as the dominating counterpart to the world as a whole or as an entity appearing within it. No mediation is possible between the extramundane stance of the transcendental I and the intramundane of stance of the empirical I.[10]

patriarchal one: the mind, conquering superstition, is to rule over the disenchanted nature" (*Dialectic of Enlightenment*, 2.). While Horkheimer and Adorno depict domination of nature by humans as wholly negative and undesirable in this context, their overall view of human relation to nature was more complex in other contexts. See, for example, Theodor Adorno, "Freudian Theory and the Pattern of Fascist Propaganda," in *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader*, ed. by Andrew Arato and Eike Gebhard (Urizen, 1978).

[8] Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity: Twelve Lectures*, 296 (emphasis added).

[9] Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, 297.

[10] Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, 297.

In other words, as long as humans dwell in the paradigm of subject–object and techno-scientific rationality, they cannot relate to other humans as equal and in a non-domineering fashion. But in an intersubjective context, which is potentially present in human world where language presupposes the subjectivity of all, the situation changes. "As soon as linguistically generated intersubjectivity gains primacy, this alternative no longer applies. Then ego stands within an interpersonal relationship that allows him to relate to himself as a participant in an interaction from the perspective of alter. And indeed this reflection undertaken from the perspective of the participant escapes the kind of objectification inevitable from the reflexively applied perspective of the observer [subject/scientist]."[11]

Techno-scientific rationality, in contrast, is by nature a one-way process in which the scientist wields power and domination over the object in the natural world and the result is generally good for society and individuals.[12] But when this type of rationality is applied to the human sphere, to political, social and cultural issues, the result is despotism and undemocratic attitudes and practices. In other words, when techno-scientific rationality is applied to social and political domains, the human world is treated as an engineering project in which people are regarded as objects to be manipulated to achieve the goals of the project. It is, therefore, a far cry from the intersubjective condition—the condition in which a reason grounded in human language (the most significant attribute of being human) is the guiding form of rationality in the human world.

Alborz High School and Techno-Scientific Rationality

As even a cursory reading of Dr. Mojtahedi's memoir reveals, he seems to have had little interest in the social, cultural and political spheres. In this memoir, as told by Dr. Mojtahedi to Habib Lajevardi as part of Harvard's oral history of Iran project, he mostly discussed his efforts to establish and develop institutions such as Alborz High School, Tehran Polytechnic (now called Amir Kabir), and Aryamehr (later renamed Sharif) Industrial University, which were essential for Iran's material devel-

[11] Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, 297. As Michael Lipscomb explains, "Habermas recognizes, along with his Nietzschean counterparts, that the colonizing force of modern technology and capitalism reveals the link between instrumental reason and power. Habermas parts company with these Nietzschean inspired critiques [e.g., Foucault], however, by refusing to accept that reason, in and of itself, is merely the expression of power. He argues that a careful consideration of rationality's full potential recalls rationality's reflexive, critical capacities. For Habermas, this fuller potential underwrites our social ability to reach understandings about moral-practical problems and aesthetic-expressive disagreements. He hopes that this capacity to negotiate with one another in these spheres could serve as the foundation for a democratically, rationally negotiated politics of action." Michael E. Lipscomb, "The Theory of Communicative Action and the Aesthetic Moment: Jürgen Habermas and the (neo)Nietzschean Challenge," *New German Critique*, no. 86 (Spring–Summer 2002): 136.

[12] Yet, the fact that this objectifying attitude toward nature is ultimately responsible for the destruction of natural world, and problems such as global warming and overuse of natural resources, should not be overlooked.

opment.[13] But there are few references to any effort on his part in the direction of promoting human sciences. The most important human questions, however, that Alborz High School and Dr. Mojtahedi were obsessively concerned with, were the inculcation of discipline and self-confidence among the student body.

> Dr. Mojtahedi believes that the youth who graduate from Alborz High School, aside from the virtues of national pride and loving the Shah which are inborn in all good-natured Iranians, should possess the two characteristics of self-confidence and discipline. He [Mojtahedi] says whenever I would accomplished these sublime tasks [of instilling discipline and self-confidence among students], I would be proud of myself and feel content, since I believe, grounded in these virtues, the future lives of students would surely be secure and glorious.[14]

[13]Earlier in his career, Dr. Mojtahedi seems to have been more interested in political and international issues. In a speech to a gathering at Alborz High School in 1950 to which some educators from neighboring countries were invited, he commented: "We are friendly and amiable with all peace-loving nations, and seek their cooperation in the establishing and preserving world peace. Especially among us, the neighboring countries that because of natural factors and historical reasons have very close ties, there are better conditions for cooperation. For example, the common history, language and religion, between Iran and Afghanistan, serve best for creation of close ties, understanding, and cooperation between the two countries in discharging our functions in international affairs. I hope that these types of cultural gatherings would ever increase, so that we could become more familiar with one another and through exchange of useful and beneficial ideas we could serve the cause of world peace more effectively." Mir Assadullh Moussavi Makoui, *Dabirestan-e Alborz va Shabenehroozi Aan* [Alborz High School and its Boarding School Section] (Tehran, 1378/1999), 178 (all translations from Persian are by the author). It seems that Dr. Mojtahedi's lack of interest in social and political issues after this period is closely related to the increasing closeness of political space in Iran after the coups d'état of 1953 and the increasing despotism of the Shah. Positivism and political repression seem to have an elective affinity that serves the interests of self-preservation of authoritarian rule. As Henry Giroux observes, "the suppression of ethics in positivist rationality precludes the possibility for self-criticism, or, more specifically, for questioning its own normative structure. Facts become separated from values, objectivity undermines critique, and the notion that essence and appearance may not coincide is lost in the positivist view of the world ... For Frankfurt School, *the outcome of positivist rationality and its technocratic view of science represented a threat to the notion of subjectivity and critical thinking.*" Henry A. Giroux, "Critical Theory and Educational Practice," *The Critical Pedagogy Reader*, ed. by Antonia Darder, Marta Baltodano and Rodolfo D. Torres (New York, 2003), 33 (emphasis original).

[14]Manuchehr Adamiyat, *Sadehnameh Dabirestan Alborz* [The Centennial Book of Alborz High School], (Iqbal, Teharn, c. 1354/1975), 26. The discipline at Alborz High School in general was strictly implemented, but it was in the boarding school section that it was more systematically codified. See *Sadehnameh* (109) for the routine of daily life for students in the boarding section in which daily program of students' activity, starting at 6:15 a.m. and ending at 11:00 p.m., is broken down in precise periods. The daily routine program for the boarding section ends with the phrase: "And this program, without slightest interruption or change, is permanent." Dr. Mojtahedi imposed the discipline on himself as rigorously as on the students: "During all my life," he told Habib Lajevardi, "I go sleep at 8:00, unless I am invited [to a party]. And I rise at 6:00 O'clock. It was the same during my student years. If I break this rule one night, I feel uncomfortable the next day." (Moḥammad Ali Mojtahedi and Habib Ladjevardi, *Khaterat-e Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi: rais-e Dabirestan-e Alborz (1323–1357) va Moasses-e Daneshgah-e Ṣanati-e Aryamehr (Sharif) (1344)* (Cambridge, MA, 2000), 8). The association between extreme discipline and instrumental/techno-scientific rationality is indeed very close, because the formation of subject that dominates nature and order is nearly impossible without an empowering of the will which, in turn, totally depends on the disciplining of the body. The connection between reason and discipline is most elaborately explored in the discourse of Michel Foucault, especially his *Discipline and Punish*. However, Foucault's approach toward rationality was, for the most part, quite one-dimensional as he often (though with some exceptions) condemned rationality *tout court*. See Martin Jay, *Marxism and Totality: The Adventures of a Concept from Lukács to Habermas* (Berkeley, CA, 1984), 526. See also John S. Ransom, *Foucault's Discipline: The Politics of Subjectivity* (Durham, NC, 1997).

To be sure, Dr. Mojtahedi sometimes did, for example, invite some "competent and prominent individuals" (*afrad shayesteh va khoshnam*) to lecture on social and cultural issues, something which probably did not often take place in many other educational institutions of the time.[15] There were also some outstanding teachers of Persian literature, history and culture at Alborz High School.[16] Yet the human sciences lagged far behind mathematics and natural sciences at Alborz. Philosophy and social sciences were virtually absent from the curriculum; and when they did come up in the curriculum, no one taught them. My philosophy textbook from the 12th grade is still like new because even though we had to buy the book, there was no one to teach it to us.

Dr. Mojtahedi personally had very little interest in fields that did not fall within mathematics and the natural sciences. In many instances in his memoir, Dr. Mojtahedi exhibits disinterest in social and political issues. When Habib Lajevardi, the interviewer, asks Dr. Mojtahadi's views on social and cultural issues, he proudly declares his ignorance of the issues and says he has never been interested in "politics." For example, Lajevardi asks Dr. Mojtahedi, "I have another question and that is during the rule of Reza Shah and Mohammad Reza Shah, how was their approach toward national and religious traditions?" And Dr. Mojtahedi responds: "To be honest, I had no [interest in these issues] ... I was so busy that I kept to myself. I paid no attention, because I was not interested in politics, and did not belong to any group or [political] party."[17] It is very easy to see here that lack of interest in social and cultural issues is conflated with a desire not to be involved in power politics.

There does not seem to be any written statement by Dr. Mojtahedi articulating his positivistic and techno-scientific worldview. However, Mr. Abumuhamd Farnia, one

[15]Mojtahedi and Ladjevardi, *Khaterat-e Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi*, 12. Dr. Mojtahedi's fascination and obsession with the natural sciences is also reflected in the films he purchased and showed at Alborz High School: "I purchased about one hundred scientific films; for example, [films showing how] ants and bees build their dwellings. I imported a film [that showed] how the tree leaves produce carbohydrates by using carbon dioxide from the air and water from the ground as a catalyst. Nobody had taught me about this in my secondary school and I learned by seeing this film... I ordered one hundred films of this type" (Mojtahedi and Ladjevardi, *Khaterat-e Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi*, 42).

[16]Mahmoud Behzad, who had served as the deputy-principal under Dr. Mojtahedi, relates that, "Dr. Mojtahedi wished the school to work orderly like a clock and nothing would disrupt or cause disorder in its functioning; and he indeed endeavored much to achieve this. Every morning, a few minutes before the classes started, he would stand in front of the pool and across the entrance gate; when the students and even teachers saw him, they would make haste to enter the gate. Dr. Mojtahedi did not have a favorable view of the literature teachers, one reason being that he did not have much knowledge of Persian language and literature; another reason was that he [Mojtahedi] viewed most of literature teachers as undisciplined men" (Makoui, *Dabirestan-e Alborz*, 254).

[17]Mojtahedi and Ladjevardi, *Khaterat-e Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi*, 195.

of the teachers who was in charge of natural science labs at Alborz High School, has expressed this type of outlook quite clearly. It is significant that this view was published in the Centennial Book of Alborz, and it is worth quoting it at length:

> Experimentation is the gate to the world of science and scientists have gained access to science through experimentation. The more man's [experimental] experience has increased the more his *scientific conquests* [of nature] have expanded: Today man has stepped, from the [dusty] earth, over onto the firmaments. [Man] has put the depth of the sea and zenith of space under his scientific sovereignty. In this scientific dominion, man is no longer enslaved by natural elements, but the Nine Spheres of Heaven are controlled by his thought. The elements, the sun, and the moon, are under his command. Owing to his science and insight, man has subordinated the despotic elements of nature and brought them under his sovereignty to exploit them for his benefit. Inspired by natural phenomena or by [the conditions] he has created in the laboratory, the thinking man has rapidly transcended ignorance and inscience and reached the fountain of knowledge. With the help of experimentation, man established the pillars of human science upon which he constructed a magnificent edifice that can guarantee his comfort today and his happiness tomorrow. Man, the conqueror of heaven, does not for a moment neglect research and experimentation and currently is conducting experiment in the outer space that will be in the interest of and beneficial to mankind.[18]

The above passage clearly demonstrates and captures the essence of the spirit of techno-scientific rationality in which human domination of nature (of course intended to be in the service of humankind) is extolled, and how it prevailed at Alborz High School. As I said before, techno-scientific rationality, when applied to the human sphere, would result in an authoritarianism and despotism outlook. We can observe some of these traits in Dr. Mojtahedi's attitude also. In his memoir, Dr. Mojtahedi commented that the Shah's land reform of the early 1960s was detrimental to the country, because it let loose the farmers without any supervision from their landlords. The farmers, he said, "do not know how to do collective work and coordinate for it. It was the landlord ... who had to organize them and force them to dredge the river. Without an overlord to command them, they [the farmers] cannot organize and cooperate among themselves. It can be said that roughly *our society [at large] is the same*."[19] In the same memoir, Dr. Mojtahedi praises the Shah for not arguing with him and just listening to him and agreeing with whatever he had to say. In the context of building the Aryamehr Industrial University in the mid-1960s, Mojtahedi wanted the Shah to grant him carte blanche and not argue with him: "He [the Shah] would agree with all my proposals without argumentation. He would not talk [back] and would [just] pick up the phone and make orders [to have my proposals implemented]."[20]

[18]Adamiyat, *Sadehnameh*, 142 (emphasis added).
[19]Mojtahedi and Ladjevardi, *Khaterat-e Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi*, 154 (emphasis added).

This is not to say that Alborz High School and its principal and faculty deliberately inculcated authoritarian values among the leading personalities of Iran. In fact, one of the influential teachers at Alborz, Dr. Manuchehr Adamiyat, who taught Persian literature, had developed a rather complex pedagogical philosophy that in many ways was antithetical to the techno-scientific worldview that was dominant at the high school. In an essay entitled "A Discourse on Education and Instruction" (*bahsi dar parvaresh va amuzesh*) that was attached to the Centennial Book of Alborz High School, Adamiyat promulgated his views in a style of classical Persian prose that serves as a foil to the prevalent worldview not only at Alborz, but in Iranian society at large in the Pahlavi era. For this reason it is necessary to examine Adamiyat's views briefly. At the beginning of the essay Adamiyat professed that,

> The originary experience of humans and their success in understanding the powers of nature and making primitive tools, was the key to other inventions and discoveries and paved they way for later possibilities. Although man is the last creature that appeared on earth, he is the only creature that, owing to his intellect, has been able to overcome the power of nature. Based on his [faculties of] cognition and perception, and with the aid from his God-given reason, as well as his experiences and observations, man has overcome the ice ages, periods of terror, and eras marked with terrestrial and celestial catastrophe; he has overcome the age of bestial struggle for existence and salved himself and his family.[21]

Adamiyat then goes on to heap praise on our hominid ancestors who, despite their "hirsute body, and ugly faces," made the first tools and thus paved the way for the evolution of tools that made human domination of the earth, and the benefits thereof, possible. Curiosity and necessity, Adamyiat maintains, are the primal human motives that goad us in the direction of natural sciences and technology; but these motives also induce in us a vital interest in the human sciences, literature and art. As such, human progress is inevitable and unstoppable, but we do not know to which destination it will take us. Yet, Admiyat argued, what most people understand by the broad notion of progress is its formal and material dimension which has "ruthlessly and with increasing vigor, made life difficult for human beings and submitted human soul to relentless anguish."[22] The discrepancy between techno-scientific progress on the one hand, and the lack of an equal progress in human virtues on the other, laments Adamiyat, has even induced some in the west to unconsciously heed Rousseau's call to return to nature.[23] Indeed, the apprehension regarding the ravages and harms of unbridled science is not confined to our age when nuclear experimentation threatens existence as such, but it has been also a grave concern of Islam.[24]

[20]Mojtahedi and Ladjevardi, *Khaterat-e Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi*, 193.
[21]Adamiyat, *Sadehnameh*, 264.
[22]Adamiyat, *Sadehnameh*, 265.
[23]Adamiyat, *Sadehnameh*.
[24]Adamiyat, *Sadehnameh*, 268.

To remedy these deep concerns, Adamiyat had two proposals. One was falling back on Islam and Irfan (Gnostic approach to Islam) and the other was art:

> the sublime secret and eternal wisdom of the Qur'anic verses on these issues is that God everywhere prioritizes purity [of the soul, *tazkiyeh*] over learning, which means that humans should first purify themselves from evil and immorality and acquire ethical virtues and piety ... The pursuit of science without ethical refinement, is what in the age of technology and mechanical civilization has caused humankind fear of future and threatens the entire existence. If, God forbid, an impious scientist acts under the sway of his evil character and imposes his abusive power through science against humanity, then existence would equate nothingness. [Muhammad] in his time did ponder and made reference to this universal challenge: If before attaining science, man acquires ethics and virtue; if he can overcome the insanity of ascendency and claims of dominance and supremacy, and under the auspices of knowledge and wisdom, establishes justice, kindness, genuine security; then the results of education and instruction would be the development of the world and comfort of its inhabitants.[25]

However, there were no serious attempts to implement anything close to the views expressed by Adamiyat at Alborz High School. Although Adamiyat's discourse was very much couched in religious and mystical language, it nevertheless displayed some of the elements for overcoming the subject/object mindset that was, and still is, prevalent in the culture of Iran in general and its pedagogic outlook in particular. In fact in a modernizing society such as Iran, in the absence of a communicative rationality, what seeps into the social, cultural and political spheres is by default techno-scientific rationality and its authoritarian elements. In its own sphere—that is, domination over nature—techno-scientific rationality is absolutely necessary, but when it is applied to the human world, the consequences are despotic and undemocratic. It is important to note that Dr. Mojtahedi had some belief in procedural democracy. For example, at Alborz student votes were sometimes taken on particular issues. Also Dr. Mojtahedi encouraged the parent–teacher association to be democratically formed and represented by different religious groups. However, it is the techno-scientific ethos as militating against the democratic *worldview* that is at issue here, not procedural democracy itself, which is in fact an epiphenomenon in relation to the democratic mindset.[26]

Conclusion

There is no doubt that the social and political conditions of mid-twentieth century Iran did not allow a democratic worldview to develop in the country and one

[25] Adamiyat, *Sadehnameh*, 269. Despite his strong metaphorical language and heavy religious and mystical overtones, Adamiyat's comments are directly critical of the hegemonic dimensions of techno-scientific rationality that marked Iranian educational outlook in general and that of Alborz in particular.

[26] On formal democracy in the parent teacher association at Alborz, see Mojtahedi and Ladjevardi, *Khaterat-e Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi*, 65.

cannot blame either Alborz High School as a foundational leading educational institution or Dr. Mojtahedi on this issue. In fact, we should acknowledge the vital contributions that Alborz and Dr. Mojtahedi made to lay the foundations of the material aspects of rationalization and modernity in Iran. In many developing societies modernity starts with these material foundations and the accompanying techno-scientific rationality that I discussed above. What is important to recognize, however, is that rationalization and modernity are not limited to techno-scientific rationality and a mature modernity in addition to science and technology needs to build an ethos of democracy which is contingent upon development of communicative rationality. Today Iran needs science and technology, as ever, and the contributions of Alborz High School, Dr. Mojtahedi and Alborz students in promoting them should be recognized and respected. But *in addition* Iran needs to build a democratic culture which has to *transcend* and go beyond, but not *negate*, what Alborz and similar institutions propagated in the twentieth century.

One of the most significant problems that Iranian political activists have exhibited until recently has been their attempt to tackle social and political issues from the perspective of engineering and techno-scientific rationality. This has been true with regard to the technocrats that were involved in administering the country under the Pahlavis, especially Mohammad Reza Shah, many of the secular and religious revolutionaries who overthrew the monarchy, as well as the technocrat/ideologues who have been in power since the establishment of the Islamic Republic. The common denominator of these divergent groups has been their view of the political and social sphere as arena of manipulation to achieve their ideologically determined goals. What has been absent in their theoretical and practical approaches has been a democratic outlook that is precluded in techno-scientific rationality.

In fact, it is not surprising that the current rulers of Iran almost totally embrace modern science and technology and the related techno-scientific rationality, but reject the communicative rationality that is closely related to democratic ethos and institutions. The controversy about the human and social sciences that erupted in Iran in the aftermath of 2009 disputed presidential elections is closely related to the fear of democratic values that only a human science grounded in communicative rationality can foster.

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Alborz and its Teachers

The success story of Alborz High School was due to a number of factors. The legacy of Dr. Jordan and other of its American founders had set unusually high standards of teaching, behavior, discipline and conduct. Dr. Mojathedi managed to maintain those standards through dedication and hard work, even though there was occasional friction between him and students and teachers. Almost all the students, some of them from the upper echelons of society, came from educated and cultured homes, had performed well at their primary schools, were well-motivated, loved their school, ran various cultural programs by themselves, and included notable writers, poets, artist and athletes. Teachers generally maintained discipline, good humor and high standards, and included stars of altogether different varieties such as Zeinolabedin Motamen, Dr. Mahmud Behzad and Mostafa Sarkhosh.

Unlike some of the other contributors, I have no expert knowledge of the various aspects of the development of Alborz College. Therefore what I have to say is based on my own experience as an Alborz graduate.

I was a student at Alborz in the latter half of the 1950s. The most remarkable fact about Alborz was that it looked as if it had descended from the sky and settled in what was then north of the city of Tehran. The generally fair and polite behavior of the students towards one another, and the cordial, if not warm, relationship between teacher and student was far from representative of what went on outside the school, at other schools or in much of the society at large. A number of factors accounted for this uniqueness of Alborz as a society.

First was the legacy of the Americans, in general, and Dr. Jordan and his wife in particular. From what I was told by some of the graduates of the old American College, including our teacher Zeinolabedin Motamen, of whom I shall say more later, teachers at the College had been held to exceptionally high standards, and discipline and manners had been strict, although not harsh. Motamen told me that on one occasion Mrs. Jordan brought a notebook and asked all of the students to sign a pledge that they would never smoke, during their tenure at the College or for the rest of their lives. When she asked him to sign, he thought that there was no point in pledging not to do what he had not even thought of doing. She understood and did not press him to sign. In fact he never smoked in his life.

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Another factor behind the unusual situation at Alborz was undoubtedly due to the fact that Dr. Mojtahedi was its principal. I shall say more about him and his role later, but I remember having been told by our elders that, after Jordan, standards had fallen in every respect to the level of other schools until they rose again a few years later when Mojtahedi became the principal or, as we say in England, headmaster. And they fell again during the short period when Mojtahedi was removed until he returned to his post.

The third factor making for the special character of Alborz was its teachers, about whom I shall speak shortly. And, finally, it was the students themselves who had a decisive role in determining Alborz's special place in the educational system. It was widely believed that the students were all from the upper echelons of society, that they were sons of ministers, senators, Majlis deputies, governors, generals and the like. There was some truth in this, but it was not true of the majority of the students, who came mainly from the middle classes, and in some cases from the lower strata. However, what can be said with certainty about the texture and composition of the students is that they had obtained high educational standards before being admitted to Alborz, and moreover came from good homes, that is, homes with keen interest in culture and education. We had poets, writers, essayists, instrumentalists, composers, artists, as well as leading students in scientific subjects. The periodical journal *Alborz*, which was published in my time, was edited and produced entirely by students. There was a photography class which was also run by the students themselves, as was the Alborz radio which broadcast every day during the long lunch break.

Still, Mojtahedi was the key to the continued success of Alborz after it was nationalized. I am aware of the fact that Bahram Bayani will, in another article in this collection, cover Mojtahedi's life and work, including his tenure at Alborz. Here I would like to make some brief comments from my own experience and perspective. Mojtahedi's dedication to Alborz was such that it may be even claimed that he was in love with it. He worked hard in running it and took great pride in its achievements, whatever they may have been. For example, the football team at one time was so strong that it played competitively against the leading teams of the Military Academy and the University of Tehran. But it is fair to say that Mojtaehdi was particularly keen on high academic and intellectual performance, and would both reward and punish us for it. Let me give an example from my own experience. At the time I attended Alborz the high school students used to specialize in Mathematical Sciences, Natural Sciences and Literature between the fourth and sixth forms or grades. Not every school offered all of these, but Alborz in particular lacked literary specialism. This was in part due to the fact that there was a lower subscription to it, but mainly because Mojtahedi himself did not set much store by the subject. That was an unjustifiable bias which he rectified after I had left the school. I specialized in the Natural Sciences from my own personal preference, but had always been deeply interested in literature and history, which eventually led me to choose my present intellectual vocation. When I was in the sixth form or grade, my friends persuaded me to enter a literary quiz program on television in which only graduates of literature and history took part. The program organizer very reluctantly allowed me to take part

and I won. Next day Mojtahedi sent for me and showered me with praise. A couple of hours later, his deputy, Mir Asadollah Musavi Maku'i, came to our class, read out a formal letter of commendation from Mojtahedi in front of the teacher and students and handed it to me. I still remember one of my friends sarcastically saying aloud: "Stick it to the wall."

I believe that at the time Alborz was the only school which had a parents and teachers association. It was called "the home and school society" (Anjoman-e Khaneh o Madreseh). It was Mojtahedi who kept this society active and tried to use the wealth and influence of its notable members in the interest of the school. He—and all the administrative and teaching staff—was very strict about class attendance. The first thing the teachers did upon entering the class was to call the register, or what is known as roll call in America. This was supposed to be mandatory at all other schools as well, though I have no idea to what extent it was observed. However, at Alborz, every single hour of absence from class was reported, and the absentee student was summoned to account for it. As a matter of practice, a letter to the parents would be delivered by the school's courier the day after the absence, so that there would not be any delay, and the student himself could not receive and hide it from his parents. One hour of unjustified absence would result in one mark being taken off the total mark of twenty for General Discipline and Conduct. Thus, if a student missed class four days without good reasons then his Discipline mark for the term would be zero. But it seldom went as far as that. Mojtahedi and his staff were so strict on the question of class attendance that persistent absence would quickly result in parent–school consultation, and if it was not satisfactorily resolved, the student would simply be sent down.

Soon the market began to take advantage of this. Towards the end of my time at Alborz, a small, expensive and mediocre private school was founded nearby, which admitted all the boys who were sent down by Alborz for academic or disciplinary reasons: they wished to remain close to their Alborz friends as well as the two leading girl schools which happened to be located within a short distance from either side of Alborz.

Naturally perfect harmony did not exist, and occasionally there were disagreements between the students and their principal and even teachers and Monjtahedi. Mojtahedi was respected virtually by all, but not everyone loved him. It was his strict disciplinarian attitude with a rather simplistic view of right and wrong that accounted for the occasional overt or covert criticism of his methods. Some explained it away as arrogance but it was more a kind of naivety that sometimes resulted in clashes with student and teacher alike. I remember once Jalal Matini, a self-respecting teacher of literature, had been put out by something Mojtahedi had said or done. Mousavi, the deputy principal and eternal shock absorber, managed to bring them together to make up. Trying to apologize indirectly, Mojataehdi told Matini "It was just a mutual misunderstanding" (*su'-e tafahom shod*). Matini replied, "No, the misunderstanding was yours alone" (*su'-e fahm shod*).

On a few occasions I witnessed a student strike against Mojtaehdi's decisions. The one occasion I remember vividly was the meningitis saga. There was a meningitis

epidemic scare in Tehran and I do not remember why the public health authorities claimed that only children up to 15 years of age were vulnerable. Accordingly, the Department of Education decreed that the first three forms or grades should be sent home but classes should continue for older students. This was an impractical decree and almost all the city schools chose to ignore it. Almost all, because Mojtahedi, for whom orders were orders, and who took pride in the uniqueness of Alborz, insisted that upper school classes continue their work. The students rebelled and ran riot so that a few windows were broken. Mojtahedi, who, in spite of appearances, was quite a sensitive person, was heartbroken and at one point took out his handkerchief and wiped the tears that were rolling down his cheek. That was sufficient to end the strike.

Despite such occasional occurrences, almost all Alborz students boasted to others about their school and its principal, and still cherished the memories of both, years after graduation. The great majority of those who had been at Alborz under Mojtahedi regarded their time there as the best in their lives, just like our elders who had been at the College under Jordan. A remarkable point about Alborz was that it maintained its standards for so long. I have described Iran as a short-term society, a society in which almost everything has a short-term horizon and is likely to decline, go out of fashion or disappear completely and be replaced by a new short-term. Just as a sound building is declared to be a pick-axe building (i.e. one that is just fit for being demolished), and a person may be a merchant this year, a minister next year, and a prisoner the year after, Alborz did not suffer such a fate so long as Mojtahedi was at its helm. In particular, the respectable *Hadaf* School that was founded in my time by private capital did succeed in providing a viable alternative to Alborz, but did not quite manage to achieve the same reputation and prestige. It took good students who either did not make it or did not want to make it to Alborz. And given the short-term nature of the society, I believe it *would* have overtaken Alborz had Mojtahedi not been its head. As many of you know, he became president of Shiraz and Melli universities, the founding president of Aryamehr University, and Director of Tehran Polytechnic. Yet he always maintained his link with Alborz, and returned to his full-time duties there as soon as he relinquished those positions. He said in his interview with the Harvard Oral History Project that the headship of Alborz was his most cherished position, more than the presidency of those universities.

I should also mention some of the jokes that students made about Mojtahedi, though these were intended to be affectionate rather than malicious. Here are a few. In the mid-1950s shaving cream had recently come to Iran. According to a student joke, Mojtahedi once went to a drug store and said: "Sir, do you have shaving tooth paste" (*Ah, khemirdendan-e rish dari?*). At that time, before screening a film in the cinemas a picture of the shah would appear on the screen and the audience was obliged to stand up to the tune of the imperial anthem. At one such moment Mojtahedi entered the auditorium and seeing everyone on their feet he said, "please sit down, please sit down" (*befemai'd, befema'id*). Some street vendors used to sell glasses, among other things, displaying them upside down, i.e. bottom up. While asking the vendor the price, Mojtaehi picked one of them up and said with surprise, "its top is not open." The vendor simply turned the glass over. Mojtahedi was even more surprised: "it also has a hole at the bottom," he said (*tahsham keh surakheh*).

Alborz was an institution in which learning and sports were highly encouraged. There was a lending library, and chemistry and physics laboratories. There were several football, volleyball, basketball and tennis grounds, a covered sports hall, and facilities for opendoor athletics. Culture was another pursuit in which Alborz prided itself. The purpose-built theatre, the Jordan Hall, opened into a large foyer, where art exhibitions were held, and behind which there was an amphitheatre with a big stage for plays, orchestras, as well as lectures and debates. A bust of Dr. Jordan was in the Hall's foyer. At that time we revived the Ferdowsi literary and cultural society run by the students themselves, which from time to time held cultural evenings, including plays, in Jordan Hall. I have already mentioned the Alborz journal and the photography classes, the latter of which had an office of its own, run by the students.

Of the factors that made Alborz a success I have mentioned the legacy of Jordan, the headship of Mojtahedi, the texture and composition of the students, and the educational and sports facilities.

However before turning my attention to the school's teachers I must say a few words about the aforementioned Asadollah Mousavi, the deputy principal, who is often neglected in formal and informal discussions about Alborz. He was an Azerbaijani, from the town of Maku, and spoke Persian with a sweet and fairly strong Azerbaijani accent. Mousavi was a hard-working and able manager. Being both firm and decisive, he nevertheless enjoyed good relations with teachers and students alike. Unlike Mojtahedi, he was neither distant nor sentimental, but had the knack of persuading others to do what they should do without antagonizing them. I called him the eternal shock absorber, because he played the indispensable role of intermediary between student and student, teacher and teacher, teacher and student, but above all between Mojtaehdi and all the rest whenever something went wrong or was about to go wrong. I believe it is fair to say that some of Mojtahedi's success in running Alborz was due to the complementary support provided by Mousavi.

I can reminisce a good deal about Mousavi and his behavior on various occasions, but will limit myself to a couple of examples. Once a friend of mine, who was in a different class, complained about a teacher of Persian who had given him a low mark for his composition and had angrily rejected the student's plea to reconsider his assessment. I told Mousavi and he said he would investigate. Next day he called me up and said he had talked to the teacher who told him that the student had been rude, asking him if he had given the mark for the blank space in his composition rather than his writing. Therefore, said Mousavi, he believed that my friend did not have a case. However what was memorable about what Mousavi said was how he said it. When he got to the point of the teacher's explanation, he said in his strong Turkic accent, that my friend had told the teacher: *beh sefidish numra midi, beh siyaish numar midi, beh cheh chizish nomra midi*?

One of my friends, Parham Ashtiyani whom we used to call Pappar, was a gymnast and rock-climber. One day we persuaded him to display his rock-climbing skills. He went to the end of the classroom, headed towards the opposite wall, swiftly

climbed it up and touched the ceiling before jumping down. As a result, his trainers made a mark on the white ceiling. Having learnt about this from the popular porter Einollah, Mousavi turned up and said aloud: "Hey Ashtiyani, they call you Pappar or what, tell me how on earth you managed to mark the ceiling with your trainers." The funniest part of it was when he called Ashtiyani: "Ahay Ashtiyani, Pappar *mijan, chi mijan.*" Mahmud Zarrehparvar was a fiery member of the small Pan-Iranist party, though despite his earnest campaigns he did not manage to recruit a single member for his party at the school. Once in a short break he rushed back into the classroom, and wrote on the board in large letters: "To be freed from shame, the solution is war, war and war" (*bara-ye raha gashtan az nam o nang / taw ra chareh jang ast o jang ast o jang*). Having been alerted by Einollah, Mousavi showed up to the class and said: "Hey Zarraehparvar, to be freed from shame, what you must do is study, study and study." Once again it was how he said it that made it memorable: "*Ahay Zarrehparvar, baray-e raha jashten as az nam o nanj / taw ra chareh dars ast o dars ast o dars.*"

I cannot end this brief essay about Mousavi without mentioning how he marked us for *Enzebat*, or Discipline and Conduct, each term. He would turn up at the class towards the end of term, ask each one of us to stand up and then begin by taking marks off the maximum of twenty for any and all of our misconduct during the term. No matter what mark we ended up with, it was an event that all of us looked forward to, and thoroughly enjoyed while it was going on. He would, for example, ask a student to stand up and say: "For two hours of unauthorized absence, two marks; for ten hours of authorized absence one mark; for getting into fight on such and such an hour of such and such a day, three marks"; and so on, until he would arrive at the final mark, say twelve. The extent and accuracy of his knowledge about our deeds and misdeeds was amazing. What however was most amusing was his performance in the case of some of the naughtier students. I shall give you two examples. First let me mention that some of the students used to stand outside the school gate during the long lunch break to watch and hopefully make contact with the girls of Anushiravan Dadgar and Nurbakhash schools which were located within a short distance on either side of Alborz; something of which the school did not approve. In accounting for the marks of those of us who nevertheless spent time there in the midday break, Mousavi would say: "For standing between the two poles, 3 marks: *babat-e isetadan-e beinolgotbein, seh numra.*" The porter Einollah was well-liked and a figure of fun, and sometimes the students mocked him. So in some cases while accounting for a student's mark, Mousavi would say: "For making fun of Einollah two marks; *babat-e shukhi ba Einollah, du numra.*"

Let me now turn to a note on our teachers. Some of our teachers, such as Dr. Golshan Ebrahimi, a very able teacher of Persian literature, taught at the University of Tehran. Many renowned university professors had taught at Alborz before our time, including Dr. Mehdi Hamidi, a leading poet in his own right. Several of our teachers went on to become well-known professors and important educationalists. Dr. Jalal Matini, teacher of Persian literature, who became a professor in Tehran's Faculty of Letters, was later president of Mashhad University, and now lives in Washington, publishing the learned quarterly journal *Iranshenasi*. Dr. Mehdi

Mohaqqeq, who taught us Arabic, later taught at the universities of Tehran and London as well as McGill University, and is now, at 80, head of the important National Heritage Society. The late Isa Chehabi, who received his degree from a German university, taught us chemistry but later earned a doctorate in German literature from a German university, became Iran's cultural attaché in Germany, and taught German at the University of Tehran after returning to Iran.

Here however I would like to talk in a little more detail about some of those who taught at the school in my time. The aforementioned Isa, later Dr. Chehabi, was a model teacher. Not only did he teach us chemistry and cultivate in us a special interest in that subject, but he was extremely modest, polite, correct and fair, a true gentleman in his behavior and conduct. He was probably about forty at the time; to us he seemed like a very experienced and wise man. There was never any trouble in his classes. Often he addressed us as "my dear children."

There were other teachers of chemistry, for example Mr. Qasemi, who never actually taught me, but was director of the chemistry laboratory and in that capacity I had contact with him. He was a good man and ran the laboratory well, but had a reputation for being somewhat opinionated. Once when the news of Einstein's death was announced on the radio, a student rushed into the laboratory and gave Mr Qasemi the news. Qasemi said: "you mean Albert, Albert" (*Alberto migi, Alberto migi*), sounding as if he had been on intimate terms with the great physicist. Students used to say that Mr. Qasemi's response to one's greetings would depend on how one addressed him. If you said "*Salam* Mr. Qasemi," he would say "*salam*" drily! If you said "*Salam* Mohendes Qasemi," he would reply "Salam dear" (*salam janam*). If you said "Salam Dr. Qasemi," he would say "*Salam* my dear, my love" (*salam janam, qorbanet beram*).

There was also Ahmad Rafizadeh who had studied chemistry in France and was an excellent teacher of the subject. He was short and plump, with a very short neck, thick glasses and a deep voice. Once, walking down the aisle from the back of the class he said: "Write down and read the isomers of pantane" (*isomer-ha-ye pantan ra benevisid o bekhanid*). A student, who had not noticed that he was right behind him, said in a low but deep voice: "We will neither write nor read them" (*neminevisim o nemikhanim*). Rafizadeh was beside himself with laughter.

Mir Zaki Kompani taught mathematics, and the mention of his name alone struck fear into the heart of every student. He was a highly competent math teacher, but was short-tempered and a perfectionist. The combination of these two qualities made many a student shiver when Kompani asked him to solve a problem on the blackboard. He always wore a bow tie and was reputed to have been a member of the extreme nationalist party, SOMKA, before its dissolution. He may have been an ultra-nationalist but he never showed any political sentiment, and there certainly was no sign of racism in his conduct. Incidentally, we had Jewish, Armenian Christian, Assyrian Christian, Zoroastrian and Baha'i fellow students, and I know of no case where a Muslim student or teacher displayed any bias against them. On the contrary, relations were so normal that no one was even conscious of the other person's ethnicity or religious beliefs.

I was never taught by Mr. Baruch Berukhim, a Jewish teacher of physics, but he enjoyed a high reputation among his students both for his knowledge and his conduct. There were other teachers of physics of whom I particularly cherish the memory of Mr. Vahid, whose first name I think was Abolhasan, and who was believed to belong to the Baha'i faith. He was from Shiraz, was somewhat short and, like most of his fellow citizens, had a darker skin than the people of the north. He used to dictate the gist of each lesson for us to take down in a special notebook, which we were required to produce for his inspection whenever he asked. Vahid was a very good teacher, and a figure of fun to us, and I do not now recall why we used to call him Heydar, in fact "Heydar the tar leveler" behind his back. Apart from his own subject he was also interested in poetry, like almost all of his fellow Shirazis. Knowing my interest in poetry, he used to speak to me from time to time about it and about contemporary poets during the few minutes before the class broke up. Once he asked me what book I had read lately and I said: "The Book of Akbar on the Adventures of Asghar" (*Ketab al-Akbar fi Maqamat al-Ashgar*). Puzzled, he said "Asghar?" "Yes Sir," I said, "known as the Murderer." Now Asghar the Murderer was a villain who, long before I was born, used to kidnap boys and rape and murder them until he was arrested and brought to justice. When I told Vahid "known as the Murderer" he realized that I was joking and replied: "I hope no harm came to yourself" (*nakoneh cheshm-zakhmih reside basheh*). Thus I had intended to embarrass him and he turned the table on me. Apart from teaching physics he ran the physics laboratory as well, so that we used to see and be supervised by him on the evenings that we attended the laboratory.

Dr. Mahmud Behzad, who died recently in Iran at the ripe old age of ninety-four, was a most learned as well as popular teacher of biology until he left Alborz and went to Europe on a research mission when I was in the middle of my sixth form or grade, specializing in Natural Sciences. He was a serious and highly successful teacher and he was friendly and even kind. The students arranged a farewell meeting for him in Jordan Hall, which was packed with all his pupils. It is one of the most moving scenes that I remember from my school days. The year 1959 was the centenary of Darwin's *The Origin of Species*. Behzad was invited to speak at the University of Tehran Club on the occasion, and we went along to listen to a learned address on the subject.

Abdolali Zenhari taught us history. He had studied history in Paris and was well-versed in European as well as Persian history. We learned a great deal from him, and I in particular enjoyed his lessons, given my natural interest in the subject. But the poor man's appearance was unimpressive. He was short of stature, had a peculiar nose, sometimes stuttered when he spoke, wore dark glasses to hide his eyes, and was hard of hearing. So we used to call him Zenhari, the specialist in eye, ear, throat, and nose (*motekhasseseh cheshm o gush o halq o bini*). I remember he once asked us to write a critical essay on the character of Jalal al-Din Menkaborni, Khwarazmshah, on the basis of his career. Such a sophisticated approach to history teaching was truly unheard of, and it was no wonder that most of us did not perform well in writing on the subject. I was fortunate enough to do well and he asked me to read my essay before the class.

I will end by mentioning two very interesting characters among our teachers. Both of them were teachers of Persian literature, yet they had very different but memorable personalities. One of them, Mostafa Sarkhosh, was a German-educated agronomist who knew and loved Persian so much so that he had been employed at Alborz to teach it, and as far as I know he did not teach at any other school. He was fairly short and good-looking with light brown eyes and dark brown hair, which he used to brush back. He was a poet and a deeply committed, indeed a highly emotional, pan-Persian nationalist, and like other believers in that ideology had a highly idealistic view of ancient Persia. All his poems were in *masnavi* of the type written by Ferdowsi in *Shahnameh*, most of them full of emotional praise for pre-Islamic Persia, and the rest highly critical of contemporary Iran. Just like Aref and Eshqi, the ardent nationalist poets of the early twentieth century, he both glorified the ancient times and denigrated contemporary Iran. And just as Aref prayed for the destruction of contemporary Iran, Sarkhosh would sometimes raise his hands as if in prayer in the classroom and say "please send an Atom bomb and put an end to it all."

However, unlike Aref and Eshqi, he was not a tragic figure. On the contrary, he was an inexhaustible source of laughter in the class, not by cracking jokes but by ridiculing everyone and everything while making faces or mimicking others in a most skillful way. And yet he could not be described as an anarchist. He was a type all of his own, reminiscent of the legendary figure Bohlul during the caliphate of Harun al-Rashid. He described contemporary Iranians as descendants of Arabs and Genghis Khan, saying that, instead of blood, they had urine in their veins. He would ridicule the slogans in stage-managed public demonstrations, saying that one day they shout "Long live the broomstick, death to the spade-stick" (*Zendeh bad dasteh jaru, mordeh bad dasteh paru*), and another day the reverse: "Long live the spade-stick and death to the broomstick." "Do not look at their right hands which they wave in the air," he would say; "watch their left hands which are on their balls." He once said to a class that if the same satellite that the Soviets had put in the air had been launched in Iran it would have gone up only as high as a meter. "Don't get me wrong," he said, "I don't mean a satellite built by us, but the very satellite made in the USSR which is now up in the sky." He was the epitome of Iranian cynicism, self-glorification and self-denigration all at once. But do not think that his performance encouraged pessimism. We all enjoyed a laugh without becoming cynical or negative. He was seen much more as a loveable Bohlul than a prophet of doom.

Finally, I come to the one and only Zeinolabedin Motamen, the best teacher I have known in my life anywhere and at any level, and one of the most remarkable individuals that I have had the privilege to know. Motamen taught Persian literature, although he had also taught English before our time. He had been educated at the College, obtained a BA in English, and stayed at the College as teacher for the rest of his active life, having in the meantime earned a BA in Persian literature from Tehran University and been taught by such legendry professors as Badi'ozzamn Foruzanfar, Poet-laureate Bahar and Jalal Homa'i. His family had originally come from

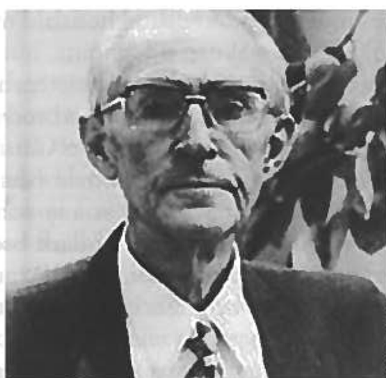

Figure 1. Zeinolabedin Motamen, 1999.

Kashan, but though his grandfather had moved to and lived in Tehran as a court physician, having been educated at Dar al-Fonun polytechnic, he was proud of his Kashani origins and maintained his links with them. Indeed his family's ancient Qajar house in Pamenar Street had been part of a connected row of houses which had once housed their extended family. It was located in a cul-de-sac then called the Kashi-ha alleyway, but it is now called after Motamen's grandfather, Motamen al-Atteba.

Motamen was a poet, descended from a long line of poets. Fath'ali Khan Kashani, the poet-laureate at Fath'ali Shah's court, whose poetic name was Saba, and from whom the whole of the Saba family descend, was a brother of his great-great-grandfather, the poet and officer Mirza Ahmad Khan Saburi, who had fallen in the Russo-Iranian wars in the early nineteenth century, and from whom Poet-laureate Bahar also claimed descent. There had been many other poets in the extended family, including the renowned nineteenth century poet and artist Mahamud Khan Malekosho'ara. Motamen was also a writer. He was only eighteen when he published the voluminous historical novel, *The Eagle's Nest* (Ashiyaneh-ye Oqab) based on the bloody twelfth century conflict between the Isam'ilis of Alamut and the Saljuq sultanate, which received instant acclaim in the 1930s when it was first published, went through several editions and reprints, and is still in print. He was a literary scholar and critic as well; his books on the development of Persian poetry are still recommended reading at Tehran University's Faculty of Letters. He published two anthologies of Saeb Tabrizi with long critical introductions to the Indian style in general and Saeb's work in particular. At the time, leading scholars still described the Indian style of Persian poetry as "decadent." This view had been literary dogma since the end of the eighteenth century. The poets of that style or school have only just begun to be rehabilitated, to some extent because of the rehabilitation, if not supremacy, of formalism in Western literary criticism. It is not just that Motamen was the first or one of the first critics to rehabilitate the Indian School and its best poet Saeb, but it took several decades before others would come forward and

abandon the old dogma against nearly three hundred years of Persian poetry. Unlike most Persian teachers at the time he was also familiar with modern and contemporary literature, knew his Hedayat and Jamalzadeh well, and was *aux current* with modern as well as modernist poetry; and although he was not a fan of modernist poetry, he did not dismiss it as did almost everyone of his generation and background.

Very few of Motamen's students were conscious of any of the facts about him which I have just mentioned. What impressed them most was his dedication to teaching as a vocation, and the personal attributes that make for a highly successful teacher: learned, serious but not off-putting, a good communicator, and, though not as popular as Sarkhosh, a teacher who had no severe critics, if any at all. He combined his formidable academic knowledge with his experience of studying and teaching at the College to teach even the most reluctant student. And in this he was helped by his self-confidence, his modesty and unpretentiousness, his politeness, his moderation in all things, and his even-temperedness.

Motamen was also a romantic nationalist of the old breed. But unlike Sarkhosh and almost every such nationalist then as now, he was not anti-Arab, not anti-Turk and not anti-religion. In sum, he had a strongly positive outlook on life and truly respected other people's opinions, including those of his students. He treated us like adults. He and I had substantially different political views, but we could talk freely on any political subject without his trying even once to use his authority in support of his own opinions. Instead, he taught me both by word and conduct to try and be fair and objective in my assessment of all things. Being sixteen at the time, I remember I was once passionately criticizing a leading politician whom he liked. As soon as I paused for a breath Motamen said in a low voice, "Do you not see anything positive in this man?" This came as a shock. I reflected for a moment and then said: "Yes, he is a good orator." It taught me a lesson that I never forgot.

Sadeq Chubak had just published an amusing short story about a youthful petty thief. The boy thief was once caught by the people in the street while running away with something he had stolen, and he was punched and kicked by everybody. Commenting on it, Motamen said this is both unrealistic and unduly pessimistic. There would after all have been one passerby who would have said "For God's sake stop beating the boy." One day he was reading and interpreting a classical text in the class. I raised my hand and suggested a different interpretation. He listened and simply said: "you are right."

Two of the five hours per week that we had literature classes were the most enjoyable times of the week. One of these was the essay and composition class, which often was as refreshing as seeing a good film. Each term Motamen would give us a number of titles, from which we could choose three to write on. We were obliged to read one of them in the class, the others he would collect and conscientiously correct and comment on at home and bring back to us. Every student tried to do his best in that hour, and that is what made it so enjoyable, especially as we were also allowed to write short stories based on a title.

Motamen would listen attentively, and not only mention obvious errors of fact and judgment, but produce a short critique of the work as a whole. I have many memories

of those classes, but will briefly mention only one that also reflects on Motamen's personality. One of our fellow students, a very likeable boy, was the son of the then commanding general of a military force, and used to come to school in his father's chauffer-driven official car. He once wrote a sentimental piece about the poor and downtrodden and how they were mistreated by the rich who had no sense of public duty. After his usual technical and literary comments on the piece, Motamen then said: "By the way, you did not say who these rich and anti-social people were; the parents of the boys in the other class?"

The other most enjoyable hour of Motamen's classes was in fact run by us, the students. It was he who suggested that we prepare a cultural and literary program for that hour as long as there was sufficient interest and energy for it. Each week the program was organized well beforehand, and we debated and/or read modern and classic poetry and short stories or pieces we had written ourselves.

I was fortunate to be among the few that Motamen chose to have contact with outside of the school as well. He was a divorcee without any children, and so he saw us as the children he did not have, except that one does not choose one's own children. He would invite me alone or with one or two others to his home, receive us in his extensive library, give us tea, cake and fruits, and let us enjoy his company for a couple of hours, talking about literature, society, politics, cinema and the whole world. On a couple of occasions he took me and a couple of others on a walking trip, touring the fields, mountains and villages behind the Alborz range, which at that time you could access only via footpaths and animal tracks. We would, for example, leave Tehran by the west, and after walking round from west to east behind the mountains, arrive back to the city on the east side. All this while of course, we talked, argued, debated and discussed literature, culture and society, while enjoying the glorious and almost untouched nature, and the company of peasants who had never left the village and saw us as the central African people had once seen the white man. Motamen was a nature lover of the first order and knew every inch of anywhere we went. Indeed he was a veteran walker, always walked the long distance from his home to the school and back, had walked to and seen every corner of Iran, and was to see the whole of Europe, North America, and South and Southeast Asia during his long life.

I have many more stories about Alborz and its teachers, but I should not take up more of your time.

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Bahram Bayani

Mohammad-Ali Mojtahedi: His Life and Work

Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi occupies a prominent place in the development of modern education in Iran. Yet, though not a politician, his influence exceeded far beyond education into the social and political life of contemporary Iran. Deeply convinced of the central role of education in development, his career made important contributions to changes in the landscape of modern education in Iran at both high school and university levels. Within this context, the paper traces the outlines of Mojtahedi's life and work from his birth in 1908 in the city of Lahijan in the northern province of Gilan, up to his death in 1997 in southern France. The paper's most seminal contribution covers the events of the period between the summer of 1964, when Mojtahedi was director of Tehran Polytechnic, and his dismissal in February 1967 by the shah as the head of Aryamehr (now Sharif) University which were closely related to the unsuccessful attempt on the shah's life in April 1965.

Mohammad-Ali Mojtahedi Gilani was born in September 1908 in the city of Lahijan. His father, Mirza Mahmud, was known as the *mirab* (water-master) and supervised the irrigation of rice and tea plant fields. He owned some land and managed his own plantation. He was educated and was noted for his fine handwriting. He was known to be a highly disciplined man, and Mojtahedi resembled him both in appearance and behavior.[1]

Mojtahedi was only two years old when his mother, Molud Khanum, passed away while giving birth to Mohammad-Ali's sister. Mojtahedi's paternal grandfather had studied at the prestigious Najaf seminary and attained the senior rank of *mojtahed* and was known as *Haji Mojtahed*, which explains the family name. Haji Mojtahed had been good at mathematics and astronomy as taught at the traditional school of Najaf, a legacy which he may have passed down to his grandson. He had married in Najaf, and for that reason the children used to call his wife *Khanum-e-Najafi*.

In a letter to a friend, Feyzallah Arzpeyma, written in 1980, Mojtahedi recalls having visited his grandfather's room after his death, where he had found a good collection of astronomy instruments, and a book, in Haji's elegant handwriting, on geometric and non-geometric progression. Mojtahedi was twelve when Khanum Najafi gave him the book, together with a compass which, he wrote in the letter, could be

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[1]Hosein Mahjubi, unpublished interview with the author, 2008.

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hardly bought with 300 francs. He received his first introduction to geometric progression by reading it.[2]

Mojtahedi attended primary school in Lahijan and in 1925, having finally obtained his father's consent, moved to Tehran where he went to high school, spending the first four years at Dar al-Mo'allemin-e Markazi, and the two final years at Sharaf high school. In 1931 he passed the official examination for the selection of students to be sent abroad for higher education on state scholarship. His very high grades qualified him for medicine, but he insisted on studying mathematics.[3]

In September 1931 he entered Lycée Blaise Pascal in the city of Claremont Ferrant where, in preparation for university education, he was to improve his French and mathematics. Life and education at the Lycée was tough and disciplined, displeasing to Iranian students who were mostly brought up in a free and undisciplined manner. Mehdi Bazargan, the future prime minister who was Mojtahedi's contemporary, describes the lycée as "highly disciplined, just like an army barrack."[4] Public funding and the attention paid to the French students fascinated Mojtahedi. There were two to four such schools in each district, and Mojtahedi noted that the French government was funding the education and board of a hundred students, mostly village lads, in each one, only a few of whom managed to pass the tough science and engineering examinations and go on to be successful scientists and engineers.[5]

After a year at the Lycée, in September 1932, Mojtahedi entered the Faculty of Science at the University of Lille for a bachelor's degree in mathematics. Having spent two years at the Faculty, he received the three certificates required for the degree and graduated in 1934. He ranked first in the examination for his fourth certificate in applied mathematics (*Mechanique Rationelle*) which, according to the regulations of Iran's Ministry of *Ma'aref* (education),[6] qualified him as a teacher of mathematics. He won a prize worth 500 francs, and was transferred to Paris for graduate studies in mathematics.[7]

He entered the Sorbonne in September 1935, and graduated as *Docteur d'États* on 30 June 1938, and at the same time received three *Certificates Superieure.* His two dissertations won him the title *Honeurable*, awarded by a three-member examination committee led by H. Villat, and including J. Peres and G. Darmois from Ecole Normal Superieure in Paris, whose books on the history of mathematics are regarded as authoritative sources on the subject even today.[8]

[2]Mojtahedi, Letter to Arzpeyma, dated May 1978.

[3]Habib Lajvardi, *Tarikh-e Shafahi-e Iran, Khaterat-e M. A. Mojtahedi* (Tehran, 2001).

[4]Gholamreza Nejati, *Shast sal Khedmat-o Moqavemat: Khaterat-e Mehdi Bazagan* (Tehran, 1996), 164.

[5]M. A. Mojtahedi, *Khaterat-e Man Baraye Javanan-e Keshvar* (undated and unpublished).

[6]The point is stated in the letter from the Ministry to the University of Tehran dated 5 October 1938, Ref. 1633.

[7]Letter from Ministry to University of Tehran, 5 October 1938.

[8]See Fauvel Collection, List of items bequeathed by John Fauvel and held by the Open University Library on behalf of the British for the History of Mathematics.

Aliqoli Bayani, who later became a renowned engineer and politician, writes of the event: "I had just graduated in liquid mechanics when I attended the session at the Sorbonne, and I felt proud as an Iranian to witness the recurrent praise of Mojtahedi's thesis by the senior professors."

While in Lille, Mojtahedi met his future wife, Suzanne Jean Marie Vendenostane, a pianist who joined the Conservatoire of Paris at the same time as Mojtahedi entered the Sorbonne. They married on 2 August 1938, and set out for Iran.[9]

Back in Iran, Mojtahedi was immediately appointed by Ismail Mer'at, minister of education, as lecturer in mathematics at the Daneshsara-ye A'li, Iran's teacher training college modeled on the French Écoles Normales. Mojtahedi was the only publicly funded graduate from the Law faculty at the Sorbonne with the title of *Docteur d'États.*[10] (Ali Amini too graduated with the same title, but he was self-funded.) Mojtahedi was thus distinguished among the Iranian students sent to France from 1928 to 1934, and Mer'at, who before joining the cabinet had been the Chief Supervisor of Iranian students abroad, was well aware of this. Therefore, after a year at Daneshsara, when Mojtahedi began his two-year compulsory military service, both Mer'at and General Zarqami, the army chief of staff, appealed to Reza Shah and obtained his agreement for Mojtahedi to be assigned for his military service to Tehran, so that he could continue his teaching. Yet the royal order was ignored and Mojtahedi was assigned to the Division of Khuzistan based in Ahwaz, the provincial capital.[11]

After a few months in Ahwaz, Mojtahedi was given leave to go to Tehran and help his wife while she was being treated for trachoma, which was then an endemic eye disease in Iran. Back in Tehran, he visited Mer'at, and thanks to Mer'at's efforts and General Zarqami's support, he was transferred from Khuzistan and assigned to the Geographical Bureau of the Army in Tehran, which was then under the command of General Aqevli. A few days later, by direct order of General Shahbakhti, the commander of the Khuzistan Division, Mojtahedi was arrested and was sent under guard to Ahwaz where he was to stay until the end of his service. During his absence, Mer'at acted like a caring father to Mojtahedi's wife and their three-year-old son. He arranged for Mrs Mojtahedi a residence of her choice at Alborz College, after the school was nationalized and its American teaching staff left Iran in summer 1939. He also helped her to see a good specialist for the treatment of her trachoma.

Mojtahedi was back in Tehran in autumn 1941, and was appointed by the Ministry of Education to teach mechanics four hours a week as well as to supervise the boarding facilities at Alborz High School, the nationalized successor to the College, with a monthly salary of 64 tumans. At the same time, he was appointed as an associate professor at the engineering faculty of the University of Tehran with a salary of 100 tumans a month. Thus, apart from the housing provided by the Alborz High

[9]Lajvardi, *Tarikh-e Shafahi-e Iran*, 26.

[10]The judgment is based on the data available about the graduates of the period indicated, including the recorded history of the professors at the University of Tehran.

[11]Ibid.

School, he received a total monthly payment of 164 tumans.[12] This was exceptionally high for the time.

The Faculty of Engineering had just moved to its newly-constructed building on the main campus of the university. There were more than 20 professors teaching there at the time, all of them young graduates of European universities, including Mehdi Bazargan, Taqi Fatemi, Safi Asfia, Abolhasan Behnia and Abdullah Riazi. Qolamhosein Rahnama, a co-founder of the University of Tehran, was dean at the faculty. He had succeeded Mahmud Hesabi in 1935, and though he did not have a modern European education he was held in high regard as professor of mathematics. Bazargan called him 'master of the masters' and Qolamhosein Mosahab and Taqi Fatemi, both prominent professors of mathematics, considered him as a great master with a key role in the development of modern mathematics in Iran.[13]

A few months after Mojtahedi began to teach at the faculty, Rahnama called him to his room and presented him with his formal academic dress, neatly packed in a piece of cloth. He told Mojtahedi that compared to him, Rahnama could not consider himself a master in mathematics. Mojtahedi recalled the event with passion and pride, and boasted of wearing an academic outfit which Rahnama himself had handed to him.[14] He went on teach mathematics at the Engineering Faculty of the University of Tehran for 30 years, during which time he wrote four books on algebra, calculus, and solid and fluid mechanics, all of which were published by the University of Tehran Press and went through several reprints.[15]

Mojtahedi at Alborz

Starting in 1941, Mojtahedi taught for three years at Alborz High School and managed its boarding facilities. This gave him a chance to learn about the history of the American College and the managerial skills of Samuel Jordan. For over forty-two years, beginning in 1898, Jordan guided the originally American School, founded in 1873 by an American mission, from a four-grade school located in the southwestern quarter of Tehran (Darvaze Qazvin) into a modern educational facility called Alborz College. The College, as it was publicly known, had 15 grades and provided boarding accommodation, all within a large campus located in a fine newly developed district in the northern part of Tehran. Alborz was the lifetime achievement of Jordan, whose role as the founder of the College and its successor school is well acknowledged.[16]

In 1940 Reza Shah ordered the Ministry of Education to take over all the educational facilities run by foreign citizens in Iran, including the Alborz College. This led to the departure of Jordan and all his foreign staff from Iran.[17]

[12]Mojtahedi, unpublished recorded interview with Reza Niazmand, 1990.
[13]Nejati, *Shast sal Khedmat-o Moqavemat.*
[14]Mojtahedi, unpublished recorded interview with Reza Niazmand, 1990.
[15]Alborz High School, *Sade-Name* (1973).
[16]Alborz High School, *Sade-Name.*
[17]Alborz High School, *Sade-Name.*

Figure 1. Dr. Mojtahedi (sixth from left), Z. Mo'tamen (fourth from left), and Mr. Khan-Mohammadi (third from right) who was a close assistant to Mojtahedi at Alborz, standing, among mostly students, in front of the main building of the school, early 1960s.

Mojtahedi considered Jordan the founding father of Alborz. Jordan had laid solid foundations for the school, and had successfully developed and managed a modern educational complex whose management was now in the hands of Iranians. Within the first three years after Jordan left Iran, five prominent Iranian educational figures succeeded each other as the school's Principal, including such eminent scholars as Vahid Tonekaboni, Moni' al-Molk Partovi and Lotf'ali Suratgar. Yet the conditions at the school worsened day by day. Mojtahedi was deeply concerned about the problems facing Alborz and high school education in general, and thought that Alborz could play a major role in this regard. "I was attracted to Alborz," he later said, "and I thought the development of universities made no sense without competent and disciplined high schools; the young needed good high schools and, if I were to be helpful, it was at Alborz."[18]

Upon a proposal by Baqer Kazemi, who became minister of education in September 1944, and after Kazemi's agreement to Mojtahedi's conditions, Mojtahedi commenced his work as the principal of Alborz. Mojtahedi, who believed in Jordan's strictly disciplined management, began to run the school according to the same principles. All cultural figures, the intellectual elite, and the teachers of Alborz were in favor of profound changes to the management of the school and supported Mojtahedi in his attempt to restore the old educational order.[19]

[18]Mojtahedi, unpublished interview with the author, 1990.
[19]Zeyn-alabedin Motamen, unpublished interview with the author, 2005.

As his first act, Mojtahedi blocked all unjustified monthly payments to those not working at Alborz, and employed young, reputable and well-educated teachers including Barokh Brukhim, Dr. Mahmud Behzad and Asadollah Musavi Maku'i.[20]

His achievements, after his first year at Alborz, were remarkable. The number of students passing the final high school state (or public) examination rose to 129 out of 179, compared to 29 out of 210 the previous year. The following year many of the students ranking first in the final public examinations were students from Alborz. Typical of the political situation in Iran at the time, during Mojtahedi's first three years at Alborz five other people succeeded Kazemi as minister of education: Isa Seddiq, Gholamhosein Rahnama, Mohammad-Taqi Bahar, Fereydun Keshavarz and Seyyed-Ali Shayegan.[21] They all supported Mojtahedi at Alborz. And despite the ongoing political turmoil, Mojtahedi had succeeded in putting the school back on track. His apolitical attitude was an important feature of his management. "He had no political concerns," says Zeyn-alabedin Motamen, and "looked at the world just through the windows of Alborz." Motamen recalls Mojtahedi's response to the public worries of the Azerbaijan crisis in 1946: "he said 'the country would be alright as long as Alborz is alright.'"

Judged by the success rate of Alborz students passing the admissions examinations of the Engineering Faculty and the Medical School at the University of Tehran, and those who successfully competed for state grants to study in the West, it is clear that, in the hands of Mojtahedi, Alborz had once again become a success. Yet in spite of that fact, Mosaddeq's second—and short-lived—minister of education, Mahmud Hesabi, sacked Mojtahedi in 1952, accusing him of having an affiliation to the Tudeh (Communist) Party, a decision that triggered student unrest at Alborz and led to loud protests from its teachers. The case was discussed at a cabinet meeting and Shams al-Din Amir'alaee, minister without portfolio and assistant prime minister, was asked to investigate the matter. Amir'alaee asked Nosratollah Amini to examine the facts, and in a joint report to Mosaddeq they rejected Hesabi's grounds for the dismissal of Mojtahedi, adding that he was a dedicated and successful principal of the school. Mosaddeq ordered Hesabi to reinstate Mojtahedi, and when he declined to do so, he was replaced as minister of education by Dr. Mehdi Azar. Dr. Azar visited Mojtahedi at his home and restored his position at Alborz, where he worked continuously until the Revolution of February 1979 with great authority and success, achieving better results year after year.[22] Alborz's success under Mojtahedi changed high school education in Iran. Mojtahedi's thirty-five years of sincere and devoted performance as the head and principal of Alborz were indeed quite an extraordinary experience in Iran's typically short-term society.[23]

[20]Reza Nyazmand, unpublished interview with Mojtahedi, 1990.

[21]Eqbal Yaghmaee, *Ministers of Science and Culture of Iran* (Tehran, 1996).

[22]Mojtahedi, *Khaterat.*

[23]See further, Homa Katouzian, *The Persians: Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern Iran* (New Haven, CT and London, 2009); Homa Katouzian, "The Short-Term Society: A Study in the Long-Term Political and Economic Development in Iran", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 40, no. 1 (January 2004): 1–22.

Mojtahedi twice rejected offers to teach at the Sorbonne, once after he received his doctorate,[24] and later after World War II. Clearly, the running of Alborz was his top priority: "I believed I could best serve my country at Alborz High School," he said years later, "I therefore put aside my personal preference for scientific work."[25]

In the minds of all those involved in the cultural and educational affairs of Iran Mojtahedi's name is associated with Alborz. The motto "Alborz means Mojtahedi" has turned into a lasting metaphor after the gathering held in his honor at Harvard University in 1988, when all participants were dressed in white.

Mojtahedi and Aryamehr University of Technology

While still at Alborz, in June 1961, Mojtahedi was appointed as chancellor of the University of Shiraz and, later in the same year, as the director of Tehran Polytechnic. But, apart from Alborz, his most important achievement was the founding of Aryamehr (now Sharif) University of Technology in November 1965. In order to grasp its significance we must first look at the course of events at Tehran Polytechnic, which had been established by an agreement between the government of Iran and UNESCO, with the latter providing the funding for the project. Mojtahedi had worked as a UNESCO Director from November 1962 until June 1965.

In summer 1964 Mojtahedi employed Parviz Nik-khah and Mansur Poorkashani at the Polytechnic without the knowledge and approval of SAVAK.[26] They were young graduates of British universities and subscribed to the Chinese model of Marxism.[27] A division of the Savak's Third Department, which was in charge of Marxist opposition groups, was strongly against them being employed and had already blocked their employment at the National Iranian Oil Company. They were also banned from traveling abroad.

Starting in January 1964, a series of actions were initiated against Mojtahedi at the Polytechnic. According to a report by the head of a section of Savak's Division 3, Parviz Nikkhah and "his group" were deeply engaged in radical political activities at the time. The first step was taken by Abdullah Riazi,[28] speaker of the parliament and chairman of the Board of Trustees at the Polytechnic. Riazi, who was introduced into politics by Mansur Ruhani,[29] had initially made a proposal arguing that the University of Tehran's Technical Faculty, of which he himself was Dean, was already training engineers and that therefore the Polytechnic should train technicians. This gave him the opportunity to renew his suggestion to the shah that the Polytechnic should stick to training technicians.

[24]Lajvardi, *Tarikh-e Shafahi-e Iran,*.

[25]Mojtahedi, unpublished interview with the author, 1990.

[26]*The Assassination of the Shah: The Marble Palace Incident* (Tehran, 1999).

[27]Homa Katouzian, *The Political Economy of Modern Iran* (London, 1981).

[28]Lajvardi, *Tarikh-e Shafahi-e Iran.*

[29]Ezzat-allah Sahabi, *Neem Qarn Khatere va Tajrobe* (Tehran, 1988), 141–42.

In April 1965 an attempt was made on the shah's life by a conscripted soldier of the Imperial Guard outside his offices at the Marble Palace. Savak accused Parviz Nik-khah, and the group named after him, of having been involved in the plot.[30] The shah immediately bought the charge and said that "the conspiracy was another souvenir for the people of Iran from communists educated at British universities."[31] Not surprisingly Mojtahedi was dismissed from the headship of the Polytechnic the following June.

That summer, when he and his wife were about to leave for Lausanne, Switzerland, to enroll their daughter at the university, he was told that though his family was free to leave, he was banned from leaving the country. Accompanied by Ahmad Hami and Mohammad-Hosein Adib, he saw the SAVAK chief, General Ne'matullah Nasiri, at his home, who told him that the prohibition had been ordered not by the security agencies but by the prime minister, Amir-Abbas Hoveyda.[32] Ehsan Naraqi, the influential head of the University of Tehran's Institute for Social Studies, told the author in an interview that he had spoken to Hoveyda and found that the latter was worried lest Mojtahedi was planning to leave the country permanently. Mojtahedi visited Hoveyda, reassured him that he was not thinking of emigration, and was given permission to go to Europe on the condition that he kept the Prime Minister's Office informed of his whereabouts.[33]

Nik-khah was arrested and put on trial in a military court. His case was much publicized by the international media and human rights organizations, which campaigned for a fair and public trial. Extensive efforts were made to prevent the possible execution of the defendants. Representatives from Amnesty International and the media attended the trials. Eric Rouleau, *Le Monde*'s senior correspondent, told General Hasan Pakravan, who had just been transferred from his position as director of SAVAK to the Ministry of Information, that "I would have done a better job if I were to make a case against the defendants."[34] Louis Blom-Cooper, representing Amnesty International, commented in *The London Observer* that "[t]he prosecution has no case."[35]

Interrogation of the defendants in the summer of 1965 made it clear to the shah and Hoveyda that Nik-khah and the other defendants were in no way connected with the assassination plot; this was demonstrated in the course of the trials. It became clear that the main cause of unrest among young people in Iran was the absence of political liberties. Experienced political figures believed that the problem should be handled wisely and peacefully. This was backed by some factions in SAVAK, who in three different reports submitted to the shah in April 1965 and entitled "Rumors and Public Opinion," confirmed the same views.[36]

[30] I am grateful to Homa Katouzian for suggesting the role of the Marble Palace incident in founding the Aryamehr University of Technology.
[31] *The Assassination of the Shah*, 24.
[32] Nyazmand interview, 1990.
[33] Lajvardi, *Tarikh-e Shafahi-e Iran*.
[34] *The Assassination of the Shah*, 215.
[35] Katouzian, *The Political Economy of Modern Iran*, 239.
[36] *The Assassination of the Shah*.

At the end of summer 1965 Hoveyda summoned Mojtahedi to Tehran and asked him to resume his directorship of Tehran Polytechnic. In a meeting with Hoveyda in the presence of four other cabinet ministers, Mojtahedi strongly rejected the offer, pointing out that it was not long since he had been removed from that position.[37]

A few days later, in November, the shah sent for and received Mojtahedi warmly at the Imperial Court. During a long, intimate meeting the shah said "our embassies and consulates are turning the young students [in the West] into rebels; they have certain needs and requirements and should be supported and supervised by someone like you who would treat them like a father."[38] Thus he told Mojtahedi to either become the chief supervisor of Iranian students in the West with the rank and status of an ambassador or, recalling that Nik-khah and his group had read technical subjects in Britain, to start planning for the foundation of a new technical university in Iran. Mojtahedi responded by saying that he was too humble to make his own choice. But the shah insisted that Mojtahedi should make the decision and report to him.[39]

Leaving the shah's audience, Mojtahedi met Qods Nakha'i, a minister of the Royal Court, who, having discovered the subject of discussion, strongly recommended Mojtahedi had better to take the first option and become a cultural ambassador. Likewise Dr. Loqman Adham, the Master of Ceremony, who had known Mojtahedi for some time, took him to his office and gave him exactly the same advice: "Don't be stupid!" he said, "Put the idea of founding a university out of your mind." He also reminded Mojtahedi that his wife was French and his children were already living and studying in Europe. The same advice was given to Mojtahedi by his closest friends.[40]

Ten days later the shah received Mojtahedi who presented him with the draft Articles of Association of the newly proposed technical university. The shah told him that he would go along with his decision, adding that he was aware of how he had been treated at the Polytechnic, and that he should report to the shah alone. Mojtahedi made four requests, the most important of which was that SAVAK should not interfere with the students' affairs or the appointment of professors.[41] He also asked for higher salaries and better accommodation for new professors coming from abroad, and their exemption from the strict regulations of military service.

These requests were all granted. The shah also agreed to be the honorary president or chancellor of the new university, which, using his own title, was to be known as Aryamehr University; he signed the Royal Charter for the establishment of the university in December 1965.[42]

Characteristically, Mojtahedi began to swim against the current, since as Motaman had said of him, he always saw the world through the windows of Alborz. The university began operation with 412 freshmen in September 1966 in newly constructed

[37] Lajvardi, *Tarikh-e Shafahi-e Iran*.
[38] Lajvardi, *Tarikh-e Shafahi-e Iran*, 118.
[39] Lajvardi, *Tarikh-e Shafahi-e Iran*.
[40] Lajvardi, *Tarikh-e Shafahi-e Iran*.
[41] Teymour Lakestani, *Khaterat* (Tehran, 2007), 150–51.
[42] Lajvardi, *Tarikh-e Shafahi-e Iran*.

and equipped buildings, all designed and built within an incredibly short period of ten months.[43]

The shah came to visit the university on 2 November 1966. Contrary to normal practice, security agents had no perceptible presence, and only the Imperial Guard had established a station on the campus two days before. The shah lunched with the students[44] and the professors, and engaged in informal and intimate conversations with them. In his after-dinner speech, he praised Mojtahedi very highly in a tone that was unprecedented and never to be heard again about anyone else through the rest of his life.

Thanks to the authority given him by the shah, and despite his own paternalistic attitude which was not always appreciated, Mojtahedi tried to persuade the shah that the image of students as represented by SAVAK was distorted and unreal, and that the phobia created by that image was without foundation. At Polytechnic, with the employment of Nik-khah and Poorkashani, he had openly challenged the SAVAK, and the tension to which this had led intensified at Aryamehr, since the shah had conceded to Mojtahedi's request that SAVAK should not interfere with the employment of professors.[45]

SAVAK responded immediately with a preconceived plot targeting Mojtahedi himself. SAVAK and some members of the Board of Trustees at the university, together with a high-level executive officer who was a close relative of Mojtahedi, hatched a plot to demonstrate Mojtahedi's incompetence in managing the professors' and students' affairs. Thus, deliberate provocations by SAVAK resulted in confrontations between Mojtahedi and professors and students. These tactics bore the expected fruit, namely the shah sacked Mojtahedi as president of the university in February 1967.

Mojtahedi never came to know the essence of the plot and how it was carried out. He believed that Amir Asadollah Alam, the then minister of the Royal Court and chairman of the Board of Trustees at Aryamehr University, was the key figure behind the putsch. He thought that Alam, an old-time supporter of Shiraz University, felt demeaned by Mojtahedi's achievements at Aryamehr University. However, there was no basis in his later claim that the CIA had been behind his fall, though it was a typical Iranian conspiracy theory.[46]

After that, Mojtahedi was made chancellor of the National University although he lasted there just for a few months. His university career ended in1971, after thirty years of service. In the same year, he asked the minister of culture to appoint a new principal for Alborz.[47] His resignation was forwarded to the prime minister, who turned it down and in an official letter praised Mojtahedi's performance at Alborz. He then asked his assistant, Safi Asfia, to visit Mojtahedi and to offer him

[43]Lajvardi, *Tarikh-e Shafahi-e Iran.*
[44]The author, as a student, was present at the event.
[45]Lakestani, *Khaterat.*
[46]Nyazmand interview, 1990.
[47]Lajvardi, *Tarikh-e Shafahi-e Iran.*

appointment as the chancellor of the University of Tehran. At first Mojtahedi refused to receive Asfia, but when their mutual friend Aliqoli Bayani urged him to see him, not as a member of the cabinet representing the prime minister, but as his old and respectable friend, Mojtahedi agreed but turned down the offer of headship of Tehran University. He was to remain at Alborz until the Revolution of February 1979.

In 1982, ten years after his retirement from university service, Mojtahedi was stripped of all public service due to his "effective role in the strengthening of the Shah's regime."[48] He was also accused of being a Freemason, for which there is no credible evidence.

Mojtahedi died on 1 June 1997, ten months after the death of his daughter Suzie, in southern France. He was buried next to her at Cimetiere l'Est temporarily, so that in due course he could be transferred to his birthplace, Lahijan, which according to his will would be his permanent resting place. His son Parviz died of cancer at a hospital in Monaco on 14 May 2003. His mother and his wife had him buried there until such time that he could be transferred to Iran.

Mrs Mojtahedi is, despite her advanced years, in good health. She lives in the south of France and is in daily contact with her daughter-in-law, Mina Meykadeh, Parviz's wife. They enjoy a close and loving relationship.

[48]Lajvardi, *Tarikh-e Shafahi-e Iran*, 180.

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Mojtahedi and the Founding of the Arya-Mehr University of Technology

The paper presents an account of the founding of the Arya-Mehr (now Sharif) University of Technology, and the role that Dr. Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi had in its creation in 1965. The paper describes the landscape of science and technology in Iran in 1965, the year in which Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi appointed Mojtahedi to establish this university. It describes the various challenges that Mojtahedi faced in establishing the university, such as avoiding crippling government regulations and bureaucracy, hiring qualified faculty, attracting top students, developing an appropriate milieu for the cultivation of scientific and technological culture and, most importantly, setting the course for the university to become not only Iran's leading institution, but also one of world's credible institutions in science and engineering. The paper also discusses Mojtahedi's unique approach to these challenges, and how, despite his best intentions, he created the animosity and intrigues that resulted in his ousting in 1967. The university did in fact become Iran's leading institution in sciences and engineering, a position which it holds even today.

Introduction

Dr. Mohammad Ali Mojtahedi is best known in the history of Iranian education as the headmaster of Alborz High School for nearly 35 years, from 1944 to 1979. During his tenure, Alborz became the premier high school at which talented Iranian boys received the education necessary to become significant contributors to their country and, in some cases, the world at large. Maybe of equal significance is his contribution to the founding of the Arya-Mehr University of Technology (now the Sharif University of Technology, hereinafter referred to as "Arya-Mehr University"). Since its inception, Arya-Mehr University has attracted the most talented Iranian students and has provided them with a first-rate science and technology education on a par with that which is available in the some of the most reputable universities in the world. This paper discusses the role that Mojtahedi played in laying the foundations of this university, his unique vision, his aspirations, his goals, the obstacles that he faced and his approach to solving them.

In the way of a *curriculum vitae*, Mojtahedi was born in Lahijan in 1908. After his elementary school education in Lahijan, he attended high school in Tehran, first at the

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Dar'ul'Moalemin-e-Markazi (Teachers Training School), and then at Sharaf High School, from which he graduated in 1927. In 1931, the Shah Reza Pahlavi selected Mojtahedi and 99 other students to travel abroad for higher education. After spending a year in a French lycée, Mojtahedi attended Lille University, where he studied mathematics. He then attended the Sorbonne in Paris, where he received his *Docteur d'Etate* in mathematics for his dissertation on Certain Problems in Fluid Mechanics. He returned to Iran in 1938. There he taught mathematics, initially at the *Daneshsara Aali*, then at the Faculty of Sciences of Tehran University, and later in 1941 as a professor in the Faculty of Engineering at Tehran University, where he remained until his retirement in 1971. In 1944, three years into his professorship at Tehran University, Mojtahedi became the headmaster of Alborz High School. He kept this position for some thirty-five years until the Islamic Revolution of 1979. In 1961, he was appointed as the president of Shiraz University, a job that he quit after a year in 1962 due to the alleged absence of government cooperation and support. He was named the chancellor of Polytechnic (now Amir-Kabir University), and continued to serve in this position until 1965 when he was removed because, in his own opinion, of the "intrigues" of certain members of Polytechnic's Board of Trustees.

Landscape of Science and Technology in Iran in 1965

Before discussing Mojtahedi's involvement at Arya-Mehr University, a brief and general survey of the landscape of science and technology in Iran in 1965, the year in which Arya-Mehr University was founded, will be presented.

Both members of the Pahlavi dynasty, Reza Shah and Mohammad Reza Shah, appear to have believed that a finite leap in the development of Iran could only occur with the initiation of large projects, such as the national railroad project that Reza Shah launched, the development of the steel industry in 1960s, and the nuclear power industry in 1970s during the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah. By 1965, Iran had started the construction of a steel mill in Esfahan. Mohammad Reza Shah, according to the decree he issued on the occasion of the founding of the Arya-Mehr University, believed that the steel mill would catalyze the development of heavy industries in Iran, and that the development of such industries required a new breed of engineers and expertise that Iran lacked at the time. Many government decision-makers believed that industrialization represented the only feasible response to Iran's rapid population growth and under-employment in the agricultural sector. Iran's annual oil revenue at the time was approximately US$1 billion, or five to six times the average budget of a state university in the midwestern United States during the same period. Iran did endeavor to attract foreign capital for investment in industrial development. However, none of these efforts resulted in a meaningful increase in the transfer of foreign technology to Iran. Based on published data from the Department of Statistics of Iran's Ministry of Labor in about 1965, the total number of engineers in Iran was approximately 12,000. The percentage of engineers within the active population of Iran was thus significantly lower than the corresponding percentages in neighboring countries such as Turkey. Furthermore, Iran possessed only a handful of universities and colleges, the total student population of which did not exceed 24,000. The faculty at these universities were poorly compensated for their services. Indeed, Iranian professors in Tehran received such low salaries that teaching was only possible as a second job. Given these conditions, it is hardly surprising that Iran's academic institutions failed to create an environment conducive to research, innovation and a "scientific culture" which is essential for the development of sciences and technology. Students did not have easy access to textbooks and reference materials, such that the professor's class notes often provided the only source of information for students. Politically, both students and faculty in many Iranian universities and the Iranian students abroad were polarized against Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, especially after Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's first, and unsuccessful, uprising in 1963.

Nearly all universities were dependent on government funds for their running costs. Government operating funds could not be spent outside of the rules, regulations and red tape for expenditure that prevented universities from hiring qualified faculty, paying the salary that young faculty would need to live comfortably, or purchasing the equipment and materials needed for their research or for embarking on creative programs. The government rules, regulations and red tape became a huge obstacle to the advancement of education and research in Iran. There were a few exceptions, including the Melli University, a private teaching institution with tuition high enough to pay for the university's expenses, the Technical College of National Iranian Oil Company, which was run by the National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC) for educating the engineers needed by this industry, and the Pahlavi University (formerly the Shiraz University), which by the request of its chancellor Assadollah Alam, the former prime minister and confidant of the shah, was granted permission to use the name Pahlavi and operate under the shah's nominal control and outside of the government rules and regulations. (The Pahlavi University was renamed again as Shiraz University after the Islamic Revolution in 1979.)

Mojtahedi's Appointment and the Challenges He Faced

This was the state of affairs when, in 1965, the Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi summoned Mojtahedi and offered him two options: (1) establish a new university for the development of sciences and engineering in Iran on par with leading institutions of the world to help Iran industrialize, which was, of course, an extremely difficult assignment; or (2) supervise Iranian students in Europe, a much easier job and better for his family. Mojtahedi selected the first option. A few years before his death, he stated in different interviews that he had based his decision upon the belief that he did not want to lose the opportunity to "develop a university where the young talented Iranians can be educated, gain self confidence *and discipline*, and can become the outstanding citizens, experts (*engineers and scientists*) that develop the country in

future".[1] He knew the obstacles that existed to making a good university. These obstacles, which became his challenges in the years he was in charge of the Arya-Mehr University, were:

- Fending off government control and the concomitant rules, precipitated by dependence upon government operating funds. Government rules that would have accompanied such operating funds would not have allowed him to hire faculty when he wanted, offer them the salary that he wanted to pay, purchase the equipment for teaching and research within the time frame that he was planning on, and open the doors of the university to the first group of students within a few months.
- Hiring qualified faculty from abroad who can provide the best education to students on a par with the world's best educational institutions;
- Attracting the most talented student;
- Developing a culture conducive to the development of science and technology, i.e., a research environment that would cultivate scientific discovery and technological innovation, on a par with the cultures that existed in the world's leading academic institutions;
- Providing the students with textbooks, reference materials, and other educational resources that are so essential to proper education and research.

Furthermore, he felt pressed to overcome all these obstacles in relatively short order, before political changes could deprive him of the shah's support.

In fending off government control, Mojtahedi had the benefit of precedence. He knew that Alam, at Pahlavi University, had succeeded in overcoming similar difficulties by placing Pahlavi University under the shah's nominal control. Therefore, Mojtahedi predicated his acceptance of the university's presidency upon the shah's promise to maintain the university as a private institution and, furthermore, to serve as its nominal chancellor (*toliyat*). More specifically, the arrangement allowed Mojtahedi to manage the university as a representative of the shah with the title of *nayeb toliyat*, also subject to the directions of a Board of Trustees, which had the sole authority to approve all the university's rules and regulations. To reduce the potential influence of the individuals sitting on the Board of Trustees, Mojtahedi proposed that the board contain thirty members, in contrast to the ten or twelve that typically served on such boards at other Iranian universities. As it turned out, the university's board developed into an extremely powerful instrument that included, among others, members of the royal family, the nation's prime minister and several cabinet members.

[1]M. Mirzai and A. Siahbaazi, *Sharif az Aaghaaz taa Konun (1345–1385), be Goftaar Ro'asaayash* (Tehran: Scientific Publications of Sharif University of Technology, 2006/1385). Also *Sadeh Naameh Dabirestaan Alborz* (Publication of Eghbal, 1975/1354) (emphasis added based on follow-up discussions with Mojtahedi).

The shah accepted all of Mojtahedi's proposals and issued the royal decree establishing Arya-Mehr University on 1 November 1965.[2] The decree established two mandates, the first of which called for the university "to educate experts with the breadth of scientific knowledge and technological know-how needed for the development of heavy industries in Iran. The second mandate called for the university to become one of the leading institutions in the world through research in scientific and technological fields. This was the first time that scientific research was specified within the mandate of an Iranian university. The decree further required the university to commence operations in less than a year by 21 September 1966, and announced that the shah himself would be the nominal chancellor of the university.

With the shah's mandate in hand, Mojtahedi set about raising funds for the university. He called upon the same individuals who had contributed to his fundraising campaigns for Alborz High School, and many of these individuals answered the call, although the actual amount that he raised was grossly inadequate for the operation of the university. He visited Dr. Manouchehr Eghbal, chairman of NIOC and a trustee of the university; Dr. Eghbal, an ex-chancellor of Teheran University, understood the challenges that Mojtahedi faced and offered to help him. Mojtahedi asked him for a gift of 100 million rials (US$1.5 million), not from NIOC, but from the employees of NIOC. That way, there would be no strings attached. Dr. Eghbal ordered all employees of NIOC to make a "voluntary" contribution equivalent to a day's pay to the university, in return for which he would pay them a bonus in the same amount. Mojtahedi thus raised 100 million rials without any strings attached. Mojtahedi requested that the same amount be paid annually, and Dr. Eghbal agreed. Accordingly, the university received 100 million rials from NIOC every year until 1979, when the Islamic Revolution toppled the Pahlavi regime. For capital funds, Mojtahedi accepted development funds from the Plan Organization, which could compel him to abide by government rules for the selection of consulting engineers and contractors. Mojtahedi sidestepped these requirements by claiming that he was operating with the authority of the university's powerful Board of Trustees and the rules that they had approved.

To attract top talent, he needed to pay salaries that would allow the faculty and their families to live comfortably in Tehran, and concentrate on teaching and research at the university without a need for moonlighting. In one of his early audiences with the shah, he stated that the university needed to pay a monthly salary of 50,000 rials (about US$700) to the starting faculty and 55,000 rials (about US$770) to those with two years or more experience, in order to recruit top talent and maintain them as faculty members dedicated to their work. This salary was nearly three times that of the faculty of other public universities and 10,000 rials (US$140) more than the salary that Pahlavi University was offering in Shiraz. The shah accepted. When Mojtahedi brought the subject up at the Board of Trustees meeting, Jamshid Amouzegar, then the minister of finance, objected strongly to the salary proposal,

[2]H. Ladjevardi, *Khaateraat Mohamad Ali Mojtahedi*, Iranian Oral History, Center for Middle Eastern Studies (Cambridge, MA, 2000/1379).

because he believed this salary would deliver a blow to the salary structure in the entire country and was totally unacceptable for an institution in Tehran, which he believed had reached its practical limits of growth. Amouzegar proposed a solution whereby the university would be established in a location other than Tehran. His best option was Esfahan, where the steel mill was under construction and heavy industries were expected to develop in the future. Amouzegar met with the shah and explained his conundrum; the shah accepted his solution. Amouzegar informed Mojtahedi. Mojtahedi knew that starting the university in a city other than Tehran might be a death blow to his ability to attract top talent. He went to the shah and asked permission to open the university in Tehran, where it would stay until the campus of the university in Esfahan was completed in its entirety. The shah agreed.

Mojtahedi immediately took over an existing government building and the adjacent grounds on Eisenhower Boulevard, and started to convert the space to laboratories, classrooms, and offices needed to start the school in that fall. Mojtahedi called upon one of the alumni of Alborz High School, Hossein Amanat, who had just graduated from architectural school, and asked him to develop architectural plans for amphitheatres, classrooms (later named the Mojtahedi Building), offices, and a library in the adjacent ground. Amanat made the plans in a short time. Mojtahedi started the construction immediately with Amanat providing the engineering supervision of the construction. The construction was completed in only eight months. For all Amanat's efforts, Mojtahedi paid him only 200,000 rials (about US$3,000), which was hardly enough to cover his drafting expenses. In the meantime, the Plan Organization, without the permission of Mojtahedi, selected two architects, who were friends of Queen Farah, to design the campus in Esfahan. The architects selected for Esfahan campus called Mojtahedi's office to get an appointment, but Mojtahedi refused to see them. Finally they decided to visit Mojtahedi without a prior appointment and when the guard at the front entrance of the university called Mojtahedi's office to inform him that the architects had arrived on the campus to see him, Mojtahedi refused to see them or let them in. The architects took their complaints to the Queen. Consequently, the Plan Organization paid 1,000,000 rials ($15,000) directly to the architects to visit the leading universities of the world and see their architectural concepts before starting the plans for the university at Esfahan.

To attract the faculty needed to start in September 1966, Mojtahedi first reached out to those graduates of Alborz High School that he knew in Iran from the time he headed Polytechnic. One of his earlier recruits was Dr. Firouz Partovi, an Alborz alumnus, who had received his PhD in physics from MIT. Partovi was politically active during his student years and when he decided to return to Iran, he stopped in Paris, bought a car and found a man who volunteered to help him drive to Iran. This man was Dr. Ali Shariati, whose writings had a pronounced impact on the young revolutionaries in Iran. Partovi was arrested along with Shariati at Bazargan point upon their arrival in Iran and released after one month of incarceration. Mojtahedi brought Partovi to Polytechnic, and then recruited him to the Arya-Mehr University in 1965. Over the years Partovi contributed immensely to the development of the university, including hiring faculty in the early days.

Mojtahedi made two trips to Europe and the US in 1966 and 1967 to recruit Iranians who had just finished or were about to finish their doctoral work, or were engaged in teaching and research at various universities. Wherever he went, he was welcomed by the Alborz alumni.

In the fall of 1966 (1345), the university started instruction with 407 students in the fields of physics, chemistry, mathematics, electrical engineering, mechanical engineering, metallurgical engineering and chemical engineering. Civil engineering was vetoed by the shah because he believed civil engineers did not have a significant or active role to play in the creation of heavy industries in Iran and Tehran University was training the civil engineers needed to build the roads, bridges and buildings. The photographs of a visit by the shah in the first year show a sizable faculty among whom were Drs Partovi, Vahedi, Naraghi and Payman in physics, Mr Zahir in electrical engineering and mathematics, and Mr Terpoghosian and Dr. Moatar in chemistry.

To make books available to the students, Mojtahedi established a printing office and he allowed any book in English selected by the professors to be used as a textbook for their courses; books published outside of Iran were to be reproduced and provided free of charge to the students. (Iran was not a signatory to the International Copyright Act.) The professors delivered their lectures in Persian and required the students to read their assignments from the reproduced textbooks and reference materials in English, and solve the problems at the end of the chapters of their textbooks. For all the hardship that this tortuous approach caused the students, most of whom had not mastered the English language in high school and could not easily understand the texts, it nonetheless benefited them immensely as they gained access to the wealth of information available in English, which proved to be very important later in their professional careers.

Mojtahedi's relationship with the students was very special. Once he was asked by the shah about his relationship with the students. He answered, "I am a gardener and my goal is to nurture these young saplings (*nahals*) and see them grow into corpulent (*tanoomand*) trees." He frequently referred to the students as the real wealth of the nation who, when properly educated and given self-confidence and discipline, would build the country.

One of the most important questions facing Mojtahedi was how he was going to develop a culture of science and technology in the university on par with the leading institutions of the world. He admitted that this task was the most difficult one, and as a first step required strong ties with universities abroad. On the other hand, he did not want to sacrifice the independence and self-reliance of the university by accepting guidance from foreigners who might lack the necessary understanding and devotion. He was critical of the relationship between Pahlavi University and the University of Pennsylvania, for which Iran was paying $200,000 annually to UPenn; it was not clear to him what Pahlavi University was receiving in return. Mojtahedi's solution was to establish a twinning relationship between each department of the university and a corresponding department of a leading institution in Europe or America where the faculty had personal familiarity with that institution's faculty. For

example, in mechanical engineering where several members of the faculty were graduates of Imperial College of Science and Technology in London, Mojtahedi helped the department establish a twinning relationship with that institution; the relationship flourished and proved useful. Obviously, if the faculty had not known their counterparts at the institution, the twinning relationship could not have flourished so easily. For this reason, he saw no point in establishing a twinning relationship with a single institution. However, when he presented his idea to the Board of Trustees, Alam opposed it and insisted that the university should as a whole establish a twinning relationship with a single institution in Europe or America, as Pahlavi University had done with University of Pennsylvania. Alam, who was at that time minister of court and very close to the shah, insisted that only through a twinning relationship with a single foreign institution could Arya-Mehr University develop a culture in science and technology and cultivate scientific thinking and technological innovation on a par with the world's leading institutions in this area. It was only through such a relationship, Alam felt, that the old habits could be broken and a new culture be inculcated among the faculty members and students that was needed for entry into the community of accredited scientific and technological institutions. Alam stated that if the twin institution needed to get paid for their efforts, as they would have little to gain from such a relationship, Mojtahedi must agree to pay. Mojtahedi opposed this idea. The Board of Trustee voted and the results were against Alam's idea. This led to Alam's disenchantment with Mojtahedi, as he concluded that Mojtahedi would not be able to build a university that could become one of the world's leading institutions of higher education.

In 1967 (1346), an educational revolution in France created urgency for the shah to modernize the higher education system. To modernize the higher education system, Iran needed new leaders in higher education with legitimacy among the students and the community at large, and who could bring about the changes needed. Dr. Majid Rahnama, the minister of the newly founded Science and Higher Education Ministry, decided to bring Iranian scientists and engineers with international stature back to Iran and place them as heads of the leading universities. Professor Reza, then at Syracuse University, had expressed an interest to come to Iran.

Collusion Against Mojtahedi

By 1967, Mojtahedi had a well-organized group working against him. He had antagonized Alam and Amouzegar, and he did not fit the mold that Rahnama was making for the heads of leading institutions of higher education in Iran. The machinery to topple Mojtahedi was set in motion. At the beginning the shah resisted the intrigues, and supported Mojtahedi for many reasons, the most important of which were that Mojtahedi was financially trustworthy and he was loved by all the students. The movement against Mojtahedi was on three fronts. At the Board of Trustees level, Dr. Ayadi, the personal doctor of the shah and a close confidant of Alam, began an investigation into Mojtahdi's financial mismanagement. Within the university, his vice chancellor,

Dr. Houshang Montaseri, orchestrated a movement that included some of the faculty members and students, and cultivated dissatisfaction with and the criticism of Mojtahedi. SAVAK also contributed to the movement of the students against Mojtahedi and enticed several students to testify in front of Ayadi against Mojtahedi.[3] Ayadi, in a meeting of the Board of Trustees, accused Mojtahedi of financial mismanagement and negligence and of failing to abide by the rules set forth by the Board of Trustees for procurements of the university. As an example, Ayadi had gathered information that showed Mojtahedi had purchased lime for construction without getting the necessary bids, and at a few pennies (*rials*) above the market price. The shah finally caved in and Rahnama replaced Mojtahedi with Professor Reza. Mojtahedi never understood why he was removed from such a demanding job with a goal that he had pursued with all his might and his passion.

After Arya-Mehr University, Mojtahedi was appointed as the president of Melli University, from which he resigned after a year. He did not accept any other responsibilities and remained as the headmaster of the Alborz High School until the Islamic Revolution in 1979.

Epilogue

The contribution of Mojtahedi to Alborz and in the founding of the Arya-Mehr University of Technology will never be forgotten by tens of thousands who graduated from Alborz and/or from the Arya-Mehr University, and many teachers, professors and administrators who helped at different times and in different ways make his vision a reality. Today, Sharif University of Technology in Tehran (the new name of the university, renamed after Islamic Revolution) and Esfahan University of Technology in Esfahan (which was constructed as the main campus of the Arya-Meyr University and started to admit students in 1978) are both public institutions. Sharif University is the most prestigious university for education in engineering and sciences, and attracts top talent, and the Esfahan University of Technology is a close second. The graduates of Sharif University are acclaimed by many of the leaders of academic institutions of the world as among the best educated. Sharif is now on its way to establish a culture of science and technology in Iran on a par with the world's leading institutions, but there are many challenges still remaining that have prevented its realization. Undertaking these challenges rests with the future faculty and administration of the university and it will not happen without the support of the government of Iran.

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[3]Bahram Bayani, "Mohamad-Ali Mojtahedi: His Life and His Work," paper presented at Alborz Conference, University of California at Irvine, 10 October 2009, reprinted in this collection.

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Reviews

Bar Bal-e Bohran [Flying on the Wings of Crisis], Iraj Amini. Tehran: Nashr-i Mahi, 2009, ISBN 978-964-9971-74-2, 602pp.

Bar Bal-e Bohran, by Iraj Amini, is a unique study of the political career of Ali Amini, the prominent Iranian statesman who is often informally, but accurately, called the "last real prime minister of the shah." A grandson of Muzaffar al-Din Shah, Amini was a visionary Western-oriented "reformist" who assumed the premiership at a time when the Iranian political system was grappling with a profound economic, social and political crisis. It is interesting to note that Amini was often described by the media of his day as an *islahtalab*, the same term which was adopted several decades later to describe another unsuccessful reformer of modern Iran, Mohammad Khatami. Like his clerical successor, Amini's political career was characterized by a crisis-ridden relationship with the highest authority of the land, a factor which undermined the political objectives and modus operandi of both figures. Amini's untimely resignation in 1963 marked the beginning of a more authoritarian period of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's 37-year reign. As a staunch supporter of Iran's first written constitution, Ali Amini repeatedly sought to ensure that the shah would reign, rather than rule. His successors invariably surrendered their institutional autonomy to the shah and made little attempt to enforce the dictum of the 1906 Constitution.

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The present study stands out amongst the crowded panorama of the *zindiqinama*—a genre which has maintained strong popularity within Iranian political literature throughout the last several decades—in that it has been meticulously researched and written by the son of the protagonist. A former career diplomat turned able historian, Iraj Amini has succeeded in marginalizing his warm but potentially biased feelings towards his father to produce a finely researched and sourced political biography. Aware that several similar biographical works on Amini have already appeared in print, foremost among them being those produced by the Harvard Iranian Oral History Project, the Foundation of Iranian Studies and also a broad outline in the London Kayhan collections of Amini's personal memoirs, the author states at the beginning of the present book that none of the previous publications have succeeded in presenting a comprehensive picture of his father's turbulent political career. In order to do so, he makes sterling use of source material meticulously collected in Tehran, London, Washington and elsewhere. The author also makes efficient use of his father's personal annotations, hitherto unpublished, to fill in the gaps. The result is a seminal analysis of the political scene surrounding Ali Amini during his long political career within Iran.

Besides chronicling his father's progress towards the premiership, the author makes several important contributions to our understanding of the shah's psyche and decision-making. The contents of a discussion held between Prime Minister Jafar Sharif-Emami and the British ambassador to Tehran prior to the start of Amini's tenure reveal, for example, the shah's unease with the attitude of the United States government vis-à-vis himself in the aftermath of the aborted Qarani coup attempt of 1958. Sharif-Emami is quoted in a British diplomatic cable as saying that the shah was stifling freedom of expression and limiting the institutional autonomy of the prime minister and the cabinet due to concerns that the US was covertly seeking to strengthen the executive at the expense of the monarch's own powers. Throughout the narrative, the picture that emerges of the shah is one of a recalcitrant leader who was often suspicious of the United States' real intentions and more so of Democratic presidents. In a telling indicator of this sentiment, the author recalls his father's apprehension after the election of Jimmy Carter to the White House in 1977 and his fears that the shah would increase pressure and surveillance on him due to his concern over Carter's potential desire to see Amini return as prime minister.

The author also tactfully tackles several controversial and hotly contested aspects of Ali Amini's political career, spanning the period from Reza Shah's reign to Amini's exile in Paris after the 1979 revolution. These include watershed events such as the 1953 coup or the negotiations for the Consortium oil agreement a year later. The extent of Amini's involvement in the Qarani coup plot, when he was serving as Iran's ambassador to Washington, is expounded on decisively, leaving the impression that Amini knew far less than what the shah suspected of the general's embryonic attempts at a takeover. As is noted throughout the book, the monarch's mistrust of Amini increased after that murky episode. The author also dispels the myth of Amini's perceived strong personal bond with President John F. Kennedy. After stating that the two had only met once during Amini's ambassadorial tenure in

Washington, the author conclusively demonstrates, through an exhaustive examination of US government documents, that the Kennedy administration favored, but did not impose, Amini's nomination as prime minister. The United States did, however, make a crucial $30 million loan conditional on Amini's nomination to the premiership, leading the shah to relinquish his objection to Amini's ascent to power. The author cites a detailed report by the US National Security Council staff, produced during Amini's assumption of the premiership, stating that Amini's new government is the only and last alternative to anarchy, an "unpopular military dictatorship" or a "Mossadeqist revolution" in Iran (p. 317).

Without focusing on it directly, the narrative highlights one of Amini's major weaknesses: his lack of faith in the organization of political parties. Despite having been a protégé and disciple of the eminent and sophisticated elder statesman Ahmad Qavam, Amini did not even replicate his mentor's instrumental use of the Democratic Party in order to confront the rising popularity of the Tudeh party. Instead, he appeared to rely upon the abilities of a capable but limited set of associates, foremost among them being Hassan Arsanjani, the ebullient one-time socialist who spearheaded the drive for agrarian reform. Amini's tactic of appeasing Mohammad Dirakhshesh, the powerful head of the Teachers' Union, is also shown to have been a gamble that did not pay off. As the crucial preparations for the budget were underway in early 1963, Dirakhshesh opposed severe cuts to his Culture Ministry on the grounds that his 80,000-strong power base within the education sector would be severely curtailed, thereby denting his personal ambitions for the premiership. When pressed to acquiesce to the cuts in the military budget, the shah quixotically answered that the generals had to be appeased for they "carried guns," thereby bringing the prime minister's fourteen months in office to an untimely end (p. 491).

Despite his outward commitment to free expression and the rule of law and "democracy," Amini never managed to shrug off the main accusation of his detractors; that of having failed to obtain a firm commitment from the shah for the organization of the elections for the twenty-first Majlis within three months of the dissolution of the previous parliament. In a speech given at the famous Jalalileh rally of 28 Ordibehesht 1340 (18 May 1961), the National Front leader Karim Sanjabi termed the Amini government as an "illegal" one, because it had not convened new elections one month after the dissolution of Parliament, as mandated by article 48 of the constitution (p. 401). The author contends, however, that Sanjabi's criticism was not entirely accurate. Whereas it is correct that the new Majlis had to convene within three months of the dissolution of the previous one, Iraj Amini pointedly notes that the shah's *farman*, or decree, called upon his father to bring about the reform of the electoral law prior to organizing new elections. Nevertheless, Ali Amini's reluctance to give the reform any priority during his term in office was a major setback, for he had vociferously campaigned at the helm of a list of independents during the elections for the twentieth Majlis, only to lead calls for the dissolution of the same due to electoral malpractice. The author explains this reticence by conveying his father's fear that electoral fraud and the shah's interference in the electoral process would be repeated, resulting in a parliament filled by wealthy landowners and influential

players who would agitate against his reforms and undermine his political reputation. The lack of a functioning Majlis and Senate would prove to be the Achilles' heel of Amini's premiership. As clearly highlighted by the author, the National Front, then at the height of its post-coup popularity, repeatedly took Amini to task for flouting the practices of constitutionalism. The Musaddiqist organization critically distanced itself from the post-coup prime minister, with which it had great affinity and a good chance of establishing a working relationship.

By far the most daring aspect of Ali Amini's tenure was the ambitious plan for agrarian reform. Despite resuming the execution of a plan devised by the previous Iqbal government, Amini's decision to assign its implementation to Hassan Arsanjani marked a steady evolution in the reform. As pertinently noted by the author, Amini's decision to rely on Arsanjani stemmed from the latter's capability to confront the landed aristocracy, which predictably put up stiff opposition to relinquishing their property. The warm ties between the prime minister and his agriculture minister, which predated their period in government, deteriorated as Amini sensed that Arsanjani was proceeding at too fast a pace. The text of Arsanjani's resignation letter, sent while in Rome on a Food Agricultural Organisation summit and reproduced in full within the book, is a testament to the high esteem in which Ali Amini was held by his supporters.

Iraj Amini necessarily devotes a great deal of attention to the shah's trip to Washington in the summer of 1962, which in retrospect was the turning point of his father's prime ministerial career. It was only then that Mohammad Reza Pahlavi shrugged off his suspicious attitude towards Kennedy and realized that the Democratic president was ready to fulfill his dream of bolstering the arsenal of the Iranian military. Kennedy's support led in turn to the shah firmly denying Amini's contention that a sharp reduction in the expenses of the military had to be included in the conservative budget of that year. The clash marked the end of Amini's premiership; he resigned before the budget was ratified.

Despite a short period of political activism after his resignation and his strongly-worded communiqué in the aftermath of the 15 Khordad 1342 (4 June 1963) religious uprising, the leaders of which, as shown in the book, had maintained cordial ties with the former prime minister during his tenure, Amini lacked the organizational infrastructure needed to lead a long-term "loyal" opposition to the shah. The author reveals that the main reason for the gradual winding down of the former prime minister's political activeness after 1962, other than the ever-present harassment and surveillance by SAVAK, was his spouse's battle with cancer. Banned from leaving Iran because of his frequent contacts with certain members of the National Front and the emerging religious opposition, the former premier resorted to winding down his political activities in order to be able to join his beloved wife in Switzerland.

The last part of the book contains a unique perspective into yet another crisis faced by Amini in the last weeks of the shah's reign. The author made the commendable decision to publish his father's daily dairies of the period, finally casting light on the circumstances surrounding the failed attempt to bring back Ali Amini as prime minister. Despite repeated pleas from the shah and his closest associates, such as

Ardishir Zahedi, National Front leader Karim Sanjabi's deal with Ayatollah Khomeini in Paris is highlighted as the key event that convinced Amini that his goal of a "national coalition" government was impossible. The former prime minister's increasing conviction that constitutionalists like himself were fighting a losing battle is highlighted by his negative remarks regarding the Bakhtiar cabinet, which he described at the time of its formation as being filled by ministers well below the caliber needed to steer the system out of its deep crisis.

Despite its overall excellent quality, the book does not dedicate the necessary scrutiny to several important events. Ali Amini's involvement in the first Musaddiq cabinet, within which he held the important post of economy minister, receives surprisingly scant attention. Only a page is dedicated to that period, during which the seeds of the permanent mistrust between Amini and the National Front were sown. While discussing the consequences of the key student disturbances, which occurred on 1 Bahman 1340 (21 January 1962), leading to SAVAK Chief Taymour Bakhtiar's departure from Iran and his gradual conversion into a nemesis of the shah, the author does not offer his thoughts on an intriguing observation made to him by Abulhasan Bani-Sadr, who claims that the whole event was an attempt by the shah to rout all his opponents—Amini, Bakhtiar and the National Front—from the political scene. Also missing is a clear analysis of Amini's relationship with Musaddiq himself. Despite claiming that his father did express regret, once in exile, for his failure to visit the elder prime minister in Ahmadabad after the August 1953 coup, the author does not sufficiently focus on his father's attitude regarding the continued incarceration of the nationalist leader, or on the National Front's pressing demands for his freedom. Other omissions, such as a thorough description of the unsuccessful attempts to create an umbrella opposition group to the Islamic Republic in Paris, or Amini's active communication with British politicians in the months following his arrival in Europe in early 1979, may be understood in view of Iraj Amini's desire to publish the book in Iran, where it has been enthusiastically received by the public and is subject to several reprints and considerable debate within political–historical circles.

These considerations aside, *Bar bal-e Bohran* has set a new methodological benchmark for those authors seeking to contribute to the *zindiginama* genre and constitutes essential reading for scholars wishing to engage with the turbulent and sophisticated post-Musaddiq political history of Iran. As such, it can only be highly recommended.

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Treacherous Alliance: The Secret Dealings of Israel, Iran and the United States, Trita Parsi. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997, ISBN 978-0-300-12057-8, 352pp.

Treacherous Alliance is a systematic study of the triangular relationship between Iran, Israel and the United States from a foreign policy perspective. Its methodology derives from the fields of history and international relations. Overall, the study delivers on the author's pledge to shed a much overdue light on a relationship of momentous significance, albeit hugely understudied, in today's geopolitics. As such, it will be of significant interest to students of international relations, diplomats, policymakers and the general reader. A book on such a sensitive subject also promises to stir controversy, as it already has.

As a work that largely relies on concepts borrowed from international relations and foreign policy analysis, *Treacherous Alliance* can be classified within a generally realist school of thought. I will review the work as such and assess its merits on its own terms and within its own framework, in order to spare the reader of this review the intricacies and controversies of international relations theory. Parsi makes a convincing case that the policies of these three states have been based on their conceptions of their national interests. Yet he admittedly relies on Charles Doran's power cycle theory, which contends that geopolitical upheavals affect policymakers' formulation of foreign policy. His work therefore holds a somewhat more balanced view than one unconditionally espousing realism. For instance, his realist stance does not prevent him from detecting and commenting on the misperceptions that have at times influenced decision-making in Tehran, Tel Aviv or Washington, quite apart from the cold-blooded pursuit of state interests. Israel's periphery doctrine, the almost religious American neoconservative opposition to cutting a deal with the Islamic Republic, and the ideological excesses of 1980s Iran, are a few examples of phenomena that the author reflects upon.

After a short introduction, Part One of the book analyzes the triangular relationship in the context of the Cold War, which provided the systemic framework in which the Iranian–Israeli entente came into being. It first emerged from the necessity of countering the Egyptian–Soviet alliance, and was maintained to counter the rise of Iraq, until the shah signed the Algiers accord with Saddam Hussein in 1975 and thus "betrayed" the Israelis. The pre-1979 entente is analyzed with special emphasis on the shah's insistence on discretion: he regarded cooperation with Israel as a liability in his drive to establish Iran's leadership in the Middle East. The period following the 1979 Iranian Revolution was, in disconcertingly similar fashion, characterized by pragmatic military and political dealings born out of necessity, which were offset by the young Islamic Republic's fiery anti-Israeli rhetoric. The conventional wisdom about the allegedly perennial opposition between the United States as the "leader of the free world" and Israel as a Jewish democratic state on the one hand, and an Iran ruled by an Islamic fundamentalist clique on the other, is challenged by the author's analysis. In particular, he reviews Israel's intense lobbying in Washington in favor of supporting Iran during the Iran–Iraq war and re-establishing normal diplomatic relations with Tehran.

Part Two goes on to analyze the post-1991 state of affairs, after the Persian Gulf War and the collapse of the Soviet Union dramatically shifted the region's geopolitics.

Previously, Soviet influence and the Iraqi threat had kept Iran and Israel busy and drained their energies. With both threats out of the game, Iran and Israel found themselves on a collision course. A situation familiar to today's observers came into being, one in which Iran opposed Israeli–Palestinian talks (from which it was intentionally excluded) and Israel sabotaged US–Iranian rapprochement, which it saw as a threat to its own "privileged relationship" with the United States. It is also in this period that the triangular relationship came to be seen through a deceptive ideological prism, which concealed the pragmatic considerations at work in the three capitals. Israel presented itself as the defender of western democratic values against the irrational and terrorism-sponsoring mullahs of Tehran, while Iran claimed to be the champion of an anti-imperialist struggle against western encroachments, of which Israel was only one manifestation. In reality, the author argues, all actors pursued their self-serving foreign policy goals.

A shorter section concludes the study by proposing a new direction for US policy towards Iran. Parsi advocates a new policy that takes into account the pragmatic realities of the triangular relationship, based on an effective cost–benefit assessment. The author argues that myths fabricated by various interest groups, which have wrapped reality in the language of ideology, should not remain an obstacle in the pursuit of US interests in the Middle East.

The main strength of Parsi's work lies in the fact that it situates itself within largely virgin territory. No serious academic monograph has appeared on the triangular relationship, and the last assessment of Iranian–Israeli relations dates from 1989.[1] Given the eminent position that Iran and Israel occupy in current affairs, their respective impact on both US policy and the stability of the Middle East as a whole, this is a seminal work. It is also a refreshingly impartial inquiry: indeed, most of the debate on Iran, Israel and the United States, especially in the media and among "pundits," is afflicted by Manichaean generalizations and gross biases against at least one of the three parties. The practical difficulties of taking into account the perspectives of all three actors, or having equal access to them, partly the result of a lack of normal diplomatic relations, is particularly problematic for the production of serious scholarship on the subject. Parsi's success in accessing policymakers in all three capitals and reflecting on their respective outlooks stands a better chance of producing an impartial inquiry.

But herein also lies the work's main weakness: its reliance on interviews. Interviews are notoriously unreliable, and can sometimes reproduce the misrepresentations of the interviewee. An interviewee may also exaggerate his role, report circumstances in which he was not present, or simply decide to lie. The author claims in the preface (p. xiii) that he attempted to offset this dilemma by conducting a larger number of interviews than usual and cross-checking facts between them. Yet the reader is not informed about this minute – but crucial – verification work in the body of the text or the footnotes. In sum, the reader is asked to take the declarations of the interviewees, and the author's analysis of them, at face value. History is reconstructed through the subjective recollections of individuals.

[1]Sohrab Sobhani, *The Pragmatic Entente: Israeli–Iranian Relations, 1948–1988* (New York, 1989).

It can be argued that the author had no choice. It is indubitable that the Islamic Republic has kept no documentary record of its dealings with Israel. A scholar well connected enough to gain access to Israeli archives on this topic would certainly not be in a position to visit Iran or interview its policymakers. This being said, it is difficult to understand why Parsi has not made sufficient use of American primary sources. Apart from a few documents from the National Security Archives and a few declassified embassy telegrams, American primary sources are remarkably absent from Parsi's work. In addition to the National Security Archives, Parsi could have consulted the records of the Department of State, the CIA and the White House. These sources are available to researchers at the US National Archives and the various presidential libraries in the United States, where many documents relevant to the 1970s and 1980s have already been declassified thanks to the Freedom of Information Act. If one can justify the necessity of Parsi's procedure with regard to Iran and Israel, the lack of sustained research into American archives is less acceptable from the perspective of historical methodology.

One other problem, particularly relevant to the policy recommendations that Parsi puts forward, is the fact that some assumptions that held true when the book was initially published in 2007 were rendered obsolete by the dramatic events that ensued after the disputed Iranian presidential elections of June 2009. When it comes to the debate on "engaging Iran," of which Parsi has not been an ardent advocate, it seems today that this option might need serious reconsideration. Indeed, since June 2009 the Iranian regime has rather unambiguously demonstrated that it has not been not interested in being engaged by Washington and its European allies. In light of these new developments, a policy recommendation of engagement must at least be formulated in new terms, if not completely revised. The author cannot be held responsible for not foreseeing these events, and the book is still largely topical and up-to-date. However, one can only look forward to a new edition in which these new elements will be taken into consideration.

In spite of the limitations that are inherent in such a work, *Treacherous Alliance* is an enormous contribution to the almost nonexistent literature on Iranian–Israeli–American relations. The author's thesis that the triangular relationship entered a new phase after 1991, when Iran was isolated from the Israeli–Palestinian talks (and was thus given an incentive to undermine them), and Israel started an ideological offensive against the Islamic Republic to justify its "privileged relationship" with the United States after the Cold War, is very compelling. It highlights the geopolitical forces at work between the three capitals, and dispels the widespread belief that the opposition between Iran and Israel is simply the result of their very nature. It also goes a long way to challenge the view that Tehran is ruled by irrational "mad mullahs" entirely uninterested in self-preservation, as forcefully promoted by the Israeli Right and the pro-Israel lobby in Washington.

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Turkman Governors, Shiraz Artisans and Ottoman Collectors: Sixteenth Century Shiraz Manuscripts, Lale Uluç. Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayıları, 2006, ISBN 975-458-963-1, 531pp., 373 color plates.

In 1949 Grace Dunham Guest, long-time assistant director at the Smithsonian Institution's Freer Gallery of Art, published *Shiraz Painting in the Sixteenth-Century*. Its expansive title notwithstanding, the publication was quite slim (126 pages) and focused on exactly one FGA manuscript, a *Khamsa* of Nizami copied by the scribe Murshid al-Shirazi and dated 5 Shawwal 955/7 November 1548, with particular attention to the layout (what Guest called the "canon of proportion") and style of its twenty-five illustrations in relation to those in volumes from other, better-known Persian painting centers. Its succinct text notwithstanding, this seems to have been the first book-length look at Shiraz artistic production, augmented with a very helpful appendix listing over fifty other illuminated and illustrated manuscripts signed by Shiraz scribes in collections worldwide.

Since Guest's time much has been learned and written about the arts in Shiraz during the sixteenth century, as well as earlier eras, and most surveys, collection handbooks and exhibition catalogues about Persian painting published from the mid-twentieth century onwards include remarks, and sometimes even a chapter or two, on the subject. In general, however, sixteenth century Shiraz illustrated manuscripts have been regarded as artistically provincial and/or "commercial" and not worthy of a great deal of scholarly consideration. With the recent monograph by Lale Uluç we finally have not only a serious and in-depth study of the arts of the book (including illumination and binding as well as painting) in Shiraz during the Safavid period, but also, as the title tells us, one that seeks to link the city's artistic contributions, and especially artisans with the *nisba* al-Shirazi, to both its local patrons and foreign collectors. Thus Uluç's concern is at once specifically art historical and broadly pan-cultural, giving her study a distinctive perspective that helps both to enhance Shiraz's reputation for excellence in the manuscript arts and to create a more comprehensive framework for evaluating artistic production during the Safavid period within the context of Islamic manuscript studies as a whole.

To introduce this book. It derives directly from the author's doctoral dissertation, completed in 2000 at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and largely follows the organization and approach of that original endeavor. Not surprisingly, therefore, it also retains the historiographic introduction, careful documentation and epistolary style (including many qualified statements and a reluctance to draw conclusions) typical of graduate student effort. Much of the research was undertaken in Turkey, particularly among the superb manuscript holdings of the Topkapi Palace Museum Library, so rich in Islamic illuminated and illustrated volumes, including a large number from Shiraz, to which Uluç had ready and enviable access. Thus her book is filled with information and ideas about works of art to which little attention previously had been given outside their home institution. Furthermore, when it came time to publish her study, Uluç was fortunate to secure the support of a major Turkish sponsor, which allowed for splendid new photography and for the reproduction of

hundreds of color images, some in full page and often as double-page spreads and including scores of details, as well as for a very handsome, overall production. Thus this book is a joy to behold (if, at over 500 pages and close to 6.5 pounds, rather hefty to actually hold), and since the very year of its publication, digital scans of its high-quality images have graced power point presentations about Persian painting in classrooms and lecture halls from Istanbul to Islamabad, London to Los Angeles, eliciting gasps of admiration. In short, *Sixteenth Century Shiraz Manuscripts* has already made an impressive impact, to which (it must be reiterated at the risk of a mild pun) its generous size also has contributed.

The methodology that Uluç favors for her study follows that of classic connoisseurship, concerned with artistic attributions (here to a particular "school" rather than specific hands), the identification of formal characteristics typical of that school as it developed over time, and the formulation of criteria through which to evaluate style and quality – all with the goal of creating chronological and stylistic order out of the eighty-one Shiraz manuscripts at the core of her study. She begins this effort with two succinct chapters that in turn survey Shiraz history, including the city's economic status and Turkman Zu'lqadir rule during the sixteenth century, and that introduce fifteenth century art and patronage in Shiraz and sixteenth century art and patronage at the court of Tabriz and elsewhere, with an emphasis on certain key Timurid, Aq Quyunlu, Qara Quyunlu and Safavid manuscripts that subsequently serve as both comparative and influential works for Shiraz artistic production. Having laid out this historical and art historical background, Uluç then launches into the task of constructing a chronology of Shiraz manuscripts divided into roughly decade-long periods, corresponding to four chapters (1503–65, 1565–80, 1580–90 and 1590–1603), and with another, inserted at the mid-century mark, focused on one particular text that became popular during the second half of the sixteenth century (the *Majalis al-'Ushshaq*, 1550–1600). Throughout Uluç relies on signed and/or dated Shiraz manuscripts and those documenting Shiraz as their place of production for the attribution of additional, otherwise undocumented, volumes; for the identification of the stylistic particularities and contributions of known scribes, illuminators, painters and workshops; and above all for the development of Shiraz luxury manuscript production, and its culmination in 1580–90.

All this involves detailed descriptions of individual paintings, illuminations and bindings, and the analysis of specific formal features and motifs. Particular attention is paid to the intensification of the Shiraz palette (with especial note of precious pigments such as lapis, gold and silver), and to changes in the treatment of figures, landscapes, buildings and urban settings. In the process of creating chronological and stylistic order, Uluç also weaves a fascinating skein of artistic relations and networks among specific Shiraz manuscripts themselves, among Shiraz manuscripts and those created in Safavid courts, and among Shiraz artisans. Thus, for instance, we learn that the volumes copied by Murshid (the scribe responsible for the Freer *Khamsa* of 955/1548) contain illustrations that bear the hallmarks of a painter named Qasim, who signed the architectural friezes in three separate illustrated manuscripts. Qasim's particular, plain style was followed by the illuminator Mahmud, who collaborated with Murshid on several manuscripts. Indeed, Uluç places considerable emphasis, rare in past studies of Persian painting, on illumination both in and of itself and as an index of the overall evolution of sixteenth century Shiraz manuscripts. She also takes note of and explains the rise of what seems to be distinctive Shiraz iconography, such as the bathhouse scenes found in *Khamsa* volumes illustrated in Shiraz during the first half of the sixteenth century and later included in the pictorial programs to various other texts, such as the *Shahnama* and *Haft Aurang*, created in Shiraz after 1565.

It has been long recognized, and Uluç herself acknowledges early on, that not a single one of the hundreds of manuscripts surviving from sixteenth century Shiraz, not even those that Uluç regards – and quite rightly – as of the highest artistic quality, contains the name of any patron. In this respect sixteenth century Shiraz differs not only from its fourteenth and fifteenth century production, but also from that of contemporary Safavid centers such as Herat, Tabriz, Mashhad, Qazvin and Isfahan. The absence of any documentation in Shiraz manuscripts is compounded by the lack of any mention of potential patrons in sixteenth century historical chronicles. This gaping hole in art historical and historical evidence poses a troublesome problem for Uluç whose eighth chapter on patronage is understandably short and argues, based on quite circumstantial evidence, that the Zu'lqadir governors of Shiraz provided the financial backing for the local manuscript industry while deliberately keeping their names out of any manuscripts they sponsored because these works were destined not for their personal libraries but to be "passed on to the rich and powerful" (p. 466). The attempt here is valiant, but the logic is difficult to follow and the argument not very convincing.

Uluç is on much firmer ground with her subsequent discussion of Ottoman and, to a lesser extent, Safavid collectors of Shiraz manuscripts. As is well known, the Ottoman archives contain masses of information relevant for the formation of the sultans' collections of books and other items, data that is matched by the rich documentation, in the form of seal impressions and inscriptions, in the Topkapi manuscripts that Uluç has studied. Thus she is able to provide detailed statistics about the number and type of Shiraz manuscripts owned by Ottoman rulers and high-level officials, to chart how individual volumes came into Ottoman possession (including as gifts), to correlate the "flow" of Safavid manuscripts to Istanbul with the vagaries of Ottoman–Safavid diplomatic relations in the sixteenth century and, equally importantly, to speculate that the Ottomans' high regard and demand for luxury Shiraz manuscripts, and particularly the value of such works as gifts within the Ottoman court itself, may have increased the rate of manuscript production in Shiraz itself. Safavid court interest in and acquisition of Shiraz manuscripts is a more difficult issue, although Uluç does make a strong case that the high point of Shiraz production in the last quarter of the sixteenth century coincided with the governorship there of Mirza Muhammad b. Tahmasp (1572–78). After ascending the throne as Muhammad Khodabanda, this Safavid ruler was surrounded at his court in Qazvin with many Shiraz officials who could have played a role in the increasing Safavid demand for luxury Shiraz manuscripts.

With the exception of the very short chapter on patronage, Uluç's text is accompanied throughout, as previously noted, by hundreds of superb reproductions. While these are an outstanding feature of the book, and essential to the detailed stylistic points that Uluç makes, their layout often makes it very difficult to follow her train of thought. For instance, the discussion of the Shiraz scribe Abd al-Qadir al-Husaini begins on page 353 with a four-line introduction, which breaks off in the middle of a sentence. This is followed by seventeen pages of reproductions, featuring folios and folio details from five different manuscripts (of which only one involved Abd al-Qadir). The text finally resumes on page 370 and with reference to volumes reproduced on the next eight pages. The textual disjunction combined with such extended visual intercollation requires a great deal of concentration. Fortunately, the images are provided with discursive captions, which often repeat (verbatim) snippets of key points in the text. The end result is that this book operates on two levels and for two audiences: that of the detailed monograph for specialists in Persian manuscripts, and that of the sumptuous coffee-table book for general readers. The former will be rewarded for their patience with new material and fresh insights, and the latter will be delighted (and no doubt persuaded) by the artistic vision and creation of sixteenth century Shiraz. Both readers also will find Uluç's closing remarks in chapter 9 (pages 507–509, entitled, somewhat inaccurately, Conclusion) a useful summary of the chronology and stylistic order laid out in the preceding chapters.

A final comment. Although the study is based on eighty-one manuscripts with each presumably represented in the text and in the reproductions, it does not contain an actual manuscript listing. In this respect, Uluç's book differs from her dissertation, which features a detailed catalogue entry for each volume, including notes on its illumination and binding, identification of its illustrations and seals, and bibliographic references, and which, like the appendix in Guest's 1949 publication, comprises an invaluable resource for further scholarship on these important works of art.

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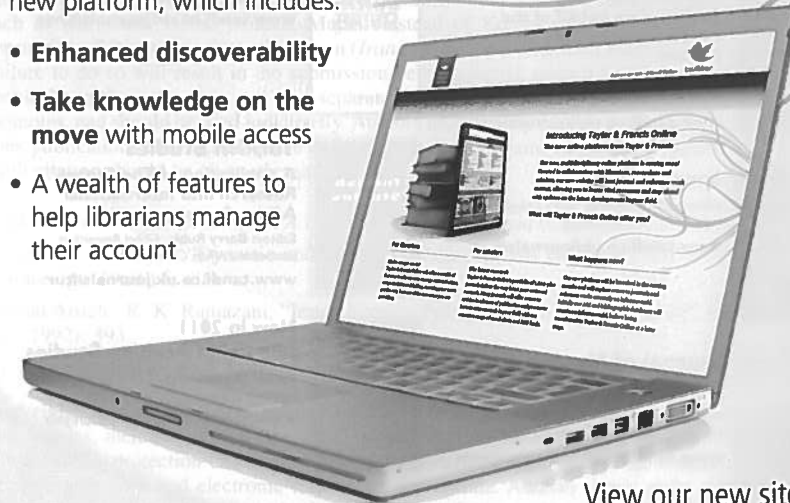

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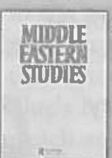

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