

1

Pluralist Persia

A Land of Many Religions

Justin Perkins, an American linguist and missionary pioneer, remembered with gratitude his return home from “the deep darkness of benighted Persia” – a distant land where people used “strange languages” to explain themselves. In 1833, Reverend Justin Perkins had received his assignment from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to inaugurate a station in Iran. After eight years in the country, Perkins composed a voluminous memoir recounting his experiences abroad. As he observed, “Persia, at present, needs more light than heat. And the men sent to that country should be qualified and willing to labor hard and patiently to diffuse light, as well as to proclaim Muhammed a false prophet.”¹ The task of conversion, whether in Urumiyeh or Beirut, depended to some extent upon the perversion of the Prophet’s image and message, as well as upon the juxtaposition of Muhammad against Christ and the fundamental tenets of Christianity.

Previously a teacher at Amherst College, Perkins had assumed the task of preaching to Nestorian Christians in Iran with the enthusiasm of an adventurer. In fact, he claimed that “no American was ever a resident in that ancient and celebrated country before me.”² Living in the Persian countryside, Perkins encountered many “Mohammedans” and non-Muslims alike. He put to use a printing press in Urumiyeh to make the Scriptures available in printed form, and not merely as manuscript.³ Personal trials plagued Perkins’s move to Iran, however. Three days after his arrival, his wife, Charlotte Bass Perkins, gave birth

¹ Justin Perkins, *Residence of Eight Years in Persia, Among the Nestorian Christians; with Notices of the Muhammedans* (Andover: Allen, Morrill & Wardwell, 1843), p. 315.

² *Ibid.*, p. vii (preface).

³ “Rev. Justin Perkins, D. D.,” *New York Evangelist* (1830–1902) 41, no. 3 (January 20, 1870): 4; Justin Perkins, *Missionary Life in Persia: Being Glimpses at a Quarter of a Century of Labors among the Nestorian Christians* (Boston: American Tract Society, 1861), p. 75.

to a daughter, “of whose existence she was not conscious for several days.”⁴ Recalling those dark moments, Perkins acknowledged his isolation: “no American voice was near me to solace me in that extremity.” But he remained grateful for the “kindness” he had received from “English residents.”⁵ Perkins obtained a royal *firman*, or decree, to construct a building for the mission, but incurred the wrath of a local “Mohammedan nobleman who farmed the village.”⁶ With the intervention of James L. Merrick, another American missionary, the matter received the consideration of the shah, who sent orders to Tabriz to allow the American mission to proceed with its work.⁷

The American public first came to know Qajar Iran through these missionaries who lived among the Persians. These Presbyterian pioneers ventured to the land of the “Lion and the Sun” seeking fresh converts from among the Nestorian Christian residents. 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 people remained “miserably poor.” Although Perkins admitted the difficulty in 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 [sic] population” of northwestern Iran would “quietly inherit this goodly land” as the “Muhammedan masters” gradually became “diminished by their growing corruption.”⁸ Never completely at ease in Iran, Perkins nonetheless confessed his worries about returning to the churches of America and conversing in his native tongue after a nearly nine-year absence. Perkins returned home alienated simultaneously from American society. Iran, it seemed, had transformed Perkins in unexpected ways.

1.1 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 its mixed religious legacy. Other monotheistic faiths – Judaism and Christianity – and religious

⁴ Perkins, *Missionary Life in Persia*, p. 28. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 60–61. ⁸ Perkins, *Residence of Eight Years in Persia*, pp. 10–11.

1.1 Iran's Religious Landscape

19

communities also had a long-standing presence in Iran.⁹ 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, demonstrated the shah's inability to prevent economic penetration of the country by foreign (and predominantly Christian) imperial foes. While reducing the Russo-Persian wars to a battle between Islam and Christianity is overly simplistic, the war certainly had an impact on sectarian relations in early nineteenth-century Iran.

Religious tensions marked the reigns of the two Qajar monarchs who inaugurated the nineteenth century. Fath Ali Shah Qajar (r. 1797–1834) – remembered as much for the size of his harem as for the length of his beard – challenged Russia's territorial ambitions. The Russo-Persian wars, begun in 1804, arose over control of the Caucasus. While the founder of Iran's Qajar dynasty, Aqa Mohammad Khan (d. 1796), had established himself as an able military commander who had thwarted Catherine the Great's ambitions in Caucasia, his successors presided over the territorial diminution of the country. In 1828, the Treaty of Turkmanchay concluded the Russo-Persian wars, but it also 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, Russian envoy Aleksandr Griboyedov arrived in Iran to carry out the terms of the Turkmanchay Treaty. When Christian (Armenian) harem women forced to convert to Islam sought refuge in the Russian legation, rioting broke out. A mob claiming that the conversion of Muslim women was being forcibly carried out murdered Griboyedov and members of his staff.¹⁰ The killing

⁹ Hasan B. Dehqani-Tafti, *Masib and Masibiyat nazd-e Iraniyan* (London: Kitāb'hā-yi Suhrāb, 1992–1994). Also, Mansoori, "American Missionaries in Iran," pp. 24–42.

¹⁰ Laurence Kelly, *Diplomacy and Murder in Tehran: Alexander Griboyedov and Imperial Russia's Mission to the Shah of Persia* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2002). For accounts of the Russo-Persian Wars, see Muriel Atkin, *Russia and Iran, 1780–1828* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980). For a Persian account, see Jahangir Mirza, *Tarikh-e Now*, edited by 'A. Iqbal (Tehran, 1949).

of Griboyedov reflected anti-Russian sentiment and heightened the religious tensions between Iran's Christian and Muslim communities.

After its loss to Russia, the country commenced a reform movement. The acquisition of European learning formed an integral part of these cultural undertakings. In 1815, a courtier named Mirza Saleh Shirazi traveled to Britain to study English and eventually produced the first newspaper in Iran. Referring to Shirazi, Reverend Justin Perkins observed: "A periodical newspaper has recently been commenced under the auspices of the king, in Muhammedan Persia. It is edited by a native who speaks our language – having been once ambassador to England – and is strongly desirous of introducing European knowledge and improvements among his countrymen."¹¹ Decades later, in 1851, with the patronage of the grand vizier Mirza Mohammad Taqi Khan Farahani (d. 1852), popularly known as Amir Kabir, Iran set up the Dar al-Fonun, a modern-style college that taught military techniques, the sciences, and European languages to Iranian bureaucrats.¹²

When the Presbyterian mission opened its first station in Azerbaijan, a new monarch had ascended the Persian throne. Mohammad Shah (r. 1834–1848), who had relied upon the support of the Russian and British to assert his kingship, encouraged cultural contact with the West. Iranians visited Europe with frequency, but America remained a distant land. Under the auspices of the American Board of Missions the Reverend Justin Perkins and Dr. Asahel Grant founded a station in Urumiyeh for the Nestorian community there.¹³ Mohammad Shah granted them permission to set up a modern-style elementary school, which functioned for nearly a century.¹⁴ Considering the charge of American missionaries to convert Iranian subjects to Protestantism, it is perhaps surprising that Christian missionaries enjoyed a relatively peaceful coexistence among Iranian Muslims throughout much of the nineteenth century. However, they did occasionally fall prey to violence.¹⁵

¹¹ Perkins, *Residence of Eight Years in Persia*, p. 315.

¹² Maryam Ekhtiar, "Nasir al-Din Shah and the Dar al-Funun: The Evolution of an Institution," *Iranian Studies* 34, no. 1/4, Qajar Art and Society (2001): 153–163.

¹³ Isaac Malek Yonan, *Persian Women* (Nashville: Cumberland Presbyterian Publishing House, 1898), pp. 148–150.

¹⁴ *Majalleh-e Iran va Imrika*, First year, No. 8, Shahrivar 1325/August 1946, p. 38.

¹⁵ These important studies shed light on the Iranian–American encounter: Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion*; Badiozamani, *Iran and America: Rekindling a Love Lost*; Majd, *Oil and the Killing of the American Consul in Tehran*;

1.1 Iran's Religious Landscape

21

Christian missionary activity in Iran dated to 1747 with the arrival of a Moravian mission.¹⁶ Previously, Shah Abbas I (d. 1629) had granted permission to two Carmelites to establish schools in Esfahan.¹⁷ In addition, several Persian translations of the Bible had existed 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 Nader Shah (r. 1734–1747) ordered the translation of the Bible into Persian. Prior to that time, private individuals had translated various books of the Bible into Persian. The impetus for this endeavor came from the expansion of trade between Iran and the West during the reign of Shah Abbas and the concomitant arrival of Jesuits, Carmelites, and others to Iran.¹⁸

Christian evangelism in Iran expanded throughout the nineteenth century. 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 an object of curiosity and even engaged a leading religious scholar, Mirza Ibrahim, in debates about Islam.¹⁹ Martyn's visit spurred interesting refutations from Shi'i jurists who were asserting their newfound authority not only in the context of the Usuli victory, but face-to-face with an unfamiliar Western evangelical zeal.²⁰ Encounters

Bonakdarian, "U.S.-Iranian Relations, 1911–1950"; Pollack, *The Persian Puzzle*; Zirinsky, "A Panacea for the Ills of the Country"; Ricks, "Power Politics and Political Culture"; Davis, "Evangelizing the Orient"; Ali Mujani, *Barresi-e Monasebat-e Iran va Imrika az Sal-e 1851–1951*. Older studies include the following: Yeselson, *United States-Persian Diplomatic Relations, 1883–1921*; Saleh, *Cultural Ties between Iran and the United States*; Roosevelt, *Counter coup: The Struggle for the Control of Iran*; Mansoori, "American Missionaries in Iran."

¹⁶ Robin E. Waterfield. *Christians in Persia (RLE Iran C): Assyrians, Armenians, Roman Catholics and Protestants* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 88.

¹⁷ Yahya Armajani, "Christian Missions," https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-iranica-online/christianity-COM_7700?s.num=6&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.encyclopaedia-iranica-online&s.q=Armajani#COM-10143.

¹⁸ Walter J. Fischel, "The Bible in Persian Translation: A Contribution to the History of the Bible Translations in Persia and India," *Harvard Theological Review* 45, no. 1. (1952): 25.

¹⁹ John Sargent, *A Memoir of the Rev. Henry Martyn* (London: J. Hatchard and Son, 1819), pp. 386–389 and p. 397.

²⁰ 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 Robert Gleave ed., *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), pp. 247–269.

between Henry Martyn and Persian natives began to give rise to a sectarian divide in Iran. For Martyn embodied the dual image of the missionary as a man of religion and an agent of empire.²¹

To complete his Bible translation into Persian, Martyn enlisted the help of Mirza Sa'id Ali, the brother-in-law of his host. Martyn's diary/memoirs, as compiled by Reverend Sargent, 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, Sa'id 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.'"²² These conversations revealed the entrenched and dogged religious perspectives of both men.

Martyn's translation effort put Iran's religious gatekeepers on the defensive, but Shi'i unease did not delay the printing of the Persian New Testament.²³ When Sir Gore Ouseley, British Ambassador to Persia, first presented Martyn's translation to Fath Ali Shah Qajar, the king expressed approval for the work.²⁴ In fact, an American evangelical journal 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

²¹ 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: Manchester University Press, 2004).

²² Sargent, *Memoir*, p. 392.

²³ Fischel, "The Bible in Persian Translation," p. 21. By contrast, while Persian Qur'ans existed in manuscript form, they were not easily distributed. See Nabia Abbott, "Arabic-Persian Koran of the Late Fifteenth or Early Sixteenth Century," *Ars Islamica* 6, no. 1 (1939): 91–94.

²⁴ A Late London Paper. (March 30, 1815). 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 [sic], 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.

1.1 Iran's Religious Landscape

23

the Holy Gospel.”²⁵ Martyn became something of a celebrity after his departure from Iran. Though he died in 1812, Martyn would be remembered in the annals of missionary history.²⁶ In Iran, his translation work prompted a genre of Shi'i refutations of Christianity.²⁷ 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.²⁸

Given the low rates of literacy in Iran in the early nineteenth century, the printing of the Persian Bible was not very threatening to Iranian authorities because most people could not access it. However, tensions mounted as circulation of the Gospel became more widespread. In 1838, four years after Perkins's 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

²⁵ Pateh [sic] Ali Shah Kajar. (1815, April). Article 2 – No Title. *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine and Religious Intelligencer* (1808–1815) 8, no. 4: 156. Retrieved September 6, 2009, from American Periodicals Series Online. (Document ID: 532592582).

²⁶ 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* (London: Inter-Varsity Press, 1975); John R. C. Martyn, *Henry Martyn (1781–1812), Scholar and Missionary to India and Persia: A Biography: Volume 16 of Studies in the History of Missions* (Lewiston: E. Mellen Press, 1999). See also the Henry Martyn Centre for the Study of Mission and World Christianity: www.martynmission.cam.ac.uk/; and the Henry Martyn Institute for Research, Interfaith Relations, and Reconciliation: www.hmiindia.org/.

²⁷ Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran: The Role of Ulama in the Qajar Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); Amanat, “Mujtahids and Missionaries,” pp. 247–269.

²⁸ John Sargent, *A Memoir of the Rev. Henry* (London: J. Hatchard, 1819). 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 to Persian. In 1876, Esfahan 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: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1900). Timothy Marr also notes the popularity of Martyn among American missionaries: see T. Marr, *The Cultural Roots of American Islamicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 120.

people.”²⁹ What seems to have sparked this particular reaction from the Shi’i scholars was the production of a treatise in Persian comparing the Qur’an with the Gospels.³⁰

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.³¹ While gender inequities, religious obscurantism, and political authoritarianism existed amply in Qajar society, it is not clear, as some missionaries intimated, these social injustices were a direct result of Iran’s predominantly “Moslem” character. 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.”³² He went on to express his appreciation for being included in the Muslim wedding ceremony: “As christian [sic] missionaries, too, we rejoiced that the Lord gives us such favor in the eyes of these Muhammedans, as to be admitted to their highest circles and to sit socially with their most venerated Moollahs.”³³ 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.”³⁴ Perkins may have been overly 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.³⁵

In time, other missionaries followed in the footsteps of Martyn and Perkins. Reverend Robert Bruce of the Church Missionary Society received a similarly warm reception in Esfahan. The Church Missionary Society, founded in England in 1799, sought to appeal to Christian Persians. A member of the Society since 1858, Bruce traveled to Punjab, where he remained for nine years. As he preached to Muslim communities, he acquired Persian, Arabic, and Hindustani.³⁶

²⁹ *The Missionary Register*, vol. 25 (1837), p. 84. ³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ “Rev. Justin Perkins, D. D.” ³² Perkins, *Residence of Eight Years*, p. 268.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 270. ³⁴ *Ibid.* ³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 388.

³⁶ *Church Missionary Gleaner*, vol. 17, July 1890, p. 109.

1.1 Iran's Religious Landscape

25

In 1869, Reverend Bruce embarked on this trip to Iran in part to revise Martyn's Persian translation of the Bible. His visit overlapped with the devastating famine and cholera epidemic of 1870–1871.³⁷ Bruce and his wife provided assistance during the famine and subsequently set up an orphanage for the surviving children.³⁸

Non-Muslim residents, however, rarely enjoyed the same privileges as Muslims in Qajar society. The position of the country's Jews and Christians as protected People of the Book (*ahl al-kitab*) gave them some measure of acceptance, though not equality. 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.³⁹ At times, social hardships such as famine strained relations between the religious communities. Western travelers and diplomats who frequented Iran often commented on the experiences of non-Muslims.

The Alliance Israélite Universelle, founded in 1860, gathered reports about the condition of Jews in the Middle East and the prejudices levelled against them. In 1865, accounts of Jewish persecution in Hamadan reached New York. In 1872, an Ohio-based newspaper, *The Israëlite*, cited an Alliance report that commented on the “unhappy condition” of Iranian Jews.⁴⁰ The difficulties that had resulted from the famine of 1870 necessitated intervention as “there still exists numerous traces of the suffering of the past year.”⁴¹ However, “insuring” the “true destination” of the assistance would be difficult to ascertain.⁴² In 1872, Jewish philanthropists in New York

³⁷ See also, *Missionary Review of the World* 21 (January 1908): 737–739.

³⁸ *Church Missionary Gleaner*, vol. 17, July 1890, p. 110.

³⁹ Yahya Armajani, “Christian Missions in Persia.” Also, Heidi A. Walcher, *In the Shadow of the King: Zill al-Sultan and Isfahan under the Qajars* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008); Gulnar Eleanor Francis-Dehqani, “CMS Women Missionaries in Iran, 1891–1934: Attitudes Toward Islam and Modern Women,” in Sarah F. D. Ansari and Vanessa Martin eds., *Women, Religion, and Culture in Iran* (Richmond: Curzon, 2002): pp. 27–50.

⁴⁰ “Jewish Persecution,” (June 16, 1865). *The Jewish Messenger* (1857–1902). Also, “The Persian Jews” (March 2, 1866). *The Jewish Messenger* (1857–1902).

⁴¹ “The Jews of Persia,” *The Israelite* (1854–1874); December 13, 1872; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite, p. 6.

⁴² *Ibid.* For a study of the famine, see Shoko Okazaki. “The Great Persian Famine of 1870–71,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 49, no. 1 (1986): 183–192. For a brief history of the Jews of Iran, see Walter J. Fischel, “The Jews of Persia, 1795–1940,” *Jewish Social Studies* 12, no. 2 (April 1950): 119–160.

had set up a relief fund for their coreligionists in Iran. Their letter painted a dire picture of the hardships facing Persian Jews during the famine and encouraged donations from “Jewish Congregations and Societies in this country” in support of relief efforts.⁴³ That same year, a letter documenting Jewish suffering in Iran pointedly chronicled this mistreatment: “When a Jew desires to recover a debt, the debtor goes before the judge with false witnesses and accuses the Jews of having blasphemed Islamism.”⁴⁴ Concerns about the “lamentable” condition of Persian Jews continued in 1885 as the Alliance tracked “massacres” against Jews but noted that their contacts with the Iranian government made some headway.⁴⁵

The Alliance called Iran’s population “very fanatical and very ignorant.” Its annual report pointed out that religious classes, “which exerted a heavy-handed influence on the masses,” was “very hostile” toward Jews.⁴⁶ At the same time, the Alliance found that the Qajar government sought to safeguard the “security” of the Jewish community but that its responses were at times “slow” and less effective outside the capital.⁴⁷ Hamadan had witnessed an especially difficult stretch of anti-Semitism in 1892.⁴⁸ These sectarian clashes sharpened awareness of religious identities and social differences.

1.2 “Mount Holyoke in Persia”

Cultural change came as American missionaries instituted new schools and objectives. In 1836, the first Presbyterian mission school began operating in a cellar, with a class of seven boys. Two years later, a school was opened for girls with only four students.⁴⁹ Initiating

⁴³ “The Persian Jews: Persian Relief Fund” (March 2, 1866). *The Jewish Messenger*.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ *L’Alliance israélite universelle*; publié à l’occasion du 25. anniversaire de sa fondation célèbre le 1^{er} mars 1885, p. 75.

⁴⁶ *Bulletin de l’Alliance israélite universelle*, Deuxième Série, No. 17 (Paris : Siege de la Société, 1892), p. 48.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 49.

⁴⁸ For a history of Jews in Iran in the nineteenth century, see Mehrdad Amanat, *Jewish Identities in Iran: Resistance and Conversion to Islam and the Baha’i Faith* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011). Also, David Yeroushalmi, *The Jews of Iran in the Nineteenth Century: Aspects of History, Community, and Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

⁴⁹ William Guest, ed., *Fidelia Fiske: The Story of a Consecrated Life* (London: Morgan & Chase, 1870), p. 43.