

Sam Jordan and the Evangelical Ethic in Iran

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During the summer of 1952 Iran was at the height of its struggle for the nationalization of its oil resources. The United Nations had virtually washed its hands of the affair, and the decision of the World Court in favor of Iran had not been effective. The British had confiscated oil tankers taking Persian crude oil to customers; and the United States, in order to pressure Iran to come to terms, had refused the loan that had been promised earlier. The Persian resentment of American intervention on the side of Great Britain had turned into anger and hatred. The Communist Tudeh party had a heyday in organizing anti-American demonstrations and rallies in Tehran and other parts of the country. The American Embassy had advised all United States citizens that it was more prudent to stay at home than to be seen in the streets. In the midst of all this turmoil, on June 21, 1952, news reached Tehran of the death of Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan, founder and president of Alborz College of Tehran and for forty-three years a missionary in Iran. A sorrowful hush fell over the people of Tehran. Almost instantly, all anti-American demonstrations ceased, and thousands thronged to the two memorial services held in his honor, which emphasized two aspects of Dr. Jordan's life—his services to the church and his contributions in the field of education in Iran.

In the huge outdoor memorial service held on the campus of the former Alborz College, over two thousand persons, among them former prime ministers and active leaders in every walk of life, had come to pay homage to this American who was unknown to his own countrymen. Of the dozen speakers on the platform, all but one were former students of Dr. Jordan's who were leaders in different phases of Persian national life. The only exception was the American ambassador, who was in-

roduced by the chairman of the meeting, himself the head of the commission that had nationalized Iran's oil. Ambassador Henderson, who had never met Dr. Jordan, said that he had been "deeply impressed by the fact that although he [Jordan] ceased his labors in this country twelve years ago, his memory is still brightly green."¹

The object of this great reverence and honor—Samuel Martin Jordan—was born in Stewartstown, Pennsylvania, on January 6, 1871. After entering Lafayette College in 1891, he decided to enter the ministry. His pastor wrote of him, "He has battled for himself all his way through academy, college and seminary. His vacations have almost without exception been spent in securing funds for his further course."²

Sam Jordan engaged heartily in college athletics and in 1894 became captain of one of Lafayette's most famous football teams. At Princeton Theological Seminary, where he began study in 1895, Jordan was influenced by the missionary impulse that had been an important part of "a New Protestantism which emphasized the individual rather than the system, which led to a release of energy much like that of the Reformation of the sixteenth century."³ The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized in 1810. By the end of the nineteenth century the object of the missionary enterprise was the "evangelization of the world in one generation." Insofar as the bearers of the gospel were Americans, they were believers in the American experiment, were influenced by the implications of the American destiny, and were beneficiaries of the American way of life.

Perhaps no one articulated the imperialistic implications of the American destiny better than Senator Albert Beveridge of Indiana, who in 1900 said that God had

not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing. . . . He has made us the master organizers of the world. . . . He has given us the spirit of progress. . . . He has made us adepts in government. . . . And of all our race He has marked the American people as His chosen nation to finally lead in the regeneration of the world. This is the divine mission of America, and it holds for us all the profit, all the glory, all the happiness possible to man. We are trustees of the world's progress, guardians of its righteous peace.⁴

To be sure, most of the American missionaries were not interested in America's predominance in Asia nor in having their government take over control of other governments. But they were believers in the American way of life, which in their opinion was the direct result of the Christian gospel. They were interested in the salvation of individuals and in sharing the blessings with which the Lord had blessed America.

Inasmuch as the power and prestige of America were gifts of the Lord, the missionaries used them for the good of the cause. More than once they hoisted the American flag to save the innocent or used the prestige of the United States to gain special privileges for their schools and hospitals. When in 1903 the new American minister in Tehran, for reasons of his own, refused to receive the missionaries, the Reverend Lewis T. Esselstyn, secretary of the East Persia Mission, wrote a strong report to New York and objected to being treated at "arms length" by the minister, because "we cannot permit our work here to suffer by our being treated in this way . . . in a country where the rules of society are very important to our standing in the community."⁶

Samuel Jordan fell under the spell of the missionary movement and decided to go to the foreign field "as the place where one could do the most good to the greatest number the longest time." He applied to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions on December 10, 1897, and was assigned to Tehran. He married Mary Wood Park on July 21, 1898, was ordained on August 30, and sailed with his bride for Iran on September 17. They arrived in Tehran on November 2, probably the last missionaries to travel by caravan over the Alborz Mountains from Rasht on the Caspian to Tehran. A few years later the Russians built a carriage road and established a system of post houses all along the route.

When the Jordans arrived in Tehran in 1898, the American Christian Mission in Iran was sixty-four years old. Since the missionaries had found the conversion of the Muslims in the Ottoman empire so difficult as to be almost impossible, they had developed the strategy of evangelizing the already existing Christians in the Middle East in the hope that they in turn would preach the gospel to their Muslim compatriots. On the basis of this plan, the American Board sent the Reverend Justin Perkins and Mrs. Perkins to Iran "to enable the Nestorian church through the grace of God, to exert a commanding influence in the spiritual regeneration of Asia."⁶

The American missionaries established evangelistic, educational, and medical work among the Nestorians in the province of Azarbāyjān, with their center in Urmia (now Rezā'iyeh). Partly because the missionaries realized that the Nestorians were not willing to evangelize the Muslims and partly because they discovered that the Persian Shi'is were more receptive than the Sunnis of the Ottoman empire, they decided to try working among the Muslims. So in 1870 the Mission to Nestorians was changed to the Mission to Persia, and two years later the Reverend James Bassett and Mrs. Bassett were transferred from Urmia to Tehran. Mr. Bassett's plan was "to avoid identification with one class. I wish, therefore, all our preaching to be in the Persian language, which Armenians, Jews & Mussulmans all understand."⁷

The conversion of the Persians did not prove easy, and the students in the Mission School during the first few years were Armenians, Jews, and Zoroastrians. Nevertheless, the Persians were polite enough to give the missionaries a hearing; and the Sufi influence, so prevalent among the Shi'i clergy, made them easier to get along with than their Sunni counterparts. As early as 1900 a missionary was allowed to preach in the bazaar of the shrine city of Qom, south of Tehran, where he had friendly conversations with a number of the clergy. A year later this same missionary, Mr. Esselstyn, in company with Samuel Jordan, was actually invited by Hāji Molla Ali, the Mojtahed of the region, to attend Friday prayers in the chief mosque in Semnan, a town on the road to Mashhad. After prayers, Mr. Esselstyn was invited to preach. He ascended the pulpit and "offered prayer in the name of Christ, and ascribing praise to the Trinity." Then he preached a sermon on repentance. When he descended from the pulpit, the Hāji said, "Praise God for the good teaching you gave these people. I am very thankful to you."⁸

The number of conversions made among the Muslims in Iran is nothing compared to missionary successes in India and East Asia, but compared to the rest of the Muslim world it is considerable. The fact that a small Persian-speaking church has been established, that a man with the definite Muslim name of Mahmud was the leading evangelist in Tehran until his death a short while ago, that another named Ali is the former head of the Bible Society, and that the Anglican Bishop for Iran is none

other than the Right Reverend Hasan Dehqani-Tafti—all testify to the relative success of the missionaries.

Nevertheless, it was not through conversion that the American missionaries influenced the people of Iran, but rather through the application of the Christian ethic. The missionaries were the harbingers of change. It was their deepest desire to change the country by conversion, but realizing the impossibility of that, they were happy to change the attitude of the young through education and to introduce new values. The sum total of these values is what is meant by the evangelical ethic; and Samuel Jordan, who took charge of an elementary school in 1900 and built it to a college by 1930, did more than anyone to teach it to the Persians. A few Persians who had been in contact with the West had some inkling of Western values, but in the person of Jordan and his school they saw the embodiment of the very change they desired for their country. It was often heard in the provinces that "up in Tehran the Americans have a factory which makes men."

The evangelical or Protestant or Christian ethic was made up of at least three ingredients. One was piety, which comprised bans on smoking, swearing, drinking, and breaking of the Sabbath. The second was a set of values such as the dignity of labor, the virtue of service, the equality of women, the importance of the individual, and love of one's country. The third was democracy, which included equality of men and of opportunity, initiative, and perhaps free enterprise. All of this was gift-wrapped in an American system of education. Most Persians who came under its influence accepted it as a panacea for the ills of the country.

In all mission schools everywhere, and certainly in the ones in Iran, piety was enforced universally. Students were not allowed to smoke. A cigarette was defined as a "useless tube at one end of which is fire and the other end a fool." Any student caught smoking would be fined the cost of one month's supply of cigarettes, and the money would be used for winter fuel.⁹

Observance of Sunday was uncontested when most of the students were Christians or Jews. When Muslim students gained the majority, the Persian government in 1913 asked the mission schools to close on Friday and to conduct school on Sunday. This was not acceptable to the missionaries, and after long negotiations it was agreed to close both on Fridays and on Sundays; the results of the new arrangement were better than anticipated.

Perhaps the ban on swearing was hardest for the Persian student to get adjusted to, for ordinary conversation in the Middle East is punctuated by appealing to the Imams, the Prophets, and Allah. Somehow the Biblical admonition not to take the name of the Lord in vain was not interpreted by the Muslims in the same way as by the Christians. It was hard to refrain, and the school seemed to be full of reporters. At every infraction the student's mouth would be sprayed with quinine. The missionaries were no doubt hitting two birds with one stone, guarding the student against the ever-present malaria and curing him of the habit of using the name of God in ordinary conversations.

The matter of drinking remained an embarrassment to the missionaries in the Muslim countries. Drinking was known among the Muslims to be a "Christian habit." Mr. Bassett wrote in 1890 that "all non-Mohammedans are in the habit of drinking wine or arak, usually both . . . they think it no sin to drink."¹⁰ Most of the taverns were owned by Armenians and were frequented by Muslims. In the early 1920's a Muslim clergyman asked Dr. Jordan to forbid his "coreligionists" (that is, Armenians) to sell drinks and ask them to choose some other business. Dr. Jordan is reported to have replied, "In our religion drinking is not forbidden, but we missionaries don't drink. But in your religion drinking is forbidden. You order the Muslims not to buy drinks and the Armenians will be out of business."¹¹ Apparently not all missionaries agreed with Jordan that in Christianity drinking was not forbidden, and they tried in every way to rout out drinking among both the Christians and the Muslims.

In his attempt to "shut up the whisky business in Tehran," Mr. Esselstyn in cooperation with the chief Mojtahed of Tehran persuaded the Shah to issue a decree to close all the taverns. The Shah issued the royal farman on the religious authority of the chief Mojtahed and the "American Christian priest Esselstyn." In his report to the board in New York, Mr. Esselstyn expressed surprise that his name was mentioned, but "they all know I was at the bottom of it all right . . . in a few days we will have things in such shape, D. V. that a man can't get a drink of anything to make him drunk at a shop."¹²

Piety, however, was not among the important contributions of the Christian missionaries. The most important aims, aside from individual conversion, was the building of character by inculcating Christian values. Education was the means, and the

missionaries established schools wherever they went. In going over a mass of letters and reports, one is impressed with a sharp difference of opinion between the evangelistic missionaries, who considered the schools as means of conversion, and the educational missionaries, who wanted to prepare the students "for a life of usefulness."¹³

In 1906 an evangelistic missionary gave his reason for supporting schools: "We are put here to fight Mohammedanism; schools and hospitals are our guns."¹⁴ In the same year Samuel Jordan, as though in rebuttal, explained why he wanted schools:

The young oriental educated in Western lands as a rule gets out of touch with his home country. He loses sympathy with his own people. Too often he discards indiscriminately the good and the bad of the old civilization and fails to assimilate the best of the West. He loses all faith in his old religion and gets nothing in its stead. . . . in mission schools and colleges we adapt the best Western methods to the needs of the country. While we retain all that is good in their own civilization, we also inspire their students with enthusiasm for the high ideals and the pure standards of Christian lands.¹⁵

Not only were the missionaries eager to open schools, but the Persian modernists were equally eager to attend them so that they might establish a closer contact with the West. The peculiar political situation of Iran as a buffer state between the rival imperialisms of Great Britain and Russia made it expedient for the Persians to involve a neutral third power. The United States was the best candidate. Even though the British, French, Germans, and Russians had all opened schools in Iran, it was the American School in Tehran to which leaders of the country, including the royal family, sent their sons. Since the American School had the only dormitory facilities in the country, the sons of tribal chieftains and the intelligentsia from the provinces came to Dr. Jordan to be educated.

Habl ul-Matin, the liberal Persian newspaper published in Calcutta, in a 1907 article criticized the foreigners employed by the Persian government and advised that they be replaced by Americans for the following reasons: "Ninety percent of Japanese progress has been caused by employing Americans. America is a republic which means that individual Americans are

not agents of their government. They are rich and don't need our wealth. They are progressive and they are helpful." To Dr. Jordan the above lines meant that America had "a mission in the world of civilization, benevolence and helpfulness."¹⁸

Character-building was the most important business of education, and one of the ingredients of a good character was the willingness to work. This was precisely what was needed in the modernization of Iran. To the Persians, as to the rest of the Asians, manual labor was degrading. The nobility and the educated never worked with their hands, and it was the highest goal of a Persian to be educated so that he would not need to dirty his hands. In the early days most Persian students went to school with a servant carrying each one's books. Perhaps Dr. Jordan's love of athletics induced him to approach the subject of work by teaching the Persians to play. Even this was not easy, for the Persian young men, with their cloaks and loose-fitting shoes, were not dressed for playing. At recess time they would sedately promenade up and down the walks and carry on polite conversation. Jordan had to induce the students to take off their hats and long coats and throw a ball around. In 1910 he started a summer camp in the nearby mountains. The students wore scout uniforms, and every afternoon they engaged in games, hiking, planting trees, and other activities that were considered "undignified" for an educated man. In 1914 many a noble eyebrow was raised when the Persians heard that Dr. Jordan and twenty of his students had climbed 19,000-foot-high Mount Damavand, located fifty miles northeast of Tehran. Gradually, games such as soccer, basketball, and tennis were introduced, and intramural competitions were added to interschool ones in track as well as team sports.

In 1915 Samuel Jordan was able to buy forty-four acres of land outside the north wall of the city for a college campus. The problem of teaching the dignity of labor was still on his mind one day in about 1917 when he saw a mule loaded with shovels. It occurred to him that they were the ideal thing for clearing off the ground for a soccer field. He bought the whole load. Then he called the upperclassmen together and said to them: "You know we have bought land for a new campus. We need a football field. Here is the way to get it." Then he threw a shovel over his shoulder and walked toward the new campus, and the students followed suit. This is the story in his own words:

We marched out through the principal avenues of Tehran, past the home of the Prime Minister and other grandees, and those boys were having the time of their lives. They perfectly realized that they were enacting a declaration of independence. They were outraging all the conventions and proprieties of Iran and they were not afraid for they were headed by the president of the college. We put in several hours of good stiff work. At the end I said, "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 was not 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."¹⁷

That example was followed in succeeding years. The students not only leveled soccer fields but built roads and planted trees and removed dirt. Later, work scholarships were introduced and students held responsible jobs in all departments of the college. The initial letters of American College of Tehran spelled ACT, and this became the motto of the college. Later, in the Persianization of foreign names, "American" was replaced by "Alborz," partly so that ACT would still remain the motto. The cry everywhere on the campus was, "Don't just sit there, do something." Every college student memorized the English poem:

Try, try, try again
It is a lesson you should heed,
If at first you don't succeed
Try, try, try again.¹⁸

Alongside the dignity of labor, the evangelical ethic included service to others without personal gain. Until the third decade of the twentieth century Iran underwent numerous famines and epidemics, during which thousands perished. During the epidemics of 1853, 1861, 1866, 1871, and 1904 the missionaries gave unstintingly of their service and of their lives. In the great famine of 1917-1918, which gripped the whole country, the missionaries, as usual, set up relief work. Dr. Jordan challenged the members of the senior class to volunteer their services. 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. That sons of the privileged, instead of escaping famine and disease, would plunge themselves into the fray and fight it made a great impression in the country.

From then on, students took part in social service, went to the villages to help teach sanitation, and volunteered to take part in literacy programs. In a school song, the students sang, "Our aim is love and service of mankind."

Wherever the missionaries went, they preached the equality of men and women. In most countries they were the first to open schools for women and to bring professional women teachers, doctors, and nurses as examples to show that women could perform such tasks. In 1889, when the first missionary female physician, Dr. Mary Smith, arrived in Tehran, scores went to stare at her and to find out how it was "possible for a woman to have enough knowledge to be a doctor." Shortly afterward, when Naser al-Din Shah visited the girls' school in Tehran, he asked to see the woman doctor and wanted her to feel his pulse and tell him the state of his health.¹⁹ In 1904, however, Mozaffar al-Din Shah was persuaded to issue a decree forbidding Muslim girls to go to the mission school, where they were "taught to wear high shoes and long skirts."²⁰ But such decrees could not stop the tide of progress.

The contributions of the missionaries in the advancement of the women of Iran are undeniable. Early in their careers the Jordans decided that it was not enough to teach women, but that it was equally important to teach the men to accept educated women; so Mrs. Jordan joined her husband in educating men. In 1915, when Arthur Boyce went to Iran on a permanent basis as the vice-president of the college, his wife, Ann Stocking Boyce, who had herself been teaching in the girls' school, became a teacher of men. Many a father was seen shaking his head, wondering if he had done the right thing in letting his son be taught by a woman.

Mrs. Boyce, who taught in both the boys' and girls' schools, was the founder of the magazine *Alam-e Nesvân* (World of Women), which for twelve years was the leading (sometimes the only) Iranian magazine devoted to the uplift of women. In any study of the progress of women in Iran it is essential to study the pages of the *World of Women*.

Mrs. Jordan was a dedicated teacher, and generations of

students who passed under her instruction believe that she was among the best teachers of English as a foreign language. But she was also a feminist. Almost every one of her students memorized the statement "No country rises higher than the level of the women of that country," and practically every student had to write a composition on the subject.

Important ingredients of the evangelical ethic were democracy, freedom of the individual, and the equality of men. Samuel Jordan was a close observer of the Persian revolution. In 1909 he wrote: "Old Persia is a thing of the past. . . . Persia will never return to the days of her despotism and darkness . . . we are at the opening of a new era and the time is ripe for a forward movement in our educational work."²¹ In the school, Muslims, Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians studied and played together as equals.

Nowhere was this spirit of equality more manifest than among the resident students. In the dining hall the students took turns at serving the tables. It was quite a sight to see a prince or a son of the prime minister serve food to a student who was so poor that he was on full scholarship.

In 1907, when there was a student demonstration at the school instigated by a young *sayyed* (descendant of the Prophet), the mission station, in Jordan's absence, decided not to admit *sayyeds* or other Muslims that wore turbans. To Jordan this was class distinction. He interpreted the demonstration as "due in great part to political change taking place here. The pupils had become imbued with the spirit of liberty and the idea that the governed should have a voice in the government so they proposed to have a voice in the management of the school."²²

Special classes were conducted in parliamentary government, societies were organized, and students translated *Robert's Rules of Order*, which became popular among the actual practitioners of democracy in the Persian Majles (Parliament). The students were encouraged to publish a newspaper of their own, the only one of its kind in the whole country.

Samuel Jordan and his colleagues also strengthened the sense of nationalism among the Persians. As early as 1902 he bemoaned the fact that "the better class of young Moslems are utterly lacking in patriotism."²³ Even though he thought that the West had a great deal to contribute, he did not want the

Persians to be a nation of imitators. So he extolled the good points of Persian civilization as few Persians did.

In an article for the Persian-language newspaper *Ra'd*, Jordan wrote: "The progress of any country depends upon the willingness of its citizens to sacrifice. . . . What the Persians have not realized is that patriotism is not just bravery in the battlefield but the daily hard work and the unsung services to the people of the country."²⁴ The school had literary societies to investigate the riches of Persian literature for the uplift of the country and dramatic clubs to depict the glories of the past. The four houses into which the students were divided for intramural purposes were named after Persian heroes. At a time when the majority of Persians were imitating Western architecture, Jordan insisted that the buildings of the college be Sasanian on the outside and that they display American efficiency on the inside. School songs popularized the nobility of work and the love of country more than anything else. Under the direction of Mrs. Jordan, each graduating class wrote a song; these were sung every day in the assembly and also by the youth outside.

This same nationalism proved to be the college's undoing. The time came when Persian nationalism would not permit foreigners to run its educational institutions. In 1940, on the eve of Dr. Jordan's seventieth birthday, the college, along with all other foreign schools, was taken over by the government. Reza Shah Pahlavi sent Dr. Jordan a message assuring him "that there was no ill feeling or criticism of the American schools, only great appreciation and gratitude for all that they had done for Iran, but the government had adopted the policy that henceforth all schools should be wholly under the control of the government."²⁵

After the war Dr. Jordan went back to Iran for what turned out to be a triumphal visit. At a reception the minister of court of the new, young Shah gave a speech, expressing the hope that the Americans would reestablish Alborz College. But the Presbyterian Board was not interested. The hope, however, has not died and is still expressed from time to time.

Jordan was in the habit of calling his program a "constructive revolution." The Persians liked what he had to offer. In addition to decorations given to him by the Persian government, there are now in Tehran a Jordan Hall, a Jordan School, a Jordan Library, and a Jordan Boulevard. As though these were not enough, on the eve of his seventy-seventh birthday, his ad-

mirers unveiled an alabaster bust of Dr. Jordan in Tehran. So far as I know, this is the only statue erected by public subscription in honor of a foreigner in all of the Middle East.

Generally speaking, the history of Iran in the past century and a half has been the story of the reaction of its people to Western civilization. Even though they rejected the imperialism of the West, they were fascinated with its technology and accepted it wholeheartedly. On all other matters dealing with values and institutions they have been ambivalent. The history of Iran, however, has been long enough and the experience of the Persians with other cultures has been deep enough to show that pure technology within the framework of existing institutions would not bring desired results. It is necessary to create the institutions, values, and atmosphere that created the technology of the West in the first place.

The missionaries were the bearers of these values, which were reputedly the products of the Judeo-Christian and Greco-Roman traditions, molded by the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and a few political and technological revolutions. The values of the dignity of labor, the virtue of service, equality of women, the importance of the individual, love of one's country, democracy, and initiative were among the best fruits of Western civilization. The Persians were attracted by them.

The question remains and is being argued whether it is possible to use the values of the West without going through the experiences that produced them. There are those who maintain that Iran must go through the experiences of the West in order to create the values of the West. This is not the place to argue the point. But even if this were true, the Persians in their long history have had more than one renaissance and reformation. Furthermore, pre-Islamic Iran was not too distant from the Greeks, nor is Islam so different from Christianity, that Persians could not graft these values onto their own heritage. The point is that the Persians seem to be trying.

Even though the American mission schools have been closed for thirty years, graduates of them still meet. The women support a clinic in Tehran and donate hours in voluntary social service. When the American missionaries showed a willingness to enter the field of education again, the Persians raised three hundred thousand dollars to match a similar gift from the United States, the Persian government donated land in the sub-

urbs of Tehran, and Damavand College was opened, teaching the same values taught by Dr. Jordan.

NOTES

1. Arthur C. Boyce, *Albora College of Tehran and Dr. Samuel Martin Jordan, Founder and President*, mimeographed for limited use, p. 50.
2. Persia Mission Files, Presbyterian Historical Society, MS. J. 766.
3. James A. Field, Jr., *America and the Mediterranean World, 1776-1882* (Princeton, N.J., 1969), p. 69.
4. Congressional Record, 56th Congress, 1st sess., p. 711.
5. East Persia Mission Microfilm, Presbyterian Historical Society (hereafter referred to as Microfilms), Vol. 186, No. 15 (1903).
6. *A Century of Mission Work in Iran, 1834-1934* (Beirut, n.d.), p. 2.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 26. For a full account of missionary work in Tehran see James Bassett, *Persia: Eastern Mission* (Philadelphia, 1890).
8. Microfilms, Vol. 183, No. 10.
9. Shokrollah Naser, *Ravesh-e Dr. Jordan* (Tehran, 1945), p. 17.
10. Bassett, *Persia*, p. 117.
11. Naser, *Ravesh-e Dr. Jordan*, p. 13.
12. Microfilms, Vol. 184, No. 13.
13. Microfilms, Vol. 186, No. 26.
14. Microfilms, Vol. 189, No. 1.
15. Microfilms, Vol. 189, No. 2.
16. Microfilms, Vol. 190, No. 45.
17. Boyce, *Albora College*, p. 30.
18. Naser, *Ravesh-e Dr. Jordan*, p. 53.
19. *A Century of Mission Work in Iran*, p. 53.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
21. Microfilms, Vol. 192, No. 22.
22. Microfilms, Vol. 190, Nos. 25 and 28.
23. Naser, *Ravesh-e Dr. Jordan*, attached to p. 16.
24. *Ibid.*
25. Boyce, *Albora College*, p. 40.