CHAPTER-II
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MODERNIZING PROCESS OF IRAN
"The advent of the nineteenth century presents an important landmark in the history of Persia since it can really be considered as the starting point in the country's progress towards modernization."¹ The forces released then not only changed Persia's status in relation to world politics but also posted a challenge to her traditional patterns of life and her outmoded institutions. Europe, borne on the wave of resurgent imperialism, found herself deeply involved in the affairs of Persia and other eastern countries. This, of course was not the first time that Persia had come in proximity with Europe; there were many contacts between the two in the past. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, diplomatic missions had passed between the powers of Europe and Mongol rulers, the principal object of which was to effect mutual alliance against the Turks and Egyptians. In the fifteenth century ambassadors from Venice had visited the court of Uzun Hassan of the seeking his assistance against the Ottoman Turks. Commercial relations were maintained by the Venetain and Genoese merchants during the Timuriand Safawi times.

¹. Chaurasia, Dr.R.S. History of Middle East. Dehli-1945, p.309
By the end of the eighteenth century Great Britain had come to realize that any threat to her Indian possessions was bound to affect her status in Europe. The growing power of France at this time was the main object of concern and from the situation as it appeared than, the possibility of an attack upon India through Persian territory was not ruled out. Consequently missions were despatched to the court of Tehran by both Britain and France with a view to gaining sympathy and help from Persia in their rival designs. The defeat of Napoleon, however, brought French influence to an abrupt end, and Franco-Persia political relations passed to a secondary plan. This is followed shortly by the emergence of Russia as the main threat to British authority in India.

Since the time of Peter the Great, Russian policy had been primarily conditioned by her desire to gain access to warm water ports. This, she pursued relentlessly at the expense of her neighbors using the weapons of diplomacy, political pressure and outright military aggression. Already in 1724, she had succeeded in temporarily occupying the province of Gilan in north Persia, and with the accession of Catherine the Great, the tempo of conquest had been speeded up. The Persian army was defeated by Russians in a series of campaigns lasting from 1800 to 1813, and by the
treaty of Gulistan, signed on October 12, 1813; Russia acquired a considerable portion of Persian territory as well as an exclusive right to maintain her navy on the Caspian Sea. Hostilities broke out again in 1826 and ended in 1828 with the treaty of Turkmanchai, which confirmed the earlier conquests by Russia and fixed the Russo-Persian frontier on the Arras River south of the Caucasus range. Persia was required to pay war indemnity and grant various trade and commercial privileges. It was also agreed that Russian subjects in Persia were to be tried by their own land that all disputes between them were to be referred to the Russia ministers or council. Thus came to be introduced the odious system of granting extra territorial privileges, known as capitulations a right which was later extended to other European countries, only to be abolished in 1928.

The treaty of Turkmanchai closed a chapter in Persia’s foreign relations. No longer was the country free to pursue independent politics of her own, her course of action was determined by the exigencies of Anglo-Russian rivalries. The two major imperialist powers, Great Britain and Russia, vied with one another in pushing their demands regardless of Persia’s sovereignty. While they contended for exclusive mastery, Persia was being reduced to a mere pawn in the game of world politics.
In the conditions created by Western penetration the desire for reforms began to find favors in certain limited quarters. The idea was to profit and technical superiority. A beginning was made in the army, the weakness of which had become manifest in the campaigns against Russia. The retrench military mission, which arrived in 1807, headed by General Gardonne, began training the Persian troops on European lines, and French engineers built regular fortifications in the country. The practice was continued in subsequent years and military experts from various European countries were engaged from time to time. Azerbaijan was perhaps the first province in Persia to receive Western influences. This was not only because of her close geographical proximity with a European country in this case Russia but also due to the presence of an able administrator in the person of Abbss Mirza, Governor General of the province, who by all contemporary accounts, seems to have been a prince of somewhat enlightened views. Within the space of few years with the help of English officers, he was able to introduce regular discipline the Persian army. Despite the opposition that he had to encounter from the clergy he was in support of modern education and sent a number of Persian to be educated in England.

He intended that his son Muhammad Shah (afterwards King) should study in English, but, for some reason, the plan did not materialize. He also made attempts to establish factories on the European model and under European management. In short it was under persons like him that Persia began to experience the initial stirrings of reforms.

**2.1 : Reign of Nasir-ud-Din Shah :**

During the rule of Nasir-ud-din Shah, son of Muhammad shah, the fourth Qajar king, who ruled from 1848 to 1896, the government of the country found greater stability. He undertook three journeys to Europe in 1873, 1878, and 1889 respectively and "Kept diaries which were printed in Persia. The display an avid curiosity about all he saw and heard. Military matters were a major interest; with the need for the modernization of Iran's army in mind he visited munitions plants cannon factories, and powder plants, and looked into the possibility of bringing military advisers to Iran. He became convinced that Iran needed only to adopt Western skills and methods to take her place in the modern world. This was the first that a Persian monarch had left his dominions to travel in Europe and that too not with standing the opposition in the clergy. His travel

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5. G.N. Curzon, Persia and the Persian Question, (London, 1892), P.405
Diaries, even though coloured by a superficiality of outlook are reminiscent of the fact that he was impressed by what he saw in Europe. In 1875 after returning from his first European visit, Nasiruddin Shah established councils of administration, which were intended to help the local authorities in their work, Keep a check on the excesses perpetrated by the officials and counter act the legal prerogatives of the ecclesiastics, but the measurement with the strong resistance of the clergy, and had to be abandoned.6

In 1859, the Persian, government laid a telegraph line from Ultaniya to Tehran the first experiment of its kind in Persia. But this line had soon to be relinquished because it was poorly constructed. Efforts were resumed in 1860 and by the end of the century, Persia came to possess telegraphic communications at most of the large towns. In 1865 connection was established with the outside world by the erection of a line from London to Bombay passing in transit through Persia. These communications brought the country into direct contact with Europe and helped the infiltration of the ideas of reform.

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6. Ibid. P-460
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In the early years of his reign Nasirud-din Shah enjoyed the services of an honest and enlightened statesman, Mirza Taqi Khan Amir-i-Kabir. He was as Curzon described him, "One of the most remarkable figure of the century." Coming from the and humble origin, he finally rose in 1849 to the position of Prime Minister. During his limited term of office (it lasted from 1849 to 1851 when he fell victim to court intrigue and the jealousy of the young Shah which led to his execution) he introduced several important progressive reforms and it was under him that the idea of establishing a college on modern lines was conceived.

This college, known as the Darul-Funun, was founded in Tehran in 1851, several Austians being especially recruited to its

7.G.N. Curzon, op. cit. P-402
staff. It started with a little over one hundred students on the rolls, almost all belonging to the upper classes. The main subjects taught here were Military Science, Mathematics, Medicine, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Geography and Foreign Languages (either English, French, Russian or German). “Instruction in music and liberal arts was later introduced. There was even an auditorium where plays were performed by amateurs till they had to be discontinued because of the hostility of the clergy. The college had its own press and printed its own text books. “Teaching was according to European methods and Arabic theology and metaphysics were excluded from the curriculum”.  

Nasir ud-Din Shah did not probably anticipate that by opening his country to Western influences, however meager they might be, he was involuntarily facilitating the infiltration of those ideas which gaining in strengthened world ultimately questioned the institutions of his despotic authority. It was not possible to covet the fruits of the industrial and economic revolution in Europe without at the same time, allowing such concepts of human destiny as liberty, fraternity and equality, which formed the very basis of that revolution, 

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8. W.S. Haas, Iran. (New York, 1946), P-162  
9. E.G. Browne, A year amongst the Persians Cambridge, 1927), pp-103-104
to assert themselves in the long run. And, therefore, when education began to spread and more contacts were established with Europe, there came into existence a small intelligentsia which, not content to remain under its accustomed conditions, demanded a change in the institutions that had outlived themselves.

There were some important landmarks which were regarded as important in order to awakening of Persia during the reign of Nasiruddin Shah. These were as follows:

(1) The Question of Telegraphic Communication between England and India: —

One great difference between the progressive West and the unprogressive East lies in the nature of their communications. During the Indian Mutiny the need for direct telegraphic communication was seriously felt in England and in 1859 an attempt was made to lay a cable down the Red Sea in correspondence with wires which stretched from Marseilles to Alexandria. But this attempt entirely failed. At that period Turkey had realized the advantage of the telegraph for the control of her wide-spreading empire. For her own ends she decided to construct a line from Constantinople across Asia Minor to Baghdad. It was proposed that it should be continued thence to India by the British Government; and, in view of the failure
in the Red Sea, this scheme was gladly adopted. Some years were consumed in negotiations and surveys, but in 1863 the Overland Telegraph Convention was concluded at Constantinople. Owing to the feeble control exercised by Turkey over the tribes to the south of Baghdad and the malarious climate (although these obstacles proved to be less serious than had been anticipated), it was decided to provide an alternative line through Persia to connect at Bushire with the cable to be laid down the Persian Gulf.

(2) The First Telegraph Line in Persia, 1864—Accordingly, negotiations were opened with the Shah for the construction by British officers of a circuitous line running from the Persian frontier near Baghdad to Kermanshah, Hamadan, and Tehran, and from the capital to Bushire. At first the proposal met with strenuous resistance from the reactionary party, but the Shah determined to benefit by the scheme, and by the end of 1864 the first single-wire line was constructed. The obstacles to be overcome were great, consisting in depredations by the tribes and ignorant obstruction by the Persian local officials; but the British officers and non-commissioned officers were a splendid body of men, and thanks to their tact and capacity the original concession was repeatedly modified and important developments were made.

(3) The Indo-European Telegraph Lines—In 1870 Siemens
Brothers rented wires from the British and German Governments between London and the Russian frontier at Alexandrovsk. From this point they constructed a double line via Odbessa, Tiflis, and Tabriz to Tehran, where it joined the already existing system. The lines worked by the Indo-European Telegraph Company, as it was termed, completed direct communications between London and India, Bushire being connected by submarine cable with Jask; and from that station with Karachi both by a land line and by cable. In 1872 a third convention was concluded, by the terms of which three wires were provided, two for international and one for local use. There were no important changes until, in 1898, it was decided to construct a direct land line across South-Eastern Persia to Karachi. Mr. King Wood, who was instructed to make a survey for this line, and traveled together to Sistan. He subsequently constructed the Central Persia Telegraph Line, as it was called, as far as the British frontier. In his case the Persian officials were friendly, but the natural difficulties were greater, as the Lut had to be crossed. In spite of this, the line was successfully constructed, and constituted another monument to British enterprise.

(4) The Reuter Concession, 1872—In 1872 the Shah appointed his representative at Constantinople to the post of Sadr-
I Azam, an official which had not recently been filled. Mirza Husyan Khan, the new Grand Vizier, believed sincerely that the salvation of Persia lay in fulfilling all treaty obligations towards Russia, while confiding the regeneration of the country to Great Britain. In pursuance of this policy, it was determined to create a gigantic monopoly through which were effected the construction of railways, the working of mines, and the establishment of a national bank. In return the custom and, indeed, almost all the resources of the empire were to be pledged. This concession was granted Baron Julius de Reuter, a naturalized British subject, whose scheme involved the floating of several companies to work the vast enterprise. With a native ignorance of European politics, the Shah started at this juncture on his first European tour, and was surprised and disappointed to find that strong indignation prevailed in the highest quarters at Perturbed against this extraordinary concession. In England His Majesty was equally disappointed to find apathy on the subject where he had expected to find enthusiasm. The feeling of Persia was also against the surrender to Europeans of such far-reaching control, and on this occasion public opinion was entirely sound. Consequently, upon the Shah’s return to Tehran, the concession was annulled.

(5) The opening of the Karun, 1888. — Among the concessions
granted by Nasir-u-Din was one by which the lower Karun was opened commerce. This was greeted with enthusiasm in the British Press; but when it understood that the stretch of river actually opened was only one hundred and seventeen miles in length, equivalent to rather less than eighty miles by land, the small importance of the concession that had been gained becomes apparent. Nor did the special regulations fail to lessen the value of what the Shah had reluctantly conceded. By the Treaty of Turkomanchai Europeans are allowed.

(6) The Imperial Bank of Persia, 1889—Baron de Reuter had hitherto received no compensation for the annulment of his wide concession. Indeed, his caution-money, amounting to $40,000, was retained. In 1889 the Shah, in partial amends for this hard dealing, signed a concession in his favour for the foundation of a bank, to be called the Imperial Bank of Persia. This British enterprise was started with a capital of one million sterling and with the right to issue banknotes. It was also granted the exploitation of the mineral resources of Persia, with the exception of precious stones, gold, and silver. At first the managers of the institution bought their experience some what dearly; and the sudden and apparently permanent depreciation of silver constituted a heavy loss. But to-
day, after carrying on operations for more than a quarter of a century the position of the Bank is fully recognized; and it can claim to have become a Persian institution of special value both to the Government and to merchants.

(7) The Tobacco Regie, 1890-1892.—Less fortunate than the Imperial Bank of Persia was the fate of the Tobacco Regie. This ill-judged concession gave full control over the production, sale, and export of all tobacco in Persia. In return for these rights a sum of $15,000 was to be paid annually to the Shah; in addition, after the working expenses and 5 percent had been set aside, His Majesty was to receive one quarter of the profits. The concession affected the position of tobacco growers, sellers, and smokers alike; and in Persia both men and women smoke regularly. Its gross unfairness was aggravated by the fact that many of the employees were drawn from a somewhat low class and by the lack of tact displayed in dealing with Persian rights. In short, first public indignation and then fanaticism was aroused. Haji Mirza Hasan Shirazi, the leading mujtahid, placed an interdict on smoking, and the order was obeyed throughout the land, the royal palace being no exception. Finally, after disturbances had broken out and intense hostility had been displayed towards Europeans, the Shah cancelled the concession
and agreed to pay compensation to the extent of half million sterling. This sum was borrowed from the Imperial Bank of Persia and may be considered to constitute the beginning of the Persian National Debt.

**The Assassination of Nasir-u-Din, 1896.**— By Molem calculation Nasir-u-Din had reigned for fifty years in 1896. Preparations were being made to celebrate the auspicious event when suddenly as assassin, taking advantage of the Shah’s kindly custom of receiving petitions in person, fired at him and killed him. Thus died Nasir-u-din Shah, who was rightly regarded by his subjects as the ablest man in his dominions. Splendidly virile and of striking appearance, he conducted all important affairs in person. In illustration of the Shah’s humour the following story may perhaps be of interest. His Majisty once visited the famous Tak-i-Kisra, and while standing amid the ruins of this Sasanian palace asked his countries whether they deemed Noshirwan or himself the juster monarch. The astute Persians were at a complete loss, as, if they said that their monarch exceeded Noshirwan in the virtue for which his renown is world wide, the Shah might look upon them as flatterers, whereas reply in the opposite sense might be badly received. Consequently they bowed obsequiously and kept silent.
After a long pause the musing Shah said: "I will myself reply to my own question. I am more just than Noshiswan." The courtiers, whose relief was intense, broke out into loud exclamation of "May We be thy sacrifice!" The Shah whose mood was caustic, again spoke and said: "You have applauded my statement without waiting for my reasons, which is foolish. I will now give you my reasons. Noshirwan had his famous Vizier, Buzurgmihr, and whenever the monarch quitted the path of justice he was brought back to it by his remonstrate. I have only you, who ever try to force me out of the straight path, but in spite of you I am justice personified. Thus I am, more just than Noshirwan.

At the present day there is a tendency, more especially among the "Young Persians," to disparage Nasir-u-Din, and the fact is adduced that he discouraged the sending of boys to school in Europe. But it is certain that the Shah was far ahead of his people, and although his attempts at reform may not always have been successful, they were at one time indubitably genuine. Nasir-u-Din was not exactly a great Shah and, towards the end of his reign, he became indifferent, egotistical, and reactionary, but yet he was the best ruler produced by the Qajar dynasty.
2.2: Some main features of the reign of Muzaffaruddin Shah—

(1) The Financial Difficulties of Muzaffaruddin Shah:—

Muzaffaruddin, The Heir-Apparent, was at Tabriz at the time of his father's assassination. He was accompanied by his journey to Tehran by the British and Russian representatives. There were fears that his brothers might fight for the throne, but they hastened to proffer their allegiance, and the new monarch entered Tehran without opposition and was crowned in peace.

It was generally believed that Nasir-u-Din had left a full treasury to his successor; but after examination it was found that little or no many had been saved and the rumours of hoarded millions were totally unfounded. The new Shah, whose health was bad, was most anxious to make a foreign tour almost immediately after his coronation. He desired more especially to undergo a cure at Contrexeville but doubtless he also wished to imitate his father's example and enjoy the delights of Europe. He was, more ever, surrounded by a hungry horde of followers who mingled with their congratulations strong hopes of speedy reward for past services. The question of ways and means was thus one of urgency.

(2) The Russian Bank. — The Russian Bank is a branch of
the Russian Ministry of Finance, and is used as a political instrument. Its operations are not conducted on business lines. Consequently the annual deficit must be great, not only from losses due to its operations, but also from the extravagant scale of its building and the huge salaries paid to its managers. However, by lending large sums on real estate and by other methods the financial grip of Russia has been riveted on Persia; and the results are held to justify the expenditure of a few million roubles.

(3) Persian Loans. — The raising of a Persian Government loan was attempted first in England but just then the Tobacco Monopoly and the Persian Bank Mining rights Corporation had given Persia a bad name on the London Stock Exchange; and it was evident that without the strong support of the British Government money would not be forthcoming. The security offered, namely, the custom southern Persia, was ample. But immediate control by the British capitalists was insisted upon, instead of eventual control in case of default; and ostensibly on this rock the loan foundered.

This gave Russia an opening of exceptional promise. In 1900 A.D. she agreed to lend Persia 32,500,000 roubles at 5 percent, with a sinking fund. The security was the Persian Customs exclusive of the Gulf ports. One condition was that...
should repay the balance of the loan of half a million contracted with the Imperial bank of Persia to provide compensation for the Tobacco Monopoly; and all for a period of ten years no new loans should be contracted by Persia from any foreign power; and also that without the consent of Russia Customs dues should not be lowered. The loan was issued normally at 86 2/3 with a commission of 1.5 per cent. Consequently, when the sum due on account of the Tobacco Monopoly and the other bank debts had been paid off, little more than one million sterling was available to meet all the claim for arrear of salary and on other accounts. The result was that the first loan was very soon absorbed in totally underproductive expenditure. And in the following year a second loan was contracted on the same security for 10,000,000 rubles, or just over a million sterling. To the new loan was attached a concession for a road from the frontier town of Julfa on the Aras to Tehran via Tabriz. Certain rights to work petroleum and coal also acquired. These may prove to be of value now that the conversion of the road into a railway has become an accomplished fact.

These two loans have been financially disastrous for Persia. Her annual revenue at that period was about 1,500,000 rubles and yet, in three years sums almost equal to the revenue were borrowed
and spent, with nothing in the way of reproductive expenditure to show for them. Since this date the debt of Persia has steadily increased, and according to the latest statistics it has now reached several millions.

Among the politically conscious Persians of that period Mirza Malkum Khan (1838-1908) stands out as the most outspoken critic of the old order. He was the son of a certain Mirza Yakub Khan, an American who became a convert to Islam. Educated by an American Society at Paris, he first appeared at Tehran as a conjurer, whose feats of legerdemain excited wonder among the simple Persians. As would have been the case in mediaeval Europe, his skill offended religious feeling, and the Shah, who was displeased with him on another account, ordered him to leave Persia. Same years after, in the 'sixties, he reappeared at Tehran and founded a Masonic Lodge. The Faramusu Khana, or “House of Forgetfulness,” as it is termed attracted the Persians strongly by its combination of novelty and many of the best families became initiated. He seems to have been inspired by the ideas of the social thinkers of Europe, who lived in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He stood for an orderly government based upon justice and equity. In his opinion the reforms introduced in Persia till then, such as the reorganization of
the army, had failed to produce any useful result because of their secondary importance. It was like painting the upper story of a house, the foundation of which was entirely unsound and hollow. Malkam Khan advocated the utmost absorption of European influences. The flood of enlightenment released by the west was pressing upon the neighbouring countries, and the broader its passage of entry into Persia together were to be the benefit she would derive from the fruit of European civilization. In order to give a concrete shape to his views, Malkam Khan went to the extent of framing a short of constitution, which he called the “Kitabeha-i-Ghaibi (The Heavenly Booklet), dealing with the reorganization of government and administration. While seeking to preserve the basis structure of Persia’s political system, the principles propounded therein contained many elements of liberalism a significant thing for the period under discussion.

Nasir-u-Din at first looked on this new departure as a passing fashion, but Ferrukh Khan, the successful negotiator of the Treaty of Persis, Frightened His Majesty by saying that, if he allowed his subjects to become initiated, they might conspire against him. Moved by this argument, the Shah imprisoned the Master of the Lodge, a prince of the blood, and other initiates; and Malcom Khan was again
ordered to leave Persia. Nothing daunted, he secured the support of Mirza Husayan Khan, at that time Persian Ambassador at Constantinople and through his influence was appointed Minister in London in 1872. While holding this appointment he was given the title of Prince.

When Nasir-ud-Din visited England in 1889 he granted Malkom khan, in return for a comparatively small gift, a concession for a Persian lottery. The Minister sold it for a large sum, and an English company was formed to work it. The mullah however, objected that these lotteries were a form of gambling, which is forbidden by the Holy Qoran. Amin-u-Sultn took their part and tried to induce Malkom Khah to surrender the concession. The latter, however, pointed out that he had sold it and therefore could not do what was asked. Amin-u-Sultan than sent an abusive terms. He was thereupon dismissed from his post, and in a lesser degree to the Shah.

Determined to take revenge, Malkom Khan, with the co-operation of Jamal-u-din, published the paper Qanun, or "Law" referred to above. In it he recommended a fixed code of Laws and the assembly of a parliament. He denounced his enemy Amin-u-Sultan in violent terms; and the Minister, in retaliation, published
any one who took in the obnoxious paper. The influence of the Qanun, which was written in excellent Persian, was considerable patriot, certainly roused Persia more than any previous writer had succeeded in doing.

**Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din**—The founder of the movement was a certain Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din, who was an ardent propagandist of pan Islamic ideas and a vehement critic of the corrupt Government of Persia, rather than an advocate of liberal views. This remarkable man was the son of a village Sayyid of no position and was born in 1838 near Hamadan. After being educated Najaf, he resided for some years in Afghanistan and adopted the title of “The Afghan.” He traveled and taught in India, in Egypt, and elsewhere, at one time settled in Constantinople. There he pretended to be a Sunni and gained fame as an eloquent and learned doctor of law. He was, however, accused of infidelity by the Shaykh-ul-Islam, the leading religious official in Turkey, and was obliged to leave the city.

His connection with Nasir-ud-Din was brought about through the deep impression made upon the Shah by certain articles which he wrote for an Arabic newspaper whose title may be translated “The Indissoluble Link.” He was summoned to Persia and made a member of the Royal Council, and his opinion carried great weight
with the sovereign. This state of affairs naturally aroused the jealousy of Amin-ud-Sultan, who induced the Ottoman Ambassador to press for his deportation. Knowing that the word "law" was obnoxious to the Shah, he stated that the Sayyid had caused disturbances by advocating the adoption of fixed laws, and had been expelled from India, Egypt, and Turkey. He gave it as his opinion that it would be dangerous to retain in Persia a man with such revolutionary ideas. The Shah agreed, and Jamal-ud-Din was instructed to quit the country and travel.

He again met Nasir-ud-Din in Europe during that monarch's third journey; and the Shah, thinking him more dangerous abroad than in Persia, brought him back as an honoured guest. Jamal-ud-Din took advantage of his return to preach his revolutionary ideas, and they made such progress the rising appeared imminent. The Shah wished to seize him, but he escape and took sanctuary at Shah Abdul Azim, a shrine close to Tehran. There he remained for seven months, culminating against the Shah and advocating his deposition. Among his followers was Mirza Riza of Nuk, who afterwards assassinated Nasir-ud-Din. Jamal-ud-Din was at length arrested in his house, which adjoined the sanctuary, and was again expelled from Persia, in 1890. The Shah certainly appears to have
treated with leniency a subject who was guilty of high treason. Handed over to the Turkish authorities, the Sayyid was taken to Basra, where he was kept under observation. He managed, however, to escape by steamer and joined Malkom Khan in London, where they edited the newspaper Kanun. Not long afterwards the Sultan, alarmed at the influence gained by this journal, thought it desired to invite Jamal-ud-Din to revisit Constantinople, where he was treated as an honored guest but was not free to leave.

On the assassination of Nasir-ud-Din, the extradition of the Sayyid was demanded together with that of three other revolutionaries. The sultan surrendered the three latter men, and they were executed, but he refused to hand over Jamal-ud-Din who shortly afterwards died, Thus passed off the stage a man possessed of considerable capacity and much personal magnetism. Though unfettered by scruples, he was honest in his devotion to his Pan-Islamic and revolutionary ideas.

The greatest achievement of Jamaluddin Afghani's political campaign in Persia was to gain the sympathy of the clergy. It is a proof of the tactical sagacity and shrewdness of this man that he realized the importance of this element for the success of this cause. The record of the clergy in Persia through not always very creditable
shows nevertheless that they have stood from time to time in defense of national and humanitarian interests. Thus in despotic Persia they were considered by the ordinary people as the "principle shield" between them and the absolute authority of the Shah. In 1804 and 1825 they expressed their support for the national cause by giving Religious sanction to the fight against Russia.\textsuperscript{10} No doubt during the reign of Nasiru'd Din Shah there was some decline in their power due to the "gradual reassertion of the civil authority".\textsuperscript{11} Nevertheless they continued to retain their influence over the people as was clearly demonstrated by their leadership in the movement against the Tobacco Concession.

**Ayn-ud-Dola**— In 1903, upon the dismissal for the second time of Asghar Ali, Atabeg-i-Azam, by Muzaffar-ud-Din, a council of five Ministers was constituted to carry on the Government; but very soon afterwards Ayn-ud-Dola, a prince of the blood and son-in-law of the Shah was appointed Minister of the Interior and assumed control of affairs. In the following year he was given the title of Sadr-i-Azam, and he continued in this office until August 1906. Thus Ayn-u-Dola was the Minister under whose rule the constitutionalists

\textsuperscript{10} Malcolm, John : The History of Persia, Vol-II, London, 1829, P-304

\textsuperscript{11} Itimadus Saltana : Tarikh-i-Muntazami-i-Nasiri, Vol-III, Tehran, 1883, P-93 & 132.
won their great victories; and, as many Persians consider that the conflict was brought about mainly by his reactionary stubborn character, His Highness calls for special notice.

As a youth he was educated in Tehran at the Dar-ul-Fanun College. There the professors apparently found him intractable; for they presented a petition to the Shah in which they stated that they had tried flogging, starvation and other punishment, all in vain, and requested His Majesty to remove the unpromising pupil. The Shah consented and sent the young prince to Tabriz, to serve Muzaffar-ud-Din Shah. He grew up with his new master, became his Master of the Horse, and was honoured by the hand of his daughter in marriage.

Religion, too, did not remain entirely unaffected by liberal ideas. In the forties a movement appeared in the form of Babism founded by Sayyid Ali Muhammad, who styled himself as the Bab or Gate "whereby men might win to the sacred mysteries and spiritual truths of which he had become the recipient. The creed soon attracted to its fold a large number of followers so that it began to be regarded as a potential threat to the established authority, and the chief religious divines in Persia issued a decree making it


In fact, however, Babism, apart from its doctrinal aspect, represented a revolt against religious fanaticism and tyranny, on account of which it became an object of hatred for the orthodox opinion Western influences, seems to have also entered certain Babi practices, like the one enjoying greater freedom of activity to women. The followers of the movement were subjected to fierce persecution, which threw up some exceptional instances of individual courage and personal heroism. Finally in 1850, the Bab himself was executed after which the headquarters of Baism were transferred abroad. The subsequent evolution of the Babi movement resulted in the emergence of Bahasim, known after the name of its leader Bahaullah. This sect must have continued to flourish in some force so that, at the beginning of this century, the strength of the followers was estimated at twenty percent of the total population. Attempts were made, even in our times, to suppress the religion the lates was in 1955 which culminated in the killing and dispersal of the

Towards the latter part of the nineteenth century the race for concession-hunting led by the English and Russian, began in Persia. In 1872, a naturalized British citizen, Baron Julius de Reuter, acquired from the Shah a monopoly for seven years of exploitation of mines, the control of government forests, the construction of railroad, tramways and irrigation networks, all the minerals except gold silver and precious stones, irrigation, road, factory and telegraph enterprises, and the establishment of a nation bank. In return the Shah pledged the entire customs of his empire for a period of twenty five years. The concession represented "the most complete and extraordinary surrender of the entire industrial resources of a kingdom into foreign hands". Eventually it was annulled not so much because of Persian sentiment, but at the pressure of Russian, who regarded the scheme as British-inspired. Finally this concession was cancelled and permission instead given for the foundation of a Persian state bank with British capital, which was to have the exclusive right to issue banknotes; and accordingly in September 1889 the Imperial Bank of Persia began business. In the same year Dolgoruki obtained for Russia the first option of a railway concession for five years. In November of the following year the railway
agreement with Russia was changed into one interdicting all railway whatsoever in Persia. In 1889 after negotiations for foreign loans Belgian officials were put in charge of the customs administration. By the turn of the century there had been "a pronounced sharpening of Anglo-Russian hostility as a consequence of whole series of Russian actions not only in northern Persia where Russian ascendancy to a large extent had to be admitted, but as well in southern and eastern Persia which had hitherto been predominantly British preserves.

In the following year the Shah granted to one major Talbot, for a period of fifty years, the monopoly of buying, selling and manufacturing of all tobacco inside and outside Persia. As the term implies the concession, is fully executed, was bound to affect the Position of tobacco cultivators, sellers, and consumer's alike; and consequently public indignation against it was inevitable. After an agitation led by the clergy especially, the Shah was forced to resigned the concession and compensate to the value of half a borrowed from the Imperial Bank of Persia and may be said to mark the beginning of Persian national debt.

There was a vague realization that the economic impoverishment of Persia, accompanied by the self-indulgence of
her ruler and the avarice of Britain and Russia, was pushing the country to the brink of ruin. In 1896, Nasir ud Din Shah was assassinated by a fanatic who later turned out to be a disciple of Saiyid Jamal ul Din Affghani. The sign of the coming storm were becoming visible.

The rule of Muzzaffar - ud -Din Shah , who succeeded to the throne in 1896, was characterised by a decay in administration and the gradual weakening of state authority. It also denoted the increasing preponderance of Russian influence in the affairs of Persia. The Shah contracted two huge Russian loans, which were frittered away after another were lavished upon the Russians and all customs receipts, with the exception of those of Fars and the Persian Gulf, were pledged to them.

In 1900 a Russian loan was given, to be followed by another in 1902 secured on the customs (excluding those of Fars and the gulf). Subsequently various short term advances and subsidies from the Russian treasury including advances to the heir apparent, Muhammad Ali, were made so that by 1906 some &7.5 millions were owing to the Russians. Under the 1891 Russo- Persian tariff treaty, trade between the two countries had increased, and when under the 1901 Russo-Persian commercial treaty a new customs tariff was
announced in 1903, Russian expert to Persian were considerably aided and up to 1914 Russian commerce with Persia continued to grow.

The grant of these various concessions to foreigners and the raising of foreign loans gave rise to growing anxiety on the part of the Persian public. Further, large numbers of Persians had fled the country and were living in exile. When a tobacco monopoly was granted to a British subject in 1890, various element of the population including the intellectuals and the religious classes, combined to oppose it. Strikes and riots threatened and the monopoly was rescinded. No effective steps, however, were taken to allay popular discontent. In 1901 protests were made against the loan and mortgages from Russia which were being contracted to pay for Muzaffar ud-Din Shah’s journeys to Europe. By 1905-6 the demand for reform had grown in strength and finally on August 5th, 1906, after 12000 persons had taken sanctuary in the British legation, a constitution was granted. A long struggle then began between the constitutionalists and the Shah. The Cossack Brigade, formed during the reign of Nasir ud-Din Shah, which was under Russian officers and was the most effective military force in the country, played a major part in this struggle and was used by
Muhammad Ali Shah to suppress the National Assembly in 1908. Civil war ensured and Muhammad Ali Shah's abdication was forced in 1909.

But Russia, too, after her defeated by the Japanese in 1904, was facing a crisis. The revolution which followed in the wake of the Russo-Japanese was greatly influenced the talent national movement in Persia. Britain encouraged this movement, more out of self-interest, since she hoped to profit by the establishment of a parliamentary regime in countering the influence of Russia, who was supporting the Shah. Agitation at last broke out openly, and in 1906 Persia come to possess parliamentary institutions.

One of the most interesting features of the whole movement was the leading participation of the clergy in the incidents of the preceding years. Since the agitation against the tobacco monopoly till the granting of the constitution they had been in the forefront of the struggle. It may seem surprising how a conservative and reactionary group like the Persian clergy, who were opposed to the very concept of reform, could identify themselves with a movement which was inherently progressive in character. Paradoxically enough, it was the sentiment against the West and the thing it stood for that brought about this alignment and made the clergy support a cause
which by its very logic, could not but ultimately intensify Western influences. May be they were also apprehensive of losing some of their traditional privileges if the old order were to continue. During the reign of Nasir-ud Din Shah, effort made towards, “the gradual reassertion of civil authority” had led to some decline in the power of the clergy and later it was intended, under his successor to introduce certain reforms in the judicial procedure which if implemented, would have affected their vested interests. In any case, under the new conditions, not only did the clergy succeed in retaining all the rights they previously enjoyed but also consolidated them. Their position was ensured when, at their insistence, a clause was inserted in the supplementary Fundamental Laws of 1907 envisaging the establishment of an ecclesiastical committee to “carefully discuss and consider all matters proposed in the Assembly, and reject and repudiate wholly or in part, any such proposal which is at variance with the sacred Laws of Islam, so that it shall not obtain the little of legality.” Thus a blow was dealt to secularism even before democracy could get a real chance to function in Persia.

2.3 : An attempt to over through the Constitution

Accession of Muhammad Ali Shah, January 1907.- The new

Shah was an Oriental despot of the worst type, unprincipled, untrustworthy, and avaricious. It was hardly likely that he would welcome the establishment of the Constitution, which would limit alike his powers and his lavish expenditure. Somewhat unwisely he showed his hand at his coronation, to which the Deputies were not invited, and, not content with this discourteous slight, he supported the Ministers in their refusal to appear before the Assembly and submit to being questioned. At this juncture, when the raising of a fresh loan of 400,00 was being discussed by the Cabinet with the British and Russian Legations, the Assembly was totally ignored, though it was clearly laid down, that without its consent, no tax could be levied and no foreign loan or concession granted. The sole object of the Shah was to secure the money, but the Assembly refused to sanction the transaction, and thereby clearly proved that the new order had come into existence. The popular leaders realized that, unless future loan were prevented, the independent of Persia, would soon be a thing of the past, whereas the Shah, under the sinister influence of Amir Bahadur Jang, a notorious scoundrel cared nothing for the welfare of his country, but wanted as much money as he could borrow, in order to pay for his own pleasures and those of his Court.
Assassination of Atabeg-i-Azam, August 1907.- Mohammad Ali soon perceived that Persia was not large enough for both the National Assembly and himself and that one or the other must go. He therefore recalled Atabeg-i-Azam, who had been traveling in Europe and Asia for the last three years. After his return and assumption of office, Atabag realized that he was expected to overthrow the constitution, and immediately began to take stock of the situation. He found the country in a state of anarchy. There were riots at Shiraz, Isfahan, and Tabriz, Salar-u-Dola, brother of the Shah, had revolted, but had been defeated at historical Nahavand and was a prisoner. The treasury was empty, and the chances of filling it by ordinary means were small.

In the Assembly there was a moderate and an extremist party, the latter having the most influence. Atabeg tried to play off the Shah against the Assembly and to gain the consent of the moderates to the raising of a fresh loan. The leader of the extremist was Sad-u-Dola, formerly Minister at Brussels, where he had engaged the services of M. naus and other Belgians to recognize the Customs. He was a political opportunist, whose good faith was open to so much suspicion that he was soon forced to withdraw from the Assembly. It seemed possible that the subtle Atebag might convince
that body of the necessary for raising a loan, but, in August, he was assassinated when leaving the Assembly buildings. The black deed was glorified, and the fortieth day after the suicide of the assassin was observed as a holiday. The Shah did not mourn for Atebag, but rather rejoiced that so weak an instrument of his policy had disappeared. He wanted a Minister of blood and iron and considered Atabeg's attempt to win over the moderates as derogatory to his royal dignity. As a result of the assassination the subject of a foreign loan was dropped, no deputy daring to raise this dangerous question anew.

The Deputies—It is important to note that whereas in Northern Persia there was a more or less definite political programme, pursued with real energy by known leaders of considerable ability, in the south the popular movement turned mainly on personal or pecuniary questions and could not be taken seriously. Among the cities in the north Tabriz, Tehran, and Resht led the way. The Tabriz deputies displayed more determination and strength of character than their fellows. Their leader, Tagizada, was a man of capacity and an eloquent speaker, whose personal ascendancy swayed the Assembly. His colleagues, too, carried weight, and to the province of Azerbaijan belong the chief honours in the victory of
constitutionalism. Of the Tehran deputies, the Mujtahids Sayyid Abdulla Behbehani, Sayyid Mohammed, and sayyid Jamal had been intimately connected from the outset with the popular party. They had demonstrated with Ayn-u-Dola, and were the first to denounce autocracy and tyranny from the pulpit. Other leaders were Malik-u-Mutakllimin, a great orator, and Mirza Jahangir Khan, an editor both of whom were strangled after the Shah’s Successful coup d’etat. A few grandees joined the popular party, Jalal-u-Dola, the eldest son of Zill-u-Sultan, Ala-u-Dola, and Shaykh-ul-Rais being the best Known. In the main, the Assembly was representative of the upper and middle classes.

The Anjuman. — The Anjuman constituted the backbone of the revolution. They were of two kinds—official anjuman, municipal, departmental, and provincial committees, and non-official anjuman or clubs. The official bodies formed an essential part of the new order, not so the clubs, which were generally political and frequently anarchical and presented a striking analogy to the clubs of the French Revolution. The Shah watched these latter bodies with keen apprehension, and was induced to open up relations with the Anjuman Admiat, which he was led to believe, was the most powerful of all, whereas it was actually a sham club. It was the inability of the
Persian revolution to free itself from the clutches of anarchy as preached at the clubs, which caused its failure, although the Amjumani-i-Milli undoubtedly saved Tabriz. The murderer of Atabeg-i-Azam left a paper in which he described himself as “Abbas Aga, banker, Azerbaijani, member of the Anjuman, National fidai, No. 41.” The sinister term fidai was used to indicate a devote in the days of the Assassins.

**Cabinet of Nasir-ul-Mulk.**— After the Assassination of Atabeg-i-Azam, the Shah favoured the idea of a reactionary government, but was obliged to from a cabinet that would enjoy the confidence of the Assembly. This difficult task was entrusted to Nasir-ul-Mulk, who was now destined to play a leading role in Persia. His Highness, who had been educated at Oxford, had previously held high appointments. Intellectually he was on a higher plane than any of his Persian contemporaries; moreover, he was incorruptible and a disinterested patriot. His qualities of mind caused a certain aloofness and loss of touch with the mass of his fellow countrymen, who failed to understand or appreciate them, and he perhaps lacked the resolution and driving power that are necessary in critical times; but he was the only Persian statesman of his time who really deserved well of his country.
Nasir-ul-Mulk, who was Minister of Finance as well as Prime Minister, set to work to produce the first budget of the new order. It was realized that it was inexpedient to increase the existing taxes or to impose fresh ones, while a revenue survey would have taken years of hard work. It was therefore wisely decided that salvation must be sought in reduction of expenditure, more especially in the pensions paid to members of the royal; family to courtiers, and to parasites of all classes; and after much hard work the deficit of 600,000 was changed into a small surplus. Unfortunately the efforts of Nasir-ul-Mulk were rendered futile by the reactionary storm which now burst over Persia.

**Abortive Coup d'Etat, December 1907.**— In Persia it is impossible to prevent coming events from casting their shadows before and in the autumn it was realized that the Shah, furious at being thwarted by the Assembly, had determined to suppress it. On November 12, His Majesty presumably with the idea of lulling his opponent into a sense of false security, or perhaps from fear of assassination visited the Assembly and there for the fourth time, swore fidelity to the Constitution which he was scheming to overthrow. On December 15 he stuck. In reply to a demand by the Anjuman for the dismissal of Sad-u-Dola and Amir Bahadur, he
overthrow the constitution at the next opportunity.

The Anglo-Russian Agreement, 1907.- The defeat of Russia by Japan had far reaching results. Among them was the readiness shown by the Northern Power to effect a settlement with Great Britain in Asia. This was arrived at in an Agreement which represented a comprehensive and final effort to deal with Anglo-Russian rivalries in Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet, the idea being to embody in it principles and articles that would remove all cause of friction in the future.

It was generally speaking accepted in Europe that the agreement was of great importance as substituting friendly relations for bitter rivalry between the two great Asiatic Powers, although not unnaturally, the older officials on the Russian side at any rate, displayed no haste in modifying their attitude of hostility towards the rival power. From the British standpoint the agreement was honestly designed to end the unhappy rivalry with Russia, it was also intended to help Persia to maintain her independence and to lessen the evils of the system by which if any concession were given to either Power its rival immediately exaggerated the importance of what was granted and claimed an equivalent from the unfortunate Persian Government.
The details of the Agreement deserved careful examination. Perhaps its most noticeable feature was the very small area, mainly desert, claimed by Great Britain, which looked poor in contrast with the comparatively rich northern provinces of the Russian sphere. At that time Lord Kitchener was Commander-in-Chief in India, and he firmly held the view that it was to our advantage to allow Russia and Germany to come down to the Persian Gulf or Arabian Sea, on the ground that if necessary, a Russian or German port on the Persian gulf could be attacked by our naval forces. He also held equally strongly that we should limit our responsibilities to the semi desert areas of Persian Baluchistan, Kain, Sistan, and Kerman, that we should withdraw all escorts and detachments and should generally act on the supposition that Persia valueless. As to the first point, it may be remarked that had Russia crossed Persia and established a naval base on the Persian gulf, the Government of India would have been obliged to maintain a powerful naval force in those torrid and unhealthy waters at great expense and British influence and prestige would have been lowered appreciably throughout Asia. A second consideration is that the neutral zone in the south-west included the only part of Southern Persia which possessed important commercial possibilities and thus should have
been placed with in the sphere of the British Government both because it was obvious that valuable concessions would, soon or later be sought there and because its "neutrality" constituted a standing temptation to Germany, from whose point of view it was a potentially rich area adjacent to Basra going begging. There was the still larger question of maintaining British ascendancy in the Persian Gulf.

During the First World War 1914-18 Persia was nominally neutral but fact Tuirkish; British and Russian forces and German agents were active in the country, and on the conclusion of the armistice between Russia and Turkey in 1917 two British expeditionary forces set out for Russia through Persia on what proved to be abortive missions. By the end of the war the internal condition of Persia was chaotic. To the British Government the restoration of order was desirable and with this end in view the Agreement of 1919 was drawn up whereby a number of men were to be lent to reorganize the Persia army and to reform the Ministry of Finance and a loan of $2 million was to be given. There was opposition to this agreement in the U.S.A. and France and in Persia, and the treaty was not ratified. A coup d'etat took place in 1921, Reza Khan (later Reza Shah) becoming Minister of War. In February
1921 the Soviet-Persian Treaty was signed whereby the U.S.S.R. declared all treaties and conventions concluded with Persia by the Tsarist Government null and void. Under Article VI the U.S.S.R. was permitted "to advance her troops into the Persian interior for the purpose of carrying out the military operations necessary for its defense" in the event of a third party attempting "to carry out a policy of usurpation by means of armed intervention in Persia, or if such a Power should desire to use Persian territory as a base of operations against Russia...." In a letter dated December 12th 1921, from the Russian diplomatic representative at Tehran to the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs, it was stated that this article was intended to apply "only to cases in which preparations have been made for a considerable armed attack upon Russia or the Soviet Republic allied to hereby her partisans of the regime which has been overthrown or by its supporters among those foreign Powers which are in a position to assist the enemies of the Workers' and Peasants' Republics and at the same time to possesses themselves, by force or by underhand methods, as part of the Persian territory, thereby establishing a base of operations for any attacks-made either directly or through the counter-revolutionary forces- which they might meditate against Russia or the Soviet Republics allied to her."
In 1923 Reza Khan became Prime Minister and finally in 1925 the crown of Persia was conferred upon him. His first task was to restore the authority of the central government throughout the country, and the second to place Persia's relations with foreign countries on a basis of equality. All extra-territorial agreements were terminated from 1928. Lighting and quarantine duties on the Persian littoral of the Persian Gulf hitherto performed by great Britain, were transferred to the Persian Government in 1930. The Indo-European Telegraph Company, which had been in operation since 1872, had almost entirely been withdrawn by 1931 and the British coaling stations were transferred from Basidu and Henjam to Bahrain in 1935.

In 1932 the cancellation of the Anglo-Persian's oil Company concession was announced by Persia. The original concession obtained by d'Arcy in 1901 had been taken over by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (later the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company) in 1909 and the British Government had acquired a controlling interest in the company in 1914. Thence forward the main emphasis of British policy towards Persia had been on Oil rather than strategy, though from 1941 onwards the strategic aspect against became important. The Persian Government's action in canceling the concession was
referred to the League of Nations. Eventually an agreement was concluded in 1933 for a new concession whereby the concession area was materially reduced and the royalty to be paid to the Persian Government increased. The concession was to run to 1993.

Internally Reza Shah's policy aimed at modernization and anarchy. In the later years of his reign the Government became increasingly totalitarian in its nature. Compulsory military service was introduced and the army much increased in size. Communication was greatly improved the construction of a trans-Persian railway was begun. Education was remodeled on western lines. Women were no longer obliged to wear the veil after 1936. Foreign trade was made a state monopoly, currency and clearing restrictions were established. These arrangements fitted in with the economy of Germany and by the outbreak of World War II, Germany had acquired considerable commercial and political influence in Persia.

In the meantime, however, the intellectual life of the country showed decided signs of vitality. There was a remarkable out burst of journalistic activity, and many papers began to appear after the establishment of the constitution. Although typography had been
introduced in Persia in 1817.\textsuperscript{15} and though the first newspaper was founded in 1837, through the efforts of one Mirza Salih who was among the group of students sent to Britain by Abbas Mirza, nevertheless, the press, as an institution did not come to exist in the country until 1906. Prior to that Persian paper displaying greater freedom of political opinion was published outside. Important among these were: Hablul-Matin from Calcutta, Akhtar from Constantinople, and Qanun from London. The fortunes of the press have been conditional from time criticism of the government, even though justified, could not be expressed and, after the fall of Dr. Musaddiq, the government had the necessary machinery to suppress all such papers that she considered subversive.

Literature also responsible to the new trends. Literary prose found a suitable exposition in the short story, which was introduced into Persian by Sayyid Muhammad Ali Jamalzada (b.1897), a writer with satirical propensities. The form reached its maturity in the works of Sadiq Hidayat (1903-1951) who adopted the chekhovian irony and the pessimism of continental romanticists in the treatment of his themes. His contemporary and friend, Buzurg Alawi (b. 1908), showed traces of European realism in his short stories and novels depicting mainly the life of the middle class. Other

form, too were not totally neglected. Muhammad Hijazi (1900) wrote light essays in a delightful style giving full display of his lyricism and insight into human nature.

In poetry, the lately awakened patriotic spirit was given full and free expression, which often degenerated into prosaic rendering and verified journalism. Experiments in form were not lacking, though, a predominant place was held by classicism for long time. Malik ush Shura Bahar (1886-1951) voiced the sentiments of nationalism employing the florid style of the earlier poets; Muhammad Riza Ishqi (1894-1924) painted a highly romanticized picture of the ancient past and sang the glory that was Persia; Abu-i-Qasim Arif (1883/3-1934) and Muhammad Farrukhi (1888/9-1939) conveyed the hopes and frustration of the progressive intelligentsia during the post-constitution period; and Abu-i-Qasim Lahuti (1887-1957) extolled the idea of revolution to become the first communist poet of Persia. In later years a poetess Parwin-i-Itasami (1907-1941) gave expression to the tender feelings of maternal solicitude, and was recognized, in her literary capacity, as the most outstanding representative of her sex. European literary influences, both in form and content, revealed themselves with greater sharpness in Nima-Yushij (1897-1960) who can really be
considered as the founder of the modern school of Persian verses.

Thus modern Persian literature, poetry as well as prose, entered a new phase of development. Democracy in Persia had come into existence as if by mere accident. Most of the people in the country did not have a clear conception of what it really meant. The leadership itself was divided, and its approach to the question was not the same. Those who had visited Europe or were educated in the Western school of idea had European organization for their model, and sought to introduce an adaptation of the same in Persian as well, while the majority, among whom the clergy were the most influential, had no such nations and did, in fact, reject the very idea of importing forms from Europe. This lack of unified purpose, when added to the inexperience of these in office, reacted adversely on the smooth working of democratic institutions in the country. The situation was further aggravated by the policy of Britain and Russia who reached an agreement in 1907 which virtually amounted to a partition of Persia. As if this were not enough, Russia in 1911 sought the dismissal of W. Morgan Shuster, who had been employed as Treasurer-General to reorganize the Persian finances, and backed up her demand with the threat of armed intervention. The Persian government finally yielded and Shuster left the country to write his
memorable account, the struggling of Persia.

The credit of revolutionizing the spirit of Persia must largely be assigned to journalism. It is the Iranian press that deserves the honour of having awakened among the masses an interest in matters political. It was though the press that the Iranian came to know that they were a dumb driven lot, exploited by their rulers and on the top of it by two European nations. Men of letters and poets freely contributed to these journals; traditions from European works were also published serially in them, and valuable and well-informed articles on social reform and literary criticism also began to appear in these papers. In short Iranian press took a leading part in the social, political and intellectual awakening of the country. "Printing had been introduced in Iran in 1816 by the Qajar prince 'Abbas Mirza,"16 "but it was not until many years later that printing was established. By the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century it had apparently acquired a certain foothold, for Binning reported, in 1857 the existence of several printing presses in Tehran and Tabriz, where books were published both in type and lithograph."17 The First Iranian journal appeared in 1851 in the reign

of Shah Nasiruddin. The first Iranian daily “Khulasat ul hawadis” (the essence of event) saw the light in 1889. Two Iranian journals raised to high fame—the “Kawaeh” (published in Germany) and “Iranshshr” (also published in Germany, though it was more moderate in its views than the “Kawaeh). Among other journals the chief were “Sar i Israfil” (trumpet of the angel of death, Israfil to be blown to awaken the dead on the day of resurrection), “Tammaddun” (civilization), “Nida i watan” (call of the country) “Musawat” (equality), “Nasim i Shamal” (north wind), and “Nav bahar” (blossoming spiring) 18

The “akhtar” (star), conducted by Aqa Muhammad Khan Tahar Tabrizi became very famous and exerted considerable influence on Iranian life: so did the “Qanoon” (rule) of Mirza Malcom Khan. From the literary point of view “Bahar” (spiring), “Adab” (political learning) “Tarbiyat” (instruction) bear the palm. “Hablul matin” (the tough rope) was the name of three journals, one of which was issued from Calcutta. Among the humorous journals, which catered to the lighter side of life, the chief were:- “Sharq” (east), “Nasim i shamal” (north wind), “Shaida” (insane), “Hashrat ul arz” (reptiles of the earth) and the “Zisht wa ziba” (ugly and beautiful) column of the “Naqur” (trumpet). But the finest type of humour may be found in the “Charandprand” (grazers and fliers; beasts and birds) column of

the journal “Sur i Israfil” (the trumppet of Doomsday to be blown by the angel Israfil), written by 'Ali Akbar Khan Dehkhuda, known to fame by his nom de -plume Dakhw. But the Iranian journals are too numerous to be referred to even causally. Before 1906, when Iran first received the privilege of a constitutional “Mashruteh” or Assembly, the journals used to be lithographed on papers of a long size, but thereafter there was considerable improvement in the number and size of paper as well as in the quality of print. Now works of ancient Persian literature appeared elegantly printed from the “Kawyani” press of Germany, and today in Iran itself we have handy and attractively printed books instead of the long and unwieldy tomes that used to appear heretofore. Thus we can say the contribution of the Iranian journals in the awakening of the nation must be considered to be very substantial.

The process of Westernization in Persia had been considerably slowed down by the time war broke out in 1914. The country had passed through many trails, both internal and external. There was an attempt in 1908 to reinstate the despotic regime, but it had been failed by the combined forces of nationalism working in alliance with the tribal elements. In spite of all the disruptive factors, a sense of solidarity had developed suddenly among the people. In a period
of crisis the urges of nationalism were stronger than ideological differences.

After the outbreak of World War I Persia declared her neutrality, but soon the troops of the belligerents were in most of her provinces and she could do little but protest. German agents were active throughout the country and a pro-German government was established in Kirmanshah. In October 1917 took place the Bolshevik revolution, which produced immediate Khiyabani, supported by the Persian gendarmerie, rose in revolt against the central government. These demonstrations of popular feeling were directed towards the attainment of radical social reforms.

In the changing climate of post-war politics was concluded the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919 by which Britain undertook to supply expert advisers, both civil and military, as well as arms and equipment, to advance a substantial loan of Persia, and to cooperate with Persians in the construction of railways and the development of other sources of communications. On the face of it the Agreement represented a 'benevolent' attempt to rehabilitate Persia, but in reality, it was intended "to assure Britain a Predominant position while maintaining Iranian independence." The Persians,
on their part, had several misgivings, and the Agreement ultimately fell through when it was not ratified by the Persian Majlis.

The Bolsheviks, soon after coming to power, had been making overtures to Persia, and on February 26, 1921, they signed a treaty with the latter which remains the basis of Soviet-Persian relations up to the present time. According to this, treaty Russia abandoned extra-territorial privileges enjoyed by her citizens, surrendered all concessions then held by the Russian government or Russian nationals, and declared all previous treaties and convention as null and void.

On February 21, 1921 five days before the signing of the Soviet-Persian Treaty, there took place a coup d'etat led by the journalist-turned politician, Saiyid Ziyaud Din Tabatabai and supported by a force of Persian Cossacks under Riza Khan. In the new government, headed by Saiyid Ziya, Riza Khan became minister of war and Commander-in-chief of all Persian forces, and in 1923 combined that office with the Prime Minister. Finally, in December 1925, following the decision of a decline Majlis to depose Ahmad Shah, the last ruler in the Qajar line, he was chosen as Shah of

Persia by the constituent Assembly especially convoked for this purpose. On coming to power Riza Shah entered into various alliances to ensure the integrity and freedom of Persia's frontiers. The turbulent tribes were put down with an iron hand; the army which constituted the main support of the Shah's power was reorganised into an efficient and disciplined was seriously taken up and communications were improved through the building of new roads, extension of air services and the construction of the Trans-Iranian railway which connects the Persian Gulf with the Caspian sea.

Before 1925, justice was administered mainly accordingly to the religious law (Sharia); other codes that existed were rarely enforced. The clergy being the official interpreters of the Sharia wielded considerable authority and attempts made earlier to institute reforms in the judicial system had been thwarted by their opposition. In 1918 and 1922 respectively the government had tried to adopt a civil code model after the code of Napoleon and a modern commercial code, but failed to do so because of clerical resistance. After Reza Shah had firmly installed himself, civil and criminal codes, based upon French Law, were adopted with the result that the jurisdiction of the Sharia court was considerably restricted. A new penal code,
based on the Italian model, was introduced in 1939.²⁰

Education in Iran, for a long time had been monopolized mainly by the quaint schools and religious colleges. Institutions imparting modern education were few and these, too, were mostly in the hands of the foreigners, a leading role was played by the French, who have continued to influence the cultural life of the country.

The establishment of the constitution brought little improvement in the way of modern education and not until Riza Shah's time was there a development in the real sense. Thereafter, deliberate attempts were made to widen the scope of modern education. New schools and colleges were opened, vocational institutions were established, and primary education was made free and compulsory. The University of Tehran was founded in 1935 and the government began to send annually, at its own expense more than one hundred students to Western Universities, preferably to French-speaking countries. In his various measures the Shah was primarily guided by a desire to eliminate the excessive hold of religion in public life. The public exhibition of self-torture, which characterized the tenth day of Muharram was prohibited as also

²⁰ L.P. Elwell-Sutton, Modern Iran. (London,1942) PP-80-81
the taking out of mourning processions. Above all, the government took over the administration of the ecclesiastical lands and endowments which were maintained by the great Shrines such as those of Mashad and Qum. The changes in the legal and educational systems paved the way for a much needed social reform: the emancipation of woman. In 1936 the veil was abolished by an imperial edict, henceforth, veiled women could be served in a shop norm could they even appear on the streets. Polygamous marriages, though not prohibited, were discouraged and a condition was imposed requiring the consent of the first wife before a man could conclude a second marriage.

The actions of Riza Shah were generally inspired by the example of the Turkish leader, Mustafa Kamal. It is true that he made his countrymen adopt many European habits and customs but his concept of Westernization was essentially superficial. An extreme case which confirms this view was perhaps the introduction of European dress. This was made compulsory for men in 1928, followed by woman in 1936. Riza Shah's political methods were also ruthless and he could not tolerate any restraint on his arbitrary authority. The Majlish, during his time, became a mere rubber stamp.

to confirm the decisions he had already taken. This led to a sense of helplessness and a lack of initiative among the people and therefore, when Riza Shah had to renounce the throne there was no effective leadership to replace him.

On the outbreak of World War II Persia declared her neutrality, but Riza Shsh's sympathies were undoubtedly pro-German, and Nazi secret agents were active organising centers of the fifth column in various parts of the country. On August 26, 1941, British and Russian armies entered Persia and forced Riza Shah to abdicate in favour of his son, Muhammad Riza, the present ruler.

With the allied occupation of Persia there emerged two mutually opposite reactions in the country. On the other hand there was a sense of futility as regards all that was achieved in the previous years, for Persians had been powerless to avert the disaster; on the other there was a feeling of gratification at the passing away of the military regime, under which personal liberty was virtually non-existent. This revived sense of freedom manifested itself in the renewal of political and trade union activities which were banned under Riza Shah. Thus came into being the Tude Party which took a leading part in the coming events.

Nevertheless, Persia did not find the political stability she had
enjoyed for the last eighteen years and which was needed most in her present condition. Post-War governments followed one another in quick succession, parties sprang up on the political soil only to disintegrate afterwards, inflation reigned freely corruption was rampant, and even assassination of political leaders had taken place. In this climate of mutter confusion, the different and divergent elements in the political life of Persia were brought together by an event of historical importance the struggle for the nationalization of oil.

It is significant that in times of crises Persian nationalism has always asserted itself and people, irrespective of their party, group or personal loyalties have stood up as one man to face the challenge. But once the emergency is over there is a tendency to revert back to the well, worn routine of mutual dissensions and quarrels. One of the reasons for this melody is the absence of a sizable middle class that could provide the welding force necessary for the growth of nationalism. Further, Persia, by all standards is still immature in the handling of democratic institutions. She has inherited many of her ideas from the despotic past and the development on democratic lines was interrupted by a period of military dictatorship. The Persians have yet to finite necessary, which could unite them on a
minimum programme for the betterment of the country. No one can possibly deny the claim of the West to the civilizing influence she has exercised on Persia, but the way this has come about has not always been happy for that country. The Persians have often suffered at the hands of the foreigners of mistrust regarding western intentions. It is not intended to support the contention of those who lay the responsibility of Persians misfortunes entirely at the door of outsiders, but one is inclined to give credence to the feeling that foreign interference has given Persians little breathing space to work out their destiny freely. Consequently, the ordinary educated Persian is veering round more and more to the idea of "positive neutralism," even though his government may have identified the interest of the country with a particular power bloc.

If this idea is successfully realized, it may be expected that Persia will be able to devote more of her attention to solving the urgent social problems which have been accumulating for a long time. Secularization still remains one of the major problems faced by Persia. Since the end of the war there has been a revival of strong religious sentiment, which is not only confined to the extreme section, such as the one led by Mulla Kshani, but also expresses itself among a layer of sober-minded intellectuals who have been educated in
the tradition of the West Leaving aside the former, who have always been opposed, if not openly to progressive social reforms, and whose hostility to western ideas is a mother of course the others, rightly or wrongly, feel that the West has been responsible for introducing crass materialism in their lives, thus destroying the basis of spiritual values which they had inherited from religion. This conviction essentially springs from a one sided view of the West and May, in its final form lead to the propagation of obscurantist and unscientific tendencies. Persia, because of her predominantly agricultural and uneducated population, is a favorable breeding ground for socially backward nations, which have isolated Islam from the currents of modern life.

In 1920, the veteran of the national movement, Saiyid Hassan Taqizada, writing in Kawa, recommended to the Persia "the adoption and promotion, without condition or reservation, of European civilization, absolute submission to Europea, and the assimilation of the culture, customs, practices, organization, sciences, arts, life and the whole attitude of Europe without any exception save language and the putting aside of every kind of self-satisfaction and such senseless objections as arise from a mistaken or as we prefer to call it a false patriotism."

22. E.G. Browne, Literary History of Persia. iv (Cambridge. 1953p-486
Since the time Taqizada wrote these words, Persian thinking has changed considerably. Of course educated and intelligent Persians don't for a moment dream of putting the clock back or closing the door of their cultural and material world to outside influences, but they are definitely against wholesale and indiscriminate borrowings from the West. On the other hand they favour the retention of such traditions as lead a distinctive character to the Persians way of life and blending them with the best elements in Western culture. By following the course they hope to maintain their identity and also to keep in tune with the present day world. It is this willingness to respond to change while keeping the identity that provides a fresh note of significance to the aspirations of a Persia.

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