

## Book Review

### *Gozareshhayi az Enqelab-e Mashrutiyyat-e Iran* [Reports on the Iranian Constitutional Revolution]

Mohammad Amin Rasulzadeh (trans. Rahim Ra'isniya, introduction by Kaveh Bayat) (1998). Tehran, Iran: Shirazeh, 360 pages. ISBN 964-6578, 228

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#### Mohammad Amin Rasulzadeh's Journalism

Mohammad Amin Rasulzadeh (1884-1954) was a prominent journalist and political activist from the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan who would also become the first head of the Azerbaijani National Council. He apparently got his start in journalism, contributing to *Hemmat*, a magazine sponsored by Muslim socialists and other progressives. In the one surviving article from that period which illustrates his political outlook, he writes, in the floral and colorful style of his early years, about four people, a nationalist, a democrat, a reactionary, and a progressive, and how it is only by them joining hands and avoiding division that anything will be accomplished.<sup>1</sup>

One of the first of his journalistic campaigns was healing the wounds opened by the Armenian-Muslim massacres of 1905, which he blamed on the Russian imperial bureaucracy. However, the Armenian left-nationalist Dashnaks did not escape reproach for betraying socialism by engaging in nationalist provocations.<sup>2</sup> He also campaigned for European-style reading rooms to raise the level of culture among the Muslims.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> “Hummätür-ricâl Təqlül-Cibal”, *Hemmat* No. 3, 1905. See Məhəmməd Amin Rəsulzadə, *Asarləri*, vol. I, pp. 25-26.

<sup>2</sup> See the articles published in *Quç-Dəvət*, *Dəvət*, and *İrşad* in op. cit., pp. 27-33.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., “Təəssüfli Halətimiz”, *İrşad* No. 47, February 15, 1906 in *ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

### Rasulzadeh's Journalism and the Iranian Constitutional Revolution

Rasulzadeh greeted the outbreak of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution, which took him by surprise. Iran, he wrote, had become a byword for backwardness, corruption, and division, although it did have a glorious ancient history, showing that the Iranian people had great latent potential.<sup>4</sup>

In his first article on the matter,<sup>5</sup> Rasulzadeh wrote that the tremendous sacrifices made by the revolutionaries in Russia in the course of the 1905 Revolution defined the cost of freedom. This sits oddly with what follows, where the author writes:

‘[T]he Iranian government, having admitted that it was in an unsustainable condition, understood that it had to be reestablished and reformed on the basis of freedom. And so it was ready for a small movement, greeting with complete pleasure the people’s wishes and demands even for its own reform.’

Indeed, he argues, it was for this very reason that the Iranian Majlis (Parliament) was no less free than the Russian Duma.<sup>6</sup>

The Iranian revolution, he continues, was part of Asia’s reawakening to civilization and progress—yesterday Japan, today Iran, and tomorrow China, Afghanistan, and India. In this regard, it should be recalled that Japan’s reawakening was a model of social change from the top, much admired by Iran’s conservative constitutionalists.<sup>7</sup>

He next tried analyzing the revolution as a sort of Iranian version of the recent Russian revolution; thus, in his next article on this theme, published in the progressive daily *Irşad*, Rasulzadeh argues that Iran’s rise was a product of the same economic and political forces which led to the Russian revolution. “The events in France are today beginning to appear in Russia. And the events appearing in Russia are now reflected in Iran.” He quotes a letter from Iran published in that journal’s previous issue, which claimed that up to a hundred people were massacred at a

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<sup>4</sup> “İranda Hürriyyet”, *Irşad*, No. 51, February 20, 1906 in *ibid.*, pp. 36-38.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> This was a theme Rasulzadeh would return to later: unlike the Ottoman constitution, which was granted from above, and the Tsarist October manifesto, which was granted to mollify the people.

The Iranian constitution will not be like this. In Iran, the constitution will not be established by the government, but by the people. To be sure, it will be obliged to make the government satisfied with it. But the point is that it keeps us optimistic about Iran.

<sup>7</sup> Nazem ol-Eslam Kermani, *Tarikh-e Bidariye Iranian*, vol. 1, p. 462 ff and Ahmad Kasravi, *Tarikh-e Mashruteyyeh Iran*, p. 90 ff.

mosque in Iran. This is a reference to the accidental killing of a Seyyed in a tussle between protesters and soldiers.<sup>8</sup> The article closes by congratulating Iran's revolutionaries in the name of the Russian revolutionaries for having taken its first step toward freedom.<sup>9</sup>

A few days later, further honed based on this same thesis, saying that the zealous Russian revolution inspired the Iranian revolution (and the Young Turk movement) and, indeed, despite “a difference in tone and color,” “Iran’s young revolution followed [*tāqlid etdi*] its guide, the Russian revolution, in many ways.” As proof, he cites the above-mentioned alleged massacre (bringing the number of the dead down to twelve), which he compares to Russia’s Bloody Sunday, which led to the 1905 Revolution there.<sup>10</sup> Another example of his imposing the Russian revolutionary paradigm on the Iranian Constitutional Revolution is the report carried in *İrşad* and repeated by Rasulzadeh of a bomb attack by peasant-loving terrorist intellectuals in Kermanshah—the Iranian revolution has *Narodniki* too!<sup>11</sup> Again, he writes of the constitutionalists as being “the same force which feeds and clothes all of Iran’s khans and traitors and landlords by its bloody toil.”<sup>12</sup> However, the constitutionalist forces at this stage still represented the merchants, the higher clergy. Indeed, the Russian revolution of 1905 at this stage (up to Bloody Sunday) still represented the intelligentsia, radicalized students, and reformers, while the deeply conservative and religious workers and peasants remained apathetic (except for the Caucasus). Again, when the newly crowned shah snubbed the Majlis by refusing to invite its representatives to his coronation, infuriating the people, our journalist writes that this inspired them to form bands of *fedayees* and provisional revolutionary organizations. Reports were coming from many cities of Iran that they were going into action, ignoring the government. “These councils in Iran immediately remind one of the Soviets of Workers Deputies organized in Russia,” he wrote, only conceding that “Although the Iranian freedom struggles, raised by the Great Russian Revolution, . . . imitates its guide in many ways, it is in some matters bound up with its own social, political, and spiritual conditions.” He further argues that the Iranian councils were more advanced than the Russian Soviets since the latter had been formed before the

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<sup>8</sup>Nazem ol-Eslam Kermani, *Tarikh-e Bidariye Iranian*, vol. 1, p. 189 ff and 478 ff and Ahmad Kasravi, *Tarikh-e Mashruteyyeh Iran*, p. 95 ff. For an English translation along with contemporary sources, see [http://iran.qlineorientalist.com/Articles/KasraviIranConstitutionalRevolution/Kasravi\\_Constitutional\\_Revolution.html](http://iran.qlineorientalist.com/Articles/KasraviIranConstitutionalRevolution/Kasravi_Constitutional_Revolution.html).

<sup>9</sup>“İranda İnqilab”, *İrşad*, No. 145, June 21, 1906 in *ibid.*, pp. 56-58.

<sup>10</sup>“İranda Yanvarın Doqquzu”, *İrşad*, No. 159, July 7, 1906 in *ibid.*, pp. 61-60.

<sup>11</sup>“İrana Dair”, *İrşad*, No. 272, November 26, 1906 in *ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

<sup>12</sup>“Şahın Vəfatına Dair”, *Təkamül*, No. 3, December 30, 1906 in *ibid.*, pp. 96-98.

parliament while the latter had the advantage of the Majlis as a unifying force.<sup>13</sup> And again, the Iranian constitutionalists were imitating [*taqlid*] the Russian people.<sup>14</sup>

In an article published a month later, Rasulzadeh still affirms that, although the Shah signed the Iranian constitution, it was won due to the blood sacrificed by the people. Nevertheless, contrary to the previous article, he recognized that Iran had not undergone its own Bloody Sunday and prayed that Iran would be spared such a tragedy in defense of its freedom, expressing certainty that indeed it would not. In this article, he took a much soberer and more nuanced view of Iran's future, writing that in the royal decree for the constitution, there was no mention of the village poor, but instead only of the wealthy and aristocratic classes. Such negligence, he believed, was a threat to the survival of the constitutional order. Moreover, the constitution's content depends on who is elected to the Majlis, and the experience of the Russian Duma shows how this can lead to the betrayal of the constitutional order. A free press is needed to expose any attempts by the government to steal the elections.

Moreover, since the people have been kept illiterate, freedom of speech and assembly are also necessary, as are trade unions. So all this requires that many liberals [*hürriyyətpərəstlər*] be elected.<sup>15</sup> One of these liberals was Mullah Fazl Ali of the Tabriz Majlis delegation, whom a correspondent caught up with after he had addressed a group of Iranian foreign workers while passing through Baku. He told them that Iran, which forced them to seek work abroad for a morsel of bread, would be changed. In an interview with this correspondent, he said he was in favor of eliminating the oppression of the peasants by their landlords and guaranteed equality between men and women.<sup>16</sup>

In the meantime, starting in late 1908, Rasulzadeh did some eye-witness journalism about the fighting in Iran. The reports he transmits from Tabriz about the fighting between the constitutionalists and the reactionaries provide details not seen

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<sup>13</sup>“İran İşləri”, *Təkamül*, No. 7, February 3, 1909 in *ibid.*, pp. 112-114.

<sup>14</sup>“Bakı, 17 Mars”, *Təkamül*, No. 15, March 17, 1909 in *ibid.*, pp. 143-145.

<sup>15</sup>“İran İşləri”, *İrşad*, No. 186, August 8, 1906 in *ibid.*, p. 68. Of course, it would suffer far more...

<sup>16</sup>“Təbriz Vəkillərinin Bakıda Təvəqqüfləri”, *Təkamül*, No. 4, January 11, 1907 in *ibid.*, pp. 103-104. Sheikh Fazl Ali Tabrizi had a vehement disgust for Shiite Islam and was very much a free-thinker, having been introduced to modernism through an uncle who had dabbled in Freemasonry. See his memoirs in Gholam-Hoseini Mirza Saleh, *Bohran-e Demokrasi dar Majles-e Avval: Khaterat va Namehayeh Khosusiye Mirza Fazl-Ali Aqa Tabrizi* (Tehran, 1993) In the event, I have found no indication that he struggled for either of these causes.

anywhere else.<sup>17</sup> Later on, he produces dispatches from Tabriz reporting on the desperate state the population has been reduced to by the cruel siege imposed on it by the central government.<sup>18</sup> He later wrote an illuminating essay about the politics of the Bakhtiari tribes.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps his most exciting journalism from Iran is his report from Rasht, from which a force led by Mohammad-Vali Khan Sepahdar had set off to restore the constitutional order. The first of these articles begin with a rally featuring Sepahdar marking the constitutional conquest of Rasht.<sup>20</sup> These reports give a sense of the power of Russia and its surrogates in Rasht and the anxiety this produced among the nationalist forces; among other things, they were concerned with fending off Russian provocations designed to give the Tsarist forces cover to intervene and crush them.<sup>21</sup> He also provides some welcome details about the funeral for Pasha Khan, the Georgian revolutionary who died fighting the royalist militias.<sup>22</sup> He also presents a very interesting detailed, if adulatory, report about the activities of Feodor Panov, a Bulgarian anarchist considered by some a hero of the Iranian constitutional movement and others an adventurer.<sup>23</sup> His last dispatch from Rasht is published April 20, 1906, where he reports being impressed by a speech by the constitutionalist orator Hossein Kasma'i.<sup>24</sup>

The author's next destination was the province of Azerbaijan. He stopped at Julfa. Mingling with the merchant colony there, he reports that the people are open-minded and constitutionalist, commenting, "It is well-known that trade and industry are enemies of ignorance." He informs us that,

The tumult in Khoy, Salmas, and Marand was prepared from there. They would dispatch weapons, bullets, fedaayis, and other supplies thence.

Julfa constitutionalism is based on thought and understanding and is not like that of the others. Since they are representatives of the merchants and industry, they naturally believe in the economic

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<sup>17</sup> "İrana Dair: Təbriz Ahvalatı", "Təbrizdən", "İrandan Bizə Yazırlar" in *Tərəqqi*, Nos. 32, 43,76, August 19, September 3, and October 14, 1908 in *ibid.*, pp. 199-203 and 245.

<sup>18</sup> "İran İşlərinə Dair", *Tərəqqi* No. 124, December 11, 1908 in *ibid.*, pp. 283-285.

<sup>19</sup> "İran İşlərinə Dair: Bəxtiyar Eli ne Politika Tutuyor?!", *Tərəqqi* No. 124, December 11, 1908 in *ibid.*, pp. 297-299.

<sup>20</sup> "İran Məktubları: Rəşt", *Tərəqqi* No. 57, March 18, 1909 in *ibid.*, pp. 307-309.

<sup>21</sup> E.g., "İran Məktubları: Rəştdən" *Tərəqqi*, No. 59, March 20, 1909 in *ibid.*, pp. 307-308.

<sup>22</sup> "İran Məktubları: Rəştdən" *Tərəqqi*, No. 60, March 23, 1909 in *ibid.*, pp. 310-315.

<sup>23</sup> "İran Məktubları: Mazandaran Vaqiəsinin Tafsilatı", *Tərəqqi* No. 64, March 26, 1909 in *ibid.*, pp. 315-319 and scattered further references.

<sup>24</sup> "İran Məktubları: Miting", *Tərəqqi* No. 83, April 20, 1909 in *ibid.*, pp. 334-338.

benefits the constitution will bring and don't only give it a religious quality.

The author reached Tabriz in the throes of starvation due to the cruel siege mounted by the central government forces. He reports how some mojaheds were so hungry that they joined the Russian army in opening the roads to food and supplies for the people of Tabriz. `Ein od-Dawleh, the governor of Azerbaijan, who had imposed these last hours of cruelty on Tabriz, left, and order was restored.<sup>25</sup> The author quotes one Tabrizi as boasting that the mojaheds would have fought on even if they faced starvation, but “many well-known Tabrizis” said that if the Russian army had not opened the roads to food, they would have been forced to surrender. The Russians issued a statement saying that they were here to open the road from Julfa, defend Tabriz against the government’s armies out of humanitarianism, and ask for nothing in return, not even compensation for its expenses. He comments that, after having suffered savage attacks for so long, “it is natural that they would not protest this expression of love and welcomed their guests without hostility, and the Anjoman held a reception for them.” However, the Russians then demanded that the mojaheds lay down their weapons. A Russian soldier was wounded, and the Russians demanded 10 thousand tumans in compensation and tore down the Tabrizi constitutionalists’ barricades. Mojaheds were imprisoned, and Russian subjects fighting alongside the constitutionalist forces were arrested, souring the people’s relationship with the Russian forces, and relations went downhill from there.<sup>26</sup> Sattar Khan, the hero of the Tabriz constitutionalist resistance, took refuge in the Ottoman embassy. The author held a detailed interview with him<sup>27</sup> and followed his fate and that of his comrade in arms, Baqer Khan, closely.

The author saw the Iranians as being preoccupied with the Russian occupation (i.e., national sovereignty) at the expense of other life and death issues. However, on seeing that the British and the Russians wanted to impose control over Iran’s legislation, taxation, and concessions, he caustically responded,

Perhaps some politicians think that [Iran] will make some progress under Russian and British tutelage and that schools, roads, and companies will be formed.

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<sup>25</sup> “Īran Məktublari: Julfa”, *Tərəqqi*, No. 110, May 21, 1909 in *ibid.*, pp. 334-338. For an amusing interview with a Russian officer in charge of blocking the gun runners, “Īran Məktublari: Julfada Təftiṣat və Həbslər”, *Tərəqqi* No. 112, May 24, 1909 in *ibid.*, pp. 340-342.

<sup>26</sup> “Īran Məktublari: Təbrizdən”, *Tərəqqi*, No. 116, May 28, 1909 in *ibid.*, pp. 342-345.

<sup>27</sup> “Xüsusi Teleqraflar”, *op. cit.* in *ibid.*, pp. 342-345.

But in the meantime, one would have to shut one's eyes to independence.

After all, Iran wouldn't have an army which could secure territorial independence. Naturally, a nation under the control of two neighbors<sup>28</sup> wanting taxation and legislation to be half independent will not be able to organize a full army.<sup>29</sup>

After a few days' stay in Tabriz, he toured Azerbaijan. First stop, Marand. He was stunned by the town's natural beauty.

Behold how good it is to contemplate the poplars before you, raising their heads to the heavens while the winds waft down from the snowy peaks. When the moonlit leaves turn silk-colored, their rustling is like the delicate voice of the beloved's satin clothes. It is unworldly. It's inspiring.

Thinking back on his native Baku, the Caucasus' seat of industrial progress, he wonders if there is no way of melding Baku's modernity with Marand's charm, harmonizing industry and nature.<sup>30</sup>

Moving on to Tabriz, he launches into a moving lamentation on how the city which had resisted "Rahim Khan's savage cavalry, Ein od-Dawleh's intrigues, and Samad Khan's attacks" while sustaining itself with grass for food was now a Russian military base, losing its Iranian character. The once-prosperous Sheshkalan quarter of Tabriz<sup>31</sup> had been leveled to the ground.

I passed along a street. It had been the city's most beautiful street. It had been a Europeanizing street which had been held up like a lesson against Tabriz's old monotonous and uniform gray mud walls to put an end to the old ways, but now it had been burned in the fires of resistance. It breaks one's heart...

This irredeemable group which, seizing the name of shariatization, had burned this street which was a symbol of Westernization, had destroyed the civilization, the source of the city's life.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> The Russian and the British empires.

<sup>29</sup> "İran İşleri İran Məktubları", *Tərəqqi*, No. 119, June 1, 1909 in *ibid.*, pp. 342-345.

<sup>30</sup> "Yol Təəssüratı", *Tərəqqi*, No. 122, June 4, 1909 in *ibid.*, pp. 357-358.

<sup>31</sup> A conservative borough of Tabriz.

<sup>32</sup> "İran məktubları: Yol Təəssüratı (Təbriz...)", *Tərəqqi*, No. 129, June 12, 1909 in *ibid.*, pp. 359-360.

His next stop was Urmia. During the civil war, Urmia was not so much faced with the government's forces as with "Kurdish savages." The population was particularly grateful for the role played by Armenian fedayees. Against the conventional wisdom that these Kurds were acting as the Ottoman's shock troops,<sup>33</sup> the author claims that the Ottoman forces were, on the contrary, keeping the Kurds in check. The city was currently faced with a power struggle between the governor, the constitutionalist mojaheds, the Ottomans, and, ultimately, the Russians, who had pulled the city's then-significant Assyrian minority behind them.<sup>34</sup> The Ottomans were hampered in their mission by their consul, an Ottoman Greek, whom Rasulzadeh considered either grossly incompetent or a Tsarist agent.<sup>35</sup>

He then headed towards Tabriz, accompanied by two journalist friends from the Russian press. A cab ride from Tabriz led him to reflections on the Iranian mode of life. He considers his lazy, cheating cab driver to be a typical Iranian. He is escorted out of Tabriz by a crowd of jostling beggars, and he exclaims, "Iran is one big house of beggars." Finally, "there are no Persians who don't drink. [Rasulzadeh's close friend Sayyed Hasan] Taqizadeh<sup>36</sup> said that Iranians surpass Westerners in drinking."<sup>37</sup>

Arriving in Urmia, he declares that "the people of Urmia are inherently negligent and pleasure-loving. They spend their days relaxing, and when evening comes, they watch displays of horsemanship. This negligence allows the administration to do as it pleases." By way of contrast, the Assyrian men went abroad to find work, leaving their women behind.<sup>38</sup>

The author next wrote a fascinating discussion on the peasants. They were, he noted, reactionary, supporting the brutal monarchist warlord Samad Khan. "The peasants here are just like the Russian Black Hundred *muzhiks*. They can't even stand the sight of a constitutionalist." As one peasant said to him, "Look, if a constitutionalist fell into my hands, I'd cut his head off like a sheep."

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<sup>33</sup> *Tarikh-e Mashruteye Iran*, pp. 399-400, 423 ff. For the English translation and contemporary sources used by the author, see [http://iran.qlineorientalist.com/Articles/KasraviIranConstitutionalRevolution/Kasravi\\_Constitutional\\_Revolution.html](http://iran.qlineorientalist.com/Articles/KasraviIranConstitutionalRevolution/Kasravi_Constitutional_Revolution.html)

<sup>34</sup> "İran məktubları: Urmiyə", *Tərəqqi*, No. 130, 131, June 14-15, 1909 in *ibid.*, pp. 361-365.

<sup>35</sup> "Yol Təssüratı: Müsəlmanlar", *Tərəqqi*, No. 145, July 1, 1909 in *ibid.*, p. 398.

<sup>36</sup> The famous constitutionalist politician and close friend of Rasulzadeh.

<sup>37</sup> "Yol Təssüratı: Təbriz-Urmiyə Yolu", *Tərəqqi*, No. 135, June 19, 1909 in *ibid.*, pp. 365-368.

<sup>38</sup> "İran İşləri", *Tərəqqi*, No. 136, June 20, 1909 in *ibid.*, pp. 369-370.



Moreover, they were terrified of agents of change, feeling that they would take the blame for the disturbances they caused. The landlord had absolute power and could stand up to the governor should it come to that. For all that, according to one of Rasulzadeh's Russian journalist companions, the peasants at the village they were visiting were better off than their Russian counterparts.<sup>39</sup>

Rasulzadeh and his comrades passed through a village as night was falling, and the kindly villagers insisted they spend the night. Thus, they were treated to their generous hospitality and talked into the night about village life. He recalls that his host was literate and could recite from the *Golestan* and Hafez, even making a parody of the latter's famous verse, saying, "be khal-e Hinuyesh bakhxam se man-e qand o do xorma ra."<sup>40</sup>

Here, Rasulzadeh was impressed by Urmia. The people were noble, more women went bareheaded or wore brightly-colored veils. He took an active interest in the life of the bazaar, particularly marking the unsurprising domination of Russian currency. For all that, "the people are famously apathetic."<sup>41</sup>

While in Tabriz, he met some Armenians. "The Iranian Armenians are the most civilized people in Iran." They are educated while the rest of the country suffers from illiteracy. Moreover, due to the country's prevailing lawlessness, the Muslims suffered under the tyranny of their corrupt and brutal khans while the Armenians enjoyed autonomy. Everyone praised them. And unlike their suffering under the Ottomans, they enjoyed a tranquil existence in Iran.

Thus, when he heard that a meeting of the Armenian educational society was to be held, he bought a ticket and entered. The presence of women particularly struck him. Indeed, a man who was not able to bring his wife with him was asked to leave. They

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<sup>39</sup> "Yol Təssürati", *Tərəqqi*, No. 137, June 22, 1909 in *ibid.*, pp. 371-375. See also "Yol Təssürati (Urmia)", *Tərəqqi*, No. 144, June 15, 1909 in *ibid.*, p. 394, where, after the author explains that a constitution would bring law and order, scoffs, "it is chaos. If it wasn't chaos, a constitution would be good, but they won't allow it." The author counters "Who won't allow it?" to which the villager replies, "God knows!" The author elsewhere notes that the Russians are very popular in the villages, where the people are ignorant of ideas about nation, constitution, rights, and property; rather it is the merchants who hold constitutionalist ideas. "İran Məktubları: Təbrizdən," *Tərəqqi*, No. 117, May 29, 1909 in *ibid.*, p. 349.

<sup>40</sup> "Yol Təssürati", *Tərəqqi*, No. 139, June 24, 1909 in *ibid.*, pp. 375-377. The original verse was, "be khal-e hendu esh bakhsham Samarqand o Bokhara," "for her Hindu mole I would give Samarqand and Bokhara"; the parody, "for her Hindu mole I would give three *mans* [a little less than three ounces altogether] of sugar and two dates."

<sup>41</sup> "Yol Təssürati (Urmiyədə)", *Tərəqqi*, No. 141, June 26, 1909 in *ibid.*, pp. 380-381.

talked about Armenian affairs for hours. All of a sudden, he was told that he regrettably had to leave as no non-Armenians were permitted in their gatherings.<sup>42</sup> It infuriated our journalist, and he left in a huff, cursing nationalism.<sup>43</sup>

The next issue carries his memoirs of life in a village near Urmia. The villagers were simple and hospitable people. Although there was a *maktab*, his host sent his children to work instead, and they were illiterate. However, all three of the neighbor's children were able to read and write and recite from the *Golestan* and Hafez. One of the children sings a song about a boy spurned by the object of his affections. "They brought me to the khan/He wanted to roast me, girl!... They brought me to the Anjoman/They wanted to roast me, girl!" The journalist comments, "The revolution begins and the khan's work is over, replaced by the Anjoman, but the way of love remains just as it was in the old days." Taking a walk outside, he is struck by the variety of nationalities he sees. Assyrians in Turkish, Iranian, Caucasian, or European outfits, Armenians, and, of course, Muslims. He notes that a Zoroastrian is conversing in Turkish with a Jew. Turkish, he notes with satisfaction, is the common language.<sup>44</sup>

By mid-June, he was back in Rasht, reporting on Sepahdar's constitutionalist march. Our journalist apparently did not march with the fighters but went ahead and covered the conquest of Tehran and the aftermath. Fascinating was his response to the execution of leading reactionaries by the victorious revolutionaries. He exhibits nothing but disgust for the spectacle.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> In the memoirs of Hamideh Khanum Javanshir, the wife of Mirza Jalil Mohammadqulizadeh, the editor of the satirical journal *Molla Nəsr ud-Din*, said had similar observations about the Tabriz Armenians. On visiting a club, she noticed a sign posted at its entrance. She was told it said, "No dogs or Muslims allowed," and that it had been posted by Armenians after some rowdy Muslims entered the club and made unwanted advances towards Armenian women. Mehriban Vəzir (trans.), Həmidə Xanım Cavanşir, *Xatirələrım* (Apostroff, Baku 2011). The relevant passage is translated in <http://iran.qlineorientalist.com/Articles/Hamideh/Hamideh.html>.

<sup>43</sup> "Qəribə Bir Baykot", *Tərəqqi*, No. 143, June 29, 1909 in *ibid.*, pp. 388-391.

<sup>44</sup> "Yol Təəssürati (Urmia)", *Tərəqqi*, No. 144, June 15, 1909 in *ibid.*, pp. 391-395.

<sup>45</sup> "Tehranın Fəthindən sonra İran Məktubları I Edam Cəzaları" and "İran Məktubları: Edam Cəzaları" *Tərəqqi*, No. 166 and 172, July 26 and August 3, 1909 in *ibid.*, pp. 421-423, 430-432.