The Man Who Never Went to School:

Abdul-Baha's Visit to Stanford

Presented by

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Editorial note: Filler words ("uh," "um," "ah") have been removed. Clear transcription mismatches were corrected by comparison with the presentation notes. All other wording, phrasing, and grammar has been preserved as close to verbatim as possible, including informal or run-on constructions. Superscript numbers point to the References section.

Moderator — Introduction:

Thank you for being here today. Vafa Bayat … is going to tell us about Abdu'l-Bahá's visit to Stanford.

Vafa Bayat: Thank you, Nina jan. I could have listened to Zach forever. I think my father could talk even more. Anyway, thank you.

So, the subject today is the man who never went to school, which is Abdu'l-Bahá. So, I want to begin with the title. It's a small provocation — the man who never went to school. The man, Abdu'l-Bahá, never spent a single day in a classroom. He was born into the household of a prisoner. He grew up in exile behind the walls of a penal colony. His education was suffering and his own father's teachings, and not much else that a Stanford professor in 1912 would have recognized as schooling.

So, he spent most of his life as a prisoner and an exile. He didn't spend any time in a classroom by any measure that the modern scientific Western university of 1912 used to sort people. He should not have belonged on that stage. But in a few hours he addressed the assembled faculty of exactly that kind of university — a place built to be modern, scientific, forward-looking, the very temple of the new American century.

The man who never went to school had come to teach the teachers. I want you to hold that image in your mind, because everything we look at turns on it. Every letter, every newspaper column, every small act of kindness.

So, why this story? And why tell it here at Green Acre? Because the threads connect. Quite literally, Abdu'l-Bahá came here to Green Acre in August of 1912. He walked this ground. He sat under these trees. He blessed this place that Sarah Farmer had built.

And two months later, he stood at Stanford, 3,000 miles away, on the Pacific. The same journey, the same message he carried into the pines of Maine, he carried into the assembly hall of California — the oneness of humanity, the harmony of science and religion, the coming of a new day. Sarah Farmer's vision here and that October morning out west are not two separate stories. They're the same — the Green Acre story.

So, before we go further, let me show you what I'm actually working from, because for a talk like this, the sources are not a footnote. There are two archives behind everything. The first is the David Starr Jordan Papers,[1] held in the special collections at Stanford, which anyone can access but with permission and reservation. That collection contains all the letters received by Jordan and written by Jordan — or at least the ones we have. It's largely unindexed, so it's mostly organized by year, in huge boxes, and half of it is about fish. So, it is a little bit hard to go read through unless you love biology. So, this is the ordinary mail of a university president.

The second is from the National Bahá'í Archives,[2] which were very kind to share with me. And the interesting thing is that out of these two collections, there is only one letter that's shared between them. So, the Bahá'í world has been unaware of the correspondence of Jordan before this point.

So, this (slide is of) David Starr Jordan, the unlikely host. He was the founding president of Stanford from 1891 to 1913 — 22 years. He literally built the place, physically and mentally, everything. He was a world-renowned ichthyologist, which means a studier of fish — all the fishes of America, but also around the world. So he was always collaborating. For some reason I know a lot about this now.

So, he was a serious scientist with a serious reputation and committed to being a peace activist — a public opponent of war at a moment when that was not a comfortable position to hold. He was also a man of his era's blind spots. So, he was a complicated man, and many of you know about the complications, but I will touch on that briefly at the end.

So, this is the point I want to plant right now: Jordan was not a Bahá'í. He didn't become one. He was a busy, prominent, skeptical man of science. And he, by my estimates of reading all these letters, was receiving probably 100 or more letters per day and writing just as many. He was writing to everyone.

So, let's dig in with who called whom. Some of you may know, but it's not obvious in Bahá'í literature. Abdu'l-Bahá's train reached San Francisco at 3:00 in the morning on October 3rd. He had specifically asked for a small reception. He didn't want a crowd; he didn't want a fuss — so almost nobody was there at the platform to welcome him. But [while in San Francisco], Stanford's president came to call on him. So, let that sit for a moment. Not the Persian visitor petitioning the great American university for an audience — the president came to San Francisco to meet Abdu'l-Bahá and ask him if he could come and speak. So, the famous man went to the prisoner. The other people who came to visit at the station were Dr. D'Evelyn, Helen Goodall, her daughter Ella Cooper, and the Ralston family [Charleen Maghzi, comp., *'Abdu'l-Bahá's Visit to California, October 1912*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of San Francisco, 1989), PDF p. 9, n. 6, citing Marion Carpenter Yazdi, *Youth in the Vanguard* (Wilmette, IL: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1982), 13–14.]

So, here's my thesis, the one sentence I'd ask you to carry home: it was not a one-morning event. It was a relationship between the President and Abdu'l-Bahá and the Bahá'ís that lasted 17 years. It survives today in a dozen letters and one printed page. But most people have not read them — they're not publicly available. So, nearly every account of the Stanford visit treats October 8th as the whole story. I'm going to explain that it's much more than that. And the curtain did not fall — the letters kept going through 1913, through the 1920s, all the way to 1928, three years before Jordan's death. So, the morning was not the end of everything. It was the middle.

So, here's the first surprise. We tend to imagine that an invitation like this happens quickly, right? Invited that day, and then he came a week later. No, it wasn't. A phone call, a note — no. There were nine months of letters that preceded this event before a single word was spoken at Stanford. So, from Jordan's own files, I will trace how the invitation actually came together.

This (slide) is the document that started all of it. January 11th, 1912. Jordan writes — and these are his own words[3] — "I should be delighted to meet Abdul Baha if he should come to this coast, and to have him speak to our students." Now, stop and count — this is January. The visit will be in October, nine months later. And notice, nobody pressured him into this. He volunteered it. He'd heard this teacher might be coming to California, and when prompted, he said, "I would be delighted. Send him to my students." And there's one more thing in this letter I want you to catch — he cares about the man's personality, his character, more than his doctrine. This is precisely the lens he judges through.

So, let's go ahead. This was no isolated event, because in these very same weeks, Jordan was a man already leaning east. Look at (the slide to see) who he was writing to in January of 1912 — corresponding with Ahmad Sohrab of the Persian-American Educational Society, and with Mirza Ali-Kuli, the Persian chargé d'affaires of the legation in Washington. With Mason Remey, he was reading about Persia, worrying about Persia, and he was telling his correspondents that he himself intended to travel there, to Persia.

This is the texture that the single famous morning completely hides from us. By the time Abdu'l-Bahá's train reached California, Jordan was already moving inside a whole world of Persian reformers, diplomats, and peace advocates. The invitation didn't drop out of the sky. It grew out of relationships.

And the society reached back to him. This (slide) is January 17th. The Persian-American Educational Society, signing through Mirza Ahmad Sohrab, writes to tell Jordan that Abdu'l-Bahá is coming to America and to offer their help in arranging a meeting at Stanford.[4] And notice the detail I pulled out — his addresses, the letter says, are given entirely free. There's no financial obligation attached. And that detail is moving. This was a national tour mapped out across many states, and the one thing the organizers wanted Jordan to understand up front was that nobody was

selling anything. The society's own printed programs and route sheets still survive in our archives, and Stanford was on the map from early on.

So, this was confirmation to the Master — January 23rd. Remey writes back to Jordan, and here is the sentence that closes the loop: "I have communicated its contents to Abdu'l-Bahá. I am quite sure that while he is in America, he will be most pleased to visit Stanford and speak to your students."[5] So, now we know for certain on paper that Jordan's invitation reached Abdu'l-Bahá himself personally back in January. From this moment forward, the entire question changes. It is no longer whether he will come to Stanford — it's only a matter of time and when the calendar allows it.

There was a second channel running in parallel — the diplomatic one. January 27th, Mirza Ali Kuli-Khan writes warmly and personally to Jordan.[6] And what's striking — remember, he's a Bahá'í, and we heard a lot about him yesterday as well — what's striking is these two men were not strangers in 1912. They had already been corresponding as allies in the peace movement for a full year, since the beginning of 1911, and perhaps earlier than that.

So, the invitation to Stanford did not come through a single door. It came through several at once — Remey on one side, the Persian Legation on the other, the society in the middle. Three separate relationships, all converging on the same result.

Of course, no real plan is without a snag, and this one had a scheduling problem — the one with the happy ending. Jordan worried about the timing. "I fear that he may be in California at an unfortunate time. Our university closes the 21st of May and does not reopen until the 31st of August."[7] Now, think about that little mundane calendar note — every university-associated person knows about the summer calendar. Had it happened in the spring, the campus would have been empty — summer recess, students gone home. By pushing it into October, the academic calendar guaranteed that all 1,800 students were there, and the school was closed on that day for Abdu'l-Bahá's visit — and has never closed since. That's pretty much the only day in the history of Stanford that's been closed; even Sundays it's still pretty much in operation.

So, the constraints, in other words, made the moment. A small administrative worry produced a full house. Here's (the slide about) that very word "worry" in Jordan's own hand: "We should be delighted to have Abdu'l-Bahá speak before our students, but I fear that he may be in California at an unfortunate time."[7] Such a small human thing — a busy president checking his academic calendar against the visitor's itinerary. And I didn't see him do that for other people, but it is the hinge of the whole story. On one side of this hinge is a Spring visit to an empty campus that nobody would remember. On the other side is an October morning, a packed assembly hall, and a standing ovation that we're still talking about 114 years later.

And here (in this slide) is the moment the invitation physically arrives at the Master's desk. Two letters side by side: Jordan writes to Sohrab on February 6th, and the society writes back on the 14th with this line — "A translation of your letter was immediately forwarded to Abdu'l-Bahá."[8] Forwarded to him, translated, and placed in his hands. And this is the single document that exists in both archives — it's in the Jordan Papers at Stanford and in the Sohrab papers in London. It's the one place the two collections touch. Everything else is complementary.

So, let me put the whole negotiation together so you can see (in this slide) its shape at a glance. Eleven documents in 34 days: January 11th, the first invitation. The 17th, the society's offer. The 23rd, Remey's confirmation that it had reached the Master. The 27th, Khan's warm reply. The 29th, the scheduling worry. February 6th, the formal invitation. The 14th, forwarded to Abdu'l-Bahá. Three independent channels, all active inside the same five weeks. And I want to insist on this because it's easy to imagine that the Stanford visit was a happy accident. It was not an accident. It was a convergence — many hands, many letters, pulling in the same direction at the same time.

And then — nothing. Silence for eight months. I struggled to find any letters in that period. There were a lot of letters — I went through probably 20,000 letters over that year or so period, in tens of boxes. It was tiring. But really exciting when you did find one. But I did not find one in that eight-month period. So, it goes quiet through the spring and the summer, or at least in the thousands of letters I reviewed.

And then, in September, a sudden revival. Dr. Frederick D'Evelyn writes to Jordan on September 22nd. And notice what he is and isn't doing — he's not introducing a brand new idea, he's reviving the January plan, picking up the thread that had gone slack, but now from the Californian end, this is the moment the whole effort hands off from the Washington channel to the local one — from the diplomats and the society to the Bay Area friends who will actually make it happen on the ground.

And what was the prior connection between D'Evelyn and Jordan? Based on a handful of letters that I reviewed from that summer, it seems that they were both avid California bird lovers, conservationists, and they were writing to each other occasionally. They probably met in San Francisco to discuss preserving birds. So, birds and fish is the theme of all this. And D'Evelyn was a Bahá'í doctor in San Francisco; the other, the university president.

Here (in this slide) is D'Evelyn's letter itself, handwritten — you can see it's September 22nd, 1912. He writes: "In a few days, Abdul-Bahá, the Persian Savant and Apostle of Universal Peace, will be in San Francisco. He is a most unique messenger and has spoken before several of the Eastern universities. It might be that you would desire his presence at Stanford."[9] And I love this document — a Bay Area physician, in a few lines of looping fountain-pen handwriting, quietly restarting the entire thing. No fanfare. Just, "It might be that you would desire his presence." And I can share the full transcription (in this slide).

October 2nd. Now we are scheduling the Master's actual hours. Jordan writes directly and personally to Ella Goodall Cooper, a Bay Area Bahá'í, the wife of Charles Mason Cooper. Charles Mason Cooper was a doctor in that area and became associated with Stanford by the time this was happening as well — they were in the same circles. He was a Stanford professor under Jordan, essentially, and that's another story.

So, this is to fix the time of the address. (In this slide), he says to Ella Cooper, "I am sure of an audience."[10] He's been preparing for a year, remember — he's sure. Two things to notice here: first, this is the president of the university personally handling the scheduling, and in all the letters I looked at, he did not personally handle scheduling of visitors — it was not a common thing. This was a unique event. He's writing the believer himself. Second, remember the name Ella Goodall Cooper — she was the daughter of Helen Goodall, one of the very earliest members of the Bay Area Bahá'í community, and she's going to walk back into this story 13 years from now, in 1925. Her story and Ella Bailey's story are two other projects of mine — pet projects, anyway.

Okay, so the campus machinery is now turning. Still October 2nd — on the very same day that Jordan writes Ella Goodall Cooper about the timing, he also books his medical school dean, Ray Lyman Wilbur, who would himself one day become the [third] president of Stanford (that's an interesting story in itself). To Dean Wilbur he writes, "We also expect the Bahá at some time during the week."[11] This is how he referred to Abdu'l-Bahá — "the Bahá." It was a very busy week for Jordan, that's what I gathered, and he seemed to be clearing his and the whole school's schedule for Abdu'l-Bahá's visit.

And here's a detail that gives you the flavor of the place: just two days after Abdu'l-Bahá speaks, Prince Lazarević of Serbia will speak in the same assembly hall. It was the hub for the voices of the world. The assembly hall hosted a steady stream of international visitors — which is why an invitation from a Persian to a Persian teacher felt natural to Jordan. His hall already belonged to the whole world.

And then, the day before, October 7th, a telegram from D'Evelyn. He wires Jordan with a logistical request, and I'll read it (from the slide): "Kindly provide accommodations for local and Persian reporters at Abdul Baha reception."[12] Local and Persian reporters — they were expecting the press. Not just the local Palo Alto papers, but Persian correspondents too. It tells you something important: in the terms of 1912, this was a media event, and it was planned that way. The organizers were arranging press coverage a full day in advance because they understood that what was about to happen was news.

So, part two. I'm going to pause the calendar for a moment and show you the people again. This is the part I think gets lost — no single person arranged this visit. No one hero in this story who made it happen. It was a web. Nine separate intermediaries stretching from the diplomatic salons of Washington all the way to the Bahá'í parlors of the Bay Area.

This (slide shows) how they were connected. In the center stands Jordan. On one side you have the Washington channel — Remey, Sohrab, Ali Kuli-Khan, and the Persian-American Educational Society — planning the national route. On the other side, the Bay Area channel — D'Evelyn, Ella Goodall Cooper, Dean Wilbur, handling the campus — and at the very end, Abdu'l-Bahá himself. And here (in this slide) is each of the nine named in place: Remey who carried the invitations, Sohrab the society secretary, Khan the diplomat, D'Evelyn the physician, Ella Goodall Cooper the host, Dean Wilbur the campus contact, Clarence the Unitarian pastor who introduced the evening talk, and Ramona Brown, the 15-year-old girl whom we are about to meet, and whose eyewitness account is the most precious testimony we have. Every single name is a documented correspondent here — not one is legend. Every one is paper.

(Slide – October 8, 1912). And this is the morning everyone remembers — the heart of the whole story. So, let me do it for you as I've tried to fix it firmly against the documents.

The introduction. Jordan rose before his faculty and his students, and he said this about the guest: (Slide)"It is our portion to have with us one of the great religious teachers of the world … one of the natural successors of the old Hebrew prophets."[13] Think about this sentence — president of Stanford, a scientist, a skeptic, addressing a hall full of modern skeptics — and he's introducing a Persian visitor who is called a successor of the Hebrew prophets. And he was, but they're skeptics, so…

Now the room itself: (Slide) Assembly Hall, 1,800 students, 180 members of the faculty, 2,000 people all told. He spoke for 75 minutes. And one witness, Lua Getsinger, described the quality of the silence — "such splendid attention, not a murmur, not a disturbance."[14] And because we have the newspaper account, we can be even more precise than memory usually allows — we have the exact words.

At the address itself, what did he actually say to them? I'm going to skip this, but this is a subject I presented at the Irfan Colloquium in 2016 at Bosch Bahá'í School — the actual talk he gave and how unique it was for that time. He was talking to the greatest minds of America at that time, but the things he was saying — many of the people did not actually believe at that time. In fact, the things he said about evolution and genetics and so on, it took 30 years after that time before the scientific community even believed in them, let alone the public. So, that is a profound thing.

So, he says that science and religion are not enemies and were never meant to be — that reality is a single, unified whole. This (slide) is the Palo Alto newspaper[15] — I was blessed to be on the board of the Palo Alto LSA, and I was asked to hold the records for them until we had a permanent place for them, and they gave me permission to scan their copy of this newspaper. And so, that's what this (slide) is. The same edition printed the entire address under the title "To the World of Science," translated by Dr. Faríd, with the day, the hour, everything else documented.

There's one image from that address I simply have to share, because it shows you how his (Abdul-Baha) mind works. (In this slide) He moved in a single motion from the atom to the entire human race. If the elements themselves, the atoms, the particles of matter, live together in harmony, he asked the scientists, "Why on earth should humanity wage war?"

Mahmúd, who was there, wrote this: (Slide)"The entire audience was overcome with admiration. The applause shook the building to its very foundation."[16] It shook the building. They didn't just clap politely and file out — they cheered.

And in the Irfan Colloquium presentation I gave in 2016 at Bosch Bahá'í School, I went through each of the different people he spoke to and the dramatic effects that they had on the world after that point — that is a fascinating thing.

So, what in the end did Jordan himself say of him (Abdul-Baha)? (Slide) "He will surely unite the East and the West for he walks the mystic way with practical feet."[17] After the talk, Jordan hosted him in his house, and he walked past the comfortable guest room and lay down in the children's room. And that affected Jordan's wife dramatically, and she talked about it later.

So, we've been reading the letters and newspapers, the public record, but I'm going to now hand it over to the girl. (Slide) "He reached for a bunch of grapes and dropped them into my glass of water. I looked at them, and He laughed as he saw that I was puzzled as to what to do."[18] He did lots of these little things with people, and this made them love him so much. To another lady he said, "Beyond the tears is sunshine."[19] So, this is a beautiful note from that time — the comforter he was.

This is from young Ramona. Slide) "There I saw the Master standing alone in the quadrangle. Hesitatingly I approached him and asked permission to take his photograph."[20] So, this 15-year-old girl, standing in the square at Stanford, had one moment where Abdu'l-Bahá was on his own, and she took his picture.

Then, we know about the stories of how Abdu'l-Bahá visited the staff — the maids, the pages, the groom, the cook. He gathered the servants and told them that he stood as a father to them, and he gave each one of them a gift before he left. He spoke to servants just the same way as he spoke to presidents.

After the hour — this is another area that we don't know that much about. So, the very next day, October 9th, 24 hours after the talk, Jordan sits down and writes directly to Abdu'l-Bahá, who [would later be] in Los Angeles. What does he write? (Slide) "This will introduce you to my daughter, Miss Edith M. Jordan."[21] So, he is personally writing

to Abdu'l-Bahá and then also to his daughter, to introduce each other. It was very important to him. And this tells you what he was really feeling at that time — something which he couldn't say in public. This is his private letter.

Here's that letter, addressed to Abdu'l-Bahá himself. So — yeah, this is amazing. He wants Abdu'l-Bahá to meet his daughter. And now, (in) this (letter) is what he says: "He is an interesting old gentleman… His doctrine is almost self-evident, he is a kindly person."[22] So, this is no faculty watching, no newspaper taking notes. This is how he felt.

But it doesn't end there. October 14th, six days after the talk — this is the voice in the whole archive that I trust the most: (Slide)"Abdu'l-Bahá is the leader of the new Persian religion of international peace and brotherly love. He is an interesting old gentleman, and he said that he would like to meet you personally. His doctrine is almost self-evident, but he is a kindly person."[23] There is no advantage to Jordan speaking about Abdu'l-Bahá like this, but this was what he said.

And then, ten full years later, Jordan does something to settle the question. In his own autobiography, published in 1922, Jordan writes of "the kindly apostle of peace and brotherhood, Abdu'l-Bahá."[24] So, there's a beautiful paragraph in that book about Abdu'l-Bahá's visit.

So, but it doesn't end on October 8th either — it keeps going. 1925, Jordan writes about a promising young Bahá'í named Leroy Ioas: (Slide)"He seems to be a young man of marked promise who ought not to lose the advantages of a college education."[25] Now, you can see how the cords twist and turn, and how the history of the Bahá'í faith is actually affected by what this man does periodically. It makes your skin tingle a little bit.

And then, 1926, he requests copies of a Bahá'í publication on the persecutions in Persia: "Please send me more copies where they will do good."[26] And then 1927 to 1928, he writes the Stanford Registrar to help Ali-Kuli Khan's daughter, Marzieh Gail, gain admission. And she graduated from Stanford in 1929 and went on, as we heard yesterday and all of you know. This was his last influence on Bahá'í history, basically — and James Russell spoke beautifully about that.

So, one month after the talk, things just kept moving. He went on to write a beautiful editorial in the Palo Alto paper — the same paper that had interviewed Abdu'l-Bahá — one month after the talk.

(Slide) So, 17 years, in his own hand — this is the arc. It's not a morning. It lasted a long time, and I didn't obviously read the next 30 years of his life; it would have taken me forever. But from bits and pieces —

(Slide) Now, I just wanted to address this one issue, because anybody who hears about Jordan, they know — or they've heard — about him being a prominent member of the eugenics movement. So, I'm just going to touch on that briefly. It wasn't the purpose of this project to settle what the man truly believed; it was narrower in scope — to read and scan those 20,000 letters (and I didn't know at the time there would be that many; I was expecting just five), looking for the ones that included Abdu'l-Bahá. But reviewing those 20,000 letters, I saw only about 40 which were about eugenics. Half of them were from eugenics conferences inviting him to speak, and the other 20 were his polite refusals to attend. So, by this point, he was — not publicly, but privately — disconnecting himself from these things. But that's not the subject of this talk. I have to wonder whether the label has been taken out of context. By the time of Abdu'l-Bahá's visit, and especially in the months that followed, he would tell everybody that his focus was only on world peace.

So. And Abdu'l-Bahá said, (Slide)"May the first flag of international peace be upraised in this state." And as many of you are aware, in 1945, at the end of World War II, it was raised in San Francisco.

So, this was a university full of teachers that rose to their feet for the man who never went to school. And I'm not going to go through these, but you can all — yeah, you can see where this research came from. Thank you.

References

The following sources are cited as identified by the speaker in the talk itself. Archival letters are described but not reproduced verbatim beyond short quoted phrases; full transcriptions were referenced by the speaker as available in the archives named.

1. David Starr Jordan Papers, Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.

2. National Bahá'í Archives (United States).

3. David Starr Jordan, letter, January 11, 1912. David Starr Jordan Papers, Stanford University.

4. Persian-American Educational Society (per Mírzá Ahmad Sohráb), letter to David Starr Jordan, January 17, 1912.

5. Mason Remey, letter to David Starr Jordan, January 23, 1912.

6. Mírzá Ali-Kuli Khan, letter to David Starr Jordan, January 27, 1912.

7. David Starr Jordan, letter regarding scheduling, late January 1912 ("the 29th," per speaker). David Starr Jordan Papers, Stanford University.

8. David Starr Jordan, letter to Ahmad Sohráb, February 6, 1912; Persian-American Educational Society, reply, February 14, 1912. (This exchange is the one document held in common by both the Jordan Papers at Stanford and the Sohráb papers in London, per the speaker.)

9. Dr. Frederick D'Evelyn, letter to David Starr Jordan, September 22, 1912.

10. David Starr Jordan, letter to Ella Goodall Cooper, October 2, 1912.

11. David Starr Jordan, letter to Dean Ray Lyman Wilbur, October 2, 1912.

12. Dr. Frederick D'Evelyn, telegram to David Starr Jordan, October 7, 1912.

13. David Starr Jordan, introductory remarks, Stanford Assembly Hall, October 8, 1912, as reported in the Palo Altan account cited by the speaker.

14. Lua Getsinger, eyewitness account of the October 8, 1912 address (as cited by the speaker).

15. Palo Alto newspaper, full-address transcript, "To the World of Science," translation by Dr. Faríd, October 1912.

16. Mahmúd[‘s Diary], eyewitness account of the October 8, 1912 address (as cited by speaker).

17. David Starr Jordan, remark on Abdu'l-Bahá (as cited by speaker, source/date not specified in talk).

18. Ramona Brown, eyewitness account, October 1912.

19. Attributed remark of Abdu'l-Bahá, as recounted by an unnamed source (per speaker).

20. Ramona Brown, eyewitness account, October 1912.

21. David Starr Jordan, letter to Abdu'l-Bahá, October 9, 1912.

22. David Starr Jordan, letter to Edith M. Jordan (his daughter), October 9, 1912.

23. David Starr Jordan, letter, October 14, 1912.

24. David Starr Jordan, The Days of a Man (autobiography), 1922.

25. David Starr Jordan, letter regarding Leroy Ioas, 1925.

26. David Starr Jordan, letter requesting Bahá'í publications on the persecutions in Persia, 1926.

Note: Exact box and folder numbers were not stated in the talk and should be added from the archival finding aids for a formal scholarly edition.