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Edited by
Juan R. Cole, Ph.D., and
Moojan Momen, M.A., M.B.

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IBRAHIM GEORGE KHEIRALLA
(center) with his daughters (1. to r.) Nabiha and Labiba, his son George (r.), and Amir Shehab (Nabiha's husband).

IBRAHIM GEORGE KHEIRALLA AND THE BAHÁ'Í FAITH IN AMERICA

by Richard Hollinger

The Bábí-Bahá'í movement underwent remarkable changes from its inception in the 1840s to the first decades of the twentieth century. Beginning as a millenarian movement with Shi'ih Islam, it was rapidly transformed into a liberal religious movement with universal claims. Shoghi Effendi Rabbani, leader of the religion from 1921 to 1957, himself marvelled at the events which "transformed a heterodox and seemingly negligible offshoot of the Shaykhi school of the Ithná-Asharíyyih sect of Shi'ah Islám into a world religion."[1]

The failure of the Bábí upheavals of the 1850s resulted in the brutal persecution of the religion in Iran, the execution of many leading Bábís, and the end of all hope for the reign of saints the followers of the Báb had hoped to establish. The movement became ripe for reinterpretation. This was eventually to be provided by Mírzá Husayn Ali, Bahá'u'lláh, who emerged as a prominent Bábí leader in Baghdad after his exile from Iran in 1853.

Bahá'u'lláh was eventually able to reshape the Bábí teachings into a new religion. In Iraq, and during subsequent banishments to Istanbul, Edirne and Syria, Bahá'u'lláh confronted a society more Westernized and more dominated by Sunni Muslims and Christians than that of Iran. The new faith that he

founded diminished the Shi'i sectarian elements of Bábí doctrine, preached tolerance of other religious traditions, and embodied a progressive social program. However, as Edward G. Browne has observed, many of the ideals implicit in the teachings of Bahá'u'lláh—such as feminism, internationalism, and racial equality—were not fully developed until the movement spread to the West.[2] Hence, the establishment of the Bahá'í Faith in America was an important step in the ideological development of the religion.

Iranian Bahá'ís who converted from Islam had made serious attempts to articulate their religion in alternate paradigms as a result of contacts with Zoroastrians and Jews, and with Christian missionaries in the late nineteenth century. However, they met with almost no success in their attempts to convert Middle Eastern Christians. It was in America that the first sizeable number of Christians became Bahá'ís. A Syrian Christian, Ibrahim George Kheiralla (Khayru'llah), was responsible for these first Western conversions in the early 1890s. The circumstances surrounding the origins of the American Bahá'í community and Kheiralla's role in establishing it have, however, remained relatively obscure. This essay will provide a short sketch

of Kheiralla's life and a preliminary assessment of his role in the development of the Bahá'í movement in the West.

Kheiralla was born November 11,1849 in Bhamdoun, a village about thirty miles east of Beirut, to a Christian family that had emigrated to Mt. Lebanon from Antioch to escape persecution.[3] His father died when he was an infant, so he and his sister were raised by their mother. Kheiralla's parents were members of the Orthodox Melkite Church, a Near Eastern branch of Christianity which was originally part of the Church of Antioch.[4] However, his mother arranged for his education mostly in Protestant schools. As a result, he did not fully identify himself with his parents' religion; his own children regarded themselves as Protestants in their youth.[5]

He appears to have attended the Presbyterian primary school which was established in his village in the 1840s. Later, his mother sent him to The National School *{al-madrasa al-wata-niyya)* founded by Butrus al-Bustání in Beirut in 1863.[6] Bustání,

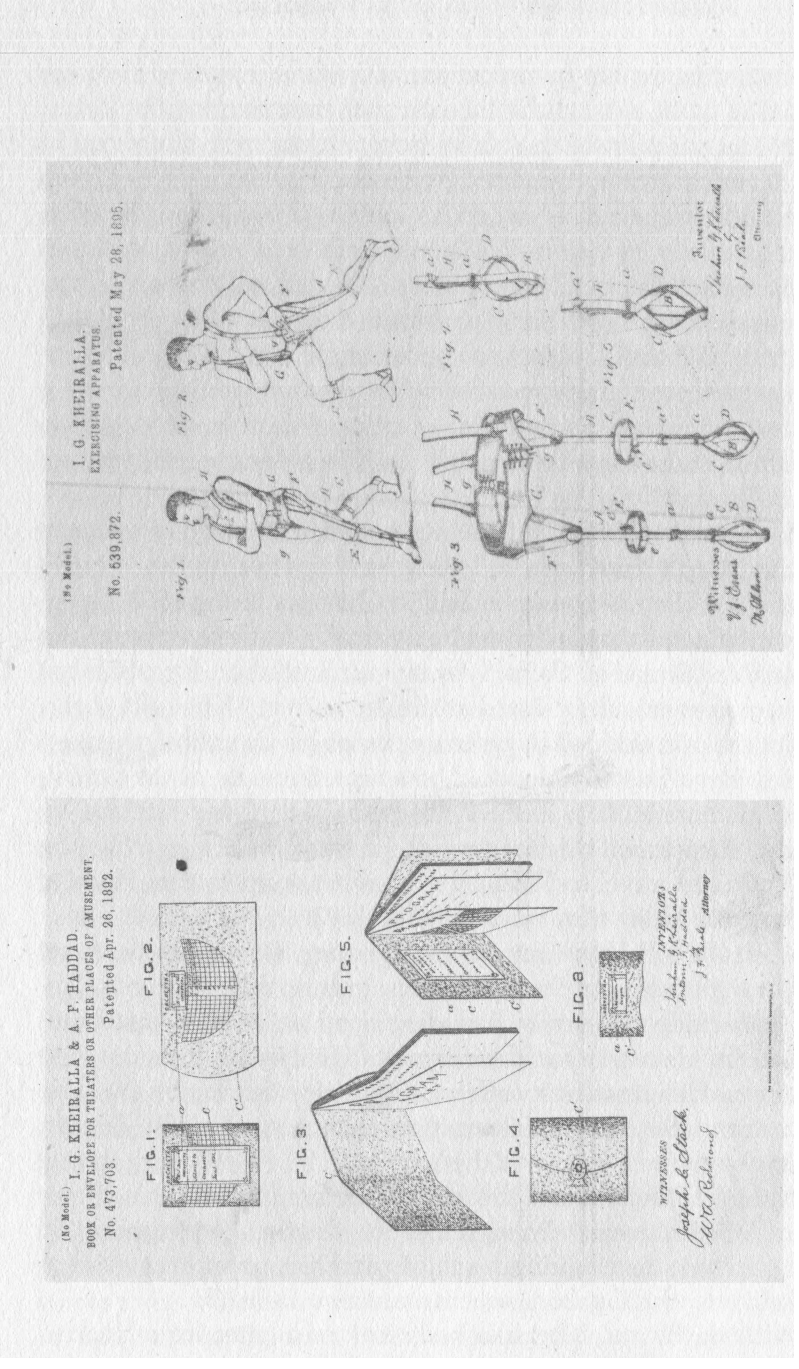
a Protestant convert from Maronite Christianity, was an important Arab intellectual who advocated tolerance of all religions and favored a social identity based on nationality and language, rather than on religious creed.[7] Kheiralla did not attend The National School for long—no more than three years— and it is unclear how much influence Bustání may have had on his thinking. But, it is significant that Kheiralla was educated in an environment where there was increasing concern about the divisive nature of religion, since he was to later join a religious movement that had as one of its major objectives the amelioration of religious strife.

Kheiralla transferred to the Syrian Protestant College (now the American University at Beirut) when it opened in 1866. He was a member of the first graduating class of 1870.[8] At that time the school had only two courses of study—medicine and literature. He was a student in the "literary department"; his classes included Arabic, English, French, science, philosophy, and religion. The students were required to participate in a number of religious activities, in addition to their coursework which itself included the study of the Bible. They attended group devotions twice a day; on Sundays they attended two church services in between which there was a Bible study class.[9] It was while living in this intense religious atmosphere that Kheiralla had a vision about the coming of a great spiritual being which he later linked to his acceptance of the Bahá'í Faith.[10]

After graduating, Kheiralla joined the stream of educated Ottoman Christians who emigrated to Egypt during this time. In 1871, he was employed in an American Protestant school in Alexandria.[11] He remained there for a year, and then he went into business for himself. For the next twenty years he was involved in a variety of commercial ventures: first he became a

contractor for a sugar factory in Upper Egypt; eventually, he came to possess his own sugar and cotton plantations. He also engaged in trading grains and dry goods in Cairo.[12] His businesses were relatively successful. He eventually accumulated assets valued at £3,000, including two hundred acres of land in Upper Egypt.[13]

However, he suffered a financial reversal in the 1880s when a



local Egyptian tribunal ruled against him in a legal dispute involving a commercial venture.[14] The outcome of the dispute was the result of intervention by Lord Cromer, and, according to Kheiralla, marked the beginning of British involvement in the local tribunals.[15] Since this involvement was under way by 1889, we can assume that the court's judgment was issued around 1888. Kheiralla appears to have lost most of his wealth as a result of the judgment. Anton Haddad, who was acquainted with Kheiralla at that time, recalled that he was placed "in straightened circumstances financially."[16] Kheiralla himself stated that the purpose of an enterprise he undertook in the early 1890s was to recover the losses he incurred in this incident.[17] During the last few years he was in Egypt, Kheiralla worked as a "contractor of public works" in Cairo.[18]

Shortly after he arrived in Egypt, Kheiralla had married Helen al-Nashif, a Lebanese Christian who taught in the Protestant school where he was employed. They had three children—Nabiha, Labiba and George. After his wife died as the result of a miscarriage in 1882, their children were raised by relatives in Cairo and Lebanon.[19] Following his first wife's death, he married a Coptic widow in El Faiyum, whom he later divorced.[20] In 1890 he married his third wife, a Greek widow named Mary. Kheiralla brought his children to live with him and his new wife; she also had a son by a previous mariage who • lived with them.[21] His wife's brother had been converted to the Bahá'í religion by 'Abdu'l-Karim Tihrání, a Persian merchant who was also Kheiralla's Bahá'í teacher.[22] It is likely, therefore, that Kheiralla met his wife through Tihrání. It is even possible that Tihrání arranged the marriage, since he insisted that his converts be married.[23] Whatever the circumstances of the marriage, Kheiralla's relations with his new wife would later become a source of controversy.

Kheiralla first heard of the Bahá'í religion in 1883, from Egyptian newspaper articles about the Bábí movement.[24] It was not until about four years later, however, that he sought out Abdu'l-Karim Tihrání in Cairo to request instruction in the new religion. He studied with Tihrání for two years before finally converting in 1889.[25]

According to his own account, Kheiralla travelled through Akká in 1888, during the time he was investigating the Bahá'í teachings, and saw Bahá'u'lláh from a distance.[26] However, in an historical account written by Anton Haddad, a letter from Kheiralla is quoted in which he admits that he had seen Bahá'u'lláh only in visions.[27] Therefore, there is reason to doubt that any actual meeting took place. Haddad, a Lebanese Christian and a friend of Kheiralla, was also converted to the Bahá'í Faith by Tihrání. In his history, he implies that Kheiralla's interest in the religion may have been prompted in part by a desire to improve his financial situation. Whether or not

this is true, Kheiralla soon became involved in a commercial venture with Tihráni.[28]

Early in the 1890s, United States consuls and private agents in the Middle East were soliciting participation in the World's Columbian Exposition to be held in Chicago during 1893. Egyptian merchants responded enthusiastically to these appeals. An extensive "Street of Cairo," which duplicated an Egyptian bazaar, was eventually created at the exposition.[29] Kheiralla, hearing of the fair, decided to promote one of his inventions there—a "ticket book" he hoped would be adopted for use at the exposition. He entered into partnership "with Tihráni and Haddad by which the former was to provide financial backing, while the latter was to travel to Chicago to market the invention. Haddad left for the United States in June of 1892.

Kheiralla left Egypt for St. Petersbourg, Russia, at the same time to promote another invention, presumably also with Tihrani's backing. Kheiralla had developed a "walking machine" which he claimed would prevent fatigue in soldiers on long marches. He intended to offer his invention for use by the Russian army. He had made arrangements to speak with Russian officials about it. However, he arrived in St. Petersbourg during a cholera epidemic, and this seems to have impeded his efforts to meet with them.[30] In any case, the Russian government did not purchase the walking machine, and his subsequent attempt to sell it to the German government also failed.[31]

While in Russia, Kheiralla had received a letter from Haddad explaining that he was having difficulties promoting the ticket

book.[32] He therefore determined to travel to America to help promote this invention. He arrived in Chicago in early 1893.[33] It seems, however, that the ticket book lacked sufficient originality to be marketable. Moreover, the arrangements for the tickets at the Columbian Exposition had already been made.[34] Hence this scheme also ended in failure.

As a result, Kheiralla was forced to seek employment. He arranged to work for a Syrian-American merchant residing in New York. He travelled from city to city lecturing on Egypt to attract crowds, to whom the merchant would then attempt to sell carpets and Oriental cloths. In February 1894, he arrived back in Chicago, where his contract with the merchant ended.[35]

Next, Kheiralla came upon the idea of establishing a spiritual healing practice. From the beginning this idea seems to have been closely linked in his mind with the desire to spread his religion. He wrote to ‘Abdu’l-Bahá, the head of the Bahá’í Faith residing in Akká, to ask that the power to heal diseases be conferred on him; in the same letter he asked to be made a Bahá’í teacher *{muballigh).*[36] At about the same time, he purchased a Doctor of Divinity degree for thirty dollars from *Universitas Saliitis Americana,* a disreputable school in Chicago which was

eventually closed by the authorities.[37] As of 1895 he was listed in the Chicago city directory as a physician; henceforth he was known as Dr. Ibrahim Kheiralla.[38]

His healing practice appears to have been fairly successful. He charged two dollars per visit; his methods included the laying on of hands, prescription of herbs to be smoked in a water pipe, and the repetition of certain Psalms from the Bible. He also occasionally wrote prayers that his patients were instructed to recite.[39] Most of these techniques were forms of magic and spiritual healing common in Near Eastern popular culture.[40] They seem to have fit in well with alternative healing practices popular in America at this time.

Because of the success of his healing business, Kheiralla decided to settle permanently in the United States. In 1894, he wrote to his wife Mary, who had remained in Egypt, telling her to join him in Chicago.[41] She refused; and for this reason he divorced her a short time later. Subsequently, he brought his

three children to live with him in America — George in 1896, and the two daughters in 1899.[42] In the summer of 1895, Kheiralla married a fourth time. His new wife, Marian Miller, was an English immigrant who had become a Bahá'í through his teaching.[43] They travelled to England and France for their honeymoon where they visited her relatives, returning to Chicago two months later.

It was about the time of his return from Europe that Kheiralla began to make systematic efforts to spread the Bahá'í religion. During his first years in the United States, he had made sporadic attempts to spread the faith. He had spoken to a number of Syrians living in New York about the Bahá'í teachings, for example.[44] He also discussed his beliefs with several clergymen including Charles Briggs, a famous theologian who had been expelled from the Presbyterian Church for advocating higher criticism of the Bible.[45] His healing practice brought him into contact with the metaphysical subculture of Chicago. However, his efforts to convert his patients and other acquaintances had resulted in the conversion of no more than eleven new Bahá'ís by 1895.[46] His subsequent efforts were to prove more successful.

Since a great deal of controversy concerning Kheiralla's teachings developed later on, it is worth examining his approach to the Bahá'í Faith in some detail. His understanding of the religion was significantly influenced by Abdu'l-Karim Tihrání who had introduced him to it. Tihrání had presented the Bahá'í Faith as a secret order which required a period of spiritual preparation before one's initiation.[47] It is unclear if this was the usual way of presenting the religion to inquirers among the Egyptian Bahá'í community at the time. Prior to beginning his period of preparation, Tihrání required that Kheiralla destroy the books of magic which he had studied for several years. Kheiralla than visited Tihrani's home on a daily basis for two years to

receive his instruction. During this time he was gradually introduced to the Bahá'í doctrines.

Eventually, Kheiralla was convinced by Tihrani's arguments and wrote a confession of faith to Bahá'u'lláh.[48] Tihráni required that anyone entering the religion be married, and, as

noted above, Kheiralla contracted his third marriage in 1890, about the time of his conversion. It appears that Kheiralla did not regard himself as having been accepted into the order until his application was approved by its founder. He recalled later that he accepted the truth of the religion in 1889; but he usually gave 1890, the year he received his reply from Bahá'u'lláh, as the date when he became a Bahá'í.[49]

Tihráni seems to have taught that Bahá'u'lláh was God incarnate.[50] This is an idea which may have then been fairly common among Iranian Bahá'ís, though it is not an accurate statement of Bahá'u'lláh's own claims.[51] It appears that Tihráni translated this notion into Christian terms to mean that Bahá'u'lláh was God the Father.[52] When referring to Bahá'u'lláh in Arabic, Kheiralla himself used the term *zuhúr* (theophany, manifestation), a Shi'i term which does not denote an incarnation of the Godhead. But Kheiralla explained to converts that the term meant that Bahá'u'lláh was God the Father, or simply God.[53]

Many of Kheiralla's other beliefs reflected the popular religious culture of the Middle East in which dreams, magic, talismans, and divination played an important role. For example, the most important element of Bahá'í teaching for Kheiralla was the Greatest Name. In Islamic tradition, there are ninety-nine names of God that are known and used in various ways. There is also believed to be a hundreth name, known as the "greatest name" *(ism-i a'zam)* which has potent magical powers.[54] Bahá'ís believe that the name adopted by the founder of their religion, *Bahá* (glory, light), is the Greatest Name.[55] The traditions about its powers were carried on at a popular level by Bahá'ís, who used it and its derivatives in various forms as talismans.

Kheiralla, as a Christian, had believed that the recitation of certain verses from the Bible could bring about magical results. He asserted, for example, that he had caused the death of two of his enemies in Egypt by repeating one of the Psalms of David the proper number of times.[56] As a Bahá'í he adopted the belief that the repetition of the Greatest Name would enable him to develop various supernatural powers.[57] For example, Kheiralla used the Greatest Name to enable him to see visions. He maintained that his numerous inventions were the results of

revelations from God which came to him in visions when he "concentrated his mind 'on the plane of inventions."[58] He also believed he could control the actions of others by using the Greatest

Name.

When Kheiralla organized classes on Bahaism in 1895, these beliefs were incorporated into them. His course consisted of thirteen graduated lessons; normally each class met once or twice a week. Referred to as lessons for Truth Seekers, the initial classes were similar to a number of others with the same designation then available in Chicago; indeed, such classes had cropped up in urban centers around the country. Kheiralla's classes were surrounded by an aura of secrecy. They had to be taken in order, and students were required to promise not to reveal their content.[59] As Kheiralla explained in his early book:

> The instruction is private and the name of the Order is known to only those who have taken the full course and received acceptance from the Great Head [i.e., ‘Abdu’l-Bahá] of the headquarters of the Order [i.e., Akká]; hence it is that our members are not publicly known and recognized.[60]

Only the last three lessons dealt with the Bahá’í religion. In these, the students were told that numerous Biblical prophecies had been, or soon would be, fulfilled. It was explained that the millennium would begin in 1917, following a great war.[61] This prediction added to the millenarian motif already present in earlier lessons.

One of the students of these classes recalled that throughout the course there were constant hints of a "mysterious something" which would be given at the end.[62] This was the Greatest Name. But it was only given to those who wrote a confession of faith addressed to ‘Abdu’l-Bahá. The confessions began more or less as follows:

To the Greatest Branch [i.e., '‘Abdu’l-Bahá]:

In God's Name, the Greatest Branch, I humbly confess the oneness and singleness of the Almighty God, my Creator, and I believe in His appearance in human form; I believe in his establishing His holy household; in His departure, and that He has delivered

His kingdom to Thee, O Greatest Branch, His dearest son and mystery . . ,[63]

This confession is also an approximate translation of an Arabic confession that Kheiralla himself used to preface at least one of his own letters to ‘Abdu’l-Bahá.[64] It bears striking similarity to the Shi'i confession of faith: one admits to a belief in the singleness of God, in a prophet (here Kheiralla used *zuhur* rather than *rasúl* [prophet] as in Shiism) and in the prophet's household. We might suppose that the confession, therefore, can also be traced back to Kheiralla's Iranian teacher, Tihrání.

Students were taught that Bahá’u’lláh was "the Father" alluded to in the Gospels. ‘Abdu’l-Bahá, his eldest son and the head of the religion, was presented as the son of God, the return of

Jesus Christ.[65] Moreover, Kheiralla taught that other Bahá'ís were to be regarded as the reincarnations of Abraham, Moses, Daniel, and other biblical figures.[66]

The source of Kheiralla's teachings concerning reincarnation is not clear. They may have stemmed from a popular understanding of the concept of *raj'at* (return). According to this Shi'i doctrine, all of the twelve Imams will return to earth prior to the Day of Judgment, as will their loyal disciples and some of their enemies.[46] This doctrine was important in the Bábí movement. In the Bahá'í teachings the idea was emphasized less, but its scope was widened to include the return of prophets and saints associated with a number of religions. In Bahá'í doctrine, it is the qualities of these personages and not the individuals themselves that return.[68] But in Kheiralla's mind, the doctrine many have translated into the concept of reincarnation which he taught.

On the other hand, Kheiralla's notions of reincarnation may have derived from a completely different source. He could have been influenced by the American religious culture with which he was in contact, and of which he became a part. This is suggested by the fact that in addition to his assertion about the return of biblical figures, Kheiralla also taught that those who did not become Bahá'ís in this life would be reincarnated.[69] It is unlikely that this idea would have been derived from the doctrine of *raj'at.*

According to Edward Getsinger, one of the early American Bahá'ís, Kheiralla was introduced to the idea of reincarnation by his first American converts.[70] Charles Mason Remey, one of the first Bahá'ís of Paris, recalled that Getsinger himself had been important in promoting reincarnation in the Bahá'í community. Remey recalled that during a visit to Paris in 1900, Lua and Edward Getsinger had explained that "the entire teaching was founded upon the reincarnation principle." They taught that Abdu'l-Karim Tihrání was to be regarded as the reincarnation of Job, Kheiralla was the reincarnation of the apostle Peter, Edward Getsinger was the apostle John, while Lua Getsinger was Mary Magdalene.[71] There seems to have been speculation among the other early American Bahá'ís as to which biblical figures they might be the reincarnations of.

The early lessons in Kheiralla's series of classes were designed to prepare students from a Christian background to accept the Bahá'í teachings. Kheiralla, therefore, consciously infused the lessons with a strong biblical orientation. As he commented to one newspaper reporter: "In this country we prove our teachings from the Old and New Testament. To Mohammedans, we teach from the Koran, to Parsees, from the Zend Avesta, to Buddhists from Buddhistic scriptures, and so on."[72] In the classes, non-Christian religions—Hinduism, Judaism, Islam—were mentioned and said to be divine in origin, but their importance in relation to Christianity was minimized. It was even asserted that Islam was a false teaching because: "soon after his

[Muhammad's] death, dissensions arose among his followers, the result of which was the adoption of a false Koran, and the rejection of the collection made by his son-in-law and cousin, Ali."[73] This account suggests some Shi'i influence, although most Shi'is accept the authenticity of the Qur'an, as do the Bahá'í scriptures. As a Lebanese Christian, Kheiralla might be expected to hold strong prejudices against Islam. Tihráni may have downplayed the Islamic elements of the Bahá'í Faith to accomplish Kheiralla's conversion, but whether this idea might be traced to him is a matter of speculation.

In addition to Tihrani's teachings, Kheiralla gleaned considerable material for his classes from the American religous movements of his time. His lessons dealt with religious issues, such as

evolution, which were of particular interest during that period; he also discussed and refuted Christian Science, Theosophy, and other contemporary movements.[74] Much of his teaching on the Bible was an attempt to reinterpret various passages in the light of higher criticism which was also relatively new. He rejected a literal interpretation of miracles, for example, in favor of allegorical meanings.

As he developed his classes, Kheiralla made use of several works of higher criticism and other books from the contemporary religious culture. For example, *The Ten Great Religions* by James Freeman Clark, a popular work of contemporary religious scholarship, was the source of much of Kheiralla's information on Eastern religions.

The fundamental theme of Kheiralla's classes was that the truth of the Bahá'í religion was proven from the Bible, and "by science and logic."[76] Indeed, Kheiralla asserted that "spiritual fact can be proved more certainly and plainly than material fact."[77] Despite this claim, one contemporary observer asserted that his arguments were "so lamentably weak in scientific character as to be practically worthless . . ,"[78] It is true that his writings contain a number of logical fallacies. The style of argument he used is exemplified by his lesson on the nature of God. This particular teaching would later become a source of controversy, so it is interesting to look at it in some detail. Kheiralla begins the argument with the assertion that God can only be defined in one of five ways: 1) as the universe; 2) as a power; 3) as a law; 4) as a principle; or 5) as an identity. He then proceeds to eliminate the first four possibilities through various arguments— God cannot be a power, for example, because every power must have an identity which possesses it. Having discarded the first four propositions, he maintains that he has proven that God must be an identity with a personality.[79] This is a typical example of his arguments.

Nonetheless, his claim of scientific proof, even if weakly supported, seems to have had an appeal. It may be that these arguments sounded more convincing in the context of his classes.

There they were given orally, rather than in a written form, and students were usually not allowed to take notes, ask questions, or make comments.

This was a time in America when many Christians felt that their traditional beliefs and values had come under attack by science, especially by the theory of evolution (which Kheiralla claimed he disproved) and by the higher criticism of the Bible. The claim that one could prove religion using these very weapons was an attractive one. However weak Kheiralla's arguments may have seemed to the skeptical, they proved to be immensely successful in converting those who attended his classes. All accounts agree that the large majority of those who completed the classes accepted the Bahá'í teachings. One source estimates that the average conversion rate was 90%; in some cases it was even higher than this.[80] It should be remembered though that membership in the Bahá'í community at this time tended to be of a transitory nature. People sometimes left the Bahá'í community after a short period of time. Furthermore, some Bahá'ís were simultaneously members of churches or other religious organizations which they regarded as their primary religious affiliations.

That Americans in the nineteenth century had begun to take an interest in non-Christian religions is indicated by the emergence of the Transcendentalist movement and by the first translations of various non-Christian scriptures which were published during this period. Chicago became a focus for this interest following the World's Parliament of Religions which was held there in connection with the Columbian Exposition of 1893. The Bahá'í movement was discussed briefly by one of the speakers there, however, this does not seem to have been directly responsible for sparking any interest in the religion.[81] Rather, the presence of representatives of various religions— such as Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, Buddhism—lent an impetus to the growing interest in all non-Christian faiths.

The Parliament of Religions extension provided a continuing focal point for the investigation of religion in Chicago after 1893. Although Kheiralla had no direct contact with this institution, he was associated with a Greek Orthodox priest who, addressing that body, advocated uniting Christianity and Islam as one religion. The extent of his influence on Kheiralla, or visa-versa, is not clear. It does seem that Kheiralla was in sufficient

agreement with his views to arrange for the publication of his book.[82]

Kheiralla's approach to his religion seems to have been well suited to the religious milieu in Chicago. He quickly attracted around himself a group of religious inquirers. The patients from

his healing practice provided access to networks from which he was able to draw a number of converts.[83] Nonetheless, by the end of 1896, there were still less than fifty Bahá'ís in the city.[84] It was after this year that the movement began to spread more quickly.

This success was the result of the prodigious efforts of Kheiralla and a few of his earliest converts. In 1896, Kheiralla published a booklet that contained material from some of his early lessons and was intended to arouse interest in his classes. Another booklet was published in early 1897, that included more material and was aimed at the same purpose. Hundreds of notices concerning these books were sent directly to persons around the country and many complimentary volumes were disstributed.[85] At the same time, Kheiralla began to hold "open meetings" for prospective students; he also began to lecture publicly on such topics as reincarnation, evolution, and Bible prophecy in an effort to publicize his private classes.[86]

It was in 1897 that Kheiralla held his classes for the first time outside of Chicago. That summer, in the small town of Enterprise, Kansas, he offered a class which was attended by about twenty persons.[87] It is possible that Kheiralla held other classes elsewhere in Kansas at that time. A list of persons invited to the classes in Kansas contains the names of nine persons in towns near Enterprise who did not convert.[88] Kheiralla appears to have won over two persons in Kansas City; and he at least visited the city of Topeka during his stay in Kansas.[89] When he returned to Chicago, Kheiralla began commuting to Kenosha, Wisconsin, on a weekly basis to give the classes there.[90] In December of 1897, he went to Ithaca, New York, for the same purpose.[91]

Also in 1897, the demand for Kheiralla's lessons became so great as to exceed his capacity to personally deliver them, so he began to appoint others to teach the classes. For example, Paul

K. Dealy, a Chicago Bahá'í, was given the task of continuing the classes in Kenosha. After a few months, Byron Lane, a Kenosha resident, took over the instruction in that town and also began to give the lessons in nearby Racine.[92] Later, Lua Getsinger and Sarah G. Herron were appointed to teach classes in Ithaca, New York, and in Philadelphia, respectively.[93] To the extent that he could, Kheiralla continued to deliver the Greatest Name at the end of each course—even those he did not personally teach. He had developed this into a solemn ritual.

In each place where the classes were to be offered, a list of those to be contacted and invited to attend was developed. The names on the lists included Protestant mininsters, persons known to be associated with metaphysical groups, and various personal contacts.[94] In New York City, where Kheiralla began holding classes in early 1898, a special effort was made to recruit students from the New Thought movement.[95] By 1900, the classes had been held in a number of the cities in the northeastern United States; and thousands of people had received invitations to attend them.

The exact number of American Bahá'ís at this time is not known. A list of persons enrolled in the American Bahá'í community from 1894 to 1899 kept by Mary Lesch has about 1,450 names.[96] However, this does not include enrollments during 1900, and may not be complete for the earlier period. Kheiralla estimated as of February 1900, that there were 1,700 American Bahá'ís, a plausible figure given the rate of conversion at that time.[97] Arthur P. Dodge's estimate of 3,000 as of late 1900 is almost certainly an exaggeration, as is probably Frederick O. Pease's retrospective estimate of 2,300 to 2,400.[98] There were groups of Bahá'ís in most of the major metropolitan centers of the country, the largest Bahá'í communities being in New York City, Chicago and Kenosha.[99]

In the larger cities, the growth of the movement attracted little attention. But in Kenosha, in 1900 a town of 11,000, the conversion of more than two hundred people to the new religion alarmed the clergy.[100] As early as 1898, Kheiralla had complained to 'Abdu'l-Bahá that ministers were preaching against the Bahá'ís from their pulpits.[101] But in Kenosha the issue erupted into a public controversy.

In 1899, Stoyan Vatralsky, a Bulgarian immigrant who was a writer, began taking the Bahá'í classes in Kenosha, apparently at the urging of several Protestant ministers.[102] Before he had completed the course, he began to attack the Bahá'í movement in newspaper articles and lectures. Stressing the Islamic background of the Bahá'í teachings, he termed them "Mohammedan Gnosticism," and characterized the movement as "the most dangerous cult that has yet made its appearance on this continent."[103]

The Kenosha Bahá'ís responded by denying that they were teaching Islam, which they referred to as "the most corrupt of all religions." They insisted that all of their teachings were from the Bible.[104] The controversy reached a climax in October and November of 1899, when a series of lectures intended to expose the Bahá'ís as Muslims were held by Vatralsky in Kenosha churches. There appear to have been similar meetings held in the adjacent city of Racine.[105] Kheiralla responded by himself delivering a public lecture in Kensoha where he reassured his audience that Bahá'í teachings were based on the Bible.[106] After this, the controversy died down.

In the following year (1900), a far more serious controversy would permanently divide the American Bahá'í community into two factions. This rupture had its roots in events going back at least two years. In the summer of 1898, Phoebe Hearst, the millionaire widow of Senator George Hearst, accepted the Bahá'í teachings. This was the result of the efforts of Lua Moore Getsinger and Edward Getsinger, two Bahá'ís who had been married in Kheiralla's home a few months earlier. Mrs. Getsinger had been a servant in the home of Dr. Chester Thacher, one of the early Bahá'ís of Chicago, and had converted to the new faith.[107] Edward Getsinger, according to his

own account, was a homeopathic doctor from Detroit who first heard of the Bahá'í movement in 1896 during a visit to Chicago, and eventually converted in that city in 1897.[108] Shortly after they were married, Lua Getsinger, at the behest of her husband, wrote to Phoebe Hearst in an attempt to interest her in the Bahá'í teachings. Mrs. Hearst responded with an invitation for the couple to visit her in Pleasanton, her California home.[109] In classes that the Getsingers later gave at Mrs. Hearst's San Fransisco

apartment, they converted Mrs. Hearst and a number of her friends.[110]

Mrs. Hearst already had plans to begin a tour of Europe and Egypt later that year. As a result of becoming a Bahá'í, she decided to also visit Akká as well, in order to meet Abdu'l-Bahá.[111] She invited Kheiralla, his wife, the Getsingers, and a number of other Bahá'ís to accompany her at her expense. Most of the traveling party stayed in Paris, and then in Egypt, for several months. Kheiralla stopped in Egypt briefly and proceeded to Akká before the rest of the group. Now accompanied by his daughter Nabiha, he arrived in November of 1898. The Getsingers, his other daughter, Labiba, and his wife, Marian, followed in the next few weeks, while the rests of the party arrived in Akká in late February and early March of 1899.[112]

Upon reaching Akka, Kheiralla was welcomed warmly by Abdul-Bahá. For his missionary successes he was honored with the titles of "Baha's Peter" "the Second Columbus" and "the Conqueror of America." Kheiralla was given the distinction of being the first Bahá'í allowed to pray in the inner shrine of Bahá'u'lláh; he, along with 'Abdu'l-Bahá, laid the cornerstone of the building that was to become the shrine of the Báb in Haifa.[113] However, despite such demonstrations of honor and respect, Kheiralla became alienated form 'Abdu'l-Bahá during his visit.

Prior to leaving America, Kheiralla had written down his Bahá'í lessons with the intention of publishing them as a book upon his return from the Near East. The book was originally to be sold only to those who had completed his classes, and was especially intended for those who would be teaching classes.[114] Hence, the publication of the book was not meant to be a departure from the policy of keeping his teachings secret from the uninitiated. Kheiralla wanted to use the proceeds from the sales to help support himself and other teachers he planned to send to various localities in the United States.[115]

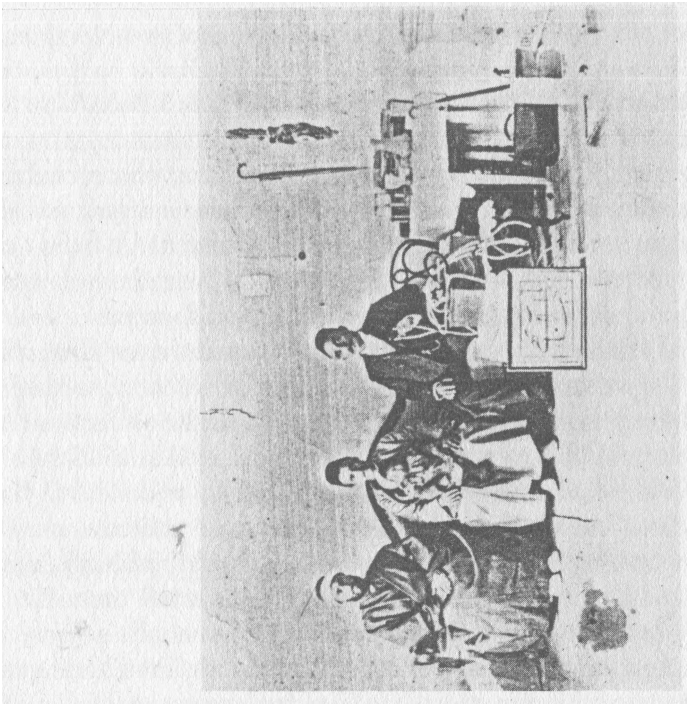
One of the activities of the Western Bahá'ís on pilgrimage in Akká was listening to lectures from the Iranian Bahá'í teachers whom they met. As a result, Kheiralla's book and the teachings it contained became a topic of discussion among both the

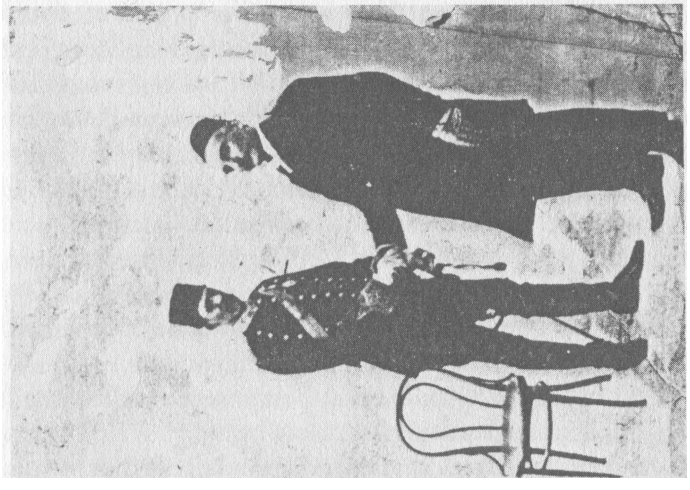
Americans and the Iranians visiting Akká. On several occasions, Edward Getsinger disagreed with Kheiralla on points of biblical interpretation and sought from ‘Abdu’l-Bahá alternate explanations. ‘Abdu’l-Bahá gave different meanings to the verses than Kheiralla did, but he argued that there could be more than one correct understanding in these matters and that Kheiralla's interpretations were equally correct.[116] At the time, ‘Abdu’l-Bahá’s relativism was puzzling to Kheiralla; eventually he came to regard this position as simply dishonest.

‘Abdu’l-Bahá did not exhibit much concern over Kheiralla's rather heterodox ideas. Kheiralla's second book, *Bab-ed-Din,* which comprised the first few chapters of the book he was then preparing, had been translated into Persian at ‘Abdu’l-Bahá's instructions months before Kheiralla's arrival, and ‘Abdu’l-Bahá had voiced no objection to it.[117] The same attitude was not taken, however, by one Bahá’í teacher, Hájí Mírzá Muhammad Abharí, who happened to be visiting Akká at the time. He frequently found himself in disagreement with Kheiralla's teachings, and voiced particular objection to Kheiralla's ideas about reincarnation and his assertion that God had a personality.

Abharí, one of four men who had been designated a "Hand of the Cause" by Bahá’u’lláh, was one of the most prominent Iranian Bahá’ís at that time and could not be easily ignored. He challenged Kheiralla on these and other points of doctrine in a series of open discussions which became so heated that ‘Abdu’l-Bahá was called on to mediate.[118] In a general meeting, ‘Abdu’l-Bahá attempted to reconcile the differences between the two men by stating that the dispute was essentially a matter of semantics. Nonetheless, he did admonish Kheiralla that God must be regarded as transcendent, unlimited, and beyond the conceptions of men.[119] Kheiralla would not yield on the point and continued to regard his beliefs as correct. He was deeply disappointed that ‘Abdu’l-Bahá had not supported his arguments over those of Abharí.

Kheiralla's relations with ‘Abdu’l-Bahá were further strained when the Bahá’í leader asked that some minor changes be made in his forthcoming book. Ignoring the doctrinal idiosyncracies which had been the center of his disputes with other Bahá’ís,





‘Abdu’l-Bahá was concerned primarily with the treatment given to his half brother, Muhammad Ali.

In Bahá’u’lláh's will, ‘Abdu’l-Bahá had been designated as his successor and the head of the religion. Abdu'1-Baha s younger half brother, Muhammad AH, had been appointed to lead the Bahá’í community after his death. However, in the early years of Abdu'1-Baha s leadership a split occurred. Muhammad Ali accused ‘Abdu’l-Bahá of making claims to be a manifestation of

God and of changing the Bahá'í teachings. He argued that 'Abdu'l-Bahá had exceeded the authority conferred on him by Bahá'u'lláh and should not be followed unless he repented of these excesses. 'Abdu'l-Bahá eventually responded by excommunicating Muhammad Ali and his other half brothers—all of whom sided against him in the dispute. They and their followers were termed Covenant-breakers *(náqidín),* while they called the followers of Abdul-Bahá apostates *(máriqín).* Abdu 1-Bahá directed the Bahá'ís loyal to him to shun all association with the Covenant-breakers. Kheiralla was instructed that he should omit all mention of 'Abdu'l-Bahá's brothers in his book.[120]

Prior to his trip to Akká, Kheiralla had been completely unaware of this schism. Although he had no contact with Abdul-Baha's brothers while he was there, he began from that time on to consider the possibility that their charges against the Bahá'í leader were correct.

Another factor contributing to Kheiralla's allienation from 'Abdu'l-Bahá was his deteriorating relationship with his wife, Marian. He believed that this was partially due to Abdul-Baha's influence. According to one of Kheiralla's cousins, Marian became upset after learning of her husband's previous marriages.[121] Presumably, Kheiralla's daughters discussed the matter with her. Prior to her arrival in Akká, they had not been aware that their father had married again in America.[122] It is possible that they were also unaware that Kheiralla had obtained a divorce from his third Egyptian wife, Mary, since the divorce had been obtained in America and had been kept secret from her.[123] In any case, after leaving Akká, Marian abandoned her husband and later accused him of bigamy.[124]

Probably the most important factor in the estrangement which developed in Akká was the growing antagonism between Kheiralla and Edward Getsinger. Although this was usually expressed in doctrinal terms, it is evident that they had developed a personal rivalry.[125] Both men sought a prominent position in the Bahá'í community, apparently so that they might derive financial support from the Bahá'ís. The financial element of their dispute is too complex to discuss here in detail, but it is illustrated by an incident which occurred in Akká. Phoebe Hearst gave $1,200 to the Getsingers to be used for the promotion of the Bahá'í teachings. The Getsingers had given $200 of this to Kheiralla. Kheiralla complained to 'Abdu'l-Bahá that he should be given a larger portion of the money, but 'Abdu'l-Bahá refused to intervene in the matter.[126]

It was Kheiralla's perception that Edward Getsinger was attempting to use his relationship with Phoebe Hearst to gain leadership in the American Bahá'í community. Upon his return to the United States in May 1899, he took a number of measures intended to diminish Getsinger's potential influence. First, he began to refer to himself as the head of the American Bahá'í

community.[127] Then in New York, Chicago, and Kenosha, he appointed persons he trusted as officers to govern the affairs of these communities.[128] At the same time, he began to spread rumors about the Getsingers which were intended to discredit them among the Bahá'ís.[129] For reasons which are not clear, but which are probably related to this dispute, Kheiralla decided at this time to discard the cloak of secrecy which had previously surrounded his teachings. He announced that he would make his book available to the public and wrote an article containing some of his teachings for the *New York Herald.*[130]

Lua and Edward Getsinger arrived in the United States several weeks after Kheiralla. After their arrival, Edward Getsinger began to assert that Kheiralla's book contained doctrinal errors and should not be published. Phoebe Hearst, apparently convinced by his arguments, withdrew an earlier offer to finance the publication of the book.[131] At the same time, Getsinger criticized Kheiralla for going public with the Bahá'í teachings; it would appear that his sympathizers in New York went so far as

to pay a sum of money to the *Herald* in an attempt to suppress Kheiralla's article.[132]

About the same time, the Getsingers and Phoebe Hearst were told by Anton Haddad that Kheiralla had privately informed him that he was not entirely happy with 'Abdu'l-Bahá's leadership and that he might join the faction led by his half brother.[133] Alarmed by the possibility that Kheiralla might deliver the American Bahá'í community into the hands of Muhammad Ali, they dispatched Haddad to Akká to discuss the situation with 'Abdu'l-Bahá. He left in July, 1899. The trip was kept a secret from Kheiralla and from most of the Bahá'ís who, were told that Haddad had gone to California.[134]

Following Haddad's departure, the rift between Kheiralla and the Getsingers widened. Both met with Bahá'ís in various localities to explain their positions.[135] At one such meeting in Chicago in August 1899, both Kheiralla and Lua Getsinger were present. Prior to this meeting, most of the leading Chicago Bahá'ís had sided with Kheiralla in the dispute.[136] Some of them had for a time attempted to prevent Mrs. Getsinger from coming to Chicago to give an account of her pilgrimage, but they eventually acquiesced.[137] At the meeting Mrs. Getsinger spoke highly of Kheiralla, and they treated one another cordially. Mrs. Getsinger also refrained from speaking against Kheiralla in private while she was there, even though he continued to speak against her and her husband.[138] This seems to have made an impression on the Bahá'ís of Chicago, some of whom began to side with the Getsingers at this point.

A few months after this meeting, a group of Chicago Bahá'ís rejected the leadership of the officers appointed by Kheiralla, and elected new ones. At that time Kheiralla organized meetings seperate from this faction.[139] By the end of 1899, the New York Bahá'í community was also

divided into two factions, with different leaders and separate meetings.[140] In March of 1900, the Bahá'ís of Kenosha became similarly divided. At a large gathering there, Kheiralla announced to the Bahá'ís that he had doubts about 'Abdu'l-Bahá's position as the leader of the faith.[141]

Haddad returned to the United States in January of 1900,

with instructions from 'Abdu'l-Bahá to attempt to unite the two factions. This he succeeded in doing in New York, but not elsewhere.[142] Haddad's failure to unite the factions in Chicago and Kheiralla's announcement in Kenosha prompted 'Abdu'l-Bahá to send Abdu'l-Karim Tihrání to America in May 1900, to try to bring the two groups together — and to dissuade Kheiralla from delivering his loyalty to Muhammad Ali.

However, Tihrani's behavior tended to solidify the divisions within the community rather than heal them. Although he succeeded in getting Kheiralla to publicly announce his acceptance of the leadership of 'Abdu'l-Bahá in New York, this was only after a series of highly legalistic negotiations. Kheiralla placed many conditions on his acceptance of Abdul-Bahá before agreeing to make such a declaration.[143] Later, in Chicago, Tihrání demanded a more unequivocal statement of loyalty. When Kheiralla refused to give it, Tihrání became increasingly hostile. It appears that he challenged Kheiralla and his followers to an ordeal by faith — the Islamic practice in which opponents attempt to bring the wrath of God down on each other *(mubáh-ilih)*. On one occasion, he suggested that they occupy one corner of the room and that he occupy the other and that he would call upon God to destroy the one who was wrong. On other occasions he threatened to have God bring the building down on them.

These actions failed to persuade Kheiralla to sign the loyalty statement Tihrání had drawn up. Tihrání began to refer to Kheiralla with such terms as "the rising-place of violation in this country," alluded to his followers as Covenant-breakers, and encouraged the Bahá'ís not to associate with them.[145] After this, Kheiralla's followers — henceforth referred to as Behaists — joined the faction led by Muhammad Ali.[146]

There were about 300 Behaists—approximately 200 in Kenosha and 100 in Chicago.[147] In November of 1900; 'Abdu'l-Bahá sent Mírzá Hasan Khurásání and Mírzá Asadu'llah Isfahaní to attempt to win back the Behaists. But this only led to confrontations similar to those between Tihrání and Kheiralla.[148] However, after 1903 when Mírzá Badí'u'lláh, one of Bahá'u'lláh's sons, rejected Muhammad Ali, delivered his loyalty to Abdul-Bahá, and circulated an open letter denouncing Muham-

mad Ali, a few of the Behaists also returned their loyalty to ‘Abdu’l-Bahá.[149]

This schism did not curtail Kheiralla's efforts to proselytize. In 1900, he established the Society of Behaists, of which he was the "Chief Spiritual Guide."[150] This society established "Churches of the Manifestation" in Chicago and Kenosha.[151] From 1900 to 1904, Kheiralla served as the minister of the church in Chicago, and he continued to give his classes in the Chicago area.

By 1904, both of Kheiralla's daughters were married; in that year, he married his fifth wife, Augusta Linderborg.[152] Shortly after their wedding, they went to the St. Louis World's Fair where Kheiralla had a concession selling souvenirs.[153] They were met there by Shua Ullah Behai (Shu'a'u'llah Bahá’í), a son of Muhammad Ali, with whose help they sought to use the World's Fair as a forum to promulgate their religion.[154] Their proclamation efforts there along with similar activities they undertook in New York after the end of the fair, resulted in considerable publicity; but they do not seem to have resulted in any conversions.[155]

While in New York in 1906, Kheiralla formed an import company with his son, George, which appears to have provided him with an income for the rest of his life.[156] Later that year he returned to Chicago. The Behaist community there seems to have dwindled somewhat by then. The "First Central Church of the Manifestation" was still in existence in that city, however, according to Samuel Graham Wilson, who was personally acquainted with Kheiralla, there were as of 1906 only forty Behaists.[157] From 1906 to 1912, Kheiralla stayed in Chicago, giving his classes and attempting to revive and expand the Behaist community.[158]

In 1912, Kheiralla's wife died, and he left Chicago to visit relatives in South Carolina and South Dakota.[159] He returned to Chicago in 1914, staying there until 1917, and making efforts to reactivate the Behaists there.[160] He reorganized them under the new designation "National Association of the Universal Religion," which shortly thereafter issued a series of pamphlets written by Kheiralla.

After this, Kheiralla left Chicago; he spent the rest of his life

staying with relatives in New York, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Florida.[161] Although he remained the nominal head of the Behaists in America, his role seems to have diminished. The Behaists were concentrated in Chicago and Kenosha; he returned there only once, in 1925, to visit.[162] Hence, he had little personal contact with them.

Furthermore, most of his relatives were neither Behaists nor supportive of his Behaist activities. His son, George Kheirallah, reverted to Christianity soon after he moved out of his father's house. Later, after he emerged as a spokesman for Arabs in America, he converted to

Islam.[163] Of Kheiralla's relatives, only his daughters were Behaists—and one of them, Nabiha Schehab, had returned to Beirut with her husband years before.[164] Since Kheiralla was isolated from his coreligionists, his major contributions to the Behaist cause in the last years of his life were in the areas of writing and publishing tracts.

In 1929, he decided to return to Beirut to visit his daughter, Nabiha. On his way, aboard ship, he was severely burned as the result of a boiler accident. On March 8, 1929, a few weeks after his arrival in Lebanon, he died from the injuries he had sustained in this accident.[165]

The Behaists continued to exist after Kheiralla's death, but their numbers declined. As of 1940, there were only thirty or forty of them; today there are probably less than twenty, all in the Kenosha area.[166] Since Kheiralla was relatively successful in his efforts to proselytize prior to 1900, and since the number of Bahá'ís in the United States has continued to grow steadily since then, it is worth considering why the Behaists have nearly died out.

One factor which tended to impede their growth early on was Kheiralla's failure to secure the support of the majority of the Bahá'ís when the original schism occurred in 1899-1900. It is especially significant that he was unable to win over any of the prominent Bahá'í teachers whom he had appointed. The conversions which had been effected in the 1890s would not' have been possible without these teachers; the spread of the Bahá'í Faith in America was not the result of Kheiralla's efforts alone. After 1900, there were no Behaist teachers who gave classes outside of Kenosha and Chicago, and there is no evi-

dence that Kheiralla offered the classes in other localities after this date.

Behaists did convert some persons in Kenosha and Chicago after 1900, but their numbers declined despite this. The same is true of the Bahá'í communities in these localities during this period, however. It would seem that a fairly rapid rate of conversion was required to maintain these communities at the same size. And, there was a limited number of persons who could be attracted to the Bahá'í religion in the social networks through which it was spreading. In Chicago and Kenosha, most potential converts seemed to have been reached by 1900; hence the membership of both the Bahá'ís and the Behaists decreased after this. The decline was more striking among the Behaists because their numbers had been so much smaller to begin with.

The reasons Kheiralla was unable to win more support from those whom he had originally introduced to Bahaism bears deeper study. Sociologist Peter Berger, examining Muhammad All's failure to assert his leadership over the Bahá'í community, suggests that his position required too rapid a completion of the process of the routinization of charisma—the process by which a charismatic movement develops a rational organizational structure.[167] This certainly has

some validity in explaining the situation in the United States. American Bahá'ís generally believed 'Abdu'l-Bahá to be the return of Jesus Christ; and as such, he was the emotional center of their faith. The position that Muhammad Ali had taken—that 'Abdu'l-Bahá was making excessive claims for himself—made it impossible for him to make similar charismatic claims. He could only offer himself as a less charismatic, but more legally correct, alternative to 'Abdu'l-Bahá. This appealed to few Bahá'ís. Moreover, the Behaists, as a result of Muhammad Ali's position, spent much of their time explaining what they did not believe—teaching what 'Abdu'l-Bahá was not. As a result, they developed a largely negative message which appealed neither to the Bahá'ís nor to potential converts.

Finally, as the Syrian writer Ameen Rihani has observed, Muhammad Alii's followers were fundamentalists who denounced 'Abdu'l-Bahá's nonliteral interpretations of his fathers teachings.[168] In the Middle East, his followers objected to the

ideas 'Abdu'l-Bahá promulgated which deviated from the Islamic traditions out of which the Bahá'í religion had developed.[169] However, in America, where the Christian elements of the Bahá'í teachings had been emphasized by both Bahá'ís and Behaists, this fundamentalism was expressed by strict and rigid adherence to the teachings Kheiralla had developed. As late as the 1950s, Kheiralla's original thirteen lessons were still used by Behaists as the sole basis for proselytizing.[170] To the Behaists, the fact that these were the first Bahá'í teachings given in America made them the more legitimate ones.

While the Behaist teachings remained more or less static, American religious culture continued to change after the 1890s. That the Behaists refused to alter their apporach to their religion meant that they were increasingly out of step with other religious movements from which they might have drawn new converts. Ironically, Ibrahim Kheiralla had provided the flexibility in his approach to the Bahá'í Faith which was necessary for the expansion of his religion among Christians in a Western cultural milieu, but he was unable to maintain that flexibility long enough to sustain the movement which he himself had begun.

NOTES

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1. Shoghi Effendi Rabbani, *God Passes By* (Wilmette, 111.: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1944) p. xii.
2. Edward Granville Browne, *Materials for the Study of the Bábí Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1918) p. xix.
3. Ibrahim G. Kheiralla, O *Christians! Why do Ye Believe not on Christ?* (Chicago: n.p., 1917) p. 165.
4. Kheiralla's daughter states that he was originally Greek Orthodox (Labiba Saleeby memoirs, 1948. Labiba Saleeby papers, in private hands). Anton Haddad refers to Kheiralla as "an orthodox Greek Catholic" (Anton Haddad, "An Outline of the Bahai Movement in the United States," p. 6. Phoebe Hearst papers, Bancroft Library, Berkeley).

   It should be noted that Greek Orthodox is a term used in the Near East to refer to the Orthodox Melkite Church, in order to distinguish it from the Syrian Orthodox and Eastern Orthodox churches. Greek Catholic is used to refer to the "uniate" Melkite Church, which broke off from the orthodox church and is in communion with the Church of Rome. By designating Kheiralla an *Orthodox* Greek Catholic, Haddad apparently meant that he was an Orthodox Melkite. Frederick O. Pease states that Kheiralla was a member of "the orthodox Greek Christian Church" (F. O. Pease, "Dr. Ibrahim G. Kheiralla. A Biographical Sketch," *The Occult Truth Seeker,* vol. 2 [July 1902] p. 25) which would also seem to be a reference to the Orthodox Melkite Church.
5. Labiba Saleeby memoirs, 1948.
6. Browne, *Materials,* p. 93. Nairn N. Atiyeh, "Schools of Beirut," in *Beirut—Crossroads of Cultures* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1970) p. 144.
7. See Albert Houráni, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1789-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962) pp. 99-102.
8. Stephen L. Penrose, *That They May Have Life: The Story of the American University of Beirut 1866-1941* (New York: The Trustees of the American University of Beirut, 1941) p. 22, n. 2.
9. "Syria Mission," *Missionary Herald,* vol. 65 (1869) p. 89.
10. Nabiha Schehab, "Revelation to my father I.G. Kheiralla," Labiba Saleeby papers.

11. Labiba Saleeby memoirs (n.d.), Labiba Saleeby papers. Pease, "Dr. Ibrahim G. Kheiralla," p. 25.
12. Kheiralla, O *Christians,* pp. 165-66. According to his grandson, Kheiralla owned and/or operated a sugar factory from 1877 to 1890. Rajie Saleeby, "Chronological Account of the Events, Activities and Movements of Dr. Ibrahim G. Kheiralla in the Approximate Order of Their Occurrance," (in my possession).
13. Ibrahim Kheiralla to Katherine Edwards, June 19, 1909, Labiba Saleeby papers. Henry Jessup, "Babism and the Babites," *Missionary Review of the World* (October 1902) p. 773.
14. Kheiralla, O *Christians,* p. 166. See also Anton Haddad, 'An Outline," p. 5.
15. Kheiralla, O *Christians,* p. 166. The published correspondence related to the intervention in these tribunals makes no mention of this case. Great Britten Foreign Office, *Confidential Prints: Egypt,* F.O. 407/91; 407/92; 407/99.
16. Haddad, "An Outline," p. 5.
17. Kheiralla, O *Christians,* p. 166.
18. Haddad, "An Outline," p. 1.
19. Memoirs of Labiba Saleeby, 1948. Kheiralla, O *Christians,* pp. 171-72. Jessup, "Babism," p. 773.
20. Ibid. Kheiralla, O *Christians,* p. 166.
21. Labiba Saleeby memoirs, 1948.
22. Haddad, "An Outline," pp. 2-3. Haddad state that Kheiralla's brother-in-law, who lived in Cairo, had become a Bahá'í through Tihrání. Kheiralla had no brothers, and only one sister, who lived with her husband in Lebanon. Therefore, this had to be the brother of one of his wives. The only one of his wives with whom Haddad was familiar was his third wife, whom he knew in Cairo.
23. Ibid., p. 3.
24. "This is Their Creed," (Letter to the editor from I. G. Kheiralla) *Kenosha Daily Gazette* (November 17, 1900). F.O. Pease, "Dr. Ibrahim Kheiralla," pp. 25-26.
25. "This is Their Creed."
26. Ibrahim Kheiralla, *The Three Questions* (Chicago: n.d.) p. 22.
27. Ibrahim Kheiralla to Anton Haddad, December 14, 1897, quoted in Haddad, "An Outline," p. 26.
28. Ibid., pp. 4-6.
29. Beverly Turner Mehdi, *The Arabs in America 1492-1977* (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana

Publications Inc., 1978) p. 7.

30. Labiba Saleeby memoirs, 1948. Rajie Saleeby, "Chronological Account."
31. Haddad, "An Outline," p. 7. ~*i*
32. Labiba Saleeby memoirs, (n.d.) and 1948. Haddad, "An Outline," p. 7. Haddad states that Kheiralla had decided to come to America before he wrote him, and that he tried to discourage him. Saleeby indicates that Haddad wrote to her father asking him to come.
33. Haddad, "An Outline," pp, 6-7. Kheiralla, O *Christians,* p. 166.
34. *World's Columbian Exposition Illustrated* (May 1893) p. 59.
35. Haddad, "An Outline," p. 7. Kheiralla, O *Christians, p.* 167.
36. Ibrahim Kheiralla to ‘Abdu’l-Bahá, n.d., copy in Labiba Saleeby papers.
37. Haddad, "An Outline," p. 8. This degree is among the papers preserved by Kheiralla's daughter (Labiba Saleeby papers).
38. *The Lakeside Annual Directory of the City of Chicago 1895* (Chicago: The Chicago Directory Company, 1895).
39. Browne, *Materials,* p. 126. Haddad, "An Outline," p. 7. Jessup, "Babism," p. 773. A note by Labiba Saleeby in her papers indicates that Kheriralla occasionally wrote prayers for his patients.
40. Herbert E. E. Hayes, "Islam and Magic in Egypt," *The Moslem World,* vol. 4 (1914) pp. 396-406. Tewfik Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," *Berytus Archaelogical Studies,* vol. 4 (1937) pp. 69-151.
41. Kheiralla, O *Christians,* p. 167. Abdu'l-Karim Tihrání to Ibrahim Kheiralla, 1894, Labiba Saleeby papers.
42. Haddad, "An Outline," pp. 10-11. The year of George Kheiralla's immigration was learned from the report on his father's household in the 1900 census (12th U.S. Census for Cook County, Illinois, Enumeration District 1022, sheet 5, line 11).
43. Kheiralla, O *Christians,* p. 167.
44. Ibid., p. 166.
45. Ibid., p. 166.
46. Arthur Hampson, "The Growth and Spread of the Bahá’í Faith," Ph.D. dissertation (University of Hawaii, 1980) p. 249.
47. Haddad, "An Outline," pp. 3-4.
48. Kheiralla, (autobiography), Labiba Saleeby papers.
49. Ibid.. "This is Their Creed". Kheiralla, O *Christians,* p. 166. The letter he received from

Bahá'u'lláh is published in Kheiralla, *Beha U'llah* (Chicago: n.p., 1900) p. 544.

50. Abdel Karim Effendi Teherani, *Addresses Delivered before the New York & Chicago Assemblies* (Chicago: Behai Supply and Publishing Board, 1900) pp. 72-73. *Reports of Proceedings of Meetings in New York City and in Chicago, Illinois* (Chicago: Press of Hollister Brothers, 1900) p. 11.
51. See Edward G. Browne, *A Year Amongst the Persians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1893) pp. 341, 434, 537. Moojan Momen, *The Bábí and Bahai Religions: Some Contemporary Western Accounts, 1844-1944* (Oxford: George Ronald, 1981) p. 244.
52. Kheiralla, *The Three Questions,* p. 22.
53. Kheiralla to 'Abdu'l-Bahá, n.d. (copy in Labiba Saleeby papers). "ad-Diyánah al-Jadídah," *al-Mushír* (August 8, 1900) p. 1. "Kheiralla, The Syrian, Says Jesus Christ Has Returned and Departed," *New York Herald* (June 18, 1899) sec. 6, p. 3. Browne, *Materials,* pp. 117-18, 139-41.
54. Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," pp. 79-81. See also Hayes, "Islam and Magic in Egypt," pp. 396-406, and William B. Stevenson, "Some Specimens of Moslem Charms," *Studia Semantica et Orientalia* (Glascow: Glascow University Oriental Society, 1920) pp. 84-114.
55. Abul-Qasim Faizi, *Explanation of the Emblem of the Greatest Name* (Wilmette, 111.: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1975).
56. Haddad, "An Outline," p. 11.
57. Ibid., pp. 4-5.
58. Ibid., p. 6.
59. William Collins, "Kenosha, 1893-1912: History of an Early Bahá'í Community in the United States," in Moojan Momen, ed., *Studies in Bábí and Bahai History, vol. 1* (Los Angeles: Kalimát Press, 1982) pp. 226-27.
60. Kheiralla, *Bab-ed-Din: The Door of True Religion* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Co., 1897) p. 9.
61. Kheiralla, *Beha U'llah,* p. 480. Browne, *Materials,* p. 139.
62. Ibid., p. 122.
63. Ibid., p. 121.
64. Kheiralla to 'Abdu'l-Bahá, n.d. (copy in Labiba Saleeby papers).
65. These teachings are found in an early typescript version of Kheiralla's book, *Beha U'llah* (Labiba Saleeby papers). Although much of this was edited out prior to publication, the earlier version is more representative of his teachings prior to 1900. See also Browne,

Materials, pp. 117-118, 139-141; *New York Herald* (June 18, 1899) sec. 6, p. 3 and (June 25, 1899) sec. 6, p. 3; and "ad-Diyánah al-Jadídah," *al-Mushír* (August 8, 1900) p. 1.

Although the belief that ‘Abdu’l-Bahá was Christ was a logical extension of Bahá’u’lláh being seen as God the Father, it was not necessary to define ‘Abdu’l-Bahá's station until he took over the leadership of the Bahá’í movement in 1892. The earliest instance in which ‘Abdu’l-Bahá was referred to as Christ that I am aware of is this assertion by Kheiralla in the 1890s. Anton Haddad was, as of 1900, also teaching that "the spirit of Christ was on earth again." (Berthalin Allen, "The Luminous Hour," *Bahai News,* No. 407 [February, 1965] pp. 10-11.)

The records of talks given by Tihráni in that year indicate that he also was teaching that ‘Abdu’l-Bahá was "the Spirit of Christ—in the Temple of Man." *{Addresses,* p. 73.) However, there is no direct evidence that he was teaching this earlier.

After 1900, there are numerous references to this belief among Middle Eastern Bahá’ís. For example, Grettie Holliday, a missionary to Iran, encountered hundreds of Bahá’ís who believed ‘Abdu’l-Bahá was Christ (Grettie Holliday, "Account of a Tour July-August 1906," Presbyterian Historical Society.) It is at present unclear how common this belief was in the 1890s, however, it is worth noting that this was virtually the only one of Kheiralla's teachings which did not come under criticism during his visit to ‘Abdu’l-Bahá in 1898-1899. Abdu'l-Bahá, himself, repeatedly denied that he was Christ. See *Tablets of Abdul Baha Abbas* (Chicago: Bahá’í Publishing Society, 1909-1916) 3 vols., II, pp. 429-33.

66. Browne, *Materials,* p. 118.

67. See Abdul Aziz Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism: The Idea of the Mahdi in Twelver Shi'ism* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1981) pp. 166-179.

68. For the Bahá’í interpretation of *raj'at,* see Bahá’u’lláh, *Kitáb-i-íqán* (Germany: Bahá’í Verlag, 1980) pp. 116-120; and *Mufavadat-i Abdu'l-Baha* (New Delhi: Bahá’í Publishing Trust, 1983) pp. 95-96.

69. Browne, *Materials,* p. 117. *New York Herald* (June 25, 1899), section 6, p. 3.

70. Edward Getsinger's margin notes on "About Daniel and John Returning in their reflected personality," Albert Windust Papers, National Bahá’í Archives, quoted in private correspondence from Robert Stockman, dated February 14, 1984.

71. Charles Mason Remey, "The First Meetings in Paris," in "Bahá’í Reminiscences, diary, letters, and other documents by Charles Mason Remey," New York Public Library, folio 1, pp. 1-2; Labiba Saleeby memoirs, 1948; Maude Lamson to Ibrahim Kheiralla, July 29, 1899, Labiba Saleeby papers; Letter from Lua Getsinger, n.d. (in private hands).

72. “Kheiralla, the Syrian, Says Jesus Christ has Returned and Departed," *New York Herald*

(June 18, 1899) section 6, p. 3.

73. Kheiralla, *Beha 'U'llah,* p. 164.
74. Ibid., pp. 15-39, 143-156.
75. Kheiralla, *Bab-ed-Din,* p. 11.
76. Ibid.
77. Kheiralla, *Beha U'llah,* p. 19. The idea that the truth of the Bahá'í Faith can be proven empirically has been expressed by other Bahá'ís as well. For a recent example, see Dr. William Hatcher, "The Science of Religion," *Bahai Studies,* vol. 2 (1980).
78. *American Journal of Theology,* vol. 6, no. 1 (Jan. 1902) p. 184.
79. Kheiralla, *Beha U'llah,* pp. 67-90.
80. Pease, "Dr. Ibrahim G. Kheiralla," p. 27.
81. Carl Scheffler, "The Bahá'í Temple and Spiritual Evolution," *World Order,* vol. IX, no. 1 (April 1943) pp. 23-29; Albert Windust, "Bahá'í Centenary Banquet—The Chairman's Introductory Remarks," *World Order,* vol X, no. 5 (August 1944) p. 139.
82. Henry Jessup, *Fifty Three Years in Syria* (London: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1910) pp. 636-37; Jessup, "Babism," p. 773.
83. Haddad, "An Outline," pp. *7-8.*
84. Albert Windust, "The Bahá'í Faith in America to 1912," *World Order,* vol. XI, no. 8 (November 1945) p. 246.
85. Among Labiba Saleeby's papers is a list of persons who were sent letters regarding *Bab-ed-Din.* It is possible that some or all of these persons were sent sample copies of the book. According to Robert Stockman, copies of this book were sent out to at least some ministers. See his *American Dawnbreakers: A History of the Bahai Faith in America, 1892-1912* (Wilmette, 111.: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, forthcoming).
86. Pease, "Dr. Ibrahim G. Kheiralla," p. 27. Browne, *Materials,* p. 124.
87. A list of persons to be invited to the classes in Kansas found among the Labiba Saleeby papers includes the names of 21 persons in Enterprise, all of whose names are marked with an X to indicate that they attended. Kheiralla stated that there were 21 converts in Enterprise, (O *Christians,* p. 169). However, Hampson ("Spread of the Bahá'í Faith," p. 252) states that there were 22 in the class there, basing this on the list kept by Mary Lesch now in the National Bahá'í Archives. Frederick O. Pease also asserted that there were 22 ("Dr. Ibrahim Kheiralla," p. 27). Elsbeth Renwanz, whose mother attended Kheiralla's class in Enterprise, recalled that there were ten or fifteen adult converts (Renwanz memoirs, National Bahá'í Archives).

88. “Name and Addresses of people to be notified concerning the classes," Labiba Saleeby papers.

89. Hampson, "Spread of the Bahá’í Faith," p. 252; "Ed Pasha's Jewels. Private Secretary's Decorations Explained by Dr. Kheiralla," *The Topeka Daily* (undated newclipping in Labiba Saleeby papers).

90. Louis J. Voelz, "History of the Kenosha Bahá’í Community from 1897 to November 1933," (National Bahá’í Archives) p. 1; Pease, "Dr. Ibrahim G. Kheiralla," p. 27.

91. Ibid., p. 27.

92. Voelz, "History of the Kenosha Bahá’í Community," p. 1. Nelson, (a history of the Racine Bahá’í community) [copy provided by Dr. Peter Smith], p. 1. Kheiralla, *O Christians,* p. 168.

93. Kheiralla, O *Christians,* p. 170. "History of the Bahá’í Move-mentjn Philadelphia Pennsylvania, United States of America," (National Bahá’í Archives) p. 1.

94. “Names and Addresses of people to be notified concerning the classes."

95. Wendell Phillips Dodge, In Memoriam—Arthur Pillsbury Dodge 1849-1915," *Star of the West,* vol. VI, no. 19 (March 2, 1916) p. 163.

96. Hampson states that this list has the names of 1,437 persons who converted to the Bahá’í Faith ("Spread of the Bahá’í Faith," p. 254). Robert Stockman counts 1,467 such names (personal correspondence, April 9, 1984). Peter Smith asserts that there are 1,488 names on the list including those who did not receive the Greatest Name ("American Bahá’í Community," p. 203, n. 7.). Albert Windust counted 1,182 converts in the cities of Kenosha, Chicago and New York ("The Bahá’í Faith in America to 1912," p. 246).

97. Nabiha Schehab to Phoebe Hearst, February 22, 1900 (in private hanjs).

98. Browne, *Materials,* p. 148. Samuel Graham Wilson, *Bahaism and Its Claims* (New York: 1915) p. 271.

99. Windust, "The Bahá’í Faith in America," p. 246. Hampson, p. 250. It should be noted that most of the large cities in the United States were located in the Northeast, where the Bahá’ís were also concentrated.

100. William Collins, "Kenosha," pp. 230-239.

101. Ibrahim Kheiralla to ‘Abdu’l-Bahá, n.d. (dated from internal evidence), copy in Labiba Saleeby papers.

102. Voelz, "History of the Kenosha Bahá’í community," p. 2.

103. Stoyan Kristoff Vatralsky, "Mohammedan Gnosticism in America: The Origin, History, Character and Esoteric Doctrines of the Truth Knowers," *American Journal of Theology,*

vol. 6 (1902) pp. 57-78. Collins, "Kenosha," p. 232.

104. Collins, "Kenosha," p. 233. The biblical orientation of the Kenosha Bahá'ís is also indicated by their publication of an index to the Bible: Byron S. Lane, *A Key to the Important Things in the Bible* (Kenosha, 1900).

105. Nelson, (a history of the Racine Bahá'í community) p. 2. Nelson mentions ministers preaching against the Bahá'ís and debating with them. It is not clear whether these are references to events in Kenosha.

106. "His Truth is Given"; "Kahiralla's Lecture" (newsclippings dated November 29,1899 in Labiba Saleeby papers). For the details of these meetings see Collins, "Kenosha."

107. James Hooe to Phoebe Hearst, March 22, 1900. Phoebe Hearst papers.

108. Willard Hatch, "Memo Re: A Date Believed Incorrect in Literature Re: The Bahá'í Temple Data," Los Angeles Bahá'í Archives; publicity questionaire filled out by Edward Getsinger for the Los Angeles Bahá'í Assembly, Los Angeles Bahá'í Archives.

109. Labiba Saleeby memoirs, 1948.

110. Helen Hillyer Brown memoirs, in private hands.

111. Ibid.

112. Haddad, "An Outline," pp. 19-20; Helen Brown memoirs; Isaac Adams, *Persia by A Persian* (Chicago: n.d., 1900) p. 481.

113. Haddad, "An Outline," pp. 19-20; Kheiralla, O *Christians,* pp. 172-73; Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By,* p. 275.

114. Kheiralla, O *Christians,* p. 170; Howard MacNutt to Ibrahim Kheiralla (c. January 1900), Labiba Saleeby papers.

115. George Latimer, "Notes at Dublin, N.H. Aug. 1912," San Francisco Bahá'í Archives.

116. "Points or reasons, why, at Acca, that Dr. Kheiralla was handicapped by the instructions of Abbas Effendi," Labiba Saleeby papers, p. 1; Kheiralla, O *Christians,* p. 174.

117. Miraza Younesse to Ibrahim Kheiralla, September 1898, Labiba Saleeby papers.

118. Browne, *Materials,* p. 102; Kheiralla, O *Christians,* pp. 174-75; Diary of Helen Hillyer, National Bahá'í Archives.

119. Kheiralla, O *Christians,* p. 175; "Points or reasons, why, at Acca, that Dr. Kheiralla was handicapped," p. 1.

120. Ibid., p. 1.

121. Wilson, *Bahaism,* p. 167.

122. Labiba Saleeby memoirs, 1948.

123. Haddad, "An Outline," p. 25.

124. Kheiralla, O *Christians,* p. 178; Ibrahim Kheiralla to Katherine Edwards, June 19, 1909.

125. Frederick O. Pease to Rosemond Templeton, February 22, 1900, Labiba Saleeby papers.

126. Dr. Zia Baghdadi, "History of the Violation of I. Kheiralla," San Francisco Bahá'í Archives.

127. *New York Herald* (June 25, 1899) section 6, p. 3.

128. Frederick O. Pease to Rosemond Templeton, February 22, 1900, Labiba Saleeby papers; Howard MacNutt to Ibrahim Kheiralla January 12, 1900, Labiba Saleeby papers; Voelz, "History of Bahá'í Faith in Kenosha Wise. 1897 to 1947 Inch," National Bahá'í Archives, p. 2.

129. Haddad, "An Outline," pp. 10-11.

130. Phoebe Hearst to Helen Hillyer, July 5, 1899, Helen Hillyer Brown papers, National Bahá'í Archives; *New York Herald* (June 25, 1899) section 6, p. 3.

131. Ibrahim Kheiralla, (autobiography).

132. M.J. MacNutt to Ibrahim Kheiralla, n.d., Labiba Saleeby papers.

133. Haddad, "An Outline," p. 12.

134. Ibid., pp. 13, 24; Phoebe Hearst to Helen Hillyer, July 5, 1899.

135. M.J. MacNutt to Ibrahim Kheiralla, n.d.; Maude Lamson to Ibrahim Kheiralla, July 29, 1899, Labiba Saleeby papers; Dr. Rufus Bartlett to E4ward Getsinger, August 9, 1899; Lua Getsinger to Anton Haddad, August 11, 1899 (in private hands); Minutes of the Cincinnati Bahá'í Assembly, entries for September 17, 18, 22, and 24, 1899, National Bahá'í Archives; *Inventory of the Church Archives of New Jersey—Bahai Assemblies* (Newark: The Historical Records Survey, 1940) p. 17.

136. Maude Lamson to Ibrahim Kheiralla, July 9,1899 and July 29, 1899, Labiba Saleeby papers.

137. Ibid.

138. Rufus Bartlett to Edward Getsinger, August 9,1899; Lua Getsinger to Anton Haddad, August 11, 1899.

139. Frederick O. Pease to Rosemand Templeton, February 22, 1900.

140. Howard MacNutt to Ibrahim Kheiralla, January 12, 1900; Howard MacNutt, *Address to Believers, delivered January 16, 1900* (New York, n.d.).

141. Voelz, "History oř Bahá'í Faith in Kenosha," p. 2.

142. Howard MacNutt, *Address to Believers;* Howard MacNutt to Ibrahim Kheiralla, January 6,

1900 and January 12, 1900, Labiba Saleeby papers. See also Anton Haddad, *A Message From Acca* (n.p., 1900).

143. Kheiralla, "The terms upon which agreement was reached," p. 1; *Reports of Proceedings,* p. 4.

144. Kheiralla, "The terms upon which agreement was reached," pp. 6, 10, 11.

145. Teherani, *Addresses,* pp. *55-57.* This publication is replete with references to "Nakizeen" (Covenant-breakers).

146. Actually, all Bahá'ís in America prior to 1900 were known as Behaists; after 1900, the followers of 'Abdu'l-Bahá began to call themselves Bahais.

147. Kheiralla himself estimated that he had about 300 followers in these two cities (Q *Christians* p. 179). The same figure was given by Frederick O. Pease (Wilson, *Bahaism and Its Claims,* p. 271). A list of Chicago Behaists as of March, 1900 has 127 names (Labiba Saleeby papers). Several unlabelled newsclippings in the Labiba Saleeby papers indicate that there were about 200 Behaists in Kenosha.

148. Browne, *Materials,* pp. 154-55; Wilson, *Bahaism* p. 270; Voelz, "History of Bahá'í Faith in Kenosha," p. 3.

149. "Kenosha, Wisconsin," *The Bahá'í Bulletin,* vol. 1, no. 1 (September, 1908) p. 8; Peter Smith, "The American Bahá'í Community, 1894-1917: A Preliminary Survey," in Moojan Momen, ed., *Studies in Bábí and Bahai History* (Los Angeles: Kalimát Press, 1982) p. 207, n. 33.

150. Constitution of the Society of Behaists, Labiba Saleeby papers.

151. Smith, "The American Bahá'í Community," p. 207, n. 36.; "Central Church of the Manifestation," ad in the *Chicago Tribune* (January 17, 1904) cited in personal correspondence from Robert Stockman; *Directory of the City of Chicago 1902,* entry for Rev. Ibrahim G. Kheiralla.

152. Rajie Saleeby, "Chronological Account"; Illinois Marriage License 385457 (dated April 14, 1904).

153. Rajie Saleeby, "Chronological Account."

154. "Adherents of Behaism, A Powerful Oriental Religion, Are Proselyting in St. Louis," *St. Louis Star* (August 28, 1904); *Open Court* (June 1904) p. 376.

155. "Notable Persian here visiting friends in Brooklyn's Syrian Colony," *The Daily Standard Union* (June 3, 1906).

156. Ibrahim Kheiralla to Labiba Saleeby, March 20, 1906, Labiba Saleeby papers.

157. August J. Stenstrand, *A Call of Attention to the Behaists or Babists of America* (n.p., 1907)

p. 1. Wilson, *Bahaism,* p. 272. Apparently Wilson had access to the Behaists' report to the U.S. Census of Religions of 1906. In the census publications, no distinction is made between Bahá'ís and Behaists.

158. Kheiralla, O *Christians,* pp. 181-82.

159. Certificate of Death no. 7242 (Dept. of Health, City of Chicago, March 10, 1912); Kheiralla, O *Christians,* p. 182; Rajie Saleeby, "Chronological Account."

160. Ibid.; Kheiralla, O *Christians,* p. 182; *Directory of the City of Chicago 1917.*

161. Rajie Saleeby, "Chronological Account."

162. "Evolution not a Fact," (Letter from I. G. Kheiralla) *Kenosha Critic* (June 26, 1925); Ibrahim Kheiralla to Labiba Saleeby, n.d., Labiba Saleeby papers; Frederick Slack to Labiba Saleeby May 15, 1929, Labiba Saleeby papers.

163. *Lake Preston Times* (November 19, 1908); Personal correspondence to the author from Dr. Ali Khyralla (George Kheirallah's son).

164. Interview with Helen Saleeby, conducted by the writer in December, 1983.

165. Shua Ullah Behai to the True Followers of Beha Ullah in the United StatesMpril 9,1929, Labiba Saleeby papers; "Report of Death of an American Citizen," August 13, 1929, Labiba Saleeby papers.

166. Joseph Hamilton to Labiba Saleeby November 19,1940; Interview with Helen Saleeby.

167. Peter Berger, "Motif messianique et processus social dans le Bahá'ísme," *Archives de Sociologie de Religion,* vol. 2, no. 4 (1957) p. 102.

168. Ameen Rihani, "Dr. I. G. Kheiralla dies in Syria," *The Syrian World,* vol. 3, no. 2 (May, 1929) p. 49.

169. See Erik Cohen, "The Bahá'í Community of Acre, *Folklore Research Center Studies,* vol. 3, (1972) pp. 119-141.

170. Lillian Rollain to Labiba Saleeby March 3, 1954, Labiba Saleeby papers.

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