

Pitzer, Donald E.: America's Communal Utopias

John E. Murray

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Donald E. Pitzer, editor, America's Communal Utopias. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. xxi + 537 pp. \$60.00 (cloth), ISBN 0-8078-2299-X. \$24.95 (paper), ISBN 0-8078-4609-0.

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This book consists of 18 essays on American communal societies that were founded before the middle of the present century. The authors are well known specialists in their fields and include several (Priscilla Brewer, Carl Guarneri, and Robert Sutton among them) who have written well received monographs on particular groups. Each chapter contains an essay, endnotes, a chronology of events, and a bibliography. The essays vary in tone from the objective (Donald Durnbaugh on colonial communes) to the partisan (Lawrence Foster on Oneida and James Landing on the Koreshan Unity), but the level of scholarship is high throughout.

The volume has two goals, according to the editor: to provide an introduction to the interesting history of American communal experiments (some of which are thriving today) and to frame these histories within the editor's notion of "developmental communalism." This schema proposes that communalism is but a phase in a community's life, and after it passes the former commune remains worthy of study (xvii). Exactly why a place should continue to be considered a "communal utopia" after it becomes just another community is never made clear, and thankfully in a book weighing in at 550 pages, most contributors let the concept slide.

One improvement over most of the literature on American communalism is the inclusion of an essay (the longest in the set, in fact) on Catholic religious orders, with emphasis on the monastic orders. The vow of poverty taken by male and female Catholic religious means that each such community operates just like any other communal society. Lawrence McCrank drily notes the absence of these groups from the communal studies canon (p. 241). Inadvertently, Jonathan Andelson's essay on Amana suggests a rationale for this traditional omission: Support of the monasteries by "powerful institutions of the wider society places them in a slightly different category" (p.202). Meaning what? That the only reason for the hundreds of such communities in America today is subsidies from the Vatican? McCrank's thorough essay represents one step in bringing such attitudes into the twentieth century.

The other extremely successful communal group, the Hutterites, is the subject of a fine chapter by Gertrude Huntington. She emphasizes their growth within a set of fixed ideological and economic constraints, quite in opposition to the "developmental communalism" framework. The inclusion of a piece by the late Karl J. R. Arndt is to be welcomed. Here is a scholar who devoted his life to translating, editing, and explicating the huge written record of the Harmonists, and his chapter here is a model one. Other essays fare less well. Foster's enthusiasm for Oneida's ideals lead him to overlook a fundamental moral problem with "complex marriage:" the coercion of sexual activity from girls, some prepubescent, by older men in general and John Humphrey Noyes (Oneida's founder) in particular.

Landing's otherwise charming piece on Cyrus Teed ("Koresh") is just a little less purple than that of his subject in describing the reception by the "scientist" Teed (he was an alchemist) of his call to communal life.

The reader cannot help but wonder what separated such long lived groups as the Benedictines, the Hutterites, the Amana Inspirationists, the Harmonists, and the Shakers from the relative will-o'-the-wisps like most of the other groups considered here. That vital topic is not taken up here as intensively as it was in Rosabeth Moss Kanter's sociological classic Commitment and Community (Harvard University Press, 1972). Religion, to be sure, seems to have been a critical variable, while celibacy seems not to have been (cf. the Hutterites). Ethnicity, that quicksilver among cultural concerns, clearly played a role, since so many of the successful groups had German origins: the Hutterites, the Harmonists, the Amana Inspirationists, and the early Ephrata community (all considered here) as well as the Zoarites and St. Nazianz (not considered here).

Analytically, much research remains to be done on communal histories. Records of these experiments make them perfect laboratories for the social scientific historian. Issues of routinization of the founders' charisms, conversion of the second generation to communal belief, and incentives driving the down-and-out into such groups pervade every chapter. This volume provides a valuable starting point for all those interested in the topic, whether as researcher, teacher, or curious general reader. Those interested in paths not taken in American history will find much that is worth thinking about in this volume.

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John E. Murray's essays on the Shakers have appeared in Bulletin of the History of Medicine, Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, Explorations in Economic History, and Journal of Interdisciplinary History.

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LIBRARY CATALOG -- ANTECEDENTS -- DETAIL**Read Here: America's Communal Utopias****Published in:** 1997**Author:** Donald E. Pitzer, Editor**In Print:** No**ISBN:** 0-8078-4609-0**Subtitled:**

Description: A comprehensive look at the religious and secular movements that produced America's most noted communal utopias. From the Shakers to the Branch Davidians, America's communal utopians have captured the popular imagination. Seventeen original essays here demonstrate the relevance of such groups to the mainstream of American social, religious, and economic life. The contributors examine the beliefs and practices of the most prominent utopian communities founded before 1965, including the long-overlooked Catholic monastic communities and Jewish agricultural colonies. Also featured are the Ephrata Baptists, Moravians, Shakers, Harmonists, Hutterites, Inspirationists of Amana, Mormons, Owenites, Fourierists, Icarians, Janssonists, Theosophists, Cyrus Teed's Koreshans, and Father Divine's Peace Mission. Based on a new conceptual framework known as developmental communalism, the book examines these utopian movements throughout the course of their development—before, during, and after their communal period. Each chapter includes a brief chronology, giving basic information about the group discussed. An appendix presents the most complete list of American utopian communities ever published.

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America's Communal Utopias

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Cyrus Reed Teed and the Koreshan Unity

James E. Landing, associate professor of geography at the University of Illinois at Chicago, received his Ph.D. from Pennsylvania State University. His research has centered on the allocation of resources among small minority groups, such as the Old Order Amish, the Old Order Mennonites, and the Old Order German Baptist Brethren; small communal groups; and the many urban groups of Eastern Christians and Black Jews. His articles have appeared in *Professional Geographer*, *Geographical Bulletin*, *Journal of Geography*, *International Geography*, *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, *Illinois Audubon*, and many others. He is currently involved in large-scale environmental projects.

The emergence of communal life in twentieth-century America brought increasing attention to earlier attempts to found Utopian communities. Although all such groups have individual histories, a few, at least, seem to have been founded by leaders increasingly confounded by religious, technological, and social developments of the nineteenth century. The emergence at that time of newer forms of biblical criticism and theological expression, the rise of the scientific method of analysis as exemplified in Darwinian biology, and the scale of social change emanating from industrial capitalism, among other developments, had upset what was, to many, the established order. Disturbed by the conceptualization of an infinite universe, of an organic evolution stretching backward into a vast unknown, and of social rearrangement only yet dimly understood, there was, to some, comfort to be found in finiteness, boundedness, order, and less complex arrangements.

Emanating from the unique circumstances of the late nineteenth century, a host of individual perspectives arose, making an effort to reconcile such discomforts: a flat earth or a hollow earth, with the safety of known limits; a definite time and place in which creation became manifest; a social structure and social life that, at one and the same time, could take advantage of the new but remain rooted in the old. In short, a simple universe that by mental analogy was one with beauty, symmetry, ordered arrangement, and not the least important, godliness. Perhaps this is a frame of reference for beginning an understanding of Koreshanity and its founder, Cyrus R. Teed. For it was not so much in the uniqueness of any single belief as it was in the integration of science, religion, and social economics that the movement of Teed became known.

Cyrus Reed Teed

In 1839 Cyrus Reed Teed was born near Trout Creek in Delaware County, New York, the second son in a family of eight.¹ Soon after his birth, the family moved to Utica, and, at eleven, Cyrus left school for a job on the Erie Canal. His parents were, apparently, devout Baptists, and Teed was urged to study for the ministry because of his powers of oratory. Instead, in 1859 he began the study of medicine in the office of Samuel Teed, his uncle, in Utica. He married Delia M. Row, fathered a son Douglas (who later gained renown as an artist in the Binghamton area²), and joined the Union army medical service during the Civil War, where he was attached to a field hospital.³ After the war Teed continued his medical studies at the New York Eclectic College, graduated, and in 1868 established his own practice in Utica, just one year before the remarkable experience that was to transform not only his life but also that of countless followers to come.

Teed was a learned man full of curiosity; but his training in medical science began to lean more toward the occult, and he was preoccupied with alchemy. According to his own account these pursuits were not without reward, because he immodestly claimed to have discovered that which had eluded the sages of countless centuries prior to his own work. "I had succeeded in transforming matter of one kind to its equivalent energy, and in reducing this energy, through polaric influence, to matter of another kind . . . The 'philosopher's stone' had been discovered, and I was the humble instrument for the exploiter of so magnitudinous a result."⁴

According to Teed, it was near midnight on an autumn eve in 1869 as he sat in his "electro-alchemical" laboratory pondering his successes and hoping to perfect further the laws of transmutation, when an even more singular incident occurred. In Teed's words one can feel the creative force of his prose, recognize the scientist at work, and come close to his very self.

and the annunciation of Teed's messiahship. Teed himself mentioned the fact that his discovery of the laws of transmutation and his illumination were separate events. By 1880, however, several basic doctrines crystallized that would later be refined and better articulated. Among these were the communalization of the social order, the abolition of private property, the sanctity of celibacy, and a vague awareness of the coming of the millennium. Teed's communal ideas may have developed as a result of his contacts with the Shakers, the Perfectionists at Oneida, and especially the Rappites or Harmonists who had returned from Indiana and established their new communal order at Economy, Pennsylvania.¹⁶ At one time the Harmonists and the followers of Teed contemplated some sort of merger, but the demise of the society at Economy prevented this from taking place.¹⁷ Celibacy was a major tenet of the Shakers, but Teed especially emphasized chastity as a means of preserving sexual energy, a doctrine that may have owed much to the Oneida colonists. The millennial doctrine, of course, was a common religious topic of the nineteenth century.

These were not, however, the doctrines that made Teed's movement distinctly different. He integrated them into a unique universal structure held together by the concept for which he has become most noted, that of the hollow earth. Teed, pondering the significance of Isaiah 40:12—"Who has measured the waters in the hollow of his hand and marked off the heavens with a span, enclosed the dust of the earth in a measure and weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance?"—became convinced that man lived "in" the earth rather than "on" it and was impressed by the key scriptural words "hollow" and "enclosed." It was, apparently, this attack on the Copernican view of astronomy that earned Teed the appellation in central New York of "that crazy doctor."¹⁸

Teed revealed this idea, which he termed the "Cellular Cosmogony," in conjunction with his ideas on the nature of the social order and referred to his beliefs as Koreshanity, or the Koreshan Universology. One can only speculate on the origins of the hollow earth concept in Teed's mind, but the basic idea had illustrious proponents before his time. One was the Scottish physicist Sir John Leslie, known for his works on the properties of heat. Even earlier, Dr. Edmund Halley, of comet fame, had theorized such a possibility, as did the Swiss inventor of binary logarithms, Leonhard Euler.¹⁹ Such an idea had also been espoused by Cotton Mather, but the most devoted apostle, prior to Teed, was a veteran of the War of 1812, Captain John Cleves Symmes, who spent a fruitless life trying to convince the world that the interior of the earth was habitable and could be reached through two large entry holes located at the poles.²⁰ A copy of Symmes's work appeared in 1868 under the name of Professor W. F. Lyons, entitled *A Hollow Globe* and published just a year before Teed's illumination. Jules Verne's fictionalized version of the hollow earth first appeared in 1864. Doubtless, Teed was influenced by some of these writings.

Whatever the background of his thinking, Teed's later years appear to fall into three distinct periods, although overlapping chronologically: an early or formative period, centered largely around cosmological ideas and contemporary science; a middle or investigative period, during which Teed and his adherents made prodigious attempts to validate his beliefs empirically; and a late or social period, during which he synthesized his ideas and translated them into a new form of religious movement and social order.

The Koreshan Unity is an organic system of religious, social, economic reform, projected and executed from the basis of the form and function of the physical cosmos. The interpretation of universal nature, the anatomy, so to speak, of the great cosmos, is the guide to the construction of human society into one grand climax of integralism, having all the correlate activities, laws, motions, and function of the only natural and scientific pattern. Man sustains a specific relation to the physical world; aggregate humanity constitutes a universe which is analogous to the physical cosmos. The form and functions of the human body are analogous to the form and functions of the universe, consequently, the human world must be governed in accordance with the laws which govern the great physical world and the analogous form of the human body; the righteous structure of human society and government must therefore be in the form of the physical universe.²²

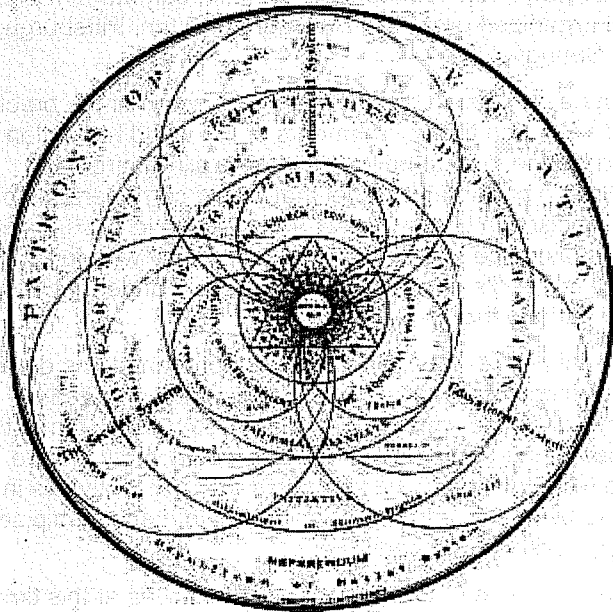
This statement was clearly indicative of Teed's view of the world as one of integrative "systems" of interlocking parts, but the effort to translate this schema of the "cellular" structure (clearly, Teed's euphemism for "atom") of the physical universe to the social order led to results that appear to be ill defined. All Koreshan Unity falls into three major classes: a Secular System, a Commercial System, and an Educational System. These three cells are supposed to be mutually exclusive, but it is never made clear why the educational and commercial systems are not also "secular."

The inner circle of the Koreshan Unity consisted of three groups: the Society Arch-Triumphant, which consisted of the celibate, communal members (representing the Secular System); the Koreshan University (representing the Educational System); and the Church Triumphant, which was the income producing sector of the group. These three, called by Teed the "Pre-Eminent Unity," had an "Imperial Mandate" to conduct their affairs and were likened to the "Imperial Sun" of the physical universe as the "Central Consociate Groupate."

The Koreshan Unity.

The Cellular Universe is the Natural Basis and Pattern for the Construction of Human Government and Society.

Koreshan Unity is the Imperial System of Theocracy of the Golden Age.



Schematic diagram of the "Koreshan Unity." (From Koresh and U. G. Morrow, *The Cellular Cosmogony . . . Or . . . The Earth a Concave Sphere* [1889], 191.)

Teed the Cosmological Investigator

Although Koreshanity appeared to be in the ascendancy, Teed was not without his critics, and he readily admitted that many did not believe. "In this effort we have been held up to insolent ridicule and most bitter persecution, consonant with which the public sentiment is subject We have pushed our claims to a knowledge of cosmology until the advocates of the spurious 'sciences' begin to feel their insecurity."³⁰

It is small wonder that scientists of the day were not responsive to Teed's teachings. In addition to his denial of Copernican astronomy, he rewrote Huttonian geology. To Teed the earth's surface was concave and contained the entire universe. Outside the earth was nothing. The crust of the earth was composed of seventeen layers and was but 100 miles thick. The "inner" five layers were geological strata that were underlain by five mineral layers. The "outer" seven were layers of the noble metals, the outermost one being pure gold. Beyond gold, the most noble of the noble metals, there could be nothing.

Within the earth's surface was found the central sun, always half lit and half dark, thus explaining day and night, and this was the power battery of the entire universe. Our sun, however, was only a projection of the central sun and followed the path of the ecliptic. The planets were reflections of mercurial "disci" floating in space between the various layers of the crust, and the moon was a sphere of crystalline energy forming an x-ray picture of the earth's surface, which was radiated to us on the surface through the moon's own energy radiation. Stars were focal points of light and mere reflections of the mercurial disci.³¹ Energy was matter and matter was energy, energy flowing into and out of the central sun, materializing into matter in the crust, and reenergizing and reradiating back to the central sun.

It had long been Teed's opinion that persons assumed the earth's surface was convex only because they did not understand the principles of perspective and the laws of optics. Social and scientific pressure soon convinced Teed that explanations of the laws of optics were not enough to convince a cynical public of the truths of Koreshanity, and he began a diligent search for empirical proof of his beliefs. The search had two major dimensions. The first was to find an area suitable for his construction of a New Jerusalem where he could gather the Society Arch-Triumphant in a single body under his leadership and vindicate his views through living example. The second was to scientifically validate his theory that the earth's surface was actually concave, thus vindicating the principles of Koreshan Universology. The two searches were inextricably intertwined.

Whether by coincidence, revelation, or messianic destiny, Teed received in 1893 a letter from Gustav Damkohler, a German immigrant who had settled along the Estero Bay area of Florida south of Fort Myers on the Gulf Coast. Damkohler had accidentally come across some of the writings of Koresh, and this strange German, who had also claimed to have received celestial vibrations of some sort,³² invited Teed to come and investigate the area. Accordingly, on January 1, 1894, Teed and three Koreshan women from Chicago reached Damkohler and were greatly impressed by Estero. Teed concluded this section of Florida was "the vitellus of the cosmogenic egg, the vital beginning of the new order."³³ Estero was to be the site of the New Jerusalem. The first search had ended.

In the meantime, plans were made to conduct experiments on the nature of the shape of the earth's surface. Teed's major assistant in this work was Professor U. G. Morrow, about whom little is known except that he was an "astronomer and geodesist."³⁴ The first experiments were conducted in July 1896 along the Illinois and Michigan Canal and along beaches in south Chicago and Roby (now part of Hammond), Indiana.³⁵ Encouraged by this work, Teed and his group decided to complete the experiments along the flat, sandy beaches near Naples, Florida, close to the site of the Estero settlement, which had attracted a score of residents.

The Koreshan geodetic staff arrived in Florida on January 2, 1897, established headquarters at Naples on the property of Col. W. N. Haldeman, owner and publisher of the *Courier Journal* of Louisville, Kentucky, and under the direction of Morrow began their work. Morrow had developed a surveying device known as a "rectilineator" and extended an "air line" (a horizontal line rather than a line following the curvature of the earth's surface) for four miles along the Naples beach. Near Gordon's Pass they discovered that the surface of the ocean, when viewed through a telescope with

Like a thousand world's fair cities, Estero will manifest one great panorama of architectural beauty, one great system of orderly activity, where every obstruction to the free motion of every human orb in its circle of progress will be removed. Here is to exist the climax, the crowning glory, of civilization's greatest cosmopolitan center and capital. We may stand upon the site of ancient Babylon—in the present wilderness of Assyria—and wonder at the existence of one of the world's greatest cities of the past. We may stand upon the site of the Greater Estero-to-be, and think not of the past with its ruins and its dead, but of the future when, through the influence of scientific truth in its application to life and human relations, there springs into the world a new element of human progress, which shall loudly call to all the world for millions of progressive minds and hearts to leave the turmoil of the great time of trouble, and make their homes in the Guiding Star City.⁴³

For a decade, from 1894 to 1903, the Koreshans diligently worked to develop their colony sixteen miles south of Fort Myers. When construction reached a point to accommodate Teed's followers, he liquidated his Chicago holdings, and the Society Arch-Triumphant moved as a body to its new home.

The work had not been easy. Lacking any experience in such a venture, the Koreshans literally hacked the New Jerusalem out of the palmetto wilderness of western Florida. They dredged the Estero River, dug drainage ditches, straightened ravines, landscaped, and constructed more than thirty-five buildings. By 1906 the Koreshan Unity had acquired nearly 7,000 acres of land and figured their capital assets at nearly a quarter-million dollars.⁴⁴

Unlike many communal societies, the Koreshans were a gay lot. Although there were never more than about 200 resident Koreshans in the colony at a time, Teed's intellectual bent placed great emphasis on activities such as music, art, and dancing, and the colony had a renowned band and orchestra. Teed ruled this theocratic state jointly with one of his most devoted followers from Chicago, Anne G. Ordway, whom he designated as Victoria Gratia, Pre-Eminent. She was, Teed claimed, the embodiment of the celestial vision that had provided him with his illumination. The governmental structure was cosmic, with Koresh and Victoria Gratia being the central duality presiding over a Planetary Chamber of six women, a Stellar Chamber of four men, and a Signet Chamber of six men and six women. This represented a synthesis, through what was termed a process of "correspondential analogy," of the cosmogony and social order as Teed preached it. A friendly Shaker visited Estero about this time and left the following account:

The buildings are mostly set in a park along the right bank of the Estero River for about a mile. This park contains sunken gardens filled with flowers, banana trees loaded with fruit, paw-paw trees in fruit, palm trees of many varieties, the tall and stately eucalyptus, the bamboo waving its beautiful foliage, and many flowering trees and shrubs. Mounds are cast up, and crowned with large urns or vases for flowering plants. Steps lead down into the sunken gardens and to the water's edge at the river. This land, where the park and the buildings are located, was at times overflowed with water before the Koreshans came. They expended \$3,000 or more in dredging the river, besides making a deep ravine to carry off the surplus water into the river. This ravine is now beautified with Para and Guinea grasses, both natives of Cuba, and is crossed by several artistic foot-bridges made of bamboo and other woods. Almost every kind of tropical fruit possible to grow in Florida can be found in this delightful garden, flowering vines cover the verandas of the houses and the foot-bridges in the park. Steps leading down to the boat landing, made of concrete colored with red clay, are quite grand, and were made and designed by the brethren. In fact, all the work in this magnificent garden is the product of home brains and industry. Koresh says he intends parking the river on both sides down to the bay, a distance of five miles.⁴⁵

the tomb, and a watchman had to be assigned. Just how long the watch was kept is unknown, but it became unnecessary after a still October day in 1921. A terrific windstorm blew across the landscape of Estero Island and swept the tomb of Koresh into the Gulf of Mexico. For the true Koreshans, the messianic destiny had been fulfilled. Koresh was freed from his mortal prison and would soon return.

Estero after Teed

Disunity was no stranger at Estero. The early days of development had been hard, and many became disillusioned and left the group. Since their possessions belonged to the colony, some residents just left to get away, but a number sued in the Lee County courts. Even Gustav Damkohler, the benefactor of the site of New Jerusalem, sued the Koreshans for return of his land, but the courts granted him only half.⁴⁷

The mainstays of the colony were the celibates. Without Teed's leadership, converts to the Society Arch-Triumphant declined, and even the families of the marital order began to drift away. When historian Carl Carmer visited the Koreshans shortly after World War II, he found only six men and six women left, supported by a trust established around the Koreshan business activities and landholdings. They ran a general store on the Tamiami Trail, a main north-south artery through Florida; a gasoline station; a curio shop; and a trailer court leasing much of their land.

In 1947 a dispute broke out among the surviving Koreshans that threatened the continued existence of Estero. As a result of lawsuits, land had to be sold, and the aged management was forced to consider new alternatives for perpetuation.⁴⁸ They recognized that young people were not interested in Estero, and some wished only a place to live, so leadership passed into the hands of Laurence W. Bubbett, whose parents had been early Teed converts in Chicago. Bubbett spent most of his life in New York City as a copyreader but returned to the scene of his boyhood to take over the affairs of the colony. He was determined that Estero would not become an infirmary for the aged.

Bubbett was authorized to approach Florida state officials about the possibilities of perpetuating the remnant of the Koreshan landscape as a historical monument. Discussions commenced in 1952, but not until 1961 did the state of Florida accept from the Koreshans, "in the name of humanity," 305 acres of property to be designated as the Florida Koreshan State Park. Most of the colony buildings are now within the park, and the large Art Hall, one of the earliest structures erected at the New Jerusalem site, is now a combination art and Koreshan museum, containing many paintings by Teed's son, Morrow's rectilineator, Teed's Koreshanic charts, and his globe showing the continents on the inside.

The Koreshan Unity, Incorporated, is still a functional entity at Estero. Following World War II, Hedwig Michel became president, and her presence was evidence of the impact of Teed's teachings. While working as a headmistress in a Jewish school in Germany in the 1930s, she hired Peter Bender, a wounded aviator of World War I days, to teach mathematics. Bender had read Teed's cosmogony and was successful in converting Michel. Bender himself became so infatuated with the cellular cosmogony that he soon came to believe that he was the reincarnation of Koresh. Just before the war Michel headed to Estero, and Peter Bender's messianic destiny ended in a Nazi concentration camp.⁴⁹ Hedwig Michel passed away in 1982 and was succeeded by Mrs. Jo Bigelow as the seventh president of the Koreshan Unity, the third woman to hold that position.

The Koreshans still publish their monthly journal, *The American Eagle*, now largely devoted to historical and conservation articles related to the local area. The *Flaming Sword* was last issued in October 1948; a fire shortly thereafter destroyed the Guiding Star Publishing House. But the magazine did not die with a whimper. On page 11 of that issue is a copy of the letter that Bubbett sent to the editor of *Life* magazine pointing out his error in interpreting a high altitude photo of the Bonneville salt flats as revealing the earth's convexity. To the Koreshans, we still live "inside."⁵⁰

Chronology

1839 Cyrus Reed Teed born in Delaware County, N.Y.

⁴ Koresh, *The Illumination of Koresh: Marvelous Experiences of the Great Alchemist Thirty Years Ago, at Utica, N.Y.* (Chicago: Guiding Star, n.d. [ca. 1899]), 5-6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁰ Carmer, *Clark Trees*, 260. For a development of the mystic belt of New York, see Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965), and Michael Barkun, *Crucible of the Millennium: The Burned-over District in the 1840s* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1986).

¹¹ Carmer, *Clark Trees*, 258-69; Fogarty, introduction to Teed, *Cellular Cosmogony*.

¹² Everett Webber, *Escape to Utopia: The Communal Movement in America* (New York: Hastings House, 1959), 355, a rather shallow and cynical piece of work.

¹³ Lord Chester, *The Great Red Dragon; Or, the Flaming Devil of the Orient* (Estero, Fla.: Guiding Star, 1909). Since Teed died in 1908, this was published posthumously.

¹⁴ Examples are Clark, *Small Sects*, 147, and Gardner, *Fads*, 23.

¹⁵ Michel, *A Gift*, 2: "This illumination was the revelation of the mysteries of life and death, of the form and character of the universe, of the relation of man to God and man's ultimate destiny in God. It was the revelation of universal knowledge." See the excellent account of William A. Hinds, *American Communities and Co-operative Colonies*, 2d ed. (Chicago: C. H. Kerr, 1908), 480. Since Teed's published writings began to appear only in the late 1880s, much of his account of the earlier days was probably apocryphal.

¹⁶ Michel, *A Gift*, 3; Fogarty, introduction to Teed, *Cellular Cosmogony*. The possible fact that Teed and Anne Ordway were novitiates in the Shaker colony at Mount Lebanon, N.Y., is puzzling without more detail (information in a letter from T. W. Beasley, December 19, 1979).

¹⁷ Michel, *A Gift*, 3; Karl J. R. Arndt, "Koreshanity, Topolobampo, Olombia, and the Harmonist Millions," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 56 (1973): 71-86; Arndt, *George Rapp's Successors and Material Heirs, 1847-1916* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1975), 230-32.

¹⁸ Carmer, *Clark Trees*, 268.

¹⁹ W. Ley, "The Hollow Earth," *Galaxy*, March 1956, 71-81; Gardner, *Fads*, 21; Warren Smith, *The Hidden Secrets of the Hollow Earth* (New York: Zebra Books, 1976).

²⁰ Ley, "Hollow Earth"; Gardner, *Fads*.

²¹ Carmer, *Clark Trees*, 269.

²² Koresh and U. G. Morrow, *The Cellular Cosmogony . . . Or . . . The Earth a Concave Sphere* (Chicago: Guiding Star, 1899 [anno Koresh 60]), 192. Republished with addenda by Guiding Star Publishing House at Estero, Fla., in 1905, 1922, and 1927. Reprinted in 1975 by Porcupine Press (see n. 1, above).

²³ Koresh and Morrow, *Cellular Cosmogony*, 194.

²⁴ Mary Burnham, ed., *The United States Catalog: Books in Print, January 1, 1928*, 4th ed. (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1928), 2814.

the island of Rugen by German scientists (Pauwels and Bergier, *Morning*, 265-67). Two other accounts of the hollow earth were put forward as recently as 1947 (*Time*, July 14, 1947, 59). For a wide variety of views on the hollow earth, see Smith, *Hidden Secrets*, 1976.