

Acknowledgements and sources

This covers a set of documents intended to enable students of the Cotopaxi pioneers to examine the primary and secondary documents regarding the colony. They are provided with annotations, cross references and an index. In addition the "Cotopaxi Papers" include a summary of findings and a collection of quantitative material, including demographic and financial data, plus a paper on mining employment and a paper on historiography. These are identified and acknowledged as follows:

Document	Principal providers of source material
CP-1 Summary of findings	As below
CP-2 Quantitative material	Generally as below plus Adam Fagin and Leah Klocek, Denver, Colorado, on behalf of author; and Jenny Moore Lowe, Cañon City, Colorado as published at http://kehilalinks.jewishgen.org/cotopaxi/land.html ; and http://kehilalinks.jewishgen.org/cotopaxi/family-names.html
CP-3 Schwarz. 29 July 1882	Andrew Eason, at that time of Bristol, England; and Rivka Schiller, New York City, on behalf of author.
CP-4 Tuska. c5 August 1882	Professor Adam Rovner, University of Denver, Colorado, in correspondence with author.
CP-5 Saltiel. 19 October 1882	As CP-4
CP-6 Schwarz. 23 October, 1882	Moshe Shaltiel, Miami, Florida, in correspondence with author.
CP-7 Saltiel, 27 December 1882	Author
CP-8 Kohn and Wirkowski. 5 January 1883	Leah Klocek, Denver, Colorado, on behalf of author.
CP-9 Meyer Hart. 8 February 1883	As CP-6
CP-10 Henry. 15 February 1883	As CP-8
CP-11 Schwarz, 2 March 1883	As CP-8
CP-12 Nussbaum, 13 March 1883	As CP-8
CP-13 Roberts. 1941	As CP-6
CP-14 Satt. 1950	Published by Nelson Moore, Cotopaxi Colorado, at http://www.cotopaxi-colony.com/flora-jane-satt-thesis.htm
CP-15 Shpall, 1950	As CP-8
CP-16 Gulliford. 1953	As CP-6
CP-17 The Bardine Assignment	Jenny Moore Lowe, Cañon City, Colorado, in correspondence with author.
CP-18 Historiography	As above, plus Yehuda Aharon Horwitz and Stephanie Ginensky, Jerusalem, Israel.
Index to CP-3 to CP-16	Compiled by Nic Nicholas, London, England.

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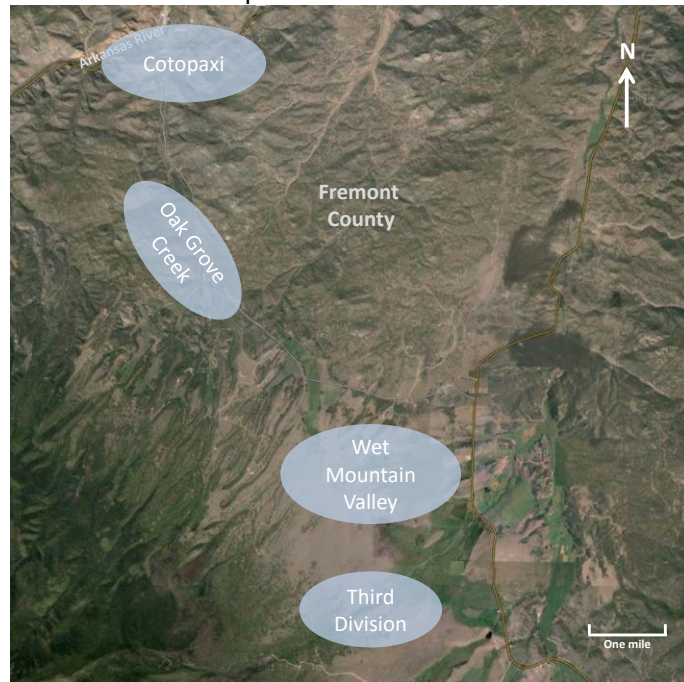
"About the author" on page 19; publication information on back cover.

In May 1882, Jewish pioneers came to farm in Cotopaxi, supported by the New York charity, HEAS, in a colony initially managed by a local businessman, Emanuel Saltiel.

Location

Graphic 1 illustrates the region where the pioneers tried to farm, showing the four areas concerned. These included Cotopaxi itself, an unincorporated township whose unimproved tracts were owned by Saltiel's company; plus the three areas of "government lands" available to farmers under the Homestead Act. These were Oak Grove Creek, the Wet Mountain Valley and then 2½ miles to the south, the tracts of the "third division".

Graphic 1. Areas of settlement



Sources: Google maps; CP-6

Legal environment

Pioneering was governed by US and Colorado law. The prevailing Federal law was the Homestead Act of 1862, which gave pioneering families conditional rights to a single 160-acre tract of "Government land". To simplify, claims had to be made by adults in person at the administrative (or "land") office, in Colorado the County Courthouse. Claimants lodged a filing fee - initially of twelve dollars - in return for five years to confirm their claim, by "proving up" the tract *inter alia* with a 10 by 12 cabin meeting the minimum specification of a single room, door and window. The prevailing State law was the "prior appropriation" of water rights, ultimately flowing from Spanish usages as restated by a territorial court in 1872 and the State Constitution of 1876. This doctrine allowed the first users of water to control it subsequently. The combination of these two laws enabled early Homestead Act settlers to deny irrigation to late-comers.

People

The principals in the story were:

- H S **Henry**, the President of HEAS, established the year before to settle Jewish refugees from Russia.
- Morris **Tuska**, a board member of HEAS, who instigated a cycle of megaphone diplomacy, using the press to manipulate his own organisation in a manner later copied by Attorney Kohn of Denver.
- Emanuel **Saltiel**, the owner of a mine and other property in Cotopaxi, who agreed with HEAS to establish a farming settlement there and financed its unbudgeted expenditures from the outset, underwriting up to \$7,500 of its obligations by January 1883.

Cotopaxi Papers - 1
Summary of findings

- Julius **Schwarz**, Tuska's nephew, who served as the colony's clerk for three months from May 1882 and its manager for ten weeks after August. He and Saltiel had an on-again, off-again relationship.
- George **Kohn**, a Denver lawyer, who took up the colonists' cause after January 1883, followed Tuska's lead in using the press, and negotiated relief from their financial predicament for his protégés, who walked away from \$10,200 owed to HEAS in New York and some \$7,500 to creditors in Cotopaxi.
- Eleazar **Hart**, Saltiel's second cousin, whose local store supplied goods on credit to the colonists who owed him \$4,000 by December 1882. His son, **Meyer**, wrote a rebuttal to Kohn.

Settlers To summarise, the settlers resolved into three family groups linked by marriage, plus four unaffiliated families and four transient parties, specifically,

- families linked by marriage to **Snyder's** three daughters, embracing the family itself, the **Shuteran** clan, and the two other husbands, **Menkowsky** and **Newman**. This group arrived in May, with the record showing that some Snyders and Shuterans left over the winter and hinting that Newman joined them. At first, however, the clan showed commitment, with three of the five men of an age to do so taking surface work in November or mining shifts later; and all men above the age of majority taking tracts.
- the **Shradsky** and **Toplitzky** families, linked by marriage to a Shradsky daughter. This group also arrived in May and as best we know, remained into the winter. They showed less commitment than the Snyders: once again, three the five men of working age took jobs, but in this case only two of the three above majority took a tract.
- a clan, linked by marriage to three sisters and a daughter, embracing the **Milstein**, **Prezant**, **Shames** and **Vorsitzer** families. (Ed **Grimes** was also a distant cousin - see below.) An advance party of four arrived in May, with the three Prezants and two Vorsitzers arriving in August, together with the balance of four Milsteins and five Shames. As best we know, all remained into the winter. The clan's prosperity enabled them to remain detached compared to other colonists, with just two out of the six men of working age taking jobs, with two out of the five above majority (including one of the two taking work) taking tracts.
- the unaffiliated families of **Krupitsky**, **Lauterstein** and **Nudelman** who arrived at the outset plus the **Zedeks** who arrived in July, all remaining into the winter. All took tracts and 75% took work.
- the transient parties of **Moscovitz** who left in July, **Tobias** in October; **Grimes** in December; and the **Schochet Friedman**, who arrived in July for a month. None took tracts or worked.

Table 1 shows that the total headcount passing through the colony was sixty nine, plus one infant who died after arrival.

Table 1. Summary of settlers

Surname	Family no	Count of			Occupation of head
		Men	Women	Children	
Grimes	1	1	-	-	Minor
Krupitzky	2	2	1	1	Hebrew Teacher
Menkowsky	3	1	-	-	na
Milstein	4	2	1	-	na
Moscowitz	5	1	1	4	"Circus rider"
Newman	6	1	1	-	na
Nudelman	7	3	2	-	Farmer
Shames	8	1	-	-	na
Shradsky	9	5	2	-	Builder
Shuteran	10	2	1	-	Farmer
Snyder	11	2	3	1	Tailor
Tobias	12	1	1	-	Charge hand
Toplitzky	13	1	1	-	na
Zedek	14	2	1	3	Carpenter
Friedman	15	1	-	-	Schochet
Lauterstein	16	1	1	3	na
Milstein	4	-	-	1	Minor
Prezant	17	1	1	1	Innkeeper
Shames	18	1	1	4	Farmer
Vorsitzer	19	1	1	-	na
Milstein	20	1	1	-	na

Source: CP-2, table 39¹

¹ This is based on the contribution to JewishGen at <http://kehilalinks.jewishgen.org/cotopaxi/land.html> by Jenny Moore Lowe, with additional material on Friedman from Tuska in CP-4 and Saltiel in CP-5, treated as follows.

The following pen-portraits are based on the contemporary documents collected in the Cotopaxi Papers and other primary sources.

Party arriving on 8 May, in alphabetical order of surname

Ed **Grimes** was a minor, so too young to file under the Homestead Act. He carried a torch for Nettie Milstein (a distant cousin), but when she turned up in August she was with her husband (and cousin), Jacob. This took the wind out of Grimes' sails: he took none of the work on offer in November and left in December, preferring to dwell on the poverty of the land in interviews forty years later.

David **Krupitzky** was a widower in his mid-thirties who declared himself as a "Hebrew teacher" to immigration officials. He arrived with two infant daughters and an infant son, who died in the summer. His knowledge of Hebrew enabled him to lead the colony's religious observances. In late June, he claimed and was displaced from a tract in the Wet Mountain Valley, then participating in the final round of land claims in November with a filing for a tract in the Third Division. The duplicate filing would have clouded his title. In November he took up Saltiel's offer of surface work sorting ore, but the silence on his efforts means he was judged "unfit for work". In February 1883, he was singled out by Henry as deserving assistance.

Michael **Menkowsky** arrived as a single man in his late twenties. He paid court to Sarah Snyder, whom he married in the summer. In August, he filed a claim for a tract in the Wet Mountain Valley, writing to Schwarz in praise of his land. In November he took up work sorting ore: We gather he was seen as "unfit for work" as nothing was said about his performance, but in the event he did mine in the New Year, taking 25 shifts in the period to April 1883.

The core of the **Milstein** clan was the middle-aged couple, Baruch and Hannah plus their infant son, who landed in the US in mid-February 1882. Hannah had two sisters: Rosie who was married to Prezant and Clare who was married to Michael Shames. In June, Milstein filed a claim for a tract in the Wet Mountain Valley and in late August, the family was joined by other family members.

Michael **Moscowitz** declared himself as a "circus rider" at the port of entry and arrived with his wife and four daughters. All left the colony at the end of July.

Solomon **Newman** and his wife, Snyder's daughter, Reina, landed in the US in mid-April. A young childless couple, they claimed and were displaced from a tract in the Wet Mountain Valley in late June, then participating in the final round of claims in November with a filing for a tract in the Third Division. This made their title clouded as a duplicate. In November, Newman took up surface work and a month later his performance was described as "good enough to get occasional work". In the New Year, however, he showed little enthusiasm for mining, with just four shifts in the period to April 1883. Possibly he decamped to Denver with his father in law.

Joseph **Nudelman** declared himself as a "farmer" to immigration officials. He and his wife, both in their thirties came with their teenage son, two infant daughters who survived and a one-year-old daughter who died in the summer. In August, he filed a claim for a tract in Oak Grove Creek. Throughout the autumn he worked completing houses; in December Saltiel characterised him as likely to "get along well as a fair carpenter/builder", with his family also praised as "industrious". After the colony collapsed he is recorded in 1886, at another such colony at Painted Woods in the then Dakota Territory, now North Dakota.

Michael **Shames** landed in the US in mid-April. In his late twenties, he arrived without his family. In June, he claimed and was displaced from a tract in the Wet Mountain Valley. In mid-August, he anticipated the arrival of his older namesake, Isaac Shames, by making a filing for him in in the Wet Mountain Valley. His wife and two children arrived with Isaac in late August. He took November work and a month later was described as a "fair attentive worker". In the New Year he committed himself to mining, with 37 shifts in the period to April 1883.

Satt (CP-14) is preferred to Lowe for Michael Shames and the Moscovitz women as satisfying Occam's razor: Satt's identification of Michael Shames and his wife is more straightforward; and it is easier to believe that immigrants simplified their relationships to get past landing officials (a commonplace of the period and no hanging offence) than that Moscovitz's wife and two daughters left with him on 30 July and returned without him (and two other daughters) a month later. This shows how the official record may be contaminated by misleading inputs. Lowe's data introduces two further complications: she records two still-born or perinatal deaths (Krupitzky and Shuteran), but does not identify the child whom Schwarz (CP-6) says was born to add to the colony's numbers shortly after the death of the Nudelman infant on 27 May. Finally, she identifies Jacob Milstein (no 68), aged 29, as the son of Hannah Milsten (no 8), aged 35, which makes no sense.

The **Shradsky** family landed in the US at the end of March 1882, with the family embracing three generations: Sam, a widower in his mid-fifties; and Shlomo, his son in his late thirties, who declared himself as a "builder" at the port of entry; plus his wife, three minor sons and a minor daughter. The record conveys Shlomo as a complex character: in New York he was seen as a troublemaker and he did without documentation when he took his tract in Oak Grove Creek, but then he cultivated it "like a flower garden". The family made no claims under the Homestead Act, making it possible that they were one of the two families granted a double-tract in Cotopaxi. In November, one of the minor grandsons, Max, took the November surface work, after which he was rated as "good enough to get occasional work". In the New Year, the two grandsons who were old enough to work (but too young to file under the Homestead Act) applied themselves to mining, variously taking 41 and 35 shifts up to April 1883.

The **Shuteran** brothers landed in the US at the end of March 1882, both declaring themselves to immigration officials as "farmers". The older brother, Shlomo, came with his pregnant wife who lost her new-born daughter in the summer. In June, he took an undocumented tract in the Wet Mountain Valley. In August, the younger brother, Max, filed a claim for another tract in the Wet Mountain Valley, but this means that both titles would have been clouded as either imperfectly documented or in the same family name. Their early energy makes them one of the two families possibly granted a double-tract in Cotopaxi. Max wooed Fanny Snyder, whom he married in the summer. In November he took up the offer of work, but his unnoted performance means he was regarded as "unfit for work". By 18 February 1883, Shlomo had moved to Denver where he claimed relief. The record hints strongly that at more or less this time, Max joined his brother's family and his own new wife, Fanny. This is because we know her father, Snyder, took her with him when he decamped to Denver before the turn of the year.

The **Snyder** family landed in the US in mid-April, embracing three generations. The first generation was a couple in late middle age, with the husband declaring himself as a "tailor" at the port of entry. They were accompanied by their adult daughter, Sarah, a widow with her own infant daughter; plus their teenage son and daughter, Fanny. By the end of the summer, Sarah had married Michael Menkowsky and Fanny had married Max Shuteran. In June, Snyder claimed and was displaced from a tract in the Wet Mountain Valley. He then participated in the final round of claims in November, filing for a tract in the Third Division. This meant his title was clouded as a duplicate. Snyder was an independent personality, taking exception to the colony's religiosity. He took no work in November and by the end of December he decamped for Denver with his newlywed daughter, Fanny.

Max **Tobias** was the colony's charge-hand who came out to Cotopaxi with his wife. His early display of expertise suggests him as one of the two families granted a double-tract in Cotopaxi. In October he returned with Schwarz to New York, after which he was criticised for unfamiliarity with local conditions.

Hirsh **Toplitzky** and his wife, Schlomo Shradsky's daughter, were young and childless, landing in the US at the end of March 1882. Possibly he was too young to participate in land claims until the final round in November, at which point he did file for a tract in the Third Division. In November, he took surface work sorting ore, after which he was described as "a good enough workman always to find work", having performed so much "better than most of the others" that he got a raise. He went on to commit himself to mining in the New Year, with 37 shifts in the period to April 1883.

Lieb **Zedek** landed in the US at the end of March 1882, declaring himself as a "carpenter" to immigration officials. He was just thirty, with his wife and four infant children. He filed a claim for a tract in Oak Grove Creek in August. Throughout the autumn he completed houses and in December, he was commended as likely to "get along well as a fair carpenter/builder", with his family endorsed as "industrious". On 7 January 1883, he wrote to Schwarz glorying in his potato crop of thirty bags or 3,000 lb, though every other source halved this (CP-18 explores the distortions of his achievement).

Early July arrival

Joseph **Friedman** was a *Schochet* (ritual slaughterer), who was brought in by the colony management in the early summer. There was insufficient work for him to make a living, so he left at the end of July.

Arrival on 16 July

Hirsh **Lauterstein** and his wife were a couple in their twenties with three infant children, one a babe in arms, landing in the US at the end of June. Within a month of their arrival, they took an undocumented tract in the Third Division. In November, they regularised this with a claim, but the title risked being seen as clouded. Nonetheless, he wrote to Schwarz praising the land. In November he took surface work sorting ore, but his unreported efforts tells us he was taken to be "unfit for work". Even so, in the New Year he revisited mining to a modest extent, taking seven shifts in the period to April 1883.

Party arriving on 29 August, in alphabetical order of surname

Jacob 1 **Milstein** was in his late twenties and the son of Baruch, landing in the US in c1880. Earlier he had married his cousin, Nettie, in irregular circumstances. She landed in the US in mid July 1882 with her infant brother, Jacob 2, then joining Jacob 1 to travel to Cotopaxi, where their marriage was solemnised. No Milstein took work from Saltiel in November and a month later the family was described as "comfortably off, as they brought money with them", joining with the Shames clan to buy a mule and cart from the colony.

Charles **Prezant** landed in the US in mid-July, declaring himself as an "inn-keeper" at the port of entry. He and his wife were in their late twenties with an infant son. His wife, Clare, was the sister of Rosie, the wife of Michael Shames, and of Hannah, the wife of the older Milstein. Prezant made no claim for land under the Homestead Act. In November, he took surface work sorting ore, but he must have been seen as "unfit for work", as his efforts went unrecorded. In the 1920s, he put his own spin on the colonists' "tearful appeal" to Spivak or journalists.

Isaac **Shames** was a widower in late middle age. He landed in the US in mid-July, declaring himself to immigration officials as a "farmer". He was accompanied by two infant daughters of his own, plus Rosie, the wife of his namesake, Michael Shames, with their infant daughter. Rosie was the sister of Prezant's wife, Clare and the older Milstein's wife, Hannah. The filing in his name for a tract in the Wet Mountain Valley was recorded nineteen days before his arrival, so his title was clouded as not made personally. He took no work from Saltiel in November. In December, the family was described as "comfortably off, as they brought money with them", joining with the Milsteins to buy a mule and cart from the colony.

Joe **Vorsitzer** and his wife were a young childless couple who landed in the US in mid-July. He was a minor, so too young to file under the Homestead Act. His wife was the daughter of Isaac Shames. In November, he took surface work, after which he was described as "good enough to get occasional work". In the New Year he went at mining with a will, with 25 shifts in the period to April 1883.



Summary account

Thirty colonists arrived in the US on three ships between February and March 1882. They combined with twenty others arriving at unknown dates to reach Cotopaxi on 8 May 1882. They resided there, in bunk- or log houses till family quarters were complete. On 11 May they were shown "bottom land" in Oak Grove Creek. They rejected this and menaced the colony's clerk and soon-to-be manager, Julius Schwarz. Saltiel protected Schwarz with riflemen and telegraphed HEAS for guidance. Shortly thereafter, the colonists exhausted their personal money, obliging them to rely on store credit from Hart for subsistence. On 25 May following consultations with HEAS, Saltiel staked out a new area of two thousand acres in the Wet Mountain Valley. In late May, two settlers took two lots apiece in Cotopaxi. Saltiel and Schwarz commenced a high-strung relationship, which ran over the next eight weeks from discord to amity and back.

On 9 June, four colonists made filings in the Wet Mountain Valley; Schwarz wrote of a further tract in the Wet Mountain Valley taken up by S Shuteran, at this point unrecorded. In late June, Saltiel hired a lawyer to defend settlers' claims which were disputed by neighbours; eventually four colonists were displaced by settlers exercising their water rights under Colorado's "prior appropriation" laws. At the end of June and less than eight weeks after the pioneers arrived, Saltiel went to New York to plead their cause with HEAS, as unbudgeted expenditures were threatening to exhaust funds.

In July Saltiel returned without any promises to find Schwarz slacking; he then sent four "back me or sack me" telegrams to HEAS. Schwarz sent a report to HEAS including a request to fund an irrigation ditch which they ignored.² During the month the Lauterstein family and Friedman (a *Schochet* - kosher slaughterer) arrived. Toward the end of the month the Moscovitz family and the *Schochet* left, with the colonists thereafter buying kosher meat from Denver. Part of Schwarz' report was published in the New York press. On 30 July, a HEAS board member, Morris Tuska, came to inspect and put Schwarz in charge, sending him \$1,000 for local expenditures. His report criticised Saltiel's management of funds and the delay in housing completions; promised that the settlers would "partly" pay back their debts; and made his own request for further funds.

After August, Schwarz was in charge. In August, expenditure on fencing exhausted the colony's funds. Saltiel took on Nudelman and Zedek as carpenters to accelerate housing completions. On 10 August, two settlers made filings in Oak Grove Creek and three in the Wet Mountain Valley. Schwarz wrote of a further unrecorded tract on Oak Grove Creek taken up by S Chorovsky (aka Shradsky). On 29 August the final group of four families arrived.

In August or September, Schwarz located five farms in the "third division", at this point undocumented locations 2½ miles south of the Wet Mountain Valley. Over this period he had the spending of a further \$2,000, which he defrayed on cows and fencing until it was exhausted. In October he made overtures on the settlers' behalf to Denver's Jews, who declined any interest³. Even so with housing close to complete, he returned to New York. On 23 October he delivered a roseate report to HEAS. This made no criticism of Saltiel; defended the record of housing completions; promised that the colonists would pay back all their debts; and made a token request for further funds. This was supported by a positive letter from Hart, who nonetheless shortly thereafter cut off store credit. This was by reason of the disappointing ask, HEAS' outright refusal, or the more-or-less coincident failure of the potato crop. The settlers got up a petition against Saltiel as the local kingpin. As he was also the most immediate source of cash, they then reversed their attitude to appeal to him for jobs. He responded with work for all-comers, but told HEAS that sending more refugees to Cotopaxi would be a "cruelty to a helpless people". Some took up his jobs, but not all could hold them down; some then went to Salida, getting fired within a month after striking over the railroad's wage scale.

On 15 November, the five settlers in the "third division" filed their claims, with S Chuteran also registering his claim in the Wet Mountain Valley. Over the winter, HEAS left the colony unmanaged and uncontacted. Even so, as late as 22 December, the charity was reporting settlers' assurances that they would fully repay their obligations, which in mid-January 1883, were stated to be \$10,233.57.⁴ Within two weeks, the colonists engaged a Denver lawyer - Attorney Kohn. His instructions were to get his clients off their debts to HEAS and the \$7,000 owed locally; and to get grubstakes to add to the \$1,000 they had cached. Kohn's initial approach to HEAS failed so he enlisted political and press support for his support committee.

The principals played out their dispute in the newspapers of the day: Saltiel sent two "letters to the Editor"; others forwarded ostensibly private correspondence for reprinting. To simplify, Kohn claimed that the colonists were in desperate conditions, the location was unsuited for agriculture and Saltiel was culpable *inter alia* in promoting it. Saltiel argued that the settlers were ill-suited to farming and agriculture ill-suited to communal organisation. Schwarz and H S Henry, the President of HEAS, stated that Kohn was exaggerating, that several of the colonists had sent letters of satisfaction in January, and that all could pull

2 Presumably HEAS simply flinched at the expense. No record suggests that they understood that such efforts would be futile under the local "first in time, first in right" water regime.

3 In the *Jewish Messenger* of 3 September 1882 under the heading *In town*, there appears "A letter was received this week from Mr Julius Schwarz of the Cotopaxi, Col., colony in which he gives an account of his recent visit to Denver and his unsuccessful endeavours to awaken among the Israelites of that city an interest in the welfare of the emigrants..."

4 This figure comes from the *Hebrew Messenger* of 19 January 1883. The same figure was used in the *New York Herald* of 18 July 1883, indicating that nothing had been paid to the colonists at that point.

through if they showed pluck, but risked demoralisation from ill-judged support from locals officiously rallying to their cause. In December 1882, Philip Nussbaum, a Pennsylvania stockman who grazed his herds in the area, found the colonists "in the best of health". A few weeks later, they lobbied him so effectively that in February 1883 he sent a report to HUAC, a Jewish agricultural charity, talking up their distress and criticising everyone else involved in the colony, including Henry as out-of-touch, Kohn and his "Denver Committee" as spies and incendiaries, Saltiel as presiding over worthless land, and Schwarz as a fantasist.

By then, at least one colonist "Charleman Chatteran" (ie, Shlomo Chuteran), had become a charge on Arapahoe County (ie, Denver) and in May, the *American Israelite* reported that the colony had been abandoned. Nonetheless in mid-July, Henry spoke to the *New York Herald* of seventeen families in Cotopaxi. In mid-September Arapahoe County refused to pay three colonists, who had "...been living [on] charity..." to go to Nebraska. The oral tradition of the colonists' descendants is that Kohn got the settlers what they wanted, but no record has been found.



Complications

Intrigues The bald narrative of events conceals machinations between the principals, as well as (less clearly perceived) within the immigrant group. At the outset, Tuska's July ploy with the Colorado press prepared the ground for HEAS to accept his nephew as Saltiel's replacement. He did this by getting material from one of Schwarz' internal reports (CP-3) reprinted in the *New York Herald*, at that time the city's paper of record, as an advertisement of the latter's accomplishments in Colorado.

The narrative also fails to do justice to the relationship between Saltiel and Schwarz which had the character of unhappy dealings between father and son. It went through two full cycles from suspicion to confidence to antagonism, first between May and July and again between August and October. The second time around, Saltiel bit his lip about Schwarz' July article, enabling the relationship to survive the reversal of fortune in August 1882, when Schwarz took over from him as "General Manager" of the colony.

The two then found a way to rub along for a final spell of collaboration, so that Saltiel took direct control over housing completions; persuaded Hart to keep up credit for the settlers' subsistence; offered work to those who wanted it; and underwrote some \$1,800 on fences. Meanwhile Schwarz got some settlers work on the railroad; presided over a reinvigorated round of land filings and settlements; fronted the relationship with HEAS, promising locals that he would get the New York charity to cover their advances; tried and failed to interest the Denver community in the colony; and drafted a report with an agreed stance, figures and financial request.

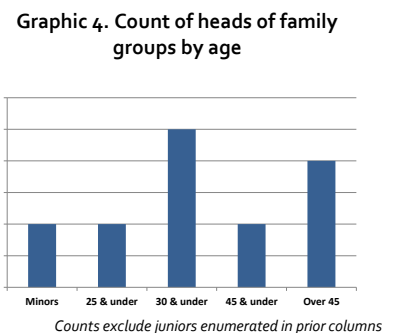
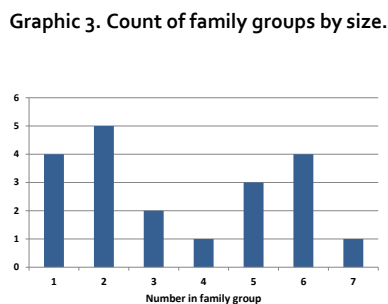
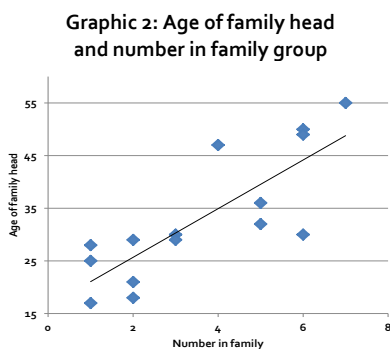
This scheme went awry when Tuska attempted to repeat the success of his July gambit. He got his August report to HEAS (CP-4) reprinted in the *American Jewish press* to promote Schwarz' forthcoming presentation to HEAS in New York. Tuska's report was harsh about Saltiel who was infuriated. Saltiel was used to the press, launching his career the West with a business directory and a newspaper. He also had a strong sense of right and wrong and of his own reputation. This led him into an impolitic public rebuttal with a stinging characterisation of Schwarz in his own letter to the press (CP-5). Tuska's contact on the newspaper tipped him the wink that the letter was on the way, so Schwarz completed his report in something of a rush. He was now a long way from Cotopaxi; he was about to be publicly rebuked by one of the principals whose money he had planned to try to recover; and his uncle was in a position to let him know just how much HEAS was overwhelmed by refugees from Europe. So at the last minute, he changed his report to a token request of \$96, leaving his figures incontinently adding to \$10,500, but relieving him of a burden no longer to his taste and unlikely to work out well (CP-6). The immediate printing of the report, including its modest ask, meant that in Cotopaxi they promptly got wind that there would be no money coming their way. This coincided with the failure of the potato crop and credit was cut off. Those cashing pay-checks

from the railroad had to take a haircut to pay down a fraction of their accumulated debt. HEAS went radio-silent for the winter (CP-12), only breaking cover when the settlers wheeled in Attorney Kohn (CP-8).

Finally, the record signals disharmony among the settlers themselves, where families worked up their own distinct approaches to the uncertainty they faced. To take the best attested examples, the Milstein/Shames clam demonstrated the caution of the relatively prosperous by first sending out a small advance party and throughout showing reservations about the land and work on offer. By contrast, despite objecting to the colony's religiosity, the Snyders committed themselves with a will - but also with a deadline: by the turn of the year they were absconding for Denver, one by one.

Divergent approaches of this kind made for the colonists' apparent reverses of direction. In late October the potato crop failed, but in November six land claims were registered⁵, and in early January several colonists sent positive letters to HEAS. In October, the settlers petitioned against Saltiel, but in November they appealed to him for work, only for most to give it up. A party then went to Salida for railroad work, but within a month they went on strike and lost it. In December, the settlers were promising to pay HEAS back, but a month later they recruited Kohn to get them off their debts

Demographics and dynamics In the conclusion of a Master's dissertation on the colony, Satt wrote of failings in the "homogeneity of purpose and temperament and physical fitness of the colony members" (CP-14, page 34, lines 25 and 26). We may obtain some insight into this puzzling remark by examining the pioneers' demography. Graphic 2 compares the age of family heads to the numbers in the families concerned, with the trend line showing the expected slope from bottom left to top right of a positive correlation.



Source: CP-2, table 39.
 All as at May 1882 or date of arrival.

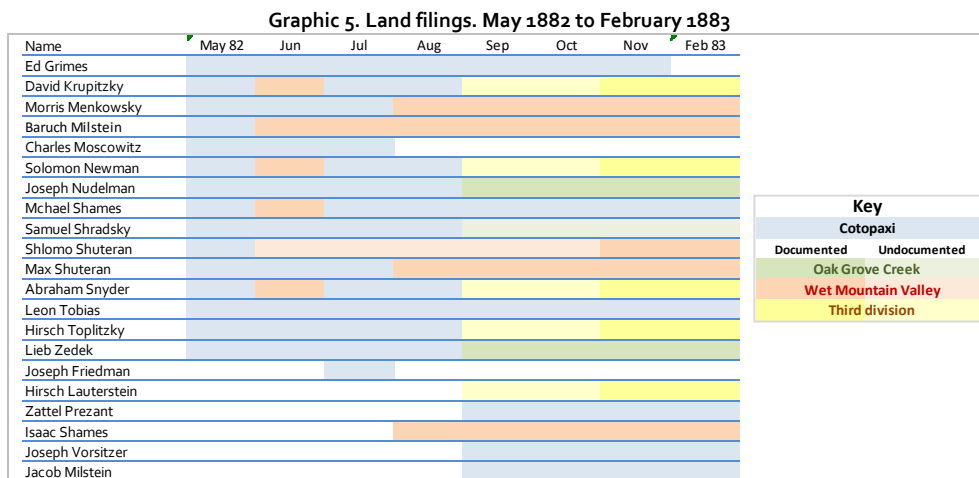
Graphic 2 also points to the pioneering group's demographic imbalance, with concentrations of entries at the bottom left and top right, but incommensurately few in the centre. Graphic 3 draws this out by showing the preponderance of single men and young childless couples, with 55% **of the number of groups** made up of those without children; and four made up of single men. On the other hand, 44% **of the population** was represented by eight large clans - six at the outset. This imbalance was accentuated by the skewed demography of the heads of family. Graphic 4 shows that sixty percent of family heads were under thirty, with a further disproportion of heads aged over forty-five.

The *Schochet*, Friedman, left after a month, but several of the other single men sought brides: Menkowsky married Sarah Snyder; Grimes failed in his suit to Nettie Milstein, leaving after she married her cousin Jacob; and one of the Shuteran brothers, Max, married Hannah Snyder. Youngsters who were vying with each other as suitors would have been fractious until stable couples emerged and their seniors asserted leadership.

⁵ We cannot be sure if the final round of filings was made in a spirit of genuine enthusiasm; or in a more sceptical spirit, to regularise *de facto* occupancies in case the claims turned out to have some value. The former is conveyed by the letters sent to Schwarz (CP-11, page 6, line 20) - at least in the case of the three settlers who wrote them.

First, however, contenders for leadership jockeyed for position. The Moscowwitz family left and the Snyder grouping soon ruled itself out.⁶ The standing of the six-person Shradsky clan may have been compromised as including both the oldest member of the colony and a couple of lads, old enough for vigorous work but just too young for Homestead Act filings. Satt (CP-14, page 24, line 30) states that Korpitsky, the Hebrew teacher, emerged as contributing an increasingly valued skill: his familiarity with liturgy meant he could lead the religious services which emerged as a device to unify a formerly “not particularly religious group” (CP-14, page 25, line 2). Prestige also made for leadership by the 47-year-old Baruch Milstein (CP-2, table 29, no 7), with his links to the absent “spiritual leader”, Saul Baer Milstein, and the reinforcement of kinsmen turning up in late August. From this we see that the demographics of the colony contributed to initial instability, which continued until the second group arrived, stable couples emerged, challengers for leadership were expelled or seen off, and the colony drew together around an intensified religious observance.

Tracts and titles The settlers came to farm. Graphic 5 sets out the peripatetic sequence of filings on government lands under the Homestead Act.



This shows the complications faced by those with tracts on government lands where four families with good claims gave them up; three settlers definitively made duplicate claims which clouded their title; multiple claims by namesakes risked similar challenges; seven families occupied tracts without documented titles for some time; and one claim was made in the name of a settler before the record of his arrival in Cotopaxi.

Table 2 quantifies this pattern, showing that at the end of December 1882, eleven out of the thirteen family groups with tracts had them on government lands.

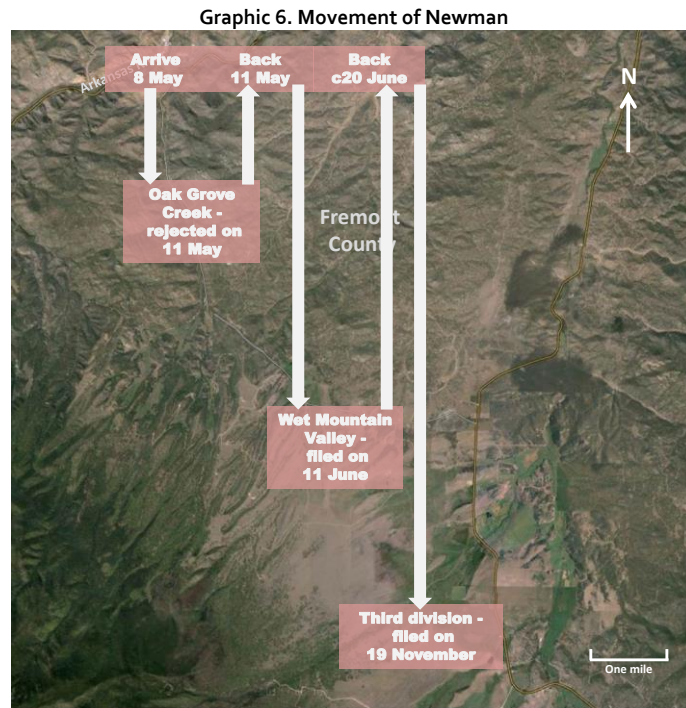
Table 2. Count of occupied tracts. May to December 1882

At end of	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
Documented filings under Homestead Act								
Wet Mountain Valley		5	1	4	4	4	4	4
Oak Grove Creek				2	2	2	2	2
Third Division							5	5
Other documented occupancies								
Cotopaxi	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Wet Mountain Valley				1	1	1		
Oak Grove Creek				1	1	1		
Third Division						1		
New filings under Homestead Act		5		5			5	

Source: CP-2, table 31

⁶ The accounts in Tuska and Schwarz (CP-4, page 3, lines 4 to 5; CP-6, page 7, lines 8 to 10) of the July departure of the six in the Moscowwitz group hints at the resolution of a tussle; and at CP-5, page 11, lines 6 to 8, Saltiel reports the ostracism of Snyder, after he took exception to the group’s newfound religiosity. His core-group of six was expanded by marital affiliations, but he ended up with singularly infertile tract. By December, he left for Denver with one of his newlywed daughters, with others joining him thereafter.

The number of family groups does not reconcile to graphics 5 and 7 as the Shuteran brothers made a filing each. Graphic 6 uses the example of Newman to show how the pattern of movements affected an individual.



Newman was in the first group of colonists arriving on 8 May and rejecting the bottom lands of Oak Grove Creek on 11 May. All returned to Cotopaxi the same day. He then filed in the Wet Mountain Valley on 11 June, but was seen off by neighbours later in the month and returned to Cotopaxi. In the early fall, he took up a tract in the "third division", eventually filing on 19 November. Such movements complicated the supply of housing and the quality of titles for tracts; they also demoralised the colonists themselves.

In CP-4, page 3, lines 24 and 25, Saltiel wrote that he granted double-lots in Cotopaxi itself to the only two families who "appeared settled and willing to work the land with a determination to succeed", but within a couple of months it was apparent that his judgement had erred.⁷

A final word on the contradiction between the claim in the name of Isaac Shames dated by the Fremont County records as 10 August 1882 and Schwarz' report of his arrival in Cotopaxi nineteen days later. Bound books make official dates hard to falsify; given Schwarz' general imprecision, he may simply be wrong. On the other hand the arrival of which Shames was part made for a memorable event. On balance, this makes it least of a stretch to see the filing as engineered by another colonist in anticipation of Shames' arrival, presumably after advice of his landfall by letter or cable. The most likely perpetrator would be his son, Michael Shames. Regardless, the confusion attests to the appetite for land and casts another cloud on titles, not to say official records.

⁷ Saltiel did not identify the recipients but gave a clue in mentioning only three families in the course of CP-4: Tobias, Nudelman and Shuteran. Tobias made no filing on government lands and could well have been one of the two beneficiaries: he could communicate with Saltiel in English and as the colony's charge hand at first appeared to be an accomplished agriculturalist. By November, however, Saltiel (CP-7) was publicly criticising his ignorance of local conditions. It is harder to identify who got the other lots in Cotopaxi. Nudelman remained in Saltiel's good graces but as a carpenter, not a farmer (CP-7). The Shuteran group of three adults included two able-bodied men describing themselves as "farmers" to immigration officials. In due course the brothers were also to make two filings on government lands. Saltiel would have warmed to this appearance of expertise and ambition. In the event, however, the Shuterans: lost interest: by February 1883 at least one brother was in Denver.

Arrivals and departures Schwarz' contemporaneous and circumstantial account of arrivals and departures is preferred to Lowe's reconstruction from ship records, though his report of the arrival on 29 August of the six person family of "relatives of...M. Shames", ie, the six-person family of Isaac Shames, is contradicted by a documented filing for lot 14 by "I Shamez" dated 10 August. As discussed above, this is best explained as a concocted claim ahead of Shames' arrival by friends or relatives already in Cotopaxi and an example of contaminated official records.

Graphic 7. Arrival and departure of settlers. May 1882 to February 1883

Family head	Family size	May 82	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan 83	Feb
Ed Grimes	1										
David Krupitzky	5 (4 from June)										
Morris Menkowsky	1										
Baruch Milstein	3 (4 from July)										
Charles Moscowitz	6										
Solomon Newman	2										
Joseph Nudelman	5										
Mchael Shames	1										
Samuel Shradsky	7										
Shlomo Shuteran	3										
Abraham Snyder	6										
Leon Tobias	2										
Hirsch Toplitzky	2										
Lieb Zedek	6										
Joseph Friedman	1										
Hirsch Lauterstein	5										
Zattel Prezant	3										
Isaac Shames	6										
Joseph Vorsitzer	2										
Jacob Milstein	2										
Number of families	20	14	14	15	15	15	18	18	18	17	17
Number of persons	70	50	49	50	54	67	67	67	66	66	66
Gross arrivals		50			5	13					

Sources: CP-2, tables 22 and 23

Gross arrivals are reduced by the infant death in June and the departure of the *Schochet* Friedman in early August. No account is taken of two stillborn children reported by Satt. Graphic 7 adds to table 2 to convey the episodic and often temporary character of occupancy. The graphic shows that the colony started out with fourteen family groups (treating Grimes, Menkowsky and M Shames as single-person "family-groups", the Shradskys as a single group and recognising the Tobiassees) and a headcount of fifty. It reached its maximum from October to November as 18 groups and a headcount of sixty-seven.

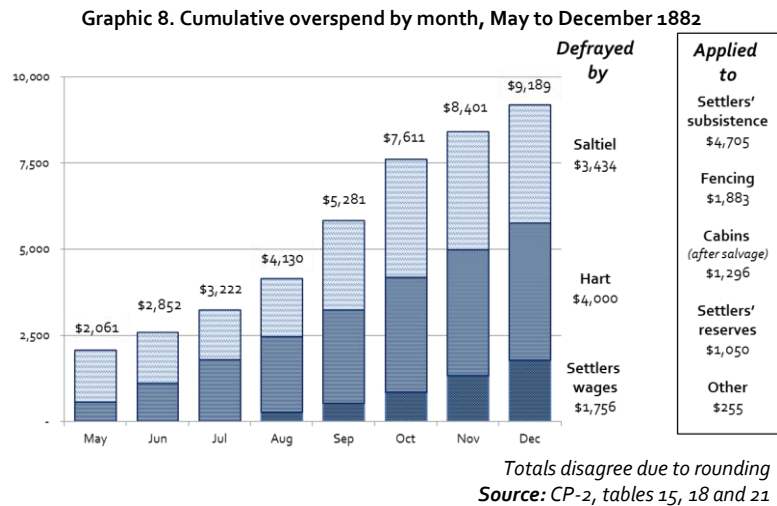


Disputes

Debts The colonists turned up with little personal cash and owing sums to HEAS for supplies and transport, which eventually totalled over \$10,000. They bore losses immediately, losing an ox-team on arrival. They then had to rely upon local credit for store-bought food plus communal and religious necessities, as shown in CP-2, tables 18 to 20.

More settlers arrived in the summer, adding to expense - as did the to-ing and fro-ing between tracts. In the first quarter of the colony's operation, Saltiel's and Schwarz' appeals for funds to HEAS came up empty; nor did Schwarz' October report get cash out of New York, despite a November letter of support from the principal trade creditor, Hart. Thereafter all such credit ceased. Graphic 8 shows that this left the colonists decisively in debt, the colony busting its nominal budget by some 90%, and most of the excess picked up by creditors in Cotopaxi, ultimately Saltiel.

Cotopaxi Papers - 1
Summary of findings



The colonists were unaware of the underlying economics but understood that their obligations were mounting. Their concerns intensified after HEAS deserted them during the winter of 1882/83, sapping their commitment to pay the charity back.

Housing delays At the end of July, settlers complained of slow housing completions to Tuska. This was unrealistic as construction was hindered not only by the lack of labour and adverse weather reported by Saltiel, but by four other factors.

- False starts, with all colonists rejecting the first tracts they were shown on 11 May; and four colonists displaced by neighbours in June.
- Prolonged delay in settling on final tracts with four pioneers taking 98 days and five taking 196 days to file their claims.
- Movement from one location to another with the example of Newman set out above in Graphic 6.
- Strong hints in the oral record that settlers walked away from twelve cabins complying with the Homestead Act, when rejecting tracts on 11 May.

In any event, houses were complete by the winter, enabling HEAS to recall Schwarz. His roseate report delighted the charity, who immediately printed it to promote donations. It was invoked by Emma Lazarus, a year before she wrote her iconic sonnet, in an article calling for Jews to buy into the redemption of agriculture. For several months Schwarz rode high with HEAS: in early February 1883, he was sent to defuse riots at the Society's colony at Estellville, NJ, where he was briefly taken hostage.

Kohn's task Kohn had the sense to take the high road, aiming his protégés well away from the coincident disorder at the Estellville colony. This was no mean feat, given the unpromising precedents of their May riot in Cotopaxi and later trouble over wages in Salida. He rolled out the whole *megillah* of mass-meetings, charity-fundraisers and press- and letter-writing campaigns. The launch coverage for his "Denver Committee" embraced every local daily plus all three Jewish-American weeklies.⁸ Throughout, he enjoyed the support of Herman Silver, a Denver grandee and press-baron.⁹

Heavy guns of this kind were needed to persuade HEAS to eat losses of \$17,000 plus, just when it was overwhelmed by Russian refugees. In retrospect we can see that Kohn's best argument falls out of his letter's closing demand, that the colony be abandoned. This carries the implication that it was so impossible of success that his protégés could not fairly be held to their obligations. Initially, however, he deemed it

⁸ By contrast, those contradicting him never got their rebuttals printed in more than one paper, making them more readily missed by later researchers.

⁹ Silver was a prominent Republican politician. He owned the *Denver Tribune* and enjoyed the Federal patronage appointments of Collector of the Internal Revenue and Superintendent of the US Mint (CP-8). He lent his name to Kohn's covering letter to HEAS and served as chairman of the "Cotopaxi Relief Committee" which organised fundraisers throughout Colorado.

politic not to fly in the face of the agricultural utopianism of his time and place: indeed, at first he would have found it difficult to convince the pioneers, half a dozen of whom were eagerly filing claims six weeks earlier.

In this light, he realised he would do better by taking another tack: working on the charity's remorse for neglecting Cotopaxi over the winter and opening the door to apply costs to Saltiel. His argument was, "Never mind my clients breaking their word; just feel their pain and blame the bad guy."

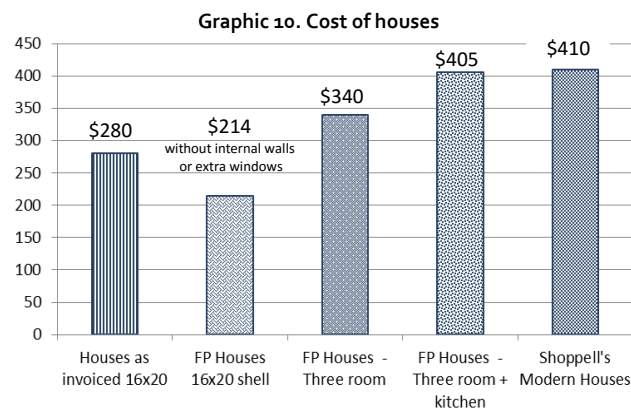
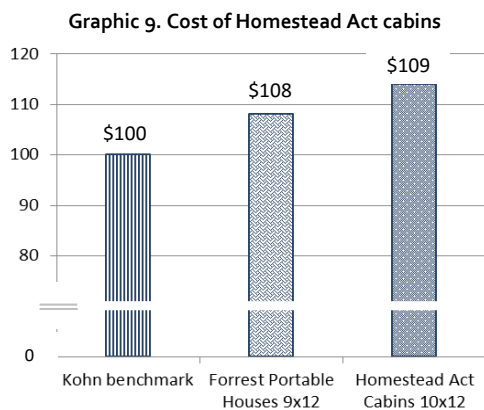
- **Titles** Thus in February 1883 Kohn tried for yardage with specious complaints about titles in Cotopaxi, but these were for *houses* which were either executed or to be "had for the asking" (CP-9). Only two colonists had *tracts* in Cotopaxi (CP-5, CP-9); table 3 shows that his play masked the real complications faced by the thirteen with government tracts, with over three-fifths facing clouded titles.

Table 3. Quality of titles on government lands, December 1882

Total number of claims made since May	16
<i>Less</i> Good claims surrendered	4
<i>Add back</i> Undocumented tract	1
Total of government tracts occupied	13
<i>Less</i> Claims held by those making prior claims	3
Claims held by namesakes	3
Claim made in absence	1
Undocumented claim	1
Claims with unclouded titles	5
Clear titles as a proportion of tracts held	38%
<i>Memo</i> Undocumented tracts occupied by settlers since May, all but one nominally regularised by end of period	7

Sources: CP-2, table 30; CP-6

- **Housing costs** Kohn also tried to make yardage with complaints about the costs of housing. This was mistaken. Graphic 9 shows that even his benchmark was under-priced, with the prevailing prices for Homestead Act cabins exceeding the \$100 he cited. Kohn's calculations were equally awry for the houses actually built. Graphic 10 shows that Saltiel's invoice of \$280 per house was in line with or cheaper than prevailing prices for similarly specified houses.¹⁰



The comparisons in graphic 11 exclude site work, furnishings and utensils.

Sources: CP-2, table 20, CP-6, CP-9, CP-11

¹⁰ The record of the Old West does not readily lend itself to perfect benchmarks for housing costs. The figures for Homestead Act cabins come from the catalogue of Forrest Portable Houses for 1883 and assume that timbers were factory-dressed, less expensive than site work but leading to greater haulage costs. In the event, most pioneers would have done their own carpentering with local lumber. The first three comparisons for the houses as built also come from Forrest Portable Houses, with the first column representing a bare shell without extra windows or internal walls. The next two columns represent complete accommodation over 1½ stories, with and without a kitchen. The final column represents figures for a specification closer to the Cotopaxi houses (20x20 shell with two bedrooms, a sitting room and kitchen) from the catalogue for 1886-89 published by Shoppell's Modern Houses, plus labour at an estimated \$129. Shoppell's prices are based on those prevailing at the time in New York State so may be marginally higher than Colorado, but they are nonetheless conservative as the indices published by the Federal Reserve Bank of Minnesota show that US prices fell by 27% between 1882-3 and 1886-9.

All of this is without taking account of the additional costs of the Homestead Act cabins on remote tracts, described by Schwarz; let alone the abortive costs of work on abandoned tracts or the twelve cabins in Oak Grove Creek reported by Satt.

Kohn's complaints were circumstantially rebutted by Hart (CP-9), Henry (CP-10) and Schwarz (CP-11). Although at the time these charges made no headway, seventy years later Satt revived them to salt the mine for the signature "sweated labour" fallacy she instigated in CP-14.¹¹



Methods and conclusions

Before we revisit conclusions, let us remind ourselves of the underlying objective of this exercise. It arises because the story of the Cotopaxi colony has been impaired by the flawed pattern of sourcing explored in CP-18, the essay on historiography. This leaves the mid-twentieth century compendium accounts of the colony - Roberts, Satt, Shpall and Gulliford - contested. Such contests are no bad thing to the extent that they spur partisans to good-faith historical enquiry, driving all concerned back to sources not necessarily available to earlier chroniclers. But as primary material emerges, we learn that it too is contested, reflecting the objectives of its originators.

This takes us to our method: reviewing the primary sources, identifying inconsistencies, testing each source against others and common sense and declaring our conclusions and reasons. This explains a relentless appetite for quantities - numbers of settlers, sums expended, timing of events - as quantitative inconsistencies show up most clearly. (Of course, money and time are also important in themselves.)

This method has the incidental benefit of suggesting future lines of enquiry, not least by animating those taking other points of view. In the nature of things such an approach can only lead to conditional conclusions. But it is the best we have, with the present exercise yielding many surprises.

1. The demography of the colony led to internal instability until the group unified around an intensified religiosity and challengers for the leadership were expelled or intimidated.
2. Certain official records are called into question by other believable sources, most readily explained by the usual evasions in dealing with the authorities.
3. Although the colony was intended to take advantage of the Homestead Act, the law's application was imperfectly understood by HEAS' officers, who were also unversed in local water law.
4. Most of the first round of colonists arrived on ships berthing between February and March 1882. This is at variance with each family making advance payments over the winter of 1881 to 1882 to register land claims.
5. Saltiel warned HEAS, by cable about the colonists' "tribulations" on first seeing the tracts they were offered, in person when the colony threatened to run out of money, and in a public letter after the crop-failure. This demolishes the notion that he was indifferent to the colonists' plight.
6. The relationship between Saltiel and Schwarz was contemporaneously recorded as a brief but intense up-and-down, akin to a dysfunctional father and son. This puts the final nail in the coffin of the thesis that Saltiel "corrupted" Schwarz and sets the scene for the chaotic events of the fall of 1882.

¹¹ To be fair to Satt, her oral sources were given to histrionics. On 15 September 1944, the then 81-year old Mrs H Toplitzky was reported by Mosa Hoffman of the *Intermountain Jewish News* as saying that on the settlers' transatlantic passage, "their ship struck an iceberg and filled with water and the travellers were forced to remain in the water for three days until they were rescued." Needless to say, no record supports this. Satt had the good sense to ignore it, but unfortunately not to apply commensurate caution to other material similarly sourced.

7. Tuska used the press to promote his nephew Schwarz and manoeuvre the charity on whose board he sat. His July intervention removed Saltiel from a general management role and abates reasonable criticism of the latter's part in what followed.
8. The settlers took up to six months to file for tracts for farming, some going through several locations, some making multiple filings and some settling on government land with imperfect or no documentation. This delayed housing completions and clouded titles.
9. There is a grim symmetry to the two periods of the colony's management: from May to July, Saltiel was general manager, dismissed after going to New York to explain the position to HEAS; from August to mid-October Schwarz recapitulated much of the same futile cycle.
10. Schwarz' request for a token \$96 flies in the face of the effort of his 5,800-word report to HEAS. This speaks to a last-minute change of mind and calls for an explanation.
11. In November, Saltiel reluctantly offered employment to any colonist wanting it. This followed pleas from the settlers' womenfolk and came despite a petition against him in the wake of the crop failure and credit stop. At this point he urged HEAS to send out no more settlers.
12. Nussbaum confirmed that HEAS neglected the colony from the time of Schwarz' report on 23 October 1882 to HEAS' 15 February 1883 reply to Kohn's letter. This demoralised the colonists and paved the way for their change of heart towards their obligations to HEAS and elsewhere.
13. For several months, HEAS was bamboozled by Schwarz, who to be fair distinguished himself placating rioters at Estellville, another HEAS colony in New Jersey. In any event, the charity was so keen on using his report to drum up contributions that they overlooked its fundamental poppy-cock.
14. Kohn showed great savvy, keeping the pioneers from the violence seen at Estellville, enlisting Denver's most prominent citizen, Silver, and cultivating the media and opinion-formers.
15. The very documents we are looking at affected the motivation and changed the conduct of the participants in the original story.

The summary on pp5-7 takes account of this information and applies it as the wherewithal for a coherent narrative. The same information underpins the quantitative material in CP-2, which combines basic data on the colony's participants and their actions with reasoned estimates of costs and overruns.

At this point, it is only fair to own up to the heroic assumptions underpinning our narrative. These are that

- onsite costs, in particular the \$2,540 for wire fences, swamped the \$3,000 in Schwarz' hands. This obliged him to obtain funding to complete the fencing from Saltiel. This is consistent with the figures and also plays some part in explaining the cast of his reports, which conspicuously departed from his uncle's criticisms of Saltiel.¹²
- Schwarz reduced the financial request in his report at the last minute, provoked by Saltiel's letter of 19 October. This explains the document's many inconsistencies. The timing is tight for this chain of causality, arguing that Tuska heard of the letter before it was printed, giving him barely enough time to get his nephew to adjust the ask and disseminate the report.
- during Schwarz' period as general manager, he made promises to Cotopaxi creditors that he would get HEAS to make them whole. This is consistent with the withdrawal of local credit after he made his report. We know that the printed report reached Colorado shortly, so creditors would have learned that they could expect no relief.

¹² On the other hand, after running out of cash, Schwarz could simply have stopped 25% of the way through the fencing exercise, reasoning that the terrain made it impossible and unnecessary. This would reduce the default estimate of overspend by \$1,883.

These assumptions qualify for scrutiny and testing: the present author will welcome the efforts of others on this score. We also make some minor assumptions, having to do with certain costs, eg, communal and religious expenses, the role of Hart and Saltiel in picking up any costs not borne elsewhere during the winter, and various other details, drawn to the reader's attention in CP-2, tables 1 to 9. None of these matter a great deal, as the range of costs is *de minimis* and allocations between the two principals are balancing items, with liabilities ultimately falling to Saltiel as the only local in a position to bear them.

Some things remain uncertain. Satt's log cabins in Old Oak Creek are not mentioned by any other contemporary source and we know that her sources are unsafe. I have accepted them as they don't make much difference to the story, save as an irritant and cost element: CP-2, table 15 discounts the latter by allowing for salvage. Tuska's July claims of financial irregularities are impossible to evaluate but seem thinly supported. HEAS certainly dismissed Saltiel; but what else could they do after his four "back me or sack me" telegrams linked to requests for funds which they were reluctant to pay? Finally on this score, we can't be sure that contradictions in the official record really attest to fancy footwork with the authorities, but then nothing hangs on it.

By contrast, we may draw some conclusions with a strong measure of confidence.

- Of fifteen tracts occupied by the pioneers, thirteen were on government lands where eight titles were clouded. Vorsitzer and Grimes were too young to file: this is why the former mined and the latter left, his retrospective wisdom about the terrain's infertility counting for less at the time than his disqualification from the land-rush and disappointment at his failed wooing.
- HEAS ignored requests for money for an irrigation ditch from Schwarz in July and possibly later; and for general purposes from Saltiel in June and Schwarz in October. The colony underwent two changes of general management: at the end of July from Saltiel to Schwarz and in mid-October from Schwarz to no-one at all.
- The settlers were ignorant of much that occurred, including the politics of the changes in management, Saltiel's trip to HEAS and the overspend. They were, however, alarmed by their own financial obligations and irked by HEAS' silence over the winter.
- They were in continuous contact with Denver, buying kosher meat after the *Schochet* left at the end of July and commissioning dresses from the city's seamstresses. This enabled them promptly to identify Kohn once they formed the intention to go after HEAS. They accumulated communal savings as a shield against liability. These funds came to serve as a war-chest for their dealings with Kohn, if not on contingency or *pro bono*.
- Kohn's January complaints conflated 20x16 houses with 12x10 log cabins and titles to houses with titles to tracts; his criticisms of Saltiel and subsequent campaign served his tactical purposes.

We may also make some conjectures.

- The Tobias and Chuteran families had the tracts granted in Cotopaxi by Saltiel in May. This is based upon a deduction (literally, a subtraction) from those making claims elsewhere, the identification of both in Saltiel's letter, and a review of settlers' characteristics. The other possibility would be the Shradskys whose lack of a documented claim may speak to plots in Cotopaxi. Here too, little hangs on it.
- The colonists were committed to the colony well into the winter, with the appetite for land of the Chuteran and Shames families attested by multiple claims.

Finally, we may safely dismiss some time-honoured themes.

- No colonist had to shelter in an abandoned Indian dug-out cave, a cut-sod house or a canvas tent. Such stories may accurately be characterised as “old wives’ tales”, challenging the reliability of accounts from the same sources of run-ins with bears and Indians.
- Housing costs were not excessive and completions not unduly slow - if anything the reverse, given the chaos of peripatetic claims.
- Clouded titles cannot be laid at Saltiel’s door; there is no evidence that he received filing fees for government tracts. The final group of colonists would have had no reason to make a final inspection of the county clerk’s office, as they or their fellows had themselves made the filings concerned. If they really did make such a visit, they would have found titles apparent to this day.
- Saltiel did not engineer or profit from sweated labour for his mine. To the contrary, he offered employment only reluctantly after pleas from the colonists themselves, urged HEAS to send no more colonists, closed his mine in the spring and ended up to \$7,500 in the hole.
- Even so, over the winter of 1882 to 1883, mining was the colonists’ main source of income. This is because the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad paid wages so unattractive in Salida, that the pioneers preferred to strike than accept them.
- The figure of \$8,750 for infrastructure is unsupported by any primary document to hand, save Schwarz’ shoe-horned total in his October report. The figure of \$1,250 for transport is also unsupported by any source to hand.

Patently we do not know everything. This takes us to the bounties offered on the next page.



In the John Ford classic, *The Man who shot Liberty Valance*, the grizzled newspaper editor tears up his notes after the local hero confides that he didn’t really do the great deed, saying, “This is the West, sir. When the legend becomes fact, print the legend.”

There is something in this: we all need legends, stories which tell us where we come from. I understand that the Cotopaxi Papers challenge the bearings which the tales of old have given the colonists’ descendants. I take no pleasure in this and I tentatively hold out two compensations.

First, the story uncovered by this work does their ancestors credit: they show up as spirited, resilient and resourceful, as later in their subsequent lives; isn’t this better than starting out in the New World as passive victims? Second, Emanuel Saltiel also has descendants; shouldn’t they get the fair treatment which the record supports?

The logo for EMS, consisting of the letters 'EMS' in a stylized, cursive font.

Miles Saltiel
London, 15 December 2015

BOUNTIES

The story of the Cotopaxi Colony is increasingly clear, but there are still unknown details. I therefore offer time-limited bounties for primary material as follows:

Item	All cited in Satt CP-14	Bounty
Any example of "...several eloquent letters [by Saltiel] to Michael Heilprin..." (save for the final item in this list).	p14, line 9	\$2,500
"Letter from E. H. Saltiel to Michael Heilprin, September 19, 1880. (Fragment in library of Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, New York City). Seen during interview with M. Dijour of HI-AS, May 3, 1949."	p19 note 27; p33, note 18	\$2,500
"a bill of \$5,600... tendered [to] the Society the preceding year. This sum was to "cover the cost of building twenty fine homes at \$280. 00 each" (if separate from above)	p26; note 18	\$2,500
The documents referred to in "That winter they petitioned HEAS for aid and counsel in how to regain their lost money, believing that organization had documents on file which could intimidate Saltiel"; and any reply.	p27, lines 5 and 6	\$500 per item
Both sides of the correspondence between HEAS and the colonists in early 1883, as Satt: "Again they wrote to the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society for advice. Up to this time, the directors of that agency in New York could do little but counsel patience and fortitude".	p30 line 1	\$500 per item
"[A] second letter from HEAS recommending that they use the money that would be sent them to remove to another area; in Colorado, perhaps, but out of the Cotopaxi region, since the legal complications involved in land claims were too difficult to handle at long range." in possession of Mrs. Harry Tarkoff in 1949	p30, line 8 p33, note 29	\$1,000
A document confirming the statement, "[i]n October, 1883, more than a year after their first appeal and the report made by the Denver investigators, the colonists received \$2,000."	p30, lines 11 and 12	\$2,500
The document referred to as "June 1884 [with] the colony...formally dissolved...a final report submitted to Heilprin's successors in New York"	p31, lines 1 and 2	\$500
"Spivak Report, now in Jewish Agricultural Society files, New York, NY"	p33, note 6	\$250
Complete original of (ie, additional to the reprinting in Spivak) "Saltiel's letter to Michael Heilprin, October, 1881	p33, note 6	\$1,000
PLUS		
Any other correspondence or documentation between HEAS, Saltiel or other parties, bearing upon proposals for the Cotopaxi colony.		\$2,500 per item
Any other correspondence or documentation bearing upon the negotiations and settlement as to the Cotopaxi colony between Kohn, the settlers, HEAS, Saltiel; or other parties.		\$500 per item

TERMS AND CONDITIONS

- 1) Bounties are offered by Miles Saltiel of London, England and will be paid as (3) below.
- 2) Documents are to be tendered
 - a) to Dr Adam Rovner,
Center for Judaic Studies, University of Denver,
Sturm Hall, 2000 E. Asbury Ave - Suite 157,
Denver, CO 80208-0911
 - b) by 31 May 2017;
 - c) with a full provenance, *inter alia* showing that they are legitimately in the hands of tenderers; and
 - d) with rights for
 - i) Dr Rovner to conduct any tests he may deem necessary to certify authenticity; and
 - ii) unrestricted usage by the present author.
- 3) Bounties will be paid by PayPal three days after Dr Rovner certifies authenticity.
- 4) As to untendered documents, the level of payment and the period of this offer may be altered at any point prior to 31 May 2017.
- 5) New bounties may be offered.

About the author

Miles Saltiel lives in London, England. He retired as an investment bank director in 2002 and now serves as a Senior Fellow of the Adam Smith Institute, a free-market think-tank.

In 1970 he celebrated his graduation from Oxford University with a road-trip across the US. This took him to a diner in Walsenberg, Colorado, where he first read of the Cotopaxi colony while leafing through the Labor Day supplement of the *Pueblo Chieftain*.

Since 1992 Miles has played a leading part in reuniting the Saltiels, an ancient Sephardic clan, now dispersed throughout the world. He served three terms as Secretary of the family's International Association, led a family delegation to Brazil to restore contact with long-lost cousins, and advised the Spanish authorities on constitutional amendments to offer nationality to the descendants of expelled *Sephardim*.

In 1996, the Saltiels were chosen as an emblem of the Jewish Diaspora in a film marking the fortieth anniversary of the foundation of the State of Israel. The film brought Miles back to Colorado, after which he realised that the generally accepted account of the colony didn't hold water. In 2005, he collaborated with Professor Jeanne Abrams of the University of Denver in an article for the *Rocky Mountain Jewish Historical Notes*. This debunked the notion that Emanuel Saltiel orchestrated the failure of the Cotopaxi colony to promote a pool of sweated labour for his mine.

In early 2015, Miles launched a new round of research on the colony. This turned up the documents underpinning "the Cotopaxi Papers", assembled in a limited edition of fifteen for universities, libraries and other interested parties in California, Colorado, Florida, New York and Jerusalem.

Miles has reached out to descendants of the colonists. His ambition is to reconcile them with the Saltiel family on the basis of shared understanding.

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