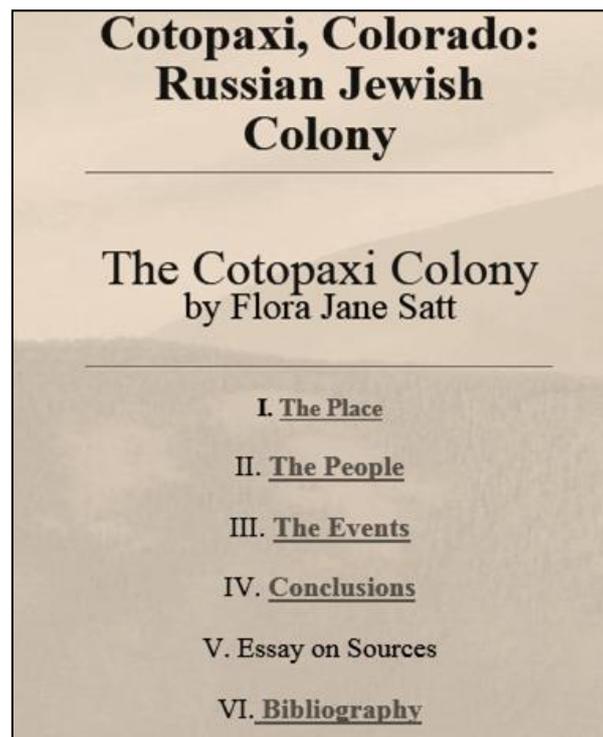


The Cotopaxi Papers - 14

## The Cotopaxi Colony



*Submitted to satisfy the requirements of an MA  
at the University of Colorado, 26 May 1950*

Annotated by  
Miles Saltiel

## 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 <a href="http://kehilalinks.jewishgen.org/cotopaxi/land.html">http://kehilalinks.jewishgen.org/cotopaxi/land.html</a> ; and <a href="http://kehilalinks.jewishgen.org/cotopaxi/family-names.html">http://kehilalinks.jewishgen.org/cotopaxi/family-names.html</a>
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 <a href="http://www.cotopaxi-colony.com/flora-jane-satt-thesis.htm">http://www.cotopaxi-colony.com/flora-jane-satt-thesis.htm</a>
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.

All sources and providers are gratefully acknowledged. No third party is responsible for the views expressed herein. Save for CP-14, reproduction rights in original documents are taken to have lapsed or otherwise inhere to the public domain. As to CP-14, the present author appeals to the late author's heirs to make themselves known.

Publication information on back cover.

1 **Generally**

2 Let me first pay tribute to the author of this work, Flora Jane  
3 Satt who died on 15 November 2014 in San Pedro, California  
4 at the age of 90. Her account of the colony has kept the story  
5 alive and remains the most familiar source, with its drama,  
6 elegance of expression and extensive notes. I hereby  
7 acknowledge her rights (as attaching to her lawful heirs) as the  
8 author of the original material and express my regret that I  
9 have been unable to obtain permission for this annotation,  
10 which I hereby seek from those concerned. Needless to say,  
neither she nor they bear any responsibility for my work.

Her dissertation brings together desk-research with oral history  
to support the dramatic thesis that Saltiel promoted the  
Cotopaxi Colony to engineer a pool of sweated labour for his  
mines.

She makes her argument with such vivid writing that Saltiel  
comes out as (to take just one example of those she has  
influenced) an "unscrupulous mine owner twirl[ing] his  
moustache".

It is a compliment to her skill that she is able to animate even  
those who are aware of the failings of her underlying research.  
It now falls to me to attempt an exercise which courts  
accusations of mean-heartedness in challenging her thesis, as  
particularly in the annotations at the top of page 20 and the  
bottom of page 37 of this document; and generally in the  
analyses of CP-18.

I can only hope that this will cause fair-minded observers to  
reconsider her characterisation, as the authorial apparatus for  
a mistaken thesis. In particular, in Part III - Events, she takes  
no account of documents revealing Saltiel's dealings with the  
colonists and HEAS; the positions of Schwarz and Tuska  
(about the latter of whom she was wholly unaware); and the  
economic and legal context for Kohn's campaign. Her account  
is marred by embellishments from her principal sources, two  
women who were children or unborn at the time of the colony,  
whose recollection will have been "refreshed" (as the lawyers  
say) by kitchen table gossip over the following sixty years.

Now for the story.

11 **Part I. The Place**

12  
13 Cotopaxi, a small, unincorporated village on the banks of the Arkansas River, has been the scene  
14 of an unusual chapter in Colorado history. This oddly-named town, today just a "whistle-stop"  
15 on the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad, thirty-three miles west of Canon City in  
16 Fremont County, is mentioned in many encyclopedias and books on American agricultural  
17 colonies.<sup>1</sup> Environmental factors are always important in analyzing an historical episode, but  
18 particularly in the case of the colony founded here because its failure has been attributed solely  
19 to these factors. The naming founding and description of its physical features are necessary for  
20 an appreciation of Cotopaxi's role in this history.

21  
22 The man responsible for the strange name was Henry Thomas, known to contemporaries as  
23 "Gold Tom". He was an itinerant prospector who left the Central City gold camp in 1867<sup>2</sup>, and  
24 crossed the Divide to investigate the Upper Arkansas Valley around California Gulch. There he  
25 conceived the idea that some of the heavier gold might have washed downstream<sup>3</sup> so he  
26 continued south along the river, reaching the forks near the present site of Salida about 1870. At  
27 the same time, the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad began its survey of a proposed  
28 transcontinental route through the Arkansas Valley.<sup>4</sup> By October 31, 1872 track had been laid as  
29 far west on this route as Labran, seven miles east of Canon City, and Henry Thomas had taken a  
30 job with the railroad to augment his meagre prospecting income. His duties included procuring

1 timber for ties and this meant he had to scout not only the region the being graded but  
2 neighboring alleys and mountains. Particularly struck by one of these valleys as closely  
3 resembling an area he had once prospected in northern Ecuador, he named the Colorado  
4 counterpart after the dominant Andean geographic feature, a volcano called "Cotopaxi".<sup>5</sup> At the  
5 juncture of the small tributary streams which flow into the Arkansas River at Cotopaxi, Colorado,  
6 looking westward through the narrow canyon of the river, one can see a conical-shaped peak,  
7 part of the Sangre de Cristo Range, framed by the steep walls of the canyon, Old residents of the  
8 area who knew Henry (Gold Tom) Thomas say that it is this unusual view which recalled to his  
9 mind the Andean volcano and caused him to call the little valley by the odd-sounding Spanish  
10 name. In 1873 he built a cabin there as a base for his prospecting in the surrounding hills. In 1874  
11 he had filed several mining claims at Canon City and is credited with the discovery of the  
12 Cotopaxi Lode, one of the richest deposits of silver with zinc in Fremont County.

13  
14 The small streams mentioned above are ephemeral, becoming quite dry in summer and fall,  
15 although they have been destructive during the spring flood stage. The northern one is known as  
16 Bernard Creek and the southern one, which flows out of the tip of (the) Wet Mountain valley, is  
17 called Oak Grove Creek. They join the Arkansas where a bend in the latter's course widens the  
18 valley floor to about one mile in width. This confluence of streams has cut an oval-shaped, flat-  
19 floored valley almost completely encircled by steep, rocky cliffs. So narrow is the canyon cut by  
20 the Arkansas immediately beyond Cotopaxi that the Denver and Rio Grande tracks run along a  
21 man-made ledge cut out of the rock walls. The town itself lies at an elevation of 6, 718 feet above  
22 sea level, while the elevation of the transecting valleys rises in a steep gradient to 8, 000 feet  
23 within four miles.<sup>6</sup>

24  
25 There are several such valleys along the Arkansas River between Canon City and Salida and  
26 these were first utilized by the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad as sites for warehouses and for  
27 water, wood and coal storage. Henry (Gold Tom) Thomas built a shed to house his ties at  
28 Cotopaxi in 1874. It was not until late in 1878 that some of these storage sites became depots,  
29 post offices and townsites, due to the four-year delay caused by the famous "Royal Gorge War".  
30 Bitter legal battles in the courts and violent physical struggles along the right-of-way itself

1 between the Denver and Rio Grande and the Santa Fe railroads divided the people of the region  
2 into warring camps. This controversy was held responsible for the retarded economic  
3 development of western Fremont County.<sup>7</sup>

4  
5 Mineral resources did not attract population to Fremont County, at least in a manner  
6 experienced by other counties. It never became a center of refining or smelting as did Pueblo  
7 County, although early in the 1880's Canon City was vying with Pueblo for the title of "Pittsburgh  
8 of the West".<sup>8</sup> The best source of gold and silver was in the southern half of the county, which  
9 was separated for the northern half in April of 1877. This new section was named Custer County  
10 and as the scene several years later of several spectacular mining booms.<sup>9</sup>

11  
12 The only comparable gold and silver mines in Fremont County were the Gem and the Cotopaxi  
13 Lodes but considerable deposits of coal, oil and iron were found and developed elsewhere in the  
14 county. Also, unusual metals such as nickel, molybdenum and pure zinc blende were mined. In  
15 general, mining laws in Fremont Count conformed to those and were patterned after the laws of  
16 other Colorado mining counties, except where coal and oil development required different  
17 provisions.

18  
19 There was no placer gold to attract large "rushes" of "Panners" and "Fly-by-nighters" as in Clear  
20 Creek or Gilpin Counties. No one except Carl Wulsten prospected for silver in Fremont County  
21 before 1872.<sup>10</sup> When silver was discovered in large quantities in the region, it proved to be very  
22 difficult to mine (with the exception of the horn silver at Silver Cliff), requiring skilled labor,  
23 considerable capital investment, as well as metallurgical experience to handle the ore in  
24 reduction works. The coal and oil deposits were mostly accidental discoveries, made while  
25 surveying for farms or digging artesian wells or irrigation ditches.<sup>11</sup>

26  
27 Despite the altitude and aridity of the Fremont County section of the Arkansas Valley, it was  
28 early considered to be favorable for agriculture. The arable valleys were settled early in Colorado  
29 Territory's history and the abundance of water was looked upon as a decided advantage over the  
30 lower, but drier, sections downstream. Nevertheless, these other regions soon surpassed

1 Fremont County in agricultural production. Historians have offered many reasons for this  
2 situation. Hubert Howe Bancroft cited the delay in rail connection caused by the "Royal Gorge  
3 War" as the main deterrent. <sup>12</sup> Alvin Steinel, professor at Colorado Agricultural College, pointed  
4 to the engineering difficulties of getting the water, admittedly most abundant, up on the  
5 plateaus where it was needed. These difficulties prevented cultivation. <sup>13</sup> B. F. Rockafellow, an  
6 early settler in the county, remarks on the lack of mills and other processing facilities as the  
7 cause of Fremont Count's slow development. <sup>14</sup>

8  
9 During the 1860's corn and wheat were planted in Fremont County, but weather and soil  
10 conditions were found to be unfavorable to them. Then fruit-raising, particularly apples and  
11 pears, was attempted and soon supplanted all else in the region. The pioneer in horticulture was  
12 Jesse Frazer, known throughout the United States as the developer of the "Colorado orange  
13 apple". <sup>15</sup>

14  
15 However, it was not until later that fruit-raising was recognized as the proper agricultural pursuit  
16 for Fremont County, after group attempts in the early 1870's with grain crops had failed. These  
17 groups had felt that the collective method of the "agricultural colony" would aid them in solving  
18 those larger problems of irrigation and finance that the individual farmer could not surmount.  
19 The first of these was the German Colony at Colfax in [the] Wet Mountain Valley. <sup>16</sup> The second  
20 was the Mormon Colony which located near Ula in 1871. <sup>17</sup> Then a group of English people settled  
21 near Westcliffe in 1872. <sup>18</sup> Some ten years later still another agricultural colony was established in  
22 Fremont County, the Russian Jewish one, which came to the Cotopaxi area and farmed lands  
23 along Oak Grove and Bernard Creeks controlled by Emanuel H. Saltiel.

Line 21, et seq

Satt follows Roberts' mistaken characterisation (CP-13, page 1, line 7). Saltiel was not Portuguese but a Sephardic Jew from England, born on 16th October, 1844 (or 1845, documents differ) at 30 James Street, Bath, a spa town in the west of the country. He was named after his maternal grandfather, Emanuel Harris. His father's occupation is given as shoemaker. He served as an "Officer of Cadets" in the Tenth Tower Hamlets Riflemen. He then emigrated to New Orleans and in the Civil War mustered to the Confederacy. In September 1864 he was a Lieutenant, acting as an *aide de campe* when he was taken prisoner when Atlanta was taken by Sherman's army. In prison camp, he assumed the identity of Joseph Isaacs to escape an outbreak of retaliatory executions of Confederate officers and he enlisted under that name to serve as a private in the US Army on the western frontier. In boot camp he was promptly made up to Sergeant.

In May 1866 he was discharged from the army in Fort Laramie, Wyoming, after being found guilty of "disloyalty" at a kangaroo court martial, after blowing the whistle on his drunken thief of a CO. The record immediately following is confusing as the New York Tribune announcement of his marriage dated 23rd November 1866 gives his address as West 77th Street, New York City, though we know that at this time he was writing for the local paper in Denver.

In 1867 he joined with George Barnett to publish the *Denver Daily Times*, which folded after a few months. He and Barnett then took their printing equipment to the Wyoming territory where in February 1868 they published the *History and Business Directory of Cheyenne and Guide to the Mining Regions of the Rocky Mountains*. The record shows that he spent the next fifteen years between the Rocky Mountains and New York City. From 1870 to 1872 he is listed as a resident variously of 270 West 38th Street, and 544 Broadway, both in New York City. He reported the occupation of editor and (from a business address at 37 Park Avenue) patent agent.

At more or less this time, his name appears in the record of the Rocky Mountain region as founder of the Saltiel Mica and Porcelain Company. He then became the proprietor of the Cotopaxi Placer Mining Co. and the Colorado Zinc Co. This is when the Cotopaxi colony took place. Intended as an act of philanthropy: CP-1, graphic 8 and CP-2, tables 13 to 21 show that it left Saltiel at least \$3,400 in the hole.

From 1883 to 1885, he was once again listed as a resident of New York City with a home on Madison Avenue at East 126th Street and an establishment where he listed himself as a civil engineer at 50 Exchange Street in the financial district. Also at this time, he brought his brother, Woolf, and his sister-in-law to be, Adelaide Ginsburg, to the United States.

They are the forbears inter alia of Bob Saltiel of Lafayette, California and his family. Woolf and Adelaide lived at 152 Orchard Street. Saltiel married three times: first in 1866 to Elisabeth Woolf, his pre-war sweetheart from New Orleans. He and Elisabeth had three children, the forbears inter alia of the Tenants of Indiana, Dewey Exxon of Vista, California, and former Staff Sergeant William Saltiel Gracian, now in Hermiston Oregon after two tours of duty in Iraq. Saltiel and Elisabeth divorced circa 1881, Elisabeth turning up in New York the year after Saltiel left, that is 1886. On 14th February 1883, he married Fanny Shelvelson. This *mésalliance* ended in divorce a year later, whereupon he married Annie Phelan who survived him. He had no children by his second or third marriages.

In 1887, as General Manager of the Denver Registry Company, Saltiel blew the whistle on the "Tortillita" mine scheme as fraudulent. In or around 1891, he was a founding donor to Denver's National Jewish Hospital.

Court records in the 1890s show him as a civil plaintiff. A couple of nuisance indictments in the 1890s attest only to political connections between other civil antagonists and the DA's office, as Saltiel was never prosecuted. He ended his days in January 1900 at the abandoned township of Seminoe, twenty miles north-east of Rawlins, Wyoming, where he had been promoting an integrated coal and iron works. Although his grave in Rawlins is unmarked, the record of his burial denominates him as a Jew.



As an addendum, this note serves also to correct the erroneous identification of Saltiel as South African in *Pioneers, peddlers, and Tsadikim: the story of the Jews in Colorado*, Ida Libert Uchill, Boulder, Colo, 1957; [re]printed 1979 by Quality Line Print Co; p175 in original.

Saltiel was a Portuguese Jew from New York City who had come to Colorado in 1867.<sup>19</sup> By 1876 the Cotopaxi area had begun to attract a few settlers and many mining prospectors. Several shafts had been opened and sluices put in operation at the site of Gold Tom's first strikes. Saltiel became interested in the Cotopaxi Lode, particularly when he learned that the discoverer, Henry Thomas, did not have the capital or experience to work it. Saltiel's business and political contacts in Denver were well-known in Fremont County and his influence with officials of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad was sufficient to have that company designate his newly-acquired property around Cotopaxi as a major stop on their run to South Arkansas (Salida), build there a large depot and call the stop "Saltiels".<sup>20</sup>

Line 29

Here too, Satt follows Roberts' (CP-13, page 4, line 11); the comment there about eponymous townships in the Colorado of the day also applies (and see Gulliford CP-16, page 5, line 20.)

1 Saltiel had filed on 2, 000 acres of Government land and made token payments at the county  
2 clerk's office in Canon City by 1878. This acreage was a long, narrow strip running north and  
3 south Oak Grove Creek and Bernard Creek. Within his "property", which he defined as a "town  
4 and land company" development, Saltiel also filed at least seven separate mining claims. These  
5 claims were quite clear and indisputable, for shortly after registering them at the County Clerk's  
6 office in Canon City, he had his workers construct shafts and tunnels and other improvements on  
7 the vein outcrops and had spent well over the minimum of \$500 required by the Law of 1872,<sup>21</sup>  
8 thus acquiring a clear patent to the mineral lands thereon. These seven claims, all located within  
9 the broader boundaries of his proposed town-site, were along the streams, using their scant  
10 water for sluicing and other mining operations.

11  
12 The appellation "Cotopaxi" clung to the area despite the honor bestowed on its leading citizen  
13 by the railroad when it built the depot and warehouses and named the stop "Saltiels". By 1879  
14 eight permanent buildings had been constructed and more were in the offing. Several large  
15 residences were built. Elaborate plans for a plaza or public park were drawn up and commerce  
16 got under way with a hotel, blacksmith shop, general store and a saw-mill. Efforts to establish a  
17 saloon and gambling hall were thwarted by the virtuous townspeople, but a meeting house  
18 which served as school and church were built that year. At the same time, the government  
19 established a post office in the town, but changed the name back to Cotopaxi. By 1880 the town  
20 ranked sixth in population in Fremont County.<sup>22</sup> Saltiel had his assay office, mine and milling  
21 headquarters in a small building adjacent to the hotel which he owned in connection with one of  
22 his partners, A. S. Hart.<sup>23</sup>

23  
24 Saltiel was generally credited with the discovery and exploitation of most of the important  
25 mineral veins in the region, particularly the famous Cotopaxi Lode and the Enterprise Mine.<sup>24</sup>  
26 But since Henry (Gold Tom) Thomas had been prospecting the area since 1873 and had filed  
27 mining claims thereon with the County Clerk in 1874, there seems to be sound basis for a claim  
28 controversy. It is recorded that Saltiel bought out Thomas' rights for insignificant amounts, in  
29 relation to what was taken out. However, there was little alternative for the independent, small-  
30 time miner, owing to the nature of the ores involved, all of which required much capital

**Line 22**

Hart was Saltiel's second cousin, encouraged by the latter to come to the West from England, as Saltiel later did for his brother Woolf. I have, however, seen no record that they were partners in the sense of sharing equity in joint operations, through no doubt as fellow proprietors in an isolated environment, they co-operated.

1 equipment and complicated processes to refine. Saltiel's experience business connections and  
2 vast wealth put him in a superior position in this respect.

3  
4 However he soon ran into other difficulties. With the discovery of much richer lodes in southern  
5 Fremont County (Custer County now) labor supply became practically nonexistent in the  
6 Cotopaxi area. Saltiel had always been reluctant to pay adequate wages, in relation to  
7 neighboring mine owners. "Help-wanted ads" began appearing in the Denver and eastern  
8 papers, but even his eloquence there could not buck the competition of the simultaneous strikes  
9 in Leadville, Rosita, and Western Slope camps. In addition, those who did not care for a miner's  
10 life could take jobs with the railroads which were then also expanding at a prodigious rate.  
11 Saltiel's ingenious solution to this seemingly insurmountable problem was to import his own  
12 labor supply from Europe.

13  
14 **Line 12**

15 This is where Satt introduces the "fraud" claim. She argues  
16 (here, p27, line 14, and p36, line 19) that Saltiel always  
17 intended the colony to fail so that the pioneers would be  
18 obliged to work his mine. The record confirms that the region  
19 suffered from a labour shortage at the time, with miners drawn  
20 to richer lodes to the south.

21 The notion that Saltiel sought to engineer a pool of captive  
22 labour unravels in light of documents, unknown to Satt, and  
23 presented herewith as the Cotopaxi papers, in particular,

24 CP-4. Tuska, c5 August 1882

25 CP-5. Saltiel. 19 October 1882

26 CP-6. Schwarz. 23 October, 1882; and

27 CP-9. Meyer Hart. 8 February 1883

28 CP-17 The Bardine Assignment

29 In particular, CP-13 establishes that the mine was close to  
30 exhaustion; and the sequence of events shown in CP-6 page  
12, lines 12 to 16, page 12, lines 1 & 2, and page 15 lines  
11 to 21, demolishes her narrative

Whatever the howls of outrage from those who grew up on the  
tradition of Saltiel's villainy, it makes most sense that he  
intended an act of philanthropy, of a piece with his subsequent  
donation to Denver's National Jewish Hospital. His conduct  
with HEAS is also consistent with what we know about him as  
a whistle-blower. Within a few days of the colonist's arrival, he  
cabled the New York charity to warn them of complications and  
within two months was back East putting them in the picture  
face to face. As often the case with whistle-blowers, this did  
him no good.

As to his motivation, it sits better with the traditions of Jewish  
business conduct that a prosperous entrepreneur at the heart  
of the local Jewish community should seek prestige from public  
works than that he should court public obloquy by abusing his  
coreligionists above a township formerly bearing his name. On  
this view, the collapse should be seen as the reverse of  
Saltiel's intentions. After all, it afforded him no profit;  
embarrassed him with his neighbours in Cotopaxi and Denver;  
made for complications with HEAS; and has given him a  
reputation for villainy unchallenged until the new evidence  
thrown up in the last ten years.

Footnotes to Part I.

1. Reizenstein, M., "Agricultural Colonies in the U. S. ", Jewish Encyclopedia, II, pp.256-262.
2. Rocky Mountain News, April 16, 1867, p.4.
3. A popular, but fallacious, geological theory of the period. See Frazier, S. M., *Secrets of the Rocks*, Denver, 1905, p.24
4. Anderson, George L., *General William J. Palmer: A Decade of Colorado Railroad Building, 1870-1880*, Colorado Springs, 1936, p.58
5. Holt, A. H., *American Place Names*, New York, 1938, p.54.
6. Heilprin, Angelo and Heilprin, Louis, ed. 3, *Pronouncing Gazetteer of the World*, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1931), p.472.
7. Bancroft, Hubert Howe, *Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming, 1540-1888*, XXV, San Francisco, 1890, p.604
8. Rockafellow, B. F., "History of Fremont County", in Baskin, publisher, *History of the Arkansas Valley*, Chicago, 1881, p.646.
9. Rosita, Silver Cliff, Westcliffe, etc. See Baskin, O.L., *History of the Arkansas Valley*, pp.704-716.
10. Wulsten, Carl, *Silver Region of the Sierra Mojada*, Rosita, 1876, p.14.
11. Baskin, O. L., op. cit., p.598.
12. Bancroft, Hubert Howe, op. cit., p.604.
13. Steinel, Alvin, *History of agriculture in Colorado*, Ft. Collins, 1926, p.398.
14. Rockafellow, B. F., in Baskin, O. L., (ed ), *History of the Arkansas Valley*, Chicago, 1881, p.566.
15. A yellowish colored apple. See Hafen, LeRoy, R., *Colorado and Its People*, II, New York, 1948, p.147.
16. Willard, J. F., and Goodykoontz, C. B., *Experiments in Colorado Colonization, 1869-1872*, Boulder, 1926, pp 29-133.
17. Irwin, Richard, "History of Custer County", in Baskin, *History of the Arkansas Valley*, Chicago, 1881, pp.693-695.
18. Richards, Clarice F., "Valley of the Second Sons", *Colorado Magazine*, IX, No. 4, July, 1932, p.140.
19. There are no biographical references available for Saltiel, except brief citations in the newspapers of his time. He had arrived in the United States prior to the Civil War and had apparently obtained his citizenship by serving in some capacity with the Un-ion Army. Service lists in New York do not include Saltiel's name but an "E. Saleel" appears and his living descendants ascribe the misspelling to Saltiel's thick accent. He had been educated in Europe as an engineer and

metallurgist. A brief notice in the New York Tribune for November 23, 1866 indicate he married, but does not give the bride's name or date of the wedding: "Mr. and Mrs. E. Saltiel have taken up residence in their new home on West 77th Street" This is the address given for him in the New York City Directory for that year. Saltiel went west the next year for all further references are in Colorado papers, beginning with these items in the Rock Mountain News for April 16, 1867: "Mr. Emanuel Saltiel is negotiating for the right to manufacture concrete building stones and hopes to commence same soon." On May 11, 1867, this information appears as an advertisement, "Mr. Emanuel H. Saltiel, owner of the Saltiel and Company Map and Book Store, announces the arrival of many fine prints of the colored map of North America, together with military maps of Ireland. Denver's finest mapmakers." On June 17, 1867, the News informed its readers that "Mr. Emanuel H. Saltiel left last evening on a business trip. His destination is Canon City." By 1875 Saltiel's business took him frequently to Fremont County, where he owned considerable property. Nevertheless he maintained a large suite of rooms at the Windsor Hotel in Denver during the years he travelled, and even during the period 1878-1887, when he is also listed as a resident of Fremont County. In 1877, Saltiel's name appears in the Denver City Directory as a miner; by 1879, as General Superintendent of the Saltiel Mica and Porcelain Company of Canon City, Colorado; in 1885, as E. H. Saltiel and Company, J. Hazard, Contractor; in 1889 as a civil and mining engineer; in 1892 as E. H. Saltiel and A. Rosenstein; in 1893 as E. H. Saltiel and J. T. Saltiel, Son. Saltiel was sued for divorce by his wife in 1880 on grounds of desertion and non-support. In 1896 he appeared in a court action against on Harry Robinson who had forged his name to a \$34.00 check, but a thorough search of Colorado court records indicate that no action was ever initiated against Saltiel by any of the Jewish colonists or interested agencies.

20. Rocky Mountain News, December 22, 1880, p.2.
21. Colorado Territory, General Laws, Joint Resolution, Memorials, Private Acts of First Legislative Assembly, Denver, 1872, XVII, p.91.
22. Rockafellow, B. F., op. cit., p.618.
23. Rocky Mountain News, November 16, 1880, p.2. Hart's association with Saltiel was described by Miss H. Mullins, now postmistress of Cotopaxi, in an interview, August 125, 1948.
24. Corbett, Thomas E, *Colorado Directory of Mines*, Denver, 1879, p.438. See also, Rocky Mountain News, December 30, 1880, p.5

Note 19

The annotation on page 5 adds to this biography. CP-5, page 4 lines 15 to 23 tell us that the Denver courts took the allegations made by Saltiel's wife insufficiently seriously to award her custody of her children. So too the New York courts which declined to award her alimony (*New York Herald*, 19 July 1882, *City News*), this despite the fact that she was an experienced litigant in the Surrogate Court (*New York Herald*, 19 June.1881).

1 **Part II. The People**

2  
3 The people (see accompanying list (page 19, note 35) who comprised the Cotopaxi Colony in the  
4 spring of 1882 were Russian Jews from the provinces of Volhynia, Kiev and Ekaterinoslav. Sixty-  
5 three persons in all, there were twenty-two "heads of family", each of whom were eligible to file  
6 on 160 acres of government land.<sup>1</sup> Actually, most of the sixty-three were members of only three  
7 main family clans, consisting of several generations and relatives by marriage. Among these  
8 three families, too, there was much intermarriage and nearly every colonist at Cotopaxi was  
9 related to the others by ties of blood or marriage, the only exception being close friends who had  
10 attached themselves to one "patriarch" and were considered as "adopted". This aggregation had  
11 been well solidified in Europe, and the experiences of the pogroms, the emigration and the  
12 events at Cotopaxi served to weld it even more firmly together.

13  
14 The traceable nucleus of the group begins in the early 19th century with a movement among the  
15 inhabitants of the Pale<sup>2</sup> known as *Haskalah*<sup>3</sup> or "Enlightenment", which sought a middle road  
16 between the "fathers and sons"<sup>4</sup>, between the extremes of fanaticism espoused on the one hand  
17 by the *Hasidim*<sup>5</sup> and on the other hand by those who denied Judaism or cultural assimilation.  
18 The disciples of modernisation were known as the *Maskilim*<sup>6</sup> and were despised by both  
19 extremes among their own people and certainly not given much encouragement by the Czarist  
20 government. This, in spite of its program for gradual "Russification", for establishment of Crown  
21 Schools<sup>7</sup> and for urging cooperation with the government. By mid-century the *Maskilim*  
22 concentrated their energy on combating the Tzaddicks<sup>8</sup>, the superstition-ridden, mystical  
23 obscurantists, chiefly by means of satire. Even so, the *Maskilim* themselves were dismissed by  
24 the more violent, modern young "assimilationists" as too slow and conservative to be considered  
25 progressive!

26  
27 One of the important leaders of this Haskalah movement within the Pale was an idealistic  
28 Volhynian, Isaac Baer Levinsohn, known as the "Moses Mendelsohn"<sup>9</sup> of Russia.

29 [missing material]

30 ...Alexander II's program of social amalgamation.

**Lines 4 to 6**

Satt is unreliable on identity and number, contradicting herself at page 14, lines 20 to 21. The definitive position is shown in CP-2, Quantitative material, table 39.

On page 19, note 35, item 20, she conflates Zedek and Nudelman,. Throughout, she is unaware of multiple flings by individuals or namesakes as CP-1, graphic 5, tables 2 and 3; and CP-2, tables 20 to 31. This conspicuously includes those by the Shuteran brothers. These may be seen as an opportunistic manoeuvre to take advantage of the age qualification for filing. Unlike families of fathers and sons, the junior Shuteran was over the 21 years threshold, so the brothers filed for two tracts.

Satt is also unreliable on the Homestead Act itself, in particular silent about the implications of its obligation to erect a cabin as part of "proving up" claims.

Here as throughout, Satt is also silent on the implications of Colorado's "First in time, first in right" doctrine of prior appropriation of water rights.

1 Clearly, the children of Jacob and Malka Milstein inherited a view of the Jewish problem quite  
2 different from their neighbors in Brest, and it was these same children who, by the 1860's and  
3 1870's led the *Maskilim* of the province who favored secular education, a moderate religious  
4 position and the "back-to-the-land" dream.<sup>11</sup>

5  
6 By 1874, with the failure of the Czar's agricultural colonies and the 'drift toward oppression' of  
7 the Jews, it became apparent that the *Maskilim* program would achieve very little. The sudden  
8 change of Czar Alexander II's policies and open anti-Semitism began with the Law of 1874 which  
9 restored the unfair methods of juvenile conscription for the Jewish population<sup>12</sup>. The attempts at  
10 cultural fusion through secular education were recognized as utter failures and by 1873 a ukase  
11 closed the two rabbinical schools at Vilna and Zhitomir.<sup>13</sup> Also the melammeds<sup>14</sup> renewed their  
12 attacks on the "assimilationists".

13  
14 Jacob and Malka Milstein's youngest son, Isaac Leib, was forced to become an "only son" to a  
15 childless couple named Shames in order to escape the dreaded quarter-century of military  
16 service, a threat that had not menaced the Milstein family for many generations since they were  
17 of the exempt estate.<sup>15</sup> Their eldest son, Saul Baer, had experienced during his lifetime the  
18 pendulum swing of government attitude toward Jews; first, liberalism, then, persecution  
19 intensified after the Polish Insurrection of 1863. As a child Saul imbibed the ideas of *Haskalah*  
20 enthusiastically, and as a young man he prepared to become a "Crown Rabbi" himself, by  
21 attending the seminary at Zhitomir. He had encouraged his younger brother Benjamin to apply  
22 for the agricultural colony in Ekaterinoslav and had watched him, several cousins and friends go  
23 off in high spirits to farm-only to see most of them return discouraged and beaten in 1866 when  
24 the "last straw" had broken the backs of the 'camels'.<sup>16</sup> By 1870 even those Jews who had  
25 farmed their lands since Czar Nicholas's reign were evicted and their lands distributed among  
26 the newly-emancipated serfs.<sup>17</sup>

27  
28 With the death of his father in 1861 Saul Baer Milstein became the spiritual leader and business  
29 advisor to many people in Brest Litovsk and in the small rural villages in the Pripet River Valley,  
30 the vicinity wherein various Jewish families lived and produced the supplies for his warehouses

**Line 21 to page 11, line 7**

The Ekaterinoslav settlement came to an end eleven years before the pioneers turned up at Cotopaxi.

This account tells us that most of the would-be farmers had no background on the land itself, but with leadership coming from a group with a background in the business of agricultural supply. The Millsteins had run a business with offices in three cities separated by hundreds of miles. They provided the leadership of the group and accounted directly for five (and by marriage for another four) of the 22 family groups enumerated by Satt. Their background helps explain their unfamiliarity with the narrowly agricultural aspect of their predicament, and may offer an insight into the group's capacity to recognise liability and prosecute a dispute, consistent with the skill-set of former businessmen.

1 and commission business. The Milstein family had been in this business for several generations  
2 since coming to Russia from Germany. As the eldest son, Saul Baer inherited the management  
3 of the entire concern, as well as his father's role in the community of leader and teacher. His was  
4 the controlling voice in matters not only relating to business but in family and social affairs as  
5 well. Nearly all employed by the firm were relatives. In addition to Saul Baer's duties as head of a  
6 large business with branches in Grodno, Kiev, and Brody, he also taught classes in those secular  
7 subjects which were not offered in the yeshivahs<sup>18</sup> of Brest Litovsk.

8  
9 By 1871 his younger brother Benjamin had returned to Brest Litovsk from the colony in  
10 Ekaterinoslav with his wife Hannah and their son Jacob. He was angry at the Russian  
11 Government's treatment of the Jewish colonists, but was still determined to prove that the Jews  
12 of the Pale could become successful farmers if afforded any sort of equality of opportunity.<sup>19</sup> But  
13 Russia seemingly did not want Jews on the land, and it became increasingly difficult to produce  
14 the grain and other supplies needed in the commission house, since Christians were forbidden to  
15 sell their produce to Jewish wholesalers. Saul Baer was much impressed with reports from  
16 America concerning the liberal Homestead Act, whose benefits could apply even to immigrants  
17 who had filed declaration of intention to become citizens. Disappointed with the progress made  
18 by conciliation, cooperation and meekness advocated by *Maskilim*, he began to consider leaving  
19 Russia to begin a new life in America. The sale of the commission business should provide  
20 enough to finance such a move for the entire family group. Therefore, strengthened in his  
21 determination by the Repressive Acts of 1874, 1875, and 1876,<sup>20</sup> Saul Baer encouraged his  
22 nephew Jacob, who had grown up on a farm, to leave Russia, where he was in danger of being  
23 drafted for twenty-five years' service in the Czar's Army, and travel to America to investigate the  
24 provisions of this Homestead Act and look over the possibilities for establishing the 'clan' in the  
25 United States.

26  
27 Thus it was that in 1878 Jacob Milstein left Brest Litovsk to seek out land for members of his  
28 family and those others who wished to emigrate with them. He was to act as "advance scout"  
29 and to send back all the information on homesteading to his uncle, the leader of the proposed  
30 'colony'. Was the American government really as tolerant of Jews as they had been led to

1 believe? No special taxes? Freedom of worship? While he was learning these things, as well as  
2 the English language, his uncle Saul Baer would send him a monthly allowance to cover his living  
3 and travelling expenses.

4  
5 But within a year of his departure from Russia Jacob had incurred the wrath of his uncle. He  
6 received no more money and for a time the gravity of his offense threatened the plans for the  
7 entire group's migration. Jacob's "sin" had been to persuade Nettie Milstein, Saul Baer's eldest  
8 child, with whom he had been in love for some time, to run away and join him in America where  
9 they could be married. Nettie was her father's favorite child, and he had lavished on her all his  
10 affection and material wealth. He had educated her as thoroughly as any of his sons and had  
11 taken her with him on business trips throughout Europe.

12  
13 By the time she was twenty years old, in 1878, a confirmed spinster by Jewish standards, she was  
14 able to relieve her father of many of his duties at the com-mission house, in order that he might  
15 devote more time to his studies and pupils, as she preferred a business career to marriage,  
16 having refused to accept any of the suitors offered her by the *shadchens*.<sup>21</sup> She was in love with  
17 Jacob, her first cousin, and since her father naturally opposed such a union, Nettie simply  
18 rejected marriage with anyone else, but when Jacob left Russia and the all-pervasive influence of  
19 his patriarchal uncle, Saul Baer, Nettie was impelled to flee and disregard convention, religion  
20 and social ostracism by going to Jacob in America. Leaving Brest Litovsk in November of 1879,  
21 Nettie journeyed to the home of relatives in Hamburg, Germany, where she awaited passage  
22 money from her fiancé.

23  
24 Cut off from his uncle's support, Jacob Milstein took a job in a tin factory in New York City. He  
25 learned English rapidly and also earned enough to put some aside as 'capital' with which to  
26 prospect for a colony site as well as passage money for his bride-to-be from Germany. But he  
27 had worked little more than a year when an industrial accident deprived him of the sight of one  
28 eye. It is noteworthy for those days that the owner of the factory recognized his responsibility in  
29 the matter of the accident and made arrangements for a pension to be paid his young  
30 employee-victim.<sup>22</sup> Jacob was thus able to afford proper medical care and rest without resorting

1 to charity. While recuperating, he became acquainted with the work being done by the well-  
2 known American Jew, Michael Heilprin.<sup>23</sup>

3  
4 The latter, in 1880, was already busy organizing the Jews of the United States into a relief  
5 society to aid in the temporary support of the rapidly increasing number of immigrants pouring  
6 into the country from Russia, caused by the increasing rigor of Czar Alexander II's policies  
7 against the Jewish population.<sup>24</sup> Western Jews were beginning to realize the hopeless plight of  
8 their Russian correligionists, due particularly to their peculiar economic and political status in the  
9 Czar's Empire. Historically sympathetic throughout the Diaspora, the more fortunate Western  
10 Jews had earlier formed aid societies, such as the Alliance Israelite Universelle<sup>25</sup>, guided by  
11 Adolphe Cremieux and Moses Montefiore. Michael Heilprin had kept in close touch with  
12 representatives of this organization, which had announced a plan at a meeting in Paris in the  
13 spring of 1880 to settle refugees in the new and undeveloped countries in South America, South  
14 Africa, Australia and especially in North America, where the United States offered even aliens  
15 the benefits of their liberal Homestead Act. This plan appealed greatly to Michael Heilprin, who  
16 for years had been urging young immigrant Jews to leave the East and try farming, taking  
17 advantage of the Government's "free land".

18  
19 Prior to 1880, there had been few Jews in America who were able or eager to follow such advice.  
20 Lack of money for land and equipment had not been the main deterrent but rather the lack of  
21 any agricultural experience, coupled with the age-old fear of investing in land, a commodity not  
22 movable nor easily convertible in case of sudden persecution or expulsion. Therefore, when  
23 twenty-year-old Jacob Milstein, his sightless eye covered by a black patch, came to Heilprin's  
24 office on State Street in New York City, it seemed an amazing coincidence. Here was a  
25 representative of a Russian Jewish group, whose background seemed promising for the venture,  
26 who were determined to leave Europe permanently, who were most anxious to "return to the  
27 soil" and who best of all, included members who had been farmers in the short-lived agricultural  
28 colonies for Jews in Southern Russia and also, had adequate financial resources for the trip, land  
29 investment and living expenses. Coupled with these qualifications and Heilprin's interest in  
30 establishing experimental Jewish colonies in the United States, was the receipt, in September of

**Line 29**

The reference to "living expenses" recognises the need for working capital, the absence of which would bedevil the colony. This emerges from a consideration of the season of the colony's foundation, between May and June 1882. In CP-12, page 3, line 11, Gulliford writes

"[t]he immigrants' first crops were planted in August and September".

If so, this obliged a community initially of 40 adults and 10 minors and ultimately of 48 adults and 14 minors to wait from the time of their arrival until harvest, at best in Autumn 1882, and in the event not till 1883, before they could hope to become self-supporting from their own holdings.

Possibly it was intended that the colonists should hunt, but they lacked firearms, knowledge of tracking or the local country. In any event, the harsh climate of the Rockies imposes hibernation upon game, the lack of which would be attested if we accept the unreliable reports of begging bands of Ute (page 27, line 10).

There is no record of a budget to support the colonists over the interim period of the summer, let alone the winter. Funds are described as attributable to travel expenses, land and infrastructure. This leaves nothing for working capital, the lack of which became apparent as soon as the colonists arrived and found themselves obliged to seek credit from Hart's store.

1 1880, of a most unusual offer from a wealthy Jewish philanthropist, Emanuel H. Saltiel, who  
2 professed a desire to help in the work outlined by Heilprin in the latter's widely-read articles and  
3 settle a colony of Jewish farmers on his lands in Wet Mountain Valley near Cotopaxi, Fremont  
4 County, Colorado.

5  
6 Emanuel H. Saltiel had gone to Colorado after the Civil War and had prospered in mining and  
7 milling enterprises, as well as property investments.<sup>26</sup> Although he maintained a home and an  
8 office in New York as well as in Colorado, he was not affiliated with any religious organization.  
9 Nevertheless, he wrote several eloquent letters to Michael Heilprin, expressing his admiration  
10 for the latter's policy advocating agricultural colonies for Jewish immigrants.

11  
12 When Heilprin first spoke with Jacob Milstein it was with the idea of sending this particular group  
13 of which he was a representative to homestead on the 'donated' lands in Oregon, where soil,  
14 water and market facilities were known to be excellent. However, Saltiel's letters were very  
15 persuasive and promised that he would undertake to construct houses for each family, several  
16 large communal barns and sheds, provide necessary furniture and household equipment, farm  
17 implements, seed, cattle, horses and wagons and a year's supply of feed for the animals. The  
18 offer was quite magnanimous, for Saltiel was to provide all this for a mere \$8,750, the remaining  
19 \$1,250 to be raised by the colonists to cover costs of rail transportation and living expenses *en*  
20 *route* to Colorado. The entire cost was to be kept under \$10,000 which meant an indebtedness  
21 for each family of less than \$435.<sup>27</sup>

22  
23 Within a few months after hearing these proposals, Jacob's father, mother, brother and bride-to-  
24 be arrived in New York and letters were dispatched immediately to the others still in Russia  
25 describing in great detail the generosity of this American Jew, Saltiel, and his plan to aid them in  
26 realizing their dreams of tilling the soil in a free country, to build their homes and equip their  
27 farms and help them adjust to life in America. The group in Russia was enthusiastic and began to  
28 make preparations for leaving, but before they could complete their arrangements, an event  
29 occurred which changed their situation. On March 1, 1881, Czar Alexander II was assassinated  
30 and his son and successor, Alexander III, immediately appointed Nicolas Pavlovich Ignatieff, a

**Lines 9 and 10**

The present author will pay a bounty of \$2,500 for authenticated copies of any of these letters; for details, see the list of bounties on page 18 of CP-1.

**Lines 18 to 21**

It is not clear where these figures come from. The fragment to which Satt refers (page 19, note 27) cannot be found. The present author will pay a bounty of \$2,500 for an authenticated copy of this letter; for details, see the list of bounties on page 18 of CP-1.

In August 1882, Tuska set a budget of \$8,200 (CP-4, page 3, lines 23 to 29). There he stated that Saltiel had received \$5,250. Eleven months later, Henry stated that the total expenses of the colony were \$10,234 (interview with *New York Herald*, 18 July 1883).

On the other hand Satt's figure may mean something, as Schwarz tried to shoehorn some of his figures into it in CP-6, page 17, lines 6 to 17.

CP-1, graphic 8, and CP-2, table 21, show that by December 1882, unbudgeted expenses were \$9,189, of which creditors in Cotopaxi had defrayed \$7,434.

Satt's figures for family indebtedness in lines 20 and 21 imply 23 family groups. On page 9, line 5 and on page 19 in note 35 she writes of 22 such groups.

1 militant anti-Semite, as Minister of the Interior. At once a series of pogroms began which caused  
2 thousands of Jews to leave Russia forever in a mass exodus unparalleled in modern history.<sup>28</sup> The  
3 promulgation of the May Laws of 1881<sup>29</sup> was the capstone in the long history of repressive acts  
4 directed against the Jews of the Czar's Empire.

5  
6 Consequently the tempo of Jewish immigration to the United States was tremendously changed  
7 that spring of 1881. By June the waves of destitute refugees swamped the inadequate facilities  
8 of the Port of New York Receiving Station at Castle Garden.<sup>30</sup> Up to that time, assistance to  
9 those Jews who needed it had been rendered by private charitable organizations such as *B'nai*  
10 *B'rith* or the various religious congregations in New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Baltimore.  
11 But the scope of the 1881 migration was entirely too much for these private groups and the  
12 sudden realization of their inadequacy caused them to band together to try to provide  
13 emergency relief. The protest meetings that were held all over Europe because of the pogroms  
14 raised considerable funds, most of which were sent to the United States, which country received  
15 the bulk of the refugees. The *Alliance Israelite Universelle* mushroomed into a vast relief agency  
16 and was responsible for the establishment of depots, "escape hatches", and embarkation  
17 stations<sup>31</sup> throughout Europe.

18  
19 To American Jews the situation that spring was particularly worrisome as their heretofore  
20 pleasant and undisturbed insulation had not prepared them for such shock-or problem. Because  
21 the Jews came in such large numbers, so rapidly, to America, the government's immigration  
22 authorities were totally unprepared and available facilities completely inadequate. Prompt  
23 action was imperative lest this problem become large enough to trouble the tranquil Christian-  
24 Jewish atmosphere in the United States. Therefore a relief committee composed of prominent  
25 American Jews was hastily organized under the chairmanship of a New York judge, Meyer  
26 Isaacs, in September of 1881. Within a month this was replaced by a union of all Jewish  
27 charitable groups along the Eastern seaboard, religious and secular alike, into what was called  
28 the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society (HEAS).<sup>32</sup> By the end of that year, \$300,000 in temporary relief  
29 funds had been raised and headquarters of the society set up in Michael Heilprin's offices in New  
30 York City. Heilprin was unanimously elected president and directed the affairs of the society

1 until its dissolution in the fall of 1883. He had to discard for a while his theories of careful  
2 relocation of Jews on farms, as clearly these could not be applied quickly enough to solve the  
3 pressing and immediate problems of emergency relief. Whenever possible he urged the young  
4 men to leave the crowded urban centers and take up land in the West under the Homestead Act.  
5 Despite Heilprin's preoccupation with Receiving Station duties and housing, he found time to  
6 help establish and finance two "colonies" with HEAS funds earmarked for this type of  
7 "experiment". The first of these was the Cotopaxi Colony in Colorado, the settlers, location and  
8 investment having been decided upon in 1881 as a result of the coincidence of Saltiel's offer and  
9 Jacob Milstein's application. The second one was at Vineland, New Jersey.<sup>33</sup>

10  
11 Before the pogroms of 1881 had caused such precipitous migrations and had so drastically  
12 altered the situation of the Milstein group still in Brest Litovsk, Michael Heilprin had already  
13 decided to go ahead with this plans for an experimental colony located near Cotopaxi. His first  
14 act, once he had accepted the offer of Saltiel, was to assign a young lawyer connected with the  
15 society, Julius Schwartz, to go to Colorado, make a thorough investigation of the locality,  
16 markets, soil, climate, etc, and return a report to the New York office. Schwartz left New York in  
17 January of 1881, but HEAS never received any report from him or word concerning him.  
18 Within a few months of Schwartz's departure, however Heilprin was submerged in the more  
19 pressing problems of the Russian pogrom victims, and could not spend any more money  
20 investigating this far-off colony site. The \$10,000 required for its establishment had already been  
21 approved and set aside by the society, the rest of the 'colony group' had arrived from Europe  
22 that winter and began to constitute a 'dependent immigrant classification', having been forced  
23 to flee Russia without waiting to sell property, etc. The expenses of tenement living during the  
24 winter of 1881-82 had used up what little they had been able to bring with them and the  
25 conditions in New York, plus the disappointment of delay had eaten up much of their  
26 enthusiasm. Heilprin had little choice but to permit the "colony" to go ahead without having  
27 received any report of Schwartz's investigation.<sup>34</sup>

28  
29 Thus it was that in April of 1882 the twenty "family groups"<sup>35</sup> began their long train journey via  
30 Kansas City, Pueblo and the Royal Gorge, to Cotopaxi, without many of the things they should

**Lines 13 to 17**

Satt is mistaken. All primary sources agree that Schwarz arrived with the colonists in May 1882 and at no point does anyone refer to an earlier visit.

**Lines 20 to 22**

Satt is mistaken. Three-fifths of the first group of colonists arrived in 1882, that is three on the *Australia*, arriving on 20 February 1882; nineteen on the *Gemma*, arriving on 30 March 1882; and nine on the *Assyrian Monarch*, arriving on 10 April 1882.

Source  
<http://kehilalinks.jewishgen.org/cotopaxi/family-names.html>

1 have had. First, they were without any first-hand knowledge of just what kind of country they  
2 were headed for-save for the descriptions of the eloquent Mr. Saltiel. Secondly, they were  
3 without their beloved leader, Saul Baer Milstein.<sup>36</sup> His younger brother, Benjamin, had taken  
4 over as Saul Baer was still angry over the matter of his daughter Nettie's unfortunate marriage  
5 with his first cousin.<sup>37</sup> That couple was also missing from the group which left New York for  
6 Colorado, having preceded it by several months. They were awaiting the arrival of the colony  
7 which they would join, in the meantime living in Blackhawk. Thirdly, the group was no longer  
8 well-off financially; the fee of \$50.00 per head-of-family,<sup>38</sup> the high cost of living in New York the  
9 preceding winter, the cost of the journey, the loss of expected profit from the sale of their  
10 property and businesses in Russia, had greatly depleted its resources. Despite these handicaps,  
11 the group was confident and optimistic as they set out for the "promised lands" in the rich and  
12 fertile Wet Mountain Valley, described so eloquently in the letter from their benefactor,  
13 Emanuel H. Saltiel.

**Line 8**

Satt is mistaken. The annotation to page 16, lines 20 to 22 establishes that at most only twelve out of the fifty colonists in the first group spent the winter in New York. This means that if paid in the winter, the fee (of which there is no contemporary record), could only have been paid by those at that time present. See also the annotations to page 19, note 38; and page 30, lines 22 to 23.

Footnotes to Part II

1. This number included boys of 18 who nonetheless were married and in some cases fathers of several children.
2. Area of tolerated Jewish Settlement within the Russian Empire.
3. Hebrew term meaning Enlightenment.
4. Reference to Turgenev's novel, *Fathers and Sons*, stressing difference of outlook in generations.
5. Hebrew term meaning "excessively religious and orthodox people".
6. Hebrew term for "moderates", a middle-of-the-road group.
7. Schools sponsored by Russian Government and open to Jews for purposes of "social assimilation".
8. Yiddish nickname for Hasidim, very orthodox.
9. German Jew, author of *Nathan der Weise*, leader of 18th Century Enlightenment. Although more famous for his literary and educational ideas than for his social or political theories, Baer Levinsohn is considered the fount of the Russian Neo-Hebraic Renaissance and the figurehead of the 19th century Jewish enlightenment. One of his nieces, Esther Baer, married Menashe Milstein of Brest Litovsk and proved to be a great influence in her husband's home city, a center of Hasidism. In turn, their son Jacob married Malka, the daughter of Rabbi Zalman of Zhitomir, 10 well-known as the proponent of the government's rabbinical schools and a preacher for cooperation with Czar
10. Prominent religious leader who helped found Crown Schools.
11. Fostered by Czar Nicholas's agricultural colonies for Jews in Southern Russia: Ekaterinoslav, Bessarabia and Kherson. See Dubnow, S. M., *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland, II*, Philadelphia, 1918, pp.66-72.
12. Jewish Conscription Laws and Military Service were a collection of ninety-five clauses, plus sixty-two special clauses which differed from the general military conscription laws. Briefly, the chief difference lay in the fact that the Jewish conscripts could be taken as young as twelve years, and that boys under eighteen could be educated in military establishments even if they were exempted from the regular draft. Enrollment of Jewish recruits was done by the "Kahals" and the latter were responsible to the Czar and subject to fine, imprisonment and torture if found remiss. No Jew could become an officer. Once released from service, the Jewish soldier had to return at once to the Pale. Privileges, immunities, benefits and pensions granted to soldiers were denied Jewish conscripts unless they foreswore their religion and were baptized in the Greek Orthodox Church. See Dubnow, S. M., op. cit., pp.18-29.
13. Dubnow, S. M., op. cit., pp.174-177.
14. Hebrew term for primary or "Keder" school teachers.
15. The following categories were exempt from the draft: merchants, artisans in a trade union, mechanics, agricultural colonists, rabbis, and those who had graduated from a Russian educational institution.
16. The colonies were doomed to fail from the outset due to the mountain of red tape, government bureaucracy and insurmountable obstacles placed in the way of the farmers. The "last straw" was the ukase of 1866 which limited the number of acres a Jew could farm and forbade bequeathing land to a Jewish heir.
17. Dubnow, S. M., op. cit., p.197.
18. Hebrew term meaning secondary school of a religious nature.
19. Stiles, W. E., *Out of Kishineff*, New York, 1903, pp.64-68.
20. Repressive Acts, 1874-1876: Special laws designed to abrogate concessions made to certain classes of Jews and to insure total mobilization for the Russo-Turkish War. Act of 1874 changed method of conscription. Act of 1875 lowered age of draftees in the case of Jews. Act of 1876 forbade exemptions of 2nd class and even 1st class-thus depriving parents of even "only sons".
21. Yiddish term for matchmaker or marriage broker. One of these unsuccessful suitors had been Ed Grimes, who joined the colony even after Nettie had run away, in the hopes that her father could annul the civil ceremony. Then, several years later, the breach was healed and Nettie and Jacob united in a religious ceremony at Cotopaxi in 1883, Ed Grimes gave up and left the colony, settling in Denver.
22. Jacob's total compensation from the tin factory in New York City amounted to about \$600. (Interview with his daughter, Mrs. Rose Ornstein of Denver, August 14, 1949).
23. Michael Heilprin was a unique and romantic figure of American Jewry. Born in Poland, he was brought up in Hungary where his linguistic attainments and literary genius won him a place in the society of 'revolutionary liberalism'. In 1848 he became Louis Kossuth's personal secretary and Minister of the Interior. With the collapse of the revolution he fled to Paris, then to the United States. He became a chief contributor and editor to Appleton's *New American Cyclopedia*, edited by Ripley and Dana, later an editorial writer on literary, historical and philosophical subjects for the *New York*

papers and The Nation Magazine. He was completely Americanized and was not a professing Jew or member of any religious organization, until the persecution of his people by the Czar. Then he threw himself into the relief work with all the fervor he had once devoted to 1848 Revolution. See Pollack, Gustav, *Michael Heilprin and His Sons*, New York, 1912, pp.105-220.

24. Pollak, Gustav, op. cit., pp.205-220.
25. Alliance Israelite Universelle, or the "AIU": A world-wide Hebrew Aid Society, founded in 1860 with headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, and offices in Paris, London and Berlin.
26. *Supra.*, p.7, ff.
27. 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 HIAS, May 3, 1949.
28. Dubnow, S. M., op. cit., pp.243-260.
29. These were the May Laws of 1881, not to be confused with the "Temporary Rules of May, 1882". The Laws were inaugurated by Minister of Interior Nicolas Pavlovich "extirpate sediton". Soldiers were to expel any Jew found outside the Pale, redress by legal action in the courts was denied, educational institutions were closed to Jews, and increased conscription demanded. No Jew could live outside of certain cities, sell or deal in real property or merchandise, or conduct any sort of business or trade on Sundays or Greek Orthodox holidays or Saint Days. See Dubnow, S. M., op. cit., pp.259-265.
30. Joseph, S., op. cit., pp.1-3.
31. One of the most important of these was the city of Brody, in Austrian Galicia.
32. Pollak, G., op. cit., p.223.
33. Pollak, G., op. cit., pp.223-225.
34. Pollak, G., op. cit., p.223.
35. The list of the twenty-two 'heads of family' who were eligible to file on 160 acres each includes the following:
  1. Benjamin Zalman Milstein, 40, with his wife Hannah, and younger son Henry. His eldest son Jacob was married and thus the head of his own family.
  2. Jacob Millstein, 19, with his wife Nettie, 20. (The spelling of the name was changed on the marriage license issued at Blackhawk, 1882).
  3. Jacob Milstein, 18, eldest son of Saul Baer Milstein. He represented his father, the original leader of the group.

4. Isaac Leib 'Shames' (Milstein), widower, with two young daughters, Hannah, Rachel, (Nettie, see 6)
  5. Michael 'Shames' (Milstein), 23, eldest son of Isaac Shames, with his wife Frieda Raisie, and two young daughters, Esther Mary and Sarah Bessie.
  6. Joseph Washer, 22, son-in-law of Isaac Shames, with his wife Nettie.
  7. Charles Prezant, 24, cousin-in-law, having married Keile Milstein in Europe. They had at this time one son, Isaac, 3 years old.
  8. Max Shuteran, 19, having married Keile's sister Hannah Milstein, was also a cousin by marriage to the seven families listed above.
  9. Solomon Shuteran, 21, brother of Max, with his wife Rachel and baby girl who died in Cotopaxi and was buried there.
  10. David Korpitsky, 37, widower with three daughters and one baby son which died in Cotopaxi and was buried there.
  11. Samuel Schneider, 48, with his wife Alta.
  12. Abraham Newman, son-in-law of Schneider, with his wife Nechama.
  13. Berel Morris, son-in-law of Schneider, with his wife Sarah and daughter Helen.
  14. Samuel Shradsky, 65, widower.
  15. Sholem Shradsky, eldest son of #14, with his wife Mindel, two young daughters, Asna and Sarah.
  16. Hiram Shradsky, 19, eldest son of Sholem.
  17. Max Shradsky, 18, son of Sholem.
  18. Herschel Toplitsky, 23, son-in-law of Sholem (#15), having married Riva, his eldest daughter.
  19. Charles Moscowitz, with his wife and four young daughters.
  20. Morris 'Zedek' Needleman, with his wife Rivka, four daughters.
  21. Max Tobias, with his wife Bessie.
  22. Ed Grimes, 18.
36. *Infra*, p.52, part III.
37. In November, 1881, Jacob Milstein left New York to survey the prospects in Colorado, and to look up Julius Schwartz. He never found Schwartz. From Blackhawk, Jacob sent for Nettie, his fiancée. They were married at the Gilpin County Courthouse in January, 1882. Jacob was then engaged in the mule trade. Perhaps to conceal the fact that he and his bride were first cousins, Jacob changed the spelling of his name to Millstein on the marriage certificate. Their children later changed the spelling still further. (Muhlstein)
38. This fee was collected in New York by HEAS and sent to Saltiel at his request. It was supposedly the initial payment on each family's indebtedness.

#### Note 27

The present author will pay a bounty of \$2,500 for an authenticated copy of this letter; for details, see the list of bounties on page 18 of CP-1.

#### Note 35, generally

Satt is silent on the family of five headed by Hirsch Lauterstein; and mistaken as to many of the ages, which does not matter that much. A couple of other examples are set out below. See CP-2, Quantitative material for definitive details.

#### Note 35, items 8 and 9

Satt is mistaken as to the ages of the Shuterans: Solomon (Shlomo) was 30; Max (Motel, Marcus) was 22. This matters as both were able to claim under the Homestead Act.

#### Note 35, item 20

Satt is mistaken in conflating Nudelman (CP-2, table 39, no 18), the head of a family of five plus a baby who died in Cotopaxi; with Zedek (CP-2, table 39, no 44), the head of a family of six.

#### Note 38

This offers more heat than light, reflecting Satt's questionable sourcing: see the annotation to page 22, notes 7 and 23. Satt's own summary of the settlers' indebtedness at page 14, line 20 takes no account of them.

It contradicts the charity's purposes in supporting destitute refugees that they should levy charges at this point, as "supposedly the initial payment on each family's indebtedness". There is no reference to them in Henry's 1883 accounting in the *Hebrew Messenger* (19 January) or the *New York Herald* (18 July) - indeed there is no contemporary documentation whatever for them.

The quantity and application of such charges are, moreover, at odds with the applicable law: fees under the Homestead Act were \$18 per tract and were supposed to be made personally by the claimant.

Finally, the annotation to page 16, lines 20 to 22 establishes that at most only twelve out of the fifty colonists in the first group spent the winter in New York. The comments there apply. See also annotations to page 17, line 8; and page 28, lines 22 to 23.

**Generally - the *Bubba Meise* of Part III**

This is the heart of the thesis but it departs from the standards of sourcing and documentation of the first two sections. It relies upon a *Bubba Meise* (Yiddish - old wives' tale), specifically interviews with the original author's relatives, who were infants or unborn at the time of the colony. Satt also uses secondary sources based on CP-8, the report by Kohn, taken without an appreciation of the legal and economic context.

Satt herself recognised the need for a check on the authenticity of family sources (page 38, Newspapers, note 1), but lacked the sources now to hand. This led to embellishments which we can now dismiss. She also airbrushed the colonists' run-ins over disputed tracts, presumably with the ancestors of her own neighbours. This is explored in the annotation box on page 37.

**Part III. The Events**

The townspeople of Cotopaxi watched the tired and bewildered immigrants get off the train. It was the eighth day of May, 1882. They had gathered at the new Denver and Rio Grande depot, curious to see at first hand these "Jew Colonists" about whose arrival they had heard so much from Saltiel and his partners during the preceding months. Some of them were openly scornful of the newcomers' clothes, language and appearance and made no effort to conceal their hostility. Others felt sympathetic at their looks of terror and awe, caused, no doubt, by the trip through the Royal Gorge and the desolate vastness west of the chasm. The terrain of this entire area is quite forbidding. The land is bare, very rocky, with practically no timber or vegetation. The unimpeded streams which flow into the Arkansas River have cut deep transverse gorges in the black rock formations.<sup>1</sup>

Saltiel sent a wagon to transport the Jews and their baggage from the railroad depot to this hotel<sup>2</sup> across the public square.<sup>3</sup> The twenty families were accommodated in rather crowded fashion in the hotel until they were ready to move to their farms, some of which were eight or ten miles south of the town itself. Several of the men met with Saltiel and two of his many partners, A. S. Hart<sup>4</sup> and Julius Schwartz<sup>5</sup>, to discuss plans for their colony, but little could be decided until the colonists could see the location. Hart and Schwartz drove the men of the group up Oak Grove Creek to inspect their future homes.

Saltiel had written to the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society in October, 1881<sup>6</sup> that the twenty houses were finished and that five large barns would be completed shortly. He listed prices for farm implements and horses, implying that if these prices met with the approval of the Society, the articles would be purchased upon Saltiel's receipt of their reply. Now, more than seven months

**Lines 19 and 21**

Satt is mistaken. Saltiel reported that the colonists were accommodated in  
  
...a long house that I had bought for them and in two log houses that I owned and had hitherto used for several of my miners.  
(CP-5, page 3, lines 2 to 4).

**Lines 22 and 23**

Satt is mistaken. As to Hart, see the note to page 6, line 22. Schwarz had arrived with the colonists. See CP-4, CP-5, and CP-6.

**Lines 24 and 25**

This incident is vividly described at first hand by Saltiel in CP-5, page 2, line 14 to page 3, line 2.

**Lines 27 to 30**

Satt writes of 20 houses. Schwarz refers to twelve in CP-6, page 6, lines 13 to 14.

1 later, the newcomers found only twelve small, poorly-constructed cabins approximately eight  
2 feet square, six feet high, with flat roofs and no chimneys. They had no doors or windows, nor  
3 even the jambs or frames into which such might be easily fitted. There was no furniture inside,  
4 and only four of the twelve structures possessed stoves for heating or cooking.<sup>7</sup>

5  
6 Hart pointed out the twenty divisions of land in the valley. There was supposed to have been 160  
7 acres in each parcel. Twelve of these were located on either side of Oak Grove Creek, the  
8 remaining eight farms were marked out beyond a high ridge 8, 000 feet above sea-level. These  
9 last were in the Wet Mountain Valley itself, but despite the name, there was no water on the  
10 lands. No fences or other boundaries separated the colonists' lands, and in the Wet Mountain  
11 Valley sections, the sparse grass which had just begun to grow was being grazed by neighboring  
12 ranchers' cattle.

13  
14 On the twelve parcels in Oak Grove Valley there was no sign of any other improvement save the  
15 tiny cabins. No wells had been dug, no fences built and no road cleared. Hart drove the wagon up  
16 the stream bed itself, not too steep under normal circumstances, but obviously impassable  
17 during spring flood stages or the sudden mountain cloudbursts which often transformed a dry  
18 arroyo into a roaring cataract for several hours.<sup>8</sup> The materials for the twelve structures had  
19 been hauled up to the site before winter snows had melted above. McCoy recalls that the stream  
20 bed, even in fall, was never too good a 'road' since large boulders and other debris had washed  
21 down therein, making rough going even for a single horse or mule. Some years later a wagon  
22 road was built through this valley, connecting Wet Mountain Valley with Cotopaxi, but it  
23 required considerable labor to clear the alluvial deposits.<sup>9</sup>

24  
25 The terrain of the valley precluded the possibility of preparing extensive fields for crops. Less  
26 than half a mile in width, there is a definite shoulder mid-way up the canyon walls, indicating the  
27 level of the younger steam in past geologic ages. The soil on the lower half is easily eroded due  
28 to the angle of tip. Some tough grass grows, as well as sage brush and other native plants, but  
29 almost no trees, except for scrub pines. The valley is watered solely by the tiny seasonal creek  
30 and it would have required extensive irrigation works to deflect any of this water out onto the

**Lines 1 to 4**

Satt is the only source for these cabins, which evidently represent wasted money. Their description makes it clear that they were built to satisfy the Homestead Act and it is understandable that they will have been unattractive to the large families present among the colonists.

**Lines 6 to 10**

Satt is unreliable about this incident, which Saltiel reports as embracing only Oak Grove Creek CP-5, page 2, lines 14 to 16.

**Lines 14 et seq**

Despite the human interest of the following passages (of which much is unreliable), Satt is silent about much of the next six months of complications involving attempted, aborted, documented and undocumented settlements, as set out in CP-2, tables 29 to 31.

1 tilted shoulders of land designated as "farms" for the Jewish immigrants. Ed Grimes, one of the  
2 colonists, stated to a reporter for the Denver Jewish News in April, 1925, "There (Cotopaxi) was  
3 the poorest place in the world for farming. Poor land, lots of big rocks, no water, and the few  
4 crops we were able to raise, by a miracle, were mostly eaten by cattle belonging to neighboring  
5 settlers."<sup>10</sup>

7 When the men returned to Cotopaxi following their tour of inspection, they sought out Saltiel for  
8 an explanation of the many deficiencies. That gentleman was remembered as being profuse in  
9 his apologies and used the labor shortage as the primary excuse for non-fulfillment. He  
10 explained that items such as window frames, proper furniture, much of the tools and equipment,  
11 even lumber, were impossible to procure in the vicinity and that he had sent to Denver for them.  
12 They had been delayed. He would be leaving for Denver soon and would try to expedite delivery.

14 The immigrants had brought only the most personal of household equipment yet it was decided  
15 among them within the first week after their arrival that they must move into the available  
16 cabins and improve them as best they could themselves, for it was most imperative to begin the  
17 preparation of the soil for planting. By the middle of May the Jews were able to borrow Hart's  
18 wagon and moved their baggage and families up to the colony, making the trip on foot  
19 themselves, carrying some of their belongings on their backs.

**Lines 1 to 4**

Satt follows Roberts, in CP-13, page 5, lines 4 to 7, and the annotation there applies.

Satt protects her neighbours by misquoting Grimes' final remarks as reported by Roberts (CP-13, page 5, lines 8 and 9).

"a few hundred [acres] were fit for cultivation and this good land was soon claimed by nearby farmers".

**Lines 7 to 11**

For once, Satt omits an opportunity to blackguard Saltiel, who in CP-5, page 3, lines 1 to 4 reports that he posted men with loaded rifles to protect Schwarz from the settlers' chagrin.

Saltiel's response was swift, taking immediate counsel with HEAS (CP-5, page 3, lines 6 and 7), who evidently counselled all concerned to crack on (CP-5, page 3, lines 12 to 16).

**Lines 18 to 19**

If the colonists had to carry their belongings on their back, they were the authors of their own misfortune: in CP-16, page 2, lines 26 to 29, Gulliford writes that the colonists

turned their oxen loose to graze and the oxen wandered off with a herd of wild cattle. The immigrants having no horses with which to catch the oxen, attempted to trail them on foot. They followed them as far as the river but could not catch them.

Thus their need to manhandle the heavy wagons, one at a time to Cotopaxi, some seven miles by the old wagon road.

(CP-16, page 2, line 29 to page 3, line 1) though Schwarz' reference to "hauling" (CP-6, page 17, line 13) is more likely to refer to moving lumber from one tract to another.

1 A few days later, Saltiel left Cotopaxi for an extended business trip, leaving the problems of the  
2 colonists to be settled by his partners, Hart and Schwartz. They gave what little help and advice  
3 they could, and permitted the Jews to borrow the necessary plows and horses, seed and other  
4 equipment. Hart, as the proprietor of the General Store, extended credit to the colonists for food  
5 staples and other necessities. Four additional stoves were obtained and carted up the valley. The  
6 men themselves built mud chimneys for the four remaining stoveless cabins.

7  
8 There was much discontent and anxiety among the members of the colony, yet they had  
9 determined to remain at Cotopaxi. They had no alternative, really, since the expenses of the  
10 previous winter in New York City and the trip west had consumed what little cash they had had,  
11 and there seemed to be no one to whom they could turn for advice or assistance in their efforts  
12 to secure the promised items from Saltiel. The language barrier, also, proved quite a handicap in  
13 their attempts to correct what they believed to be an error on the part of Mr. Saltiel, since even  
14 that gentleman was quite limited in his knowledge of Hebrew and the immigrants were then  
15 barely intelligible in English. When Saltiel left Cotopaxi, their only avenue of communication was  
16 the young partner, Julius Schwartz.

#### Lines 1 to 6

By Saltiel's account he was continuously present in Cotopaxi until the end of June, when he went to New York to plead the colony's cause with HEAS.

The colonists were fortunate. The loan of horses and ploughs relieved them of the worst consequences of the loss of their oxen described above. Store credit also turned out to be the colonists' lifeline for at least the first five months, as recognised by Tuska's subvention to Hart in CP-4, page 3, line 25.

The reference to mud chimneys is mysterious as both Saltiel (CP-5, page 5, line 6) and Schwarz (CP-6, page 13, line 15) dwell on stoves and stove pipe, with the former stating that in late July 1882, six out of twelve stoves had been delivered. In any event, frontier chimneys were invariably a labour-intensive affair of stones or mud. Given the uncertain location of houses and the local labour shortage, these would have been impossible to build prior to the arrival of the colonists. The complications of frontier chimneys are such a pioneering chestnut, akin to those discussed on page 24, lines 23 to 25, that like them this account may be seen as an embellishment.

#### Line 14

Satt's sources are mistaken to suggest that Saltiel's ignorance of Hebrew stopped him communicating with the colonists. We know that Saltiel was observant earlier in life: a letter from his youth, now in the Library of Congress asks relatives in England for phylacteries, *tefillim*, so we may take it that he would have been conventionally familiar with liturgical Hebrew. By his own account, he made himself understood in the limited way recounted at CP-5, page 2, lines 27 and 28.

But Hebrew would have availed him little with the settlers, as the everyday life of the Ashkenazi Jews of central and Eastern Europe was conducted in Yiddish.

Saltiel was a Sephardic Jew, whose family arrived in England at the beginning of the 1700s, so Yiddish would have been unknown to him.

By contrast Schwarz, a Hungarian Jew, would have known Yiddish. But that is not the principal reason that Satt's sources identify Schwarz as the colonists' "avenue of communication." He travelled to Cotopaxi with the colonists to become their "clerk", then "general manager". Clearly Satt's sources were wholly unaware of this.

1 Later, the colonists met their German neighbors in Wet Mountain Valley. These people proved  
2 quite helpful as most of the immigrants spoke German fluently and even those who spoke only  
3 Yiddish were able to communicate easily with the German farmers. The latter were sympathetic  
4 concerning the plight of the Jewish colonists and assisted them wherever possible. The women  
5 of the colony went regularly to visit them, obtaining milk and eggs for the children, and some  
6 meat and vegetables. The men sought agricultural advice from the Germans and this was gladly  
7 given, even though it was already too late to remedy the delay and mistakes made that first  
8 spring sowing. It had been the first of June before the Jews had gathered together the necessary  
9 supplies and implements and had cleared the few acres for crops. They planted corn and  
10 potatoes and their methods proved a source of much amusement for the people of Cotopaxi.  
11 The "greenhorns", as they were called, had much to learn about high altitude farming in arid  
12 country, where even with the most favorable weather, the growing season is less than four  
13 months for most crops. They did not attempt any hay or grain crops the first year, since clear,  
14 level land was at a premium and they had no animals to feed.

15  
16 Despite the help of their German neighbors and the credit extended to them for food by Mr.  
17 Hart at Cotopaxi's General Store, two new-born babies died soon after coming and the young  
18 son of David Korpitsky died of blood poisoning incurred by stepping on a rusty nail with bare  
19 feet. The babies were all buried in the village cemetery of Cotopaxi, in unmarked graves <sup>11</sup>  
20 separated from the rest by a small wooden fence.

21  
22 In mid-June Jacob and Nettie Millstein left Blackhawk where they had lived for six months and  
23 joined the colony, thus becoming the twenty-first "unit". Although some of the family units had  
24 doubled up to share the shelter of the twelve cabins, two families set up canvas tents while the  
25 men prepared and constructed more houses. One family made their own house from cut sod,  
26 while Mr. and Mrs. Herschel Toplitsky, assigned to one of the sections across the ridge in Wet  
27 Mountain Valley, found an abandoned Indian dugout cave which they used as a house for the  
28 first year. The young Millstein couple were most welcome in the colony, despite their  
29 unorthodox marriage, for they both spoke English fluently and were able to teach the others.  
30 Benjamin Zalman Milstein, Max Tobias, <sup>12</sup> and David Korpitsky were the leaders of the colony.

**Line 5**

The colonists could not supply themselves with eggs as without a *Schochet* (ritual slaughterer), it would be uneconomic to keep chickens. This would be one of the reasons for the experiment of introducing Friedman (CP-5, page 10, line 8). Practical considerations of this kind would play a part in Snyder's dissent from the colony's religiosity (CP-5, page 11, lines 6 to 8).

**Line 14**

Satt's sources may be right about the colonists' lack of stock by the time they got to the plateau, but this followed the loss of the oxen described in the annotation to page 22, lines 18 to 19. This represented a financial loss and was an early instance of the colonists' carelessness with their own property—evidently the oxen were neither tethered nor hobbled, and general clumsiness with stock.

**Line 18**

Satt follows Roberts (CP-13, page 8, lines 4 and 5) in identifying the dead child as a Korpitsky, at odds with Schwarz who identifies him as a Nudelman. None of these sources agrees on the cause of death, with Schwarz writing of diabetes (CP-6, page 14, line 16) and Roberts of injuries after falling from a window (CP-13, page 8 line 5).

**Lines 23 to 25**

These accounts of tents, cut-sod houses and Indian dugout caves are unsupported by any contemporary reporter. The last two also fly in the face of local geography and anthropology: the landscape of Cotopaxi offers unpromising raw material for a cut-sod house and the local Ute Indians did not dig caves but sheltered in Wickiups or brush dwellings. Such tales are, however, a frontier chestnut and may best be seen as a pioneering platitudes appropriated by Mrs. Toplitsky just as she did with the *Titanic* disaster. In consequence we may reasonably take these tales as embellishments after the event by the unreliable reporters upon whom Satt relied (see paragraphs (l) and (m) of the annotation at the foot of page 37).

In fact the record shows that pioneers lived in a bunk- or log-houses in Cotopaxi till family houses were completed (CP-5, page 3, lines 2 to 4; CP-6, page 13, lines 16 and 17; and page 18, line 2).

1 The babies' deaths and other misfortunes and disappointments of the colony must have caused  
2 them to turn to religion for solace. They had not been considered a particularly religious group,  
3 at least by European standards, but soon after the burial ceremonies, the group felt they must  
4 establish some sort of a "spiritual organization". With the first letter they sent back to New York  
5 went a request for a "Torah".<sup>13</sup> HEAS sent one immediately and by the 23rd of June, 1882, the  
6 Jews were able to dedicate their new synagogue, which they had converted from an abandoned  
7 cabin behind the General Store, the only building available.<sup>14</sup> David Korpitsky served as rabbi  
8 and performed two weddings that first summer. The first united Max Shuteran and Hannah  
9 Milstein and the other was the religious ceremony which finally, even in the eyes of the most  
10 orthodox, sanctioned the civil union of Jacob Millstein and his cousin Nettie. The reminiscences  
11 of the colonists recall these events as rare occasions for joy and celebration. Hannah Shames  
12 Quiat<sup>15</sup> can still remember the precious canned peaches, the fresh-caught trout and sugar cakes  
13 which were served at the wedding reception.

14  
15 Saltiel himself was absent from Cotopaxi most of the summer and fall but his young partner,  
16 Julius Schwartz, a Hungarian Jew, joined with the Russian immigrants in their religious  
17 observances and was chosen Secretary of the Congregation.<sup>16</sup> Schwartz had been educated in  
18 New York and served as Saltiel's lawyer. It is obvious from letters and remarks of the colonists  
19 that they did not connect this young man with the lawyer Michael Heilprin had commissioned to  
20 investigate the original offer made by Emanuel Saltiel in September, 1880. None of the group  
21 had been in New York, except Jacob Millstein, when Heilprin had sent Schwartz to Colorado for a  
22 report on the proposed colony location.

23  
24 The festivities that summer, Schwartz's help in the absence of Saltiel, and the agreeable summer  
25 climate were perhaps the last pleasant memories the Jews had of Cotopaxi, for with the arrival  
26 of autumn their position became most uncomfortable. Saltiel returned and refused to fulfil any  
27 of the neglected obligations and even denied them further credit at the General Store, in which  
28 he had a half-interest. He expressed no regret or surprise at their inability to sow adequate crops  
29 on the stony hillsides, nor did he deem his failure to provide the necessary farm equipment as  
30 contributing to their difficulties. In addition, this part of Colorado suffered an exceptionally early

**Lines 2 to 6**

Communal organisation is of a piece with the mutual support society of which Schwarz wrote (CP-6, page 16, lines 18 and 19). This would have defrayed the costs of synagogue ornaments, etc, as CP-2, table 20.

**Lines 15 to 22**

Schwarz may have been educated in New York but Satt is mistaken on every other count in this passage. Saltiel ceased to have any management responsibility to the colony after the end of July (CP-4, page 2, lines 24 to 27; CP-5, page 9, lines 15 to 16; and CP-6, page 2, lines 19 and 20). Schwarz was not Saltiel's lawyer but the employee of HEAS (CP-6, page 2, lines 19 and 20). All contemporary accounts agree that he arrived in Colorado with the colonists (as CP-5, page 2, lines 1 to 7; and CP-8, page 1, lines 16 and 17).

**Lines 26 to 30**

Here too Satt is mistaken. At the end of July, Saltiel took over responsibility for housing completions from Hart, who had been acting as his contractor (CP-5, page 9, lines 18-25). Hart's son, Meyer confirms that by the winter they were complete. (CP-9, page 2, lines 6 to 8); as does Henry independently (CP-10, page 2, line 18).

Credit was maintained until the cascade of public letters unleashed by Tuska culminated in Schwarz' half-baked report. This ended any possibility that HEAS would underwrite the colonists' obligations (CP-6, page 1, initial comment).

1 frost the autumn of 1882 and when the Jews attempted to harvest their potatoes, they found  
2 most of them frozen.

3  
4 The colonists were faced with the problem of providing, without money, fuel for heating their  
5 drafty shacks, and clothing for the bitter cold mountain winters. They had few possessions they  
6 could sell for food, medicine and shoes. The lack of fuel was dramatized by the menace of large  
7 bears which prowled about their cabins, looking for food before going into hibernation. The  
8 immigrants were terrified and were forced to use what little wood they had been able to gather  
9 during the summer to build big bonfires each night to frighten the bears away. As none of the  
10 cabins had had doors when they moved in, the men were able to make only the rudest sort of  
11 covering with what few tools they possessed, and none of these doors had locks or bolts. A  
12 hungry bear could easily push through the flimsy barrier which might bar his way into a cabin.<sup>17</sup>

13 Furthermore, the men were without protection in the way of firearms. Only a few owned  
14 revolvers and none could afford ammunition, since they were of European make and required a  
15 bullet not available in the area.

16  
17 Again and again, delegations of men would tramp eight miles to town through the deep snow to  
18 appeal to Mr. Saltiel. He had received altogether, by October of 1882, close to \$10,000 which the  
19 Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society sent from New York. Part of this was payment for a bill of \$5,600  
20 he had tendered the Society the preceding year. This sum was to "cover the cost of building  
21 twenty fine homes at \$280.00 each"<sup>18</sup> Since the colonists found only twelve cabins which could  
22 not possibly have cost Saltiel even \$150.00 apiece, they felt that on this one item alone they  
23 should receive some rebate.

**Lines 6 and 7**

This story cannot be relied upon, as coming from the account in the *Intermountain Jewish News* which began with the tall tales from Mrs Toplitszy described in the annotation at page 33, notes 17 and 21.

**Lines 13 to 15**

Of all the stories coming down from Satt's sources, this is the most bizarre. Russian Jews would not have been permitted to own arms in the old country, where they would have been hard-pressed to find a revolver. Nor would the officials at Castle Garden, the port of entry into the U.S., have permitted armed arrivals to clear immigration. This fable can only be an echo of an underlying truth: the colonists were out of their depth, in particular as to their own self-defence. This would have been particularly apparent to those colonists who subsequently campaigned as Colorado Volunteers (page 32, lines 5 and 6) or became peace officers (page 32, line 10) and perhaps they came up with this face-saving story.

**Page 25, line 18 to page 27 line 6**

Satt is mistaken; the colonists had no grounds for rebates.

The document cited at note 18 is dated as 19 September 1880, which makes it a proposal not an invoice. It cannot be found in the New York archives. The present author will pay a bounty of \$2,500 for an authenticated copy; for details, see the list of bounties on page 18 of CP-1.

Satt follows Kohn in CP-8, page 1, lines 25 to 28, in mistaking log cabins erected to satisfy the requirements of the Homestead Act (as CP-6, page 6 line 16) with the far more substantial accommodations erected for families, as CP-6, page 13, lines 13 to 19. She is also unaware of Meyer Hart's rebuttal as CP-9, page 2 lines 1 to 4.

In CP-4, page 3 line 24, Tuska reported that Saltiel had received \$5,250, not "close to \$10,000". CP-2, table 21 shows that by December 1883, unbudgeted expenses were \$9,189, of which \$7,434 had been borne by creditors in Cotopaxi. This means that far from qualifying for rebates, the settlers owed money all round.

Half of the houses were upon government lands, as confirmed by Hart (CP-9, page 2, lines 6 to 8), Henry (CP-10, page 6, lines 5 to 7) and Schwarz (CP-11 page 2, line 27 to page 3, line 12). These accounts overturn Kohn's complaint. They also show that he was protesting about titles for *houses*, not *tracts*. This masked clouded titles in the latter, almost entirely upon government lands, as set out in CP-1, graphic 5 and table 3.

1 Two saw-mills were in operation in the immediate vicinity at this time and "first-class lumber  
2 sold for \$22. 50 per thousand".<sup>19</sup> Now the Jews realized they had no means of forcing Saltiel to  
3 fulfil any of his neglected promises, as they themselves possessed no written agreement, no  
4 contract, no bill of sale and not even a title, deed or lease to the land they were then occupying.

5 That winter they petitioned HEAS for aid and counsel in how to regain their lost money,  
6 believing that organization had documents on file which could intimidate Saltiel.<sup>20</sup>

7  
8 The weather was unusually severe that year, with blizzards which isolated their farms for weeks  
9 at a time, below-freezing temperatures which froze their hands and feet, unprotected by boots  
10 or gloves, and caused much suffering. To add to their misery, small bands of Ute Indians  
11 appeared from time to time, begging food and the frightened immigrants gave them what little  
12 food they had.<sup>21</sup>

13  
14 The only recourse open to the desperate Jews was to go to work as laborers in Saltiel's mines.  
15 His foremen were glad to hire even the inexperienced Jews as the supply of workers had  
16 dwindled even further during the winter months. They promised the Jews \$1.50 for the day shift  
17 and \$2.50 for the night shift, the Cotopaxi and Enterprise Mines being worked constantly and  
18 producing well. Despite this the colonists recall they received not a penny in cash for all the work  
19 done in the mines. Instead, they received vouchers for credit at the General Store owned by  
20 Saltiel and Hart. This system, however unfair, did enable them to buy a few sacks of flour and  
21 other necessities.

#### Lines 5 and 6

We get a confirming hint of the petition in Saltiel's complaints about a "false... defaming...paper" at CP-7, page 2, line 3. No record of it has been found in the New York archives. The present author will pay a bounty of \$500 for an authenticated copy of this petition and any reply; for details, see the list of bounties on page 18 of CP-1.

Nussbaum states that between the departure of Schwarz in mid-October 1882 and February 1883, the colony was out of contact with HEAS (CP-12, page 2, lines 17 to 18; and lines 24 to 27). He also states that it was this, as much as any ambition to "intimidate", which set the scene for the colonists' engagement with Kohn.

#### Lines 10 to 12

As the annotation at page 26, lines 6 and 7 points out, this story cannot be relied upon, as coming from the same questionable account in the *Intermountain Jewish News*.

If true, it is consistent with the immigrants' lack of physical presence in the face of stock and wild animals. Satt's account shows them as keener on petitioning HEAS or campaigning to intimidate Saltiel (line 6), than defending their crops, supplies or homes.

#### Lines 14 to 21

Satt is mistaken. CP-2, table 33 and CP-17, *The Bardine assignment*. show that the colonists received between \$1.50 and \$2.00, as unskilled "muckers", lacking the experience to use the explosives reserved for "miners" who earned \$2.50 a day. CP-9, page 3, lines 15 to 17 confirm that the miners were paid in cash one month in arrears. By contrast the same source (page 3, lines 2 and 3) tells us that the colonists were declining to cash *railroad* pay checks. For the explanation see CP-17, page 3, paras 4 and 5, which show that the colonists were avoiding the "haircut" or discount for redemption, imposed upon the bad debtors which they had become.

1 Mining in deep underground shafts and tunnels is never pleasant work but in wintertime it is  
2 particularly disagreeable and hazardous. Since the labor shortage extended to other fields as  
3 well, the Jews found they could have employment with the railroad instead of with Saltiel. The  
4 Denver and Rio Grande Railroad was then building its line west of Salida to connect the booming  
5 mining camps along the Continental Divide and Western Slope<sup>22</sup> the railroad was only too happy  
6 to employ the Jews as track laborers and even permitted them to take Saturday as their day off,  
7 instead of Sunday. Nearly every man in the colony worked that winter for the Denver and Rio  
8 Grande, and received cash wages of as much as \$3. 00 per day, with which they managed to  
9 support the entire group of sixty-three persons.<sup>23</sup>

11 The colony had another reason to be grateful to the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad that winter.  
12 The women had been accustomed to scour and comb the tracks in the area for bits of coal or  
13 wood dropped by passing trains. Sympathetic engineers and firemen, noticing them, learned of  
14 their plight and then would regularly toss down as much coal and wood as they could, thus  
15 enabling the women to obtain enough fuel to keep them alive that winter.<sup>24</sup>

**Lines 1 to 9**

Satt's sources got this totally wrong. CP-2, table 32, and CP-17 show that six colonists worked consistently in the mine until it closed in April 1883. This is independently confirmed by Meyer Hart in CP-9, page 3, lines 4 and 5. As to the railroad, Henry (CP-10, page 5, lines 12 to 16) reports that it offered colonists a maximum of \$2.00 per day, which they rejected, first striking and then getting fired.

So the colonists' winter lifeline was working in the mine not on the railroad.

**Lines 13 to 15**

This passage confirms that by the winter houses were completed and supplied with working stoves. Throughout the world in the era of steam, householders butting on railway lines saved money by "gleaning" coal from the trackside.

**The "sweated labour" thesis**

CP-18, page 10, traces the distortions of the potato crop story; and CP-7 page 1, line 20 to page 3, line 6 sets out the sequence of events after its failure.

Otherwise, we may test Satt's thesis by examining the sequence of events leading to the credit stop and consequent crisis of late autumn 1882. In the adjacent passages, Satt provides no dates, but presents the following sequence.

- Store credit stopped.
- Early frost; potato crop fails.
- Settlers resort to working in Saltiel's mine for scrip.
- Settlers then work for the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, "instead of with Saltiel".

By contrast, the original documents convey the following sequence.

- Some settlers work in Saltiel's mine and others on the railroad (as Saltiel in CP-5, Schwarz in CP-6 and Meyer Hart in CP-9).
- Schwarz' report dated 23 October 1882.
- Potato crop fails, all comers offered surface work by Saltiel, which few keep up (as Saltiel, CP-7).

In addition, from its positive content and tone, Schwarz' report antedates the crisis following the stop in credit. This tells us that it was written before the "exceptionally early frost [in] the autumn of 1882" (page 23 line 30 to page 24 line 1) which ruined the crop. The report's positive manner also attests to its composition before the crisis which occurred after store credit was stopped in the late autumn.

The main reason for the credit stop is that Schwarz' botched report demolished the chance that HEAS would underwrite such local debt as the colonists had incurred.

Satt confines her explanation of the credit stop to Saltiel's perfidy, with no third-party or documentary corroboration. No doubt this was to follow the lead of the pioneers' attorney, George H Kohn, in CP-8. According to Satt, Attorney Kohn did a good job for his clients: after six or seven months' campaigning, HEAS reversed its position, writing off the colonists' debts and providing more cash.

Taking this information into consideration, we may safely rely upon Schwarz' sequence. This assessment derives from the contemporaneous character of Schwarz's report and the evidence that emerges between the lines from a close reading, rather than its surface argument. By contrast, Satt's sequence relies on family tales remembered by three elderly women, who at the time of the events they were describing were either unborn or minors, in an era in which women played little part in business.

CP-18 establishes that these sources were unreliable. Small wonder: they themselves were repeating tales from those who at the time were unable to speak English, in households removed from the centre of events. In the nature of things, such first-hand recollections as they heard were embroidered by family discussions over the following sixty-seven years.

In this light, we may dismiss the "sweated labour" thesis as an example of the "partial...family accounts", for which Satt herself recognised the need for a "check on...authenticity" (page 38, Newspapers, note 1).

1 Word of the colony's predicament reached Denver and they were visited by several interested  
2 groups. First, the Jewish community of Denver sent as much help as they could, including warm  
3 winter clothing, food, medicine and other necessities. Three prominent men from Denver came  
4 down to investigate at first hand. On their return they framed still another appeal to the Hebrew  
5 Emigrant Aid Society, explaining Saltiel's actions and describing his reputation.<sup>25</sup> Then, a  
6 number of reporters from the Denver newspapers appeared and interviewed the immigrants and  
7 the townspeople. They had heard of this unusual agricultural experiment in Denver and had  
8 come down to check certain reports of mismanagement and illegalities.

9  
10 The Denver Republican played up the story, emphasizing Saltiel's responsibility and the HEAS's  
11 gullibility in investing such a large sum in so novel an experiment, without proper investigation  
12 before-hand. They exposed Saltiel's entire plan as a "vile atrocity" and described the colonists'  
13 sufferings in minute detail. This newspaper took the opportunity of divulging at the same time,  
14 other of Saltiel's deals and schemes, as well as his unsavory personal reputation.<sup>26</sup>

15  
16 The Rocky Mountain News tended to play down the whole story, reminding its readers that all  
17 pioneers must endure some hardship and compared conditions in other outlying districts with  
18 those at Cotopaxi, making the lot of the Jews there seem ideal, even better than most.<sup>27</sup>

19  
20 The colony did manage to survive the first winter, but they faced the coming spring with  
21 determination not to make the same mistakes nor rely on Saltiel for any further assistance. They  
22 observed their first Passover at Cotopaxi that April of 1883, and immediately after the rites were  
23 concluded, again borrowed seed and equipment and sowed their second crop. But nature  
24 seemed to conspire against them, for scarcely were the seeds in the ground when a late spring  
25 blizzard ruined a large part of them. These late storms are common in Colorado but to the  
26 struggling and discouraged colonists, it seemed a special punishment directed at them alone.

Lines 1 to 18

Satt conflates three events.

(i) George Kohn visited the colony with Louis Wirkowski, identified in the *Denver Republican* of 11 February 1883 as "[Louis] Witkowski, the proprietor of the well-known proprietor of the Star boot and shoe store, on Lawrence Street". The two men co-signed their report.

(ii) Kohn co-signed the covering letter to HEAS with Herman Silver, a prominent Republican who owned the *Denver Tribune* and served as the Collector of the Internal Revenue and Superintendent of the US Mint.

(iii) The *Republican* article also states that shortly thereafter, Wirkowski and one Herman Strauss visited the colony "taking with them provisions, clothing and money".

Satt's account is also disingenuous. After being neglected by HEAS for fifteen weeks, Korpitsky and (Baruch) Millstein went to Denver to see Attorney Kohn, with a view to getting out from under their debt to HEAS and obligations to Hart's store. Kohn synthesised the appearance of local outrage with an campaign for supplies, which CP-9, page 3, lines 8 to 26 dismisses as unnecessary. Kohn then sent CP-8 to HEAS in New York, calling for the colony to be abandoned. This was to lay the ground for his eventually successful argument that it was so impossible of execution as to justify his clients repudiating their debts. He also brought in the local press (as lines 6 and 7; and 10 to 14) to whip up local support. In due course his press campaign extended to the "Russian Jewish" press in St Petersburg.

Line 20 to page 32 line 2

These passages are either unsourced or reliant upon sources incapable of verification at time of writing. They are contradicted by a one-sentence report from the *American Israelite* of 23 May 1883, stating, "The settlement in Cotopaxi Col., has been abandoned and all the colonists have gone to other places." Accumulating departures leave other traces in the record, for example on 16 February 1883, when the County Clerk of Arapahoe County (ie, Denver) wrote to his counterpart in Fremont County, requesting him to take responsibility for "Charleman Chatteran", (ie, Solomon Shuteran, CP-2, table 39, no 31) who had become chargeable to the former county as a pauper.

By contrast on 18 July 1883, M A Kursheedt, the Managing Secretary of HEAS spoke to the *New York Herald* of seventeen families settled in Cotopaxi.

At this point, it is impossible to adjudicate between conflicting narratives of the colony's conclusion.

1 Again they wrote to the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society for advice. Up to this time, the directors  
2 of that agency in New York could do little but counsel patience and fortitude, but by the late  
3 summer of 1883, the pressure of immigration had subsided in New York, due to the Czar's  
4 temporary retirement of Ignatieff,<sup>28</sup> and the new director found time to write to the unhappy  
5 farmers in Colorado. Michael Heilprin had been forced to retire that same summer, due to  
6 illness, and his successor was not as familiar with the whole story. Also, the emergency funds  
7 had been exhausted and the great need for the Society's existence not as apparent, so there  
8 were plans for its dissolution. Late that summer, the colonists received a second letter from  
9 HEAS<sup>29</sup> recommending that they use the money that would be sent them to remove to another  
10 area; in Colorado, perhaps, but out of the Cotopaxi region, since the legal complications involved  
11 in land claims were too difficult to handle at long range. In October, 1883, more than a year after  
12 their first appeal and the report made by the Denver investigators, the colonists received \$2,000.  
13  
14 As their harvest in 1883 was no better than the first, several families prepared to leave as soon as  
15 they received their share of the removal funds. For the remaining families, help and  
16 encouragement during their second winter was again supplied by their friends from Denver.  
17  
18 Those who stayed on that winter earned their living expenses by working in neighboring mines  
19 and on the railroad. The colony celebrated its second Passover at Cotopaxi in 1884, shortly after  
20 which a number of families left for new locations. Only six families decided to remain and plant a  
21 third crop, but when another late blizzard destroyed it, too, they at last recognized the futility of  
22 persevering in this spot and made plans to abandon the site. Each head-of-family had paid a fee  
23 of \$50.00 into a common fund back in New York for the filing of deeds. When they prepared to  
24 depart the county, they checked with the county clerk in Canon City and could find there no  
25 record whatsoever of any such deed or conveyance. They had simply been "squatters" or  
26 perhaps at best, "tenant farmers" on corporation town-site land. They had wasted almost three  
27 years on Sattiel's "colony" when they could have filed on public domain nearby as homesteaders.  
28  
29  
30

**Lines 1 and 2**

It is impossible to evaluate this unsourced passage; no record of this correspondence has been found in the New York archives. The present author will pay a bounty of \$500 for authenticated copies of this correspondence; for details, see the list of bounties on page 18 of CP-1.

**Line 9**

No record of this letter has been found in the New York archives. The present author will pay a bounty of \$1,000 for an authenticated copy of this letter; for details, see the list of bounties on page 18 of CP-1.

**Lines 11 and 12**

For general comments on a settlement with the colonists, see the annotation to CP-13, page 8, lines 7 to 18. Otherwise, it is impossible to evaluate this unsourced sentence; no record of the correspondence has been found in the New York archives. The present author will pay a bounty of \$2,500 for an authenticated copy of documents confirming this settlement; for details, see the list of bounties on page 18 of CP-1.

**Lines 10 and 11; and lines 23 to 27**

Satt is mistaken. The final group of colonists had no reason to make a final inspection of the county clerk's office, as they or their fellows had themselves made the filings. If they really did make such a visit, they would have found titles apparent to this day. Only two colonists took *tracts* in Cotopaxi (CP-5, page 3, lines 23 to 27), though six had *houses* there (CP-8, page 2, lines 6 to 8). CP-1, table 3 shows that in December 1882, nearly two thirds of farmers *outside Cotopaxi* had clouded titles. Four out of the total of fifteen were abandoned to neighbours. Of the balance of eleven, three were clouded as representing second filings and three as representing claims by namesakes. In addition three colonists occupied tracts on government lands without filing claims.

**Lines 22 to 23**

Satt is mistaken. The annotation to page 16, lines 20 to 22 establishes that at most only seventeen out of the fifty colonists in the first group spent the winter in New York. This means that if paid in the winter, the fee (of which there is no contemporary record), would have been paid at a maximum by the three families present at the time. See also the annotations to page 17, line 8 and page 19, note 38.

1 By June of 1884 the colony, as such, was formally dissolved and a final report submitted to  
2 Heilprin's successors in New York. The Cotopaxi Colony had been a failure. But it had served to  
3 give its members valuable lessons in pioneering, and had taken them out of the crowded ghettos  
4 in the eastern cities and given them a glance at what was available on other farm lands in the  
5 West.

6  
7 Of the twenty-two families who lived through the bitter but edifying experience at Cotopaxi,  
8 only two failed to remain in the West. These were Samuel Shradsky, and Sholem Shradsky, his  
9 eldest son, both widowers. The elder Shradsky was a very old man and wanted to return to  
10 Europe to be buried alongside of his long-dead wife. His son accompanied him and died there  
11 before he could return to the United States. The rest used their hard-won knowledge to try  
12 farming on better lands in the West.

13  
14 Saul Baer Milstein had come to Denver in 1883 with his wife Miriam and the seven younger  
15 children. He went into the cattle business with two partners. As soon as he was able, he bought  
16 grazing lands near Denver and by the time his younger sons were grown, had built a stock-yard  
17 and packing house. His brother Benjamin Zalman Milstein bought a farm near Derby, Colorado.  
18 His youngest brother, Isaac Leib Shames, took his wife to Salt Lake City, where they lived for  
19 many years before moving back to Colorado. Shames' son Michael moved to Denver and joined  
20 his uncle in the cattle business and also bought a farm near Westminster, Colorado. Shames'  
21 daughter Hannah married Philip Quiat and another daughter, Rachel, married Henry Singer. His  
22 eldest daughter, Yente, had been but a young bride when she and her husband, Joseph Washer,  
23 came as colonists to Cotopaxi. They had no children. Mr. Washer died soon after leaving  
24 Cotopaxi. His widow remarried Moses Altman of Denver.

25  
26 Saul Baer Milstein's eldest daughter Nettie, whose marriage to her first cousin Jacob had been  
27 so bitterly opposed by her father, eventually won his forgiveness. She and her husband were the  
28 most enthusiastic and successful of all the new farmers. Their first homestead was some four  
29 miles northeast of the city of Longmont in Boulder County. They later moved to a larger farm  
30

**Lines 1 and 2**

It is impossible to evaluate this unsourced sentence. No record of this report has been found in the New York archives. The present author will pay a bounty of \$500 for an authenticated copy of this report; for details, see the list of bounties on page 18 of CP-1.

1 near Broomfield, which latter productive acreage they sold in 1935, for \$18, 000 to the Savery  
2 Savory Mushroom Company.

3  
4 Jacob Milstein, Saul Baer's eldest son, later moved to Seattle, Washington. Both he and his  
5 cousin and brother-in-law, Jacob Millstein, had been Colorado Volunteers during an Indian  
6 disturbance in 1887.<sup>30</sup>

7  
8 The Prezants, the Shuterans, David Korpitsky and his daughters, and the Toplitskys moved to  
9 Denver, where they entered various fields of business and soon prospered. Several of the men  
10 served on the Denver Police Force and Fire Department.

11  
12 For some years the Tobias family lived in Cheyenne, Wyoming, where they ran a hardware store.

13  
14 The Schneider family, including the sons-in-law Morris and Newman, moved to a farm near  
15 Omaha, Nebraska, and the Needleman and Moscowwitz families homesteaded in South Dakota.  
16 The younger Shradskys moved to California from Cotopaxi.

17  
18 Soloman Shuteran participated in the Cripple Creek gold rush in 1892 and established a  
19 comfortable family fortune by profitable real estate investments in that region.

**Line 15**

Four years after Cotopaxi collapsed, the *Jewish Messenger* of 19 March 1886 recorded Nudelman (Needleman) at the Jewish agricultural colony at Painted Woods, in the then Dakota Territory.

Footnotes to Part III

1. The description of the Jews' arrival at Cotopaxi on May 8, 1882 was given the writer in a personal interview by Charles H. McCoy on August 15, 1948. McCoy was an eye-witness to the events recounted above. He was twenty-two years old at the time of the Jews' arrival and remembers vividly the unusual events surrounding the establishment of the "Colony". McCoy still lives in Cotopaxi, having come there as a small boy. He, and his father before him, first tried farming in the small valleys of the region, before giving up and turning to mining and railroading as more profitable vocations. McCoy knew Saltiel, Hart and Schwartz and had been a close friend of Henry (Gold Tom) Thomas. (Thomas was shot and killed on the steps of the Cotopaxi Hotel by A. Hart on May 23, 1883.) McCoy had transported a small load of lumber across the Arkansas River and up Oak Grove Creek to the site of the proposed colony and had helped with the construction of the twelve small cabins which Saltiel ordered built there.
2. Saltiel owned the Cotopaxi Hotel together with A. Hart, a partner.
3. A central plaza or park surrounding the flagpole, often referred to as "Saltiel Park". See Rocky Mountain News, December 2, 1880.
4. Hart, A. S., Rocky Mountain News, November 16, 1880, p.2. (See also *supra*, p.10.)
5. Schwartz, Julius, See *supra*, p.30.
6. Saltiel's letter to Michael Heilprin, October, 1881. (Cited in Spivak Report, now in Jewish Agricultural Society files, New York, N. Y.) The Spivak Report is an account of the Cotopaxi Colony, together with what correspondence concerning it was assembled in the early 1920's. It was sent to the Jewish Agricultural Society at the request of its president, Dr. Gabriel Davidson. The report was drawn up by the Denver Jewish Council, which was then headed by Dr. Spivak.
7. Description from Mr. McCoy, interview, August 15, 1948, and from surviving members of colony, Mrs. Hannah Quiat and Mrs. Rachel Singer, interview, August 15, 1949. The writer saw two of these structures in August, 1948, while in the area.
8. Baskin, O. L., History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado, Chicago, 1881, p.700.
9. Mr. McCoy described the difficulty in building this road, completed in 1887. Interview August 15, 1948.
10. Denver Jewish News, April 6, 1925. (Reminiscences of Cotopaxi Pioneers)
11. A Jewish law prohibits erection of a headstone until one year after burial.
12. Mr. Tobias was the only colonist not recruited in Russia, having joined the group in New York during the winter of 1881. He and his wife had been in the U. S. since 1877 and spoke English better than most of the others.
13. Missing.
14. Denver Jewish News, April 6, 1925.
15. Hannah Shames (Milstein) Quiat. Interview, August 6, 1949, Denver, Colorado.
16. Roberts, D., op. cit., p.128, refers to citation from the Jewish Messenger, 1882. (The Jewish Messenger was a weekly newspaper, published in English, in New York City, beginning in 1857. Abraham Isaacs, brother of the founder and publisher, was the correspondent who 'covered' the story at Cotopaxi. The paper is no longer printed, having been sold in 1903.)
17. Denver Jewish News, now Intermountain Jewish News, April 6, 1925. (The pages on which the reminiscences were printed is missing from the files of the Jewish News.)
18. Saltiel's letter to Michael Heilprin, September 19, 1880, see *supra*, [p.14].
19. Rocky Mountain News, December 2, 1880, p.2.
20. Spivak Report (Letter to Jewish Agricultural Society) on file in JAS, New York City. See *supra*, n6.
21. Hoffman, Mosa Heller, Story of Cotopaxi, Intermountain Jewish News, September 15, 1944, pp.16-17.
22. Logan, P. S., History of the Denver and Rio Grande Railway, M. A. Thesis, University of Colorado, 1931, pp.99-112.
23. Reminiscences obtained from interviews with Mrs. R. Ornstein, Mrs. H. Quiat, August, 1949.
24. Charles McCoy's Interview, August 15, 1948.
25. Contained in Spivak Report, (now on file at JAS) *supra*, p.36. (The men who prepared the appeal were G. H. Kohn, A. Strauss and L. Witkowski.)
26. Denver Republican, February 13, 1883. (Clipping from Dawson Scrap Book, Colorado State Historical Museum, XXXIII, p.464)
27. Rocky Mountain News, February 13, 1883, p.8, Col. 4.
28. Pollack, G., op. cit., p.210.
29. From family materials collected by Mrs. Harry Tarkoff. See also Roberts, D., Jewish Colony at Cotopaxi, Colorado Magazine, XVIII, p.130.
30. Morris Kadish, of Boulder, has an old photograph of the Boulder County Volunteers and both Milsteins are in the group.

Notes 6, 18 and 25

The present author will pay a bounty of \$250 for an authenticated copy of the Spivak Report; for details, see the list of bounties on page 18 of CP-1.

The present author also will pay a bounty of \$2,500 for an authenticated copy of "Saltiel's letter to Michael Heilprin of October 1881" (ie, additional to the text as cited in Spivak); for details, see the list of bounties on page 18 of CP-1.

As to note 25, if Satt accurately reports Spivak, he was mistaken. The *Denver Republican* of 11 February 1883 reported that first Kohn and Wirkowski visited the colony and made a report (CP-8); then Kohn and Strauss revisited with supplies. See annotation to page 29, lines 1 to 8.

Notes 17 and 21

This source is not to be relied upon, commencing with an account by Mrs H Toplitzy of the pioneers' transatlantic passage being interrupted when

their ship struck an iceberg and filled with water and the travelers were forced to remain in the water for three days until they were rescued.

This is unsubstantiated and Satt had the good sense to ignore it, but not other similarly sourced material.

Notes 7 and 23

These purportedly first hand sources for Satt's account qualify for a high index of suspicion. They are identified as "Mrs. Hannah Quiat and Mrs. Rachel Singer" and "Mrs. R. Ornstein, Mrs. H. Quiat". Quiat and Singer are identified in CP-2, table 39 as numbers 61 and 62, respectively five and nine years old in 1882. Rose Ornstein is identified on page 18, note 22 as the daughter of Jacob Milstein, who arrived at the colony as a newlywed. In other words, Ornstein herself was not at Cotopaxi.

Quiat and Singer also gave accounts to the article in the *Intermountain Jewish News* which began with the tall tales from Mrs Toplitzy described in the annotation of notes 17 and 21 above.

Note 29

The present author will pay a bounty of \$1,000 for an authenticated copy of this "second letter from HEAS"; for details, see the list of bounties on page 18 of CP-1.

1 **Part IV. Conclusions**

2  
3 Despite its failure, its remoteness, its impermanence and its long submergence in  
4 undocumented oblivion, the Cotopaxi Colony did have significance in the shaping of American-  
5 Jewish agricultural history. In the immigrant Jew's attempt to return to the soil, to return to his  
6 ancient national character of the agrarian, the colony experiment played a definite and  
7 important role. This colony at Cotopaxi happened to be the first of more than sixteen similar  
8 Jewish colonies, located in Louisiana, Arkansas, the Dakotas, Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon and  
9 Michigan.<sup>1</sup> Although individually Jews had long been active and successful in American  
10 agriculture, the colony plan, as demonstrated by successful groups during the 1870's, such as the  
11 Union and Chicago colonies in Colorado, seemed better suited for the conquest of the arid high  
12 plains and the distant Mountain and Pacific Coast regions, especially for newly-arrived Jews.  
13 Other national and religious groups had chosen the collective method as the best way to achieve  
14 security and a comfortable social milieu in unfriendly or desolate areas.  
15  
16 Analyses of the histories of these other Jewish Colonies, many of which experienced even worse  
17 hardships and exploitation schemes than the one at Cotopaxi, show the same underlying causes  
18 for failure. Most of them were conceived in haste, under great pressure, emotional and political,  
19 without adequate consideration of those factors upon which successful colonization or even  
20 profitable private farming, depend. Geographical location, with relationship to markets, national  
21 and local economy, transportation, the character of the land, type of ownership, lease or title,  
22 the capital needs, availability of equipment and seed, the existence of any special problems such  
23 as the necessity for irrigation, drainage, erosion control, the economic and social condition of  
24 the neighboring farmers in comparison with the prospective colonists, the nature of work  
25 involved, the personality and integrity of sponsorship and leadership, and last, but not least, the  
26 homogeneity of purpose and temperament and physical fitness of the colony members  
27 themselves-none of these vital requirements had received sufficient consideration in the hectic  
28 and unhappy 1880's.  
29  
30

**Lines 16 to 24**

This is a fair summary of the position, though the invidious "sweated labour" fallacy is reintroduced on page 36 lines 16 to 19.

In addition to this comprehensive list, the operational failing most to the fore seems to have been the pioneers' difficulty in defending their property against the frontier's inherent disorder. Thus, not only did the colonists lose their oxen before they reached the Cotopaxi plateau, but they had land whose water rights they were unable to assert, they grew crops which they failed to protect against wild animals and (if we believe Satt's sources) they had winter supplies which they surrendered to bears and destitute tribesmen. (We may take it that the lack of any comment to the contrary indicates that these unfortunates were unarmed.)

This points to a consistent lack of the belligerence required for life on the frontier. This is not to suggest the pioneers lacked pluck, but the record shows less of the physical presence which might have secured their interests in the first place, and more of a propensity for disputation with third-parties after losses had been incurred.

Satt's remark about "homogeneity of purpose and temperament and physical fitness of the colony members" is explored in the "Demographics and dynamics" section of CP-1.

1 It has never been charged that the Cotopaxi Colony failed because of the members' inability, or  
2 lack of inclination for hard, manual, menial labor, or weakness under privation and hardship. It  
3 was dissolved when the foolhardiness of persevering on land which was definitely not adapted  
4 for agricultural purposes, an arid, stony valley almost 7,000 feet above sea-level, was realized.  
5 Similar natural or environmental causes were found in the other Jewish colonies begun in the  
6 1880's; flood destroyed the Louisiana colony, malaria was the villain in Arkansas, hail, drought  
7 and prairie fires combined to foil the Dakotas, Nebraska and Kansas attempts, while poor,  
8 swampy land, combined with a severe local depression, was the nemesis of the Michigan colony  
9 at Bad Axe.<sup>2</sup> Though ill-fated and short-lived, these agricultural experiments were not bare of  
10 results, for these very failures focused attention on the great need for better guidance, more  
11 careful organization, thorough investigation of the site before settlement, and other factors  
12 attainable only by means of a definite, well-financed, well-staffed Jewish farm movement. This  
13 awareness led to the foundation, in 1884, of first, the Montefiore Agricultural Aid Society,  
14 followed by the establishment of the famous Baron de Hirsch Fund, which set up the Jewish  
15 Colonization Association and the Industrial Removal Office.<sup>3</sup> These last two merged in 1900 to  
16 become the Jewish Agricultural Society whose function it has been to encourage, counsel,  
17 educate, train, and settle groups of agriculturally-minded Jews on the land. It has also been  
18 responsible for aiding in the adjustment of these groups to their new environment.

19  
20 That the return of the Jew to the land is a good thing for America as a whole is undisputed, for,  
21 looking beyond such factors as relieving congestion in urban centers, redistributing population  
22 and skills, combating anti-semitism, or even demonstrating Jewish ability to farm, there is a  
23 deeper and broader significance, historically and sociologically. The gain, since 1890, in numbers  
24 of Jews on American farms, during a period when the trend of population was to further  
25 urbanization, is an important indication, not to be measured in quantity alone.<sup>4</sup> These numbers  
26 represent a positive gain in normalization, and the Jewish farmers found for themselves and  
27 their descendants a precious lode of self-satisfaction and self-respect in rediscovering the  
28 advantages of life on the soil.

**Lines 1 and 2**

Satt is unaware that this is exactly what was charged at length by Henry in CP-10, page 2, lines 9 to 30.

**Lines 20 to 28**

Satt approaches her conclusion with a rousing hymn to agricultural utopianism worthy of Schwartz!

1 Of the effect of the Cotopaxi Colony on Colorado, it will be noted that nearly all of the members  
2 remained in the State, or nearby, in farming, stock-raising and allied fields, or quickly became  
3 independent and prosperous in business and commerce. They were not discouraged by their  
4 failure in Fremont County, but tried again, on an individual or family-group basis, in widely-  
5 scattered areas, on homestead land or purchased farms. These 'pioneers' became the nucleus of  
6 small Jewish communities in such cities as Longmont, Pueblo, Rocky Ford, Montrose and Grand  
7 Junction and helped attract later Jewish immigration to these places. Those who settled in  
8 Denver and nearby towns were quickly Americanized and assimilated in the business and  
9 political life and were in a position, a decade later, to help in adjusting and advising the vast  
10 numbers of Jews who flocked to Denver for their health.

11  
12 Too much blame for the Cotopaxi Colony's failure has been attributed to the Hebrew Emigrant  
13 Aid Society's lack of foresight and careful investigation, but it must be remembered that the  
14 plans were undertaken just at the moment when Russian pogroms caused thousands of  
15 destitute refugees to crowd into New York, completely absorbing the time and funds available.

16 Too little attention has been paid to the unfortunate role played by the Society's erstwhile  
17 investigator, Julius Schwartz, whose complicity with the motives of Emanuel H. Saltiel  
18 prevented an adequate forewarning of the problems ahead. More emphasis should be placed on  
19 the labor-procurement aspect of Saltiel's offer,

20 *[material apparently missing in original]*

21 for the nature and composition of a large part of Colorado's social development. Lastly, the  
22 significance of their experience at Cotopaxi affected the colonists themselves, their children and  
23 grandchildren, in that it gave them a share, however small and unusual, in the history of their  
24 State and their nation.

**Lines 16 to 18**

Unfortunately, Satt ends by revisiting her comprehensive misapprehension of Schwarz' position, and restating her signature "sweated labour" fallacy.

Footnotes to Part IV

1. Sicily Island, Louisiana; the New Odessa Colony near Little Rock, Arkansas; Cremieux Colony near Mitchell, South Dakota; the Montefiore, Hebron, Gilead, Touro, Leaser, Bearahaba, Laskar and Nahum Colonies in Kansas, the Cremieux colony in Nebraska, the Comte Colony in Douglas County, Oregon, and the Palestine Colony near Bad Axe, Michigan. See Robinson, L. G. "Agricultural Activities of Jews in America." *American Jewish Yearbook*, 5673 (1912) Page 411.
2. Davidson, G., *Our Jewish Farmers*, New York, 1943, pp.204-255.
3. Davidson, G., *op. cit.*, pp.19-22.
4. For example, 30, 000 Jewish farm dwellers are listed in 1910. See Davidson, G., *op. cit.*, pp.35-39.

Generally

Certain aspects of this thesis fall short of the standards of scholarship to be hoped for in a Master's thesis. In particular, it does not cite and takes no account of

- a. an article about Julius Schwarz, datelined 22 July 1882 and published on 31 July 1882 by the *New York Herald*, at that time the city's paper of record. This article is based upon a letter dated 19 July 1882 from Schwarz to HEAS, a visit to whose archives is recorded on page 19, note 27.
- b. a letter from Maurice Tuska to HEAS, c5 August 1882. This appeared on 6 October 1882 in the *American Hebrew and Jewish Messenger*, and demolishes her argument that Saltiel was responsible for the colony throughout. The content of this document is referred to in Schwarz' letter dated 2 March 1883 - see (g) below; though to be fair, Schwarz does not make it clear that he is quoting from a newspaper letter. This document is also quoted at length by Leon Shpall who had earlier written on Jewish historiography for the journal of the American Jewish Historical Society, *AJHS*, 38, 1-4, page 239. In this instance he wrote about the colony for *Agricultural History* in July 1950, the same year as Satt's thesis. Once again to be fair, Shpall's account includes unsubstantiated episodes and sourcing.
- c. a letter from Emanuel Saltiel, dated 19 October 1882, which demolishes her argument that he was indifferent to the colonists' plight and that Schwarz was Saltiel's employee. This letter appeared on 26 October 1882 in the *American Hebrew and Jewish Messenger*. Parenthetically, Shpall cites material from another document which he attributes to Saltiel, though its sentiments sit imperfectly with the letter identified above and which appears at the reference he gives.
- d. the report by Schwarz to HEAS dated 23 October 1882, which demolishes Satt's signature thesis about sweated labour in the mines. This document is cited several times in Schwarz' letter dated 2 March 1883 - see (g) below. In addition, this document is quoted by Shpall - see (b) above.
- e. a letter from Meyer Hart dated 8 February 1883, which demolishes Satt's argument about titles and challenges her account of the colonists' conditions. This was published on 13 February 1883 in the *Denver Tribune*, a local paper uncited in her thesis.
- f. a letter from H S Henry dated 15 February 1883 and republished in on 2 March 1883 in the *American Israelite*, sharing a page and a column with the letter from Schwarz, - see (g) following. Independently of (b) this letter demolishes Satt's argument that Saltiel was responsible for the colony throughout; and independently of (c) it demolishes her argument that Schwarz was Saltiel's employee.

- g. a letter by Schwarz to HEAS dated 2 March 1883, and republished on 2 March 1882 in the *American Israelite*. Independently of (e) above, this demolishes Satt's argument about titles and her account of the colonists' conditions. The records of the Royal Gorge Regional Museum and History Center in Cañon City, CO, show that she donated it to them on 20 August 1987, together with her thesis and other material.
- h. a letter from Philip Nussbaum to the *American Israelite* dated 13 May 1883, which challenges her argument about housing costs. The records of the Royal Gorge History Center show that she donated it as (g) above.

There is no evidence that Satt was aware of any of these documents at the time of her thesis, but they combine to render Part III unreliable, in particular as to the management of the colony, the colonists' financial predicament and living conditions, the accuracy of Kohn's report to HEAS and his PR campaign.

In addition this thesis cites

- i. an interview with Ed Grimes appearing in an article dated April 1925 in the *Denver Jewish News*. It does not refer to or comment upon the passage in which he stated that  
"...a few hundred [acres] were fit for cultivation and this good land was soon claimed by nearby farmers."  
The effect of this omission is to overlook the role of certain of the colonists' neighbours, challenging her account of the consistent mutual harmony at the time, presumably with a view to safeguarding good relations with their descendants who were her own neighbours.
- l. an article appearing on 15 September 1944 in the *Intermountain Jewish News*. It does not refer to or comment upon the passage in which Mrs H Toplitsky stated that the pioneers' transatlantic passage was interrupted when  
"...their ship struck an iceberg and filled with water and the travelers were forced to remain in the water for three days until they were rescued."  
The effect of this omission is to overlook the unreliability of the individual source and the newspaper printing it.
- m. oral accounts by Rose Ornstein, Hannah Quiat and Rachel Singer. It does not refer to or comment upon the facts that Ornstein was unborn in 1882, identified as the daughter of Jacob Milstein who arrived at the colony as a newlywed; and that Quiat and Singer were respectively five and nine years old at the time. Once again, the effect of this omission is to overlook the unreliability of these sources.

Finally, this thesis cites documents in HEAS and family archives which cannot be verified.

## Critical bibliography

### Documents

1, Colorado Secretary of State, Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention Held in Denver, December 20, 1875, Denver, Smith-Brooks Company 1907.

Consulted during preliminary research on Fremont County history. Useful for names of delegates, and to check story that Canon City was offered the State University but preferred to become the site of the State Penitentiary.

2. Colorado Territory, General Laws, Joint Resolutions, Memorials, Private Acts, of First Legislative Assembly, Denver, 1872

This document was consulted to verify the Law of 1872 which dealt with requirements for mine development.

### Newspapers

1. Rocky Mountain News, February 23, 1865 - April 12, 1896.

The files of this newspaper proved to be my most valuable source of material, other than personal reminiscence and family archives. Accounts of the Cotopaxi Colony and the personnel involved are less partial than family accounts and serve as a check on the authenticity of the latter.

2. Denver Jewish News, April 6 - April 25, 1925.

Today this newspaper is known as the Intermountain Jewish News, but the issues cited were in a special Anniversary Edition and included a two-page spread on the Cotopaxi Colony. The April 25th issue contains a feature article on the Colony, newsworthy then as a result of a 'Reminiscence Dinner' given for the surviving members of the group.

3. Intermountain Jewish News, September 15, 1944,

Another more recent re-telling of the "Cotopaxi Colony" story, written by Mosa Heller Hoffman of the News staff. It is a compilation of earlier features, occasioned by the death at this time of Ed Grimes, a prominent Denverite and one of the colonists.

4. Denver Republican, February 7-13, 1883. Clippings in the Dawson Scrap Book, Colorado State Historical Society, XXXIII.)

The reporter for this paper seemed sympathetic to the plight of the Jewish colonists and used sharp words to describe Saltiel's motives and methods. He also took the opportunity to divulge information concerning Saltiel's personal life, as well as other business ventures not at all connected with the management of the Colony. He interviewed residents of Fremont County hostile to Saltiel, quoting them at great length, and was responsible for the "atrocious expose" which was so scathingly deflated by his rival paper, the Rocky Mountain News. Senator Nathaniel Hill's paper seemed about to 'crusade' in my ancestors' behalf and was to be commended for its careful investigation of Saltiel's activities.

5. Denver Post, March 31, 1931. (Sunday supplement, Rocky Mountain Empire Magazine). Clipping in possession of H. Mullins of Cotopaxi.

A feature article on this colony, using materials and pictures from the earlier Denver Jewish News accounts and statement from interviews granted by colonists then living in Denver.

6. Jewish Messenger, July 21, 1882. (Clipping in possession of Mrs. M. Milstein of Denver)

This is main source of references to Julius Schwartz.

### Newspapers

Satt does not include the Denver *Tribune*, which championed the colonists. The paper was owned by Herman Silver who collaborated with the colonists' attorney, George Kohn. See the annotation to lines 1 to 18 on page 29.

**Directories**

- 1 1. Colorado Business Directory and Annual  
2 Register for 1877, Denver, J. A. Blake, Pub-  
lisher, 1877.

3 This, and the following business and mining  
4 directories, were consulted to check on the  
5 address and occupation of various of the  
6 people mentioned in the paper, particularly  
7 Saltiel, Thomas, Hart, Schwartz, Witkowski,  
8 Rudd, McCoy.

- 9 2. Colorado State Business Directory for 1880,  
10 Denver, J. A Blake, Publisher, 1880.  
11 3. Corbett, Thomas B., Colorado Directory of  
12 Mines, Denver, Rocky Mountain Printing  
13 Company, 1879.

14 Most useful in presenting complete list of all  
15 Saltiel's mine holdings, corporations,  
16 partnerships and smelting and reduction  
17 works.

- 18 4. Corregan, Robert A. and Lingane, D F.,  
19 Colorado Mining Directory, Denver, Corregan  
20 Printers, 1883.  
21 5. Hall, Frank, First Annual Report and Directory  
22 of the Denver Chamber of Commerce and  
23 Board of Trade, Denver, Brooks Printers,  
24 1884.

- 25 6. McKenney, E., Business Directory and  
26 Railroad Gazetteer, San Francisco, McKenney  
& Company, 1879.

27 Though not a Colorado publication, this gives  
28 many references to Saltiel, Wulsten and other  
29 Fremont County residents. Connects Saltiel  
30 with Denver and Rio Grande Railroad and  
cites property investments in Colorado  
Springs made by the latter.

7. Wallihan, S. S., The Rocky Mountain  
Directory and Colorado Gazetteer for 1871,  
Denver, Wallihan & Company, 1871.  
8. Western Mining Directory, Denver, Western  
Mining Directory Company, Publishers, 1898.

This work was most useful in discussing  
various mining and reduction techniques and  
devoted some chapters to the special  
problems involved in silver and zincblende  
refining, as well as material on Fremont  
County resources such as coal, iron, oil, mica  
and nickel. This directory lists all mining  
companies by districts, date of discovery,  
discoverer, and amount of capital expended  
on development.

1 **Personal correspondence and family**  
2 **papers**

3 1. Milstein Papers

4 The bulk of these are in the possession of  
5 Mrs. Ethel Radinsky of Denver, a sister of Saul  
6 Baer and Benjamin and Isaac Milstein. They  
7 include two letters, in Yiddish, from Jacob  
8 Millstein to his uncle, written about 1879,  
9 from New York City to Brest Litovsk, the nat-  
10 uralization papers for each of the three  
11 brothers, Saul, Benjamin and Isaac, as well as  
12 for their sons, Max, and Menashe, Mrs.  
13 Radinsky's brothers. There are deeds to  
14 property in Denver held by the above-  
15 mentioned in her possession also. She has a  
16 large collection of pictures and a family bible  
17 which lists the marriages and births, helpful in  
18 making a genealogical chart and in checking  
19 names. (She is the writer's great-aunt)

20 2. Tarkoff Papers

21 Listed as such, because they are now in the  
22 possession of Mrs. Harry Tarkoff, of Denver,  
23 but include papers belonging to both the  
24 Milstein family and the Grimes family. Mrs.  
25 Tarkoff's father was Saul Baer's third son and  
26 her mother was Ed Grimes' sister. She has  
27 translated the letters which were written in  
28 Yiddish and Russian and has made a  
29 collection of verbal anecdotes, in English. She  
30 has her grandfather's bible which shows the  
ancestry of the Milstein family back to the  
early 19th Century, when the family migrated  
from Germany to Russia.

3. Saltiel Letters

Two of these are known to exist today; one is  
located in a scrap book now belonging to the  
library of the Hebrew Sheltering and  
Immigrant Aid Society of New York, which  
inherited this from the earlier HEAS. Other  
documents from this agency are in the private  
papers of Michael Heilprin and are not  
available, except as they are cited in the  
biography of Heilprin by Gustav Pollak. The  
other is a copy which appears in the Spivak  
Report to HEAS in 1882. This is located in the  
files of the Jewish Agricultural Society in New  
York. HSIAS was established in 1902.

4. Ornstein Papers

Private family collection in the possession of  
Mrs. S. Ornstein of Denver, Nettie Millstein's  
daughter. They include Jacob Millstein's  
naturalization papers, copies of deeds to  
property, a bill of sale for farm to Savery  
Savory, a clipping from the New York Tribune  
describing Jacob's accident and subsequent  
pension, a clipping from the Central City  
Register (no date or title remaining) showing  
marriage license issued to Jacob Millstein of  
Blackhawk.

**3. Saltiel Letters**

The present author will pay bounties  
of \$2,500 and \$1,000 respectively, for  
authenticated copies of the first and  
second of these letters; for details, see  
the list of bounties on page 18 of  
CP-1.

## Secondary materials

(Used primarily as source material for Part I and for background research)

1. Anderson, George L., General William J. Palmer: a Decade of Colorado Railroad Building, 1870-1880, Colorado Springs, Colorado College Publication, 1936.

This work was read to provide background material for the preliminary history of Fremont County, especially the Royal Gorge War, as well as for dates of railroad expansion as checks against the dates when Thomas, Saltiel and the colonists were employed or connected with the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad.

2. Anderson, J. W., The Prospector's Handbook, London, Crosby, Lockwood & Sons, 1900.

Handy reference for mining and refining terms, laws and usages.

3. Baker, James H., and Hafen, LeRoy R., History of Colorado, II, Denver, Linderman, 1927.

Used as a general text of Colorado history, since the more recent Hafen work was not available in Detroit. (Cf. No. 15 below.)

4. Bancroft, Hubert Howe, Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming, 1540-1888, Vol. XXV of Bancroft's Works, San Francisco, History Company, 1890.

Chapters XII and XIII of this volume are invaluable as contemporary sources of Colorado county history, and with Baskin, are practically the only source of collected data on Fremont and Custer Counties. Bancroft advances several interesting theories as to the reasons for uneven development in this region, which are cited in this paper.

5. Baskin, O. L., Publisher, History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado, Chicago, O. L. Baskin & Company, 1881.

This work is the most frequently cited reference in the paper, particularly for general background in Part I. Written by prominent localities, the county histories are clear, detailed, and very informative. Anecdotes and vivid description enliven the statistics and pictures and illustrations alternate with maps and charts. Specific reference to the cited chapters by Irwin and Rockafellow will be found under 'Articles', below, (Cf. No. 6 and No. 14),

6. Binckley & Hartwell, Editors, Southern Colorado, Historical and Descriptive of Fremont and Custer Counties, Canon City, Binckley & Hartwell, 1879.

Rockafellow and Irwin, the contributors to Baskin, do the same for a local publication, with basically the same material.

7. Block, Benjamin, Colorado, Its Resources and Men, Denver, Kistler, 1901

An old book, biographical in nature, with interesting sidelights on well-known Colorado person-ages. Includes a chapter on A. Gumaer, of Florence, who bought Saltiel's reduction and smelter works.

8. Brockett, L. P., Our Western Empire: The New West Beyond the Mississippi, Philadelphia, Bradley & Company, 1881, pp.637-661.

Includes a handy break-down of mineral output of counties in Colorado by year and by metal, and was consulted for references to the British in Wet Mountain Valley.

9. Denver and Rio Grande Railway Company, Associate Enterprises, Pamphlets and Circulars, II, 1874-1878, Colorado Springs, Weistbrec Publishers, 1880.

Mentions development of station along the Arkansas River known as 'Saltiels'. Connects the Mica and Porcelain Corporation of Saltiel with members of the railroad.

10. Farmer, E. J., Resources of the Rocky Mountains, Cleveland, Leader Press, 1883.

Provides contemporary material for mining and political background of Fremont County history and refers to early development of zinc and silver lodes around Cotopaxi.

11. Fossett, Frank, Colorado, New York, Crawford, 1879.

A well-known early account of mines and mining camps with vivid descriptions of Fremont and Custer strikes. Used in background chapters and basic research.

12. Frazier, S. M., Secrets of the Rocks, the Story of the Hills and Gulches, Denver, Hall & Williams, 1905.

A unique account of Colorado mining techniques and discovery methods from an experienced prospector's viewpoint. Argues the theory of heavy metals washing downstream, which was believed by Henry Thomas, but later disproved by scientific investigation.

13. Gaynor, Lois M., "History of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, 1872-1933," Boulder, M. A. Thesis, University of Colorado, 1933.

This thesis comprised the main source of information for sections on the development of the coal and iron deposits in the section on mining history of Fremont County.

14, Hafen, LeRoy R., Ed., Colorado and Its People, II, New York, Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1948.

General work used while in residence in Boulder for broad background reading in such allied subjects as agriculture, stock raising, water rights and irrigation.

15. Heilprin, Angelo, and Heilprin, Louis, Pronouncing Gazetteer of the World, Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1931.

Standard work for unusual place names and their origins throughout the world. Sup-plied the description of the original Cotopaxi in Ecuador.

16. Hollister, Ovando J., The Mines of Colorado, Springfield, Mass., Samuel Bowles' Company, 1867.

One of the earliest accounts of general Colorado mine developments, together with the Bowles descriptions, which set contemporary opinion on the richness and accessibility of the various camps and boom towns. Hollister seems confident that the 'Arkansaw River Canyon' would prove a very rich area for gold prospecting. He believed the tremendous pressures generated in the narrow gorge would carry down the heavy metals and that the gorge's mouth would become a fabulous placer and fluming center.

17. Holt, A. H., American Place Names, New York, Holt & Company, 1938.

Used to verify origin of the name Cotopaxi. This work does not refer to Henry Thomas by name, but does state that the Colorado town was named for its resemblance to a town near the volcano Cotopaxi in Ecuador.

18. Legard, A. B., Colorado, London, Chapman & Hall, 1872.

This Englishman's diary of his experiences in Fremont County offered the most interesting contemporary account of the early 1870's. His observations concerning the likelihood of this area's becoming an agricultural center are most acute and accurate. He refers to many of the persons cited in this paper and Legard himself was a personal friend of Reginald Neave, the British gentleman who first considered the Wet Mountain Valley a proper spot for Englishmen.

19. Logan, Paul Stewart, "History of the Denver and Rio Grande Railway, 1871-1881," Boulder, M. A. Thesis, University of Colorado, 1931.

This thesis was used, together with the Anderson (see No. 1 above) work on General Palmer, to verify statements concerning the

railroad and the men who ran it, when track was laid, methods and amount of wage payment and problems of labor procurement.

20. Mathews, A. E., Canyon City, Colorado and Its Surroundings, New York, Classic Publishing Company, 1870.

A very valuable illustrated volume on Canon City, its political and social history, which contains a detailed description of the Royal Gorge and Grape Creek Canyon.

21. Morrison, R. S., Mining Rights in Colorado: Lode and Placer Claims, Possesory and Patented, Denver, Chain & Hardy, 1892.

A handy reference for mining terms, legal terms and rules, both Federal and State, and some discussion of local regulations in Fremont County.

22. Rudd, Anson Spencer, "Early Affairs in Canon City," Bancroft Manuscripts, University of Colorado Historical Collection, Boulder.

A typewritten copy of the interview with Rudd by the Bancroft historian contains much information on early days in this area, with Rudd's own opinion of colonizing attempts.

23. Rust, Collection of Clippings on Mineral Resources in Colorado, Boulder, University of Colorado Historical Collection.

These clippings from the Mining Graphic and the Central City Register are not as yet dated, but the writer judged them to be news of the years 1878 and 1879. They contain several references to Henry Thomas and Carl Wulsten.

24. Steinel, Alvin T., and Working, D. W., History of Agriculture in Colorado, 1858-1926, Fort Collins, Colorado Agricultural College, 1926.

One of the best histories of Colorado agriculture available anywhere, and certainly the most complete.

25. Wilcox, L., Irrigation Farming, New York, Judd Company, 1895.

An older work, but useful for description of special problems involved in this area and the techniques employed at the time.

26. Willard, J. F., and Goodykoontz, Colin B., Experiments in Colorado Colonization, 1869-1872, University of Colorado Historical Collections III, Colony Series II, Boulder, 1926.

This work contains the most complete history of the German Colony at Colfax, together with edited an annotated excerpts from contemporary accounts. It suggested various sources of regional newspapers for use in this paper.

1 27. Wulsten, Carl, The Silver Region of the Sierra  
2 Mojada and Rosita in Fremont County,  
3 Colorado: Its Geography, Topography,  
4 Geognosy, Oryktognosy, Natural and Argen-  
5 tiferous Resources, History, Development  
6 and Commerce, Its Mines and Works with  
7 Topographical Map of Same, Denver, Tribune  
8 Steam Printing House, 1876.

This is a very old and priceless pamphlet from  
the Western History Collection of the Denver  
Public Library, which is thought to be one of  
the very few copies in existence. Wulsten  
herein expounds his on original geologic  
theories on the region and defends his  
position.

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Secondary materials

(Used as source material for Part II and III)

1. Bernheimer, Charles S., *The Russian Jew in the United States*, Philadelphia, John C. Winston Company, 1905.  
A somewhat outdated work of a general nature, with brief reference to Jewish agricultural activities and the colony movement. A somewhat defensive, 'nationalistic' bias is apparent.
2. Davidson, Gabriel, *Our Jewish Farmers and the Story of the Jewish Agricultural Society*, New York, L. B. Fischer, 1943.  
The best and most recent treatment of this subject, with a special supplement devoted to the 19th century colonies, complete with analyses of why they failed—or succeeded. Despite Dr. Davidson's possession of the rare Spivak Report (see *supra*, p.36, ff) there is very little mention of the Colorado colonies.
3. Dubnow, S. M., *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland, 1825-1894*, II, Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1918.  
This volume has been most frequently consulted for general Russian history and Jewish background. There are other works in this field, but Dubnow is acknowledged to be the best in translation and the most complete authority.
4. Joseph, Samuel, *History of the Baron de Hirsch Fund*, Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1935.  
This book contains the best history of HEAS and the situation confronting the charitable organizations in the 1870's and 1880's. It was also helpful in tracing further the progress of agricultural settlement for Jewish immigrants, and in ascertaining the extent to which these groups profitted from the experiences of earlier colonies. It was useful in verifying statements made in the paper concerning Heilprin, Gershal, Isaacs and Schwartz.
5. Levitats, Isaac, *The Jewish Community in Russia, 1772-1844*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1943.  
A sociological study consulted for background of Jews in Russia. Explains motives for large migration to Western Russia following Napoleonic Wars. A recent, up-to-date, factual account which supplements the Dubnow works.
6. Nathanson, D. B., Ed., *Beer Isaac, Letters of Isaac Baer Levinsohn*, New York, Charles Scribner's Son, 1902.  
Collection of letters, well annotated, with special reference to philosophy and religion of this important figure in Jewish history. The title, explains the editor, is a play on words, since 'Beer' means 'well' in Hebrew, thus alluding to Biblical story of Isaac's well.
7. Pollak, Gustav, *Michael Heilprin and His Sons*, New York, Dodd, Mead and Company, 1912.  
An excellent biographical work, including reprints of important letters and documents. Contains references to early plans for Cotopaxi Colony and to Julius Schwartz. Gives complete history of founding and activities of HEAS and reasons for its dissolution in 1883. Consulted frequently for background material and cited often in Parts II and III of paper.
8. Russo-Jewish Committee, *Persecution of the Jews in Russia*, Wertheimer, Lea and Company, 1890.  
Detailed explanation of the May Laws and their interpretation and execution. Contains good maps and graphs.
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Articles

- 1 1. Batchelder, George F., "Mining Industry of  
2 Colorado", Magazine of Western History, XI,  
3 April, 1890, pp.632-635.

4 This publication, used for background for  
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7 well as citations for the region desired.

- 8 2. Chauvenet, Regis, "Preliminary Notes on the  
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10 Golden, Colorado School of Mines, 1885,  
11 pp.13-28.

12 Contemporary account of iron deposits with  
13 much information on Fremont County as a  
14 leading producer of this metal. Used in  
15 background chapters on mining history.

- 16 3. Davidson, Gabriel, "Agricultural Colonies",  
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19 Davidson has headed the JAS for many years  
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21 agriculture. His material here is condensed  
22 but is generally similar to his book, Our  
23 Jewish Farmers.

- 24 4. Dunbar, Robert G., "Agricultural Adjustment  
25 in Colorado in the 1890's", Agricultural  
26 History, XXI, pp.944-952.

27 Justifies the suppositions made earlier in  
28 certain areas that grain crops, etc., were not  
29 suited to high-altitude farming, that  
30 horticulture was better suited to the Fremont  
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finance as well as the peculiar topographical  
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12. Richards, Clarice E., "Valley of the Second  
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'remittance men' in the Wet Mountain Valley.

13. Roberts, Dorothy, "The Jewish Colony at  
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Chief source of background material for  
history of this county. Excellent  
contemporary account.

Published by  
Miles Saltiel  
London, England

August 2016

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