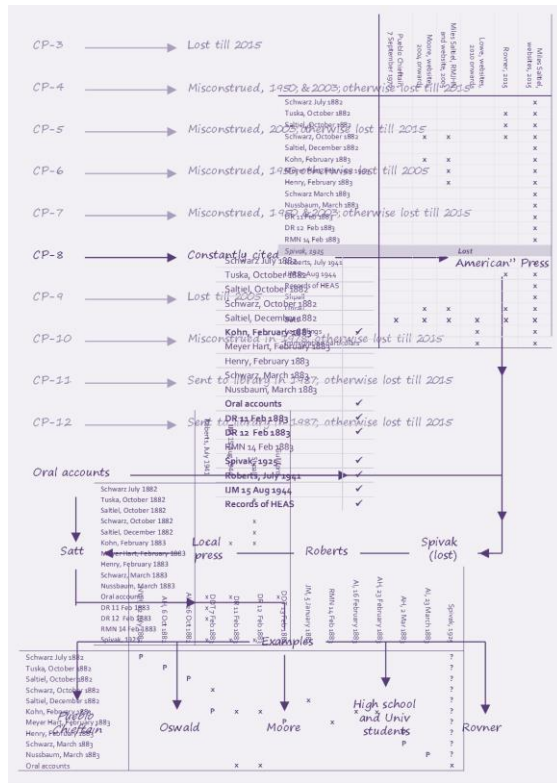


Historiography



Acknowledgements and sources

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

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

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.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to explore the development of the story of the Cotopaxi colony since 1882: to trace the use of sources by those involved at the time as well as by subsequent chroniclers; and to test the quality of the generally accepted narrative. Such an exercise is described as “historiography”, defined by Merriam Webster as

the selection of particulars from the authentic materials, and the synthesis of particulars into a narrative that will stand the test of critical methods.

Such exercises call for distinct treatment of different sources. Documents issued by principals are bound to contain self-serving claims which should be treated with corresponding suspicion. By contrast, accompanying elements may be taken more seriously as conveying the attitude of their authors as well as incidental information - the more circumstantial, the more believable. Press accounts of the day are as reliable as those in our own era, that is calling for confirmation. Oral accounts should be evaluated according to the standing of the speaker: contemporaneous first-hand reporting counts for more than the repetition of memories or the tales of others. As to resolving conflict between sources or making assumptions, the least harmful course is to err on the side of caution. With these guidelines in mind, we turn to specifics.

Dissemination of original documents in contemporary press

Only one original document of any substance - CP-3, a June 1882 memorandum from Schwarz to HEAS - has been found in the charity's archives, now at the YIVO library in New York City. Another - CP-6, Schwarz' October report to HEAS - comes from the Library of Congress. Otherwise our sources are letters to the newspapers by principals, who used the press throughout - addressing opinion-formers, influencers, and the public in megaphone diplomacy. The titles came from Denver, New York and the “Jewish-American” press, specifically

Local press in 1882-3

The Denver Daily Tribune

The Denver Republican, at that time the vehicle of Herman Silver, a prominent businessman and Republican politician who was recruited by the colonists' attorney, George Kohn, to serve as chairman of the “Cotopaxi Relief Committee”.

The Rocky Mountain News

These titles are generally available in local (including university) libraries.

New York Press in 1882-3

Material regarding the colony has been found only in the *New York Herald*, at that time the city's paper of record. It may be that this is an artefact of indexing, with more yet to be found.

Jewish American Press in 1882-3

The American Israelite

The American Hebrew

The Jewish Messenger (at that time separate from the *American Hebrew*)

This round of research has been helped by the joint programme by Columbia University, the New York Public Library, and New York University to index and archive these titles, completed in March 2015.

Local twentieth-century chroniclers also took material from contemporary titles, including the *Intermountain Jewish Messenger*. In due course, they became the sources for others such as the *Pueblo Chieftain*.

At the time of the Cotopaxi colony, Jewish emigration from Russia to the US was also covered by the “Russian-Jewish press”, two Russian-language titles published in Saint Petersburg, *Ha Melitz* and *Ha Yom*. They may be disregarded for these purposes, as unexamined by twentieth-century chroniclers. Even so, they are valuable as independently attesting to the mood of immigrants¹ and Attorney Kohn's PR campaign.²

¹ A contemporaneous example of the histrionic expression of distress comes from an anonymous colonist from Winnipeg. He wrote a Jeremiad, published in *Ha-Melitz* on 27 July 1882, the first summer of Cotopaxi:

Like an outcast, I sit looking towards the sky and I hear voices of [my fellow-colonists] weeping... 'Look how we were deceived by the people we trusted and who seemed to be concerned with our welfare. They have sent us to a desolate place as servants and maids to work for

Spivak

In the *Intermountain Jewish News* of 15 September 1944, Mosa Heller Hoffman wrote that

In 1925, Dr. J. M. Morris, in his capacity as secretary of the Denver Central Jewish Council, and the late Dr. Charles Spivak, as chairman of the Committee on Statistics, called together a group of the ex-colonists who were residing in Denver at that time and compiled the only *record* in existence. Dr. Morris and Dr. Spivak also wrote an *article*, based on the information given to them by these settlers, which appeared in the tenth anniversary issue of the *Denver Jewish News*. (Author's italics)

This seems to have been published by the *Denver Jewish News* on 25 April 1925 (CP-14, p38, "Newspapers" note 1). We may take it that this is the "article" and not the "record", to which Hoffman referred. This is because it lacks the latter's defining characteristic, original documents, which Satt sourced as "Cited in Spivak Report, now in Jewish Agricultural Society files, New York, NY." (CP-14, p33, note 6) By contrast, the "article" explicitly denies access to primary material, stating, "There was not a single written document available for the purpose of verifying any of the oral statements". This argues that the "record" is the "Report", postdating the "article" to go beyond it, although Hoffman seems to suggest the reverse sequence.³

We get a sense of Satt's sourcing in CP14, p45, note 3 where she writes of, "[Gabriel] Davidson [who] has headed the JAS (Jewish Agricultural Society) for many years...", previously writing of "...Dr Davidson's possession of the rare Spivak Report..." (CP-14, p44, note 2). Satt does not say so explicitly, but she implies that she saw the "Report" during the visit to New York reported as including an, "...interview with M. Dijour of HIAS, May 3, 1949." (CP-14, p19, note 27)

In February 2016, the *Denver Jewish News* "article", was found in the Beck Archives of the University of Denver by Jenny Moore Lowe, who notes that it has not been digitised. According to Satt (CP-14, p33, note 10) it followed an earlier article on 6 April 1925, entitled *The Reminiscences of Cotopaxi Pioneers*. Satt cited the *Reminiscences* at CP-14, page 3, note 10; and page 33, notes 14 and 17, though the latter presents confusion by also stating, "The pages on which the reminiscences were printed is (*sic*) missing from the files of the Jewish News."

Possibly Satt took her material from the

...[c]lipping in possession of H. Mullins of Cotopaxi...[containing 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.(CP-14, page 38, "Newspapers", note 5.)

Satt sources this to the Sunday supplement of the *Rocky Mountain Empire Magazine* in the 31 March 1931 *Denver Post*. This can't be right at the date was a Tuesday. Regardless, the *Reminiscences* remain unfound. So too the "Spivak Report" itself, one of the unverified sources set out on page 6 and a rum do altogether with only Satt reporting actually seeing it.

The "article" by Morris and Spivak in the *Denver Jewish News* is noteworthy as

- the apparent source of various errors which subsequently cascaded through the record, notably the misidentification of Saltiel as a "Portuguese Jew"⁴; together with the report of the railroad's kindness and "lifeline" to the settlers, contradicted by earlier documents of which they were unaware.

nothing for the local inhabitants...Why did they deceive us? Like sheep without a shepherd...we are bruised from top to bottom.' Joel S Geffen, *Annotated Documentary of Jewish Agricultural colonies as Reported in the Pages of the Russian Hebrew Press, "Ha-Melitz" and "Ha-Yom"*, American Jewish Historical Quarterly 60 (Sept 1970-Jun 1971.) 1-4. AJHS Journal, p. 173 *et seq*; pp22-24 of 28 in reproduced document.

- 2 The 25 November 1885 issue of *Ha-Melitz* reprinted a private letter to Elijah Sholman from Mordecai Jalomstein, an American journalist who frequently served as a correspondent to the newspaper. Jalomstein wrote of his "intensive study" of "the reports which [had] reached him". He contrasts Schwarz's "glowing report...read in the offices of the committee in New York", with "letters full of heart-rending complaints", evidently promoted by Kohn and sent to Jalomstein personally at the time of the settlement's troubles. Geffen, *op cit*, p24 of 28 in reproduced article; see p6 of 28, n7 for identification of Jalomstein.
- 3 Elsewhere Satt writes (CP-14, p40, "Saltiel Letters") of, "...the Spivak Report to HEAS in 1882...", which is evidently a typo.
- 4 It may be that Spivak's informants used "Portuguese" to mean Sephardic but this was not understood by readers of later generations.

CP-18. Historiography

- the last account of Zedek’s success in planting potatoes. Thereafter this was reversed into an example of the general failure of the crop (see, pp10 11).
- the earliest reported hint of a settlement between HEAS and the colonists:
 - Shradsky, Prezant, Millstein, Shuteran, Kropitsky and Grimes – took up land in Weld County, Colorado. They spent on their enterprise all of the money which was given them by the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society.

It also presents conspicuous confusion as to timing.

- several colonists reported arriving in 1881, whereas in fact all did so in the following year.
- the colonists told Morris and Spivak that they celebrated two Passovers, unlikely for many, as in 1882, the first day of Passover was 23 March, before any arrived; and in 1883 it was on 10 April, by which time many had left.

Bounties are on offer for copies of the report by Morris and Spivak (Spivak hereinafter); for details, see the list of bounties on page 18 of CP-1. Satt claimed that Spivak reflected a letter from Saltiel to HEAS, but as noted above, this has not been tendered for the bounty on offer. Table 1 shows that Spivak disregarded every source set out in this collection but one, CP-8, Kohn and Wirkowski.⁵ The writers do not cite it, but it was reprinted widely and one phrase in a cited source comes directly from it.⁶

Table 1. Dissemination of original documents in contemporary press - Sources for Spivak

	NYH, 22 July 1882	AH, 6 Oct 1882	AH, 26 Oct 1882	DDT 7 Feb 1883	DR 11 Feb 1883	DR 12 Feb 1883	DDT 13 Feb 1883	JM, 5 January 1883	RMN 14 Feb 1883	AI, 16 February 1883	AH, 23 February 1883	AH, 2 Mar 1883	AI, 23 March 1883	Spivak, 1925
Schwarz July 1882	P													X
Tuska, October 1882		P												X
Saltiel, October 1882			P											X
Schwarz, October 1882				✓										X
Saltiel, December 1882								✓						X
Kohn, February 1883				P	✓	✓				✓	✓			?
Meyer Hart, February 1883							P		✓					X
Henry, February 1883												P		X
Schwarz, March 1883												P		X
Nussbaum, March 1883													P	X
Oral accounts					✓	✓								✓

P - Originally published

- AH - American Hebrew
- AI - American Israelite
- DDT - Denver Daily Tribune
- DR - Denver Republican
- IJM - Intermountain Jewish Messenger
- JM - Jewish Messenger
- NYH - New York Herald
- RMN - Rocky Mountain News

Otherwise, Spivak was based exclusively on unsupported oral testimony, with much detail contradictory on its face and others now seen to be mistaken. Even so, it was taken as authoritative by the subsequent chroniclers of the region. These include Hoffman himself, as well as Roberts, Satt and Gulliford. Spivak met surviving colonists in 1925. By 1944, the deterioration in oral accounts is attested by a passage in Hoffman’s article, where the then 81-year-old Mrs H Toplitsky states that the colonists’

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.

Other ostensibly first-hand reporters also qualify for a prudent approach. Some had their own reasons to reinvent the past: By 1925, Ed Grimes was no longer able to remember the year of his arrival and chose to make more of the undoubted poverty of the land than the real reason for his departure in December 1882 - the humiliating collapse of his suit to Netty Millstein. Others seem to have taken lively language from a since-forgotten record: according to Roberts, Prezant spoke of “tears running down his cheeks” (CP-13, page 7, lines 2 and 3), which she associated with “...appeals to Mr Saltiel [for] money...”; but the first such account came from Saltiel himself, who wrote of women “...with tears in their eyes...” as they appealed to him for work for their husbands (CP-7, page 2, line 1).

5 Specifically, he missed (from 1882) CP-3, Schwarz, 29 July; CP-4, Tuska, c5 August; CP-5, Saltiel, 19 October; CP-6, Schwarz, 23 October; CP-7, Saltiel, 27 December; plus (from 1883) CP-9, Meyer Hart, 8 February; CP-10, Henry, 15 February; CP-11, Schwarz, 2 March; and CP-12, Nussbaum, 13 March.

6 The article in the *Denver Daily News* begins by citing an extract from the entry entitled *Agricultural Colonies in the United States* in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (Funk and Wagnalls, 1901, Vol. I, p.258). The citation includes a figure for fertile land in Cotopaxi, but this is mistyped in the *Denver Daily News* article as 1,000 out of as 1,780 acres; the *Jewish Encyclopedia* itself states 100 out of 1,780 acres. This comes from Kohn and Wirkowski. The total amount of land embraced in these farms is 1,780 acres, and there is not 100 acres of it fit for cultivation. (CP-8, p 4, lines 4 & 5).

Sources for chroniclers up to the mid-twentieth-century

The report by Kohn and Wirkowski (CP-8) was published or reported in at least five newspapers and became known to every subsequent chronicler. Table 2 shows that of the mid-twentieth century chroniclers⁷, only Shpall knew of Tuska (CP-4), Schwarz (CP-6) and Saltiel (CP-7), but he misconstrued much of what he read. Schwarz (CP-3), Saltiel (CP-5), Meyer Hart (CP-9), Henry (CP-10), Schwarz (CP-11) and Nussbaum (CP-12) remained completely unknown. The paragraphs on “Figures” on page 9 show that where costs are present, they come narrowly from Schwarz via Kohn, also pointing out that Henry’s costs were cited twice in the press but were unknown to locals. In sum, local chroniclers of the last century made most of oral sources, obtained directly, via newspaper accounts or via Spivak.

Table 2. Pattern of sourcing by mid-century chroniclers, excluding Satt

	Roberts, July 1941	IJM 15 Aug 1944	Shpall	Gulliford
Schwarz July 1882				
Tuska, October 1882			✓	
Saltiel, October 1882				
Schwarz, October 1882			✓	
Saltiel, December 1882			✓	
Kohn, February 1883	✓	✓	✓	
Meyer Hart, February 1883				
Henry, February 1883				
Schwarz, March 1883				
Nussbaum, March 1883				
Oral accounts	✓	✓		✓
DR 11 Feb 1883	✓			
DR 12 Feb 1883	✓			
RMN 14 Feb 1883	✓			
Spivak, 1925	✓	✓	✓	

Other sourcing and distribution in the last century

Sources for Satt Tables 3 and 4 show that Satt’s MA dissertation presents the paradox of being narrowly sourced but widely cited. Table 3 shows that Satt joined with the other chroniclers of her time and place, Hoffman, Roberts and Gulliford, in making no use of Schwarz (CP-3), Saltiel (CP-5), Meyer Hart (CP-9), Henry (CP-10), Schwarz (CP-11) or Nussbaum (CP-12) in her thesis. In addition, the table shows that although she wrote at almost exactly the same time as Spall, she departed from him in making made no use of Tuska (CP-4), Schwarz (CP-6) or Saltiel (CP-7), once again in her thesis. Satt’s notes do not cite CP-8, the report by Kohn and Wirkowski, as such, though her work follows its general line, presumably as taken from secondary sources.

Table 3. Use of sources by Satt

Schwarz, July 1882	
Tuska, October 1882	
Saltiel, October 1882	
Schwarz, October 1882	
Saltiel, December 1882	
Kohn, February 1883	✓
Meyer Hart, February 1883	
Henry, February 1883	
Schwarz, March 1883	
Nussbaum, March 1883	
Oral accounts	✓
DR 11 Feb 1883	✓
DR 12 Feb 1883	✓
RMN 14 Feb 1883	
Spivak, 1925	✓
Roberts, July 1941	✓
IJM 15 Aug 1944	✓
Records of HEAS	✓

Subsequent chroniclers Table 4 shows that writing on the topic in the second half of the last century relied heavily upon Satt. This includes the *Pueblo Chieftain* of 7 August 1970, which drew the story to the attention of the present author; as well as the website on the topic established by Nelson Moore who lives on the Cotopaxi plateau and grew up with the pioneers’ descendants. His site comes first in Google searches for “Cotopaxi Colony”, and takes an intemperate approach to Saltiel, who is characterised as a “crook, shyster, con-man”.

Others relying on this pattern of sourcing include Oswald’s book for children, *Nothing here but stones*, innumerable exercises by local university students, and Dr Rovner’s article in the 6 January 2015 issue of *Forward*. This last prompted the present author to revisit the story, rediscover the sources now collected as the Cotopaxi Papers, and publish them on a website established for the purpose.

Table 4. Pattern of sourcing after 1970

	Pueblo Chieftain, 7 September 1970	Moore, websites, 2004 onwards	Miles Saltiel, RMJHN and website, 2005	Lowie, websites, 2010 onwards	Rovner, 2015
Schwarz July 1882					
Tuska, October 1882					✓
Saltiel, October 1882					✓
Schwarz, October 1882		✓	✓		✓
Saltiel, December 1882					
Kohn, February 1883		✓	✓		
Meyer Hart, February 1883			✓		
Henry, February 1883			✓		
Schwarz March 1883					
Nussbaum, March 1883					
DR 11 Feb 1883					
DR 12 Feb 1883					
RMN 14 Feb 1883					
<i>Spivak, 1925</i>					Lost
Roberts, July 1941					
IJM 15 Aug 1944					✓
Records of HEAS					
Shpall					
Satt	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Shipping manifests				✓	
Immigration particulars				✓	
Land filings				✓	

⁷ In the current century, Sutton (*Communal utopias and the American experience: Religious communities, 1732-2000*, Praeger, Westport, Conn, 2003) saw CP-4, CP-5, CP-7, CP-8, and possibly other documents. See also nn12 and 14, the latter identifying his own misconstructions.

Completely new material has been run down by Jenny Moore Lowe, by way of immigration particulars, land filings, and shipping manifests. Immigration particulars subtract as much they add, as ostensibly official records lend themselves to corruption by false declarations, apparently the case for more than one of the Colorado colonists. Land filings convey the colonists' peripatetic misadventures, adding to our understanding of the appetite for land and the quality of titles, together with housing completions and costs. They also dispel Satt's incendiary notion that the settlers were "squatters" and her sources' tall tale of the colonists' final visit the land office. Shipping manifests dispel her account of advance payments for land registrations during the winter of 1881-82, as most of the settlers had yet to arrive in the US at that time.

Critical appreciation of Satt

On the previous page, the italicisation of *in her thesis* regarding Satt's use of sources recognises that in the event she saw at least CP-11, Schwarz, and CP-12, Nussbaum. This is revealed by the records of the Royal Gorge Regional Museum and History Center of Cañon City, Colorado, which identify her as the donor of material received on 20 June 1987. The donation consisted of her thesis, the June 1978 *Rocky Mountain Jewish Historical Notes* (RMJHN hereinafter), and prints made from microfilms of two clippings from the *American Israelite* of 1883, CP-11, Schwarz, and CP-12, Nussbaum, with four manuscript annotations including a single-sentence report, also from the *American Israelite*. The donation means that Satt also learned of the existence of CP-10, Henry, if nothing else in extract and from references in the documents she donated; plus CP-4, Tuska, and CP-6, Schwarz' report to HEAS, once again from references in the documents she donated.

Given Satt's influence as the standard source of the story of the colony, the donation combines with problematic aspects of her dissertation itself to warrant devoting five pages - some forty percent of this paper- to a critical appreciation of her standard of scholarship. This specifically explores

- unverified sources;
- *lacunae* consequent upon neglected sources;
- partial use of sources; and
- the donation to the Royal Gorge Center.

Unverified sources Any such appreciation must start by exploring the way in which Satt's dissertation invokes sources which are beyond verification. Examples include

1. "...several eloquent letters [by Saltiel] to Michael Heilprin..." (CP-14, page 14, line 9). Satt relies upon this to support her account of Saltiel soliciting HEAS. Sight of the original letters would clarify Saltiel's representation, but Satt provides no sourcing for them and no such letters have been found in HEAS' archives, now in the YIVO library, New York. The present author has offered a bounty of \$2,500 for authentic copies of any such letter, but none has been tendered.
2. a "[l]etter from E. H. Saltiel to Michael Heilprin, September 19, 1880." Satt sources this as "(Fragment in library of Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, New York City). Seen during interview with M. Dijour of HIAS, May 3, 1949." (CP-14, page 19, note 27; and page 33, note 18). Satt relies on this for her statement that

"Saltiel was to provide [houses for each family, several large communal barns and sheds, provide necessary furniture and household equipment, farm implements, seed, cattle, horses and wagons and a year's supply of feed for the animals] for a mere \$8,750, the remaining \$1,250 to be raised by the colonists to cover costs of rail transportation and living expenses *en route* to Colorado. The entire cost was to be kept under \$10,000 which meant an indebtedness for each family of less than \$435." (CP-14, page 14, lines 15 to 21)

The paragraph on "Figures" on page 9 shows that contemporary writers contradict these figures. Sight of the original letter, in effect a proposal, would clarify the figures and place them in context. It has not been found in HEAS' archives. The present author has offered a bounty of \$2,500 for an authentic copy, but it has not been tendered.

3. "a bill of \$5,600... tendered [to] the Society the preceding year. This sum was to 'cover the cost of building twenty fine homes at \$280. 00 each' ". (CP-14, page 26; note 18). Satt refers to this as "a bill", but the timing suggests that it too was a proposal; it is not clear if it is separate from the item above. The figure is, however, not that far away from the \$5,250, which Tuska reports as "paid to Saltiel" (CP-4, page 3, line 24). Sight of the original "bill" would clarify this and provide a context for the figures, but here too Satt gives no sourcing and it has not been found in HEAS' archives. The present author has offered a bounty of \$2,500 for an authentic copy, but it has not been tendered.
4. the document referred to in "That winter they petitioned HEAS for aid and counsel in how to regain their lost money, believing that organization had documents on file which could intimidate Saltiel". (CP-14, page 27, lines 5 and 6). This is part of Satt's account of the final dealings between the colonists and HEAS. Sight of the document would illuminate the attitude of both sides and clarify the colonists' repudiation of their debt to the charity. Once again Satt offers no sourcing and no such petition has been found in HEAS' archives. The present author has offered a bounty of \$500 for an authentic copy of the petition and any reply, but neither has been tendered.
5. the correspondence between HEAS and the colonists in early 1883, which Satt describes at CP-14, page 30, line 1, as "Again they wrote to the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society for advice. Up to this time, the directors of that agency in New York could do little but counsel patience and fortitude". Here too, sight of the original correspondence would illuminate the attitude of the colonists and clarify their repudiation of their debt. Sourcing is absent here as well and no such letters have been found in HEAS' archives. The present author has offered a bounty of \$500 for authentic copies of any of them, but none has been tendered.
6. a "second letter from HEAS recommending that they use the money that would be sent them to remove to another area; in Colorado, perhaps, but out of the Cotopaxi region, since the legal complications involved in land claims were too difficult to handle at long range." Satt sources this as "in [the] possession of Mrs. Harry Tarkoff in 1949 (CP-14, page 30, line 8; and page 33, note 29). Sight of the original letter would illuminate the attitude of HEAS. It has not been found in HEAS' archives. The present author has offered a bounty of \$1,000 for an authentic copy, but it has not been tendered.
7. a document confirming the statement, "[i]n October, 1883, more than a year after their first appeal and the report made by the Denver investigators, the colonists received \$2,000." (CP-14, page 30, lines 11 and 12). This is how Satt reports a payment which might be held to admit the colonists' grievances by settling them. Roberts reported that "one hundred dollars in money were furnished on each family" (CP-15, page 8, lines 17 and 18). No other writer touches on the topic. Sight of the originals would verify and provide a context for these figures, but here again Satt is silent on sourcing and they have not been found in HEAS' archives. The present author has offered a bounty of \$2,500 for authentic copies of any pertinent document, but none has been tendered.
8. the report referred to in the passage, "June 1884 [with] the colony...formally dissolved...a final report submitted to Heilprin's successors in New York." (CP-14, page 31, lines 1 and 2). Sight of the original report would enable an understanding of the details and context, but this is another instance where Satt provides no sourcing. No such document has been found in HEAS' archives. The present author has offered a bounty of \$500 for an authentic copy, but it has not been tendered.
9. the "Spivak Report, now in Jewish Agricultural Society files, New York, NY". (CP-14, page 33, note 6), Satt relies on the report as providing primary sources. It has not been found in Colorado or the archives of the Jewish Agricultural Society, now in the YIVO library, New York. The present author has offered a bounty of \$250 for an authentic copy, but it has not been tendered.
10. "Saltiel's letter to Michael Heilprin, October, 1881." (reference and sources as [g] above). This is the source for Satt's statement that, "Saltiel had written to the Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society in October, 1881 that the twenty houses were finished and that five large barns would be completed shortly". Sight

of the original would clarify the context, but it has not been found in the archives of the Jewish Agricultural Society. The present author has offered a bounty of \$1.000 for an authentic copy, but it has not been tendered.

To conclude, six of these unverified items are altogether unsourced. In the nature of things two more are almost impossible to take further, with Satt writing that she saw one in a family archive and another as a fragment at a meeting during her New York visit. The final two are sourced to a New York library in the successor to which they have not been found. These ten examples cannot but give pause. The only course for a fair-minded observer is to treat them in light of the standards of scholarship Satt set herself elsewhere. To this we now turn.

Lacunae This takes us to Satt's failure to take account of original documents, the revisionist content of which demolishes or challenges her central arguments. This raises the question of whether this represents a selective pattern of conduct which impairs her standing. Examples include

- an article about Julius Schwarz, datelined 22 July 1882 and published on 31 July 1882 by the *New York Herald*. This article is based upon CP-3, a letter dated 29 June 1882 from Schwarz to HEAS, a visit to whose archives is described in Satt's footnotes. The effect of this omission is to overlook material establishing Schwarz as HEAS' rather than Saltiel's employee.
- CP-4, the letter from Maurice Tuska to HEAS, c5 August 1882. This appeared in the *American Hebrew* of 6 October 1882. The effect of this omission is to overlook material which demolishes Satt's argument that Saltiel was responsible for the colony throughout. The content of this document is referred to in CP-11, Schwarz' letter dated 2 March 1883, which we know Satt saw as it formed part of her donation to the Royal Gorge History Center. Schwarz does not make clear, however, that he is quoting from a newspaper letter. This document was available to researchers at the time: it is quoted by Shpall in CP-15, published in July 1950, two months after Satt submitted her dissertation. On the other hand, Shpall's account is itself unreliable, with CP-15 drawing out his unsubstantiated episodes and sourcing.
- CP-5 and CP-7, the letters from Emanuel Saltiel, dated 19 October 1882 and 17 December 1882. The first appeared in the *American Hebrew* of 26 October 1882 and the second in the *Jewish Messenger* of 5 January 1883. The effect of these omissions is to overlook material which demolishes Satt's argument that Saltiel was indifferent to the colonists' plight, that Schwarz was Saltiel's employee, and that Saltiel solicited colonists to become miners. These documents were also available to researchers at the time of Satt's thesis: Shpall refers to the latter as his source for remarks by Saltiel.
- CP-6, the report by Schwarz to HEAS dated 23 October 1882. The effect of this omission is to overlook material which demolishes Satt's signature thesis that Saltiel promoted the colony to obtain sweated labour for his mines. This is cited in Schwarz' letter dated 2 March 1883, which we know she saw as it was part of her donation to the Royal Gorge History Center. In addition, it was available to researchers at the time of Satt's thesis as it is quoted by Shpall.
- CP-9, the letter from Meyer Hart dated 8 February 1883. This letter was published on 13 February 1883 in the *Denver Tribune*, a source uncited in Satt's thesis, though she claims to have reviewed the local press. The effect of this omission is to overlook material which demolishes Satt's argument about the infirmity of pioneers' titles and challenges her account of the colonists' conditions.
- CP-10, the letter from H S Henry dated 15 February 1883, This letter was published on 2 March 1883 in the *American Israelite*, co-located on page and column with Schwarz' letter, CP-11, which we know she saw as it formed part of her donation to the History Center. Henry's letter is also cited in CP-12, the letter from Philip Nussbaum to the *American Israelite* dated 13 May 1883, also part of her donation. Given the other material she donated, it is odd that she should not have seen this letter in its entirety, but it is possible that she had not done so at the time of her thesis. Had she done so, she

would have had a good-faith obligation to recognise that it demolishes, independently of other documents, her argument that Schwarz was corrupted by Saltiel or was his employee; that Saltiel was responsible for the colony throughout 1882; that he weakened pioneers' titles; and that during the winter of 1882-83, the settlers obtained their livelihood by working for premium wages for the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad.

- CP-11, an undated letter by Schwarz to HEAS republished on 2 March 1883 in the *American Israelite*. We know that she saw this letter as it too was part of her donation to the History Center. Had she seen it at the time of her thesis, it demolishes, independently of other documents, her argument about titles and reinforces the challenge to her account of the colonists' conditions.
- CP-12, a letter from Philip Nussbaum to the *American Israelite* dated 13 May 1883. We know that Satt saw this letter as it was the final part of her donation. Had she seen it at the time she wrote, it would have challenged her stance on housing costs and her reliance on Kohn and Wirkowski.

Although these omissions represent failings of research, the benefit of the doubt leads a fair-minded observer to take them as reflecting lack of material at the time, with some internal evidence that this neglect occurred innocently. For example, Satt's thesis included figures on lumber costs which differ from those in the letters of Henry or Nussbaum. If the latter had been used they would have helped her argument. Her silence on this score makes it less likely that she saw either before she submitted her thesis. This is not altogether conclusive: had she done so, we may surmise that she would also have had to engage with the revisionary material itemised above. Offering Satt the benefit of the doubt curtails such conjectures, but extending it in this way may also be seen as generous: after all, it excuses the neglect of ten separate documents, five of which she knew of at an undetermined time. It also excuses her relying on secondary sources for CP-8, the report from Kohn and Wirkowski. Had she seen this in full, at a minimum it would have pointed her decisively to CP-6, Schwarz' October report to HEAS.

Partial citation Next we revisit Satt's partial use of material, doing it less than full justice, for example

- an interview with Ed Grimes appearing in an article dated April 1925 in the *Denver Jewish News*. The thesis 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 Satt's 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.
- Hoffman's article in the *Intermountain Jewish News* on 15 September 1944. Satt fails to refer to or comment upon the passage in which Mrs H Toplitsky spoke of a *Titanic*-like disaster where the colonists' ship allegedly struck an iceberg.⁸ The effect of this omission is to overlook the unreliability of the individual source as well as the journalist and newspaper printing it.
- oral accounts by Rose Ornstein, Hannah Quiat and Rachel Singer. The thesis does not refer to or comment upon the facts that Ornstein was not born 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, reducing their purported particulars to embellishments.

We have no choice but to see these examples as trespassing beyond editorial discretion to depart from good practice, albeit insufficiently to justify discrediting the dissertation altogether. They do, however, combine with the failures of sourcing described above to add to the unease reasonably felt by a fair-minded observer.

⁸ Mrs Toplitsky had form: she also claimed to have overwintered in a dug-out cave abandoned by tribesmen, unlikely as the local Utes relied on wickiups - brush shelters. Other frontier chestnuts include a cut-sod house and self-built chimneys, contradicted by the geography or the record.

The Royal Gorge donation Finally, we examine Satt's donation to the Royal Gorge History Center. It is not for us to know what her intentions were but we may observe that her donation had no effect at all. No doubt innocently, it was configured so as to conform to her original work and limit material to the contrary. The revisionist effect of CP-11 and CP-12 is minor compared to the documents to which they refer. In addition, Satt neither included nor commented upon the full version of the more revisionist CP-10, Henry's letter, although it was co-located with CP-11, Schwarz' letter in the *American Israelite*. Instead she donated the *RMJHN*, which printed an expurgated version of Henry's letter, largely as an illustration of the nativism of American Jews in the face of Russian immigrants, with the expurgation omitting those parts of the letter which weaken her thesis.

On the other hand, the newspaper clippings she sent to the library, CP-11, Schwarz; CP-12, Nussbaum and the single-sentence report, suggests that the originator of the material was using a general search term which turned up articles from *American Israelite*. As Satt did not donate other primary material we may once again give her the benefit of the doubt by surmising that someone sent her this material after she submitted her thesis. Satt was 63 at the time of the donation, so she could have been clearing house on retirement or another life-changing event.

The copy of Schwarz' letter contains three handwritten passages recapitulating blurred passages of the print.⁹ The copy of Nussbaum's letter contains a handwritten copy of a single-sentence report from the *American Israelite* of 25 May 1883, dated but unsourced.¹⁰ It is not known whether or not Satt wrote these. Either way, she made no annotation drawing attention to the revisionism implied by the references to CP-4, CP-6 and CP-10 within CP-11 and CP-12, or their collective bearing upon her original thesis. There is no other evidence that she followed up her donation or encouraged others to do so.

Once again, Satt's intentions cannot be known but it is fair to recognise that the manner of her donation amounted to the bare minimum which might draw attention to the revisionism it represented. This falls short of evidence that she deliberately frustrated study which risked demoting her original work, but that was the effect: her donation was neglected for 28 years. At a minimum her conduct may be seen as lackadaisical; on a critical view it fell short of the scholarly standards to which she should still have felt herself committed.¹¹

To conclude on this score, the Royal Gorge donation is unsettling. Once again to be fair, nothing has been found to show that Satt knowingly withheld material from her 1950 dissertation. Nor does the donation itself decisively show intent to dissimulate. Nonetheless, it is troubling that Satt showed no signs of recognising the implications of the material she donated; certainly she made no effort to communicate them. To the contrary, she did nothing to warn the modern populariser of her dissertation, Moore, against his inflammatory use of her work despite having turned up reason to challenge it herself. Instead she granted him permission to publish her work as though definitive. All in all, this episode may understandably leave a fair-minded observer uneasy.

Conclusion Evaluating Satt's unverified sources calls for an examination of the academic standards she demonstrated elsewhere. An extension of the benefit of the doubt prevents us from criticising her for a departure from good practice in her failure to cite ten separate revisionist documents, despite becoming aware of half of them in one way or another. No such benefit may extend to her partial use of other documents. These are insufficient to prove impropriety, but point to a pattern of recklessness. Finally, Satt's

9 The three manuscript annotations read,

"sitting in the parlor, in gown and slippers alongside the hearth" to compose a report, written on legal cap, clad in the vestige of romanticism and falsehood, and trimmed with glittering fringes of heart-rending poetry. (CP-11, page 2, lines 23 to 25, misquoting CP-8, page 5, line 23)

Of all the instances, the story about the heroic swimming tour appears to them the most pitiful. It was a question of "life and death" says the report. (CP-11, page 5, lines 22-24)

We like the land and will live and die here. (CP-11, page 7, line 2)

10 The manuscript annotation reads,

The settlement in Cotopaxi Col., has been abandoned and all the colonists have gone to other places.

11 Satt taught history throughout her working life, latterly at South Torrance High School in Southern California.

donation to the Royal Gorge History Center may also be seen innocently - though once again only by extending her the benefit of the doubt. A fair-minded observer may nonetheless find cause for unease in these matters, particularly in light of Satt's silence about the inflammatory use to which she lent her unamended work. This further recklessness is insufficient fully to discredit her dissertation or its unverifiable sources, but on a critical view they should be regarded as unsafe. Readers given to caution should be slow to accept them without confirmation and should warm to material reasonably placing them in doubt.

Examples of mistaken treatment

Figures The salient example of corrupt figures is the overall cost of the colony. Almost every chronicler followed Kohn and Wirkowski's repetition of Schwarz, who on 23 October 1882 reported to HEAS that, "As Mr. Morris Tuska, one of the Committee who has officially visited our Colony, has already reported – not counting the cost of transportation – the Colony cost so far, \$8,750." (CP-6, page 17, lines 4 and 5).

This is corrupt from the outset, as misquoting Tuska who in fact wrote of "the sum of \$8,200 that this colony cost the society". (CP-4, page 3, line 29). Tuska also wrote that just \$5,250 had been given to Saltiel (CP-4, page 3, lines 24 to 27). No-one attempted to reconcile Schwarz' nominal total to his other figures. Small wonder as the sums simply don't add up (CP-6, page 17, lines 4 to 17 and associated annotation). For many years, moreover, the source was lost to locals.¹² Instead for the next seventy years, local chroniclers simply followed the repetition in Kohn, who as we have seen was widely reprinted. No-one picked up the figure used by HEAS itself, despite the fact that twice in 1883, the President of the charity, H S Henry stated that the expenses of the colony totalled \$10,234 (*Jewish Messenger*, 19 January; *New York Herald*, 18 July). The repetition of this circumstantial figure tells us that HEAS made no settlement with the colonists over this period.

Satt uncritically followed Kohn or citations of Kohn, also introducing a "remaining \$1,250 to be raised by the colonists to cover costs of rail transportation and living expenses *en route* to Colorado" (CP-14, page 14 lines 18 to 20). She based this either on oral accounts or documents which can no longer be verified: here too, bounties are on offer. Her figures were simplified by subsequent popularisers to sum to \$10,000 or thereabouts which "the aid society gave Saltiel" (Victor Miller and Lacy Humbeutel, *Pueblo Chieftain and Pueblo Star Journal*, 7 September 1970). This is almost twice the sum recorded as paid to Saltiel, illustrating how a single ill-sourced, but often-cited figure can abide in the record, eventually causing further distortions.

A second example of corrupt figures attaches to the colonists' misadventures with potatoes. This starts with Tuska's report to HEAS, where he anticipates a yield of over 8.0x, writing that "The colonists sowed mostly potatoes, about 17,000 pound altogether...Seventeen thousand pounds will, as Mr. Schwarz says, yield about 140,000 lbs." (CP-4, page 1, lines 17 and 30).

Schwarz halves the expected yield to between 3.5x and 4.0x in his report to HEAS of 23 October 1882, where he wrote that, "a number of acres [have been] cultivated in common...about forty acres have been cultivated and ploughed up with...14,000 pounds of potatoes [and other crops]." (CP-6, page 12, lines 9 to 14); and "the potato crop [after] deducting some percentage will leave about 45,000 pounds for sale." (CP-6, page 12, lines 29 and 30.) On 22 December 1882, Saltiel reported the disappointing outcome: "the potato crop...was... for the most part left ungathered until the severe frosts had destroyed it." (CP-7, page 1, lines 20 to 22.)

All agree that the communal potato crop failed disastrously after the late October frosts. On 5 February 1883, Kohn and Wirkowski illustrated this with a specific example in their letter to Henry: "...one of the colonists, who planted four bags of potatoes, gathered as a return fifteen bags." (CP-8, page 4, lines 5 and 6.) This is taken from the version of their report reprinted in the *American Israelite* of 16 February 1883, which seems to be corrupt at this point, as in other versions, eg, the *Denver Tribune* of 7 February 1883 and the *American Hebrew* of 23 February 1883, "four" [bags] was printed as the figure "14". The higher figure conforms to the letter seen by Henry, as he

¹² HEAS printed this report shortly after Schwarz submitted it, apparently to aid fundraising. It promptly became known in Colorado, but was then lost - or at least ignored - but for CP-15, Shpall and Sutton, *op cit*.

noted in the *American Israelite* of 2 March 1883 that, “only fifteen bags of potatoes resulted from fourteen sown in one instance.” (CP-10, page 5, line 26.)¹³ Neither Kohn and Wirkowski nor Henry identifies the farmer concerned, though the latter points out that this was just one example. This lays the ground for Schwarz to provide a counter-example on the same page. “Loeb Zedek...has taken up thirty sacks of potatoes.” (CP-11, page 4, lines 12 and 13.) We do not know how many potatoes Zedek planted, but evidently he was pleased with the yield as his letter to Schwarz was euphoric (CP-11, page 7, lines 15 and 16).

In April 1925, the Spivak “article” reported this as, “...Zedek alone succeeded in planting a patch of potatoes.”, with no quantities. In July 1941, the story was retold by Roberts as “Zedek alone succeeded in growing some potatoes. He planted fourteen bags and reaped in return fifteen bags of a poorer quality than he had planted.” (CP-13, page 5, lines 13 and 14.) It is not clear if Roberts originated this misconstruction or if she took it from the lost Spivak Report. In any event, Hoffman directly followed Roberts’ lead on pages 16 and 17 of the *Intermountain Jewish News* dated 15 September 1944: “Zedek alone succeeded in reaping 15 bags of potatoes, tho of a poorer quality than the 14 bags he had planted.” Finally, Miller and Humbeutel extended the story in the *Pueblo Chieftain and Pueblo Star Journal* of 7 September 1970, to write: “The new settlers tried their best to farm and after planting 14 bags of potatoes they harvested 15 bags, inferior to those they sowed”. This demonstrates how confusions of number and identity caused Schwarz’ counter-example of a colonist’s exceptional success in raising potatoes to become reversed into an emblem of the general failure and eventually into the failure itself.

Events and conditions A critical examination of sources reveals at least half a dozen examples where events or conditions have been misconstrued or embellished. As previously noted, the stories of tearful appeals to Saltiel and Zedek’s account of his potato harvest were comprehensively reinvented. So too with Grimes’ account of himself. The colonists’ material circumstances were forgotten in an oral history of unrelieved misery. In fact they had communal and private funds (CP-6, page 16, line 18; CP- 8, page 3, line 8; and CP-10, page 3, lines 19 to 23), with women displaying jewellery and commissioning clothes from dressmakers in Denver (CP-11, page 4, line 26 to page 5, line 7). Nor did they have to shelter in tents, dugout caves or cut-sod cabins, instead sharing log-houses in Cotopaxi till family accommodation was built (CP-5, page 3, lines 2 to 4; CP6, page 13, lines 16 and 17).

The account of the settlers’ employment over the winter of 1882 to 1883 was similarly corrupted. In 1940, Hoffman wrote that the colonists obtained

work in Salida where they dug trenches and sawed logs for the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad. The officials were gracious in complying with the laborers’ desire to observe Saturday as their day of rest.

In 1944, Roberts used similar language (CP-13, page 5, lines 22 to 26) and in 1950, Satt expanded on it to write that

[n]early every man in the colony worked that winter for the Denver and Rio Grande, and received cash wages of as much as \$3. 00 per day, with which they managed to support the entire group of sixty-three persons. The colony had ...reason to be grateful to the...Railroad. (CP-14, page 18, lines 7 to 11).

But there and then, HS Henry contradicted Satt about wage rates, continuity of employment, the colonists’ attitude to the railroad and its contribution to their welfare over the winter.

We know that the work at Salida would have been continuous for those that went there, had some of them been willing to submit to a differential scale of wages, but those that received \$1.75 per day wanted \$2.00, such as the more skilful hands obtained, and so the whole party got sacked. (CP-10, page 5, lines 10 to 15)

Henry’s account is so circumstantial that it is hard to disregard. It is also confirmed by Meyer Hart who wrote that colonists had obtained a

month’s work in Salida from the Denver & Rio Grande railroad, each man receiving a check from the pay-car, the average of which was \$40... (CP-9, page 3, lines 2 and 3)

Satt’s signature thesis about sweated labour (CP-14, pages 24 to 26) falls short on an examination of the sequence of events falling out of the primary document represented by Schwarz (CP-6, page 12, lines 12 to 16; page 13,

¹³ The quantities in the original story are problematic, as the same figures, “14”, cover three distinct measures of cultivation and (after an increase in the order of magnitude) one of planned harvest. These are Schwarz’ statement that the colonists cultivated “14,000 pounds of potatoes”, Saltiel’s account that “fourteen thousand seed potatoes had been sowed prior to the 21st of June”, Kohn and Wirkowski’s report that “14 bags of potatoes” had been planted and Tuska’s expected “yield [of] about 140,000 lbs”.

lines 1 and 2; and page 15, lines 11 to 21). Satt wrote of the failure of the potato crop followed by a credit stop obliging the colonists to seek to work in the mines. In fact several pioneers were working in the mines before the crop failed. CP-7 tells us that during November 1882, Saltiel reluctantly offered all-comers surface work sorting ore. Most took it up but only for a few weeks, with many showing themselves unsuited for such work. This source became wholly forgotten locally, but at the time it made such an impression that its colourful phrases reverberated around subsequent writing about the colony. These included "...clerks and managers...", taken up by Kohn; "...rose-colored...", echoed by Henry; "...tears running down cheeks...", reimagined by Prezant as reported by Roberts; and "...practical methods...", inspiring similar wording by Kohn, Henry and Schwarz.

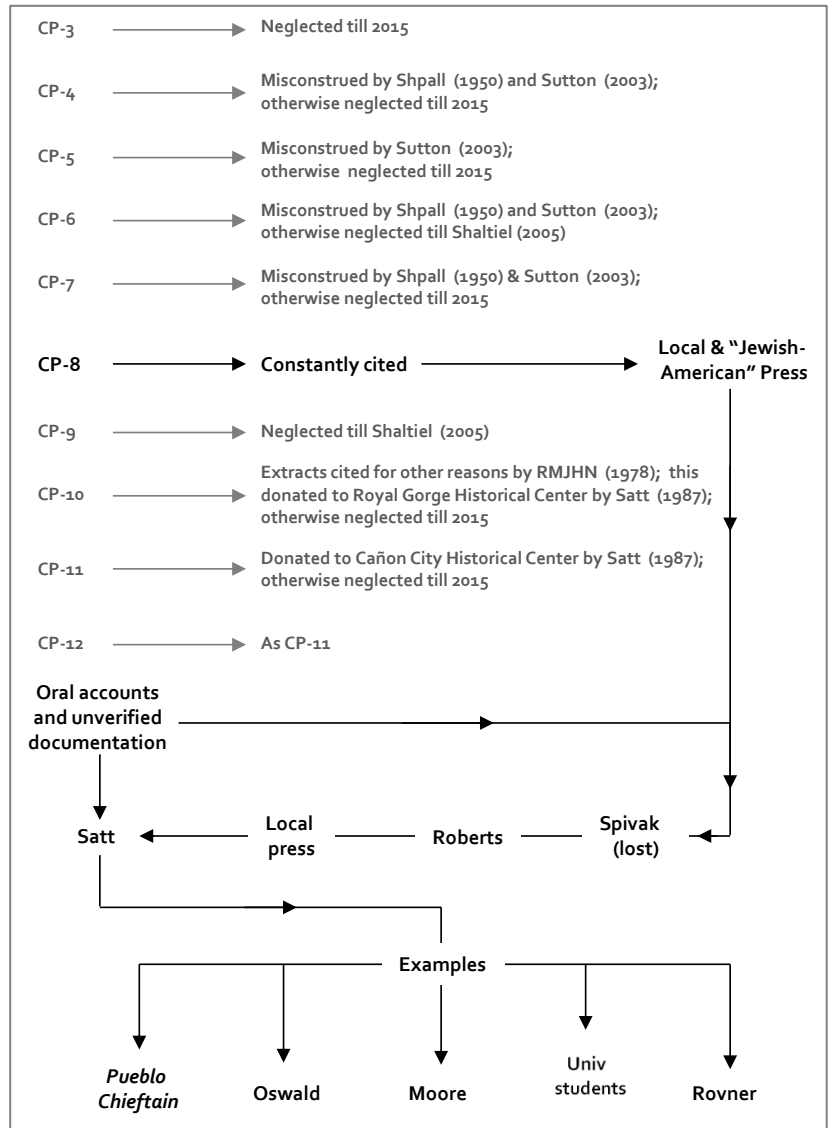
Conclusion

Graphic 1 summarises the imperfect pattern of sourcing bedeviling the generally accepted view of the Cotopaxi colony. Specifically, it shows that local accounts during the last century were based narrowly on CP- 8, Kohn and Wirkowski, together with Spivak, who was taken as authoritative by locals, but by all accounts was largely reliant upon questionable oral sources. His report is now lost so cannot be tested.

Every other verified source was neglected by local chroniclers. Despite the unreliable character of oral sources, local writers of the last century accepted them without questioning their excursions into intemperance. Satt's dissertation, widely cited and for 65 years seen as definitive, is sourced recklessly, leading to what may now be recognised as consistent embellishment. This makes it prudent to regard it as unsafe.

Until 2015, the historians with academic standing, Shpall and Sutton, had not seen the set of primary sources now to hand: possibly in consequence they misread what came their way.¹⁴ In 2015, Professor Adam Rovner of the University of Denver turned up CP-5, but he too had not seen the full set of primary material now collected, so had no reason to disregard the local template.

Graphic 1. Pattern of sourcing for generally accepted account



The publication of the Cotopaxi Papers now enables students of the colony to review sources in the round, though - as CP-1 concludes - there is always more to learn.

¹⁴ Shpall's errors are fully explored in CP-15. Sutton departs from sources elsewhere to write that "All land claims were registered in the names of the colonists but HEAS retained the legal option of disposing of the land"; and that Schwarz reported that the colony "failed because the colonists had no idea how to farm", a sentiment smacking more of Saltiel in CP-7. He also mistakenly characterises Kohn and Wirkowski (unnamed in his work) as a "team of outside inspectors working for HEAS".

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Miles Saltiel
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miles.saltiel@cotopaxicolony.com

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