

Acknowledgements and sources

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

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

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Publication information on back cover.

Generally

This letter takes Saltiel into the public arena, after earlier such initiatives by Schwarz in CP-3 and more particularly by Tuska in CP-4. The latter would have provoked Saltiel's fierce sense of right and wrong, which could get him into trouble. This is attested at every stage in his career, from the outset when he blew the whistle on his thieving commanding office, to the conduct revealed in this document, to his letter to the *New York Herald* of 27 October 1887 about the Tortillita mine fraud.

This letter is profoundly impolitic. It demolishes whatever *modus vivendi* grew up between Saltiel and Schwarz from August to mid-October in Cotopaxi, as summarised in CP-1. In this, Saltiel took direct control over housing completions,

persuaded Hart to keep up credit for the settlers' subsistence; and offered work in his mine to those who wanted it.

Meanwhile Schwarz presided over a renewed round of land filings and settlements, got the settlers work on the railroad, fronted the relationship with HEAS, promising locals that he would get it to cover their credit, and drafted a report with an agreed stance, figures and ask.

The letter attests to, if it did not itself precipitate, a final breakdown in relations between Schwarz and Saltiel. Even so, Schwarz refrained from criticising Saltiel in CP-6, though this blow-up is all the explanation we need for its small ask.

Cotopaxi Placer Mining Company.

Cotopaxi, Colorado, Oct. 19th 1882.

To the American Hebrew.

In your issue of Oct 4th 1882, I find a publication purporting to be a "report" of Mr. Tuska, on the condition of the colony of Russian Refugees now here. The glaring falsehoods contained therein necessitate a reply, and as you have given publication to Mr. Tuska's side, I must respectfully request that my side be given, and assure you that in every specific charge made, I hold substantial proof – both under proper oaths administered by proper officers or by letters written by persons in high repute.

In the commencement of the quotation from Mr. Tuska's report, he states that "Immediately on my arrival, I called on Julius Schwartz, the General Manager of the Colony, whom I found master of the situation, and who willing gave me all information required as to the doings of E.H. Saltiel in whose care the colony was intrusted."

Lines 15 to 20

Saltiel replies to the republication of Tuska's letter in the *American Hebrew* of 4 October. The record shows that it also appeared in the *Jewish Messenger* of 6 October.

The third sentence is not wholly the conventional opening bombast of such apologetics, as the record elsewhere shows Saltiel defending himself with affidavits from local dignitaries (*Rocky Mountain News* 14 February 1883).

Lines 22 to 25

This correctly points to Tuska's disingenuous identification of Schwarz as manager, but otherwise is more rhetoric with something of a sense that Tuska's arrival or conduct in Cotopaxi was a surprise to Saltiel. This is odd as HEAS were bound to respond to Saltiel's visit as page 5, lines 9 to 13; and Tuska, a founding officer of HEAS, was bound to seek to form an independent view.

1 In this opening paragraph, the entire foundation for the falsehoods concerning my "doings" is
2 laid bare, and the reason for the criminal libel, thereafter perpetrated can be briefly shown. In
3 the first place Schwartz, a relative of Mr. Tuska, was employed at the office 15 State St. last April
4 as a clerk on a salary of Ten dollars per week out of which he boarded himself, and was, after
5 several conversations, between M.A. Kursheedt Esq. and myself, appointed, or hired, at a salary
6 of Twenty dollars per week, he to find himself board and lodging, to go to Colorado as a clerk
7 and interpret to the colony. I went to Colorado at my own expense and arranged for the building
8 of a number of houses during the summer months, guarding as is usual, loss or delay to the
9 Contractor from flood, fire or visitations of Providence. On the eight day of May this contract
10 was verbally agreed to, between the Contractor and myself and memoranda agreement in
11 writing was drawn up, but not signed on that day, but a short time afterwards the signatures of
12 both parties were attached, and the houses proceeded with.

13
14 The refugees arrived on May 5th, at Cotopaxi, and on May 11th. I requested Mr. Schwartz to
15 accompany a colored farmer, one Edward Jones, to Oak Grove Creek with a few of the colonists
16 and stake out the bottom land under the farmer's direction.

17
18 In the afternoon the whole of them returned, discontented, and reported a fierce quarrel had
19 taken place between Schwartz and themselves, and they did not like the land. Quarrelling
20 continued between Schwartz and the colonists at intervals, until early in the morning of May
21 12th, when I was awoke by loud cries and shouts. I immediately partially dressed and started for
22 the door of my house where I found Schwartz terribly excited, surrounded by a threatening mob
23 of men and women. Not understanding their language, I at length by asking a few questions in
24 Hebrew, got to understand that they had demanded their "declaration of citizenship" papers;
25 and that Schwartz had refused to deliver them up. I at once peremptorily ordered him to bring
26 them to me, as the colonists made themselves understood that they wished to leave the
27 Cotopaxi. On obtaining their papers from my hands with the exclamation "Go in peace! God be
28 with you," they quieted down until Schwartz turned on them with a hateful look and made some
29 angry expression in German, that I did not understand. Whatever it was, it had a similar effect to
30 throwing oil on fire, and a regular mutiny broke out; so much danger did I consider him in that I

Lines 1 to 7

Identification of Tuska and Schwarz as kin is illuminating, but not in and of itself discrediting either of them. Indeed Saltiel's own account demolishes the notion that he (Saltiel) was displaced merely because of nepotism.

Lines 7 to 12

At no point does Saltiel refer to the log cabins on farm-sites described by Schwarz in in CP-6, page 6, lines 16 and 17, or Satt in CP-14, page 21 lines 1 to 4.

Saltiel's plan that houses be built that summer months seems reasonable enough but was hampered by the uncertain and peripatetic locations of farm-steading, see CP-1, table 2 and graphic 7.

The remarks about contracts seem to be intended to convey that arms-length arrangements were made with Hart.

Lines 14 to 16

Saltiel's date of arrival challenges Schwarz who writes (CP-6, page 2, lines 16 and 17) that the colonists left New York on 3 May and arrived after five days; and Satt who simply records 8 May (CP-14, page 20, line 9).

Lines 23 to 28

This confirms that Saltiel could not understand Yiddish, but *contra* Satt (CP- 11, page 21 lines 12 to 15) conveys that some sort of communication was possible in Hebrew.

1 called to a couple of men and had rifles loaded to protect him if it should have become
2 necessary. During this time, the colonists were comfortably housed in a long house that I had
3 bought for them and in two log houses that I owned and had hitherto used for several of my
4 miners.
5
6 Detailed accounts of the tribulations of the colonists were sent to the Secretary and L. Gershal
7 Esq. to New York; and all of which are set forth in full in my report now only awaiting a
8 settlement with the Society to complete.
9
10 For about four weeks after his arrival, Schwartz worked hard and, being a young man, entirely
11 ignorant of everything pertaining to either pioneer life or methodical business, did really well,
12 and his efforts to overcome the novelty of his position, received from me warm praise. On May
13 27th I went with Schwartz and another man into the Wet Mountain Valley, and selected a corner
14 to start a survey line, and give directions to run from that point as a centre and take up two
15 thousand acres of the best land. I drove three stakes into the land and directed Schwartz to tell
16 the colonists that ploughing must commence on the following day. One team of good horses
17 and two ploughs had already been provided from funds sent to me by M.A. Kursheedt for that
18 purpose.
19
20 Several of the colonists had applied to me to give them lots to build on, upon the town site of
21 Cotopaxi, of which I am the largest owner. I agreed to grant them a forty-nine year lease – and
22 under certain restrictions – to permit them to take the water from the Cotopaxi Placer Mining
23 Company ditches – of which company I was President. Two families only, out of the twelve here,
24 appeared settled and willing to work the land with a determination to succeed. To these
25 families, I apportioned two building lots each and ordered the Deputy County Surveyor to run
26 certain lines across my land to enable the houses to front what will at an early day, be a business
27 street. This Deputy Surveyor Freeman had already been engaged by me to lay out and survey
28 the lands for the colony and it took him about two and a half days to run the lines across my
29 lands for the benefit of these two deserving families. That has been the only cost that the
30 Society has been at in the matter.

Line 1

Confronting the settlers with loaded weapons was a bad beginning and hardly calculated to endear Saltiel to them.

Lines 2 to 4

This rebuts accounts that the colonists were forced to shelter in tents, Indian dugout caves and cut-sod houses. as CP-14, page 24, lines 23 to 25..

Lines 6 to 8

As best I know, the report to which this passage refers it is lost to us but this single sentence is powerfully revisionist. The first clause tells us that Saltiel immediately told HEAS of the settlers' objection to the land they had been shown - "the tribulations of the colonists" - and sought guidance. Transparency argues against double-dealing.

From the passages following, we learn that HEAS came back counselling resolve: that all concerned should crack on, either in the same "bottom lands" country or - given the fifteen day interval - elsewhere in the Wet Mountain Valley.

The burden of the second clause is Saltiel's underlying expectation of a "settlement", that is money from HEAS, with whom his relations remained amicable, in the lawyer's sense of non-litigious.

On the other hand, Saltiel seems to be either naïve or disingenuous about his standing with HEAS after his failed appeal for funds and his repeated complaints about Schwarz.

Lines 10 to 30

This adds key data to the timeline of the colony and the sequence of settlements as shown in CP-1, table 2, graphics 6 and 7.

Lines 23 to 25

CP-1, Summary of findings identifies these families as Max (Leon) and Bessie Tobias, and (more conjecturally) Shlomo and Rosa Chuteran, together with Shlomo's brother, Max or Mottel.

1 About the end of the fourth week after arrival here, I found that Mr. Schwartz began to grow
2 somewhat discontented at not having received his salary and as he had learned through letters
3 sent to him from New York that Mr. Kursheedt had either resigned or that a change was about
4 to take place, he urged me to go to New York and see if I could obtain some further aid to guard
5 this people during the coming winter and especially to look after his own salary. On my asking
6 how much was due him, he replied that some six week's salary was due and after I had figured it
7 up at twenty dollars per week, he demanded that his board should be added to it. I was so
8 astounded at the proposition that I determined to simply hand him twenty dollars on account,
9 pay his board bill and leave to the Society to settle up with him. I said nothing at the time to
10 Schwartz but found that my business was suffering from the time and attention that I had given
11 to the colony, for which I had neither received nor asked for any compensation; but as I had
12 performed much work for which Schwartz claimed both pay for and the merit of doing, I
13 determined to have him earn, if I could, his full wages in the future.

14
15 By my direction, the horses of the colony were carefully stabled in a neighbouring barn, neither
16 Mr. Schwartz nor the field foreman Tobias paying much attention them, I had my son and
17 another lad take them up nearly every night. By terribly hard usage, the horses became slightly
18 disabled. I ordered them carefully taken care of for a few days by Edward Jones, and as soon as
19 they had recovered admonished Schwartz of the necessity of caring for the horses better. So
20 neglectful had Schwartz become, that on the night of the 15th day of June, I felt compelled to
21 tell him that he had neglected his work. I at once noticed his suppressed anger, but never
22 imagined that it would lead him either of his own accord or by conspiring with others to attempt
23 to defame my fair name.

Lines 1 to 13

This incident instigates a relationship between Saltiel and Schwarz which takes a hyperbolic turn from suspicion to confidence to disaffection in just eight weeks.

In effect co-location, presumably to save Schwarz the cost of board which he couldn't afford, drew the two of them together.

Saltiel's account is consistent with a few weeks during which he saw Schwarz as something of a surrogate son, a pattern familiar in the workplace as given to distort judgement all round.

Lines 15 to 23

Maybe Saltiel was demanding to work for, or maybe Schwarz was just tough to manage. In any event shortly their high-flown relationship took off.

Schwarz did well to escape with "admonishing"; to remind us of the value at risk, in much of the West at that time, horse-thieves were hanged.

This passage also tells us that contrary to remarks reported by Roberts (CP-13, page 7, lines 12 to 14) the Denver courts took his wife's claims 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 In the meantime two houses and been completed and occupied by the Nudelman and Chutman
2 families, notwithstanding Mr. Tuska's report that "Saltiel had failed to build the houses" and
3 over forty thousand feet of lumber, a large quantity of nails, doors, windows, spikes and material
4 purchased to build other houses, the greater part of which had been delivered on the ground
5 near the railroad depot. In addition to the building material, six out of twelve Number 8 western
6 cooking ranges, costing in Canon City \$25 each had been delivered, as well as stove pipe and
7 cooking utensils.

8
9 On June 21st, it became necessary for me to employ a lawyer on behalf of the colonists, as Mr.
10 Schwartz had reported to me that an attempt had been made to illegally take away two parcels
11 of land that the colonists had located upon. I paid for that purpose \$25 as a retainer, and to have
12 the matter looked into.

13
14 Having found that the funds on hand were insufficient to both complete houses, buy wire fence,
15 cows, etc., that were necessary, I reluctantly left my business and started for New York, to lay
16 before the Society the exact condition of affairs. In the mean I requested the then contractor,
17 Mr. Hart, to continue building the houses steadily on the farms until my return, and ordered
18 ploughing to be continued and a turnip crop planted early in July. About fourteen thousand seed
19 potatoes had been sowed prior to the 21st of June, and a supply of seed for later planting, such
20 as turnips, etc., that are planted always in July in this part of Colorado.

21
22 My orders before leaving here were to push forward the building of houses vigorously upon all
23 the farms selected by the colony, and particularly to take good care of the horses. Several coils
24 of wire fence I purchased, so as to start fencing in the most exposed places, and requested
25 Schwartz to set that the men cut sufficient posts and have them set in the ground ready to
26 receive the wire as soon as the Society should have supplied sufficient funds to obtain it. Mr.
27 Schwartz gave me profuse promises that these instructions would be carried out, and the man
28 Tobias, who acted as a field man, well understood my directions.

Line 1

Nudelman and "Chutman" (generally, "Shuteran" or "Chuteran") are two of the only three settlers whom Saltiel names. This hints that one or both were the two seen by Saltiel as sufficiently determined to grant a couple of lots apiece in Cotopaxi, page 3, lines 23 to 25. CP-1, Summary of findings, presents reasons for seeing the Shuterans in this role.

Lines 6 and 7

This contradicts the complaints of Satt about chimneys (CP-14, page 23, line 6) which stove pipe would make redundant.

Lines 9 to 12

Three months after this incident, Schwarz writes of four lots surrendered, CP-6, page 4 lines 9 to 14.

Lines 14 to 16

Lines 9 and 10 above show that this trip took place after 21 June.

This passage is the most pregnant in the document as adding information about Saltiel's conduct which should cause any fair-minded observer to reconsider criticism of his behaviour.

We have no reason to discount his account of the timing or purpose of his trip (which may well have embraced other business). The timeline tells us that he wasted no time in taking the most straightforward step of recognising the inadequacy of funds and returning to the funder. This is the reverse of indifference and once again, transparency argues against double-dealing.

His silence about HEAS' response tells us that they deferred a decision until a report from their emissary, Tuska.

Lines 22 to 28

Evidently relations between Saltiel and Schwarz were beginning to go off.

1 I placed great confidence in Schwartz, so much so that, at that time he passed his time almost
2 entirely with me – slept in the same bed and actually became a confidant of my social secrets.

3
4 While absent in New York trying to aid these people I received several letters, now in my
5 possession from Schwartz, urging me to try to procure for his father a position in the Society, on
6 account of his father's financial condition, and also urging me to have his salary paid at \$27 per
7 week. This, I afterwards learned, was all that he had done during my absence of over three
8 weeks in New York.

9
10 The colonists crowded around me, on my return, with complaints and lamentations. I told them
11 that I could not understand much that they said, but if they had any real grievances to set them
12 down in writing and I would consider them. Tobias heard me tell them, it was the duty of
13 Schwartz, the salaried man, to have taken care of them. Schwartz knowing the fact also,
14 immediately set to work, changed his entire behaviour towards me, and commenced the
15 preparation of a Jesuitical plan to circumvent what he readily understood must be my action,
16 namely, a demand for his instant recall from the position that he had of late so poorly filled.

17
18 I telegraphed on the 17th, 19th, 20th and 21st to H.S. Henry that either Schwartz leaves or I
19 cease my connection with the Society. I was ignorant at that time of the fact that he, Schwartz,
20 was a relative of Mr. Tuska.

21
22 Mr. Tuska arrived on July 30th, and left on the 31st. It will be perceived that there was a motive
23 to shield Schwartz, or why did Tuska go to the salaried clerk of the colony instead of the Trustee
24 and General Manager who gave his time and labour gratuitously. In my letter of instructions
25 from M.A. Kursheedt, Esq., no mention was made of Schwartz as a manager – he simply came
26 here as an interpreter and clerk, or so I was informed.

Lines 1 and 2

"...confidant..." must reflect Saltiel's coincident courtship of Fanny Shelveson, who was to become his second wife. In general, Saltiel must have been in a vulnerable emotional state at this time, having divorced a year earlier.

Lines 4 to 8

Not merely conveying a sense of Schwarz' morale and attitude, but also the collapse of the surrogate father-son relationship suggested above.

Schwarz evidently had an eye to salary progression, with the \$27 cited here to be compared to the \$10 as page 2, line 4 and the \$20 as page 2, line 6 and page 4, line 7.

Lines 10 to 16

Confirming the breakdown described above, but now on both sides. It is easy to sense the bitterness of both sides' disappointment by the collapse in their relationship.

Lines 18 to 20

The kinship between Tuska and Schwarz is less likely to have contaminated the judgment of the former, than the fact of a remit from HEAS (as from head offices in most times and places) to find a way to make progress while minimising their cost. The usual course is a change in management, prefigured by CP-3.

Saltiel was disingenuous in expecting no blow-back after his visit; alternatively his "back me or sack me" telegrams were intended to flush out HEAS' intentions.

Lines 22 to 26

Tuska turned up to inspect the colony after Saltiel's appeal to HEAS.

In the best traditions of "I'm from head office and I'm here to help you" he failed to address the underfunding, alienated Saltiel, and put Schwarz in an impossible position.

1 It must be plain to every intelligent person that a green student, only eighteen months in
2 America, and never without a guardian, far away from his parents, could successfully plant a
3 pioneer colony in one of the wildest parts of the Rocky Mountains of Colorado, and without any
4 previous training; whilst I, who have lived here eighteen years, mined successfully and brought
5 hundreds of men to the mountains, and am personally known to all the leading men of Colorado,
6 from the Governor down to the County Clerk of my County for the past sixteen years, could
7 make a rank failure of the Refugees' Colony.

Lines 1 to 7

Here we see Saltiel's hurt pride - as suggested earlier not merely as to business.

8
9 The article published in the New York Herald during the last days of my personal supervision,
10 and written without my knowledge by Mr. Schwartz, gives the lie direct to the report of Mr.
11 Tuska on his visit a couple of weeks later. The utter absurdity of Mr. Tuska and his impudence in
12 attempting to make our co-religionists believe in what he called a report, is best exposed to the
13 scorn it merits by quoting one of his own paragraphs, in which he absurdly states :-

Lines 9 to 13

The article concerned is a précis of CP-3. Its roseate tone and content is characteristic of Schwarz and should not be taken as an authoritative rebuttal of Tuska in CP-4.

14
15 "Cabbages, peas, beans, cucumbers, beets, turnips, etc. have been sowed, but owing to the
16 slowness with which the houses have been built or, better said, owing to their not having been
17 built at all, most of the garden stuff was destroyed by grazing cattle, etc."

Lines 15 to 17

Saltiel is the only one denying this incident, which he implicitly accepts in his remarks about wire as page 5, lines 14, 24 and 26.

18
19 Mr. Tuska first stated that Mr. Saltiel did not give Mr. Schwartz funds to purchase potatoes and
20 other seed, Mr. Schwartz never asked nor had he any authority or reason to ask for such funds,
21 as I had ordered and paid Mr. Hart for such seed potatoes and other seed that he, Hart, had
22 procured and delivered according to orders, and which my bills previously sent in fully exhibit.

Lines 19 to 22

The "bills" cannot be found in the New York archives, but on its face this passage challenges (to put it no more strongly) accusations of mismanagement.

23
24 Mr. Tuska then goes on to state that because the houses were being "slowly built", or as he
25 would probably have liked to have had them, "not built at all," crops would not grow. It is the
26 first time in my life of experience in the mountains and valleys of the Far West, that I have ever
27 heard of "cucumbers, peas, beans, cabbages, beets and turnips" requiring "houses" to make
28 them grow or to shelter them. The proposition only tends to further show that Mr. Tuska is
29 ignorant of the subject that he essays to write or report upon as his nephew is boastful of his
30 integrity and ability to manage colonists in Colorado. I regret to be compelled to take up so

Line 24 to page 8, line 3

Saltiel may be right on the narrow matter of crops and houses, but growing vegetables on the Cotopaxi plateau is hardly a winning proposition.

1 much of your valuable space in defending myself against the malicious attack that your columns
2 have been made the channel of procedure, but I cannot close without stating the actual facts of
3 the case, which are as follows:-

4
5 In the winter of 1881 and 2, I was urged by several of the directors of the Hebrew Emigrant Aid
6 Society of America to visit the office at 15 State Street. I reluctantly consented to do so, and one
7 day in company with Uriah Hermann, Esq, I went there, and was told of sending off of emigrants
8 into Louisiana and other southern States.

9
10 I was asked my opinion, and freely gave it, to the effect that the peculiar training of Israelites and
11 their wants would of themselves be sufficient to cause failure, when brought into competition
12 with the half-starved, half-clothed negro of the South, or the cheap pork and corn eater of
13 Missouri or Arkansas, and I therefore recommended the rich phosphate soil of Colorado, and the
14 speedy growing and hardy vegetables as the most likely crop to have them succeed in raising.

15
16 After many subsequent interviews with M.A. Kursheedt, Esq., Hon. M.S Isaacs, L. Gerschel, Esq.
17 and Uriah Hermann, Esq., I consented to look after the colony, as far as my mine-operating
18 business would permit, and by request made a proposition and estimate which upon due
19 deliberation by the Committee was accepted, and I selected a number of families for a colony,
20 that, with no change in the management, would have been a success today instead of a failure,
21 excepting for the aid extended by myself and the railroad company in the shape of daily work for
22 which they are paid actually more than they can earn when compared with the muscular
23 Christian laborer.

24
25 At the time of Mr. Tuska's arrival, the potato crop was several inches about the ground –
26 thousands of cabbage plants were growing, and all other seed plants were growing, and all other
27 seed planted.

Line 5 onwards

The following passages comprehensively challenge Satt's dating (CP-14, page 13, line 29 to page 14, line 10). Part of her argument about the houses was that Saltiel had promised them as complete six months earlier. On its face this was always implausible - who in their right mind would build large houses on spec in such conditions? not to say, where were they to be built? Even so Satt may be right in CP-14, page 21, lines 1 to 4: Saltiel's contractors could have completed the less demanding task of putting up cabins satisfying the Homestead Act.

CP-1, table 2, graphics 6 & 7; and CP-2, tables 29 to 31 point to the peripatetic pattern of settlement over the six months to November 1882, showing how difficult it must have been to organise the lumber and carpenters. It also pretty much demolishes the notion that proper houses could sensibly have been built in advance.

Lines 10 to 14

If we aim through the disagreeable characterisation, we see that "phosphate" is the language of a miner. It is also taken up by Tuska, CP-4, page 1, line 15) and Schwarz (CP-6, page 5, line 8).

Lines 16 to 23

This meeting seems to be that described by Satt's as a year earlier. This comes close to making Satt (CP-14, page 13, line 29, to page 14 line 10; and page 24, lines 17 to 23) unsafe overall, as challenging the reliability of her sourcing.

Saltiel's claim to have "selected a number of families" (line 19) is challenged to the extent that as a number of linked families, the Cotopaxi colonists were self-selecting. It is also limited by the fact that only three family groups were in New York at that time (see annotations to CP-11, page 16, lines 20 to 22; and page 17 line 8).

The reference to "muscular Christianity" is a joke. This phrase was much in the air at the time, a coinage by the cleric T.C. Sandars in a review in the *Saturday Review* of Charles Kingsley's *Two Years Ago* (1857).

Lines 25 to 27

Oh dear. Even if so, this crop was not destined to go well.

1 Similar imaginary complaints, such as is heard every day in New York City from the refugees
2 whenever a prominent Israelite comes near them, was repeated to Mr. Tuska.

Lines 1 and 2

However remote this may be to modern ears and sensibilities, there really is something in it as the Winnipeg lamentation demonstrates. See Geffen, pp.22-24 of 28.

3
4 What Schwartz in an attempt to obtain revenge for my requesting his dismissal may have tried
5 to have coached them in, is unknown to me, although I am informed that he acted as prompter
6 to them to air their new found grievances to his relative for nearly two hours.

Lines 4 to 6

We are back with the psycho-drama of the relationship between Saltiel and Schwarz, as well as opportunism on the part of the latter. In the event he succeeded better than he could have imagined!

7
8 The whole burden of the complaint appears to have been and yet is "the houses are not being
9 built quick enough." Mr. Hart explained to me that a great flood had come about twelve days
10 after my departure for New York, and washed away both wagon and railroad bridges, and thus
11 prevented him from building as quickly as he could have desired. This and other reasons equally
12 legitimate, prevented the houses that would have been built in the Wet Mountain Valley from
13 being rapidly constructed.

Lines 8 to 13

For lack of evidence to the contrary, these sound like pretty serious problems, not forgetting the complications of siting farm-steads as CP-1, Summary of findings.

14
15 After Mr. Tuska had left, and as I had been pleased to learn, requested Schwartz to look after the
16 colonists, what really was the duty for which he had been salaried.

Lines 15 and 16

We can almost see Saltiel's gritted teeth: he is really trying to make the best of a bad job!

17
18 I talked with Mr. Hart and got him to turn over the building contract to me and such building
19 material as he had on hand, and permitted him to apply the various sums of money that I had
20 paid to him to my credit for other matters that I might require, excepting five hundred dollars for
21 the reception house, which I had already turned over to the Cotopaxi Placer Mining Company,
22 and I personally assumed the responsibility of building the houses, and have since that time
23 quietly proceeded with them with two carpenters.

Lines 18 to 23

On its face, taking responsibility for finishing housing is generous as Hart's son, Meyer, writes that the colony's funds were exhausted in early August (CP-9, page 1. lines 27 to 28).

24
25 I have given some of the men of the colony frequent employment, and have two families yet in
26 my log houses, burning my timber, and using a stove free of charge.

Lines 25 and 26

As made clear on page 10, line 17, the "employment" is in Saltiel's mine, stated without apology or embarrassment.

27
28
29
30

1 At the time of Tuska's flying visit, he expressed himself pleased with everything excepting the
2 slowness of house building. He even went so far as to as to talk of uniting a certain smelting
3 works works that he owned with one of my mines, and asked me if Schwartz would not make a
4 good Secretary. Other incidents occurred that lead me to the belief that Mr. Tuska has been
5 somewhat imposed upon, otherwise a man of his standing would not have risked a heavy lawsuit
6 for criminal libel.

7
8 In regard to Friedman the Shochet, he arrived after I had ceased controlling the colony, but I
9 contributed \$10 to his aid. Schwartz prevented his remaining.

10
11 So far as the colony is concerned today, the majority of them are on my lands gratuitously
12 leased to them, at their earnest solicitation, and are sincerely happy at being thereby enabled to
13 keep their religious services in sight of the protection thrown around them by being near and in
14 sight of my mountain home.

15
16 They are not living on the imaginary crops raised by the vivid imagination of Schwartz, but upon
17 the proceeds of their labour done for the railroad company and in my mines.

Lines 1 to 6

There's more bombast - indeed hurt pride - in this.

It is not the least clear what Saltiel meant by "incidents".

Lines 8 and 9

So this occurred after 31 July. This establishes that Saltiel had taken action to meet the settlers' requests for kosher meat, but the colony could not support a full time *schochet*, then buying meat from Denver, as reported by Schwarz (CP-6, page 14, line 25).

Once again Satt is challenged at the heart of her thesis, in that Saltiel was responsive and the colonists were not isolated.

Lines 11 to 14

More stylistic bombast: "...majority..." refers to the six *houses* reported by Meyer Hart in CP-9, page 2, lines 6 to 8, rather than *tracts*; and is explored in CP-1, Summary of findings.

Lines 16 and 17

Saltiel is unfair: Schwarz' does not go so far in CP-3 or the article as to suggest that the colonists are living on their agricultural produce, saying "it is to be hoped that, with a little perseverance, [the settlers] will in a short time be able...to gain their own livelihood "

Saltiel is unapologetic about offering mining work.

This sentence also confirms what everyone should have realised: the colony never had enough working capital. After the dust settled, H S Henry gave an interview to the *New York Herald*, published on 18 July 1883. In this he quoted Dr Julius

Goldman as estimating that \$500 to \$1,000 is needed to start out a family of five in the West.

For Cotopaxi this would be between \$6,100 and \$12,200. In the same article, Henry stated that HEAS had spent \$10,234 on Cotopaxi. This figure did not include any final settlement with the settlers as Satt in CP-14 page 30 lines 11 and 12, as Henry conveys that the colony was still operating at the time of his interview.

CP-2, tables 13 to 21 presents figures for budgets, unbudgeted expenditures, and sources of funding.

1 What was the actual cause of the failure of their crops? Nothing more nor less than unnecessary
2 time consumed in the preparation for every little religious feast and fast, engagement and
3 marriage celebration. Schwartz, by pandering to these superstitious ceremonies, obtained a
4 mastery over their minds, and encouraged superstition and bigotry,

5
6 and when one little man, Snyder, with more manhood than the balance, had the temerity to tell
7 Schwartz and Tobias of their miserable actions and called them rascals, they had him formally
8 excommunicated, and actually prevented him and his family from making a living.

9
10 The incapacity of Mr. Schwartz is not in itself blameable, as experience was lacking; but his
11 persistent attempts to destroy the good name that I have earned by almost eighteen years of
12 hard and generally successful work in the State, is what I condemn, as sooner or later the truth
13 must come out.

14
15 I will, Mr. Editor, before closing, hereby declare that I can take this colony of Russians, and
16 without a dollar from the Society, make them Sow their crops in the Spring of 1883, and without
17 a calamitous visitation of Providence, put every family in a good position by the fall of the year
18 with abundance to live on and to spare.

19
20 Emanuel H. Saltiel
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Lines 1 to 4

This grating comment reflects the disaffection of Anglophone Jews of the period for the religiosity and culture of their Russian coreligionists. See H S Henry's letter, CP-10, page 2, lines 9 to 30.

Lines 6 to 8

These clauses are so singular as to be severed from the sentence of which they are part, for separate annotation.

It seems that Snyder was brought into line after challenging the religiosity around which the colony was to unite. Part of the disciplining was land allocation: after he was displaced by neighbours, his "Third Division" plot (CP-2, table 29) has been described by modern locals as particularly hopeless for farming.

Lines 10 to 13

A final hint of disappointment with Saltiel's former protégé and confidant. But Schwarz has had the last laugh, hasn't he?

Lines 15 to 18

A rousing conclusion of agricultural utopianism, as Schwarz in CP-6, page 20, lines 3 to 27, but totally reversed in Saltiel's letter ten weeks later (CP-7).

It would be a mistake to over-interpret "make", which would not have been understood by contemporary readers as conveying the intent to coerce.

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