Victoria: The Story of A Western Kansas Town

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VICTORIA

The Story Of A Western Kansas Town

being

A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty of the Fort Hays Kansas State College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Science

by

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Date May 17, 1939

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Table of Contents

To

Introduction.......................................................... 1

CHAPTER..............................................................

Dr. Myrta E. McGinnis

I--Purchase of the Land........................................... 6

II--Securing the Settlers......................................... 19

III--Coming of the Settlers....................................... 30

IV--The First Year................................................. 45

V--1878-1879........................................................ 75

VI--The Colony Reaches Its Peak................................ 90

VII--Coming of the German-Plainsites........................ 100

VIII--Last Years of the Colony.................................. 146

Bibliography......................................................... 155
Table Of Contents

Introduction..................................1

CHAPTER

I--Purchase Of The Land.......................6
II--Securing The Settlers.....................19
III--Coming Of The Settlers....................28
IV--The First Year............................36
V--1875-1876..................................76
VI--The Colony Reaches Its Peak...............92
VII--Coming Of The German-Russians;........120
VIII--Last Years Of The Colony...............140

Bibliography..................................158
Introduction

This thesis is a history of the English colony at Victoria, Kansas, from the purchase of the land from the Kansas Pacific Railroad by George Grant in 1872 until the end of the colony in the early eighties. It does not attempt to deal in any complete form with history of the German-Russians who settled at Herzog, a mile north of the original town of Victoria in 1876. The history of Herzog is a story in itself, an intensely interesting one, but too long to be more than suggested in this thesis. It is given only for the years in which the two groups existed side by side and for the purpose of showing their relationships to each other and the contrast between them.

Despite the fact that I have had a great many sources of information, there are gaps in my story that I have been unable to fill. Original settlers, for the most part, are dead. There is none living in Ellis County. I have contacted two, Lord Bernard Maxwell of Scotland and Francis White of Wimbledon, England, both at such a distance that I have been able to get little information from them.

Newspaper files have been very helpful. I am
indebted to Judge Older of the Hays Daily News for files of the Hays City Star, and to William Montgomery for files of the Hays City Sentinel. Each of these, however, begins in 1876, three years after the colony started.

My other best sources have been the persons who were alive at the time the English were here and the sons and daughters of the English who remained in Kansas or in states nearby. To the first group, Andrew Brungardt of Victoria, one of the earliest of the German-Russian settlers, Mrs. William Bruney of Russell, whose husband was a manager for Francis White, William Montgomery, son of the editor of the Hays City Sentinel, and Frank Stout of Hays, an old-timer who had been at many English homes, I owe much. Of the latter group, Mr. and Mrs. William Philip, Sr., and Mr. George Philip have been most helpful. Not only have they given me access to everything they have on the subject, including a prospectus published in London and Edinburgh at the beginning of the colony for purposes of advertisement and letters written to and from the Philip family at Victoria, but they have spent a great deal of time writing letters and helping me contact others who might have information. Mrs. Gus
Havemann of Hays, Kansas, Mrs. Charlie Miller of Colorado Springs, Colorado, Mr. George Faulkner of Belleville, Kansas, and Mrs. Hill P. Wilson of Lawrence, Kansas have also given me help.

My next best sources have been short manuscripts written by persons who interviewed the English and their friends before their deaths. Mollie Madden's "A Chronicle of the Seventies" written mainly on information given her by the late Judge A. D. Gilkeson, a contemporary and good friend of the English, and Margaret Miller's "Early Victoria History," the result of interviews with the late Thomas Carrick, have been the best of these.

To Mr. Karlin of the Schaefer Abstract Company of Hays, I am indebted for information on the foreclosure of Grant's property by the Kansas Pacific and for Grant's will. In the office of the register of deeds I have found the original plat of Victoria and a record of some of Grant's earliest purchases and resales.

I have used two scrapbooks, both fairly complete ones, of later articles written about the settlement. One came from the Hays Public Library, the other from Mrs. H. F. Addison. The latter especially contained much valuable material. Father Edwin Dorzweiler of the Victoria Monastery gave me some facts
from the "Victoria Monastery Chronicle."

Maurice Bier, the present owner of the Grant home, and his son, Maurice Bier, who lives on the farm, have told me about the place as it was shortly after Grant's death and have shown me through "The Villa." Frank Mermis of Munjour has kindly allowed me to go through the old Smithie home, which is now his home. Mr. J. C. Gerstner, present owner of the Maxwell estate, has given me permission to go over his property and has told me of the home which burned in 1916.

There will be, I realize, some persons who will disagree with details in my thesis and who will say that such and such a thing happened otherwise. There are doubtless mistakes, but I wish to say that I have included nothing for which there was not fairly good evidence, although the evidence was not always as conclusive as I wished to find. Where two sources of evidence differed, I have weighed carefully in an attempt to arrive at the truth. The mistakes I may have made are due to lack of material for the most part. In the period during which I have studied the subject, I have spared neither time nor effort to make my material authentic.

If I have seemed to play up the spectacular
side of the colony, it should be remembered that, for its setting, the colony was a spectacular undertaking and that records of it have in most instances stressed the picturesque and the unusual.

To Dr. Myrta McGinnis, my major professor, whose efforts to help me have been untiring, who has read and reread my thesis at various stages and given me valuable criticism in the shaping of my materials; to Dr. F. B. Streeter, secretary of the graduate council, who has given me help and instruction in the mechanics of the thesis as well as in securing materials for it, to all the kind persons who have aided me in any way, I give my sincerest thanks.
It was late afternoon on the tenth of October, 1872. The Kansas Pacific train, composed of one passenger coach, a baggage and mail car, stock cars, and flats crept slowly eastward along the recently-completed railroad tracks into Hays City. It carried its usual motley group of dark-skinned Mexican railroad workers, cowpunchers in broad hats and high-heeled boots with spurs, tin horn gamblers in loud checks, and land prospectors. There were two men who even in that group stood out and commanded the attention of the others. The one was a man of fifty, perhaps, who carried his vigorous six-foot frame with the grace and dignity of a king. His skin was florid, not the weatherbeaten red variety that comes from exposure to wind and sun, but from an inward condition. It contrasted strangely with his almost white hair and whiskers which he wore full but cut short. He was dressed richly though inconspicuously, making an aristocratic appearance. If he was aware of the curious eyes of the group, he gave no sign. He was intent upon the country through which they were passing
and the stories told by his fellow-passengers.

All the way from Denver he had been hearing them. From the jargon of English and foreign-sounding words he had pieced together stories of a "Wild Bill" Hickok, a marshal of Hays City who had enforced "Colt" law, killing several men, and finally shooting up a bunch of soldiers from the Seventh Cavalry and getting run out of town; of "Buffalo Bill" Cody, who had helped to found a thriving town called Rome, which had vanished when the railroad passed it up, and who then, for want of a better means of livelihood had killed buffalo and peddled the meat from door to door in Hays City; of "Calamity Jane" who had come from the East, but who could swear, shoot, and hold her liquor with the best of them. She was as genial as she was immoral and was well-liked, though for some unknown reason trouble always started where she was. Then he caught the names of Custer, Forsyth, and Sheridan. There were blood-curdling stories of lawlessness and shootings so continual that it seemed like a perpetual Fourth of July.

Occasionally he turned to his companion, a younger, less-impressive individual, and addressed him in a low, cultured voice. Then he resumed his scrutiny.
The train jerked to a stop at a small red frame depot. While it unloaded fresh fruits and vegetables, brought in from Denver, onto the long board platform and reloaded with fresh "green" buffalo meat and wild game for Topeka and Kansas City, the men looked over the town. To the north and south of the tracks along a wide street about a block long squatted square one-story frame buildings so low that they seemed to have sprung from the ground. Big signs over their doors indicated their purpose. There were saloons, dance halls, barber shops, grocery stores, a hotel, more saloons. On the north side of the street alone they counted twelve. An occasional team hitched to a wagon and a few saddle ponies were tied to the long rails in front of the ships, and here and there on the board sidewalks could be seen a homesteader or a soldier from the fort south of Hays City.

To the north of the tracks stood huge government warehouses from which the government had formerly freighted all supplies to Fort Larned, Fort Dodge, Fort Sill, and other small forts near by.

Close around the shops huddled the homes of nearly five hundred settlers. Some of them were soddies, some frame houses, but they were all built close together for protection.

Although there was a hustle and bustle about the
little town, it seemed peaceful enough. There was nothing to indicate that it was a lawless town. The men remarked on it, but were told that trouble came mostly at night after the red and blue saloon and dance hall lights on the kerosene circuit were turned on. Then the tinny strains of ragtime music would mingle with the rattling of poker chips and the click of liquor glasses, and with drunkenness would come fights and shooting.

The train finished loading and started for Ellsworth where it would stop for the night. Trains still ran irregularly, often stopping at night in the fear that Indians might attack the train or that they had already pulled up the rails.

Beyond Hays City the prairies stretched smoothly as far as they could see until in the far distance the blue sky bent down and kissed their purple edges. A breeze rippled the short green grass where buffalo grazed peacefully. Antelope scampered past the train in sheer deviltry. On the creek banks tall crimson grasses waved and along the tracks sunflowers bent their golden heads. There were prairie dog towns where the earth was pocked with symmetrical mounds on which the wary little dogs stood on their haunches like statues only to disappear at the approach of the train.
There were few dwellings. Now and then a dugout appeared along a creek or in a hillside, scarcely visible above the top of the ground, its rusted stovepipe sticking out of the roof. There were soddies too with straw roofs and an occasional frame house. But always, everywhere the smooth, green carpet of grass.

The men's curiosity had turned to interest. They spoke in excited tones and leaned far out, looking at the country. This wide fertile plain which was like an Arcadia and whose air was like champagne was practically uninhabited. Here in the center of the world was a mighty kingdom, waiting for some race to possess it. When the older man looked at the fertile plains he saw them not empty, but dotted with beautiful homes, divided into fine, large estates. In the fields he saw cattle, good, blooded cattle grazing, and sheep growing fat on the abundant gramma grass. His alert mind which made decisions so rapidly and with such unfailing judgment was forming a plan. The land was for sale, he knew. He had seen pamphlets extolling its value, offering it for a small price. He would buy a large tract of it and on it form a colony of Englishmen. England was already so crowded that many worthy men could only make a meager living, and younger men had little future. Here they could procure for themselves large estates and become rich. He would name the
colony for his queen—the Victoria Colony. The man was George Grant of London; his companion, Mr. Edwards, his private secretary.

The life of George Grant reads like a Horatio Alger yarn. He had the proper origin, having been born of poor parents at Aberdeenshire, Scotland, in 1822. He began his career while he was quite young as a clerk in Banffshire, Scotland. When a better opportunity presented itself he went to London. Although the wages he received were small, he managed to save money and in a few years acquired part interest in a retail dry goods store on Oxford Street. For twenty-five years he was senior partner of the firm of Grant and Gask. His store was a good enough one, patronized by a substantial class of persons, but it did not make him wealthy.

His first big chance came during the Paris Exposition of 1867. At this time he cornered the silk market. Single handed he undertook to outstrip the world in the display of rare, rich, elegant, and magnificent dry goods such as silks, velvets, linens, carpets, ribbons, shawls, laces, gloves and other fabrics, and he astonished the millions who visited the exposition. His goods on exhibition represented a million and a quarter
of American money. Before the exposition was over he was the most talked of man in Europe with the exception of Napoleon III. After the exposition when the goods were taken to his shop, endless crowds including members of the royal family rushed to buy his prize fabrics. The crowds were so dense and so excited that twelve policemen were required to keep order. George Grant had made a fortune, but better yet, he had acquired rich and aristocratic patrons of whom many were rich tourists. He immediately remodeled his shop, making it a palatial establishment carrying even a larger stock than A. T. Stewart, prince of American merchants. Although it is not known just what else he did with his money, Grant soon spent it. Probably he gave some of it away, for he was noted for his charitable deeds. At any rate it was soon gone, and while he had now a good income he was by no means rich.

One morning when business was particularly dull, the London Times came out with the news that Albert, Prince Consort of Queen Victoria, was ill. News came later in the day that not only was the Prince worse, but that his condition was serious. The far-sighted Grant saw possibilities in the situation. If the Prince died, all London would be draped in black crepe and the entire country as a badge of their mourning would wear crepe on their sleeves. Within
twenty-four hours Grant had bought up every available yard of crepe in London.

Luck was with him. The Prince died and Grant sold the crepe at his own price; again he made a killing that was the talk of the British dry goods merchants for years.

But Grant had been leading too strenuous a life, and was near the breaking point. His physician warned him that he must prepare to take things easy if he wished to escape a premature death; so Grant decided to retire, retaining for the time his interest in the firm. He had wealth and with it he would buy a large country estate in England. There in the pure, country air he would hunt and ride to regain his health. His search for a large estate in England failed. England was already densely populated and no lands of sufficient extent were available. He made a trip to America early in 1872, going first to Canada, since it was under English rule and would be the most like his own home. The brumal winds and the storms there displeased him; so he came further, into the United States, to see what he could find. The hot part of the summer he spent in White Sulphur Springs, Virginia, but while he liked the South, it did not appeal to him as a place to live. California likewise disappointed him. He visited in Chicago, and while his belief that the city was
bound to grow into a very important one was so great that he bought a whole block of buildings, he did not wish to live there. He was on the verge of returning home when, passing through Kansas, he became interested in the prospect of settling there.

He had read about these lands. After the building of the Kansas Pacific Railway, when the government had given to the railroad alternate sections of land in a twenty-mile strip on both sides of the right-of-way, the company had flooded Europe with pamphlets extolling the beauty and fertility of the plains in an effort not only to sell their lands, but to populate them with persons who would be using the railroads. The prairies had not then appealed to him. He had thought something must be wrong with them or they would have been settled. Not until he saw them was he interested. To him they were the most beautiful lands he had ever seen, and best of all a whole farm could be bought for the price of a single acre in England. He determined to buy as much as he could.

His exact procedure is not known. He may have gone to Kansas City to see the officials of the railroad company there or he may have returned to Ellis to see Superintendent Dorrance, who had headquarters there. The latter seems more probable. At any rate
Grant purchased a large tract of land. His first purchase, made in October, included twenty-five thousand acres of land at two dollars an acre. Although records of other purchases are not available, he must have made them, for by April, 1873, his holdings were said by reliable authorities to total sixty-nine thousand acres. Neither is it known exactly what he paid for later purchases. It is usually estimated that he paid an average of eighty-eight cents an acre for the entire amount. The company was liberal with him. It required a down payment of only twenty per cent, the remainder to be paid after he had sold the land. They allowed him three years without interest.

Grant told the company, "If you will build a place where colonists can live while homes are being built, I'll people these prairies with the best blood of England." So they agreed to build a combination depot-store-postoffice-hotel to house no fewer than twenty-five persons, as well as a siding and accommodations for handling and shipping their stock, both to be completed by the first of June, 1873. Grant then returned to England to get people for his colony. His purchases had made him the largest landowner in the United States and caused no little excitement. Newspapers hailed his undertaking as the most important
ever ventured upon by a European in America. The Sal-
ina Herald for December, 1872, carried a big article
about it.

By his locating in central Kansas we have
acquired an extremely valuable acquisition....
His intention and aims are more philanthropic
than of a speculative turn. His object is moral
and humanitarian, and certainly transcends all
other colonization schemes with which the Amer-
ican public have been made acquainted. The
superabundance of capital and surplus of labor-
ers in Great Britain have sought and discovered
their outlet in this country. Capital and labor
are adapting themselves to our broader and more
lucrative fields than Europe affords. In this
investment the proprietor has made a new and
admirable departure to the rule which is a seek-
ing for speculative returns and a greater re-
ward for labor. His enterprise is exceedingly
intelligent, highly philanthropic, merits
and is receiving a world-wide commendation.

As regards the benefits of the undertak-
ing to our state it is priceless as its bene-
fits are manifold. Here in the far west, yet
only eleven days from Queenstown, Havre, or
Liverpool, a day's journey from the Father of
Waters where it rolls its rich tide to the
Gulf of Mexico and the ocean, this colony of
Victoria will grow. Tens of thousands of tour-
ists who will annually take the popular Kansas
Pacific route to the mountains and to Calif-
ornia will be attracted to it. Some of the
best of England's people will settle on it, and
joined by Americans of respectability who are
alike welcome to come there for homes, the
philanthropic proprietor will become surrounded
with a people, sturdy, noble, intelligent, and
their children, educated by our school system,
the best in the world, will grow to love their
parents' adopted home..................
We err, greatly, if in time the name of Mr.
George Grant is not a household word in the
empire of the west, and he looked upon as a
benefactor by hundreds of thousands of people.

There were many other equally flattering write-ups.
The Hays papers played up the new colony. Journalists
from all parts of Kansas came to Ellis County to learn about it. The Topeka Blade said:

From what we can learn of him, he is likely to make a bigger mark than any other man who has ever come here.

London, which had gaped at his two former daring exploits, received the news of the third and largest by the Atlantic Cable.
Bibliographical Notes

The material on the purchase of the land is taken from The Victoria Colony By D. Curror, from records in the office of the Register of Deeds, Hays, Kansas, and from an article, "Beginning of Black Cattle in America," in Live Stock Markets. The description of Hays City as a pioneer town is based on an article by Mrs Josephine Middlekauff, "A Little Girl's Impression of Hays," in The Story of Old Fort Hays, and on interviews with William Montgomery of Hays.
CHAPTER II

Securing The Settlers

The land having been purchased, Grant's next step was to find men to settle on it. There were, of course plenty of poor men who would have been glad for the opportunity, but Grant did not want poor men. He said that those who were obliged to leave an old country were not the ones who were most likely to succeed in developing the resources of a new one. He planned to divide the land into large estates and though at first one could purchase as little as one hundred and sixty acres, he changed the ruling in 1873 so that no one could buy less than one square mile with the exception of working men's colonies which might hold collectively several thousands of acres.

Victoria City was to be the headquarters of the colony in which their schools, church, library and public buildings would be erected. The community would thus be compact so that they might manage their estates and still retain their habits and the amenities of English gentlemen.

Grant aimed at the class known in England as small farmers, and at the younger sons of noble families and wayward sons of families who had accumulated
wealth. The latter young men were hard riders, hard drinkers, and game sports, but were indifferent to business and had caused their parents many anxious moments. To the fathers of these Grant promised that life on the plains of Kansas was one which would develop hardy manhood and while so doing would make fortunes for them. He said that sheep and cattle would multiply and grow fat on the buffalo grass, and that a man could have his own private kingdom.

To the sons he painted another picture. The prairies were wide, level, and undisturbed. They contained wild game in abundance, which would make them ideal for hunting. Since younger sons were more or less expected to go into the army or the ministry, the new scheme appealed to many as a welcome adventure.

The price which Grant asked for his land varied from four to twenty dollars an acre, the average being about eleven dollars. Only one-fifth of the purchase price had to be paid in cash. The balance was payable in four equal installments at the end of five years with interest at six per cent. A ten per cent discount was to be allowed for half cash and the balance at the end of one year.

All purchasers were to have the option of selecting a town lot in Victoria City for one half of its...
fixed price for each eighty acres of their purchase. Town lots were valued at five hundred dollars apiece.

That they might have homesteaded lands did not appeal to most of the colonists. They were for the most part of households too proud to homestead land when it could be bought for the paltry sum of eleven dollars an acre. Then too there were other drawbacks to homesteading. They would not have been free to leave for extended visits and would have been required to become American citizens. To many this latter provision was distasteful. Mr. Skot-Skirving, president of the Royal Physical Society, a member of the Chamber of Agriculture and an ex-member of the Scottish Chamber of Commerce, expressed their view very well. Although he praised the land for an investment, he said that it went against his grain to do anything to aggrandize the Yankees and that were it possible he would rather see the Britishers go to British colonies. He himself would not live under a republican government such as the United States possessed. Nevertheless he urged them to go out and make money, then to come back to England to spend it. It was, after all, foolish to pay for one acre what a whole farm would cost in America. Many came frankly with that idea in mind. One fellow gave himself four years to return with twenty
thousand dollars.

For those who wished to test the soil before buying, Grant provided that they might have the alternative of leasing at eight shillings an acre with the right to buy the leased portion at a fixed price within five years.

Grant promised free accommodations in the Kansas Pacific Station-Hotel until they might build temporary homes. He promised to provide at a reasonable price all lumber needed for temporary residences. Permanent residences were all to be of stone, the frame buildings being turned over to hired help.

He promised free schools under the American provision for tax-supported education, a church, a library, and special train rates.

There were other inducements to buy from Grant. He would keep a herd of high-blooded stock, cattle, horses, and sheep, a supply of pure seeds, steam cultivators such as were in use in England, and would plow the soil cheaply and quickly—all for the benefit of members of his colony. These, of course, were not available to homesteaders.

As agents to facilitate the sale he chose R. W. Edis of London, Kobbe and Fowler, New York, and Curror and Cowper, Edinburgh. A. MacDonald was chosen to re-
In his prospectus he described the land in glowing terms quoted from a book "Beyond the Mississippi" by Harrison.

I wonder if the Almighty ever made a more beautiful country than Kansas. These green prairies rolling like gentle swells of the ocean, starred and gemmed with flowers and threaded with dark belts of timber which mark the winding of the streams are a joy forever. Glancing over millions of acres covered with thick grass and dotted with groves, it appears the very counterpart of highly cultivated fields and orchards. One can hardly persuade himself that he is not traveling in a long-settled country whose inhabitants have suddenly disappeared, taking with them their houses and barns and leaving only their rich pastures and hay fields.

He described the air as "health-giving, champagne air, dry, rarified and invigorating," and quoted Dr. Griswold of Ohio as saying, "There is a peculiar atmosphere in Kansas, whether purer, drier, or containing more oxygen I cannot say, but it has a most exhilarating effect upon the system. It might be called champagne air. It not only stimulates the nerve centers, invigorating the body, but it also has an invigorating effect upon the mind.... You may sleep with the windows open and yet take no cold. The cool nights seem to increase health and vigor." To the Scottish people, used to a climate so damp that even in the tightest, best-built houses fires had to be
built in the evening to dry the damp bedding before they could go to bed, as a result of which many contracted tuberculosis, this was a big inducement.

He did not include the description sent him by a farmer who had spent a winter in Kansas.

There is no such miserable country in America. It is bleak and dreary, not a tree in a thousand acres of it. Fearful winters from cold—cold that no one in the old country has any idea of. The soil is undoubtedly rich. But the water is alkaline. There are no springs. As for scenery it is either an immense burnt-up plain or covered with snow. Snow, sometimes two feet deep, for months at a time. In one herd of twelve hundred cattle, seven hundred died. Even clocks and watches were frozen. The wheat was all frozen out. People lost fingers and toes by frost bite. In summer one must sleep with open windows or suffocate. In winter one is frozen. It is only he who has wintered in Kansas in a wooden hut who can give an opinion worth having.

Probably Grant did not intentionally misrepresent facts. There had been plenty of rain in the fall of 1872 and the grass was green and tall. As a matter of fact he, working with his agent, D. Curror of Edinburgh, organized a staff to see the land and report. The staff was composed of three experienced agriculturalists, an engineer, and a botanist. One of the agriculturalists was from the north of Scotland, another from the south. One was a man experienced in raising and feeding cattle, the other in feeding sheep. The third was a stock raiser as well as a spec-
ialist in plantation shelter and cultivation by steam plow. The engineer, besides being very eminent in his field, was also a farmer, and the botanist knew a great deal about geology. To this staff of trained men Grant added two experts of his own, one being an architect, the other a naturalist well known in the agricultural world.

These were to come to Kansas accompanied by Curror himself to look over Grant's holdings. Grant's idea was not only to advertise his property abroad by this move, but at the same time to give expert information to those who wished to buy.

The committee was scheduled to visit Kansas in May, 1873. For some reason the plan failed. Whether or not it was Grant's fault is not certain. In June a second commission, this one to contain four surveyors, two of Curror's and two of Grant's, and Mr. Curror himself, planned to survey not only Grant's property but all Kansas Pacific lands in both Kansas and Colorado. Grant promised through the joint agent in Britain of the Kansas Pacific and himself to make provision for their trip to the United States, but when they met in Edinburgh they found that Grant had not kept his promise; so they dropped the matter. Later Mr. Curror attempted to organize a third party, but it likewise failed.
Meanwhile, lured by the promise of money and a good time, a group of more than thirty English and Scottish had formed, and on April Fool's Day started the journey to America.
Bibliographical Notes

The material for this chapter was taken almost entirely from *The Victoria Colony* by D. Curror. A few additional facts I have gained from my interviews with William and George Philip.

In the 1840s brought all their worldly possessions and a small supply of food in their basket wagons. The family marched dancing from the bush and a little of all they owned. The women were tailor dressed and gentlemanly, the men formal, and they came with a clear idea of the hardships to be borne. There was another class, the railway builders, going west to the fringes of civilization where men had more pressing concerns than reputation and family trees and where no questions could be asked of room. "Do God rest in Junction City" used to be a regular saying among so many of the men where there.

In utmost contrast to these were Grant's settlement. Many of them came from wealthy, aristocratic families. The had had privileges for superior to most of their time. All had some education and some were university graduates. They came to found big estates and to grow rich. Many came with the assurance that allowances varying from fifty to two hundred dollars a month could
CHAPTER III

Coming Of The Settlers

Most of the pioneers who came to Western Kansas in the 1870's brought all their worldly possessions and a small supply of food in their covered wagons, the family washtub dangling from the back and a milk cow or so grazing along behind. The women wore calico dresses and sunbonnets, the men overalls, and they came with a clear idea of the hardships to be borne. There was another class, the riffraff, outlawed at home, going west to the fringe of civilization where men had more pressing concerns than reputation and family trees and where no questions would be asked of them. "No God west of Junction City" used to be a popular saying since so many of the latter class were there.

In strange contrast to these were Grant's settlers. Many of them came from wealthy, aristocratic families. They had had privileges far superior to most of their time. All had some education and some were university graduates. They came to found big estates and to grow rich. Many came with the assurance that allowances varying from fifty to two hundred dollars a month would
be sent to them regularly. These were called "remittance men," and were for the most part unmarried and in their early twenties.

Big preparations were made for their departure. Most of them brought extra clothing since clothing might be hard to get in Kansas. They had covers--woolen ones--made especially to bring along. But they anticipated a gay social life as well. More than one silk top hat and dress suit found its way into their luggage. They brought books too, for they were fond of reading, sets of Scott, of Dickens and of Burns. They brought everything available in hunting equipment, for after all that was the main inducement for many. The women brought with them fine hand spun linens and solid silver tableware with bone handles.

On April the first when they boarded the Alabama, the first steamship to sail in 1873 from the harbor at Glasgow, the dock was crowded with well-wishers. Stern fathers were there hopeful of the effect of the new world on their pleasure-loving sons, indulgent mothers, a little fearful. America was so far away, so crude. If it had only been a British colony. There were sweethearts, tearful at the separation, promising to follow. They had brought gifts, wines, brandy, books, clothing. Friends of George Philip, remembering blood-curdling tales of Indians, had brought him a
gun especially for protecting himself. While hats filled the air and the women slyly dabbed at their eyes, the Alabama sailed out of the harbor. For a few miles its occupants were silent, sad; then they set their faces hopefully to the new world.

In the group were George Grant himself, his nephew, Alexander Grant, and the orphaned daughter of his brother, John, Margaret Grant, all from Elgin, Scotland. George Staples, George Philip and George MacDonald were also from Elgin; James Hider with his wife and child, Frank Mason, Mr. and Mrs. Bowman and their family, A. A. Smith, J. Smith, and J. Douglas Smith were all from London. J. Mayes was from Derbyshire and James Lane from Lancashire, England and Ben Davidson from Aberdeen, Scotland. There was also a Lord Anderson in the group as well as young William Faulkner whose father had just died leaving him seventy thousand dollars, half of which he had left with a brother in England to invest for him, and half of which he had with him to make a fortune in the new world.

J. Douglas Smith was to have charge of the livestock interests of Victoria under Grant's supervision. Previous to his coming he had been manager to one of largest agricultural establishments in England, having had charge of ten thousand sheep and two thousand cattle.
The largest steam plowing tackle ever put together, capable of plowing forty acres a day, had also been under his management.

Besides the people, there were on board several Aberdeen Polled bulls of beautiful shape, hornless and as black as sloes, and a short-horn bull. All of them were thoroughbreds. Three of the bulls, though less than one year old, weighed twelve hundred pounds each and were worth two thousand dollars apiece in gold. There were also thirty Cotswald and Oxford down rams of the finest breeds in England. It cost Grant four hundred dollars each to import the rams.

So with all this cargo the modern ark put out to sea. Very soon it ran into weather so rough that the skipper was compelled to turn off his course for three days.

Practically everyone on board was ill, the herdsman, MacDonald, among the rest. One day a deck hand came to tell him that the smallest black bull was sick. MacDonald replied, "Well, if he feels as bad as I do, I'm damned sorry for him."

When the ship arrived at the Gulf of Mexico it encountered further trouble. The Alabama drew eighteen feet of water and there were but sixteen in the channel. Accordingly the ship became stranded on a sandbar.
Finally two barges with two white bosses and fifty negroes were sent down from New Orleans to help. As soon as the cargo was lightened, they were able to continue their journey.

In Dixie land the stormy gales were replaced by blue skies and soft southern breezes. While the negroes helped unload the live stock with block and tackle they sang. They were speechless at the sight of the black Aberdeen Angus bulls. Never in their lives had they seen anything like these black cattle. Here were "bovine colored folk." Nor were they the only ones astonished by the spectacle. These were the first of their kind to set foot upon American soil, and Americans regarded them as freaks of nature.

When everything had been transferred from the Alabama to the Great Republic, a packet, they started up the Mississippi River to St. Louis. Day by day they churned up the mighty waters, around the great bends, and past fields of cotton and cane brakes. They heard plaintive negro voices singing "Swanee River" as they worked, and replied with their own "Maxwelton's Braes are Bonnie."

At St. Louis they got on trains which were supplied free for them as an added inducement to settle in Kansas. There were no further mishaps or delays and in a few
days they reached Salina. There Ben Davidson and George Staples got off with orders from Grant to buy a large government wagon and two span of oxen, and to load up with food and agricultural tools. Their journey on to Victoria was a bad introduction to their new home. They encountered hailstorms and flooded creeks, and the trails, which were never very good, were harder than ever to follow. Finally they wound up at Fort Hays and by following Victoria Creek were able to reach the depot. It had taken them more than a week to travel one hundred miles.

The rest, continuing by rail, arrived Sunday, May the eighteenth, at their destination, the land of grass and far horizons. Red moccasin flowers, tiny yellow daisies, and snowy soap weeds were blooming in a colorful profusion. For miles no house could be seen. Only the Victoria Manor, built by the Kansas Pacific for a combination depot-hotel, broke the level sweep. With its two stories it towered like a skyscraper on the plain. George Philip, clutching his Indian gun tightly, stepped off the train first to help the women and children. The men followed, carrying luggage. Grant was the last. It was a lonesome scene and for a moment they forgot their high hopes and wished for their old homes. Men sighed and women wiped tears from their
eyes. They watched the train as it rolled on until it faded away and only its shrill whistle could be heard in the distance. The wind caught them in a meaningless sweep and they struggled against it. Then they picked up their baggage and went into the Manor.
Bibliographical Notes

The sources for this chapter are many, sometimes only a sentence or two having been used of a whole article. The main source, however, was a feature article, "Beginning of Black Cattle In America," by Alvin H. Sanders in Live Stock Markets for Jan. 12, 1933, pages 8-9. Other sources were Mrs. H. F. Addison's Scrapbook on Early History of Ellis County; a feature story, "Only Three Remain Who Knew Glory of Victoria Colony of Fifty Years Ago," by Rolland Jacquet in the Kansas City Star for Mar. 11, 1928; and interviews with Mr. and Mrs. William Philip, Sr., and George Philip.
CHAPTER IV

The First Year

Although the English soon felt the bigness and the grip of the limitless plains, the adjustment was a great one for them to make. At night the melancholy howl of coyotes parted the thin air and came to them, making them ache with loneliness. Tales of horse thieves and of Indians disturbed their sleep so that they woke at the slightest noise and lay tense, waiting, hands on loaded revolvers. To most of them, accustomed to the noises of the city, the dead silences were even more fraught with danger. In them they could imagine furtive footsteps and lurking shadows. The boom of the prairie chickens at daybreak was reassuring.

The first few days the English spent exploring the new country on ponies they had had shipped in or had bought from horse traders, and planning the homes they were to build.

They learned that not until after the Civil War had pioneers settled in Ellis County. As late as 1866 General Sheridan had written in his report to the
United States government: "These plains can never be cultivated, never be filled with inhabitants capable of self-government and self-defense, but at best can become one vast pasture ground."

At the close of the Civil War a railroad was planned from the Missouri River to Denver, Colorado. To protect the construction gangs from Indian attacks the government established a series of forts near the proposed right-of-way. Fort Fletcher, one of the group, was established the eleventh of October, 1865, on Big Creek. It was named for Governor Fletcher of Missouri, but one year later the name was changed from Fort Fletcher to Fort Hays in honor of General Alexander Hays, who had lost his life during the Civil War. Although General Winfield Scott had visited the fort early in 1867 and had recommended that, on account of its low position, it should be moved to the point on Big Creek where the Kansas Pacific would cross, this was not done. A flood early in June of the same year, which drowned a number of soldiers, caused it to be moved later in the same month to the location Scott had suggested.

One writer describing the new fort said, "The post, in its location, is like an island in the sea. The uninhabited wastes stretched away to the south hundreds of miles and to the northward to the pole."
City. There were neither doctors nor druggists in Rome, and the people feared to stay there. So they moved their tents and shacks over to the new town. The former town site is now a farmer's pig pen.

The Hays City of 1867 was composed of a queer hodgepodge of settlers, dance hall girls, saloon keepers, buffalo hunters, gamblers, and railroad workers living in tents and shanties. There were one grocery store, three dance halls, a clothing store, and more than twenty saloons. At the first meeting of the county commissioners thirty-seven permits for selling liquor had been granted.

By 1873 the city had changed a great deal. When the railroad had been completed to Hays City and had pushed on west, many of the tougher element had followed. The population had shrunk in that time from more than one thousand to about five hundred persons, but these were on the whole of a better class, interested in building up the town. There were still plenty of questionable characters and saloons were by far the most numerous places of business.

Beginning at Peach Tree Corner on North Main, the English explored all the shops in their order: Capless and Ryan Outfitting Store, the Leavenworth Restaurant, Dalton's Saloon and Faro House, Hound Kelly's Saloon, the office of M. E. Joyce, justice of the peace, a
jewelry store, Mrs. Gowdy's sod hut, Ed Godard's Saloon and Dance Hall, Tommy Drumm's Saloon, Kate Coffee's Saloon, Mose Walter's Saloon, R. W. Evan's Grocery Store and Post Office, Ol Cohen's Clothing Store, Paddy Welsh's Saloon and Gambling House, the Penny Hotel, M. J. R. Treat's Candy and Peanut Stand, Cy Goddard's Saloon and Dance Hall, and Nigger White's Barber Shop.

Not all saloons were the same. There were places where one could quench his thirst with liquor all the way from whiskey straight at twenty-five cents a drink to Madame Cliquit at five dollars a pint. Dalton's catered to teamsters and soldiers with whom the English did not at first get along. On their first visit they offered to set up the house, but were informed by the soldiers that they didn't drink with any "goddam English." A fight ensued--and the English afterward steered clear of that place. Hound Kelly's was a small place and handled only whiskey straight; so the English did not patronize it. Ed. Godard's Saloon was somewhat better. Here they could not only drink but could afterwards dance with the "gals" if they wished.

Of them all Tommy Drumm's Saloon was their favorite. Tommy had the reputation of being the "whitest" saloon keeper in town and his saloon the best between St. Louis and Denver. The only bar mirror in Hays hung back of
the long polished bar, a seven by eight foot plate
glass one valued at three hundred dollars. The faces
of Forsyth, Custer, Sheridan, "Buffalo Bill," "Wild Bill,"
and many other early day notables had been reflected
in it. His glassware was of red and cut crystal, the
glass holders of sterling silver.

Oddly enough, Tommy seldom drank. Nor did he like
for anyone to "pass out" in his saloon. He had a
habit of tapping persons who were drinking too heavily
on the shoulder and telling them not to ask for any
more to drink. He was one of the kindest-hearted cit-
izens in Hays City. It was he who inaugurated the
custom of sending baskets to the poor on Thanksgiving
and Christmas, and his windows were often washed sev-
eral times in one day by tramps begging for work. Al-
though he was a saloon keeper the better class of
people in Hays respected and patronized him.

Tommy kept in touch with all the newest drinks,
making frequent trips to St. Louis to learn them and
to get supplies. The favorite drink of the English
was his "Shoo-fly." Because Tommy could not get pro-
per milk for it in Hays, he bought a cow especially
for it. His saloon became the hangout of the English
in Hays.
There were freighting facilities too, which interested the English, for Hays was then the biggest town in the western part of the state. A government warehouse stood near the tracks. From it the government had formerly freighted supplies to Fort Larned, Fort Dodge, Fort Sill, and other small forts nearby. At that time it had employed as mule whackers and clerks nearly one thousand persons. The number had shrunk considerably. Then there was the Otero and Sellar warehouse which employed only Mexicans. The bull trains which brought freight from Mexico were a fascinating sight. Each outfit consisted of "eight or ten yoke of oxen, with their wide spreading horns, yoked to a big covered wagon with two trail wagons chained to that and driven by a Mexican in his fanciful clothes and bright-hued kerchief and wide-brimmed sombrero. Often the procession was a mile or more in length and as it wound its way over the hills above the town resembled a great colorful serpent."

The English had little in common with many of the varied group which made up Hays City. It was different with the officers of the fort and their wives. Many of them had come also from good homes and some of them were wealthy. They too had received good educations and in them the English found people much like themselves.
Fort Hays was located nearly a mile south of Hays City on rising ground near Big Creek. It was called the pleasantest military post on the plains and was the headquarters of the Third United States Infantry. The homes in officers' row were all large frame ones with piazzas covered with morning glory vines. In front of the homes were the parade grounds where soldiers went through the daily martial routine. The fort house where everyone gathered for protection in case of Indian attacks was a two-story six-sided stone building with a low addition at each end. There were stables too, and a hall for dancing and entertainments.

Three miles away on the banks of Big Creek a unit of the United States Cavalry was encamped. Many of the men were married and their wives were living with them, "roughing it" as they jokingly said. Their homes, however, were like royal pleasure pavilions. Nearly everyone was embowered in morning glory vines. All of them had books, brackets, statuettes and pictures. One even contained a grand piano. In comparison with the usual dugouts of the settlers, their homes were luxurious, even though many of the dugouts were furnished comfortably. Some of the dugouts had carpet on the floor and lace curtains at the windows.

The English lived at the Victoria Manor while their
homes were being built. It was a two-story building, thirty feet wide by sixty feet long, solidly constructed of yellowish native limestone. It was enclosed on all four sides by a wide, wooden porch. Wooden steps led from the outside to the second story. Downstairs were the business rooms, a small ticket office, a freight room, and a large waiting room which might be used as a dining room or for dances and sociables. The upstairs had been divided into ten or twelve rooms which were the living quarters.

Living in the Manor was not easy. The women had to cook for the men and many of them had never done housework before. Scarcity of provisions made their work doubly hard.

There was, of course, an abundance of wild game, and for those who did not have time or inclination to hunt it was cheap. Wild turkeys weighing from twenty to twenty-five pounds could be bought for a dollar a-piece. Antelope, rabbit, and buffalo could be bought at one-half cent a pound. Practically every family smoked and dried a quarter of buffalo.

Staples had to be shipped in and were expensive because of the high freight rates on the newly-built railway. Tea sold for from fifty cents to a dollar a
pound and then was not good; sugar was fifteen cents a pound; butter and eggs sold for from thirty-five to fifty cents; and flour two dollars and a half to five dollars per hundred. But the English had money. Such as was to be had they bought and bought in quantities. The storekeeper's life was an easy one. Nobody bought less than a dollar's worth of anything and canned goods were sold by the case. The main articles kept were bacon, beans, dried peaches, prunes, and apples, all brought in by infrequent and irregular freight trains or by express on the passenger train.

Often in the first year these things were not available. Bacon grease frequently had to be substituted for butter. So scarce was food that sometimes, as one old timer related, their tables, spread with beautiful hand-spun linen and sterling silver, contained no better food than corn bread and sow belly.

That summer misfortune came to the colony. The Seth family, composed of Mr. and Mrs. Seth, six sons, and two daughters, had left Scotland a few weeks after the first group, bound also for Victoria. When they reached New Orleans a fever was raging and inhabitants were fleeing from the city. They escaped the disease there, but later on their trip up the Mississippi River
they were forced to sleep on deck and to drink the
polluted water, and Mrs. Seth caught the fever. The
trip took three months and there was no way to care
for Mrs. Seth properly on the boat. Finally she died
and they buried her on the banks of the river five
hundred miles from Victoria. They continued the trip,
but when they arrived they were worn out with the dis-
ease and with grief. The colonists were sympathetic
and tried to help them. Since they were afraid to
let them live in the Manor, they put up a two-room
hut for them. Two children died almost immediately;
others followed in rapid succession until only the
father and one son were left of the entire family.
Their money was gone too; so the people of Victoria
made wooden boxes to bury them in. There was not even
a cemetery where their bodies might be placed. The
nearest one was at Hays City--Boot Hill, which contain-
ed twenty-seven occupants, twenty-six of which had
died violently in the bloody early days of the city and
had been buried with their boots on. They could not
bury the Seth family there; so they put them out on the
prairie and erected rude wooden markers. There was not
even a minister there to say a prayer over the graves.
The settlers gathered around with bowed heads and pray-
ed silently, fearful lest the climate of the new coun-


try might be unhealthful and claim other victims. The father and son, unable to bear the home that had meant the deaths of the rest of the family, went to Russell, Kansas, for a little more than a year and then returned to Scotland. This incident kept other settlers from coming for a time. Kansas became known as "the plain of Death."

The English turned their attention soon to practical problems. A few even planted corn. Although they arrived only in May, by the twentieth of June two hundred acres of maize had been planted in the sod. The work was hard. First wide furrows twelve to fourteen inches were turned. The sod then was split with a hand planter and corn dropped into the holes. Some of the poorer farmers of the county who could not afford even these planters split their furrows with axes. The soil was fertile, however, and the season good, so that they were sure of a reward for their work.

That same year Lebold, Allen, and Augustine decided that Ellis County ought to make a good farming country; so they plowed a large section and planted it to wheat. Crops of all kinds made enormous yields and caused many people to come to Kansas.

Protecting their crops was a hard job. There were
then few fences and the herd law was not yet in effect so that livestock owners were not required to watch their stock. Rather it was the business of the crop grower to protect his fields. In most cases fences were built around cultivated fields, but even then there was difficulty in keeping animals out of them.

Most of the settlers spent their time building homes. Many small frame buildings were put up as temporary quarters to be turned over to the servants as soon as the stone residences called for in their agreements were built. A few began immediately to construct the stone houses. Stone was abundant on the property, but had to be quarried before it was available for use.

Water was another problem. Most of the settlers had chosen farms along Victoria Creek and had built facing and near it, but wells were still necessary. Before long water witches with their hazel branches were walking over the land searching for good locations for their wells.

There were many things to bother the colonists in the first year. Indian scares were numerous and terrifying. On the west edge of Victoria were six graves marked with rough native slabs, of men killed by the Indians a few years before while the Kansas Pacific was being built. They served as a constant reminder of the
inhumane treatment of the whites by the Indians. At the rumor of Indians everyone dropped his work, gathered his precious possessions and family into a spring wagon, and hurried to Victoria. There in the Victoria Manor they would assemble, the men stationed at various points to watch for the bobbing figures which meant "Indians." At night they huddled together with all weapons loaded and only pretended to sleep. Later when the Pettiman Lumber Yard began business it was used as a place of refuge. Though there were many scares, there were no attacks and a few times only did they even see Indians. On one occasion Alec Philip while he was going to a ranch in the Solomon Valley, met up with a band who were watering their ponies in the Solomon River. They accosted him and began making signs and speaking broken English. At first he was too frightened to make any meaning out of their language, but finally he gathered what it was that they wanted. He was riding a fine pony, Mr. Bennett, he called it, and they wanted to trade for it. Mr. Philip refused, more than half expecting that they would try to take it away from him. They increased their offer, but he still refused. For a long time they tried to bargain with him, but each time he refused. Finally the leader shrugged and grunted and they rode off leaving him even
if considerably frightened at the occurrence, perfectly unharmed. Before the English had been long in Victoria the Indians began coming to the grocery store occasionally for supplies, but they were always friendly.

With horse thieves they were not so fortunate. Their valuable ponies were a magnet for the outlaws who preyed upon the country. They realized this. They knew too the strange workings of "bars of justice" in the frontier land, and had little faith in them to help regain the ponies once they were stolen. They had heard queer stories of Judge Joyce, for a time judge of the only civil tribunal in the western half of Kansas who had boasted that "there was no court higher than his."

Once when he was trying a man accused of murder, he asked the prisoner as a mere formality whether or not he was guilty. He expected the usual answer "Not Guilty," and was so taken aback when the prisoner said "Guilty" that he could only sit with open mouth and stare at the man. Finally he recovered himself, adjusted his glasses, and leaning forward said, "You're a d-- fool, and I discharge you for lack of evidence."

There was a later judge whose first witness had begun a murder trial with the remark, "Things look d--- dry. A little liquor would liven them up." The judge agreed and in a few minutes drinks were poured for the
court, the lawyers, witnesses and prisoner. After a friendly drink, they proceeded with the trial.

All these strange tales had made the English so leery of the workings of the courts that they preferred to take preventive measures rather than to have to resort to the law. For a time they slept with their heads in the windows, and their ponies tied outside. One night Prettyman, the lumber yard proprietor, decided to play a trick on them. He unloosed all their ponies and took them a short distance away. Then he whistled to wake the owners. Their distress at the disappearance of the ponies was short lived and they were relieved to know that it was only a trick.

A few weeks later they were not so fortunate. Four of their finest ponies were stolen. In spite of their misgivings, they summoned Sheriff Ramsey and told him what had happened. Alexander Ramsey was beginning to get the reputation of always getting his man so they felt hopeful. Ramsey went immediately to Victoria, looked over the scene of the stealing, got what information he could and set out with George Philip, whom he deputized as his assistant. Philip was riding a valuable thoroughbred horse that he had borrowed from D. N. Fulton. Together they scoured the country for ten miles or so south and west, but could find no trace of the thieves.
They decided at length that the thieves had made their get-away and that they might as well give up the search. Ramsey started to Hays City and Philip retraced his steps toward Victoria. A few miles outside Victoria the horse thieves, who had spotted Philip's fine borrowed pony, laid in wait for him. They had seen him and the sheriff as they started on their hunt, but not wishing to tackle the two of them, had waited until they had parted. They stopped Philip, made him dismount, and give up his guns as well as the horse. By the time that Philip, worn out with the chase and with the walk back, reached home, he had decided that neither pioneer nor any other law could cope with such criminals. He dreaded though to have the others know about his hard luck; so he bribed Fulton not to tell. Even his own wife did not know for almost fifty years the true happenings of that afternoon ride.

There were other annoyances besides Indians and horse thieves. Rattlesnakes were very numerous and very deadly. People were often fatally bit by the serpents and cattle and other stock killed. The English were fortunate in those respects, but they had to be on a constant guard against them. On one farm alone thirty were killed that first summer.
In August R. W. Edis, F. S. A., F. R. I. B. A., architect, Fitzroy Square, London, arrived in Victoria on a commission from Grant to lay out the city. This was to be no haphazard affair, but a beautiful, well-planned city worthy of being named for the queen. Edis submitted several plans including the blue prints for a church and a school. Grant chose one plan in which the city was laid out in a sixteen hundred foot square to the east and south of the depot. The plan did not provide for a large city since more colonists would live in the country on their estates than in Victoria, but it did provide for a city of spacious proportions. Streets were to be one hundred feet wide, alleys twenty. Lots, for the most part, were long and narrow, being twenty-five feet by two hundred feet. It was supposed that most of the colonists who had city homes would buy more than one lot. Grant set aside and gave the city half of one block for a church and a quarter of another for a school building. The business houses were to be in the west part of the city near the depot, the residences east by the school and the church. Here as on the estates the buildings were to be eventually of stone.

Grant was concerned not only with the location and type of each building, but also with the purpose. In
each deed or lease given he inserted a clause voiding them whenever the premises should be rented or used for the sale of intoxicating liquors or for dancing or gambling houses. Grant said, "Though I am not a fanatic on the subject like Mr. Greeley, nor do I want everybody to go thirsty in Victoria City as all must do in Greeley's own, I mean to retain full control of this myself and am determined to have an orderly, if not a moral town."

Grant, of course, was not opposed to moderate drinking. Nearly all the English drank liquor as did many other frontiersmen. Water was often the scarcest article around a town. Most of the English homes contained wine cellars, some of which were miniature bars, and Grant thought they should do their drinking at their homes.

Grant also hired Edis to make plans for his own residence to be built on his ten thousand acre estate and to be called "The Villa." A man by the name of Shields was hired to build it. It was to be a typical English home, built of native limestone, in a rectangle twenty-six feet wide by thirty-six feet long with twenty-four inch walls which would make it cool in the summer and warm in the winter time. A four-foot porch supported by
wooden pillars was to surround the house on three sides. The heavy front door was designed to lead from the porch into a wide hall running the full length of the house. On the one side was to be a twelve by twenty-two foot dining room, on the other a small room used as a living room and another small room for a music room. Both rooms could be used as living rooms and when opened together gave a large space for guests. A small kitchen joined the living rooms at the back.

Upstairs the plan was the same. Grant's study occupied one whole side of the upstairs and contained his desk and his many books. The space on the other side was to be divided into two bedrooms. The plans called for a full basement beneath the house in one side of which Grant intended to install a hot air furnace, in another his wine cabinet which he had bought in France and which held between three and four hundred quarts.

The house was built according to specifications. Grant used French windows at the front of his house downstairs so that one might open them and step out onto the porch. The woodwork was of white pine as were the floors, the stairs of walnut. In front of the house he planted a row of evergreen trees which gave shade and protection to the house.
Behind the house was a twenty by forty foot two-story barn built also of stone.

All summer and fall new members kept coming to the colony so that before the year was finished the total was about eighty persons. Among the new arrivals was Walter Maxwell, son of Lord Herries of Everingham Park, Yorkshire, who had purchased two square miles of land.

Walter Maxwell, who was only twenty-five years old at the time, was a six-foot, athletic man, of medium complexion and handsome. He had been for two years a papal zouave in the war in which the pope had lost his kingdom in Italy. He had been taken a prisoner of war while doing some fighting near Rome, and sent to Chivica Vachia. The experience had been a grilling one, and when he was later released and sent back home, he was eager to get away from it all. Then too he was eager for the adventure promised by life in Kansas. Accordingly he purchased from Grant two square miles of land and prepared to make it his home.

He built a three-story house facing Victoria Creek, as all the English homes did. A large porch enclosed two sides of the L-shaped structure. Inside a large hall ran the full length of the first floor, on which were six rooms. The large sixteen by sixteen living
room contained a huge fireplace at one end, near which was a table on which Walter kept his books and magazines. He was a great lover of books and read a great deal.

The position of his kitchen was peculiar, being separated from his dining room by three small rooms. Since Mr. Maxwell had money and could hire servants to do the work, he did not think of that. The dining room was twelve by eighteen feet and furnished with expensive walnut as was all his house. One small room downstairs was set aside for ammunition, since people made much of their own at that time. A rack in the hall contained his guns, of which he had a big collection. He had guns for hunting geese, guns for rabbit hunting, rifles for buffalo chases, revolvers, some of which were pearl-handled, pistols—almost every kind of gun known was represented in the collection.

Upstairs were four large bedrooms and on the top of the house, reached by steps leading up to a trap door was a flat eight by eight porch with a railing around it and a low bench inside the railing. Here Walter would sit with his friends in the evenings looking over the fields with field glasses, or in the daytime would come here to check on his stock. From this high point one could see in all directions as far as it was possible for his eyes to discern
The basement of the house contained built-in shelves of all sorts for food, which Walter always bought by the case, and for liquor which he usually imported in quantities.

West of the house Walter had a tennis court made, for tennis was one of his chief amusements. East of the tennis court was a walking court. Though Walter did little work, he always rose early. In his bathrobe and low slippers he walked back and forth, back and forth on his walking court getting his morning exercise and drinking in the fresh air. A hedge of shrubs that completely surrounded the house and its spacious grounds, hid him from the passers-by.

Walter loved to hunt and spent a great deal of his time doing it. Often when he was not actually hunting he amused himself by trap shooting to improve his marksman ship. He shipped in colored glass balls in barrels and always kept a barrel of them on the shooting grounds. He had a boy to wind up the trap and put in the balls. The trap would shoot three ways and was a good means of exercise to improve one's shooting ability. Often Maxwell would invite in friends to shoot with him. To make the game more interesting there would be a prize, perhaps a small pig, to work for.

Walter was a handsome dresser. Usually he wore
knee pants, high boots, and caps for hunting and for everyday, and white duck pants and white shirts for such games as tennis. His dress-up clothes for the most part were also knee pants of fine tweed and he wore long stockings and buckled pumps with them. He dressed every night for dinner even if he ate alone.

Walter, though cultured and a good sport, had a fiery temper. He got himself into so many scrapes that Bernard, his older brother, who was a quiet, even-dispositioned, gentlemanly fellow, came out to live with him to keep him out of mischief. Once after Walter had been drinking heavily he challenged a Mr. Gates of Hays City to a duel. Gates, who was no coward, took him up, and the two men were on the verge of fighting, when Bernard, who had been summoned by some on-lookers, rushed in and patched up the quarrel.

Most of Walter's trouble came from drinking and he was a heavy drinker. Often he would come home so drunk that he could hardly find the house. He had a servant by the name of Meador whose duty it was to wait up for him and help him get to bed. If he had not showed up when Meador thought it was time, he put a light in the barn window to help him find the way. Bernard's influence on him helped much, but Bernard was also given to using alcoholic liquors.
There were other interesting persons who arrived that first year. Captain Charles Prescott of Strode Park, Kent, son of the late Sir George Prescott, came as owner of four square miles. Major Wilson of her Majesty's Forty-Second Highlanders had purchased two square miles. Dr. Fenton Cameron, and Mr. Waller, brother of the English clergyman who had accompanied Livingstone on his first visit to Africa had decided to make Victoria their home. By December Grant had sold between fifty and sixty thousand acres of land, and a number of stone houses had been built.

Grant had promised his colonists to keep a supply of blooded stock and he soon set about making his promise good. He hired Jason Fox to build a twenty-three acre corral or cattle yard at Victoria by the shute which the Kansas Pacific had provided for loading and unloading their animals, and set about buying sheep and cattle.

Through J. Douglas Smith, the colony manager, he purchased two shorthorn bull calves from Mr. Cochrane, a well-known shorthorn breeder at Hillhurst, Lower Canada, paying a large price for the privilege of selecting two choice specimens of the Booth and Bates strains. One of them, Count de Brennon, for which he paid two
thousand dollars, was said by competent authorities to be one of the most promising animals in America. Later in the same year at the St. Louis fair Grant refused six thousand dollars for him.

Grant also procured from Cochrane a large number of Berkshire pigs which he believed were the equal of anything in England.

So extensive were his cattle purchases that by the middle of June he had more than two thousand heifers and cows, including one hundred and fifty Cherokee cows.

But Grant wanted to own the largest stock farm in America, and had set his mark at fifty thousand head of animals within two years. Accordingly in October he bought from Charles Clinch of Wakefield, Kansas and Whitney, Oxon., England, his famous blooded stock consisting of twelve rams from English flocks and a stallion, "Lord Clyde," a descendant of "Nugget of Gold," who had won a prize at the Royal Agricultural Show of England held at Oxford in 1870. By October he had accumulated twenty-four hundred sheep, one hundred Cotswald, and forty-five Biscathrope rams. He had eight short horn bulls and four black Aberdeenshire Poles of the highest pedigree.
That fall he took a number of prizes with his stock as is shown by the following newspaper account:

When it is known that Mr. Grant has taken all the first prizes wherever he has exhibited his bloomed stock at fairs this year, it will not be difficult to see that next year he will sweep the whole country with his valuable blooded stock imported from Canada and Europe.

Walter Maxwell also purchased stock at the same time. He imported directly from England more than one thousand purebred sheep. Most of the other colonists had few animals besides ponies. Cows were very rare. Even butter and milk had for the most part to be shipped in.

The first birth of the colony occurred Wednesday, June 18, 1873, to Mr. and Mrs. George MacDonald. The child was a girl whom they christened Victoria Grant MacDonald in honor of both the queen and Grant. Grant acted as her godfather and as a christening present gave her a cow with the promise to sustain her increase until the child became of age. In the natural rate of increase the child would have had more than a million cattle on her twenty-first birthday. When Grant realized the magnitude of his gift, and that even his entire colony would not have provided enough grazing pasture for the cattle he had promised to raise for Victoria, he cut his former gift to a cow with ten
year's increase. The second child born was also a girl and to her Grant promised a ewe with several year's increase. It is doubtful whether either girl ever received anything from the promise. To the first boy he made the gift of two lots in the city of Victoria, and since this gift was not to be given at the end of a certain period, it was actually made.

The first wedding of the colony occurred on September 30, 1873. On the eleventh of that month, Jane Hardie, the childhood sweetheart of George Philip, who had lived only a short distance from him in Scotland and to whom he had been engaged for several years, left Rhinnver, her parent's home, for Victoria. She made the trip to New York with friends, but from there on she came entirely by herself. She brought a great many things with her for her home, including five pounds of tea since she had heard that American tea was not as good as British. Jane Hardie was well-educated. She had attended the county school for a time, and later had completed her training at a Ladies' Private School in Forres, where she, in keeping with her practical disposition, had studied Domestic Science.

She arrived at Victoria the twenty-eighth of September. George Philip was by then a storekeeper and
had in addition homesteaded a farm since he had lacked the money to buy one. He had built a small frame house to serve until he could afford a better one. There was no minister closer than Salina, so the couple with their friends drove to Hays City to be married by Judge John McGaffigan. Jane's father, who was a staunch Presbyterian, worried a great deal for fear they were not properly married since the ceremony had not been performed by a minister.

After the wedding there was a party in the New York House. There were no flowers to be had for the bride or for the reception afterwards, but friends brought out their solid silver to decorate the table. The feast consisted principally of buffalo meat and roast wild goose. The bread they had baked for the party was a failure, being black and coarse. It was hard to make good bread with the flour available and the stale yeast. Luckily Jane had learned how to make fresh yeast in school; so her coming solved that problem. Kind-hearted Tommy Drumm furnished lemonade for the party. George MacDonald led the grand march at the dance that followed, and during it Jane and George, who did not want to be charivaried, slipped away. They ran a mile and a quarter to get away.
While the English found some means of amusement they were too busy to have much time for what little the country afforded since they were constructing homes. They went hunting occasionally, but the first year their hunts were a combination of duty and pleasure. They killed more than fifty buffalo that first summer.

There were not even churches to attend. Services were held more or less regularly in the band room at Fort Hays, but while they were opened to the public few of the English ever attended because of the great distance. Many of the townspeople of Hays City held churches in good-natured contempt. They dubbed Chaplain Collins, who conducted services at the fort "Holy Joe." The first church services in Hays City were held in the latter part of 1873, curiously enough in Tommy Drumm's saloon. The Rev. Leanord was the minister. He had recently homesteaded a piece of property in Ellis County, and when Tommy Drumm learned that he was a minister he offered the saloon as a meeting place. The minister accepted and plans were made. Sheets were used to drape the bar and there were several rows of improvised seats. A great many people attended, possibly some of the English among them, and it was said that when the hat was passed for the collection it was filled so full that the crown split away from the brim
and the money fell to the floor.

Later in the year divine services were held in the waiting room at the Victoria Manor, where there were accommodations for eighty persons.

The religious problem was one which gave Grant some concern. He realized that the sooner a church could be erected which would serve as the center for not only religious affairs, but also social the sooner would the group become settled. Younger men were patronizing the Hays City saloons and dance halls too frequently to suit him and were squandering their remittances on drink. He hoped the influence of a church would put an end to this. But the colonists were about half members of the Church of England and half Presbyterians, the only exceptions being Walter and Bernard Maxwell, who were Catholic; and Grant did not want two churches for fear that it might cause division and dissention in a group so small. Accordingly he called on and discussed the question with Bishop Vail, himself an Episcopalian, in Topeka. What they decided is not certain, but Grant began plans for an Episcopal Church soon after. He donated half a block of land on which it was to be built as well as an adjoining half block for a cemetery. It was some time, however, before the actual building was begun.
The school problem, while being one which demanded their attention, as there were no schools to which they might send their children, was not a pressing one since there were no young children of school age during the first several years. Grant however looked ahead for that need and set aside a plot for a school.

These things taken care of, Grant turned his attention to procuring more settlers for Victoria. He issued invitations to Americans and people of other nationalities to join them, providing they would agree to carry out the plans for the colony. The Salina Herald for Saturday, June 21, 1873, carried the following article:

This English gentleman of wealth and cosmopolitan reputation as merchant and manufacturer has no idea of excluding people of any nationality from the colony. Citizens of the United States are welcome to make their homes there. To them the right hand of fellowship will be extended. Germans, all nations included in that generic term, will find a welcome. Mr. Grant does not desire any settlers who are penniless. His land is held at from four to twenty dollars an acre. Farmers settling within the limits of Victoria will, as all ascertain who read the description on our first page, have advantages for raising profitable stock not to be found elsewhere in the United States.

Grant's agents were helpful in selling the land. This story is told of his agent at Victoria, a clever Englishman and a beautiful trader. One day he was
trying to sell land to some Englishmen who had stopped off on their way to New Zealand. He was boosting the country in regular Yankee style when one of them chipped in saying,

"But my dear fellow, you can't raise clover here, you know." The agent scratched his head. "No, I'll have to confess we can't. It grows so big and thick and woody, the cattle won't eat it, don't you know."

"Well, how about fruit?" "Oh, the very finest," he replied. "But I should think these terrific winds would destroy the fruit and blow it off the trees."

"You are mistaken," replied the glib agent. "The wind-falls are blown off, but the fruit that remains grows to an immense size. Why, don't you know the queen gets all her apples from Kansas?"

For the most part, of course, Grant concentrated on British settlers. As a part of his advertising campaign he invited six well-known English and Scotch men to come to America to view his property and give their idea of it. To them he said, "I have picked out you gentlemen as persons who know something about agriculture. Come and look at this country and tell the people what you think of it. If it is a bad country, say so. You are not to say one word that you do
not thoroughly believe."

The party was composed of R. Scot Skirving, Compton, East Lothian, president of the Royal Physical Society of the Scottish Chamber of Agriculture; Mr. Bethune of Blebo, D. L., Fifeshire, a director of the Scottish Chamber of Agriculture and of the Scottish Steam Cultivation Company; Charles Prescott of Strode Park, Kent, an English gentleman; R. W. Edis, past president of the Architectural Association of London; and John Ferguson, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, who besides being an agricultural expert had been educated in civil engineering both at home and abroad. Thomas R. Clark of Fish, Clark, and Flagg, Broadway, New York, and Eugene B. Smith, also a merchant, and Robert Ludlow Fowler of the firm of Sullivan, Knobbe and Fowler, New York, the latter Grant's attorney, accompanied the group.

Grant went to New York City in August to meet the party. While there he was interviewed by a number of journalists, including George Perry, Esq., of the Home Journal, and O. B. Bunce of the Appleton Journal. Grant and his guests went to St. Louis where they were all interviewed. Thence they proceeded to Victoria in special coaches as guests of the Kansas Pacific Railroad Company.
They remained in Kansas for about two weeks, being well impressed with the country. On their return to England they spread favorable reports of the country. They wrote to Grant giving their opinions for the benefit of anyone who might be interested in coming to Kansas.

To George Grant, Esq.

Dear Sir:

Having spent some time at Victoria we can not leave it with the mere farewells of gratified guests. We wish to give some expression of the opinion we have formed after the most careful investigation we were able to make, that your extensive property is possessed of extraordinary resources and offers a very inviting field for agricultural enterprise. Having visited Kansas in August and September we imagine that we have seen its least inviting aspect, and at first sight the prairies seemed arid and parched. A very little experience and investigation has proved to us, however, that this is far from really the case. We find that the grass which looks withered and burnt up, is in fact a natural hay which feeds as well as when green. Sheep, cattle, and horses (like the native buffalo) eat it readily and fatten upon it. A special instance of this is given by your own thirty English rams which we observed were in full condition though fed upon the natural grass alone, and while it is well known that cattle thrive on the prairies we are inclined to think that even more money might be made by the breeding of sheep and we would suggest that the native breeds might be greatly improved by crossing with English rams such as Cotswald, Thropshire, or Oxford droves. While flocks and herds can be maintained on the prairie in its natural condition, we are well assured that the land may be most profitably cultivated and is capable of producing almost any kind of crop. The soil consists of a rich, dark brown sandy loam, extending downward far beyond the reach of any plow. It is entirely free of
stones and of every other obstruction; but limestone suitable for every building purpose crops up in very many portions of the property. The stratification and general lie of the beds render them capable of being easily quarried while the general softness of the stones, on just being exposed, makes it easy working for building purposes, while like many of the softer limestones of England it hardens by exposure and at the same time has a soft and attractive appearance to the eye, and is in every way eminently adapted for building purposes as is evinced by the numerous buildings erected along the railway of similar stone. Good water for household purposes is always found at from ten to forty feet below the surface. While some of us believe that the ordinary plow is amply sufficient for the cultivation of the soil at Victoria, we are unanimously of the opinion that no spot on earth can offer a finer field for the unobstructed operations of steam plowing. Considering that one of the great lines of railway passes through Victoria, thus securing a ready market for every description of produce, and affording communication with every part of the United States we cannot but believe that its rich and fertile soil offers an exceptionally favorable field for the arable as well as the pastoral farmer.

We have inquired very particularly as to the health of the inhabitants and are convinced that this part of Kansas will contrast favorably in this all-important respect with any part of the world. In maintaining this view may we say that so convinced are we that the settlement at Victoria will rapidly rise in market value that we ourselves have made investments in it, which we confidently believe will prove profitable.

We remain yours faithfully

R. Scot Skirving
A. Bethune
Chas. Prescott
John Ferguson
R. W. Edis
Thos. R. Clark
The report was read before the Agricultural Society in Scotland and published in many newspapers in both England and Scotland. It caused a great deal of excitement. Meanwhile the Victoria settlers were writing encouraging letters back home. The homestead song which they had often heard and had made their own, was included in their letters.

"Come along, come along, make no delay
  Come from every nation, come from every way.
Our lands are broad enough,
Don't you be alarmed;
For Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm."

Soon after the guests had returned to England, the colony met with a disaster. A spark thrown off by the engine of the Kansas Pacific ignited the dry grass and started a prairie fire. A high wind, unfortunately, arose and swept the fire rapidly before it. There was no fire apparatus to put it out, but the entire male population was there. Even soldiers came from the fort to help. Old brooms and gunny sacks, saved throughout the year for such emergencies, were their weapons. The English quickly herded all their fine stock into the corrals and plowed fire guards around them and around the houses. All night the fire raged and to the anxious English women who had never seen such a sight before, re-
it was, they watched it fascinated, horrified. Finally the men were able to quell it, though not until it had swept the country from Hays City to Victoria and south to the Smoky Hill. The next day the prairie for miles looked seared and desolate. The grass was gone, and all but a few stacks of prairie hay had been destroyed. Most of Grant's colony did not as yet have more than a few head of stock and so were not badly inconvenienced. Grant, however, was forced to transport his entire herd to the Kaw Valley near Junction City for the winter.

The winter of 1873-1874 was an unusually severe one. Snow came early to cover the seared prairies and lay in high drifts for weeks. The few animals left suffered from improper shelter and lack of food. The English dared not venture out for days at a time for fear of becoming lost. The trails, faint at best, were entirely obliterated.

These would have been lonesome times for the English but for their books. They loved to read and so could amuse themselves in the long, cold days. New books, music and magazines came from Weldon's for even in the frontier country the women were interested in fashions.

Early in December Grant prepared to return to
London to get new supplies of various sorts, including perhaps a steam plow or two, and to bring back a new group of settlers who were planning to come in the spring.

The day before Grant's departure he rode in a blinding wind and dust storm over all his colony, stopping to chat with each family, to encourage them, and to discuss the prospects for the new year. The day of his departure the whole group assembled at the Victoria Manor for dinner. Everything they could procure was on their long tables. They drank toast after toast to Queen Victoria, to the future of the colony, and to its beneficent founder, George Grant. When they heard the whistle of the train in the distance they drank a last toast and escorted him to the train. Whistles, huzzas, and pistol shots filled the air as he got aboard. When the train pulled out they turned silently away, feeling strangely orphaned by his going.

December the tenth he boarded the Cunard steamship, Algeria, in New York for London
Bibliographical Notes

My descriptions of Ellis County are taken from The Story of Old Fort Hays, a booklet issued by the Fort Hays Frontier Park Committee; from an article "Whiskey Strait" by Paul King in the Aerend for the summer of 1935; and a description by Grace Greenwood in The Victoria Colony by D. Curror. The material about the Seth family, crops, building homes, new settlers, and the guests from England came from The Victoria Colony, from interviews with Mr. and Mrs. William Philip, Sr., and Mr. Andrew Brungardt. Other information came from the Register of Deeds, Hays, Kansas, from William Bier, Victoria, and from Mrs. H. F. Addison's scrapbook.
The spring of 1874 was late. The prairie grass which usually greened in late February or early March did not make its appearance until April. But April brought a warm, bright sun and frequent showers which, added to the moisture of the previous winter, quickened the grass into a rapid and luxuriant growth. Farmers, encouraged by the success of the previous year's crops and the good fortune of the Lebold, Allen, and Augustine experiment, poured into Kansas. Every day their covered wagons could be seen winding over the prairies. Most of them homesteaded lands and began planting crops immediately. That year there were more than fifteen hundred acres under cultivation in Ellis County. Grant's manager had planted four hundred acres of Grant's lands to corn and wheat. Prospects seemed right for a bumper crop and the eyes of pioneers were turned to Kansas.

Early in April Grant returned. The prairies were beautiful when he arrived just as they had been the year
before. He brought another group of settlers with him. Among them were three brothers of George Philip who had come in 1873 with the first colonists. Dave and James had come because of the lure of the prairies and with the hope of wealth, but young Alec, a frail lad, who showed by his extreme pallor that his previous work had not been manual, had come for his health. A clerk in the Manchester Branch of the Bank of England, he had felt it was the end when the doctor had told him he had but one year to live. He had given up hope, but his parents, remembering the vivid descriptions of the champagne air of Kansas which was supposed to be so healthful, insisted that he come and try to regain his vigor. For six months, he was too ill to do any work. He lived with his sister, Mrs. Macmillan and his brother George during this time. Then he felt some better so he got work as a herdsman for Grant. Little by little he built up his strength in the dry, pure air, until all traces of his disease disappeared.

Another family which came at this time, not as a part of Grant’s group, but which made themselves a part of it soon, was the Smithie family. They were wealthier than most of the colony and lived on a grander
scale. Their father had been a wine merchant in London with wide vineyards in Spain. The boys had had every advantage. Their father had even leased the shooting of Dallas Lodge in Morayshire, Scotland, for five years. After his death, the boys sold the property and came with the fortune to Kansas where they hoped to make another by grazing stock.

They arrived at the New York House in Hays one evening with a retinue that laid in the shade even that of the Grand Duke Alexis of Russia, who had come to western Kansas a short time before to shoot buffalo with Buffalo Bill Cody. They had a Frenchman and his wife for their personal servants, a cook and an overseer, and later four or five stablemen came to take care of their horses.

To the crowd around the hotel lobby, used to seeing tramps with their wardrobes swinging from the end of a hickory stick and poor sunburned homesteaders in covered wagons, this was an event, and there was a great deal of speculation about them. Marechal, the man-servant, entered in advance, carrying in his hand a well-labeled pigskin portmanteau. From a strap in the other hand dangled a leather hatbox of the shape to enclose a high silk topper. Victorie, his wife, followed close at his heels. She was fashionably
dressed and her frizz, bonnet, and draped coat were a revelation to the frontier women who had only pictures to acquaint them with the latest styles, and little money to buy the ones they knew.

The brothers were well-dressed and handsome. Henry, the younger of the two and twenty-seven of eight at the time, was tall, blond, and dignified with a look of distinction. He wore a great coat, lined and collared with dark brown fur, that opened so that it swept in loose folds like the mantle of a king. His shirt, then as always, was white and he wore a black string tie. A heavy gold watchchain that crossed his waistcoat completed his outfit.

He advanced to the desk and registered: "H. Smithie and Brother and servants, London, England."

The Smithies were looked upon with suspicion. No one but gamblers in Hays City had as much money as they seemed to have. Either they must be gamblers or thieves. The proprietor, although he rented them the three rooms they asked for, warned the other occupants that the safe was the best place for their valuables. Besides, if they were English why had they not gone to Victoria?

For a time the brothers kept to themselves. Often they had their meals served in their rooms. After a
time they commenced asking about buffalo and about the best saloons in town. They became patrons of Tommy Drumm's and after that began to eat their meals with the other diners on the long tables made of planks on saw horses.

The Smithies, in common with the rest of the English, had beautiful manners. When they paid the landlady their rent they would bow from the waist like a courtier approaching his queen, leaving the poor woman flustered and embarrassed.

They went out on horseback almost every morning. Sometimes a railroad land agent accompanied them to show them around. Other times they went by themselves. Both of them wore silver spurs, like a cavalry man's though not so large, and always looked like gentlemen of quality. At first they did not like the country, but each day the grass seemed to get greener and the birds to sing more sweetly. It seemed to them that they ought to be able to raise grain crops as well as to graze stock.

In the end they bought a thirty-two hundred acre estate five miles southeast of Hays City—a beautiful plot of land through which Victoria Creek meandered lazily. The creek made a big bend with a high plateau on one side and on the other a circle
of grassy meadow. On the plateau side they decided to build a home. It seemed to them that a house built in the English fashion would look out of place on the prairies; so they hired Gideon Wolf of Hays city, as architect, and left the details of construction to him. Soon teamsters were busy hauling fine walnut and pine beams and the hammers of the carpenters pounded day after day. The house they built was not finished for several months, during which the Smithies continued to make their home in Hays City. Almost every day carriages from Victoria and Hays drove out with folk who wished to watch the building. The Smithies, who spent most of the daytime at their estate, loved company and were generous to a fault with them. They supplied them with field glasses so that they might look over their lands, and usually provided food and liquid refreshments.

On one occasion they decided that a quarter of beef roasted in a pit would come in handy. They had as yet no cattle of their own; so they rode over to their nearest neighbor, who lived in a soddie, to try to buy his. The neighbor had only a milk cow which he refused to sell. He offered them a young pig, but said they would have to butcher it themselves as he had business away from home. The brothers decided to
have a nip and start the butchering. Henry hauled a bottle out of the saddle bag and told Jack to catch the pig. Jack clambered around the sty for fifteen or twenty minutes, then he took the bottle and Henry ran the pig. Finally he cornered it and fell on it screaming, "Jackie, Jackie, I hae caught the hawg."

But the "hawg" jumped over the low fence and was gone. That night the neighbor returned to find the two Smithies quietly slumbering in the pig pen, the empty bottle beside them and the hog lost in the prairies.

They built a house of three stories—a white frame one with a red roof. From a porte-cochere and veranda at the front, steps led up to the big front door that boasted a door-bell. There were ten rooms in the house, including a butler's pantry, wine cellar, and a dining hall with a bar. The kitchen had more built-in features than the biggest grocery store in Hays City. There were two huge living rooms which contained fireplaces and bay windows. Both front and back steps led to the other stories. From the third floor French windows opened out on decks above the bay windows.

The front stairway was a winding walnut one that had been made to order in Kansas City, and the fire-
places had been bought in St. Louis.

The Smithies built a small white house several hundred feet away from the big one for their servants. There the servants lived and even took all their meals. A woman was hired especially as a housekeeper for them. Hired help were never allowed in the big house except to do the work. Since this house was not large enough to hold all the laborers, the second floor of the barn was finished up for the stable boys' quarters.

Their barn was as remarkable as the house. It was a hundred feet long and adjoined a two-acre corral enclosed with a four-foot stone wall. The center section was higher than the sides and painted red to match the roof of the house. The sides were of limestone. The barn contained a carriage room in which were kept, besides the carriage, equipment for keeping it clean--brooms, hose, sponges, and wipers. In one corner of this room was the harness and saddle cupboard in which silver mounted harness and English saddles were kept under lock and key. Then there was a room for machinery, one for work horses, and one called the parlor where the three thorough-bred horses were taken care of by an experienced
groom. Maggie and Lou were considered the best, fastest, and most expensive team this side of Topeka. Frank was a riding pony and was equally valuable.

The Smithies enclosed the five-acre plot on which their buildings stood with white picket fencing. They laid out gravel drives and walks and flower beds. Around the estate at regular intervals they placed poles a foot square and six feet high, painted in stripes of red, white, and blue, to mark their property since they had practically no fences. Above the gate they placed a name plate, "Mount Pleasant Stock Farm."

Not long after the house was finished, Henry went back to England to marry Lucy Buckstone, daughter of a famous playwright and actor. Lucy was beautiful, being small and blonde, and was much envied by the women of the county. Henry, who was very much in love with her, bought her Haviland china and sterling for her table, and an ebony Chickering piano for her living room. The house was already furnished with exquisite walnut and mahogany furniture. Henry also bought for his bride a valuable Lexington stallion since she was fond of riding.

Mrs. Smithie loved to entertain and gave many
lavish parties. Especially were the Smithies friendly with the officers and their wives from the fort. Night after night the big black ambulances drawn by mule teams swung under the porte-cochere at the Smithie residence bringing some of the army people to a party.

They even hired members of traveling theatrical troupes to entertain them at the biggest of their affairs and had refreshments sent out by a Denver caterer. While much of their liquor was shipped in they bought a great deal from Tommy Drumm. One day after they had had a series of big affairs, Henry Smithie went into Tommy's to pay his bill. When he asked what it was and was told that it totalled slightly more than three hundred dollars, he smiled and said, "Oh, is that all? I thought I owed something."

Such entertaining involved a great deal of work and the servants protested. The Smithies immediately sent for a young cockney, H. A. R. Archibald, known to them as Hi Archibald. He was a green, wide-eyed specimen, so ignorant that he did not even know his own age. When asked how old he was, he always replied, "'Ow hold, sir? Twenty year next ayin' time." But he was a good worker and so the Smithies kept him.
The servants looked with disapproval and suspicion on Mrs. Smithie. She was sweet, but she was different and high-strung. When the bay windows leaked during a hard beating rain and she proceeded to bring her bathtub into the living room under them and let the water drip on her as it fell, they were shocked. When she dismissed a whole carpenter force because the noise of their hammers kept her from her nap, they talked about it for a month.

The summer of 1874 saw crops flourishing. June was a warm pleasant month as May and April had been. In July, however, the weather turned witheringly hot. The thermometer hit the hundred mark day after day and the crops curled in the heat. The hay dried up, and the gardens turned brown. Out on the parched prairie with only the newly-planted trees, which were as yet scrubby, for protection, the sun beat down with an unbearable heat. July the twenty-fifth began just as the other days in July had begun. About ten o'clock in the morning what seemed to be a very black storm cloud came up in the northeast. People breathed a sigh of relief and children danced about outside. It was going to rain! Only a few knowing ones covered up their wells and brought into
their houses clothes which were on the line. About
eleven a swarm of grasshoppers lit. One old-timer
has declared that if you imagine a blinding snow
and for every snow flake substitute three grasshoppers,
you will have an idea of what the grasshopper in-
vasion was like. It was as dark as night outside,
and for three days people kept the lamps lit in their
houses. The color of the ground or of a building
could not be discerned. Every green thing vanished
in an incredibly short time. Within two hours they
had eaten up one five-acre plot of wheat. Even train
service was held up. At the end of three days they
left as suddenly as they had come and as mysteriously.
All the crops were utterly ruined.

The calamity fell with terrible force upon Ellis
County and a few other western counties. Governor
Osborne called an extra session of the legislature
to make provision for the destitute families. Ellis
county had seventy-five such, including three hun-
dred persons.

The English were not in need. They had money
and many even helped their less fortunate neighbors.
Again their stock had to be sent away for the winter.
They were sent this time to Hill P. Wilson's ranch
on Eagle Creek.
The twin disasters of drought and grasshoppers in 1874 brought a temporary lull in the activities of the group. New colonists who had planned to come to Victoria, delayed coming while some, not being true pioneering stock were unwilling to brave hardships, and decided to leave. They had come for sports and to make money and a year such as that offered little of either.

The winter of 1874-1875 was a repetition of the one before, only worse. Blizzards raged for days at a time. Since there were no fences and few buildings to hold the snow, it drifted and communication was cut off for a week at a time while men labored to make a path through the deep drifts.

In the spring the trees budded again and the grass became green, much to the surprise of many who had thought that they had been completely killed by the grasshoppers. However, the acreage of grain planted decreased sharply. Many had decided that Kansas was better for grazing stock than for growing crops. Grant, to prove the point, brought five thousand sheep from Colorado and conducted a great sheep-raising experiment. An inventory of his stock taken the last day of July showed that he had almost eight thousand sheep including one hundred ninety-five
imported English rams and their increase.

There were others who went into the sheep business on a large scale. The Maxwells had a large flock, and Lord Petrie, who had joined the group from Argentine, had a number.

Evidence is conflicting as to their results. Some, including Ben Davidson, manager for Grant at the time, reported a failure, saying that the ranges were too unsheltered. The fact that there were no fences proved a disadvantage. While the operation of the herd law made it unnecessary to keep their flocks strictly on their own land, still they had herdsmen who attempted to keep them close to home. Besides these difficulties, wolves and coyotes killed many.

Grant was asked in December 1875 to make a report to the Kansas State Board of Agriculture concerning his experiment, and in it he wrote enthusiastically of the possibilities for making money by raising sheep. His profit had been cut somewhat, he said, by the fact that snow had covered the ground so much in the cold months that corn had had to be shipped in and fed. At that his abstract for the year read: Number of sheep, 5,907; Year's expenses,
$3,890.05 (cost per head $0.66); Wool revenue, $5,436.85, leaving a profit of $1,546.80.

It will be noticed that his estimate of the size of his herd is two thousand less than Davidson's. It is possible that those may have been the ones that died. Grant must not have been discouraged, however, for in that same month he added fifteen hundred breeding ewes to his flock.
Bibliographical Notes

My information for the weather, crop conditions, grasshoppers, and Grant's sheep raising experiment were taken from The Kansas State Agricultural Report for 1874-1875. The material on the Smithies came from "Chronicle of the Seventies" by Mollie Madden and from interviews with Alec West of Hays, who formerly lived on the Smithie estate, and Frank Mermis, Munjor, who now occupies it. Additional details were furnished me by Mr. and Mrs. William Philip, Sr.
CHAPTER VI

The Colony Reaches Its Peak

In the years 1876-1878 the colony reached its peak. In 1876 there was a great increase in acreage of grain planted and the season was good so that the yield was high. The same thing happened again in 1877. Encouraged by their good fortune, the settlers took heart and looked upon the two previous summers as mere accidents. Stock raising looked promising too. There were several herds of good cattle among the group. Grant himself had entered eight head of cattle, several of which he had procured from the herd of Queen Victoria at Windsor in the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia. They were Peeres, Matilda, Countess, Minette, Dimple, Cold Cream, and Roseleaf. None of them took prizes though they received favorable comment, but the eighth, Kansas Royal George, won an award. The judges said of him, "In form, quality, and useful characteristics he is entitled to rank as an excellent specimen of the Short-Horn Breed." This brought favorable attention to
Grant's colony and encouraged further stock raising.

New arrivals came almost weekly from England and Scotland. There were the Whites, the Gunthers, the Macks, the Faulkners, the Ainslies, the Rawlins, the Ingamis, the Creasys and many others. The population during this time reached the three hundred mark. There were women as well as men--fair haired women with the lovely complexions typical of English women. Among these was Anna Mack, who came with her mother and three brothers. She was fresh from boarding school in New Castle and Edinburgh, where practicing seven hours daily on the piano had been her accustomed schedule and where culture and refinement were present everywhere. She had brought with her lovely silverware, everything from toddy ladles to tiny marrow spoons in sterling, besides tea and coffee services, several cherished pieces of walnut furniture, and her piano.

After she had married young Thomas Carrick, whom she met in Victoria, and had become a part of the colony, she often played for parties and dances. Once after a revival had swept through the county she was asked to play for a wedding. Inquiring as to the bride's choice of music, she was told that the book would be open at the proper place. The day of the
wedding when she went to the organ she found a hymn book propped open at "Nearer My God To Thee." She shut the book quickly, shoved it aside, and as she said, "played something quick and devilish."

There were many parties for the married couples. The Smithies were lavish entertainers, and the people of the fort and of Hays City were very friendly toward them. At one time they even had a masked ball for which costumes were furnished by Archer and Company of Kansas City. But the young, unmarried ones did not fare so well. Unmarried girls were scarce. Besides many of the men had acquired bad reputations and the class of girls to whom they aspired would have nothing to do with them. Once when they wanted to have a party they decorated the large dining room of the Victoria Manor and brought in a group of girls from Kansas City. Most of the time, however, they spent in the Hays City dance halls and saloons, drinking and dancing with the "gals" the dance halls afforded. Dark usually meant "bottoms up" to them. They were causing Grant a great deal of worry. The prairies had not made men of them as he had predicted and most of them had made no attempt to establish private grazing kingdoms. They were content rather to live on
the remittances that still came from home.

Many stories are told of their escapades. One morning about two or three o'clock a bunch of English were drinking in Tommy Drumm's saloon. They had been singing "King of the Cannibal Isles," and a song that wound up with "and the ship went down with the fair young bride, a thousand miles from shore." The rest had finally quieted down when Tom Foster happened to see himself in Tommy's plate glass mirror behind the bar--the mirror of which Tommy was so proud. Evidently Tom was displeased with the way he looked for he picked up a small iron teakettle and hurled it at the glass, breaking it into a million pieces. The noise brought the whole bunch running. Tommy was inconsolable. He ran around in circles, shouting his only oath, "By the boot, by the boot!" The worst of it was that Tom Foster had no money with which to pay for the damage. Several people wanted to have Foster arrested, but he refused. Finally the English, who liked Tommy very much, chipped in and replaced the mirror.

There was another episode which took place on the Fourth of July, 1876. A number of the remittance men and natives had gathered in Tommy Drumm's and were indulging freely in wine, ale, and their favorite "Shoo-Fly." Soon the noise of exploding firecrackers remind-
ed them that it was the "Fourth." One of the Americans, fired with patriotism and alcohol, proposed that they should sing something. Another suggested "The Star Spangled Banner." The British protested, saying that it was not proper for Englishmen to sing to "the blarsted republic." "God Save The Queen" was their song and the only one they would sing.

The issue became an international one, and neither side would give in, each feeling that to submit would be an insult to their country. In the fight that ensued the English were brave, but badly outnumbered. Chairs and bottles were used as weapons. When they finished the saloon furniture was splintered and the British were in the cellar. The victorious Americans stood guard over the stairway so they could not escape. Again they had "licked the British."

While affairs were thus, Judge Reeder appeared and asked what the difficulty was. The Americans, eyes blackened and noses swollen from the conflict, told him, "These here Britishers 'fuse to shing 'Shtar Shpangled Banner.' Want to sing damn British shong, 'God Shave Th' Queen.' Wouldn' stan' for it. Can't no Britisher inshult 'Shtar Shpangled Banner!"

Judge Reeder talked with the English, who stood
firmly by their anthem. "There ought to be peace between America and the mother country," he told them. "I'll tell you, since this is the American birthday, let the Americans sing the 'Star Spangled Banner' first. You gentlemen can help them. Then we'll all sing 'God Save The Queen.' At first the Americans didn't want to agree even to those terms. They insisted that America had whipped the blamed English fair and square and that "to the vic'or b'longs th' shpoils." The English wouldn't agree either. Finally, after talking for some time, he convinced them that it was the best way out. The battered English came up out of the cellar, they all took a drink and the Americans started out with ragged voices, "O shay c'n you shee, by zhee dawns er'y light." Here they stopped. No one could remember what came next. One American insisted that the tune was wrong. "Any fool oughta know bettern to shing 'Shtar Shpangled Banner' to the music of 'John Brown's Body Lies A Mouldering in Zhee Grave." A quarrel started among the Americans, the leader finally telling the protestor to lead it himself if he was 'sho damn shmart." They started again, "Oh shay c'n you shee," but again could get no further than the first line.
Finally they were forced to admit defeat and Judge Reeder signalled for the English to begin "God Save The Queen."

The English looked disgustedly at the Americans who did not even know their national anthem, and started. They were off tune and at the end of the first line their memory failed. They shook their heads that they could not go on. Then they all lined up at the bar, had a drink by way of reconciliation, patted each other on the back for sports, and passed a hat to replace the broken furniture.

It was such occurrences as these that made Grant encourage sports. The English were great sportsmen and perhaps if they could get interested in enough other things, they would cease frequenting the Hays drinking places. Grant saw that unless something could be done, the colony would be short lived.

First he arranged weekly dances for them, held first in the waiting room at the Victoria Manor and later in the new school house. Young women from Hays City and the fort and often married couples were invited to make the affairs bigger ones. It was not uncommon to pay a band a hundred dollars a night to play for one of these dances.
Under Grant's supervision a cricket club "Ye Merry Cricketeers" was formed. Usually their meetings were all-day ones. The games began regularly at eleven o'clock in the morning, were interrupted at two for several hours when dinner was served, and then started again to last until dark. The club met every two weeks all through the spring and summer until late in the fall.

There was a race track too. Grant donated the land on the east edge of Victoria and others gave money. It was a half-mile track. Horse races were held there at first and later dog races became popular. People for miles around would enter their horses, registering them and paying the entrance fee, which varied from five to ten dollars, depending on the occasion and the prize offered. Often the prize was something quite valuable, a pony perhaps, a thorough-bred dog, or a shot gun.

Jimmy O'Brien, proprietor of the Mammoth Drug Store at Hays City, usually entered his "Frank," Ainslie, his "Snip," Fred Rawlins his "Rosinante," and Walter Maxwell his "Nellie." The judges were local men and there was often a great deal of bickering and joking over the horses. Once George Wells of the Saline tried to enter his shaved-tail, Susan, but
the judges ruled that a mule was not eligible. Often to make things more interesting, the judges would decide who was the best rider and who was the most awkward or made too much use of his heels. This brought a great deal of merriment to the group, which was composed of women as well as men. Often the women who came would remain mounted on their ponies during the races. This was true especially if the ground happened to be damp or muddy.

The most ambitious club of all was the Victoria Hunt Club or Sport Club. The meeting to organize it was held March 15, 1877, at Mr. W. T. L. Mack's home. Before this the English had frequently gone on hunts, but they had been unorganized. George Grant, probably as an honor because he gave a great deal of money to start the club, was elected president. W. L. T. Mack was made vice-president, Captain Ainslie, master of the hunt, Charles Greasy, treasurer, Fred Gunther, secretary, the Honorable A. D. Gilkeson of Hays City, solicitor, O. Petrie, collector, and C. Howard, steward. The first group was a subscription group, and for them there were no dues. The rules of the club, however, provided for a membership fee for all taken in afterwards. There were thirty original members, Frank Montgomery of the Hays City Sentinel, and Jack Downing,
editor of the Hays City Star, being made honorary members, since the publicity they would give the club would help make it a success.

The newly-formed club voted to hold inauguration ceremonies to consist of a Grand Hunt and Ball. The hunt was to begin at H. E. Smithie's home, and was to include a three-hour run for antelope followed by a dinner and ball at the Hays City Court House. Thereafter the club was scheduled to meet every two weeks.

Members of the club had already ordered full dress hunting coats of the English pattern for field sports, and most of them already had bob-tailed ponies which they had bought especially for the chase. The ponies were thoroughbred and beautiful. When one of the natives complimented Bill Mack upon his hunting pony, he is said to have replied, "Peony, peony? That's a 'untin' 'orse!"

The women often accompanied the men on their hunts, for they were good riders. English riding masters had instructed them in the art. They had special costumes for these occasions too. Theirs were green and so long that they almost swept the ground. Small black derbies were perched on the coils of their flaxen hair. They had English side
saddles and hunting ponies bought especially for them. Probably they did little shooting, though some of them were good marksmen.

The English possessed several good greyhounds. Queen Victoria, with whom Grant had become acquainted in buying cattle from her herd, promised to send some highbred dogs as well as some English pheasants, and a Mr. Miller of London sent a fine English sportsman's horn to them.

One hundred invitations were sent out for the grand ball at the Court House. Charlie, prince of caterers, was employed to prepare the supper with instructions to spare neither pains nor money. The best of music was engaged. It is not certain whether the Fort Hays military band or the Hays City brass band played for them.

When the day of the big event came, the sky was overcast and the wind chilly. All morning the members walked the floor and hoped against hope that the clouds would break. Instead they thickened. About twelve the club met at the Smithie home, and after several stirrup cups of wine they started on the hunt at two o'clock. They made a bright picture, thirty of them dressed in their scarlet hunting coats, their tiny bright blue caps set jauntily on their heads. The bug-
ler with the new horn rode in the lead, the others following and the greyhounds picking up every scent. Soon after, the wind veered to the north and filled with snow. It was so very uncomfortable that they gave up hunting for the day. The ball, however, was to go on and must be even better because the hunt had been a failure.

Early that evening, in a raging snow storm, the party went to Hays. Many went in sleighs and a number of the women, fearing the storm, decided against going.

The supper was held downstairs in the Court House and was probably the biggest one ever held in Hays City. There were twenty-seven courses, and the tables were kept full during the dance so that anyone who wished could eat.

The ball itself was held in the court room upstairs. From the middle of the ceiling hung the big caledonian which George Grant had brought from "The Villa." All around the room were lanterns. Flags of Scotland, England, and America hung in festoons from the walls and the floor was as smooth as if it had been waxed.

The ladies were beautifully dressed. As the
Hays City Star society column said, "So attractive were their toilets and so accomplished were they in the etiquette of the ballroom that they made a good impression." Mrs. Ainslie wore a dress of heartease velvet with a blousing waist and large gold butterflies in her hair. Another lady was dressed in black gros-grained silk with thread lace, a court train and coral jewelry. Although only a few of the Victoria ladies were present, there were ladies from Hays City and from the fort so that no man lacked for a partner.

Many of the Englishmen were dressed in their hunting costumes of swallow tail red coats, fitting closely and buttoned with steel buttons, knee trousers, and high boots.

Judge A. D. Gilkeson acted as floor manager, and Oswald Petre as master of ceremonies. Walter Maxwell, Charles Rawlins, Frank Mason, and Ainslie were the reception committee, bowing left and right to the ladies, and shaking hands with the men.

After they had danced for some time, quadrilles, waltzes, reels, schottiches, and polkas, Mrs. Petre, who had a beautiful voice, sang. Her selections were "Sweet Forget Me Not," a popular new song, and "Touch
Me Gently, Father Time." At two o'clock Ainslie called for a toast to Queen Victoria and some of the guests went home. The rest stayed until five in the morning and voted the party a big success.

The hunt, which had been postponed, was held a week or so later. This time it started at the Victoria Manor. The English rode up the ridge between the Smoky Hill and Victoria Creek, but not finding anything, became disgusted. When they were south of the fort they decided to call it off, and a bunch of them headed for town and for a saloon. Instead of dismounting, since the door was low, they rode on into the saloon on their ponies, going up to the counter for their whiskey, and on out the back door, to swallow their drinks and get back in line for the next round, all the while waving their hats and shouting, "God Save The Queen," with every breath.

Down the street one man was hauling another in a wheelbarrow to pay off an election bet while the crowd threw caps and hats into the air and shouted. There were footmen following by twos and the English fell into the parade. Someone started up Hays City's favorite hymn, "Mary Had A Little Lamb," and they
all took it up. On down the street they went to O'Brien's Mammoth Drug Store where they secured a case of Prickly Ash Bitters. (This medicine contained about ninety-two per cent alcohol and was a very popular remedy.)

The fact that the English had so much time for amusement did not mean that there was no work being done on their estates. Most of them had overseers and manual laborers to take care of that. They knew little of such affairs and often got into difficulty when they tried to do their own work. Typical of their exploits is the story of Ainslie's cow. She was an exceptionally good milk cow for which he had paid a good price. Usually one of his hired men did the milking, but one evening when the man was busy, Ainslie decided to do the job himself. It was hot, and flies were swarming and biting. The cow, switching her tail patiently to keep them away, gave Ainslie a stinging blow in the face. He jumped up, kicked over his milk stool, and started for the house, swearing, "No goddam cow can get away with that." He returned in a moment to where the poor animal stood, still switching, drew a pearl-handled revolver and shot her.

There was a great deal of activity in the colony
that summer. The Smithies bought a flock of leghorn chickens for their barnyard and turned a flock of Cashmere goats in to graze in their rich pastures. As many as fifteen plows pulled with horses and oxen filled their fields, turning the dark soil in wide furrows. By fall four hundred acres were ready for planting. James Mack who had shocked the county by importing Lincoln sheep at three hundred dollars a-piece, raised three hundred head from which he cut wool twenty-one inches long. Chris Rawlins became such an ardent farmer that he was quoted frequently as an expert in raising grain. Grant was well on the way to his goal of the largest stock farm in America with ten thousand sheep. He was raising other crops as well and that year had eight hundred acres of corn and wheat, and harvested seven hundred tons of millet. Lord Petre from Argentine raised twenty-two hundred sheep that year, and Walter Maxwell seventeen hundred sheep as well as a drove of hogs. Maxwell tried a new experiment that spring. He set out more than a hundred fruit trees and to keep them from being destroyed by insects, imported forty English sparrows from New York to kill the pests. These were the first sparrows brought to Ellis County.
Victoria City now boasted of a number of businesses. Besides the Victoria Manor and the Philip and Macmillan Grocery Store, there were Tom Carrick's Meat Market, Dr. Kohl's Drug Store, Mack's Hotel, Tom Hill's Saloon, Ingram's Blacksmith Shop, and in front of it Ingrams eating house sometimes called the Alma House, a half-completed schoolhouse, and a church that had been started in March, 1877. Joe Ingram, anticipating the needs of the English should Victoria become their trading center commenced work on a hundred-foot livery stable so that there would be some place to keep the ponies when people came to town. Then there were the corral Grant had had put up beyond the depot and a dozen or so residences.

On May first, 1877, the first term of school began. It lasted for three months or until August first, and was taught by Mary Montgomery of Hays City. Since the stone building was not yet completed, Grant lent a small frame house of his own for the term so that the children who were now of school age would not have to wait and so get a late start. Many of the Russian children who had moved there came to the school. There were thirty-two pupils and only the rudiments were taught. Since many of the pupils were poor no special text books were required, and each pupil used whatever
texts he could get. As a consequence there were nearly as many different books used for each subject as there were pupils. However it seems to have been a success. Concerning it the Hays City Star said, "Mollie Montgomery walked into the Victoria schoolroom last Monday with a four-foot hazel brush in one hand and a bouquet of wild flowers in the other and called the school to order. She informed the little folk that one was suggestive of good order while the other with delicious fragrance filled the entire room and would cause them to forget life's ills. We predict for her success."

Later in the same year the stone schoolhouse was finished. It was fifteen feet wide by thirty feet long and had a shed built at the back for fuel.

In March, 1877, the church was started. It was to cost five thousand dollars, most of which had already been secured. Grant himself had given a thousand dollars and in addition had sent to New York and at his own expense had ordered a five hundred dollar pipe organ for it. The Kansas Pacific Railroad gave five hundred dollars, Grant's former partner, Charles Gask, two hundred and fifty, and parents of the younger men had sent checks for twenty-five or fifty pounds. Most of the colonists had helped some,
their contributions averaging a hundred dollars or so.

The church, although designed to accommodate only a hundred or so was to be a beautiful one, the most beautiful one this side of Topeka, it was said. Built also of the native limestone, the stones arranged irregularly, the style was Gothic with gable roof and flying buttresses. An iron cross topped the structure and a small study at the back provided a place for the minister to do his work. Stained glass windows let a soft light into the interior. Beyond the church in typical English fashion stood the churchyard where the dead were to be buried.

There was no regular minister. It is probable that a regular minister was brought from England, but that he did not like the country and so did not remain long. Bishop Vail of Topeka told the colonists he would see that a minister was provided for them every second Sunday, and the Board of Missions promised to take care of services the others.

In June of 1877 the colony was honored by a visit from a number of distinguished men, most of them friends Grant had made in the East or on his vacations in the South.

There were thirty of them, representing, as the Hays City Sentinel reported it, "The brains and culture
of New York." There were ministers, professors, lawyers, and journalists. Of ministers there were the Reverend Theo. L. Cuyler, of Brooklyn and Dr. Thomas Armitage of New York, both of world-wide fame. The lawyers included Charles E. Grinnell and Edward L. Pierce of Boston and the gifted Oliver W. Root of Kentucky. The medical profession was represented by Paul F. Munde and R. H. Saunders of New York and A. A. Hagan of Cambridge. The press contributed such persons as E. F. Waters of the Boston Advertiser, Henri Browne and H. L. Bridgeman of the New York Tribune, M. P. Muckle of the Philadelphia Ledger, John T. Perry of the Cincinnati Gazette, and McConnelly of The Field of England. President Barnard of Columbia College was another guest, and Henry Ward Beecher was to have been, but a last-minute accident prevented his coming. The non-professionals in the group included such men of wealth and position as William Endicott of Boston and William Taylor of New York City.

For several days before their coming, there was great excitement in the colony as it prepared to entertain them. Since none of the homes would accommodate the entire group they made a canvas tent by Victoria Manor and set up long tables of planks with saw horse bases. The women draped flags, English, Scottish, and
American around the pavilion and set the tables with their best white linens. They sent messengers to Hays City and to the fort to invite guests to help entertain their company. Before the dinner, Grant showed them over the colony. The picture of the green, level prairies and their stone houses facing the creek was a revelation to the English. The fine flocks grazing in the pastures was a sight many of the Easterners had never seen before and they were loud in their praise.

When they returned to Victoria, they found a great crowd awaiting them, all dressed in their best, and the long tables groaning with food. H. P. Wilson, Captain George Ryan and his wife, Fred Kreuger, L. T. Eggers, Mrs. A. J. Vickers, Mrs. H. Snyder, Miss Emma Hall, and Miss Mary Montgomery were there to represent Hays City. From the fort were Dr. Kilbourne, Captain Lee, Lieutenant Allen and several officers of the fourth cavalry. Superintendent Loomis of the Kansas Pacific Railroad and J. C. Gilmore, land commissioner for the Kansas Pacific, were also there. The colony itself had turned out full force.

While the flags blew in and out with the breeze, everyone stood with bowed heads for the Reverend Mr. Armitage to ask the blessing. Then the dinner commenced. It was a merry occasion in which everyone enjoyed him-
self. Junius Henri proposed a toast to George Grant, suggesting all sorts of nice things for him—even marriage. The Reverend Mr. Armitage seconded the motion, and said if the lady were present and "Barkis Willin'" the minister was ready. Grant took the teasing good-naturedly, but made no reply. He proposed toasts to the "Best Queen of the British Isles," to the ladies, and to the best prosperity of our frontier. There were responses by Pierce, Brown, Barnard, Armitage, Waters, and Connelly. Colonel Eggers responded to a toast "To the Frontier," and Lieutenant Allento the toast "To the Army," in which the latter lamented the fact that congress had turned the army out to grass.

President Barnard was so well impressed with the country that he promised to see to it that all geographies which described Kansas as the center of the great American desert were burned.

It is not certain how long the guests remained—probably not more than one day, for they were on a tour. But the event was a great one for the English who liked nothing better than entertaining. The Hays Sentinel remarked, "Too great a compliment cannot be paid Grant for the way he has improved our country."

Since the English and the people of Hays had en-
tertained the residents of the fort so often and so royally, the post commander, Major D. M. Vance, decided to repay them fittingly with a grand ball. No pains were to be spared to make it a success and the entire county was to be invited. Colonel Pennypacker and his regimental band from Fort Riley were engaged to furnish the music and since there was a shortage of girls, invitations were sent to every woman who could be found with the notation that if she had no escort she would be chaperoned by the wife of one of the first or second lieutenants and would be called for and taken home in an army ambulance.

The bake house at the fort was run night and day with the ovens filled with pies, cakes, bread, and roasts. The women concocted dainty salads, and Tommy Drumm, who always had a hand in every celebration, sent out liquid refreshments.

Colored lights, evergreen mottoes, flags and accoutrements of war decorated the Amusement Hall. The regimental band in blue and brass buttons occupied the elevated music stand.

Everyone had come. Ambulances had combed the country for unattached girls, families fortunate to have carriages had picked up those without any way. The women's dresses would have done credit to a city.
There were dresses of white tarlatan looped up with flowers, a pink silk with a white swiss over dress, a light blue brocade with knife plaiting and a lace bertha collar, an ashes of roses grenadine and many other lovely frocks. They all had the extremely low necks of the period, the short sleeves, and many had princess court trains. They were adorned with ornaments of gold, of coral, and of flowers. Most of the ladies wore white kid shoes and three-button kid gloves. The officers were all attired in their blue uniforms with gold trimming. Many of the other men wore black broadcloth claw-hammer-tailed coats. The men who did not wear kid gloves held snowy white handkerchiefs between their bare hands and the ladies' dainty dresses.

The dance began at eight thirty o'clock with a grand march. This was followed by waltzes, cotillions, galops, polkas, and schottiches. Square dances were popular, especially with the older members of the crowd. As a special treat Major Vance had hired a cowboy to call a few sets to show the English and the soldiers how it was done in "the wild and wooly west."

The cowboy, a young fellow, was dressed in his high-heeled boots with chaps and spurs. He wore a red silk handkerchief around his neck and as he reeled off
his impromptu calls, he kept time with his big Stetson hat.

"Get your partners for a quadrille
   Spit out your tobacco, and everybody dance."

Another call was,

"Swing the other gal, swing her sweet,
   Paw dirt, doggies; stomp your feet."

The last one particularly bewildered the English and the newer soldiers who had never heard the terms before. The cowboy was greatly amused and explained that "paw dirt" or "stomp" meant simply to do a kind of jigging step, lifting the feet high. Once he called,

"Ladies in the center, gents round 'em run
   Swing yer rope, cowboy, and get you one."

His last call was,

"Swing an' march, first couple lead
   Clear round the hall and then stampede."

The crowd cheered loudly for him to return, but he had disappeared for wetter regions.

At one o'clock there was a temporary lull for supper. The tables in the mess hall were filled with the food they had been preparing. There were drinks too and toasts proposed to fair ladies and to the fort. Then the dancing started again; at nearly five-thirty the band played the witching strains of "The Beautiful Blue Danube." The dancers wove gracefully in and out the blue uniforms, the black claw-hammer-tailed dress
suits, and the colorful dresses making a lovely picture. Then the carriages and ambulances were brought out and while the sun was rising everyone went home.

There were other amusements too besides hunts and dances. There were the theatrical companies which played in the Kreuger Opera House for several weeks at a time. Most popular of these companies was the Louie Lord Dramatic Company. It played such favorites as "La Tosca," "Lady Audrey's Secret," "East Lynne," and "Ten Nights in a Barroom," to enthralled audiences. Louie Lord herself with her long ruddy hair and great emoting ability was capable of carrying the frontier audience with her.

Inspired by these plays, the people of the county organized an amateur society called the Hays City Amateurs. Several Victoria members belonged to it, and for a time its productions were popular at meetings around the county.

The fall of 1877 a great many of the English returned home for visits. Many of them had not been home since they came. Their visits, because of their infrequency, usually lasted for from six months to a year. Maxwells and Whites left in September and in October Oswald Petre and Fred Rawlins decided to
follow their example. The night of their departure, Dr. O'Brien of Hays City gave a farewell party for them in his rooms over the Mammoth Drug Store. His apartment was well furnished with flowered carpets, upholstered chairs, and marble topped tables. At an early hour his rooms were lighted brightly and the guests began to assemble. The billiard room below was also lighted so that those who wished might play. Dr. O'Brien had hired the Hays City Brass Band to play for his company, and it played as they assembled. There were cooling draughts for his company from champagne to iced sherbet, lemonade, and soda water. Toasts were given to the health, the journey, and the speedy return of the men from "Merry Old England." At midnight the doctor took his guests to the New York House for refreshments.

After supper the ladies retired, but the men waited for the train to come. Some of them got too much to drink and amused themselves by throwing the furniture out in the street. After they had sobered up they paid for it. After all they had meant nothing by it. They were merely having a good time.
Bibliographical Notes

The material on the crops and Grant's prize for his shorthorn bull came from the Kansas State Agricultural Report of 1876. Interviews with Mrs. Gus Haveman and Mr. and Mrs. William Philip, Sr., furnished the material about the new colonists, what they brought with them, and many details of the episodes recounted. "Early Victoria History," a manuscript by Margaret Miller, gave the hunting costumes of both men and women as well as other descriptive bits. Newspaper files of the Hays City Star and the Hays City Sentinel from 1876-1878 told of the founding of the Cricket Club, of the Hunt Club, and its big inaugural celebration, of the distinguished guests and their entertainment, of the activities of the school and church, and of the farewell party. Much of the information about the ball at the fort came from an article, "Girl Eye View of Pioneer Hays," by Catherine Cavender, in a scrapbook belonging to Mrs. H. F. Addison. To an interview with Andrew Brungardt I am indebted for the description of Victoria at this time, and lastly the two incidents in Tommy Drumm's saloon were taken from the newspapers and from When Kansas Was Young by T. A. McNeal.
CHAPTER VII

The Coming Of The German-Russians

In the spring of 1876 an event of significance to the English occurred. On the eighth day of April eighteen families of German-Russians from Herzog, Russia, who had landed in America the fall before, bought a tract of land to the north of Grant's property from the Kansas Pacific Railroad Company, and on the east bank of Victoria Creek a half mile north of Victoria, they started the little town of Herzog.

Years before in 1762 their ancestors had surged across the border from Germany to Russia to accept the invitation of the Great Catherine of Russia to settle upon the vast semi-arid peneplain. Catherine's promises had been attractive--freedom of religion, freedom from taxation, and freedom from military service. All Catherine asked in return was for these peasants to till the soil and turn Russia into the grain-bin of the Empire. For over a century they had done their work well and had lived contented, peaceful lives.
The czars, successors of the czarina, had been less benevolent. They had gradually revoked all privileges and broken all promises that had been made to the Germans until at last life had become unbearable. Burdensome taxes had left little as a reward for hard work. They had had to serve in the czars' armies and finally had been refused the right to worship as they believed. Then they had decided to leave—to come to America, where they would not need to bow to a strange god in a strange church, where they could own their own lands, where they could keep the German culture which they had guarded so carefully in the years in Russia.

Accordingly in 1874 five communities of German-Russians met and elected five delegates to visit America at the expense of the communities they represented to look for a suitable place to which they might move. The delegates came to America in December and visited parts of Kansas and Nebraska. When they returned home they reported favorably on the new country. For one thing they could buy from the railroad for from two to two and a half dollars an acre land which was well adapted to farming. On the strength of the report, many decided to go to America.

Most of the new settlers were too poor to buy
land even at that price. They had used up the little money they had in making the trip. They might have homesteaded, but they had no money to buy horses or machinery to till the soil. The few who could afford to, bought land or took homesteads immediately. The others hired out at whatever jobs they could find to do. Many went to work on the railroad. Others worked for the English. While the men did the field work and herded their stock, the women baked for them, washed for them, and cleaned their houses. The women worked for as little as twenty-five cents a day, the men for little more. Even small boys helped with the herding to earn a few cents a day toward buying land.

Besides the work which they did for others there was much work to be done at home. Each family had a garden in which they raised potatoes, beans, onions, and other foodstuffs. They all had pigs also. Behind each house was a pen in which the pigs were kept. While they were not raised with the idea of making a living from them, each family raised its own meat supply. Chickens were kept to supply eggs and meat.

Then there was spinning to do. From the native wool the women made their own socks, stockings, jackets, and shawls.
As soon as they could possibly do so, the German-Russians bought land, as owning land was a passion with them. They had brought with them Turkish wheat which they hoped to raise in Kansas, and their first work was breaking sod for it. The English looked with amused toleration upon the newcomers and nicknamed their settlement "Hardtack." They scoffed at the idea of making a living entirely through such hard work as farming the land. The German-Russians in turn feared everybody—English, Indians, other settlers. Ground down as peasants in Russia, and preyed upon by the savage Kirgiz hordes that swept down on their defenseless towns, killing and plundering, they had come to look with suspicion on the whole world. The Indians they compared in their minds to the savage Kirgiz, the English to the cruel overlords. The faintest rumor of an Indian attack would send them scurrying from their homesteads to Herzog where they would huddle together in terror. They built four-foot sod walls around their town and when the red-coated English found these excellent jumping barriers they made no protest. At the sight of a rider, the alarm would spread, "Die Englische kommen," and they would throw their hands and disappear like mice into their holes. By the time the English got there, the village would be apparently deserted.
For these reasons they kept to themselves and sought to be independent. Having been accustomed to communal life in Russia and having had their local or dorf officers consisting of a voerstehen, buettel (town crier), and gemeindeversammlung (legislative body), they sought to carry out these customs in the United States. Legislation was even attempted by the gemeindeversammlung, but upon finding that it had no power, they abandoned it. Thereafter they consulted civil authorities about their problems.

The colonists put up houses immediately as they had no places of shelter. While they were doing the work, they had to sleep on the ground in the open. If a rain storm happened to come up, they tried to creep in somewhere, but as soon as it was over, they went out again and lay on the damp ground. Since they had little money, there were only a few frame houses in the group, the others being square little soddies with rafters and supports for the roof which was covered with cheap, plain boards, on top of which a layer of earth several inches thick was spread. The structures were plastered with mud and straw which had been mixed usually by the women by tramping it with their bare feet. After it had been worked to the proper consistency, the women would gather up the fronts of their
dresses with their left hands, thus forming bags, and would fill these bags with the mud plaster. Then with their right hands they filled in the chinks in the walls. It was a messy process, but the product when finished was sturdy. After it had dried a sufficient length of time, it was whitewashed inside and out with burnt gypsum.

There were two rooms in these houses—a small ante-room which contained the fireplace and cooking utensils and a larger one that was living, dining, and bedroom combined. In rare instances this room had a wooden floor. In the center of the room was a large home-made stove constructed by sun-baked bricks which had been made of soil mixed with a great deal of straw, the mixture having been trampled, like the plaster, with the feet. It was then molded in wooden forms and baked in the sun. Much care was taken in building these stoves so that they would draw well.

The fuel problem was serious. Coal and wood were scarce and expensive. Mistholz (buffalo chips) was used. This fuel was made by letting manure heat and decompose, then spreading it out in twelve inch sheets, cutting it into blocks, and drying it in the sun. This fuel, when properly cured, created intense heat though it burned out rapidly.
The house furnishings were simple. No fireplaces or walnut furniture was imported for these houses. The men bought a few cheap pine boards and fashioned rude bedsteads, tables, and benches from them. Women sewed together sacks and filled them with straw or prairie hay for mattresses. Marrow spoons and Haviland china were beyond their knowledge. They were fortunate if they could afford enough plates and tin knives, forks, and spoons to go around. For cooking utensils they had a tripod and a few iron or copper kettles.

But they were proud of their homes and did all they could to make them attractive. Framed baptismal and confirmation certificates decorated the whitewashed walls and photographs, perhaps of the father in Russian military uniform, or a departed member of the family lying in an open casket with the others grouped around, stood on their rough shelves and tables. Though pigs and chickens were often allowed in their houses the women were spotless housekeepers.

With their own persons it was different. Families were large, usually averaging about ten, the houses small, so that it was difficult for them to keep clean.

The clothes problem was not a serious one for them. They made most of their garments by hand, and kept the
same styles they had worn in the old country. Since their winters had been severe in Russia, they prepared for similar winters here, and wore heavy fur-lined overcoats, long-topped felt boots, and short coats of sheep-skin with the fur on the inside. They wore caps called "carduses" that resembled small boys caps of today. The men kept to the old styles so far as to wear their hair long. The women wore the same long, full-skirted dresses and head shawls that the Russian women had worn for generations. In their native clothes the settlers were a strange contrast, not only to their aristocratic English neighbors, but even to the humble homesteaders, and were the object of many jokes and jibes.

The Russian-Germans were devout Catholics, and there were at that time no Catholic churches west of Salina in Kansas. This did not keep the new colonists from having their religious services, however. In the center of the village they erected a great wooden cross and hung a bell above it. The angelus was rung regularly. The picture of their evening worship was like one by Millet, the stolid, patient, peasants, with work suspended and heads bowed, the great wooden cross and behind it the glow of a Kansas sunset. Before they even had priests to care for them, the head
men of the village took charge of their religious rites. In April Father Wibbert of Salina came to Herzog, and in May Reverend Mathew and Anastasius Mueller, recently arrived from Germany, took over the settlement.

The first church services indoors were held in the house of Alois Dreiling. Later a lean-to addition, twenty by forty, was built, but this accommodated only a part of the congregation. Walter Maxwell, the only Catholic in the English colony with the exception of his brother Bernard who spent only a part of his time at Victoria, became attracted to the situation. It seemed pitiful to him that people as devout as the German-Russians should not have an adequate place for their worship. He wrote to his father, Lord Harries, and told him of the situation. Lord Harries immediately made a large contribution of more than a thousand dollars toward building a church. He also interested the Duke of Norfolk and the Marquis of Bute in the project and each of them made gifts. The German-Russians cut the stone and helped very materially in the building. The church they planned was thirty by sixty feet.

By the time the building was finished, the money was exhausted so there were no pews for the congregation.
Because the Maxwells had been so interested and had done so much to make the church possible, one of the priests bought a special pew, large enough for four people, for them and placed it near the altar. Sunday after Sunday the tall, handsome Walter, and Bernard when he was in Kansas, dressed in knee pants and long stockings, with buckled pumps, marched through the crowd of kneeling German-Russians to their pew, and always they were a fascinating sight to the simple people, dressed in their home-spuns. The church did not serve for long. It soon also proved too small.

The Maxwells had had such good success getting money from their father for the church, that for a time after, whenever they wanted additional money for anything, they wrote him that they were making additions to the church.

The new colonists began their educational pro-
gram almost immediately. School District No. 7, the Herzog district, was organized late in 1877. The first school was held in the home of Anton Dreiling which was one of the few frame houses of the village. Mr. Rowe was teacher. Peter Linnenberger taught private school, first in the home of John Sands and later in the home of Alois Dreiling. The curriculum
was a modest one containing little more than the three R's. Both English and German were taught, the morning being devoted to German, the afternoon to English. Special stress was put on religious instruction with the catechism always in German.

Progress in education was slow. Attendance was irregular and intermittent. In the first place, the old folks who were not accustomed to being taxed directly for school purposes, found the assessment of fifty cents a month per child irksome. Many did not realize the need for education because the village life in the old country had not put them in contact with the outside world. They could not grasp the change in conditions. Then too the farm work made it necessary for the parents to keep the older children out of school till late in the fall and to withdraw them when spring work set in. Often they would be able to attend only a month or so out of the whole year. Since German was spoken in all the homes, the children had difficulty in learning English. The older folk did not encourage learning English. They always said, "Let the children learn the German first. They can always learn the English when they grow up."

Although the families were large to begin with, married children often lived at home for a time, all working and living in common as one large family.
Since the newly-wedded couples did not have to provide homes immediately they married young. Men often married at eighteen or nineteen, girls at fifteen or sixteen. When the first daughter-in-law came to the home, the mother retired from active management and took it easy. This often led to difficulties; altogether the system was not one which made for peace among families. So their priests soon taught and encouraged that each married couple should live alone.

The father was the head of the German-Russian family. He expected and received obedience from all, the mother, sons, and daughters-in-law. Married daughters came under the supervision of their fathers-in-law. The father controlled all monies and was final arbiter in all matters pertaining to the family.

The German-Russians loved music and possessed many musical instruments such as violins, 'cellos, dulcimers, and zithers. Often the English invited them to play for their festivities. German-Russian boys and girls who had been in their employ sometimes invited the English to wedding celebrations. The ceremonies were intensely interesting to the English.

When a young Russian wanted to get married, he called upon two of his elderly men friends to act as Freiersmaenner for him. In their company the young
man went to the home of his prospective bride, where they were received by the bride's parents. When asked the purpose of their visit, the Freiersmaenner formally requested the daughter's hand for their client. Usually this was a mere formality, the matter having already been settled between the young people. The request in this case was granted if the daughter consented. Rarely were marriages arranged without the daughter's consent. On the other side it may be said that rarely did daughters object to their parent's decisions. If the answer was affirmative, the dowry was decided upon. Dowries were the girls' share of their parent's property, the lands being always divided among the sons.

The guests were invited by sending a man, who in the name of the parents, invited guests to the wedding. The men who gave the invitations always carried canes. Usually they were well received and often offered something to eat and drink.

The evening before a wedding, known as polter-abend (racket eve), was given over to music, dancing, and general merry making. The marriage always took place in the morning in the church and was blessed by the priest.

It was the custom for the groom and his mother to
select the bride's apparel. Early in the morning of the wedding day she went to his house to dress. She took with her only the clothes she wore. Before the couple started to church they knelt on a cloth spread on the floor, facing each other and with hands joined, to receive the blessing of their parents and relatives who had assembled there.

The procession usually formed about nine-thirty o'clock. First was a band of four musicians blowing the melody of a wedding march on trumpets. Next came the bride surrounded by men and the groom surrounded by women. The ceremony was the regular Catholic one, after which the bride followed the groom from the church to the groom's house, where the wedding feast was held. At the wedding feast the bride sat on one side of the table with a group of men, the groom on the other side with the ladies. The bride and groom did not eat, but later on took their meal alone in another room. While at the table the bride was robbed of one shoe, which had to be redeemed with money by the best man.

Everything available was prepared for the wedding feast. It was not uncommon to cook a whole hog or a quarter of beef. There was liquor in abundance and a beverage from rye flour called "quast."
After the festive meal, dancing was begun by the young husband and wife and the marriage attendants. Music was furnished by an orchestra usually consisting of two violins and a dulcimer, the musicians being paid by coins placed on a table near them by the guests. Each man was expected to dance with the bride. As he danced with her he pinned a present to her dress. Often it was paper money, but it might be clothing or ribbons.

The main dance by which the entire occasion came to be known was the "hochzeit." An Englishman seeing it for the first time described it thus: "It resembles an exaggerated hop waltz. Around and around the room they go, treading on each other's toes. They are like animated jumping jacks. The music grows faster and wilder as the dance progresses."

Since most celebrations were large and most homes small, there was a time limit, usually of ten minutes, set on dancing. At the end of that time one group left the floor and others began. The bride and groom alone danced practically the entire time. Sometimes if a fellow wished to pay an especial compliment to a girl he led her onto the floor, paid the musicians a half-dollar, and left her alone facing the crowd. Then while the orchestra played a lively tune in the girl's
honor, all drank to her health. This custom was called "Tush."

Sometimes older guests who did not wish to dance played games such as Durack, Kopflauer, and Solo.

The festivities lasted two or three days, at first, and there was considerable drinking, but soon the priests were able to influence the settlers to place a one-day limit on them.

But while the German-Russians had their celebrations, for the most part they were a hard-working people and took little time off for amusements. From the first there was about their settlement of crooked streets and soddies an air of permanence and stability. In March, 1877, it was said that every serviceable animal in the colony was yoked to a plow. That spring each family had an average of twenty-five acres of wheat planted.

In May, following an old custom of theirs, they held a three-day celebration to insure a good harvest. Early in the morning of each of the three days, the entire population turned out in holiday costume at daybreak. A procession formed, with the priests and the head men of the village leading. This procession marched around every field of growing grain, chanting the glory of God and calling upon the powers that be
to preserve the growing crop, destroy grasshoppers, worms, and bugs, and finally to mature the grain, allow a bountiful harvest, and furnish a high-priced market.

Whether or not the ceremony had anything to do with it, there was a good harvest, and immediately after it, the German-Russians started breaking more ground for a bigger crop the next year. By the end of the year the amused tolerance of the English was giving away to respect and admiration for the persistent efforts of the new settlers.

So for a few years the two colonies, so different in culture and in background, dwelt side by side, the sprawling, square sod-house village of one hundred homes at the north and the large English estates with aristocratic stone houses at the south.

Typical of their different customs were the Christmas Eve celebrations of 1877. The English Christmas Eve dinner at the Smithies was reminiscent of a feudal banquet. The long table in the downstairs dining hall was covered with fine white damask, and laid with the Smithies' fine Haviland china and sterling, studded here and there with silver epagones containing cut glass bottles of salt, pepper, and vinegar. There were tall glass compotes of jams and jellies. There were platters of pork, of dried buffalo, of wild
turkey. There was Yorkshire pudding, mince pie, plum pudding over which brandy was poured and burned, tipsy cake and fresh fruit. Tea was served from large squat silver pots, and before dinner small glasses of sherry were passed. Huge candles in silver holders shed their soft light on beautifully gowned ladies and dignified, handsome men. The butler, in his formal butler's garb, served the dinner and from the bar brought additional drinks to the table. Toast after toast was drunk, and spirits rose with each drink.

After dinner they sang Christmas carols around Mrs. Smithie's grand piano in the living room upstairs.

The German-Russians were celebrating too. Early in the evening the children had put on their best clothes and waited with great excitement the "Krist Kindchen" who was to bring them presents and good things to eat. Finally, at each house in turn, the tinkling of a bell was heard followed by a knock, and a young lady in white, with her face veiled, came in. Entering she saluted the family with the greeting, "Gelobt sei Jesus Christus" (praised be Jesus Christ). Calling for the youngest child, she had him recite a prayer, and asked him about his behavior. Next she called for the older children and punished them for their faults. Then she gave them all presents. Finally she threw
great quantities of nuts into the air and, as the children scrambled for them, she disappeared with the promise to come next year if they were all good. The children's faith in the "Krist Kindchen" was left unshaken.

Later in the evening, following a custom they had borrowed from the family of the czar in Russia, the entire families assembled in groups. At that time it was not difficult for most of the married children lived at home. Here they settled any difficulties or misunderstandings they had with each other, and paid any debts with money supplied by the father. After this they drank wine to each other's health and sang songs until after eleven. Then they went together to the church for midnight mass.
Bibliographical Notes

The material on the German-Russians came from The Golden Jubilee of the German-Russian Settlements, from files of the Hays City Star and the Hays City Sentinel for 1876-1877, from a series of articles by Richard Sallet which ran in the Hays Daily News during the summer of 1952, and from interviews with both Andrew Brungardt and Bernard Brungardt.
CHAPTER VIII

The Last Years Of The Colony

New Year's of 1878 was a memorable one. On New Year's Eve, Company G at Fort Hays gave a military ball for the town and surrounding territory, and many of the English attended. The German-Russians did not. They were clannish and had little to do with the natives. Had they been invited they would not have accepted. Most of them could not speak the English language nor dance the American dances.

The Amusement Hall at the fort was decorated with evergreen and holly. The Sixteenth Infantry band, which supplied the music appeared in full dress, and the soldiers were dressed in their blue cloth and brass buttons. At one o'clock refreshments were served from long tables in the mess room. The dance then continued until late in the morning.

New Year's Day itself was warm and springlike. There was a big hunt that afternoon with all hunt club members in their scarlet jackets. There were men from Hays City and from the fort and many women accompanied
them. So big was the group that any horse that had four good legs was in use that day. The fact that there were only jack rabbits and coyotes to hunt did not lessen their enjoyment.

A great many women in Hays City held open house for their friends, and served lovely refreshments to those who came to wish them a "Happy New Year." Some served egg nog, but most of them had only black coffee. Cards were not used that day, but instead, blank books were left open on tables near the door in which each caller left his autograph. All afternoon the streets were filled with the carriages of people who went from house to house with their greetings.

The German-Russians celebrated too. Early in the morning the children called upon their relatives and friends wishing them a "Happy New Year": "Ich wünsche Euch ein glückseliges Neujahr, langes Leben, Gesundheit, Freide und Enigkeit, nach dem Tode die ewige Glückseligkeit. (I wish you a happy New Year, long life, health, peace, and unity, and after death eternal happiness.) In return they were given sweets which they carried away in a white cloth or perhaps a small coin or two. Later in the day families had big kin dinners and visited with each other.

The spring of 1878 new settlers came both to
Victoria and to Herzog. To Herzog they came in large numbers while comparatively few joined the English. For the new English members, however, there were others who had grown tired of frontier life and upon whom the novelty had palled. Some of these had gone on to other places in America; others had returned to England. Parents had grown weary of supporting sons who showed no inclination to help themselves or develop the large American kingdoms the parents had hoped for. These parents reduced their sons' remittances until many of them were unable to live without working.

As Grant saw his colony devoting their time so largely to sports and the German-Russians beside them working so diligently to develop the resources, he must have realized that the dreams he had dreamed for a great British empire in Kansas would never be fulfilled, but that his colony would be swallowed up in a hardier one. He did not give up, however. He pushed to completion the church which he had worked so long to obtain. He didn't live to see it finished.

Grant had been far from well for some time. Instead of the rest his doctor had ordered and Grant had planned to take on his estate, he had found himself with a big task on his hands,—bigger by far than the one he had left behind in London. As he looked across
the level prairies from "The Villa" to Victoria, and on further to Herzog, he must have realized that his work had been in vain and that he had only a short time left. He was still a young man, but he had burned out. He was lonesome too. No longer was his colony attracting the attention of the world; no longer were visitors coming to Victoria from New York and Europe. His attempts to make serious farmers of the young fun-loving colonists met with no success.

On April 18, 1878, Grant called in two of his friends, John Reid and Jonas Waters, and with them for witnesses made his will. He was still heavily in debt on his property and he had a number of personal obligations which he was unable to pay. Nevertheless his will indicates that he believed he would still have a large amount of money left after all his lands were sold and his affairs straightened up. He named as his English executors Charles Gask, No. 610 Oxford Street, London, and William Sturt of No. 14 Ironmonger Lane, London, and as his American administrators Margaret Grant, the niece who had made her home with him, and James R. McClure of Junction City, Kansas.

He made many bequests. To each of the executors he left five hundred dollars; to Margaret Grant of Victoria he left the "Villa" with all its furniture,
one hundred and sixty acres of land, and five thousand dollars; to another niece, Margaret Grant of London, he likewise left five thousand dollars; to a brother Alec Grant of Scotland, and to a nephew he left twenty-five hundred; to two cousins and a sister, one thousand each; to Elie Hunter Matlock, daughter of a friend, five hundred; to Lillian Gask, daughter of Charles Gask, one thousand; to the daughter of James McClure, and to Ida Colket, Philadelphia, five thousand; to Susan Samuel, Scotland, one thousand; to the Linen and Woolen Drapers, Silk Mercers, Lacemen, Haberdashers and Hosiers Institution in London, one thousand; to the British Home for Incurables, London, one thousand; and to the Right Reverend Bishop Vail of Kansas to use and invest as he deemed best for the church and parish of Victoria, five thousand. The remainder of his estate he directed to be divided equally among the two Margaret Grants, George Grant, a nephew, and Ida Colket. Most of the land was to be sold within a year. Only one piece was to be left to the discretion of the executors, the plot on which Victoria stood.

In all Grant's will had provided for the payment of thirty-nine thousand, five hundred dollars in cash, besides the home for Margaret, the payment of out-
standing debts, and the division of the remaining properties.

So probably, though Grant realized his estate had shrunk, he did not realize how poor he really was.

Ten days later on the twenty-eighth of April, Grant died. People came for miles around to his funeral which was held in the nearly-completed church. For several hours before the service, his body lay in state in the church. Even curious little German-Russian boys, so small that they had to be lifted up to see him, came as well as the ones who had worked for him and were genuinely grieved. The Reverend Bishop Vail of Topeka who had advised Grant about his church and had helped him so many times, and Dr. Reynolds, Post Chaplain at Fort Riley, and a special friend of Grant's, conducted the service. After the funeral his body was put in a grave in front of the church, the first one to be put in the cemetery he had given the colony. He did not have a tombstone, but friends built a fence of posts around it.

Many papers both in America and England noted his death with regret for the man who had had such high hopes for Kansas. The Hays City Star carried a long
article, a reprint from the Salina Herald.

It was not his indomitable energy alone which made him a successful merchant. It was energy, combined with a rare taste that would have done no discredit to Worth himself.

A leading idea of Mr. Grant in regard to his great land scheme was to have a large portion of it taken up by young men of education and moderate means, who being located together in a compact little community might while cultivating the soil retain the habits and amenities of English gentlemen.

The rather premature end of this remarkable Scotchman, great at once in commerce and in farming, and a gentleman in his manners and a prince in his hospitality will be regretted by a large circle of friends and admirers both in Europe and America. His father reached the ripe age of ninety. He has died thirty-four years short of that time the result of both aspirations and ceaseless activity or as he himself has modestly expressed it, wishing to do something that other men cannot or do not do. And then as with a faint premonition that fate was nigh he touchingly asks what is the end. The end of the brave founder of the colony has indeed come, but the colonists and their descendants who live on the land on their own estates amid peace, plenty, and health in that magnificent prairie land with its champagne air will long remember with grateful feelings the energetic, sagacious founder of Victoria. But his work does not end now. It is still in its youth and its beneficent effects will last until America, which he loved so well, has been fully peopled and its great future has been invested with the grandeur of age.

For a time things went on much as before. The colonists kept up their hunts and still had their cricket matches. But they were tiring of these. Many of them
had never become accustomed to the arid plains and still longed for their native lakes. Among these were the Smithies. With the coming of the German-Russians, who would work very cheaply, the Smithies conceived a plan. They would dam up Victoria Creek, impounding the waters until they were deep enough for a boat, then they would buy a boat. Limestone was cut from the quarry on the Norton place and a dam was made which formed a lake that has been estimated to be from one-half to eight or nine miles long. The boat came one day to the depot at Hays City on a flat car covered with tarpaulin. It was a sixteen-foot steam launch in white with mahogany and brass trim. On the side was the name in neat black letters, "The Jolly West."

The boat was set up ready for launching and on the twenty-third of May, 1878, the Smithies invited their friends to the Mt. Pleasant Stock Farm for the ceremony. The skids were soaped, and Mrs. Smithie broke a bottle of wine over it as she christened it. Then the ropes were cut and the little steamboat plunged into the fifteen foot water. Lannon, one of the Smithie servants, started the boat on its trial trip. Un-moor was the first order; strike for the shore, the second. Immediately the unballasted ship turned on its side,
dumping its passengers into the deep water. Henry Smithie told Lannon that if he had kept his tobacco quid in the middle of his mough instead of at one side, the upset would not have occurred. Sand was put in for a ballast, and after that there was no more trouble. Day after day the cloudless sky was darkened by thick smoke from the funnels of the steamer as the boat churned up Victoria Creek, up some declare almost to the fort, then turned and headed for the Smithie Landing.

Sometimes the passengers amused themselves by shooting at jack rabbits from the boat. Other times they picked up officers from the fort for card games. The boat lasted for several years until the dam went out in a flood. Then the water became low and the steamboat hit on something and sank. Since it was of no further use to them, the Smithies did not attempt to raise it. A time after, when Frank Montgomery was reviving the Hays City Sentinel, and lacked an engine, he fished the boat out of Victoria Creek, cleaned up the engine and it became the power that printed the Hays newspaper.

"Ye Merry Cricketeers" still met. On July first, 1878, they held a big celebration in honor of the anniversary day of the coronation of her gracious majesty, Queen Victoria.
A large crowd gathered at Victoria by ten o'clock. Not only were there members of the colony, but guests had come from Hays City, Ellis, and Russell. The cricket game commenced at eleven. The two teams, captained by Walter and Bernard Maxwell, were in good form and the game was an exciting one.

At two o'clock, Jack Ingram, host of the Alma House, served dinner in genuine old English style in a spacious tent. There were one hundred guests, eighty of whom sat at one table. The Hon. Walter Maxwell, who had sponsored the celebration because of the death of Grant, who had been accustomed to take charge, offered a single toast, "To the health of the Queen." They were silent that remembering their founder who had loved the queen and the colony he had named for her so well.

After dinner a much larger crowd gathered. The players, after a round of beer, resumed their playing and played until dark.

In August the church was finished—the first stone church in Ellis County. It was named St. George's Chapel in honor of Grant who had done so much to make it possible. Dedication services were held August the eighteenth with the Reverend Mr. Vail of Topeka officiating and the Reverend Dr. Reynolds of Fort Riley assisting. For some years after this services were held
irregularly. The church stood until after nineteen hundred. Then because the town was practically all Catholic, and there was no need of an Episcopal church there, it was torn down. The organ, pews, and other fixtures were brought to St. Michael's church in Hays City and the stone was put into the Hays Presbyterian church.

The stone school building was finished during the same year and the school moved from the small frame building to the new one. After the English colony broke up the school still continued to be used by the German-Russians and was used until recently.

In October, Margaret Grant, niece of the late George Grant and John Duncan, foreman of the Grant estate were married. Together they carried on the work of the estate until they were unable to pay the debt on it and it was foreclosed.

From the time of Grant's death on there was more or less trouble in the heretofore peaceful colony. In October the first murder took place. Two men, a Mr. Cook and a Mr. Woods, had been playing cards and drinking when a quarrel developed. They were in the Victoria Manor at the time and the station agent quieted them and apparently had everything patched up. Later that night Woods was found unconscious. He had
been cut so badly that his bowels were on the outside of his body. Many felt Victoria was an unsafe place to live after that occurrence. It had a very bad effect on the morale of the colony.

There was still activity in the colony for some time, however. In 1880 there were still dancing parties held weekly in the Victoria schoolhouse. In that year the Western Union put an office in Victoria, and in the same year there was a lively movement among the English to build a reservoir for bathing, fishing, and duck hunting.

In 1880 Annie Hardie came to Victoria to visit her sister, Jane Hardie Philip. She stayed to marry Alec Philip and to make her home in Ellis County. The articles Annie's father ordered from a clothier of Elgin to be sent to Annie for her trousseau are very interesting. They were: six yards of twill, thirteen yards of dress linen, twelve yards of other dress cotton, four and a half yards of white body linen, three yards of black body linen (stiffening), three and a half yards of skirt linen, five packages of braid, two gross buttons (assorted), twelve yards white cotton, one wool square, one spray flowers, one pair kid gloves, one pair cloth gloves, six cuts cloth, three cuts navy blue, six handkerchiefs, one spot net, one plain net, four
cuts of colored flannel, six cuts of white flannel, four bath towels, eight damask towels, one tablecloth, nine yards of one kind of ticking, four yards of another, eight pillow slips, one pair cotton sheets, five yards sheeting, fourteen yards of print, two twists of thread, four pounds of feathers, four pounds of cotton, seventeen yards of silk, three pairs of boots (shoes), and six pairs of blankets. In addition her father sent her one dozen tablespoons, one dozen dessert spoons, one dozen breakfast knives, two dozen dinner knives, some old dishes, a bolster, two pillows, and a hand sewing machine.

The wedding took place in St. George's Chapel, the Reverend Mr. Bowen performing the ceremony. Afterwards there was a regular English holiday, a banquet with a huge bride's cake, which among the English was always a fruit cake, toasts, singing, a game of cricket, and lawn tennis until evening. Then there was a supper and dance until early morning.

The Alec Philips' had little money. They filed claims for two homesteads and built their house on the line. Little by little as the dissatisfied English prepared to leave, they added to the estate. Four sections they bought almost for the price of a return ticket to England. Here the man who had been given one year to live, lived to be eighty-two. For fifty years
of his life he was not sick a day.

There was no great exodus away from the colony. The break-up was gradual. People left a few at a time all through the eighties and early nineties. The drought of 1880 helped to write the closing chapter. There was never much activity after that. More dissension arose among the colonists and there were several fights. The correspondent from Victoria in his weekly news letter to the Hays Star reported: "Business is at a standstill here except for the coroner."

The colony scattered far and wide. The Bowmans went to Lawrence, Kansas, the Faulkners to Belleville where they bought a mill. Lord Anderson went to Florida, Ben Davidson to New York. The whites stayed till late in the eighties and sold their ranch for a profit. Then they returned to England where they spent their lives. The Maxwells were not so fortunate in disposing of their property. They sold in the middle eighties for three dollars an acre, which was at a great loss. They went back to Scotland. Walter, who had been a soldier before coming to Kansas, became a member of the queen's bodyguard. The MacDonalds went to Missouri where MacDonald who was a great stockman became a trader in the stockyards at Kansas City for twenty-five years. David Fulton and Fred Rawlins returned to
England. Bill Mack went to Cherryvale, Kansas where he lived until his recent death. The Alec Grant went to Chickasha, Oklahoma, and Mr. Grant was for years a worker for the railroad. The Gunthers, after spending seven thousand for a lovely home, stayed only seven months. The Ainslies and Petries returned to England, though later the Petres may have gone to Australia.

The Smithies fared badly. They finally lost everything in a foreclosure suit and left Ellis County in a covered wagon, pulled by four mules. Some say the covered wagon was filled with sacks of flour which they took to Pueblo, Colorado, where a flour strike was on, and sold for a good sum of money. Mrs. Smithie went on the stage in Denver to support the family. Later she was on the London stage. They may have gone to Australia also to a ranch left them by a relative there. Later Henry is reported to have tried to poison his wife so that he could marry another woman, to have been convicted of the crime, and to have spent a large part of his life in the penitentiary.

After the German-Russians took over the town of Victoria, the few remaining English moved to Hays City. Thomas Carrick brought his meat market to Hays, and George Philip abandoned his store. For a time the latter held public office. In 1894 he established the
Philip Hardware Store of Hays. The Behens and the Chittendens also moved to Hays.

The Grant fortunes were even worse than anyone had dreamed, and with the breakup of the colony, the value of his property fell. In 1883 the Kansas Pacific Railroad Company foreclosed on some of his land, to satisfy an eleven thousand dollar mortgage and more than five hundred dollars of back interest. The sale apparently did not satisfy the claim and the railroad petitioned to be given other possessions of his. The Ellis County District Court ruled that there were other claims as valid as theirs. How the affair came out is not known. Many records were destroyed when the Hays City Court House burned. Final settlements are not available. Whether or not any cash bequests that he made in his will were paid is not known either though it is supposed not. Even the Villa and the farm Margaret had been left were finally foreclosed, much later than the other property, however. The Duncans went from Ellis County to Langdon, Kansas.

The German-Russian town of Herzog, the name of which was later changed to Victoria, spread south and embraced much of the English town. A part of the original town is now a wheat field while the highway runs through the town that was so beautifully laid
out. Both the church and the Victoria Manor have been torn down. Even the graveyard is in disrepair. In summer when the grass is tall, cattle are allowed to graze on it, and monuments are broken and overturned.

Grant himself has been almost forgotten. The only persons who still remember his name are raisers of Aberdeen Angus cattle. He is still given credit for having introduced them into the United States. Until a few years ago Grant's grave was not marked. The small wooden fence around it had rotted, and the grave had become obscure. Then someone sunk concrete posts into the ground at the four corners, made a wire railing around it, and donated a small stone. Later another one mysteriously appeared at the other end. They are a curious contradiction, for one bears the inscription "George Grant, 1809-1979," the other "George Grant, 1822-1878."
Newspaper accounts in the Hays City Star and the Hays City Sentinel furnished information about the various celebrations, the Smithies' steamboat, the marriage of Annie Hardie and Alec Philip, Grant's death and funeral, and the growth of Herzog. The will of Grant and papers about the foreclosure of his property came to me from the Schaefer Abstract Company. From interviews with Frank Stout, George Philip, Mr. and Mrs. William Philip, Sr., William Montgomery, Mrs. Susan Bruney, and Andrew Brungardt I learned other details of these years and the final fate of many of the colonists.
Bibliography

Books and Pamphlets

Curror, D. Story of Victoria.

Edinburgh, Colston and Son, 1873. 200p.

A collection of prospectuses, letters, newspaper articles, and descriptions written for the purpose of attracting English and Scottish settlers to Kansas. Very valuable for information about the first year.

Dreiling, B. M., Comp. Golden jubilee of the German-Russians.


A compilation of articles by representatives of the German-Russians. Contains not only their history, but a great many of their customs as well. An excellent source.

Ellis County. Register of deeds. Deed record C.


Contains the record of Grant's purchases from the Kansas Pacific Railway Company and his subsequent re-sales.

Ellis County. Register of deeds. Plat book.

Hays, 1870-date. 112p.

Contains original plat of Victoria.
Fort Hays Frontier Park Committee. The story of old Fort Hays.


Articles of early day Ellis County by old timers. Especially valuable for descriptions of Hays and the fort.

Kansas. State board of agriculture. Third to fifth reports.

Topeka, State Printer, 1874-1876.

Good information about general weather and crop conditions including surveys by counties, acres under cultivation, and special projects such as Grant's sheep raising experiment. I used a great deal of information from these books.


Topeka, State Printer, 1877-1878. 632p.

Same as above.

McNeal, T. A. When Kansas was young.


Manuscripts and Scrapbooks

Addison, Mrs. H. F.  Kansas History Scrapbook
Abilene, 1930.  35p.

A scrapbook from later newspaper clippings covering the time from 1845-1930. Contains many historical articles and reminiscences by old timers who had participated in the events described. A good reference.

Ellis County.  Probate Court.  Will and testament of G. Grant
Hays, April 18, 1878.  4p.

Copy supplied me by Schaefer Abstract Company certified as a true and correct copy.

Ellis County.  District Court.  U.P.R.R.Co. vs. M. Duncan
Hays, December 5, 1883.  3p.

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Hays Public Library.  Victoria scrapbook.
Hays, 1932-date.  30p.

Contains much the same as the other scrapbook, with several articles written by Jane Philip and other members of the colony. Very good.

Madden, Mollie.  Chronicle of the seventies.
Hays, 1932.  7p.

Written from information furnished by the late Judge A. D. Gilkeson, contemporary and friend of the English. Good for details of their daily lives.
Miller, Margaret. Story of Victoria.

Hays, n.d. 3p.

A short manuscript written on the basis of information given by Thomas Carrick, one of the colony. Good

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Hays, Montgomery Printing Press, 1876-1878.

One of the earliest newspapers in the county. Very valuable.

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Another early day newspaper and equally valuable.

Jacquart, Rolland. Only three remain who knew glory of Victoria.

(In feature section of Kansas City Star, Mar. 11, 1928.)

A short resume of the whole history. Excellent.

King, Paul. Whiskey strait.

(In The Aerend. vol. 6, p. 138-144. Summer, 1935.)

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Sanders, Alvin H. Beginning of black cattle in America.


Written on information supplied by the late Alec Philip. Particularly valuable for details of their trip over.
Streeter, F. B. Tales from a pioneer justice court.
(In The Aerend. vol 6, p. 3-7. Winter, 1935.)
A very fine article on pioneer justice in Ellis County.

Interviews

Bier, William. Interview
Victoria, March 21, 1937.
Lives in old Grant home. Knew little of the English, but much about the home as it was when Grant had it.

Bruney, Mrs. Susan. Interview.
Russell, February 3, 1937.
Lived at Walker in early days. Had a little contact with English at their dances. Knew little about English otherwise.

Brungardt, Andrew, Interviews.
Victoria, February, 1937-date.
One of the earliest German-Russians to come to Herzog. Worked for Maxwells for several years. Knew exactly where different buildings stood in early Victoria. One of my best sources.

Dorzweiler, Father Edwin. Interview.
Victoria, February 23, 1937.
Only knew about the Maxwells. Gave me material from the Monastery Chronicle and letters from the Maxwells.
Haveman, Mrs. Anna. Interview.

Hays, February 21, 1937.

Daughter of two members of the English colony. Gave some information about her own family. Of little value otherwise.

Mermis, Frank. Interview.

Manjou, March 27, 1937.

Lives in old Smithie home. Took me through house and around farm. Knows little of English, but can tell how house looked several years ago.

Montgomery, William. Interviews.

Hays, February 1, 1937-date.

Son of editor of Hays Sentinel. Old timer who lived in Hays when English were at Victoria. Excellent source.

Philip, George. Interviews.

Hays, February 1, 1937-date.

Son of two of the colony. First boy born at Victoria. Good source.

Philip, Mr. and Mrs. William, Sr. Interviews.

Hays, January 20, 1937-date.

Son and daughter-in-law of two of the colony. Have taken more than usual interest in the history and have preserved old letters, papers, silver, and furniture. Very good and willing sources of information.
Stout, Frank. Interviews.

Hays, December, 1935-date.

Came to Hays in the early seventies. Has a remarkable memory for names and dates. Had several contacts with the English. Good source.

West, Mr. and Mrs. Alec. Interview.

Hays, March 27, 1937.

Lived on Smithie farm soon after Smithies left. Good.