

WILLIAM A. HARRIS OF KANSAS:
HIS ECONOMIC INTERESTS

568

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Division of Social Sciences
Kansas State Teachers College

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

by
Clyde Leon Fitch
May 1967


Thesis
1967
F

CONTENTS

The Author wishes to express his appreciation to

Dr. R. H. Brown, Jr. and Dr. J. H. Brown, Jr. for their

advice and assistance during the writing of this



Approved for the Major Department



Approved for the Graduate Council

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express his appreciation to Drs. Loren E. Pennington and John J. Zimmerman for their helpful comments and suggestions made during the writing of this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. EARLY YEARS PRIOR TO THE REMOVAL TO KANSAS	3
III. ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE UNION PACIFIC, EASTERN DIVISION	12
IV. AGRICULTURAL PURSUITS	32
V. A POLITICIAN'S INTEREST IN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS	48
VI. THE LATER YEARS	73
BIBLIOGRAPHY	81

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There have been several biographical sketches published of William A. Harris. These brief sketches are generally quite limited in scope and lacking in accurate detail. Kermit Opperman gives adequate coverage of the political career of Harris, but bases other details largely on these somewhat inaccurate sketches. A good analysis of Populist behavior, including that of Harris, is given by Walter T. Nugent. Alvin H. Sanders wrote from first hand knowledge of Harris' cattle breeding endeavors, covering this subject in a detail which is not otherwise available. Various other writers have made brief mention of Harris in regard to one or another phase of his career.¹

William A. Harris was born in Virginia and lived in Washington, D.C., Argentina, and Nicaragua. He received

¹Biographical Directory of the American Congress: 1774-1949 (Washington: U.S. Printing Office, 1950), p. 1273; Portrait and Biographical Record of Leavenworth, Douglas, and Franklin Counties (Chicago: Chapman Publishing, 1909), p. 213; Raymond C. Miller, sketch of Harris in Dumas Malone, ed., Dictionary of American Biography, VIII (Chicago: Scribner's Sons, 1932), pp. 326-27; Hill P. Wilson, A Biographical History of Eminent Men of the State of Kansas (Topeka: Hall Lithograph, 1901), p. 287; Kermit E. Opperman, "The Political Career of Senator William Alexander Harris" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Kansas, 1938); Walter T. Nugent, The Tolerant Populists: Kansas, Populism and Nativism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), pp. 96, 134-37, 149, 190, 205, 210; Alvin H. Sanders, Shorthorn Cattle (Chicago: Sanders Publishing, 1916), pp. 672-92.

degrees from Columbian College, later a part of George Washington University, and from the Virginia Military Institute. During the Civil War he served as an officer in the Army of Northern Virginia. With this background he came to post-war Kansas and became a civil engineer for what was then called the Eastern Division of the Union Pacific Railway Company. He was also a land agent and promoter, farmer and stockman of note, and politician gaining several offices including that of the Populist United States Senator from Kansas.

How could a man with Harris' background and unique combination of economic interests reach the high level economic and political success which he enjoyed in post-war Kansas? How could a Virginian who worked for a railroad and sold railroad lands get to be an influential member of the Populist Party and gain election in Kansas? The purpose of this study is to answer these questions by showing that Harris was an opportunist who, through chance more than by design, found himself propelled through a series of events which must have seemed as improbable to him as to others.

Harris, as an opportunist, was not without scruples. He enjoyed a good reputation despite the spotlight of political campaigns. It can be shown that he took slight liberties with the rules of proper behavior on a few occasions; however, there is some evidence that he could have been more successful economically and politically if he had been less honest.

CHAPTER II

EARLY YEARS PRIOR TO THE REMOVAL TO KANSAS

Post-Civil war Kansas was populated by peoples with many backgrounds and from a great variety of states and foreign nations. William A. Harris was, like many others, a native of Virginia but his background was unique in several aspects.

Harris was born in Loudon County, Virginia, October 29, 1841. The exact site on which the event took place is unknown; however, it was alledged to have been in the vicinity of Luray, Virginia. His parents were William Alexander Harris, Senior, and Francis (Murray) Harris. William, Junior, was the eldest of six children in the family.¹

Harris is reported to have been a sixth generation descendant of Henry Harris who came to America in 1691. Henry Harris has been described variously as a Huguenot or Baptist minister who, with others of his faith, was said to have migrated from France to England or Wales and thence to Virginia. The group located upon a grant of about ten square miles on the south bank of the James River some miles above the great falls where Richmond is now located. The grandson of Henry Harris, Senator Harris' great-great

¹Lawrence Daily World, December 22, 1909; Biographical Record of Leavenworth, p. 213; Biographical Directory of the American Congress: 1774-1949, p. 1273.

grandfather also named Henry, lived in Fairfax County, Virginia, and served in the Virginia Cavalry from Brandywine to Yorktown.²

William A. Harris, Senior, was born in Fauquier County, Virginia near Warrenton on October 24, 1805. He was the son of George Harris. Reportedly, he received an academic education and trained for the law. After being admitted to the bar, he practiced law in Page County, Virginia. In 1830 and 1831 he was a member of the Virginia House of Delegates and was chosen as a Democratic presidential elector in 1840.³

In 1840, the elder Harris was elected as a Democrat to the United States House of Representatives and served during the Twenty-seventh Congress. He married Francis Murray the same year. After one term in Congress, he was employed as editor of the Washington Spectator and continued in that capacity after the name of the newspaper was changed to the Washington Constitution.⁴

President Polk appointed the senior Harris to the post of Charge d'Affairs at Buenos Aires where he served from 1846 to 1851 during the administrations of Presidents Polk, Taylor,

²Biographical Record of Leavenworth, p. 213; Wilson, Biographical History, p. 287.

³Biographical Record of Leavenworth, p. 213; Directory of Congress, 1774-1949, p. 1273.

⁴Biographical Record of Leavenworth, p. 214; Directory of Congress, 1774-1949, pp. 203, 1273.

and Fillmore. Returning to the United States from Argentina, he took up farming, perhaps on the family farm in Virginia, and moved in 1854 to a farm located about two miles south of Bowling Green in Pike County, Missouri. Later, probably in 1857, he returned to Washington, where he became the proprietor and editor of the Washington Union. For the period 1857 to 1859, he was also printer to the United States Senate.⁵

During the early years of the Civil War, William A. Harris, Senior, served as judge-advocate general of the Trans-Mississippi Department of the Confederate Army. He is reported to have died on March 28, 1864, while at his home in Pike County, Missouri and to have been buried in Riverview Cemetery at Louisiana, Missouri.⁶

Many details of the early years of the younger Harris are lacking. Nevertheless, sufficient information is available so that, when combined with knowledge of the father's activities, a fairly accurate picture of that period can be obtained.

At the time of Harris' birth, his father was a member of Congress who maintained an official residence at or near Luray, Page County, Virginia. When Harris was five years of

⁵Biographical Record of Leavenworth, p. 214; Biographical Directory of the American Congress: 1774-1949, p. 1273; William H. Boyd, Boyd's Washington and Georgetown Directory (Washington: the author, 1858), n.p.

⁶Biographical Record of Leavenworth, p. 214; Biographical Directory of the American Congress: 1774-1949, p. 1273.

age his father was sent to Argentina as a diplomat. Harris remarked, at least once, that he had lived in Argentina as a boy for a period of about four years. This leads to the rather obvious conclusion that he was there during at least part of the time that his father was assigned to that post. He reported that he lived in Washington during much of his youth, and it seems likely that at least for a short time, his home was in Missouri.⁷

Harris attended Columbian College, the forerunner and now a part of George Washington University, in Washington, from 1857 to 1859. He was awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree from that institution in 1859. For about six months thereafter, Harris worked in Nicaragua on a preliminary survey of a projected interocean canal for the Atlantic and Pacific Canal Company.⁸

Upon returning to the United States, Harris matriculated at the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington, Virginia on January 18, 1860. There he was assigned to the third corps, corresponding to the sophomore class. He was a paying student at that institution although some of those cadets who were

⁷William A. Harris, a speech to the convention at Denver, January 22, 1907, in Proceedings of the 10th Annual Convention of the American National Livestock Association (Denver: Smith-Brooks, 1907), p. 55; Topeka State Journal, August 17, 1897.

⁸Biographical Record of Leavenworth, p. 213; Registrar's Record, George Washington University; Wilson, Biographical History, p. 287; Opperman, Political Career, p. 14.

residents of the State of Virginia were not required to pay tuition. It was reported that in his junior year he ranked seventh in the class of thirty-five cadets.⁹

A classmate later described Harris as follows:

My recollection of him is that he was a man of strong convictions, of decided character, but not a good mixer. He had some aloofness about him, was diligent in study and performance of duty, and was dignified in his bearing¹⁰

Shortly after the State of Virginia seceded from the Union in 1861, the upper classmen at Virginia Military Institute were requested to aid the war effort. They left Lexington as a group under the command of Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson for camp near Richmond. The purpose of their activity was to act as drillmasters for Confederate recruits. Harris was among those cadets. According to the Institute's records he was officially graduated from Virginia Military Institute on December 6, 1861, some seven months earlier than would have been customary under other circumstances.¹¹

Harris held the rank of a second lieutenant upon his entry into the service of the Confederate Army. In later years he was frequently referred to as "Colonel Harris," but

⁹William Couper, Virginia Military Institute business executive, to Raymond C. Miller, October 16, 1929, Virginia Military Institute MSS (hereinafter cited as V.M.I.); William A. Harris, Senior, to Colonel F. H. Smith March 5, 1861, V.M.I. MSS.

¹⁰William A. O'hanahan to V.M.I., March 17, 1910, V.M.I. MSS.

¹¹Couper to Miller, October 16, 1929, V.M.I. MSS.

that seems to have been complimentary as there is no evidence that he held any rank higher than captain. Early in the war he served as adjutant general of Cadmus M. Wilcox's brigade in Anderson's Division of Daniel H. Hill's Corps. Later he was an ordinance officer of R. E. Rode's Division of Ewell's Corps. At least six citations were awarded to Harris by his superior officers for his activities in behalf of his native state.¹²

Harris made application in July, 1862 to the superintendent at the Virginia Military Institute asking that he be returned there for further training. On October 4, 1862 he wrote to the superintendent of the Institute as follows:

I have just returned via Parkersburg from a visit to Mo. & as I have heard nothing from the application which you endorsed in July last, I have the honor to request that you will be kind enough to write a short letter to the Sec'y of War requesting him to order me to report to you for duty

I am very anxious to have a year or two more at the Ins't as I wish to prepare myself thoroughly as an Engineer or as a Prof. in either the Ala. or Mo. Milt'y Ins't, either of which I have assurances that I can obtain but which I do not want to accept without such preparation as will enable me not only to do honor to myself but also sustain the reputation of my Alma Mater.

I can not resign my appointment at present, to enter as a cadet, but I think that I can be of as much service at the Ins't as in the field¹³

¹²War of the Rebellion: Series 1 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1880), Vol. XI, No. 1, p. 989; Vol. XI, No. 2, pp. 775 and 779; Vol. XXI, p. 644; Vol. XXVII, Part 2, p. 548; Vol. LI, Part 1, p. 95.

¹³William A. Harris to General F. H. Smith, October 4, 1862, V.M.I. MSS.

This very revealing letter indicates that he had no particular affection for military service in the field at that time and that he was willing to give events a helping hand to produce the opportunity which he was seeking. While he had much to gain by furthering his career interests of engineering or teaching, the need to act in an honorable way was clearly expressed by Harris. He was not permitted to return to the Institute despite his efforts in that regard.

The implication that Harris had a keen interest in leaving the battlefield is of particular interest to this chapter. A fellow alumnus of Virginia Military Institute suggested, following Harris' death, that the Kansas Senator may have "taken a short-cut out of the Army." Another alumnus, commenting on the matter, said that he regretted hearing of the insinuation, but he had known nothing of Harris after they left Richmond in the early months of the war. He suggested a possible motive for such action on the part of Harris: that he may have been pressured by his wife-to-be or her father. Sanders later reported that Harris went on furlough following the Battle of Gettysburg, announced that the beginning of the end of the war was at hand, and never returned to duty. The fact that official records place him at Gettysburg and that no record is available as to any later wartime activity on the part of Harris seems to substantiate the assertions that he deserted the Army of Northern Virginia. This is a strange background indeed for a man who was to

become a business, farm, and political figure of note in post-Civil War Kansas.¹⁴

Two dramatic events in Harris' life occurred during the later part of the war. In 1863 (the exact date is not known) he married Mary A. Lionberger. She was born in 1838, the daughter of John Lionberger of Luray, Virginia and sister of Harris' classmate at Virginia Military Institute, J.W. Lionberger. Those who knew her described her as one of the most beautiful and talented of women in the South. The other event was the death of his father on March 28, 1864. The impact of these events may have had some bearing on the length of Harris' service to the Army of Northern Virginia, particularly if the elder Harris had been ill for some time prior to his death.¹⁵

Nothing is known of Harris' whereabouts or activities after he left military service and prior to his removal to Kansas except that he was in Missouri for awhile. J. Beauchamp "Champ" Clark, a Missouri Congressman, was quoted as saying that Harris applied at Watson Station, Missouri, for a

¹⁴O. H. O'hanahan to V.M.I., March 17, 1910, V.M.I. MSS.; Alvin H. Sanders, The Sign of the Stock Yard Inn (Chicago: Breeders Gazette, 1915), p. 174; War of the Rebellion: Series 1, Vol. XXVII, Part 2, pp. 560, 562.

¹⁵Biographical Record of Leavenworth, p. 213; Mary A. (Lionberger) Harris' year of birth established by tombstone, lot 188, Oak Hill Cemetery, Lawrence, Kansas; O'hanahan to V.M.I., March 17, 1910, V.M.I. MSS.; Walter Rouss to V.M.I. October 4, 1910, V.M.I. MSS.; Biographical Directory of the American Congress: 1774-1949, p. 1273.

position as a teacher of the local school at thirty-five dollars per month. He was said to have been refused the job because of his service to the Confederacy.¹⁶

¹⁶Topeka Daily Capital, May 25, 1900.

CHAPTER III

ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE UNION PACIFIC, EASTERN DIVISION

Harris came to Kansas in 1865, at the age of twenty-three. Why he came and how he became connected with the Union Pacific cannot be answered. Perhaps he was acquainted with one of the Missouri officials of the railroad or perhaps he made such an acquaintance later. Nevertheless, the chance for a well-paying job as a civil engineer for the railroad was an opportunity which could not be declined.

The Leavenworth, Pawnee, and Western Railway was incorporated in Kansas and was recognized by the Union Pacific Act of 1862 as one of the lines which was to connect with the Union Pacific at the one hundredth meridian, a distance of 393 15/16 miles. In 1863, the management of the Kansas railroad was taken over by Samuel Hallett, and it was renamed the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division, although there was no corporate relationship between it and the line being built west from near Omaha. Hallett moved the road's headquarters from Leavenworth to Wyandotte (now a part of Kansas City, Kansas) and started construction of the railroad west along the Kansas River Valley.¹

¹Henry K. White, History of the Union Pacific (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1895), p. 16; William F. Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1957), p. 137.

A new act relating to the Union Pacific was passed by Congress and signed by the President on July 2, 1864. The act contained a section providing that if the Omaha line was not completed to the one hundredth meridian before the Eastern Division reached that point, the latter could build west toward California and receive the government subsidy. Thus a race was begun which was ultimately won by the line from Omaha.²

In 1865, a disgruntled former employee shot and killed Hallett. The Union Pacific, Eastern Division was taken over by a group of easterners with John D. Perry as president. Later, when it became evident that the Union Pacific would be the first to reach the one hundredth meridian, the Eastern Division applied for and received permission to change its route. The new route was along the Smokey Hill valley to Denver and then north to connect with the Union Pacific. In 1869, the Eastern Division became the Kansas Pacific, and in 1880 it was merged with the Union Pacific and became known as the Kansas Division. Harris was active in the building of the railroad during the time it was called the Union Pacific, Eastern Division.³

²White, Union Pacific, pp. 40, 113.

³John B. Anderson Papers, Kansas State Historical Society MSS. (Kansas State Historical Society is hereinafter cited as K.S.H.S.); White, Union Pacific, p. 40.

On June 27 and July 1, 1865 three agreements were signed between the directors of the Union Pacific, Eastern Division, and a concern headed by Robert M. Shoemaker. The agreements made Shoemaker and Company (later called Shoemaker Miller, and Company) the contractor for building the main line from the end of the track near Lawrence to Fort Riley as well as the Leavenworth to Lawrence Branch. The contracts, however, provided for more than construction. They provided for an interlocking directorate, the transfer of railroad stock to the owners of the construction firm, and an agreement among all the signers to withhold the land along the railroad for joint sale at an unspecified future date. Actually the directors and principal stockholders of the railroad were the owners of the construction company. With both the railroad and construction company controlled by the same group of about twenty men, the promoters were prepared to construct a railroad while siphoning the profits into Shoemaker and Company where it could be divided more readily among the promoters.⁴

Harris stated that he was put in charge of locating and constructing the Leavenworth to Lawrence Branch. His statement that he set the first surveyor's stake for that line on June 24, 1865, may indicate the beginning of his

⁴Anderson Papers, K.S.H.S. MSS.; Congressional Record, 53 Cong., 3 Sess., p. 1591.

employment as a railroad builder. That important branch, which connected both Fort Leavenworth and the state's largest city with the main line, was completed on May 15, 1866.⁵

Much about the financial arrangements of the Leavenworth Branch was revealed by Harris in his speeches in Congress during battles to force the Pacific railroad to pay their debts to the United States Government. He reported that the branch line, 31.6 miles in length, cost about \$19,000 per mile to construct or \$600,000 in all. As a part of the package, the promoters were permitted to buy 223,000 acres of land from the Delaware Indians for \$1.27 per acre which they sold for over six dollars profit per acre. According to those figures, they made a profit on the land of \$1,338,000 or more. The railroad then put a mortgage of about \$600,000 on the branch line, approximately enough to pay for the construction, and thus the proceeds from the sale of land became net profit. In addition Leavenworth County purchased \$250,000 in stock from the company which, according to Harris, was the "only paid-up stock that the books of the Union Pacific Company ever showed" Though the branch line was not given the federal subsidy of \$16,000 in government bonds per mile as was the main line, over \$42,341 profit was realized

⁵Congressional Record, 53 Cong., 3 Sess., p. 1594; Zornow, Kansas, p. 137.

for each mile of track.⁶

Harris was reported to have told Foster D. Coburn that one of his early experiences with the railroad was in supervising the construction of a main line bridge over Big Stranger Creek in southern Leavenworth County, twenty-seven miles west of Kansas City. Since the original bridge at that location had been built in 1864, it is likely that the bridge referred to was a replacement necessitated by a flood on August 18, 1865. If so, Harris was sent there only temporarily from his job on the Leavenworth Branch. It was reported on September 3, that the new bridge was a substantial truss bridge and that trains were again crossing Big Stranger Creek. Perry wrote on September 17, saying that the work on the bridge was completed "last week." The location is of special interest because of its close proximity to what was later Harris' farm home.⁷

In mid-1866, Harris was appointed resident engineer in connection with construction of the main line and was

⁶Congressional Record, 53 Cong., 3 Sess., p. 1591; 55 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 2592; 55 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 1820. In the Fifty-fifth Congress, Harris referred to the profit on land as over seven dollars per acre which, if correct, would have made the total profit \$1,811,000 or \$57,310 per mile of track.

⁷Lawrence Daily World, December 28, 1909; Leavenworth Daily Times, August 19, 1865 and September 3, 1865; John D. Perry to John B. Anderson, September 17, 1865, Anderson Papers, K.S.H.S. MSS.

headquartered in Kansas City. Little is known about his duties in that phase of his career which continued until the line reached a point near the Kansas-Colorado boundary.⁸

Later statements by Harris, while he was in Congress, gave evidence of his knowledge concerning construction of the main line. In addition, much is revealed about the methods used in building the early railroads on the Plains and something about the part played by Harris. He reported,

There were miles and miles of the track where the ties were simply laid down upon the sod as it had been aligned by the engineers; the rails were spiked upon the ties, and the trains ran over it. Afterwards a ditch was dug on each side and the earth thrown into the center.

That was all the grading required for miles of that road. It was a superficially constructed road everywhere⁹

Harris stated that the railroad as it was originally built, "was in main inferior and in wretched condition." He added,

The road was really built and made a comparatively first-class road . . . after about twenty years, by the earnings, which were charged up to betterments, and thus it was really made what it should have been made at the very beginning.

At the beginning there were no bridges except trestlework, which was used almost everywhere; open

⁸Biographical Record of Leavenworth, p. 214; William E. Connelley, Standard History of Kansas and Kansans, III (New York: Lewis Publishing, 1918), p. 1240; Sketch of William A. Harris, No. 32424, K.S.H.S. MSS.

⁹Congressional Record, 53 Cong., 3 Sess., p. 1591.

culverts were everywhere; and across the larger streams there were nothing but the cheapest possible pine Howe truss bridges. Now of course, thanks to the earning capacity of the road, it has been very considerably changed . . . without the contribution of a single cent on the part of the promoters of the enterprise¹⁰

As to the required government inspection in connection with subsidy payments, he said,

When it was accepted as a first-class road it was the most extraordinary violation of trust that any men were ever guilty of. The commissioners were sent out occasionally and some of the engineers would be detailed to go with them. I went along on several of those trips. Everyone knows how they were managed. The directors' car was loaded up with all that was good to eat and drink, a first-class engine was attached to it, and the party was run over the track at the rate of 40 miles an hour. All the speed was put on that it was safe to undertake to carry. The commissioners were told, as a matter of course, that the rough riding was owing to the settlement incidental to a new track.

I remember once, and once only, when these commissioners asked to have the train stopped, and one of them . . . got out and asked me to go down with him into a ravine to look into an arched culvert that was built there We went down and peeped into the culvert, and that was the end of the inspection¹¹

Harris stated that the cost of construction averaged from sixteen to twenty thousand dollars per mile. He reported hearing Shoemaker say that the profits on the first 135 miles (forty miles had been built before the Shoemaker firm contracted for the construction) were eighty-five thousand dollars for each of the approximately twenty promoters.

¹⁰Congressional Record, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 2610.

¹¹Congressional Record, 53 Cong., 3 Sess., p. 1591.

This would mean that the total profit was about \$1,700,000 on ninety-five miles of track or about \$17,895 per mile.¹²

It seems likely that the profits to the Shoemaker group, as given by Harris, did not include the proceeds of land sales. White gave evidence which supports that conclusion. He reported that R. M. Shoemaker and Company received \$5,086,089.60 in cash and an equal amount in railroad stock for the first 140 miles of track or an average of \$50,860.90 cash per mile for the one hundred miles actual constructed by the firm. Shoemaker, Miller, and Company received \$61,225.90 per mile or about \$15,547,552 for the remaining 253 15/16 miles constructed by that firm. The gross cash receipts of the construction-promotion group were \$20,633,642, plus the railroad stock, for the work done on 313 15/16 miles of the main line west of Lawrence.¹³

If the cost of construction was \$6,278,750 or an average of \$20,000 per mile, the maximum figure as given by Harris, the net profit would have amounted to at least \$14,354,892 on the main line plus \$1,338,000 on the Leavenworth to Lawrence Branch. The promoters would have realized a minimum net profit of \$15,692,892 or an average of \$36,901.31

¹²Congressional Record, 53 Cong., 3 Sess., p. 1591; 55 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 2592.

¹³White, Union Pacific, p. 42.

profits per mile of track. That amounted to approximately \$784,645 for each of the twenty promoters.¹⁴

The cash receipts resulting from the construction of the main line included a subsidy of sixteen thousand dollars per mile in government bonds, which was in effect a second mortgage, and a similar loan from private sources under a first mortgage. Therefore, the railroad could not have paid more than thirty-two thousand dollars per mile to the Shoemaker firm from these loans. Most of the additional receipts must have been derived through the sale of the ten sections of land per mile granted by the United States.¹⁵

The Eastern Division received the government loan for the 393 15/16 miles westward from Kansas City. That portion of the line on which a government loan was received, was completed when the track reached Page City, Kansas in early June, 1868. It was at this time that Shoemaker and associates ended their unique relationship to the railroad and ceased to be the builders of the Eastern Division.¹⁶

It was probably a short while later that Harris ended his employment as a civil engineer with the Eastern Division when a better opportunity presented itself. At twenty-six

¹⁴Congressional Record, 53 Cong., 3 Sess., p. 1591; 55 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 2591.

¹⁵Congressional Record, 53 Cong., 3 Sess., p. 1591; 55 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 1679.

¹⁶White, Union Pacific, p. 42; Zornow, Kansas, p. 137; Congressional Record, 53 Cong., 3 Sess., p. 1591.

years of age he became an agent to dispose of land which was formerly a part of the Delaware Indian reservation. The land was, for the most part, in the hands of the Perry-Shoemaker group, which had been associated with the Union Pacific, Eastern Division. Harris' activities in this field offers an interesting example of how a land speculator operated.¹⁷

It is not certain how Harris became involved in selling land, nor how he came to be in partnership with William H. Abrams in that business. However, about a year after Harris entered the land business, his sister, Ella Murray Harris, married Abrams at Bowling Green, Missouri on June 11, 1869. It is not known whether or not Harris and Abrams were partners before they became brothers-in-law. It may have been that Abrams was influential in turning Harris' attention to the land business, but it is more likely that the reverse was true.¹⁸

Harris had a knowledge of surveying, perhaps Abrams did too, and that would appear to be an important qualification

¹⁷Miller, Dictionary of American Biography, VIII, p. 326; Biographical Record of Leavenworth, p. 214; Connelley, Standard History of Kansas and Kansans, III, p. 1240; William A. Harris (Abrams and Harris letterhead) to General F. H. Smith, November 18, 1870, V.M.I. MSS.; Lawrence Daily World, December 21, 1909; Lawrence Directory: 1875-1876 (Lawrence: Stenhouse and Sanders, 1875), p. 48.

¹⁸National Cyclopedia of American Biography, XXI (New York: James T. White), 1930, p. 452; Ninth United States Census, 1870, Douglas County, p. 20.

for a salesman of undivided, unsettled land. It is likely, however, that such a profitable situation was gained largely through the friendship of one or more of the owners of the land. Harris' experience with the railroad may have served to acquaint the railroad officials with him, if he was not already known to them.

It is highly significant that the first land business Harris conducted was begun on April 29, 1867 while he was still employed as a civil engineer. At that time he purchased section 36, Township 11 South, Range 20 East from the Eastern Division for \$3360. To finance the purchase, he mortgaged the section to Robert M. Shoemaker for \$3900. He sold that land, practically all of which was creek bottom, in four parcels in 1869 and 1870 for a total of \$6528, thus making a profit of \$3168 less interest, or almost five dollars per acre.¹⁹

Shoemaker could have been instrumental in helping Harris into the full time occupation of land sales, or his benefactor could have been any of several other persons. The president of the railroad, John D. Perry lived in St. Louis and was born in Hampshire County, Virginia (now in West Virginia). Thomas L. Price lived in Cole County, Missouri, and sold land to Harris which was an important

¹⁹Leavenworth County, Register of Deeds, Book 16, p. 261; Book 17, p. 274; Book 24, pp. 297, 240; Book 26, p. 577; Book 77, p. 493.

part of the farm at Stranger (later renamed Linwood). John P. Devereax was born in Washington, D.C. and was land commissioner for the Eastern Division; Adolphus Meier and Carlos Greely lived in St. Louis. Any of these railroad officials and several others with an interest in the involved land could have smoothed the way for Harris' appointment.²⁰

It is not certain how active Harris was in selling lands for the Union Pacific, Eastern Division. However, he did considerable work for the Kaw Valley Town Company, a separate corporation owned by directors of the railroad and Shoemaker, Miller, and Company. The Kaw Valley Town Company was chartered on June 7, 1867 with Price, Meier, Shoemaker, Greely, and Henry Martin as incorporators. The principal office was in Lawrence and the counties in which they intended to operate were listed as Wyandotte, Leavenworth, Douglas, Jefferson, Jackson, Pottowatomie, Riley, and Davis (later renamed Geary).²¹

The Kaw Valley Town Company began selling land on October 15, 1867 and continued until they ceased business

²⁰John Guthrie, "John D. Perry," in The Agora, (April, 1895), pp. 281-91; State of Kansas, Report of the Secretary of State, Corporations, Book I, p. 351; Leavenworth Deeds, Book 20, p. 364; Ninth United States Census, 1870, Douglas County, p. 20; Charles B. Lamburn to J. B. Anderson, September 16, 1867, Anderson Papers, K.S.H.S. MSS.; Corporations, Book I, p. 351.

²¹Corporations, Book I, pp. 351, 405.

in 1899. It is believed that they originally dealt in the smaller fractional parts of sections adjacent to the railroad right-of-way, particularly in the vicinity of towns. Later they apparently sold portions of the original four hundred foot right-of-way, after the railroad promoters saw an opportunity to profit by its reduction. The details of the transaction of this company are somewhat obscured by the fact that business was conducted in the name of the company, and frequently transactions, both purchases and sales, were between the company and the individual owners of the company. Both Harris and Abrams signed some deeds as either secretary of the company or notary public; however, deeds were signed by higher officials for the most part, hence the difficulty in determining the extent of Harris' role.²²

Harris was active also in the sale of the former reservation lands of the Sac and Fox tribes of Mississippi. Parts of their lands, largely in Osage County, were obtained by the same promoters who were active in the sale of lands along the Union Pacific, Eastern Division. Since the sale of these lands occurred in the same time period as the sale

²²Charles B. Lamburn to J. B. Anderson, September 16, 1867, Anderson Papers, K.S.H.S. MSS.; Kansas City Journal, June 13, 1906; Tonganoxie Mirror, May 8, 1941; E.g. Douglas County, Register of Deeds, Book 3, p. 186; Wyandotte County, Register of Deeds, Book 0, p. 38; Leavenworth Deeds, Book 77, p. 22.

of Delaware land, it seems likely that Harris represented the same parties in both areas. H. F. Sheldon, later a state senator, reported that he was the local agent at Ottawa for Harris and handled the sale of about 6,000 acres of Sac and Fox land located in Pomona and Appanoose Townships of Franklin County. The land was handled for the account of the Reading Iron Works Company, and most of it was sold for five to ten dollars per acre. This would indicate that Harris was adding to the number of parties he represented.²³

The letterhead on the stationery used by Abrams and Harris in 1870 proclaimed them to be, "Delaware Reserve Land Agents." It announced that they offered "for sale 150,000 acres of the best land in Kansas, all on or near the line of the U.P.R.W.E.D., and near the cities of Leavenworth, Lawrence and Kansas City." The newspaper advertisements by Harris in the 1870's and early 1880's were changed very little from year to year. The last one, which appeared in the Lawrence Daily Journal on February 13, 1881, stated,

Lands for sale in Eastern Kansas--20,000 acres on Delaware Reserve between Lawrence and Kansas City-- Price \$5 to \$12/acre, 1/5 cash--balance in 4 annual payments with 7% interest--50,000 acres of Sac and Fox Reserve 25 miles south of Topeka in great coal

²³E. M. Bartholow to J. B. Anderson, April 25, 1867, Anderson Papers, K.S.H.S. MSS.; H. F. Sheldon quoted in Lawrence Daily World, December 25, 1909.

field--\$3 to \$5/ acres, terms as above--W.A. Harris--
L.B. 41 Lawrence.²⁴

In addition to acting as an agent for others in the sale of land, both Harris and Abrams had extensive land dealings as individuals and in partnership with others. Most of Harris' transactions were conducted in Douglas, Leavenworth, and Wyandotte counties. These transactions included both rural and town properties. He had dealings with the Eastern Division; several officials connected with the railroad and Shoemaker, Miller, and Company; and the Kaw Valley Town Company. Harris was often a speculator specializing in buying small holdings and combining them into farms. Almost all sales to individuals involved mortgages which he invariably assigned to people who specialized in making loans. More often than not he assigned mortgages to William T. Sinclair, a Lawrence associate who was in the loan business.²⁵

The office of Abrams and Harris was at first located in Lawrence on the southeast corner of Winthrop (Seventh) and Massachusetts. Abrams moved to Texas in the latter part of 1873 to become the assistant land commissioner for the Texas

²⁴Lawrence Daily Journal, June 19, 1879 and February 13, 1881.

²⁵E.g. Leavenworth Deeds, Book 16, p. 261; Book 48, p. 379; Book 73, p. 429; Book 89, p. 379; Book 111, p. 75; Wyandotte Deeds, Book M, p. 578.

and Pacific Railway and, eventually, the land commissioner. Harris probably continued to maintain an office at the same location until he and Sinclair purchased the building next door on the south. Records indicate that they purchased the building, the north one-half of lot 24 on Massachusetts, in July, 1882. Harris sold his interest in the building in 1883, but he remained in the land business until the mid-1890's. Most of his business was in Leavenworth County after 1873, and it was conducted from his farm home after 1883.²⁶

When Harris first became interested in land sales, he lived at a boarding house on the corner of Winthrop (Seventh) and Rhode Island in Lawrence. The opulence which Harris reached during this period is indicated by the fact that on January 9, 1871 he purchased lots 12, 14, 16, 18, and 20 on Pinckney (Sixth) Street on which a substantial house was located. The house, which faced the east, was located at 603 Ohio. The previous owners had been Milton S. Beach and his wife, Olive. Beach was the Douglas County Treasurer and was active in various businesses including real estate. Harris purchased the house for ten thousand dollars; however, the true value is difficult to determine

²⁶The National Cyclopedia of American Biography, XXI (New York: James T. White, 1930), p. 452; Lawrence Directory, 1875-1876, p. 48; Douglas Deeds, Book 29, p. 86; Douglas Deeds, Book 31, p. 148; Kansas State Gazeteer and Business Directory: 1880 (Sioux City: R.L. Polk and Company, 1880), p. 536.

because Beach purchased some rural property from Harris at the same time for four thousand dollars. Beach declared for tax purposes in 1870 that his real property was worth five thousand dollars. It is not known if that included property in addition to that which was sold to Harris.²⁷

The red brick house on Ohio was described as being Victorian in style. The ornamental features of the house included Tiffany glass used in the bay windows on the south and over the front (east) door and three hand carved wood fireplaces decorated with hand painted ceramic tile. The pressed leather dado around the dining room may have been placed there after it ceased to be the Harris residence. In addition to the dining room on the ground level there was a conservatory, library, kitchen and two parlors. The second floor contained five bedrooms and a maid's room. The house had a full attic and basement with wine racks in the latter. It has been suggested that the back part of the house may have been added after the Harris family departed. That seems unlikely because of the remarkable

²⁷Holland's Lawrence Directory for 1868-9 (Chicago: Western Publishing, 1868), pp. 53, 100; Douglas Deeds, Book 3, p. 177; Lawrence Directory: 1875-1876, p. 74; Ninth U.S. Census, Douglas County, p. 27; Corporations, Book 1, p. 426; Douglas Deeds, Book 3, p. 178.

similarity in design to the house which they later occupied at Linwood.²⁸

It was into the house on Ohio Street that Harris' brothers and a sister came to live while they attended school and college in Lawrence. Murray, next younger brother of Harris, first attended the University of Kansas during the 1868-1869 session as a preparatory student and later as a student of civil engineering in the college. He was one of the four in the institution's first graduating class of 1873 and reportedly the first to be handed a diploma by Chancellor John Frazer on that momentous occasion. Another brother, Charles, attended the University at the college level as a "select student" from 1872 to 1876. May, a sister, was first listed as a preparatory student at that institution in 1869, and continued as a freshman in college in the 1875-1876 session.²⁹

A large home was a necessity for the Harris family because they had six children, all born while the family

²⁸Interview with Max Wilhelmi and wife, May 24, 1965; Mary J. Stough in Lawrence Daily Journal-World, April 23, 1966.

²⁹Third Annual Catalogue of the University of Kansas: 1868-1869, p. 10; Fourth Annual Catalogue of the University of Kansas: 1869-1870, p. 13; Sixth Annual Catalogue of the University of Kansas: 1871-1872; pp. 10, 14; Seventh Annual Catalogue of the University of Kansas: 1872-1873, pp. 7, 10, 14; Kansas University Graduate Magazine (May, 1923), p. 19; Robert Taft, Across the Years at Mount Oread (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1941), p. 16; Lawrence Directory, 1875-1876, pp. 10, 11.

lived at the Ohio address except for Page, who was born probably in mid-1868. The other Harris children and their approximate years of birth were:

1. Francis (nickname "Frannie"), 1871.
2. Isabel (nickname "Sallie"), 1872.
3. Vinnie, 1873.
4. Elizabeth (nickname "Bessie"), 1874.
5. Craig, 1883.³⁰

Further evidence of the Harris opulence is indicated by the active part he played in the life of Lawrence. While he was not one of the incorporators of the Douglas County Loan and Saving Association in January, 1871, he was listed as an officer when he borrowed money from the association in October of that year. Justin D. Bowersack and James C. Horton, both business associates of Harris, were among the incorporators of the firm. When the Douglas County Bank (now the Lawrence National Bank) was chartered on June 12, 1889, Harris was an incorporator and a member of the board of directors. He shared that honor with Bowersack and Horace L. Moore, all later to become Congressmen.³¹

³⁰William A. Harris, will and papers relating to his estate, file 7093, Douglas County Probate Court; State of Kansas, Agricultural Census, 1885, Leavenworth County, Sherman Township, p. 137; Teacher's Register, Linwood Grade School, District 44, for 1889-1890 and 1890-1891; State of Kansas, Agricultural Census, 1895, Leavenworth County, Sherman Township, p. 20.

³¹Corporations, Book 3, pp. 159-60; Leavenworth Deeds, Book 45, p. 275; Corporations, Book 38, p. 104; Lawrence Journal, November 11, 1892; Directory of Lawrence and Douglas County: 1893-1894 (Wichita: Leader Directory Co., n.d.), p. 54;

It was reported that Harris was a member of the Episcopal Church of Lawrence and the Old and New Club, a social organization. He was somewhat active in the political arena of Lawrence, as evidenced by his election as a councilman representing the First Ward. Harris received seventy-three per cent of the votes cast in defeating S. B. Pierson by a vote of 243 to 89, in the non-partisan election held on April 1, 1879. Upon taking office, Harris was chosen president of the council by the members of that group. The mayor, elected that April was John P. Usher, a one-time official of the Union Pacific, Eastern Division. Considering Harris' background, this early political activity could hardly have been expected to have led Harris to the United States Senate. However, it is evident that Harris had gained a high standing in the economic, social, and political life of the community.³²

Hoye's Lawrence City Directory: 1896 (Kansas City, Mo., Hoye Directory Co., n.d.), p. 63; Frank W. Blackmar, Kansas: A Cyclopedia of State History, I (Chicago: Standard Publishing, 1912), p. 229.

³²Miller, Dictionary of American Biography, VIII, p. 327; Kansas Historical Collections, XIV (Topeka: State Printer, 1918), p. 40; Minutes of special meeting, April 4, 1879 and regular meeting, May 5, 1879, City of Lawrence, Book D, p. 140-43; Lawrence Journal, April 5, 1879, May 6, 1879, and August 12, 1879.

CHAPTER IV

AGRICULTURAL PURSUITS

During his life in Kansas, Harris explored many avenues in his attempt to find fame and fortune. Farming was an important part of that search. He received greater fame from his efforts in the field of agriculture than from any other economic endeavor, and the reputation which he gained among farmers made his later political career possible. Fortune was a different matter, however. A substantial investment was made by Harris in connection with establishing what he called Linwood Farm in Southern Leavenworth County. This gave further evidence of the affluence which Harris enjoyed because of the profits from land sales. But circumstances made Linwood Farm a much less profitable venture than was expected.

He became interested in what was to be Linwood Farm very shortly after his arrival in Kansas. The following story was told by Coburn as one related to him by Harris. While working on the Big Stranger Creek bridge in 1865 Harris and the other workers received word that the local Indians were to hold pony races on the high ground northwest of the bridge. He walked with the others through waist high prairie grass toward the designated point, and, while doing so, he tripped over an object. Looking to find the cause of the trouble, Harris recognized a United States Government surveyor's

marker which, among other things, indicated the southeast corner of section 14, Township 12 South, Range 21 East. While stopped momentarily, Harris noted what he considered an unusually good location for a farm and, on the nearby bluff, a fine site for a house.¹

Three years later, on June 9, 1868, Harris purchased the southeast quarter of that section from Price. On November 1, 1871, Harris purchased the southwest quarter of the same section. He completed the acquisition of that part of the section south of Nine Mile Creek when he purchased 54.24 acres of the northwest quarter. The combined 374.24 acres was the nucleus of what Harris called Linwood Farm.²

An adjacent town was then located in the Kansas River-Stranger Creek bottom land and along the Union Pacific railway. The town had been called Stranger or Stranger Station and originally was the site of a Delaware Indian village named Journey Cake after a local chief. Harris was given credit for naming that town Linwood, in 1877, for the linden or basswood tree which was common to the area. The townsite was moved following the 1903 flood and nine blocks

¹Lawrence Daily World, December 28, 1909.

²Leavenworth Deeds, Book 20, p. 364; Book 33, p. 598; Book 72, p. 125.

were located on what had been the southeast corner of the Harris farm.³

About one half of the original Linwood Farm was in the Nine Mile-Stranger Creek bottom land and the remainder was upland. The eastern boundary was about one half mile west of the confluence of Nine Mile and Stranger Creeks. Stranger Creek flows into the Kansas River about one half mile below its meeting with Nine Mile Creek.⁴

On the farm there were an office, tool house, cow barn, a smaller barn, and two houses for employees. The larger of the barns was over 120 feet long judging by part of the foundation which remains. It was a two story frame structure which had a full basement divided by a passageway with stalls located on either side. The smaller barn was referred to as a "bull barn." Additional buildings constructed later near the house included a horse barn with servants quarters above, an ice house of stone, and a smoke house.⁵

Improvements reported in 1885 included three miles of stone fence, one half mile of rail fence, one half mile in

³Atlas Map of Leavenworth County Kansas (Kansas City, Mo.: Missouri Publishing Co., 1878), p. 16; Kansas Historical Collection, VII, p. 481.

⁴Atlas of Leavenworth, pp. 16, 32.

⁵Linwood Leader, December 27, 1883; interview with Omar Browning, July 19, 1963.

board fence, two thirds of a mile of hedge fence, and three miles of the new barbed wire fence which then had been sold commercially for only a few years. It is interesting that all of the major types of fences listed by Walter Prescott Webb in his classic work, The Great Plains, were found at Linwood Farm even though it was located on the fringe of the Plains.⁶

In 1883, Harris began construction of a fine home on the bluff north of the barns. The location was about three tenths of a mile from both the east and south boundaries of section fourteen. The house, completed and occupied in 1884, was a white frame structure of three stories with a full basement. It had a semblance of pillars on the front or east side.⁷

The first floor contained four large rooms plus the kitchen and pantry in the rear. On the second floor were four bedrooms and two rooms above the kitchen for household employees. The front part of the house, on the two main floors, was divided by a wide hall from front to back. Fireplaces, which were decorated with artistically designed ceramic tile, were located in each of the main rooms in such a way that only a single chimney on either side of the house

⁶Kansas Census, 1885, p. 181; Walter P. Webb, The Great Plains (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1913), pp. 280-95.

⁷Linwood Leader, December 27, 1883.

was required. The third or attic floor was completely finished but without partitions, and it provided ample room for parties and dancing. The full basement included an area set aside as a wine cellar. The rooms of this house were quite large and had the high ceilings then in fashion. The woodwork and floors were of the highest quality southern white pine, but later occupants applied oak flooring to the first floor level.⁸

In 1885, the Harris family had three Negro servants to care for the home. They were Lana Harris, age 35, the cook; Henry Gillman, age 30, a handy man; and Anna Highlander, age 21, described as a domestic. Their average salary was two dollars per month plus board and room.⁹

The farm was entered by a lane from the road on the south. The lane first passed the orchard which, in 1885, consisted of two hundred apple trees, a one fourth acre vineyard, and twenty cherry trees. Continuing toward the house, the lane passed by the office and tool house before going between the barns. It then crossed what is now Kansas Highway 32 and ran to the house.¹⁰

⁸Interview with Omar Browning, July 19, 1963.

⁹Kansas Census, 1885, p. 137.

¹⁰Interview with Omar Browning, July 19, 1963; Kansas Census, 1885, p. 184.

The Linwood Leader said that, "the Linwood farm is the most perfect in everyway of anything of this kind in Southern Leavenworth County, and it is attracting attention far and wide." In regard to the Harris home, readers were told that it was, "a palatial place, grand and beautiful, and supplied with all the convenience this age of improvement affords, necessary to make it pleasant and comfortable and to enlighten [sic] the labors of household duties."¹¹

The vast extent of Harris' land holdings were evidenced by the report in 1878 that he owned at least 929.4 acres in the southern part of Leavenworth County. In 1885, he declared that he owned 1520 acres in that county. Deed records indicate that most of the acreage was in and along the bottom lands of Stranger Creek and the Kansas River. The exact acreage cannot be determined because of the many land transactions in which Harris was engaged. While some of the land was held for speculative purposes in 1885, over 900 acres were farmed.¹²

In 1885, Harris declared the cash value of his farm for tax purposes to be four thousand dollars, but that is obviously less than its market value. Since the least expensive land

¹¹Linwood Leader, December 27, 1883.

¹²Atlas of Leavenworth, pp. 16 and 32; Kansas Census, 1885, p. 180; Leavenworth Deeds, Book 20, p. 304; Book 33, p. 598; Book 71, p. 639; Book 72, p. 125; Book 78, p. 125; Book 87, pp. 354-57; Book 91, p. 233; Book 124, p. 94.

cost ten dollars per acre, the farm land would have been worth over \$9,000 without improvements. Possibly the reported figure was the value of the house alone. In 1895, the worth of the farm, which then included only about 375 acres, was declared to be thirty-five thousand dollars. That appears to be a more reasonable figure considering the quality of the land and the high value of the improvements.¹³

Harris became a cattleman in the 1870's, and by 1876 he had decided upon shorthorns as the breed most likely to produce a high profit. Shorthorn cattle, sometimes called Durhams, were very much in vogue among breeders of the eastern United States at that time. They were being tested on the farms of the plains states, along with other improved breeds, in a search for a sturdy animal suitable for western farms.¹⁴

When Harris first became interested in purebred shorthorns, the leading American breeders were located in Kentucky. Harris was on friendly terms with the Kentuckians but felt

¹³Kansas Census, 1885, p. 180; Leavenworth Deeds, Book 20, p. 364; State of Kansas, Agricultural Census, 1895 Leavenworth County, Sherman Township, Schedule 2, n.p.

¹⁴Breeders Gazette, (October 5, 1882), pp. 1-2; William A. Harris, "Early Maturity in Cattle Breeding," a paper read at the annual meeting of the Kansas Improved Stock Breeder's Association, January 14, 1891, Topeka, reported in the Quarterly Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (Topeka: State Printer, 1891), pp. 183-86.

their displeasure when he became critical of their cattle. Harris considered the Kentucky cattle to be too delicate for use in Kansas and other western states. The value of American shorthorn cattle had previously been judged solely on their ancestry, a practice adopted from some British breeders, the most prominent being Thomas Bates. The relative newcomer from Kansas set about developing a herd based upon the individual merit of each animal as judged by the soundness of its constitution and good feeding qualities. In this respect he was following the example set by the famous breeder, Amos Cruickshank of Sittyton, Scotland.¹⁵

Harris occupied a very prominent position among shorthorn breeders from 1882 to 1895. The Linwood herd was, according to Alvin H. Sanders, generally considered as the best in the United States at the time. Foreign visitors compared the herd favorably with those in the British Isles. In fact, Harris exported shorthorns at a profit to the British. Harris' influence as a breeder was greater than any other person during the peak years at Linwood. The great improvement which Harris made in American shorthorn cattle led to his being likened to Cruickshank, the great improver of the

¹⁵Sanders, Shorthorn Cattle, pp. 676-78.

Scottish shorthorns. All that Harris accomplished was despite the low prices during much of the period involved.¹⁶

In 1880, Harris purchased the bull calf Golden Drop of Hillhurst, a cross between the Bate's bull, Underly Wild Eyes, and Scottish-bred Wastell's Golden Drop, 4th. The bull possessed the fine finish of the Bates cattle, but it was more fleshy. The animal was not desirable in the traditional sense, because of the cross between the Kentucky and Scottish-bred ancestors. According to Sanders, however, the Golden Drop strain was later generally regarded as the most valuable of the famous Linwood herd and the best in the United States at that time.¹⁷

In January, 1882, Harris had thirty-eight breeding cows, but he was looking for more. The earlier success with the Golden Drops encouraged him to purchase additional imports to cross with his American-bred cattle. In May, 1882 Harris bought the bull Baron Victor 49944 for \$1,100 and three cows for \$1,380 at a sale in Missouri. He obtained the four cattle not long after they had been imported via Canada from the herd of Cruickshank. The Breeders Gazette was not long

¹⁶G. A. Laude, Kansas Shorthorns (Iola: Laude Printing 1920), p. 67; Sanders, Shorthorn Cattle, pp. 676, 690-91; James Sinclair, History of Shorthorn Cattle (London: Vinton, 1908), p. 626-27; Wilson, Biographical History, p. 289; Miller Dictionary of American Biography, VIII, p. 327.

¹⁷Sanders, Shorthorn Cattle, pp. 678, 682; Sinclair, History of Shorthorn Cattle, p. 626-27.

in announcing that Harris had one of the best herds west of the Mississippi River and that a herd book listing the experimental cattle was being printed for distribution to interested cattlemen.¹⁸

Baron Victor's first calf, out of Victoria 63rd, arrived on November 1, 1882. It was described as an amazingly fleshy roan heifer which sold in early 1885 at the Interstate Breeders Sale in Kansas City, as a yearling, for \$1,005. Breeders from over the nation who attended the sale were very impressed by this unique animal, and Harris' reputation as a breeder was rising rapidly. Soon other Baron Victor heifers were being sold to buyers from as far east as Ohio at prices from \$300 to \$600 each.¹⁹

By the mid-1880's Harris had become the heaviest buyer of imported Cruickshank heifers. Those were obtained, for the most part, through James I. Davidson of Canada, who brought them from Scotland. Harris made several trips to Canada to look after the purchase of stock and was said to have had the pick of Davidson's imports. Among the imported cows purchased by Harris was Lavender 36th, which was described as probably the best cow ever owned at Linwood until she became prematurely barren.²⁰

¹⁸Breeders Gazette (January 19, 1882), p. 178; (September 28 1882), p. 43; (October 5, 1882), pp. 1-2; (November 26, 1882), p. 615; Sanders, Shorthorn Cattle, p. 679.

¹⁹Sanders, Shorthorn Cattle, pp. 679, 681.

²⁰Linwood Leader, January 24, 1884 and December 27, 1884; Sanders, Shorthorn Cattle, pp. 682-83.

Harris regularly advertised his cattle in the Breeders Gazette, the Linwood Leader, and through catalogues which were issued periodically. In his 1887 catalogue, fifty-three cows and two bulls were listed along with their respective ancestries, offspring, and distinguishing qualities. However, the 1885 state agricultural census gave a more complete picture of his livestock holdings. That report indicated that Harris owned sixty head of beef cattle, forty milk cows, three hogs, and six horses. The dairy cows may have been shorthorns as were the beef cattle, since that breed was used for both purposes.²¹

Events had changed rapidly for Harris in the 1890's. In 1892 he traveled with Sanders, editor of the Breeders Gazette, to England and Scotland in search of new stock for his farm which was then at its peak of fame. He visited Cruickshank and other leading breeders and attended the Royal Show at Warwick, but he found no cattle which he wished to purchase. When he arrived in New York City on the return voyage, a telegram was awaiting at the Fifth Avenue Hotel to tell him of his nomination to Congress as a People's Party (Populist) candidate.²²

²¹E.g., Linwood Leader, January 4, 1884, January 10, 1884, January 27, 1884, and December 27, 1884; Breeders Gazette (December 16, 1895), p. 308; Kansas Census, 1885, p. 183; William A. Harris, Linwood Herd: 1887, (Chicago: Breeders Gazette, 1887).

²²Breeders Gazette (December 29, 1909), p. 1424; Sanders, Shorthorn Cattle, p. 687.

Harris was absent from his farm while he served in Congress from 1893 to 1895. His absence plus sharp drops in cattle prices in 1873, 1885 and 1893 eventually led him to sell most of the shorthorns. At the dispersal sale held on May 6, 1896, sixty-three shorthorns were sold at rather low prices. This was due to neglect, poor markets, and the fact that some of the better animals had been sold prior to the public sale. Twenty-one cows brought \$5,470, eleven two year old heifers went for \$2,030, eight one year old heifers sold for \$1,565, thirteen heifer calves went under the hammer for \$2,165, and \$1,705 was received for ten bulls. A few old cows were retained on the farm and Harris expressed a desire to rebuild a fine herd at some later date, but he was never able to do so.²³

On January 5, 1894, Harris was called home from Washington because of the death due to pneumonia of his wife Mary. She was buried at Linwood, probably in the cemetery adjacent to the Congregational Church which stood near the southeast corner of the farm. Later, on March 15, 1896, reinterment of the body of Mary Harris was conducted in the Oak Hill Cemetery at Lawrence.²⁴

²³Breeders Gazette (May 13, 1896), p. 368; Sanders, Shorthorn Cattle, p. 692.

²⁴Lawrence Evening Gazette, January 5, 1894 and January 6, 1894; Oak Hill Cemetery Record, City of Lawrence, March 15, 1896, p. 128.

Harris married Mrs. Cora (Mackey) Murray on February 7, 1895. Cora, fourteen years younger than her new husband, was born in Pennsylvania and originally called Pittsburgh home. On June 22, 1895 an alienation of affections suit was filed against Harris in the Federal District Court at Topeka. The plaintiff, Barney Murray, asked for twenty-five thousand dollars in damages. The Murrrayes were divorced in Missouri in 1894 after having lived in Kansas and elsewhere. Cora, was married to Harris a few months after the divorce. Since the matter never went to trial, it is impossible to judge the merits of Murray's case, except that his allegations do not conflict with known facts. In the settlement, Harris paid one thousand dollars for damages and court costs estimated by the Topeka Daily Capital to have been from three to four thousand dollars.²⁵

Harris commented publically that the law suit was a political trick to injure his chances for being nominated as the Populist candidate for governor in 1896. It seems probable that the incident did cost him politically and it surely cost him financially.²⁶

Henry J. Waters, president of Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science (now Kansas State University)

²⁵Topeka Daily Capital, June 23, 1895 and September 7, 1895.

²⁶Topeka Daily Capital, September 7, 1895.

was quoted later as saying that Harris lost seven thousand dollars in a Washington Bank failure "during hard times" That represented an additional financial loss, probably occurring in the early 1890's. The bank loss, legal settlement, and low cattle prices combined to put a severe strain on Harris' finances during the early 1890's.²⁷

Several factors illustrated the resulting decline of Linwood Farm during the 1890's. The most important was the increasingly heavy borrowing by Harris. All or part of the basic farm was mortgaged at the following intervals: in 1873 for three thousand dollars, in 1878 for twenty-five hundred dollars, in 1886 for ten thousand dollars, and 1895, for fifteen thousand dollars. The declining affluence of the family was reflected in the census report of 1895, which revealed that they no longer had household servants. The farm business had changed also, as shown by the 1898 newspaper item which reported the sale of a 175 pound sheep from Harris' "fine flock" to the local meat market for \$7.78. Finally in 1901, Harris sold the farm to George H. Adams, a Lawrence real estate man. As late as 1906, Harris said that he expected to be able to recover his farm, but he never did.²⁸

²⁷Topeka Daily Capital, December 21, 1909.

²⁸Leavenworth Deeds, Book 45, p. 275; Book 57, p. 494; Book 105, p. 84; Book 155, p. 50; Book 159, pp. 331, 549; Linwood Ledger, August 20, 1898.

Even though Harris lost the farm, he continued to be remembered for his contributions to agriculture. While he was in the cattle business he belonged to numerous farm groups, was a frequent speaker at their meetings, and received many honors. Harris was said to have been active in the Patrons of Husbandry (Grange) in the 1880's. It was reported on January 19, 1882, that he had been elected to the executive committee of the Kansas Shorthorn Breeders Association. He was a member, director, and on the executive committee of the American Shorthorn Record Association in 1882. Later that year, Harris was on the committee which organized the American Shorthorn Breeders Association. He purchased two shares in the new group, and loaned five hundred dollars to help get it started. On March 25, 1884, he was appointed one of the three original members of the Kansas Livestock Sanitary Commission by the Democratic governor, George W. Glick. He served until 1887 on that commission, which was charged with the responsibility of preventing the spread of diseases among Kansas livestock. Lastly, he was one of the charter members and a director of the Kansas Improved Stock Breeders Association when it was organized in 1891. It seems obvious that the fame

Harris gained in agriculture provided the opportunity for him to hold high political office.²⁹

²⁹Lawrence Daily World, December 21, 1909; Breeders Gazette (January 19, 1882), p. 244; Sanders, Shorthorn Cattle, p. 677; Breeders Gazette (October 26, 1882), p. 528; (January 4, 1893), p. 4; Kansas Historical Collection, IX, p. 405; Report of Annual Meeting of the Kansas Improved Stock Breeders Association, January 14, 1891, Topeka, reported in the Quarterly Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (Topeka: State Printer, 1891), pp. 142, 182.

CHAPTER V

A POLITICIAN'S INTEREST IN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

It seems unlikely that Harris expected to follow his father's footsteps to Congress. As a Democrat and former Confederate soldier, Harris appeared to have no chance for high political office in Kansas. The impossible became a reality, however, when the People's Party, usually called the Populist Party, came to power in Kansas during the 1890's. Again Harris was presented with an opportunity, and he made the most of it.

The Populist movement was primarily an agrarian endeavor, and Harris was an early member of the party. His view of the Populist Party was that it followed the principles of Thomas Jefferson even better than the Democratic Party, if there was any difference between them. Harris expressed his agrarian views when he said that he was glad Kansas had no large cities because he felt that rural communities and small towns were the "life blood" of the nation. He was vitally interested in problems relating to agriculture and was identified as a leading member of the farm community. He became a close friend and advisor to John W. Breidenthal, the leader of the Kansas Populists. Nugent claimed that it was largely through Breidenthal that Harris was able to gain the party's nomination to office. The assertion may be correct; however,

Harris was well known, particularly in agricultural circles.¹

Harris was a frequent speaker at various farm and Populist meetings, but it is unlikely he was noted as a great speaker. He said that he wrote only one speech and did not deliver the one he had written. Rather, he thought through what he wanted to say and, "got up there and said it" A fellow Congressman said that Harris was not an orator, just a "plain" speaker. The secret of his ability for getting the attention of his audience was that he had knowledge of his subject.²

Harris did not attend the 1892 Populist convention in Wichita; he was in Great Britain on business relating to his cattle operations. At that meeting on June 5, Fred J. Close placed Harris' name in nomination for the congressman-at-large position. Close, a Union veteran, was later the private secretary to Lorenzo D. Lewelling, the Populist Kansas governor from 1893 to 1895. Harris' nomination to Congress, "was made unanimous by a rising vote as the crowd went wild. Men standing on tables and chairs yelled themselves hoarse in the many moments before order was restored." Harris

¹Nugent, Tolerant Populists, pp. 131, 134, 137; Garnett Evening News, July 5, 1906.

²Topeka Daily Capital, June 25, 1906; J. Beauchamp "Champ" Clark, My Quarter Century in American Politics, II (New York: Harper, 1920), p. 75.

won the election to Congress in 1892 by a vote of 163,634 to 156,761 over his Republican rival, George T. Anthony, a former Kansas governor. In 1894, he lost in his attempt at re-election to R. W. Blue by a vote of 147,858 to 114,459.³

It seems probable that Harris would have been elected governor in 1896, had it not been for the suit filed against him by Barney Murray. He failed by four votes on the first count to secure the Populist nomination for governor. Although backed by Breidenthal, he received fewer votes on each succeeding ballot and was upset eventually by John W. Leedy who was elected to that high office. Later in 1896, Harris was elected to the Kansas Senate from the third district, defeating E. W. Snyder by a vote of 4,296 to 4,076. He was named by the Kansas Legislature to the United States Senate for the period from 1897 to 1903. A Populist when he was sent to the Senate, Harris switched to the Democratic Party in 1902 after the Populist Party disappeared.⁴

Harris was nominated and ran as the Democratic candidate for governor of Kansas in 1906. It was reported that

³Elizabeth M. Barr, "Populist Uprising," in William E. Connelley, Standard History of Kansas, II (New York: Lewis Publishing, 1918), p. 1163; Nugent, Tolerant Populists, p. 149; Sketch No. 32424 of William A. Harris, K.S.H.S. MSS.

⁴Sketch No. 32424 of William A. Harris, K.S.H.S. MSS.; Nugent, Tolerant Populists, p. 190; Kansas City Times, March 26, 1910; Congressional Directory, 57 Cong., 2 Sess., First ed. (Washington: U.S. Printing Office, 1902), p. 31.

it was the only time that a non-resident of Kansas ran for the highest political office in the state. There is no evidence that Harris lived in Kansas from the time he left the United States Senate in March, 1903 and moved to Chicago, until he made the gubernatorial race in Kansas in 1906. If that were not enough, his opponents caught him in an apparent lie when he reported that he continued to consider Linwood his home although the farm was sold in 1901. According to Harris he had left his furniture and library stored at his former home, he had always voted at Linwood, and he never fully expected to lose the farm anyway. Eventually Harris reported that he was unable to regain the farm, and his opponents found that he had not voted at Linwood since 1901.⁵

Harris later announced that he was buying a farm in western Kansas, but apparently he never did. Finally he announced that he was moving from his, "little seven room apartment . . ." in Chicago to Lawrence. He first purchased a house on the northwest corner of Eighth and Indiana streets, but lived there only briefly, if at all. He then purchased a house on Ohio Street in Lawrence, a few doors south of his earlier home. It was in that house on Ohio that Harris lived out his life. At the time of the 1906

⁵Topeka State Journal, May 2, 11, 16, 17, 30, 1906; Topeka Daily Capital, October 20, 1906.

election, Harris may still have been a Kansan at heart, but he was not a legal resident.⁶

Harris ran into additional difficulty a few days prior to the election, when in Leavenworth he was questioned on his views as to the enforcement of the prohibition laws. He responded that he would enforce the law even though he personally did not agree with it. Opperman claims that this honest and frank statement probably cost Harris the votes needed for election because the people of Leavenworth were accustomed to violating prohibition openly. The Leavenworth Post reflected the same opinion at the time of election. Edward W. Hoch, the Republican candidate, won the election by a margin of 2123 votes or 152,147 to 150,024, well behind the margins of other candidates of his party for state offices. Hoch won in Leavenworth County by a vote of 4882 to 3510, despite the fact that Harris had a majority in the area outside the City of Leavenworth. In all probability Harris could have won if he had been less candid on the question of enforcing prohibition laws.⁷

Some Democrats charged that Harris had been "counted out," as it was. Thus it was implied that irregularities in

⁶Topeka State Journal, May 11, 1906; Douglas Deeds, Book 81, pp. 122, 321.

⁷Opperman, The Political Career of Harris, p. 64; Leavenworth Post, November 1, 7, and 13, 1906; Zornow, Kansas, p. 213.

counting the ballots had deprived him of victory. This seems unlikely if a remark by W. H. Ryan, Chairman of the Democratic State Committee, was correct. He said, on November 8, 1906, "We have our men watching over the state and do not propose to be counted out." This statement would seem to rule out any irregularities in the counting of ballots.⁸

Harris' defeat can probably be accounted for by several factors, the most important being the tendency for the majority of Kansans to vote Republican. The outcome of the election undoubtedly was influenced by his statement that he would enforce prohibition. Other factors which led to his defeat include his non-resident status and attempts by the opposition to use his early railroad career against him. All things considered, it seems rather remarkable that Harris came so close to being governor of Kansas

During his Populist days, Harris explained his views on industrialization and trusts by saying that he, like many others, would like to see craftsmen busy in every village manufacturing their respective wares but that it was impossible to go back to the past. Rather the problems to be faced were the need to find a way to preserve individual rights even though there were monopolies in every field and the need to find a way to free legislative bodies from the influences

⁸Leavenworth Post, November 8, 1906; Pittsburg Kansan, November 10, 1906.

of the trusts. He stated that the general welfare could be served only through concentrating and using the power of the people. Presumably he felt that this could be accomplished best within the Populist Party. The idea that there could be political answers to the economic problems of farmers was the foundation upon which the Populist Party was based.⁹

During his term in the United States House of Representatives beginning in March, 1893, Harris' views were predominantly Populist. His first speech was an expression of his views on the use of silver as part of the monetary system of the United States. He very much favored a return to a bi-metallic system. In this his beliefs were in agreement with the party he represented.¹⁰

While it is not surprising that Harris favored the monetary use of silver, it is interesting to note that he was an owner of mining property. In 1890, he purchased one half interest in thirteen claims from Bowersack. One of the properties was known as Mountain Chief Lode. This claim was lot number 513 located in the north half of section 1, township 1, range 72, in the central mining district of Boulder County, Colorado. The other properties, all in Boulder County and owned in partnership with Bowersack, were the Gold Chief, Hermit Chief, Mayflower, Matchless, Ajax, Big Indian, Great

⁹Nugent, Tolerant Populists, p. 96.

¹⁰Congressional Record, 53 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 773-80.

Easton, Gold Dust, Golder Bell, Ingersoll, Papoose, and White Cloud mines. Despite the colorful names, there is no evidence that they were silver or gold mines, but silver was found in Boulder County as early as 1869. It is not known if Harris realized any profit from the mining properties, either. The mining ventures do reflect the opportunism of Harris, and they may have helped shape his political views.¹¹

Harris was named to the committee on the Pacific Railroads in the Fifty-third Congress. It was on the subject of the Union Pacific Railroad and its branches, including what was by then called the Kansas Division, that Harris was most active. A scheme had been proposed in Congress whereby the Union Pacific would refinance their debts, which were then due, by borrowing about \$138,000,000 from the United States Government. That amount was approximately the total of the first mortgage owed to private investors plus the principal and interest owed to the United States Government on the original loans, which had been relegated to the position of a second mortgage. It was Harris' contention that the scheme would damage, rather than help, the government's position as

¹¹William A. Harris, will and papers relating to his estate, file No. 7093, Douglas County Probate Court; Percy S. Fritz, "Silver Prospecting and Mining," in James T. Adams, ed., Dictionary of American History, 2nd ed., V (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1948), p. 81.

a creditor. The longest speech of his term in the lower house was devoted to explaining his views on the matter.¹²

Harris claimed that the directors of the Union Pacific contracted with themselves under other names for the construction of the many branch lines. The branches were subsidiary companies of the Union Pacific and their bonds, interest, and dividends were guaranteed through traffic contracts with the parent firm. He implied that the receipts from the sale of stocks and bonds were used to pay the directors exorbitant profits for construction of the branches, while the main line was committed to paying the bills. In this way, the operating profits of the Union Pacific had been diverted to the support of the branch lines which were not covered by the loan of the United States Government. Those profits indirectly went to the officials of the railroad rather than being applied against the government loan.¹³

The motive for the action of the directors was largely one of profit. It was Harris' contention that it was a premeditated attempt, on the part of the railroad officials, to avoid payment of the loans. He declared that,

There is no pledge that they will ever redeem.
There is no principle in the provisions of the
present bill that they will not violate, and that

¹²Congressional Record, 53 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 555;
53 Cong., 3 Sess., pp. 1556-557.

¹³Congressional Record, 53 Cong., 3 Sess., p. 1556.

they have not violated in any bill. You simply can not deal with men who never hesitate to violate any pledge they make. They do not mince matters. Mr. Huntington, in the hearings before the committee, asserted that nobody ever heard of these great roads paying their debt. They never intended to pay. The companies never intended to pay any of them, I understand¹⁴

Elsewhere he stated that,

There has [sic] been no contracts with individuals that this company [Union Pacific] has ever lived up to. There has been no infamy too great and no stealing too small for them to reach out and cover. I believe Warren Hastings, in justification of the robberies committed in East India, exclaimed that when he recalled his opportunities he marveled at his own moderation. The Union Pacific Railway Company can never have any trouble of that sort. (Laughter) They have never neglected any opportunity.¹⁵

The remarks by Harris may well have been those of an indignant citizen with a desire to see justice and fair play prevail. They might have been what was expected of an agrarian reformer whose constituency was required to pay for the mismanagement of the railroad through higher rates. It may have been political expediency for an agrarian reformer with a railroad background to establish a record by attacking one of the farmers' chief targets, the railroads. All of that might be true, but probably more important, if the remarks are considered in relation to Harris' previous connection with the railroad, it appears to be the testimony

¹⁴Ibid., p. 1557.

¹⁵Ibid.

of a man who felt as if he had been wronged by some behavior of the railroad officials. He apparently had no dispute with the officials of the Eastern Division when he began selling their land. More likely his quarrel, if there was one, was with the Union Pacific after the merger in 1880. The only indication of this is his rather sudden departure from the land office at Lawrence in 1883, only a year after he purchased the building in partnership with Sinclair.

Harris maintained that it was necessary only that Congress stand firm against proposals to extend additional credit or to reduce the liability of the Union Pacific. He contended that, under the Union Pacific Act of 1862 and the Thurman Act of 1887, the United States had a lien upon this railway system, that portion directly aided by the government and that part which was built by the railroad alone. It was his position that the railroad was of sufficient value and its earning capacity was so high that the debts would be paid in full, if no other choice was open to company officials.¹⁶

The Union Pacific Act of 1864 had permitted the railroad company to borrow additional money from private sources with a first mortgage being placed on its property. By that action, the lien held by the United States became

¹⁶Ibid., p. 1555.

a second mortgage. Harris proposed that the government pay off the first mortgage and take over the railway, if it were necessary to protect the interests of the United States. That remedy had been provided for in the earlier acts; therefore, while Harris was voicing a typically Populist demand, he was suggesting nothing new. In answer to direct questions, Harris stated that he favored government ownership of the Union Pacific only if necessary to protect the interests of the United States.¹⁷

Harris was a lame-duck, freshman Congressman when the railroad question arose. However, he had a great influence on his fellow Congressmen, particularly in the House debate. He was the chief spokesman for the opponents of the Union Pacific proposal, and he spoke with such authority upon the subject that he made a very favorable impression. It was largely through his efforts that the refunding scheme was defeated in the House of Representatives. That left the Union Pacific right where it was before. It owed private bond holders about \$63,000,000 and an additional \$71,000,000 in principal and interest to the United States.¹⁸

Harris was returned to Congress in 1897, by the combined Populist-Democratic forces in the Kansas Legislature,

¹⁷Ibid., p. 1556, 1592.

¹⁸Clark, My Quarter Century in Politics, II, pp. 75-78; Congressional Record, 53 Cong., 3 Sess., pp. 1557, 1593.

as a United States Senator. He was appointed to the following standing committees in the Fifty-fifth Congress: (1) Pacific Railroads, (2) Civil Service and Retrenchment, (3) Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands, and (4) Manufactures. He was also a member of the select committee on construction of the Nicaragua canal. During his term in the Senate he later served on the following additional committees: (1) Agriculture and Forestry, (2) Military Affairs, (3) Privileges and Elections, (4) Indian Affairs, and (5) Interocean Canal. The committee assignments closely reflected the interests of Harris while he was in the Senate.¹⁹

A new proposal to settle the debt of the Union Pacific and the Kansas Pacific occupied Harris' attention in the first session of the Fifty-sixth Congress. During the latter part of his second term, Grover Cleveland had made an agreement with a reorganization committee representing the newly formed Utah corporation named the Union Pacific Railroad Company. That agreement called for an auction sale of the Union Pacific and the Kansas Pacific. The reorganization committee agreed to bid a minimum of \$45,754,059.99 which would be a payment to the government. The \$17,738,209.86 sinking fund, then being held by the United States Treasury, was to be applied to pay part of the bid price. Since no

¹⁹Congressional Record, 56 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 99, 441; 57 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 387.

other bidders were expected, the net cash outlay of the reorganizers was to be \$28,015,850.13, or the difference between their guaranteed bid and the proceeds of the sinking fund. That sale was to clear all debts owed by the railroad to the United States Government but not those owed private investors. The agreement had the effect of cancelling indebtedness amounting to \$33,539,512 principal and \$36,954,803.11 interest, plus miscellaneous smaller claims, at a savings of over \$24,740,000 to the railroad.²⁰

Upon learning of the proposed sale, Harris introduced a resolution to stop the action. He attempted to get Congressional approval of a plan whereby the United States would place a bid in the amount of the total debt due to the government. If no other bidder met that price, the United States would pay off the first mortgage and assume operation of the railroad, according to the Harris plan. He still believed that the railroad officials would pay the full amount of the indebtedness, if they were pressed on the matter. Yet, the government had to be willing to take the railroad, if it were to force full payment of the debts.²¹

Harris was unable to get Senate approval for his plan. After Congress adjourned, he approached President McKinley

²⁰Congressional Record, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 2592, 2609.

²¹Ibid., pp. 1657, 2024-27, 2591, 2609, 2616, 2666.

on the matter and his views eventually prevailed. The McKinley administration cancelled the agreement and insisted upon payment in full of the entire debt. The full amount of the debt on the main line of the Union Pacific, about \$58,000,000, was finally paid as a result of Harris' efforts. Harris' view that the railroad would pay its debts in full rather than lose the company was not only vindicated, but Senator Morgan of Alabama said later that the reorganizing group divided \$30,000,000 in profits from the re-financing plan.²²

The administration went forward with a similar plan to force payment by making a minimum bid on the Kansas Pacific when it came up for sale. In 1898, Harris learned of a compromise agreement, which had been worked out between the administration and the reorganization committee, whereby the government lien against the Kansas Pacific was to be settled for the amount of the principal of \$6,303,000. The railroad would be relieved thereby of the responsibility of paying \$6,624,107 in accrued interest on the loan. Harris again asked Congressional action to stop the proceedings, but this time to no avail. The settlement was rushed through before its opponents could intervene.²³

²²Congressional Record, 55 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 1820-821, 2808.

²³Ibid., pp. 1679, 1820, 2808.

Whatever motives led Harris into the battle against the efforts of the Union Pacific to escape its huge debt, he fought each and every attempt in that direction. His stand is all the more interesting because his son Page was then general manager of the Texas and Pacific Railroad; Abrams, his brother-in-law and former business partner, was the Texas railway's land commissioner; and his brother Murray was a civil engineer for the same company. There is no known relationship between these facts and his stand against the Union Pacific. It is of interest, also, that he admitted carrying railroad and Pullman Company passes during his years in the United States Senate. While railroad passes were commonly used by the politicians of the time, it was a violation of Populist principles.²⁴

Harris had several other economic interests which he pursued while in the Senate. He favored Congressional action to further restrict or regulate trusts. In 1899, he proposed a constitutional amendment to permit imposition of an income tax by the national government. Harris believed in a reduction of tariffs through reciprocal trade agreements. Understandably, he was opposed to the Dingley Tariff Act of 1897, which established the highest such tax to that time.²⁵

²⁴Kansas City Journal, September 23, 1906.

²⁵Topeka State Journal, August 17, 1897; Congressional Record, 53 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 773-80; 56 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 97.

Harris continued to work in opposition to the Gold Standard Act and for action to include silver in the monetary system. He regarded the gold standard as a device perpetrated by eastern capitalists for the purpose of profiting in their relations with the people of the West. Votes on several questions reflected his views on the use of silver in the monetary system. He voted for a proposal that the government maintain a parity between gold and silver and for a proposal that all of the gold in the country be set aside by the United States for purposes of paying the domestic and foreign public debt. His opposition to a proposed amendment to make all private debts payable in gold except when the creditor approved other money, was in keeping with his usual position on the issue. On the same subject, it was his idea that the use of silver would help to attract the trade of silver producing nations away from Great Britain.²⁶

A bill was introduced by Harris in 1897 to increase the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and he continued to press for such action throughout his Senate term. Harris was active in the fight to get a canal built across Central America, and he participated in a losing fight to get the canal constructed through Nicaragua. His youthful

²⁶Kansas City Journal, September 23, 1906; Topeka State Journal, August 17, 1897; Congressional Record, 55 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 1171-172; 56 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 97.

experiences as a surveyor in that country qualified him as an expert on the matter, but he was unable to convince his colleagues that volcanoes would not destroy a canal built in that area.²⁷

One of the more amusing debates engaged in by Harris dealt with the subject of oleogargarine. He declared a liking for that food product but strongly opposed the use of yellow coloring to make it appear similar to butter. A bill introduced by Harris attempted to give a legal description to each of the competing spreads and to set a tax on each by which their manufacture could be regulated. There can be little doubt as to Harris' personal preference, however, for in one year at Linwood Farm three hundred pounds of butter were produced for the use of the family.²⁸

Bills were introduced on two occasions by Harris which eventually resulted in Fort Hays being turned over to the State of Kansas for use as a branch of Kansas State Normal School (now Kansas State Teachers College) and an agricultural extension station affiliated with Kansas State Agricultural College (now Kansas State University). The

²⁷Congressional Record, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 991; 55 Cong., 3 Sess., pp. 177-78; 57 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 6489-502.

²⁸Congressional Record, 57 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 3316-367; Kansas Census, 1885, p. 183.

normal school branch has since become Fort Hays State College.²⁹

On the Cuban problems of that time, Harris voted to recognize Cuban belligerency and for strict neutrality on the part of the United States. After this nation became involved in the Spanish-American War, he offered a resolution in the Senate calling for the United States to disclaim any intention of assuming permanent control over the Philippine Islands. On the question of the Hawaiian Islands, Harris first opposed annexation but changed his mind when he became convinced that the archipelago was necessary for the defense of the Panama Canal.³⁰

Harris probably had personal regrets about the Spanish-American War when his youngest son, Craig, came home to announce his enlistment in Company D, Fifth Battery, of the District of Columbia's National Guard. Craig, who was fifteen years old, was soon on his way with other troops to Cuba. Having enlisted as a private he rose to sergeant in that brief but "splendid little war," presumably due in part to his earlier training at St. John's Military Academy at Salina. Craig became ill with typhoid fever while in Cuba,

²⁹Congressional Record, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 641; 56 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 86.

³⁰Nugent, Tolerant Populists, p. 210; Congressional Record, 55 Cong., 3 Sess., p. 1416; Topeka Daily Capital, July 2, 1898.

and was a concern to his father for several months before recuperating fully.³¹

On other political matters, Harris was most active in support of a constitutional amendment calling for popular election of United States Senators. He proposed amendments to provide four year terms for members of the House of Representatives and for a single six year term for the president. On one occasion he voted for a bill which would have required immigrants to pass a literacy test, but he reversed himself when the matter came up later. He voted yea to a proposal to export convicted felons who were aliens. He voted for exclusion of children under the age of five except when with their parents. In addition, Harris was quite active in introducing special legislation to provide for pensions to Union veterans and, on one occasion, proposed that Confederate veterans who later joined the United States Army should be eligible for pensions. Senate Bill 3256, sponsored by Harris, proposed that veterans be given preference in filling civil service positions.³²

³¹Topeka Kansas News, April 28, 1898; Topeka State Journal, April 28, 1898; Topeka Daily Capital, January 15, 1899; Linwood Ledger, September 3, 1898, October 8, 1898, and October 15, 1898.

³²Topeka Mail and Breeze, May 5, 1900; Ruppenthal Papers, K.S.H.S. MSS.; Congressional Record, 56 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 97, 136; 55 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 247, 688-89, 4275; Nugent, Tolerant Populists, p. 205.

At the end of his Senate term, friends proposed that Harris be made a member of the Panama Canal Commission. The Topeka State Journal said later that he was not appointed because he lacked the endorsement of one unidentified Kansas Republican colleague. Theodore Roosevelt was quoted as saying, "It is unfortunate that the government should lose the services of a man of that type" He added that Harris was the kind of man needed on the reorganized Interstate Commerce Commission, but no appointment was forthcoming.³³

Harris remarked that as gratifying as his experience in Congress had been, it had been disastrous to him financially.

My expenses as a United States Senator every year have been from at least two thousand to two thousand five hundred dollars more than my salary, and as I had little money, nothing but a farm with a mortgage on it, I have practically been compelled to sacrifice everything, and I must now go to work, if I can find some steady employment that will make me a living.³⁴

There is every reason to believe that Harris' finances really were at a low level at the time. That is interesting because it seems that he might have profited by dropping his attack upon the railroad interests. This may be one example of his self-restraint despite an inclination toward opportunism.

³³Topeka State Journal, April 28, 1905, December 31, 1905, and October 30, 1906.

³⁴Kansas Historical Collection, VIII, p. 321.

After Harris left the Senate he became involved in various agricultural and business interests for a few years. In 1906, he was nominated by Kansas Democrats as their gubernatorial candidate. Harris campaigned on a platform calling for regulation of Standard Oil Company, railroads, and other corporations. But, he stated his opposition to government ownership of railroads. As to railroad controls, he advocated abolition of passes for anyone other than employees and officers of the lines, higher taxation of railroad property, and regulation of rates. He declared that over-capitalization of railroads and other corporations was a problem which needed attention, though he made no specific proposals.³⁵

As a Populist, Harris did not fit the traditional view of members of that party. Earlier it was presumed that Populists were poor farmers and uneducated rabble rousers with an outlook which was provincial and anti-foreign. Harris' political views might be described best as progressive or liberal, if consideration is given to things as they were during his life. Born a member of an aristocratic Virginia family, he occupied a place in the upper or upper-middle class of society in Kansas and he probably was never a poor farmer even when he was forced to give up Linwood Farm.

³⁵Kansas City Star, November 1, 1906; Topeka State Journal, May 2, 1906.

Neither can the charge of provincialism be made against Harris. He was born in a seaboard state, lived in Washington, Argentina, and Nicaragua, and had traveled extensively in the British Isles and Canada. As for Argentina and Great Britain, he expressed a high opinion of both nations. He was also a long-time advocate of greater freedom of trade among nations. Although he was identified with agrarian interests, he was chiefly concerned with obtaining justice for the common man throughout the nation.³⁶

Harris cannot be charged with being anti-foreigner. His close friend, John Tudhope, was born in Scotland before settling near Linwood Farm. Another Scot, David Davidson, accompanied cattle from his native country to Linwood Farm and stayed with Harris as a farm hand before buying his own land with the help of his employer. Annie L. Diggs, a Populist born in Ontario, was a political friend of his. In Congress he voted for reasonable regulation of immigration, particularly a requirement that entering aliens be able to read and write. Yet he favored more Cubans entering in 1898.³⁷

³⁶Biographical Record of Leavenworth, p. 213; Breeders Gazette (December 16, 1895), p. 308; Linwood Leader, January 24, 1884 and December 27, 1884.

³⁷Interview with Omar Browning, July 19, 1963; Interviews with Myrtle (Davidson) Browning, July 19, 1963 and August 13, 1966; Ninth U.S. Census, Leavenworth County, p. 15; Leavenworth Deeds, Book 154, p. 2; Nugent, Tolerant Populists, p. 134; Congressional Record, 55 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 241.

Harris was not an uneducated rabble rouser. He obtained a college education for himself and helped a sister, brothers, and his children to attend college. With a long time interest in education, he expressed an early desire for a career as a college teacher. While in Congress, he supported legislation favorable to almost all the public colleges of Kansas. His sales of cattle to what is now Kansas State University and his later service as regent served to associate him especially closely with that institution.³⁸

It was said of Harris that he was the "highest type reformer," but never was he a demagogue, although some Populists were so accused. Sanders said of him he was a man of strong convictions who was aggressive, sincere, and a convincing speaker when pursuing what he believed to be right.³⁹

Harris supported most Populist proposals, but he did not support their demands for government ownership of railroads, the telegraph, and the telephone system. On the other hand, he did not fear government ownership of the

³⁸E.g. Biographical Record of Leavenworth, p. 213; Fourth Annual Catalogue of the University of Kansas: 1869-1870, pp. 10, 14; Topeka Daily Capital, January 15, 1899; Kansas Historical Collection, XVI, p. 676.

³⁹Resolution of the Mercantile Club of Kansas City, Kansas, December 22, 1909, K.S.H.S. MSS.; Sanders, Shorthorn Cattle, p. 690.

railroads, particularly the Union Pacific. In that case he felt that foreclosure of a mortgage was much to be desired over permitting that railway to cheat the government by failure to pay its debts.⁴⁰

He did advocate government regulation of railroads, trusts, and other large corporations. His view was that those great business ventures were excessively powerful to the detriment of the nation and the common man generally. Perhaps that was a typically Populist view, but there was much truth in his position.⁴¹

Harris was quoted as having said that he admired Roosevelt, and that he believed the president had adopted many of the best ideas of the Democratic Party. However, Nugent described Harris as a conservative compared with other Populists. If that is true, it was a matter of degree. Most would agree that he was less radical than some other Populists. His views were ahead of their time, but most of them have been widely accepted since then.⁴²

⁴⁰Topeka State Journal, August 17, 1897; Topeka Mail and Breeze, May 5, 1900; Nugent, Tolerant Populists, p. 205; Congressional Record, 53 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 773-80; 53 Cong., 3 Sess., pp. 1557, 1592; 56 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 97.

⁴¹Topeka State Journal, August 17, 1897; Congressional Record, 53 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 773-80.

⁴²Topeka Daily Capital, May 11, 1906; Nugent, Tolerant Populists, p. 136.

CHAPTER VI

THE LATER YEARS

When Harris was forced to retire from the United States Senate in March, 1903, he had neither a home nor any business affiliations of importance in Kansas to motivate a return to his adopted state. For that matter, he had no special economic ties to any other area and he had little or no income. Opportunity was not long in coming, however. Again, because of his earlier experiences and with the help of friends, he found a profitable situation.

Sanders later wrote that it was at his suggestion that Harris decided to go to Chicago in the capacity of "ambassador of good will" for the American Shorthorn Breeders Association. Harris was actually employed as the national secretary of the shorthorn association in 1903. He was quoted, a few months later, as saying that his salary as the national secretary was five thousand dollars per year, the same as he received as a United States Senator. That was the beginning of a new relationship with the American Shorthorn Breeders Association which continued until his death.¹

¹Alvin H. Sanders, The Story of the International Livestock Exposition Association (Chicago: Breeders Gazette, 1942), p. 355; Kansas City Times, January 13, 1904.

On January 14, 1904, a newspaper carried the story that Harris was receiving four thousand dollars from the shorthorn interests and two thousand dollars annually for his services to the Kansas City, Mexico, and Orient Railroad. Another item announced that Harris was a member of the executive committee of the railroad and was to supervise the land and townsite interests of the company. Little is recorded on the extent of his activities with the "Orient," and it is assumed that he played a very small part in the history of that company. He probably worked on a part time basis and in the area of public relations for both organizations.²

Harris was connected with the American National Livestock Association from 1904 to 1909 as a member of their executive board and chairman of the standing committee on foreign and home markets. In addition to his affiliation with the two national livestock groups, he was an editor of the National Livestock Journal and managing director from 1907 through 1909 for the annual International Livestock Exposition held in Chicago. He served the International Livestock Exposition association as a member of the board of directors and on the executive committee during the same period. His activities in connection with the various livestock

²Topeka Daily Capital, January 14, 1904.

interests during the years 1903 to 1909, included frequent speeches, livestock judging, and appearances before Congressional hearings.³

When Harris was not occupied by the business of the "Orient" railroad or the livestock groups, he was busy with other business interests. He was a part owner in a cement plant at Iola, Kansas and was a vice-president of the Denver, Laramie, and Northwestern Railway. That line was built north from Denver toward the Colorado-Wyoming line and from there to Laramie via the Laramie River Valley. Several Lawrence residents were interested in the railroad, including Bowersack.⁴

In 1909, Harris owned certificate number 166 for five hundred shares of one hundred dollar par value stock of the Northwestern Land and Iron Company. The stock, fully paid up, was unsaleable in 1909. It is interesting that the Harris estate received a five hundred dollar salary check from the Northwestern Land and Mining Company early in 1910, indicating that Harris had been employed by the firm. Since

³Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the American National Livestock Association, at Los Angeles, January 26, 1909 (Denver: Smith-Brooks, 1909); pp. 5, 6; N.a., A Review of the International Livestock Exposition: 1900-1913 (Chicago: n.p., 1913), pp. 21-23; Lawrence Daily World, December 21, 1909; Topeka Herald, May 4, 1905.

⁴Topeka Herald, January 3, 1907; Lawrence Daily World, August 16, 1909 and December 21, 1909.

the only source of information pertaining to these interests are the records of his estate, there is no way to know how important they were to Harris nor how profitable they were. The Northwestern Land and Iron Company, the mining company, and the Denver, Laramie, and Northwestern railway sound as if they might have been affiliates. The Harris estate included stocks of two additional companies. Included were 3306 shares of one hundred dollar par value Fort Steel Mining and Smelting Company of unknown cash value, and 4 ½ shares of Newkirk Oil Company of Oklahoma both of which were said to be unsaleable.⁵ At the time of his death, Harris still owned the thirteen Boulder County mining properties in partnership with Bowersack. The claims were worthless in 1909, but nothing is known about earlier returns, if any. All available evidence would point to the conclusion that Harris' interests in the mines, mining companies, the oil company, and the Denver Laramie, Northwestern Railway were highly speculative and not especially profitable. It may have been that Harris received some income as a promoter. If so, these were good examples of the opportunism of Harris, because of his investment in and association with these very speculative businesses.⁶

⁵William A. Harris, will and papers relating to his estate, file no. 7093, Douglas County Probate Court.

⁶Ibid.

In 1909, Harris was appointed by his friend, the Republican Governor of Kansas, Walter R. Stubbs, to the board of regents of what is now Kansas State University. The governor's friendship did not fully account for the appointment. Other factors were Harris' activities with national farm organizations and his close association with the college in the days when he sold them highly prized cattle. Harris served as regent for only a few months before his death. Nevertheless, on October 28, 1911, a memorial bust of Harris was dedicated on the college campus. The memorial was placed in front of Fairchild Hall and remains on the campus to date. It was paid for by his many friends and associates.⁷

Harris died at 8:15 P.M. on December 20, 1909 in the home of his sister-in-law in the Chicago Beach Hotel, Chicago, Illinois. He was sixty-eight years of age and had been suffering from heart trouble for two years. Death came after a heart attack. Harris had gone to Chicago from his home in Lawrence in connection with his duties as manager of the livestock exposition. The body was returned to Lawrence for burial beside his first wife in Oak Hill Cemetery. At Lawrence, flags flew at half-mast on December 23, and the

⁷Kansas Historical Collection, XVI, p. 676; The Harris Memorial: At Kansas State Agricultural College, Manhattan, Kansas, unveiled October 28, 1911 (Manhattan: Kansas State College, n.d.).

mayor issued a proclamation to honor Harris, calling for all businesses to close for an hour on the afternoon of Friday, December 24, the day of the funeral.⁸

The list of honorary pallbearers included the names of several prominent Kansans and men who were active in livestock organizations. These included:

1. Governor Walter R. Stubbs, Republican Governor of Kansas.
2. Henry J. Waters, President of Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science.
3. Justin D. Bowersack, Lawrence businessman and banker, formerly a Republican Congressman.
4. Arthur Capper, publisher of the Topeka Daily Capital, a Republican Congressman, later a Kansas Governor and long time United States Senator.
5. Horace L. Moore, Lawrence banker and former Populist Congressman.
6. Foster D. Coburn, Secretary of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture.
7. Alvin H. Sanders, publisher of the Breeders Gazette.
8. W. T. Skinner of Denver, (Probably W. E. Skinner, the President of the International Livestock Exposition Association who resided in Denver.)
9. William T. Sinclair, a Lawrence businessman.
10. William R. Nelson, publisher of the Kansas City Star.
11. A. Monroe, thought to have been owner of a construction company associated with the Union Pacific.
12. O. E. Learned, a territorial judge, state senator, and publisher of the Lawrence Daily Journal.⁹

Harris' will which was filed January 3, 1910, provided that each child was to receive one hundred dollars and his widow was to receive the household effects. All the remainder

⁸Lawrence Daily World, December 21, 22, and 23, 1909.

⁹Ibid., December 23, 1909.

of the personal property was to be divided so that the widow and each child shared equally. The inventory of the estate included \$3,045.76 from a Chicago bank; the stocks, mining properties, and salary check listed above; and miscellaneous items, such as household furnishings. Final settlement of the estate was made on December 12, 1912. A total of \$5,788.51 in personal property was distributed. The widow received \$1,434.71 and each of the five living children received \$870.75.¹⁰

The Harris home on the south half of lot 49 and all of lot 51 on Ohio Street in Lawrence had been transferred to his wife's name in August, 1909. She sold that house in June, 1910 for an undisclosed amount; however, it had cost \$4,500 when it was purchased in 1906. Waters was quoted as saying that Harris had the following life insurance at the time of death: (1) fifteen thousand dollars with Northwestern of Milwaukee; (2) ten thousand dollars with Mutual Benefit of Newark; and (3) \$4,500 with the Home Insurance Company of New York. The beneficiaries of these policies are not known.¹¹

¹⁰William A. Harris, will and papers pertaining to his estate, file no. 7093, Douglas County Probate Court.

¹¹Douglas Deeds, Book 81, p. 321; Book 87, p. 71; Book 88, p. 136; Topeka Daily Capital, December 21, 1909.

The size of the Harris estate indicated that the last few years were rather inauspicious ones for Harris, as compared to his earlier affluence. Harris had made a great deal of money after coming to Kansas, but he had suffered heavy reversals from time to time. The ebb and flow of fortune was to be expected for an opportunist who engaged in promotional and speculative ventures most of his life. The surprising thing is that he was able to leave a respectable sum of money to his heirs in property and insurance proceeds.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ORIGINAL SOURCES

A. MANUSCRIPT MATERIALS

- City of Lawrence, Oak Hill Cemetery Records, March 1896, p. 126 MSS. (in City Clerk's Office, Lawrence, Kansas).
- City of Lawrence, Record Book D, pp. 140-43 MSS. (in City Clerk's Office, Lawrence, Kansas).
- Douglas County, Register of Deeds, Books 3-88 MSS. (in Register of Deeds Office, Lawrence, Kansas).
- George Washington University, Registrar's card on William A. Harris, college registration record. (in George Washington University, Registrar's Office).
- Harris sketch, on William A. Harris, no. 32424, Kansas State Historical Society MSS. (in Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas).
- Harris, William A., last will and papers relating to his estate, file no. 7093, Douglas County Probate Court MSS. (in the Office of the Judge of the Probate Court, Lawrence, Kansas).
- John B. Anderson MSS. (in Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas).
- Leavenworth County, Register of Deeds, Books 16-159 MSS. (in Register of Deeds Office, Leavenworth, Kansas).
- Linwood Grade School District 44, Teacher's Register, 1889-1890 MSS. (in Linwood Grade School, Linwood, Kansas).
- Linwood Grade School, District 44, Teacher's Register, 1890-1891 MSS. (in Linwood Grade School, Linwood, Kansas).
- Mercantile Club of Kansas City, Kansas, a resolution dated December 22, 1909 MSS. (in Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas).
- Ninth United States Census, 1870, Douglas County, pp. 20, 27 MSS. (in Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas).

Ninth United States Census, 1870, Leavenworth County, p. 15
MSS. (in Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas).

State of Kansas, Agricultural Census, 1885, Leavenworth County,
Sherman Township, pp. 137, 180-84 MSS. (in Kansas State
Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas).

State of Kansas, Agricultural Census, 1895, Leavenworth
County, Sherman Township, p. 20, schedule 2, n.p. MSS.
(in Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas).

State of Kansas, Secretary of State, Corporation MSS. (in
Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas).

Virginia Military Institute MSS., William A. Harris file. (in
Alumni Records of Virginia Military Institute, Lexington,
Virginia).

Wyandotte County, Register of Deeds, Books O, M MSS. (in
Register of Deeds Office, Kansas City, Kansas).

B. PUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

Biographical Directory of the American Congress: 1774-1949
(Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950),
pp. 203, 1273.

Congressional Directory, 57 Congress, 2 Session (Washington:
U.S. Government Printing Office, 1902), p. 31.

Congressional Record, 53, 55, 56, 57 Congress.

War of the Rebellion: Series I, Volumes XI-LI (Washington:
U.S. Government Printing Office, 1880).

C. NEWSPAPERS

Garnett Evening News, July 5, 1896.

Kansas City (Mo.) Star, November 1, 1906.

Kansas City (Mo.) Journal, June 23, 1906; September 23, 1906.

Kansas City (Mo.) Times, January 13, 1904; March 26, 1910.

Lawrence Daily Journal-World, April 23, 1966.

Lawrence Daily World, November, 1906--January, 1910.

Lawrence Evening Gazette, July, 1892--December, 1895.

Lawrence Journal, July, 1886--December, 1892.

Leavenworth Daily Times, January, 1865--July, 1866.

Leavenworth Post, July, 1906--November, 1906.

Linwood Leader, December, 1883--December, 1884.

Linwood Ledger, April, 1898--December, 1899.

Pittsburg Kansan, November 10, 1906.

Tonganoxie Mirror, May 8, 1941, May 5, 1966.

Topeka Daily Capital, June, 1895--December, 1909.

Topeka Herald, May 4, 1905, January 3, 1907.

Topeka Kansas News, April 28, 1898.

Topeka Mail and Breeze, May 5, 1900.

Topeka State Journal, July, 1896--November 1906.

D. PERIODICALS

Breeders Gazette, January, 1882--May, 1896; December 1902--December, 1909.

Guthrie, John. "John D. Perry," in Agora (April, 1895), pp. 281-91.

Harris, William A. A speech to the convention at Denver, January 22, 1907, in Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention of the American National Livestock Association (Denver: Smith-Brooks, 1907), p. 55.

Harris, William A. "Early Maturity in Cattle Breeding," a paper read at the annual meeting of the Kansas Improved Stock Breeders Association, Topeka, January 14, 1891, in the Quarterly Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (Topeka: State Printer, 1891), pp. 183-86.

Kansas University Graduate Magazine (May, 1923), p. 19.

Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the American National Livestock Association, at Los Angeles, January 26, 1909 (Denver: Smith-Brooks, 1909), pp. 5-6.

Report of the annual meeting of the Kansas Improved Stock Breeders Association in the Quarterly Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (Topeka: State Printer, 1891), pp. 142, 182.

University of Kansas. Third Annual Catalogue of the University of Kansas: 1868-69, p. 10.

_____. Fourth Annual Catalogue of the University of Kansas: 1869-70, p. 13.

_____. Sixth Annual Catalogue of the University of Kansas: 1871-72, pp. 10, 14.

_____. Seventh Annual Catalogue of the University of Kansas: 1872-93, pp. 7, 10, 14.

E. DIRECTORIES

Boyd, William H. Boyd's Washington and Georgetown Directory (Washington: the author, 1858), n.p.

Directory of Lawrence and Douglas County: 1893-1894 (Wichita: Leader Directory Co., n.d.), p. 54.

Holland's Lawrence Directory for 1868-9 (Chicago: Western Publishing, 1868), pp. 53, 100.

Hoye's Lawrence City Directory: 1896 (Kansas City, Mo., Hoye Directory Co., n.p.), p. 63.

Kansas State Gazeteer and Business Directory: 1880 (Sioux City: R.L. Polk and Company, 1880), p. 536.

Lawrence Directory: 1875-1876 (Lawrence: Stenhouse and Sanders, 1875), pp. 10, 11, 48, 74.

F. MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES

Clark, J. Beauchamp "Champ." My Quarter Century in American Politics, II (New York: Harper, 1920), pp. 75-78.

Harris Memorial: At Kansas State Agricultural College, Manhattan, Kansas, unveiled October 28, 1911 (Manhattan: Kansas State College, n.d.).

Harris, William A. Linwood Herd: 1887, (Chicago: Breeders Gazette, 1887).

Interviews with Myrtle (Davidson) Browning, July 19, 1963 and August 13, 1966. Mrs. Browning is the daughter of David Davidson and resided at Linwood Farm for several years.

Interview with Omar Browning, July 19, 1963. Mr. Browning lived at Linwood Farm from 1906 to 1930.

Interview with Max Wilhelmi and wife, May 24, 1965. Mr. Wilhelmi lived at 603 Ohio, Lawrence, Kansas from 1900, for most of the time, until 1965. Mrs. Wilhelmi lived in the 600 block of Ohio as a child and later at 603 Ohio. Both remember William A. Harris and Cora Harris.

SECONDARY MATERIALS

Atlas Map of Leavenworth County Kansas (Kansas City, Mo.: Missouri Publishing Company, 1878), p. 16.

Barr, Elizabeth M. "Populist Uprising," in Connelley, William E., ed., Standard History of Kansas and Kansans (New York: Lewis Publishing, 1918), p. 1163.

Connelley, William E. Standard History of Kansas and Kansans, III (New York: Lewis Publishing, 1918), p. 1240.

Fritz, Percy S. "Silver Prospecting and Mining" in Adams, James T., ed., Dictionary of American History, 2nd ed. (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1946), p. 81.

Kansas State Historical Society, Kansas Historical Collection (Topeka: State Printer), Vols. VII, VIII, IX, XIV, XVI.

Laude, G. A., Kansas Shorthorns (Iola: Laude Printing, 1920), p. 67.

Miller, Raymond C., sketch of William A. Harris, in Malone, Dumas, ed., Dictionary of American Biography, VIII (Chicago: Scribner's Sons, 1932), pp. 326-27.

National Cyclopedia of American Biography, XXI (New York: James T. White, 1930), p. 452.

Nugent, Walter T. Tolerant Populists: Kansas, Populism and Nativism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), pp. 96, 131, 134-37, 149, 190, 205, 210.

Opperman, Kermit E. "The Political Career of Senator William Alexander Harris," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Kansas, 1938.

Portrait and Biographical Record of Leavenworth, Douglas, and Franklin Counties (Chicago: Chapman Publishing, 1909), p. 213.

Review of the International Livestock Exposition: 1900-1913 (Chicago: n.p., 1913), pp. 21-23.

Sanders, Alvin H. Shorthorn Cattle (Chicago: Sanders Publishing, 1916), pp. 676-692.

_____. Sign of the Stockyard Inn (Chicago: Breeders Gazette, 1915), p. 174.

_____. Story of the International Livestock Exposition Association (Chicago: Breeders Gazette, 1942), p. 355.

Sinclair, James. History of Shorthorn Cattle (London: Vinton, 1908), pp. 626-27.

Taft, Robert. Across the Years at Mount Oread (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1941), p. 16.

Webb, Walter P. The Great Plains (New York: Gosset and Dunlap, 1913), pp. 280-295.

White, Henry K. History of the Union Pacific (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1895), pp. 16, 40, 42, 113.

Wilson, Hill P. Biographical History of Eminent Men of the State of Kansas (Topeka: Hall Lithograph, 1901), p. 287.

Zornow, William. Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1957), pp. 137, 213.

