

THE FALSE AND TRUE

Retrospective Sketch of Republicanism in Nebraska.

COPPERHEADS AND CONSERVATIVES OF '66

The Struggle of Loyal Republicans Against Faithless Leaderships.

PERFIDIOUS WATCHMEN ON THE TOWER

Ring Out the Old—Ring in the New—Ring Out the False—Ring in the True.

HONEST CONVICTIONS VS PARTY SPOILS

Full Text of Mr. Edward Rosewater's Beatrice Address on the Past, Present and Future of Republicanism in Nebraska.

Persuant to previous announcement, Mr. Edward Rosewater delivered an address in Paddock opera house, Beatrice, Friday evening, in which he discussed "The Past, Present and Future of Republicanism in Nebraska."

Mr. Rosewater spoke as follows: Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen: The unexpected most always happens. When I was in this city four years ago last summer, during the memorable debate between myself and Prof. Dickey on the great question then pending of the prohibition amendment, I had occasion to take a casual view over your town, and I was struck most favorably by its location and its general metropolitan appearance.

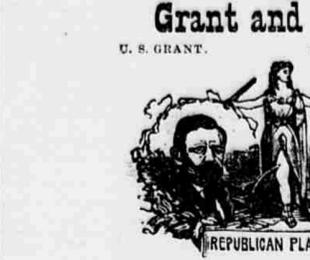
When I was about 17 years of age, away back in 1859 (and I am not giving away a secret about my age), I was transplanted suddenly from the most rank abolition town in the world, Oberlin, O., to the city of Murfreesboro, Tenn. It was in the midst of the very great excitement that preceded the John Brown raid. Soon after my location in Murfreesboro I received a very polite request to vacate my place as telegraph operator in that town for the reason, the superintendent said, that I entertained free soil sentiments, and that no man who entertained such could remain in the south, and I was kindly admonished to go north if I wanted to continue in the business.

Well, I am somewhat of a stubborn mack, some people think, and, instead of going back north, I went further south. I went first into Mississippi, and then finally got located in North Alabama, at the crossing of the Memphis & Charleston and Nashville & Chattanooga railroads.

Now let us take a retrospective glance at the history of Nebraska, and see how it comes that some men who rank as stalwart republicans and are held up as great examples for us to follow, while those of us who were Grant republicans in those days do not think that they were republicans at all. Let me read to you from some standard authorities: Here is the second volume of the Nebraska State Historical society. On page 122 there is a chapter contributed by Hon. Charles H. Gere on the admission of Nebraska into the Union.

FOR PRESIDENT: John C. Fremont OF CALIFORNIA. For Vice-President William L. Dayton, OF NEW YORK.

flag over it, as you note, and the portrait of John C. Fremont. Upon it is written in the flag, "Fremont and Freedom." For president, John C. Fremont of California; and for vice president, William L. Dayton of New Jersey.



REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

Republican Union Nominations.

For Presidential Electors, T. M. MARQUETTE, of Cass.

LOUIS ALLEGWAIR, of Richardson.

J. F. WARNER, of Dakota.

and the republicans organized all over the United States. "The election in our territory came on in October, and those who were in favor of state—that is, the admission of Nebraska into the union—organized and passed resolutions taking sides with congress. The democrats and office holders generally in the territory, organizing and nominating men, took sides with the president."



REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

Now that we have this contest in 1867? It was a contest for the life of the nation, for the perpetuity of the union, and in this state it was also a contest for republican supremacy over disunionism and copperheadism. There are doubtless a great many here who remember the issues of that day, and who were then as I was already full grown men and had a share in that great conflict; but there are others who do not understand much about this and have had perhaps no particular opportunity to get a true insight into the struggles of the republicans of those days

and who know nothing about the conduct of the republican or democratic leaders of Nebraska in that memorable conflict. Every old veteran will remember how the country was shocked over the announcement of the dastardly assassination of Abraham Lincoln, and this is what Andrew Johnson said on April 18, 1865, three days after the president's murder:

"The American people must be taught, if they do not already feel, that treason is a crime and must be punished; that the government will not always bear with its enemies; that it is strong enough not only to respect, but to punish. When we turn to the criminal code and examine the catalogue of crimes, we there find arson laid down as a crime, with its proper penalty; we find there theft and robbery and murder given as crimes, and there, too, we find the last and highest of crimes, treason. With other and inferior offenses the people are familiar, but in our peaceful history treason has been almost unknown. The people must understand that it is the blackest of crimes and will be surely punished. Let it be engraven on every tablet that treason is a crime and that traitors shall suffer its penalty. While we are appalled, overwhelmed at the fall of one man in our midst at the hand of a traitor, shall we allow men to attempt the life of the state with impunity? While we strain our minds to comprehend the enormity of this assassination, shall we allow the nation to be assassinated?"

But Johnson changed his tune very soon thereafter, and turned in with the men who were trying to overthrow the government by indirection, which they had failed to destroy by force of arms. The Omaha Republican of September 28, 1866, contains the following editorial: "The president, at Newark, O., on Thursday last, announced that another civil war was inevitable; not a civil war between sections, not a war between the north and the south, but, as he styles it, an interlocking war, in which, for instance, the people of Ohio of his party will array themselves in arms against that portion of the people of the north who are not of his party. This war, he declares, is inevitable, except upon one contingency, and that contingency is the election of a congress, who will admit the senators and representatives of the rebel states without requiring of these states any previous ratification of the constitutional amendment."

after the state should be admitted into the union. The choice of the republican convention for delegate fell upon Hon. T. M. Marquette. Remember the Burlington had not yet become a railroad center. For member of congress they nominated "Honest" John Taffe. Opposed to them were the candidates nominated by the democratic Andrew Johnson coalition, with J. Sterling Morton for delegate and Aigerson S. Paddock for member of congress.

AID TO TREASON. "The copperheads of Nebraska are today giving aid and comfort to rebels. They assayed resolutions today which will be acceptable to those who wage the rebellion. They will make nominations today for whom every rebel bushwhacker from Missouri to Nebraska will vote."

And here is the heading of an appeal that appeared in the Republican a few days later: "To the Young Men of the Loyal North: In October and November Elections take place in Nebraska. The Union is to be Maintained in its Purity, or Whether it Shall Be Overthrown and a Monarchy Erected in its Stead! You are Called Upon to Decide Whether or Not the Republic as Beheaded, Shall Be Reborn in this Country, or Whether It Shall Be Destroyed Forever."

These were indeed very exciting times. As before stated, the attempt to overthrow the republican party was made by a combination between the democrats, who were then almost as a unit in sympathy with the southern rebels, and a lot of office holders in this state, who considered federal patronage of more consequence than they did loyalty to their party. They were styling themselves conservatives, and who would have thought that they had these aims in their hearts.



REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

What sort of a combination was that? We will see a little bit further on. The Omaha Republican of September 28, 1866, addressed itself to Messrs. Paddock and Morton as follows: "The congress do you propose to take seats in it? The one elected by the loyal people of the north and the one elected by the rebels of the south and their allies at the rebel convention in Richmond, Virginia, recognize? Do not do that. We hope the voters of Nebraska will ask an answer to this question every time they meet and give their votes to the man who will stand for the Union."

"Now, the standing of Mr. Morton on the war issues was best portrayed in an article contributed by William Daley to the historical state reports, in which he gives extracts from the speech of Mr. Morton on May 9, 1863, before the Council Bluffs Democratic club, and afterwards published in the Nebraska City News. Mr. Morton's home organ, the Republican, says of this speech: "The speaker began by telling the people a common rustic tale which he first uttered in Barnum's museum, and then added: 'An unpracticed speaker who attempts to give a lecture on the history of the people of our present administration, and endeavors to collect and put upon exhibition some of the monuments of the rebellion, is at once lost and disconcerted amidst the bewilderment of the imbecility and the grandeur of the knavery which has filled that great city, ever which Mr. A. Lincoln presides with a mirth and merriment as potent for side-splitting as the most potent of any of our laughing, or his present conduct of public affairs is for union splitting.'"

"As the voice of God called unto Abraham of old, saying, 'Thine only son, Isaac, whom thou lovest, and get thee into the land of Canaan, and bid him there for a burnt offering; and during the time that thou art there, say unto thy servants, 'Take ye now thy well beloved friend and brother, Abraham, and get thee into the boundaries of the republicans, and offer him there for a peace offering. But in vain! Abraham of this generation is stiff-necked and heedeth not the reprimanding voice of God, and he will not be converted, and if tonight God in His infinite mercy send a good angel to call the weary spirit of every rebel to rest, and bid him to come up ever higher, to pass from earth, and to float triumphant up through the stars and his nigger-crazed brains would be awake tomorrow and weep bitter tears because there would be no more niggers to give him to eat, to clothe, and to tax us for.' (Laughter.)"

That was the utterance of Mr. Morton in the year which saw Vicksburg surrender to the armies under Grant and Lee's disastrous defeat at Gettysburg. But there is something more striking in the Plattsmouth Herald of October 5, 1866, and republished in the Republican. Mr. Morton's views are given as follows: "STANDS ON HIS RECORD. "Morton appears to be very obstinate and will pay no attention to the voice of his conservative friends. He comes out 'flat-footed' and 'square toed' upon his record, and tells the people at Omaha in a public speech, that he has not moderated his views. He still adheres to the doctrine of 'the Chicago platform, which declares: 'That after four

years of failure to restore the union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretence of military necessity, or 'war power' higher than the constitution, the constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, common and public liberty and private rights trodden down and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, Justice, humanity, liberty and the common welfare demand that immediate hostilities be made for a cessation of hostilities."

"He still adheres to his assertion in this city that if Jeff Davis and Abraham Lincoln were hung upon the same tree, Lincoln would bear the same relation to Davis that the thieves did to Christ."

"The credit money lobby is enacting us with its demoralizing and intimidating influences. They have come here in full force. Jay Gould is here, represented by General Superintendent of the General Passenger Agent Kimball and scores of Union Pacific employes. They are here to stifle the honest voice of this convention and they are determined to control this convention. General Cowin then charged that the delegation from Douglas county ca 555 floor had been elected by Jay Gould, through the intimidation of Union Pacific employes, and through corrupting agencies. He cited some facts to substantiate this charge and entered his protest to the audacious attempt on the part of a gigantic monopoly to throttle the voice of the people."

"Let me now read to you what other republican newspapers had to say on that score, because some of these same newspapers last fall were bitter and vindictive in denunciation of the course pursued by the Bee. "The Columbus Republican said: "That money was used to secure Welch's nomination we could not positively state, but that delegates voted for him that desired to vote for the people's man we are positive. This looks like intimidation. The North Platte Republican, then edited by Judge Alonzo H. Church, who recently was commander of the Grand Army for Nebraska, said: "Welch is doubtless the representative of Jay Gould and our back pay grabbing United States senator, but he is far from being an embodiment of the principles of the great body of Nebraska republicans. The throttle of the campaign man of these railroad corporations is being used to prove a boomerang which will return and smite those who projected it."

"The Bloomington Guard, then edited by J. F. Zediker, who has been so frantic against Rosewater in the past few months, had this to say: "Jay Gould, the Union Pacific railroad controller, was at Omaha last week and held the telegraph wires between that place and the other end of the state, and conspired with congressmen in the interest of the Hitchcock faction. The Pawnee Republican, another of the recent champions of railroad republican color-bearers, said: "The majority part of the late republican state ticket admit that the admission of the Michael delegation was a disgrace, but they say they had to admit it in order to secure the nomination of Frank Welch. If General Welch of Omaha had been elected to the field as an independent candidate for congress he can count on the Republican as the untrammelled republican newspaper in the state which will give him its undivided support."

"The Hastings Journal, another stalwart republican paper, declared: "Frank Welch did not obtain the nomination by means and no good means, but he is under obligation to support him. He has been nominated by an untrammelled vote, and had he not received some of the delegates who were his friends he would not have been an anti-Hitchcock. We should feel under obligations to support him. We are satisfied that a majority of the people want a free and untrammelled man in congress, and we are sure that they will elect the gallant soldier, General J. C. Cowin, to that position."

SOMETHING OF A REVOLT EVEN THEN. You will note there was quite a revolt in the republican lines at that time against the conduct of the convention. In the early days a great many of the republican editors in this state were yet entirely free from those pernicious influences that have been exerted by corporations, and that are now holding down so many of them to the grindstone because they are too poor to stand up and have not the manhood to shake off the corporate yoke.

Now, then, what happened after Mr. Welch had been elected? The only criticism made by the Bee upon him was simply that he had violated the pledges made by the republican party in its platform by meddling with members of the legislature and trying to make them vote for a man for United States senator whom the republicans themselves had repudiated. On that score the Bee had simply pointed out the fact that President Hayes had given out the plan of civil service reform and notified all office holders to keep their hands off, and that, inasmuch as Mr. Welch at that time was receiver of a United States land office, he had no right to desert his post of duty to lobby and interfere with members of the legislature, to the detriment of the republicans party. The files of The Omaha Bee show that for sixteen months after his election no reference was made to him. Then in the summer of 1878, when the re-nomination in the summer of 1878, in which The Bee took position with more than nine-tenths of the republican papers against Mr. Welch. Let me read a few paragraphs: June 5, 1878: "What's the matter with Welch? Only two papers in the state have so far taken up the cudgels for him. One of them is the democratic Now of Nebraska City, and the other the sorehead republican concern of Omaha. Even his former bosom friend, the publisher of the postmaster's paper at Norfolk has not a word to say for him."

June 19, 1878: "Out of 110 Nebraska papers four have pronounced for the re-nomination of Welch. The conversion of the fourth Welchman was brought about by the appointment of one of the publishers to the postmaster's office at Brownville. This accounts for the milk in that coconut." July 3, 1878: "Tally one for Welch! Our eloquent nomination for Welch cordially endorsed by the Omaha Herald, which makes the fifth Nebraska paper in favor of his re-nomination. Dr. Miller's endorsement was given to the publishers to read for his vote for Polk, the confed. doorkeeper." The Bee, September 4, 1878: "Why don't the Omaha Republican renew its appeal for doorkeeper to Jay Gould? Has that confed. doorkeeper record dampened its enthusiasm? It may, perhaps, be in order to furnish the dates and facts in that regard. On the 23 day of April, 1878, Mr. Welch voted against the consideration of the committee's report proposing to oust Polk. On the 4th day of April he joined the confed. brigadiers in resolution to recommit the report of the committee. On the 5th of April, when the final question was voted on, viz. Shall the office of doorkeeper be declared vacant? Mr. Welch of Nebraska and Mr. Jorgerson of West Virginia were the only republicans who voted for the re-nomination of Polk. It is to be regretted that a great number of our more honest democrats considered Polk's administration rotten and irreparable." The controversy about the re-nomination of Congressman Welch was abruptly terminated

by the announcement on September 10 that he had suddenly died at his home. The next day, September 11, the following editorial appeared: "DEATH OF HON. FRANK WELCH. "The telegraph announces the sudden death of Hon. Frank Welch, Nebraska's present representative in congress, at his home in Norfolk. Mr. Welch had been a long and hardy man, and those who noted the marked change in his appearance since his return from Washington, hardly be surprised at the announcement. The people of Nebraska will deeply sympathize with the family of Mr. Welch, and in common with them we desire to express our regrets for his untimely taking off. "Personally, Mr. Welch was a man possessed of many admirable traits of character, which insured for him the friendship of a large circle of good and true men. "Among the Masonic fraternity, which had honored him with the highest position within its gift, that of grand master, his demise will be sincerely and unusually mourned. "A more extended notice of his life and services will appear in our next issue. "That notice was inserted in the next issue in the form of a local report, and never another line appeared in The Omaha Bee about Mr. Welch. The fact is he lived in Wisner and not in Norfolk. The story about my following him to Norfolk is an infamous fabrication. In the first place, he never went up to that time been up the Elkhorv valley, and I have never set foot in Wisner up to this date. I did attend his funeral—or the service which the Masonic bodies had gotten up at Omaha, as I am a member of that order. No reference to him was ever made after his death, barring what I have read here; yet from one man to another this slander has been circulated all over the state, and I had bound it all over the state. He died of heart disease, and I had no more to do with it than anybody in this audience. The same is true in regard to ex-Senator Hitchcock, whom nearly every railroad organ and railroad striker represents as a victim of persecution at my hands. I have had to bear all this calumny for years. I have talked it over with his son and explained to him the relations between myself and the senator, but it has done no good. He wanted to keep up a continual tirade of the sore and other parties wanted to set me before the people of this state as a blood-thirsty hyena, who has fattened on tearing down men who stood high in the councils of the republican party."

SOME HITCHCOCK HISTORY. Now, let us go right back, for I do not propose to mince matters about the living or the dead. I propose to give you the facts here tonight and give the people a true picture (for this will all be published verbatim) the information as to our relations and the outrage that is being perpetrated by the slanderers who have sought to place a stigma upon me. I voted for Mr. Hitchcock in 1864, when he was running on the union republican ticket for territorial delegate to congress. Mr. Hitchcock was sworn in on the 4th day of March, 1865. On the 14th of April, within seven weeks of that time, Abraham Lincoln was assassinated, and Andrew Johnson became president of the United States. Mr. Hitchcock in due course of time espoused the cause of Andrew Johnson and became one of his ardent supporters. He had a bill passed through congress creating the office of surveyor general of Nebraska and Iowa, and had the same located at Plattsmouth, and when his term as delegate to congress expired, for the republicans would not re-nominate him, he was appointed by Andrew Johnson surveyor general of Nebraska and Iowa, with headquarters at Plattsmouth. That office became the source and center of an immense amount of corruption. Many of you will doubtless remember the scandalous exposures that were made from time to time for years thereafter.

The career of conservative republicans about whom I have been reading here tonight centered and clustered around all those big offices—the secretary's office, and that of the United States marshal, and the collector, and the surveyor general. When General Grant came into office in 1868 he, within a very few weeks, dismissed all those Johnstone officeholders, and among them was Mr. Hitchcock. He removed all of them from their offices at that time on March 4, and consorted with copperheads and Johnstones until 1871. In 1870 we had a very exciting senatorial contest. Mr. Hitchcock was not a candidate, at least had not announced himself as a candidate, but the fight was purely between General Thayer and Governor Saunders. There were large numbers of candidates announced. When the legislature met in January, 1871, the republican caucus was broken up and the members of that legislature and voted for General Thayer, and so did the large majority of the republicans. The democrats solidly voted for P. W. Hitchcock, and with them that class of republicans who had been more or less affiliated with the Johnstone element. Immediately after the election of Mr. Hitchcock, Mr. E. H. Rogers of Fremont publicly declared in the house of representatives in this speech: "We send this back to Ulysses S. Grant as a rebuke." It was well known at that time that General Grant favored General Thayer's re-election, and it was also notorious that his democratic-Johnstone coalition had been brought about and cemented together by a large amount of boodle. One man went out of Omaha with a gripack in which there were \$22,000, and shortly thereafter, Mr. Miller, in his Omaha Herald, published a standing card demanding that congress institute an investigation into that election. It will be remembered that at that time Kansas had elected a Mr. Caldwell, the Leavenworth wagon manufacturer, against whom the same large charges were made, and Mr. Caldwell, rather than have the investigation proceed, had resigned.

WHEN THE BEE WAS BORN. It was shortly after the election of Mr. Hitchcock that The Omaha Bee was established by me. From the beginning it invoked the bitter and relentless hostility of the Johnstone element and the federal ring organized under Hitchcock because it stood up for the straight-up republicans and the republicans party. The old Omaha Republican was more or less mixed up with the Johnstones, although it had fought them. One of its editors had been superintendent of Indian affairs, and in 1870 the Republican had refused point blank to support the republican legislative ticket in Douglas county, although it involved the election of a United States senator. So, then, for five or six years, I had the brand of the battle to fight in Douglas county, and I always had the backing of all the good, straight, stalwart republicans. "I was a delegate in nearly every republican convention up to 1876, and including 1876, I went to Columbus at the head of the delegation that sent the delegates to Cincinnati for James G. Blaine. (Applause.) It was stated on one of the letters by General Thayer that I had no standing in the republican ranks in those days, and that The Bee was the only Omaha paper that fought the straight republican battles, and year in and year out fought against the class of guerrillas that had been making combinations with the democrats and trying to defeat the republican party illicitly through combination, by

speaking fearlessly and candidly of public men and public measures and we should certainly be recreant to our duty by giving our silent approval to the shameless manipulation of the convention in the interest of 'the good'."

Now, right here, let me read to you General John C. Cowin's remarks on the floor of the convention as they were reported by the press of that day: "Mr. Cowin, being loudly called for, addressed the convention. He declared that he had received the kindest feelings toward Mr. Welch, and that if a majority of the convention shall decide Mr. Welch to be their choice, untrammelled by intimidating and corrupt influences, he would cordially support him his most cordial support, but would stump the state for him. Much as he regretted it, he was compelled to call the attention of the convention to the fact that the powerful corporation which had organized the infamous credit mob had thrown its corrupting influence around this convention for the purpose of controlling its action. Jay Gould, the head of this gigantic monopoly, is sitting at the Grand Central Hotel in Omaha, in constant and direct telegraphic communication with his subordinates who are here to manipulate the delegates of this convention. "The credit money lobby is enacting us with its demoralizing and intimidating influences. They have come here in full force. Jay Gould is here, represented by General Superintendent of the General Passenger Agent Kimball and scores of Union Pacific employes. They are here to stifle the honest voice of this convention and they are determined to control this convention. General Cowin then charged that the delegation from Douglas county ca 555 floor had been elected by Jay Gould, through the intimidation of Union Pacific employes, and through corrupting agencies. He cited some facts to substantiate this charge and entered his protest to the audacious attempt on the part of a gigantic monopoly to throttle the voice of the people."

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