

is safer with moderate men, such as Clynes, Thomas, Barnes, and Stewart Bunning, I yet felt that in his devotion

to the families of the miners, in his unselfishness, single-mindedness, and courage, I had met no more Christlike man

in Great Britain than the miners' executive. It was painful to feel obliged to disagree with him on his policies.

## II—SAMUEL GOMPERS: PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

BY SHERMAN ROGERS

INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE OUTLOOK

*Mr. Sherman Rogers,  
New York City.*

*My dear Mr. Rogers:*

In a recent speech delivered by you in Boston you made the statement that organized labor had stood for stability and construction during the last twenty-five years, and that you believed Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, had demonstrated highly commendable loyalty before the war and during the war, and that you personally believed the country owed Mr. Gompers as much as any single man for the successful prosecution of the war. I believe whole-heartedly in your advocacy of better relations between capital and labor, relations that will be founded on the absolute certainty that a vast majority of the laboring men of the country are absolutely square. I believe, as you do, that we have entered a new era so far as recognizing justice in industrial affairs is concerned, and I also believe, as you have so vigorously stated, that, in proportion, there are just as many I. W. W.'s among the ranks of capital as there are in the ranks of labor, and that the I. W. W. capitalists are just as great a menace to the country, and probably more so, than the I. W. W. laboring man.

I agree with you on the fundamental principles of the ideas and ideals you are giving all your time to. But, and I want to spell that "but" with a capital "B," I think you are dead wrong when you hold Samuel Gompers up as a patriotic leader. I think his acts in the last three years should place him in the same category as other radical revolutionary labor leaders not connected with the American Federation of Labor who believe in destroying the present system and establishing the new-fangled and destructive notion: namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

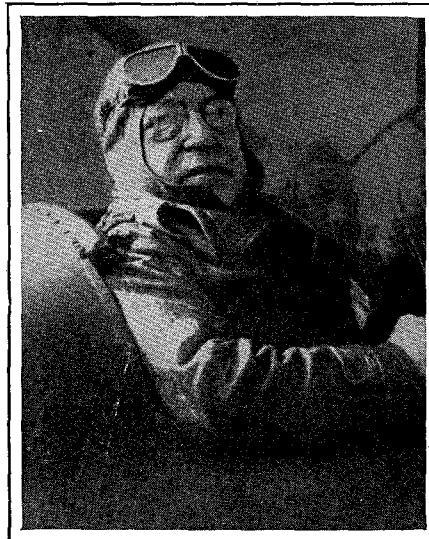
I trust you will believe me an enthusiastic believer in the doctrines you advocate, and trust also that you will kindly write me how you can be so inconsistent as to spoil your good work by making the statement above referred to.

Sincerely yours,

**F**OLLOWING is my answer to the above letter: In the first place, my views and those of Samuel Gompers are not identical in all cases; yet I must confess that I hold few men in America to-day in higher regard than the venerable President of the American Federation of Labor, who has demonstrated his sound judgment, clear

vision, and constructive stability continuously since he became President of the A. F. of L. thirty-five years ago.

I do not agree with all the principles of the American Federation of Labor, but I do sincerely contend, as Samuel Gompers so eloquently stated



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SAMUEL GOMPERS, AMERICAN LABOR LEADER, ON HIS WAY TO ROCHESTER BY AIRPLANE

in his recent debate with Governor Allen, in Carnegie Hall, that the American Federation of Labor is mainly responsible for the elimination of miserable sweatshop conditions, child labor, especially child labor in the coal fields, and, in fact, I go Sam Gompers one better by stating that in a great degree the American Federation of Labor under the leadership of Mr. Gompers deserves much of the credit of placing labor in America on a higher standard in regard to social and economic conditions than anywhere else in the world.

In regard to Samuel Gompers's loyalty, his past private utterances, his published articles, and his speeches of record speak for themselves. The veteran needs very little defense. All that is necessary to prove that Mr. Gompers is a real American and a sincere friend of labor is to bring to light excerpts of speeches made by him or articles from his pen.

You apparently term Mr. Gompers an I. W. W. I emphatically state that the American Federation of Labor, through the energetic and tireless efforts of its great leader, has been and still is one of the *greatest bulwarks against Bolshevism existing in the*

*United States to-day.* I quote an excerpt from a signed article written by Samuel Gompers in "McClure's Magazine" of April, 1919:

"I do not know that I am entitled to very great credit because I am not a Bolshevik. With my understanding of American institutions and American opportunities, I repeat that the man who would not be a patriot in defense of the institutions of our country would be undeserving the privilege of living in this country. . . . If I thought that Bolshevism was the right road to go, that it meant freedom, justice, and the principles of humane society and living conditions, I would join the Bolsheviks. It is because I know that the whole scheme leads to nowhere, that it is destructive in its efforts and in its every activity, that it compels reaction and brings about a situation worse than the one it has undertaken to displace, that I oppose and fight it."

In "McClure's" of April, 1919, Mr. Gompers wrote:

"America is not merely a name, a land, a country, a continent; America is a symbol. It is an ideal, the hope of the world. . . . It is the duty of every citizen to stand by his country in times of stress and war as well as in times of peace. The man who would not fight, or make the supreme sacrifice, if necessary, to save and protect his home and his country, who would not fight for liberty, is undeserving and unworthy of living in a free country."

Does that sound like the principles of an I. W. W.?

In a report to the A. F. of L. Convention at Atlanta, Georgia, in November, 1911, Mr. Gompers said, in part:

"It [the American Federation of Labor] has pursued its avowed policy with the conviction that if the lesser and immediate demands of labor could not be obtained now from society as it is, it would be mere dreaming to preach and pursue that will-o'-the-wisp, a *new society constructed from rainbow materials—a system of society on which even the dreamers themselves have never agreed.*"

Permit me again to say that I am not attempting a wholesale defense of Mr. Gompers in all of his beliefs, nor in all of the tenets of the American Federation of Labor; I quote the above in answer to the statement made in your letter of September 5.

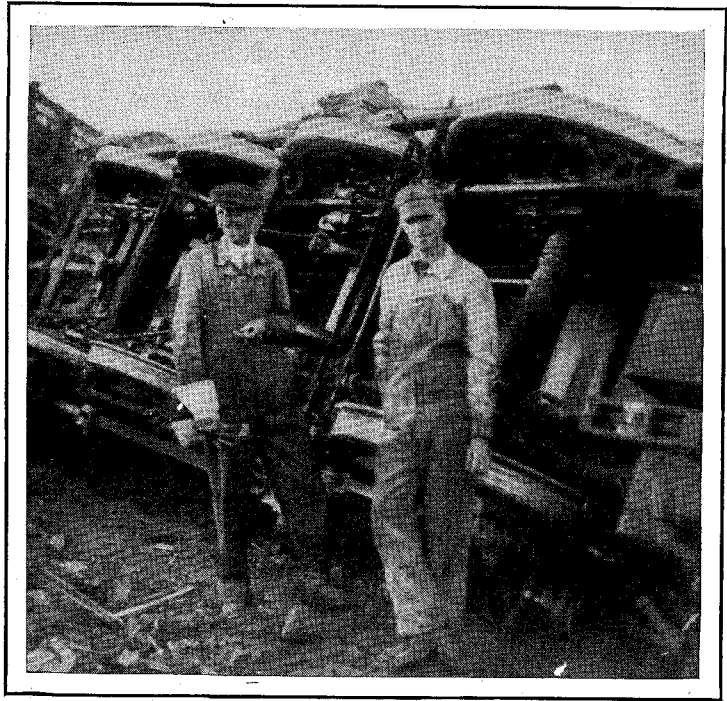
# CURRENT EVENTS ILLUSTRATED



International

## GOVERNOR COX MAINTAINS HIS CHEERFULNESS AS THE CAMPAIGN GOES ON

The picture shows the Democratic Presidential candidate as he was met by a delegation at San Francisco



(C) Underwood & Underwood

## THE TRAIN WRECK THAT FAILED TO REMOVE GOVERNOR COX'S SMILE

Governor Cox, who has been touring the West in his Presidential campaign, had a narrow escape in Arizona when his train, as seen above, left the rails. Fortune was with the touring party, however, and no one was hurt



(C) Edmonston from International

## VETERANS OF THE CIVIL WAR VISITING SENATOR HARDING AT MARION

These members of the G. A. R. were en route to Indianapolis to attend the National encampment, and stopped over at Marion to express their loyalty to the Republican Presidential candidate