



Brotherhood *of MEN and NATIONS*

BY
JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.

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JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.

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Brotherhood *of* MEN *and* NATIONS

FOREWORD

Four years ago this great world war began. For two and a half years, while Europe was in the throes of the struggle, the United States stood on the side lines a neutral spectator.

Today we are in the contest with all the strength and the vast resources of our great nation. Never was battle joined in holier cause.

The Germans are fighting for territorial expansion, commercial extension, military supremacy, world dominion—material things.

The Allies are fighting for spiritual things—the sacredness of a promise, the inviolability

BROTHERHOOD

of womanhood, the rights of the weak, the freedom of the individual.

In this fight we propose to stand by the side of the brave and unconquerable British, the gallant and indomitable French, the Italians, who in some military matters have been leaders, and our other Allies, until, under God, victory has been achieved, even if it takes our last man, our last dollar and our last ounce of strength.

The war is obviously the central thought in the minds of all of us, and such questions as these are constantly presenting themselves: What, if anything, might have been done to prevent this great conflict? Is there nothing which can render impossible its recurrence in the years to come?

*Can Such
Conflicts be
Prevented?*

I am wondering whether there may not be something suggestive as an answer to these questions in the subject of which I desire to speak very simply and informally, and which is summed up in the single word, "Brotherhood."

I

BROTHERHOOD INVOLVES PERSONAL RELATIONS

Brotherhood implies, yes, involves, personal relations between men. It is difficult to have a fraternal feeling for the brother in blood whom you have never seen, but easy to develop a brotherly attitude toward the man with whom you are in frequent and friendly touch. Is it not true that the great majority of misunderstandings and difficulties which arise between men are the result of lack of contact?

When men rub elbows, sit around the same table, and discuss mutual interests, the things they have in common multiply, while their differences rapidly disappear or are adjusted. It was Charles Lamb, I think, who said, "I cannot hate the man whom I know."

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Obviously, personal relations among men must exist in order that this spirit of Brotherhood may be developed. They furnish the friendly soil in which the germ is nourished and grows.

II

BROTHERHOOD IN INDUSTRY

This is illustrated in the field of industry, where the spirit of Brotherhood is sorely needed.

In the early days of industry, the owner of a plant or business also discharged the functions of the board of directors and the officers, including superintendent and manager.

There were but few employees; they usually lived near by. It often happened that they had been brought up from boyhood with the owner, had attended the same school, had called him by his first name.

*Direct
Contact in
the Early
Days of
Industry*

As a rule there was but one plant, and necessarily frequent contact between owner and employees occurred. When questions arose on

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either side, they were taken up at the next chance meeting and readily adjusted.

Under such conditions it naturally resulted that a spirit of Brotherhood was developed.

In modern industry the owner of earlier days has been replaced by thousands of stockholders, for no single individual can provide the capital required by the great industries of today.

Instead of a few employees, the workers are numbered by the thousands, tens of thousands and sometimes hundreds of thousands. They come from all sections of the country, and often represent many parts of the globe.

Instead of one plant, there are frequently many, scattered all over the country, it may be sometimes in foreign countries.

The result is that contact between owners and employees is practically impossible, and too frequently a chasm opens between them.

*Contact
Lacking
in Modern
Industry*

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Instead of Brotherhood there has developed distrust, bitterness, the strike and the lockout.

Often, therefore, the conclusion is reached that Labor and Capital are enemies; that their interests are antagonistic; that each must arm itself to wrest from the other its share of the product of their common toil. This conclusion is false, and grows out of unnatural conditions.

Labor and Capital are partners; their interests are common interests; neither can get on without the other. Labor must look to Capital to supply the tools, machinery and working capital, without which it cannot make its vital contribution to industry, and Capital is equally powerless to turn a wheel in industry without Labor.

*Labor and
Capital are
Partners*

Neither can attain the fullest permanent measure of success unless the other does also, and the unnatural conditions, namely, the absence of contact between owner and em-

BROTHERHOOD

ployee, must be made as nearly normal as possible by the establishment of personal relations between the owners, represented by the officers, and the employees, representing certain of their fellow workers whom they themselves have chosen.

*The Colorado
Industrial
Plan*

This principle of representation, including adequate machinery for the uncovering and early adjustment of grievances, was adopted some three years ago by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, one of the largest industrial corporations of the State of Colorado.

It has since that time been put into operation by the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey in all of its plants in various States; by the Consolidation Coal Company, one of the leading producers of anthracite coal, operating in several States, and by a number of other coal companies in the anthracite fields.

Furthermore, the adoption of the principle is being urged both by the National War Labor

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Board and the Fuel Administrator. The public is also coming rapidly to recognize and accept the principle as just and fair.

I am profoundly convinced that nothing will go so far toward establishing Brotherhood in industry and insuring industrial peace, both during the war and afterwards, as the general and early adoption by industry of this principle of representation, the favorable consideration of which cannot be too strongly urged upon leaders in industry.

*The Basic
Principle of
Industrial
Brotherhood*

But there is another principle even more fundamental, from which the idea of representation has been developed. It is this: "Do as you would be done by."

Some months ago I was one of a number of men who were asked two questions by a Commission appointed by President Wilson to deal with certain labor difficulties.

The first was: "What do you regard as the underlying cause of industrial unrest?"

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The second: "What remedy do you suggest?"

*The Remedy
for
Industrial
Unrest*

I stated that in my judgment the chief cause of industrial unrest is that Capital does not strive to look at questions at issue from Labor's point of view, and Labor does not seek to get Capital's angle of vision. My answer to the second question was that when employers put themselves in the employee's place, and the employees put themselves in the employer's place, the remedy for industrial unrest will have been found.

In other words, when the principle adopted by both parties in interest is "Do as you would be done by," there will be no industrial unrest, no industrial problem.

Since the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company was perhaps the first to develop a carefully worked out plan of industrial representation, which was adopted by unanimous vote of the board of directors, and a seventy-eight per cent

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vote of the employees, and has now been in operation for about three years, it may be of interest to mention briefly some of the outstanding features of the plan, and some of the results of its operation.

1. The first outstanding feature of the plan, is the representatives, their conferences and committees.

*Outstanding
Features
of the
Colorado
Plan*

By secret ballot representatives are chosen annually by the employees from their fellow-workers in each mining camp and each division of the steel mills, one for every one hundred and fifty employees, but never less than two in any camp or division.

The representatives, together with an equal number of the officers of the Company, hold conferences at least three times during the year in the several coal mining districts, and similar conferences are held in the steel plant.

*The
Representa-
tives*

There is also an annual conference of representatives and officers of the Company. Such a conference occurs with the employees of the mines as well as with the employees of the steel plant.

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In addition there are in each district of the mining camps and in all of the divisions of the steel plant, four standing committees, each committee composed of three employees, selected by the representatives but not necessarily representatives themselves, and three officers of the Company. These committees can initiate business as well as consider such matters as are referred to them.

The Committees are: Committee on Co-operation and Conciliation; on Safety and Accidents; on Sanitation, Health and Housing; on Recreation and Education.

There is also an officer, known as the President's Industrial Representative, whose duty it is to visit currently all the mines and confer with the representatives. A similar officer performs a like function in the steel plant. These officers are also available for conference at any time at the request of the representatives.

Thus it will be seen that the employees, through their representatives chosen from among themselves, are in constant touch and conference with the owners through their representatives, the officers, in regard to matters pertaining to their common interests.

*Employees
in Constant
Touch and
Conferences
with
Employers*

2. The second outstanding feature of the plan is the Employees' Right of Appeal.

Any employee with a grievance, real or imaginary, may go with it to one of his representatives. As frequently happens, the representative finds that there is no real ground for the grievance and is able to so convince the employee.

But if a real grievance exists or the employee is not satisfied, the representative takes the matter to the pit boss, the mine foreman or the mine superintendent, and in the majority of cases the questions are amicably and satisfactorily settled by one of them.

If not, however, it is the employee's right through his representative to carry the matter to the President's Industrial Representative, the District Committee on Co-operation and Conciliation, the District Manager, the Manager or Assistant Manager, the General Manager, the President, and, as a court of last appeal, to the Industrial Commission of the State of Colorado.

Experience proves that the vast majority of difficulties which occur in an industry arise between the workmen and the subordinate officials with whom they are in daily contact, such as pit bosses or mine foremen.

These petty officials are sometimes arbitrary. But it is by their attitude and actions that the higher officers and stockholders are judged.

Obviously, then, the right of appeal from their decision is important, and even if never availed of tends of itself to modify their attitude.

*Employees'
Bill of
Rights*

3. The third outstanding feature of the plan which I would mention is the Employees' Bill of Rights.

This covers such matters as the right to caution and suspension before discharge, except for such serious offenses as are posted at each mine;

The right to hold meetings at appropriate places, outside of working hours;

The right, without discrimination, to membership or non-membership in any society or organization; and

The right of appeal, to which reference has just been made.

So much, then, for the outstanding features of the plan. What have been some of the results of its operation? In brief:

1. Uninterrupted operation of the plants and increased output.

*Results
of the
Operation
of the
Colorado
Plan*

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2. Improved working and living conditions.
3. Frequent and close contact between employees and officers.
4. Elimination of grievances as a disturbing factor.
5. Good-will developed to a high degree.
6. The creation of community spirit.

A community spirit has been fostered in many ways.

*Community
Spirit
Fostered*

Club houses have been constructed in a number of the camps, and are under the direction and operation of the Young Men's Christian Association. These buildings provide recreational and social facilities not only for the men and boys, but for the women and children as well.

There are bandstands in a number of the camps, and bathhouses in practically all of them. In several, dispensaries have been built and supplied with district nurses.

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Schools have been improved—some would serve as models in any city, however progressive.

One of the most important features of the community life is the gardens that have been generally cultivated. This has been made possible by fencing around each miner's house a plot of ground which is developed in grass, in flowers, or in vegetables, and always adds interest and attractiveness to the home.

The fences thus built have cost more than \$40,000; over \$155,000 has been spent on club houses, either completed or under construction; and upwards of \$50,000 on bath-houses; in other words, a total of a quarter of a million dollars has been expended in three years for these several items alone.

The community spirit is developing community pride and rivalry. Each camp has its band, its baseball team. Of late this spirit has

*Improvement
of Living
Conditions*

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manifested itself most gratifyingly in patriotic endeavors.

Over one thousand men in the Company have responded to the call to the colors.

To the Third Liberty Loan practically every man in the camps and in the steel works subscribed.

A total subscription of over \$1,000,000 was received, in addition to some \$700,000 subscribed to the two earlier loans; and a similar high percentage has been maintained in the recent Red Cross campaign, the usual contribution being a day's pay.

*Patriotic
Spirit
Shown*

In one camp a notice was posted in the office window to the effect that subscriptions for the Red Cross campaign would be received. No soliciting was necessary. The notice was all that was required. Every man in the camp voluntarily came to the office and put his name down for a day's pay.

One must not fail to mention the splendid

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Red Cross auxiliaries which the women of the camps have organized, and in which they are working earnestly and effectively.

I have recently spent two weeks in visiting the twenty or more camps and the steel mills. I talked confidentially with practically all of the representatives in the camps and mills.

*Results of
Investigation*

They assured me that all grievances had been adjusted to the satisfaction of the employees or were in process of adjustment, or that employees had been convinced that their grievances were not well founded.

The representatives expressed their own unqualified endorsement, approval and appreciation of the plan, which attitude they said was that very generally of the rank and file of the men, who constantly valued the plan more highly as they understood its working better.

In view, therefore, of the statements of the representatives, of my own observations, and the results obtained during the three years

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which have elapsed since the adoption of the plan, I believe it can be said with confidence that the plan is no longer an experiment, but a proved success; that, based as it is on principles of absolute justice to all those interested in its operation, its continued success can be counted on, so long as it is carried out in the future as in the past, in a spirit of sincerity and fair play.

*What of the
Future?*

It is a vital factor in re-establishing personal relations between the parties in industry and developing a genuine spirit of Brotherhood among them.

III

*BROTHERHOOD
IN BUSINESS*

It is also true that in the realm of Business personal relations among men lead to co-operation and Brotherhood. This growing tendency cannot be observed but with satisfaction.

Under the pressure of war needs, and at the suggestion of the Government, the representatives of the basic industries, such as coal, steel, oil and the like, are working together in each industry in the fullest harmony.

The heads of the large companies, handling these and other essential products, who were formerly sharp competitors and sometimes bitter antagonists, are now meeting daily or weekly around a common table in order that

*The
Growing
Tendency
Toward
Co-operation
and
Brotherhood*

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they may provide adequately for the Government's war requirements, as well as meet the needs of the civil population, with the utmost economy, the maximum of efficiency and the greatest industrial harmony.

Surely the friendships that are thus being formed among men who formerly had little or no personal contact, and too often misjudged each other's motives, will lead to the development of a genuine spirit of Brotherhood in business, which should have a marked effect upon the method of conducting business in the days to come.

*Friendships
that will
Lead to
Brotherhood*

IV

*BROTHERHOOD
BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS*

That a spirit of co-operation, leading to Brotherhood, is also observable between national, state and city governments and business, is a most welcome fact.

While heretofore Government executives have hesitated to place business men on committees or in official positions, where their expert knowledge would be of value, because of some vague fear that they might be biased, now, under the stress of war, they are calling to the aid of the nation, state and city the ablest business men of the country, and are placing them in positions of greatest importance.

Moreover, large numbers of business men,

*Business
Men
Called to
Aid the
Government*

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many of whom have been reluctant heretofore to take part in the affairs of government, because so absorbed with their personal interests, are offering their services in any capacity in which they can be of the greatest help in winning the war.

The better understanding, the mutual confidence, which this association is sure to develop, will mean much, not only in the prosecution of the war, but also in the conduct of government and of business after the war. It is one of the compensating results of this great world struggle.

V

*BROTHERHOOD
IN SOCIAL LIFE*

But this spirit of Brotherhood is no more essential in industry and business than it is in social life.

As nations prosper, social strata are formed, with the result that misunderstandings arise, bitterness is created, and class antagonism is stirred up.

The war is obliterating these class distinctions. This is being accomplished to a marked degree among the men in the training camps.

No longer is the question asked where a man comes from, who his parents are, what he has; but rather, is he a good soldier, is he brave, is he uncomplaining under hardship, is he a loyal comrade?

*New
Questions
which are
Being
Asked*

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These new relationships which are growing up among men quickly lead to the development of Brotherhood, and the opinions which men have formed of each other, or of other classes, based often only on hearsay or the public press, are frequently changed when personal contact is brought about. As illustrative of this point, perhaps a personal reference may be pardoned.

After speaking in a Y. M. C. A. hut in one of the training camps, as I have done on a number of occasions during the past nine months, I was standing in the center of a group of soldiers, when one of their number, an Italian, went up to a secretary and said, "Which is this man Rockefeller?"

*A Personal
Experience*

Pointing to the group the secretary said, "That is he, over there among those men."

The Italian came over, walked slowly around the group, looked, stopped, listened, and finally went back to the secretary and

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said, "Come, stop your fooling, that's not him; tell me which he is."

Whereupon the secretary replied that it was I, to which the Italian answered,

"Why, that's a man, that's no devil!"

So it is, as men meet face to face they come to know each other very differently than they do by hearsay. The average man is quick to discern fraud and insincerity and equally quick to recognize genuine friendliness.

A like spirit is developing equally among the women of our land.

One sees in the Red Cross auxiliary the society woman, the cook, the shop-girl, the stenographer, all sitting side by side at the same table, dressed in the Red Cross uniform, and the only question asked is, "Who does the best and most work?"

That one, whether from the bottom or the top of the social ladder, is the most highly regarded.

*A Like
Spirit is
Developing
Among the
Women*

VI

BROTHERHOOD IN THE RELIGIOUS WORLD

In the religious world as well there is need of a more brotherly spirit.

Denominational war funds, committees, enterprises, are greatly to be regretted; united Christian effort is as greatly to be desired. When the soldier on the field of battle faces the Angel of Death, I fancy he will not be asked, "Are you a Presbyterian, a Congregationalist, a Baptist or a Unitarian?" but, "Are you a follower of Jesus Christ; is your faith anchored in God?"

*Denomina-
tional
Enterprises
are to be
Regretted*

And when these soldiers come back from the war, having looked death fearlessly in the eye together, they will not be content to return to a church from which their comrades

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are excluded because of another sect. They will seek a church as broad as the love of God, where any or all Christians may enter, a church exemplifying Brotherhood.

When visiting a theological seminary some years ago, I was surprised to learn that a Y. M. C. A. had been established in the seminary, but upon reflection I realized that these young men who are studying theoretical religion need training in practical religion just as much as the men whose souls they are going out to save.

*Theoretical
and
Practical
Religion*

VII

BROTHERHOOD BETWEEN NATIONS

We have been speaking of Brotherhood among individuals and among groups of individuals.

If this is a vital force effective in such relationships, is it not equally applicable as between nations?

Constantly we see the principle operating among the Allies.

Every day of the war is bringing closer co-operation, more frequent conferences and a better understanding. At last a single commander-in-chief has been appointed over all of the Allies' armies.

Not only is this fraternal spirit manifesting itself among their leaders, both military and

*Manifestations of the
Fraternal
Spirit*

BROTHERHOOD

civil, but, even earlier and more fully, it was put into operation in the relief of suffering among the soldiers and the civilian populations.

The Allies have been quick to extend a helping hand to each other in many ways, and the closer the feeling of Brotherhood becomes, the stronger will be the bond that unites them.

*The
Brotherhood
of Right
Against
Might*

This spirit should be developed, not only among those of the Allied nations which are actively participating in the war, but it should also be extended until it includes all of the nations lined up with the Allies on the side of Right against Might, even if, because of geographical location or for other valid reasons, some of them are not actively participating in the struggle.

VIII

WHERE BROTHERHOOD MUST HALT UNTIL RIGHT PREVAILS

At that point, however, the extension of the principle must necessarily halt until the war is over.

Let me make this very clear. The world is divided today into two hostile and absolutely irreconcilable camps.

Savagery has thrown down the gauntlet to civilization—both cannot longer continue to exist on the same planet.

Until the leader of the enemy forces and those who have aided him in bringing upon the world this indescribable carnage, as well as all those who are co-operating in the conscious effort to turn the hand of time back to the days of barbarism, have been per-

*There Can
be no
Brotherhood
with
Savagery*

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manently shorn of the power to further their brutal lusts and inordinate ambitions, there can be no peace.

Far better would it be that all arrayed on the side of Right should perish in seeking vindication of the principles for which they are fighting, than that any should survive to live under the dominion of brute force.

*No Sacrifice
is, or can
be, too
Great* Far better that the womanhood of our civilization should be sacrificed in this warfare, than that it should survive to receive insult and degradation at the pleasure of a barbarous conqueror.

Far better that innocent children should continue to suffer death at the hands of a ruthless enemy, than that they should live on under a rule of cruelty and inhumanity.

Not only must German militarism be destroyed absolutely and forever, but German philosophy must be reconceived and reconstructed from its very foundations, for no

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peaceful intercourse with civilized nations is possible to a people actuated by such barbarous principles.

General von Kries said to a friend of mine in 1916, in speaking of the inhabitants of Poland:

“The lives of human beings are to be conserved only if it makes for the State’s advancement; their lives are to be sacrificed if it is to the State’s advantage.”

Such a philosophy as this, utterly subordinating the individual to the State, must give way to the theory accepted by the free peoples of the world, that the well-being and happiness of the individual is the consideration of supreme importance, and that the State exists ultimately for the individual, not the individual for the State.

Nor can the teaching be longer tolerated that the State can do no wrong, and is supreme, being justified in the pursuance of any

*Philosophy
and
Teaching
which
Cannot
be Tolerated*

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course or the performance of any act, however contrary to the moral and ethical standards of God and man, so long as it serves the ends of the State.

These principles can no more mix with the principle of Brotherhood than can oil and water. They are diametrically and fundamentally at variance with each other.

Therefore I say, the whole of German political philosophy will have to be reconstructed before this humanizing and peace-perpetuating doctrine of Brotherhood can be extended to the German nations.

*Brotherhood
Possible
only with a
Reconstructed
Germany*

And so, as President Wilson has said:

“This intolerable thing, of which the masters of Germany have shown us the ugly face, this menace of brute force and intrigue, which we now see so clearly as the German power—a thing without conscience or honor, or capacity for covenanted peace—must be crushed, and if it be not utterly brought to an end, at least shut

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out from the friendly intercourse of nations.”

This titanic struggle must be fought out now. Whether it takes one year or ten years to achieve that for which we fight, it must be achieved, and there can be but one outcome of the struggle, for as surely as there is a God in Heaven, Right will prevail and Might will be put down.

But when that day has come and peace has been established on an enduring basis, then and not until then can the spirit of Brotherhood among nations be extended, as then it must be extended, to include all the nations of the world.

*When the
Day of
Righteous
Peace
Comes*

IX

*MAN CANNOT LIVE TO HIMSELF ALONE,
NOR CAN A NATION*

There was a time when neighboring countries were as remote from each other, in so far as intercourse and communication are concerned, as though separated by an ocean or a continent. That day has passed.

No longer can any man live to himself alone, nor any nation. The world has become a unit. Crop failure in South America is felt in Europe. A panic in London or New York creates financial depression throughout the world. Industrial difficulties in any one country have their influence in all countries.

Just as the peace and prosperity of any nation depend upon the happiness and the welfare of all of the people in that nation, so

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the peace and prosperity of the world are dependent upon the happiness and welfare of all the nations of the world. And no force will be so powerful in conserving universal peace and good will after the war is over as the spirit of Brotherhood among men and nations.

When this world struggle is ended, grave questions are sure to arise in the internal life of the several countries involved in it.

Some one has said that the present war is only a curtain raiser compared to the conflicts which are likely to follow when the period of reconstruction is reached.

*Grave
Questions
Will Come
With the
War's End*

The progress of events in Russia during the past months gives some indication of the violent differences of opinion which may assert themselves and of the bitter internal dissensions which too often attend the re-birth of a nation.

The patriotism of men of all classes is certain to be severely tested in the

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readjustments which must follow the war.

During the period of reconstruction the one force to be looked to for the prevention of possible internal wars in the various nations—wars which if they came would be far bloodier and more heartrending than this present war, because between brothers—is the spirit of Brotherhood.

*Brotherhood
—the Spirit
in which
Great
Problems
Must be
Met*

If that spirit shall prevail—influencing as it must and will those who are conservative in their views, to consider the vital questions of the day from all sides, and likewise influencing those who are radical to realize that time is a great force in changing most things, that patience must be called into play and that the progress which is slow is surer than that which is precipitate, then and then only can we expect this critical period to be lived through, and the momentous questions which it will bring satisfactorily adjusted, without further bloodshed and suffering.

X

BROTHERHOOD NOT A NEW IDEA

But this spirit of which we have been speaking is not something new. It is centuries old. Nearly two thousand years ago, a simple carpenter in Nazareth proclaimed the doctrine.

*He Preached
Brotherhood*

The far-reaching influence which He had was not so much because He preached Brotherhood as because He lived it; lived it when in contact with the woman taken in adultery; lived it when He associated with publicans and sinners; lived it when the physically and spiritually sick touched His life; yes, but more than all, because He was ready to die for it.

It is not enough that we accept this prin-

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ciple of Brotherhood intellectually, that we concede it to be theoretically sound.

Only as we live it, at home, in the office, in industrial contacts, in social and political life, in national and international relations, will it become a real, vital, transforming force in the world.

*Brotherhood
Worth Its
Cost*

Since the war began the world has paid a price in human life, misery and sorrow which staggers the imagination, and further heavy payments must be met.

But if, as a result, when the war is over, Brotherhood shall be widely extended among men and permanently established among nations, it will be worth all it has cost. We shall have reason to feel that the hundreds of thousands of brave men who have laid down their lives could not have made the supreme sacrifice for any cause which will contribute more largely to the maintenance of universal peace, the contentment of humanity and the well-being of mankind throughout the world.



