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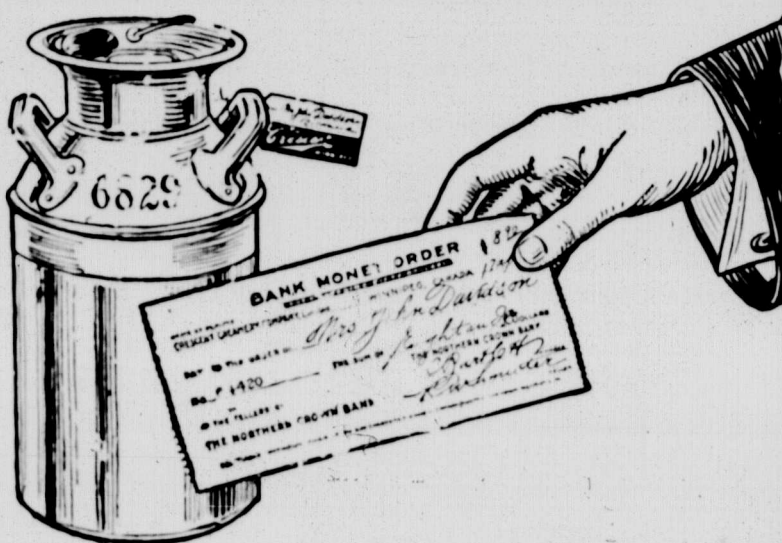
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WHEN WRITING TO ADVERTISERS PLEASE MENTION THE GUIDE

Farmers and Militarism

Continued from Page 7

Business men! you exclaim. Can wholesale loss cause wholesale gain? My answer is: To general business, no! To special business, yes! In every militarized country there are vested interests to whom wars are the staff of life and to whom rumors of war are the breath of life. The armor-plate and army-furnishings syndicates are merely the nuclei of an intricate system of interests whose prosperity is bound up with the prosperity of militarism. Their ramifications are innumerable and frequently hidden. They reach down to the worker in the coal-mines and to the cobbler in the barracks town. The slightest reduction of armaments would destroy the profits of the principal companies and injure all the related industries and all their shareholders. At a meeting of the shareholders of John Brown and Co., in 1905, Sir Charles McLaren said he was glad to see Sir John Fisher prepared to go in for building battleships, because the heavier the work the more of it went to their firm. Remember that among these shareholders we find men of great influence: dukes, journalists, newspaper proprietors, members of parliament, financiers and directors of banks. Armstrong, Whitworth and Co. have ninety-five titled people among their shareholders, while Vickers' Sons and Maxim have seventy-four. The central industries in the militaristic system are like the ganglia in the nervous system. If you hurt the nerve-centres every nerve fibre quivers. This explains the prodigious influence of these interests, which fatten on an armed peace quite as much as on a war. Need I tell you that last year the Krupp dividends were 14 per cent, while the Deutsches Munitions Fabrik had to resort to trickery to reduce their dividends to 30 per cent? The Krupps' profits last year were \$9,000,000; and they very generously gave \$500,000 each to the Pensions fund and the workmen's holiday fund and \$150,000 to the Christmas fund. How loyal their 80,000 employees must be to their interests! To augment their gigantic establishment the Krupps maintain a wonderful press bureau at Essen which helps them toist their goods upon the lesser nations and occasionally wrest new orders from the Imperial government. In every strategic centre the Krupps have their consuls who render them faithful and effective service by stampeding Oriental and South American governments into a rivalry in armaments. The stampede sometimes involves the wholesale purchase of commissions of experts. Clemenceau assures us that the Germans are much more successful than their French rivals in applying this argumentum ad hominem. In 1909 another German syndicate, more ingenious, tho less powerful, was caught in the act of inserting false news in the Parisian press, with a view to exciting German opinion to demand more armaments. Von Goutard, the director of this syndicate, was soon after appointed to the Prussian house of peers.

In France, tho the recent Krupp scandal has no exact counterpart, conditions are similar. I think it has been proven that the dangerous friction of the last decade between France and Germany with regard to Morocco, has been caused by questions of mines and loans and railway concessions which affected certain powerful syndicates. In several public lectures in Paris, 1911, a French financial critic stated without contradiction, that when the French troops disembarked at Casablanca, it was without the knowledge of the French government, and upon the initiative of the Moroccan Committee, a powerful group of industrial and financial magnates. He affirmed also that these troops were met at the wharf, not by the representative of the French government, but by the representative of the Moroccan Committee.

It was in conjunction with the financial powers, and without the knowledge of the people, of the parliament or even of the government that Delcasse, the minister of foreign affairs, carried on his part of the Anglo-French intrigue for the isolation of Germany. The Kai-

ser's threatening message struck the unsuspecting Prime Minister Rouvier like a bolt from the blue, and in a hastily summoned meeting Delcasse was thrown overboard by his colleagues. This repudiation of the conspirator provoked quite an outcry in some of the newspapers and elsewhere, about "national honor," "national humiliation" and "German insolence." Much of the German press, on the other hand, seized the opportunity, as it seizes every other, to represent the French nation as uniformly revengeful and chauvin. Parts of both presses were serving up the "subsidized patriotism" which W. J. Bryan recently denounced, while part merely loved sensation or found it profitable. One journalist assured me that his paper had cleared a million francs thru a mediocre war scare.

At all events, the newspaper readers on both sides of the frontier (themselves victims of a so-called "patriotic" education) naively believed that the people on the other side were a dangerous and bellicose crew. The truth is that both peoples are sincerely humane and peaceful; that both are dupes of the militarist class or of a perniciously false education, or of special vested interests which influence a fraction of the press; and finally that both would lose immeasurably more by a European cataclysm than even the victor would gain.

Subsidized Patriotism

The "subsidized patriotism" I mentioned must appeal to us as truly admirable when we learn that the subsidizing is done by armament companies whose business is international. German companies make arms for Russia; Italian factories furnish weapons to the Turks of Tripoli; French capital is devoted to supplying the Kaiser's fleet with armor-plate; companies of different nations pool their interests or make agreements so that whichever combatant loses, both companies will win; and all these syndicates use the diplomatic agents of their respective governments to force their surplus product upon new markets in the South and East and conjure up a yellow peril which will prove rich for them in thumping dividends. These are the interests which, thru a subsidized press, exploit the ignorant prejudices of the people and, on occasion, succeed in transforming legitimate patriotism into fanatical jingoism.

Problem Governments Fear

Now, while it is true that these malign influences represent but a small fraction of general capital, yet in their union lies their surprising strength. They are organized, financed and generally ready to buy whatever is for sale in their home parliaments or in foreign governments. Thru fair and foul play these special industries have grown to enormous proportions in all the great military nations, and their suppression would cause social distress and political commotion. Last February 9, Admiral Von Tirpitz confessed that his refusal to entertain Churchill's holiday proposal was mainly due to "an industrial reason" viz.: that during a naval holiday the German yards would be compelled to close and throw thousands of skilled mechanics out of employment.

Parallels to this situation are numerous. Do you remember the roar of indignation from the imperialist press in England when, after the South African war, the government dismissed some hundreds of workmen from the Woolwich arsenal? The suppression of any established industry, of any vested interest, is a complicated problem. Even if all the powerful and subtle influences I have described were suddenly to become extinct, how would the European governments dare to disband their monster armies and flood the labor-markets with hosts of unemployed? For you must remember that even in France, in spite of the fact that toward three-quarters of a million men are withdrawn from competition in the labor-market, there is still an average of unemployed of nearly 300,000. Were military service abolished, the legions of unemployed would become dangerously, appallingly numerous, and would demand the right to work and

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