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from incorporation of Dominion Iron and Steel and the start of construction, to the making of the first steel and Whitney's departure. We lack precise details about decisions to establish the steel plant in Sydney. Henry M. Whitney (an American promoter who consolidated the coal mines as Dominion Coal Company in 1893) may have considered it as early as 1897, when experiments at the mainland Ferrona Works, Nova Scotia Steel Company, proved Dominion's coal could be used for steelmaking. He proposed a merger with Scotia Steel, was turned down, and began seeking encouragement to establish steel works in Cape Breton. Whitney found encouragement at all three levels of government, in federal bounties, provincial relief on coal royalties, and free land, water and tax relief from the ratepayers of Sydney. The prospectus the company issued in 1901 included as one of the stock-selling points the fact that it expected to receive over 8 million dollars in bounties on iron and steel production. The opposition in the House of Commons, fearing that the demands on the government would be unduly large, wondered if the bounties could not be limited, and argued that this was hardly a struggling industry, and "with 28 million dollars capital and the support of great financial magnates, it could hardly be contended that the bounty was essential to success." The Minister of Finance, H. S. Fielding, the man who had done so much at the provincial level to help Whitney create Dominion Coal Company in 1893, countered that a large cost to the country was the risk taken when the bounties were offered. Whitney approached the provincial government to see what they would do to get a steel plant underway. His letter to Premier George Murray, presented to the N. S. Legislature in February, 1899, mentioned a number of added values of a steel plant that would be repeated from various quarters again and again: that the use of more coal would result in steady, year-round, expanded work at the mines; that Nova Scotians forced to leave to find work could now come home; and that spin-off industries, most especially shipbuilding to restore Nova Scotia's former glory, would surely come in the wake of iron and steel production. Whitney asked the government for 100% relief from paying royalty on all coal used in connection with the steel plant for 5 years. What he got was a 50% relief from royalties for 8 years. The incorporated company was also empowered "to expropriate any land it required and could not obtain by private treaty." Eventually the provincial government would amend the act of incorporation to allow the company to pay dividends to stockholders during the construction phase. One M.L.A. stood

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