

Business Structures and Records: The Dominion Power and Transmission Company, 1896-1930

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As the twentieth century dawned, central Canada, already firmly ensconced as the industrial heartland of the nation, was undergoing wide-ranging economic change. During the late nineteenth century there was a slow yet inexorable movement towards monopoly capitalism and oligopoly. Motivated by what Michael Bliss has termed "the protective impulse," businessmen sought through both formal and informal means to escape from the baneful and uncertain effects of competition.¹ Encouraged by prosperous conditions, Canadian businessmen relied particularly heavily on mergers to reduce competition, extend markets, and attain better economies of scale in production and distribution.² In the United States, too, the economic boom in the last years of the nineteenth century contributed to "the Great Merger Movement." Between 1897 and 1903, there were 2864 mergers.³ Although outpaced by the United States, Great Britain experienced a similar, contemporaneous phenomenon.⁴ Developments in Canada, however, lagged behind those in the United States; the number of Canadian consolidations peaked between 1909 and 1913 when 221 enterprises were absorbed into 97 concerns.⁵ Companies which came together were often themselves the products of earlier consolidations. In the case of the Canadian steel industry, the Hamilton Iron and Steel Company and the Canada Screw Company, formed respectively in 1899 and 1902, became components of the Steel Company of Canada at its creation in 1910. Mergers had important consequences for the quantity, character, and management of the records created by the new enterprises. Awareness of these developments is vital to both the

1 Michael Bliss, "The Protective Impulse: An Approach to the Social History of Oliver Mowat's Ontario," in Donald Swainson, ed., *Oliver Mowat's Ontario* (Toronto, 1972), pp. 176-81; Michael Bliss, *A Living Profit: Studies in the Social History of Canadian Business, 1883-1911* (Toronto, 1974), chapter 2.

2 Bliss, *Living Profit*, pp. 39-40; William F. Mueller, *A Primer on Monopoly and Competition* (New York, 1970), p. 67; Leslie Hannah and J.A. Kay, *Concentration in Modern Industry* (London, 1977), pp. 2-6.

3 Mueller, *Primer on Monopoly*, p. 69; Wallace Clement, *Continental Corporate Power: Economic Elite Linkages between Canada and the United States* (Toronto, 1977), p. 46.

4 Leslie Hannah, *The Rise of the Corporate Economy* (London, 1976), p. 24.

5 J.C. Weldon, "Consolidations in Canadian Industry, 1900-1948," in L.A. Skeoch, ed., *Restrictive Trade Practices in Canada: Selected Readings* (Toronto, 1966), p. 233; William L. Marr and Donald G. Paterson, *Canada: An Economic History* (Toronto, 1980), p. 416.

writing of business history and the archival work required to locate and assess business records for historical and other purposes. Here archivists and historians find common ground in shared knowledge and research techniques, even though, ultimately, they may employ their findings for very different ends.

As scales of production and investment expanded at the turn of the century, new business structures were evolving. The family firm, characterized by personal management and company autonomy, was slowly overtaken by the impersonal bureaucratic control of the joint-stock company. Management became increasingly professionalized. The direction and operation of companies devolved more and more to salaried career executives who, it was believed, were better able to deal with the complexities of "big business." It would be incorrect to conclude that this "organizational revolution" was complete by the early twentieth century.⁶ As this study of the Dominion Power and Transmission Company (DPT) demonstrates, elements of the old family firm co-existed with new business structures and managerial forms.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, entrepreneurs and speculators became more aware of the potential of electric power as a motive force and source of light and heat. Despite some reservations about the new technology (chiefly related to safety) electricity rapidly supplanted steam- and gas-generated power, and electric streetcars replaced cable- steam- and horse-powered vehicles. At the same time, the economic advantages of electricity prompted businessmen to exploit the hinterlands of their communities by constructing radial or interurban electric railways. Electricity presented ambitious businessmen with opportunities to enhance personal wealth and position and to promote the economic interests of their cities. Cheap, plentiful power was equated with more industry, jobs, prestige within the urban hierarchy, and political clout. All of these factors contributed to the formation in 1896 of the Cataract Power Company (CPC), the predecessor of DPT.

Cataract Power was organized with a capital stock of \$250,000 to generate and transmit hydro-electric power from DeCew Falls near St. Catharines to Hamilton, some twenty-five miles away. The founders of Cataract Power, John Gibson, John Patterson, John Moodie, John Dickenson, and John Sutherland (often referred to as "the Five Johns") faced numerous obstacles. Above all, because it was believed to be impossible to transmit hydro-electricity over such a distance, they found it difficult to obtain financing. Technological advances, however, removed this obstacle, and in November 1897 ground was broken for the power house.

Cataract Power agreed to supply power to the Hamilton Electric Light and Power Company (HLP) which produced electricity with a gas-powered generator and possessed an extensive distribution system in Hamilton. Current did

6 Thomas W. Acheson, "The Social Origins of Canadian Industrialism: A Study in the Structure of Entrepreneurship, 1880-1911," (Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1971), pp. 4-12, 412-13; Hannah, *Corporate Economy*, p. 25; Carl Ansel St. Clair Hall, "Electrical Utilities in Ontario Under Private Ownership, 1890-1914," (Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1968), pp. 11-18; Bryan D. Palmer, *Working Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour* (Toronto, 1983), pp. 138-39.

not run through the lines until August 1898, but in March of that year CPC proposed an amalgamation of the two firms. At first, this suggestion was rejected by HLP.⁷ Within weeks, however, an agreement was reached whereby CPC purchased the assets of HLP and assumed its bonds and liabilities.⁸ In 1899, the two companies formed the Hamilton Electric Light and Cataract Power Company. Until Hamilton ratepayers voted to join the Ontario Hydro Electric Commission's system in 1911, Cataract Power held virtual monopoly over the supply of hydro-electricity in the city. This was largely attributable to the fact that "the manufacture and sale of hydro-electricity tend to be a natural monopoly either because of an exclusive property right over the fall of water or because of the high fixed costs associated with the distribution of electricity."⁹ Free from competition in Hamilton, the company could turn its attention to expanding its operations.

The ambitions of Cataract Power, and particularly its two principal founders, John Gibson and John Patterson, were not limited to establishing an enterprise restricted to Hamilton and concerned only with hydro-electricity. Using CPC as a stepping-stone, they set out to create an integrated industrial, power, and transportation complex rooted in electricity which, although focused in Hamilton, would extend throughout southern Ontario. These plans for CPC, then, were to a large extent an early twentieth-century version of the old Hamilton dream of attaining metropolitan dominance. As the *Hamilton Times* proudly declared in 1899: "The idea of the promoters [of CPC] has always been to make Hamilton the centre of a perfect network of electric railway lines that would make all the country for 40 miles every direction tributary to this city."¹⁰ By 1908, through purchases of existing radial railways and power companies, the company controlled the hydro-electricity supply and radial railway network of an area stretching from Brantford to Oakville and from Hamilton to Vineland.¹¹ The company intended to extend operations from Windsor to Toronto and down to Buffalo in order to link up with American

7 Ontario Hydro Archives (hereafter OHA), Dominion Power and Transmission Papers, Hamilton Electric Light and Power Company, Directors' Minute Book, v. 28, 1891-1906, 18 March 1898, 24 March 1898, 21 January 1898, 14 February 1898, 15 April 1898, 13 May 1898; OHA, Dominion Power and Transmission Papers, Hamilton Electric Light and Power Company, Executive Committee Minutes, v. 22, 1895-1898, 9 March 1898.

8 OHA, Dominion Power and Transmission Papers, Hamilton Electric Light and Power Company, Directors' Minute Book, 3 June 1898, 13 June 1898; OHA, Dominion Power and Transmission Papers, Cataract Power Company of Hamilton, Board of Director's Minute Book, 14 March 1898, 13 June 1898.

9 Marr and Paterson, *Canada: An Economic History*, p. 369; Hannah, *Corporate Economy*, p. 12; John Dales, *Hydroelectricity and Industrial Development: Quebec, 1898-1940* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), p. 8; Richard Lucas, "The Conflict over Public Power in Hamilton, Ontario, 1906-1914," *Ontario History*, 68 (December 1976), p. 237.

10 Hamilton Public Library, Special Collections Department, Gardiner Scrapbooks, v. 67, 1899, p. 10; *Canadian Electrical News and Steam Engineering Journal* (December 1898), p. 233.

11 The Hamilton Electric Light and Cataract Power Company acquired the Hamilton and Dundas Street Railway and the Hamilton Radial Electric Railway in 1899, the Hamilton Street Railway in 1900, and the Dundas Electric Company in 1901. After incorporation in 1903 as the Hamilton Cataract Power, Light and Traction Company, Cataract Power acquired the Hamilton, Grimsby and Beamsville Electric Railway in 1905, the Lincoln Electric Light and Power Company, Western Counties Electric Company, Hamilton Terminal Company, and Brantford and Hamilton Electric Railway in 1906. In 1907 Cataract Power was incorporated as DPT.

transportation systems. Hamilton, consequently, conformed to the pattern of most North American cities with a single enterprise monopolizing the internal transportation facilities.¹²

Cataract Power controlled its acquired concerns by purchasing their voting stock rather than their assets. Under the holding company arrangement, each subsidiary maintained a separate legal existence while the holding company assumed administrative authority for all the subsidiaries. In opting for this arrangement rather than amalgamation, Cataract's directors adopted a form of business organization which gradually lost its appeal.¹³ In 1903 and 1907, the holding company was reconstituted to enlarge the financial capacity of the operation which, it was maintained, had become "inadequate to meet the expansion of this Company's business and the probable extension of its field of operations."¹⁴ Also, especially in the case of DPT, it was believed that reorganization would result in "a more methodical and efficient, as well as economical conduct of business."¹⁵

DPT failed to live up to the sanguine expectations of its directors. In the early years, the company had been a popular vehicle for development in Hamilton. The city exchanged its self-styled title "the Birmingham of Canada" for "the Electric City." But a bitter confrontation with labour in 1906 and continual clashes with city authorities over the quality, cost, and variety of service strengthened the movement for the public ownership of utilities. Although the loss of its monopoly in various centres resulted in an outflow of customers to the Hydro Electric, the power side of the business remained the most healthy and profitable segment of DPT. The directors made the error of banking on the future of the radials; in the process of expansion they incurred heavy debts which proved to be millstones around the necks of the subsidiaries. As John Due notes: "The expansion of the industry was based primarily on the expectation of improvements in the future, improvements that would have come had the population continued to increase and the automobile not developed."¹⁶ High interest payments, rising operation costs, and most importantly, declining ridership and competition from the automobile and bus caused the death of the radials. DPT was gradually forced to abandon this part of the business by ceasing operations on line extensions and then shutting down whole lines. In 1925 DPT was acquired by the Power Corporation, and in 1930 the Hydro Electric Power Commission took over its operations.

Cataract Power was, in the truest sense, the creation of "the Five Johns," — especially Gibson and Patterson. Their ambition, perseverance, and energy got the company off the ground and determined its policy. Not content to

12 Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), pp. 192-94.

13 Weldon, "Consolidations in Canadian Industry," p. 261.

14 OHA, Dominion Power and Transmission Papers, Bin 20-1-034, File 292, First Annual Report of the Board of Directors of Dominion Power and Transmission, 17 February 1908; Bin 20-1-012, File 109, Hamilton Cataract Power Light and Traction Company, Annual Report of Shareholders, 31 December 1906.

15 *Ibid.*

16 John F. Due, *The Intercity Electric Railway in Canada* (Toronto, 1966), p. 47.

observe from afar, they took an active part in operations. Gibson had the highest profile within CPC; his law firm served as the company's legal counsel and his numerous political connections aided the company (as a Liberal MPP he served in various capacities in Mowat, Hardy, and Ross cabinets). He was President of Cataract Power from its founding until he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario in 1908. By that time, when he was persuaded to give up, at least formally, his business activities, Gibson and "the Cataract" had become synonymous. Patterson played an equally important but less conspicuous role; he preferred to direct his attention to promotion, back-room manoeuvring, and orchestrating takeovers.

This emphasis on personal management and control is reflected in the DPT records. Correspondence related to business matters was frequently addressed to company officials in their private rather than corporate capacities. For example, when John Knox sought financial compensation for his efforts to help CPC annul its contract with HLP, he wrote to Patterson as one friend to another to plead his case. Moreover, he reminded Patterson of the importance of confidentiality: "The matter was. . .between you and me." This was a personal issue, not to be exposed to the wider scrutiny of the Board of Directors, even though it did relate to business.¹⁷ The intermingling of private and corporate spheres meant records were often scattered among individual directors and officials, the companies themselves, and their legal and financial agents, rather than housed in one central repository. Gibson, for example, had in his personal possession a great deal of important material dealing with the company, especially its early years. Entirely on his initiative, some of these records eventually made their way into the company's files. No systematic transfer was undertaken, and material was still trickling back as late as 1926.¹⁸ In a letter to William Clarke Hawkins, DPT Managing Director, Gibson noted:

From time to time I have been sending you letters which I have come across in going through my old Cataract and DP&T papers and which I think ought to be kept and may possibly be of use in the future.

This I am doing in a casual sort of way from time to time because it would be almost impossible for me to make a complete schedule of all such papers and make one job of it. That, I think does not matter very much.¹⁹

And in 1917, Gibson wrote Hawkins:

Continuing the course which I have some time since adopted of transferring to the Company correspondence on various subjects which, though possibly not of great importance, may still be *somewhat* important to refer to and in view of the fact that a

17 OHA, Dominion Power and Transmission Papers, Bin 20-1-031, File 1149, Knox to Patterson, 9 January 1900; Hamilton Electric Light and Power Company, Executive Committee Minutes, v. 21, 1899-1901, 30 December 1899.

18 OHA, Dominion Power and Transmission Papers, Bin 20-1-014, File 238, Gibson to W.E. Phin, 8 December 1926.

19 OHA, Dominion Power and Transmission Papers, Bin 20-1-032, File 1175, Gibson to W.C. Hawkins, 1 March 1916.

Solicitor's office is not the proper place for a client's records to be permanently kept, but rather the Company's vault where there is ample room for classification and storage, I am sending you the following correspondence.

In this case, the returned material included correspondence with the agents of Sir William Mackenzie regarding the possible simultaneous extension of the Toronto and Mimico Electric Railway and the Hamilton Radial Electric Railway to Oakville, thereby linking the two lines. This correspondence, Gibson himself noted, was "rather important." The muddled state of the company's records is also illustrated by the fact that Gibson was unable to find an additional letter he was convinced he had in his possession which supposedly documented Mackenzie's agreement with the proposal.²⁰ Great quantities of documentation seem to have been too inconsequential or sensitive to have been kept. Although Gibson noted that he had "voluminous correspondence about various matters in my possession,"²¹ little of it was passed on to DPT or remains in his personal papers which now consist merely of about 120 letters related almost entirely to his political career.

The fact that Gibson believed it was necessary to return at least some of the correspondence in his possession is in itself indicative of the evolving structure of DPT. In the early days, "the Five Johns" formed the core of the interlocking directorates linking the parent company and the subsidiaries. All the principals held executive or directoral rank in at least two of the subsidiaries as well as the parent company. Gibson, however, was president of the holding company, the Terminal Company, the Brantford and Hamilton Electric Railway, and the Hamilton Street Railway, vice president of the Radial, and sat on the Boards of Directors of the Hamilton and Dundas Street Railway, the Hamilton, Grimsby and Beamsville Electric Railway, and the Lincoln Power Company. By the time he began transferring material to DPT, the original promoters and directors of the company had died or due to old age were participating less actively in the management of the business. Often, too, their interests were moving in other directions. Gibson, for example, was revelling in his role as the "elder statesman" of Hamilton. Their places were taken by a new group of directors and managers which was less knowledgeable about the history and workings of the company. For new directors such as Robert Hobson, President of the Steel Company of Canada, hydro-electricity and radial railways were not the priority they had been for the original directors. By transferring records, Gibson was providing the new generation a firmer foundation for their control of the company.

DPT had always employed salaried managers; however, they were clearly under the constant direction and supervision of "the Five Johns." The company's growth in size and complexity forced greater reliance on managerial specialists who emphasized scientific, efficient, and orderly procedures and administration. Under the direction of N.W. Harris and Company, DPT's finan-

20 OHA, Dominion Power and Transmission Papers, Bin 20-1-015, File 247, Gibson to Hawkins, 12 July 1917.

21 *Ibid.*

cial agents, the bookkeeping department was reorganized and streamlined. In 1909, a "comprehensive Records department" was established. DPT began to emphasize a chain of command in management. As William Hawkins wrote in his annual report for 1909:

Much has been done during the year in systematizing the routine of business, particularly in preventing negotiation and discussion of any given subject by others than the accredited official for that subject. It is a very real difficulty for an official when a piece of business comes to him to find that it has been discussed and statements made relating to it by others with or without his knowledge, and much business has been lost and much expense has arisen to us in the past from this cause besides needless friction between the Company and customer. I am glad to report that our staff generally is appreciating the fact that it is more profitable to concentrate each on his own specialty.²²

The emphasis on systematization was also reflected in the growing importance and independence of the separate operating divisions of the company — Lighting and Power, Traction, Maintenance, and others — a system clearly modelled on prevailing American forms.²³

The administrative evolution of the company was paralleled by a simultaneous increase in the amount of internal correspondence. The DPT Papers largely consist of operating records — contracts, franchises, minute books, and stock books — the material essential to daily operations. Spotty and light in quantity for the early period, they become more plentiful and varied in content for the later years, particularly after 1925 when operations were placed on a more impersonal footing following acquisition by the Power Corporation.

In general, but especially for the early years, there is little material dealing with such sensitive and important issues as labour relations and the question of public ownership of utilities. This perhaps reflects the insistence of the early directors on dealing with such matters themselves and certainly shows their penchant for secrecy. The growth of the company, however, took its toll on their ability to supervise operations personally; they were forced to rely on other sources of information. In 1908, Hawkins turned to an American detective agency to undertake worker surveillance. The correspondence between Hawkins and the Corporations Auxiliary Company documents DPT's dislike of unions, and belief that the workers were cheating the company. Nevertheless, the propensity for secrecy and personal involvement endured to such an extent that Hawkins insisted that the agency's operative report directly to him at home at night.²⁴

The new professional managers could be as unwilling to divulge and record information as the old guard. The resulting confusion was exacerbated by the complex relationship between the holding company and its subsidiaries. No less

22 OHA, Dominion Power and Transmission Papers, Bin 20-1-034, File 291, Annual Report to the Directors by the Secretary and General Manager, 1909.

23 Chandler, *Visible Hand*, p. 194.

24 OHA, Dominion Power and Transmission Papers, Bin 20-1-034, File 286, Corporations Auxiliary Company, Detective Service, 1908-10.

a figure than W.M. German, an attorney, former MPP, and President of the Welland Electric Company, found aspects of his company's financial dealings with DPT incomprehensible and sought clarification for several years before finally receiving satisfaction. In 1919, in exasperation, he complained to Hawkins about DPT's bookkeeping:

Mr. Fearman [Chief Accountant of DPT] has sent down to us again this year a form under the Corporation Tax Act of Ontario, which. . . I have signed and sworn to. . . I understood from you last year that this was not necessary as all of this was taken care of by the parent company, however, if it is necessary, you will have it.

I cannot help stating, however, that there is something in book-keeping which is altogether beyond my comprehension. In 1917 we paid out in dividends \$11460.00, and had a surplus in the treasury at the end of the year whereas book-keeping showed that the Company had only earned \$9129.60. Last year we paid out in dividends \$6876.00, and had no more money in the treasury at the end of the year, than we had at the end of 1917, whereas book-keeping shows that last year we earned \$16231.73. I would like some expert to instruct me, how it is possible without drawing on the capital account, which we did not in 1917, to pay out \$6876 in dividends out of earnings of \$16231 and have no surplus over. If you combine the two years according to the books, our net earnings out of which to pay dividends amounted to \$15361.22, and we paid out in dividends \$18360.00, which should leave a balance in the treasury of \$6025.33 *in cash*, whereas in fact, we only had in cash at the end of last year a little over \$1000. Is it too much to ask that the one who shows the surplus should produce the money, or show where it has gone. I would like enlightenment. Mr. Fearman may understand it, and possibly you do, but I will be damned if I do. I have left the figures blank and you can fill in what is correct.²⁵

The decision to opt for a holding company arrangement rather than amalgamation complicated the operations of DPT. The interests and functions of the subsidiaries often overlapped; it became very difficult even for management to sort out the complex business and financial relationships between the companies. This contributed to the movement towards internal consolidation of DPT in the mid-1910s. Referring to DPT's resolution in 1915 to wind up the Hamilton Electric Light and Power Company, Hawkins wrote:

This Company [HLP] and the Hamilton Electric Light and Cataract Power Company are doing a similar business all over the City of Hamilton, and we find it practically impossible to separate the physical properties of the two companies. . . . Large parts of their [HLP's] original properties have become obsolete, been removed, and the business has been taken over by the Hamilton Electric Light

25 OHA, Dominion Power and Transmission Papers, Bin 20-1-015, File 264, W.M. German to W.C. Hawkins, 1 April 1919; see also W.M. German to George Fearman, 18 April 1919.

and Cataract Power Company, and it has not always been possible to keep clear records, under the circumstances of these transactions. The consequence is that having two sets of books and records for what is practically one business has tangled up the affairs and the physical properties to such an extent that the only untangling that can be accomplished will be the one we have suggested [surrendering the HLP charter].²⁶

The improved records-keeping system introduced by the professional managers was undermined by the rapidly growing complexity and scale of the enterprise. A maze of interconnections existed on the traction side of the business with the various radials and street railways obtaining cars, lines, and employees from each other. All of this helps explain the confused state of the DPT financial records. Indeed, one finds the clearest and most succinct financial accounting for the individual traction companies in their annual reports to the Railway Committee of the Privy Council.²⁷

For both archivist and historian, the challenge of investigating a business such as DPT not only requires understanding a complex collection of material, but also, given haphazard company records management procedures, tracking down and identifying the material in the first place. Most of the surviving DPT records are in the Ontario Hydro Archives. Small amounts of material are available at other repositories such as the Hamilton Public Library's Special Collections Department which holds an almost complete series of early DPT annual reports — documents the larger Ontario Hydro collection surprisingly lacks. For business-government relations, researchers must rely almost completely on the records of federal and provincial governments and the papers of public officials such as those of former Premier of Ontario James Pliny Whitney at the Archives of Ontario.

Any hope of filling in the gaps by examining the personal papers of the businessmen themselves will be disappointed. The founders and early managers of DPT placed even less priority on preserving their own papers than they did on centralizing, systematizing, and maintaining their company's records. Given their emphasis on the personal and confidential nature of business activities, perhaps they never intended many of their business papers to see the light of day. More charitably, given that regardless of subject, with the exception of Gibson, private papers are non-existent, it is possible that they were simply either lost or destroyed through carelessness. Consequently, to obtain some insight into the aspirations, opinions, and activities of these businessmen, one must often turn to their correspondence with other individuals, correspondence which was more carefully maintained and preserved. For example, several letters

26 OHA, Dominion Power and Transmission Papers, Bin 20-1-013, File 119, Hawkins to Gibson, Levy, and Gibson, Solicitors, 13 October 1915.

27 Public Archives of Canada (hereafter PAC), Canadian Transport Commission, Railway Committee of the Privy Council, RG 46, vols. 1070-71, Brantford and Hamilton Electric Railway; vols. 1087-89, Hamilton and Dundas Street Railway; vols. 1089-90, Hamilton, Grimsby and Beamsville Electric Railway; vols. 1090-91, Hamilton Radial Electric Railway; vols. 1091-92, Hamilton Street Railway.

between Gibson and John Willison provide a good indication of Gibson's attitude toward the Hydro Electric Power Commission and public ownership of utilities. Writing to Willison in March 1915, Gibson grumbled:

It may be partly on account of considerations of self-interest or whatever it is that I am obliged to confess that there is a danger of my becoming a Tory sometime if this tendency towards socialism keeps on. The only trouble is the Tories are as bad as the so-called Radicals or Socialists, by which I mean the Tory "*hoi polloi*" and the *evening newspapers* and the "around the corner politician" who is always on the lookout for numbers of votes irrespective of intelligence or quality. Up to a certain point, I am a believer in municipalities controlling and managing public utilities. They are making a great mistake, however, if they ever tackle that job of Street Railway and I have no doubt they will. The day will come sooner or later also when both the Municipalities and the Province will have their hands pretty full of explanations in connection with the so-called "Hydro Electric." As I pass along, I may say that our Cataract was a "*Hydro-Electric*" concern in full operation pure and simple before any so-called Hydro Electric System or Commission was thought of for the Province. It is, therefore, truly a piece of assumption for them to persist in the endeavour of being designated as "The" or specially "The Hydro Electric System."²⁸

One only wishes that such candor could be found in greater supply in the Dominion Power and Transmission Papers.

28 PAC, Sir John Willison Papers, MG 30, D 29, vol. 16, pp. 11659-60, file 122, J.M. Gibson to John Willison, 6 March 1915, Private.