NOTES

The following abbreviations are used throughout the notes:

CFC  The Commercial and Financial Chronicle (New York)
COW  California Oil World
DC   The Daily Californian (Bakersfield)
DRF  Papers of the Doheny Research Foundation, Occidental College Library, Los Angeles, California
FOJ  Fuel Oil Journal (Houston)
IMA  Investigation of Mexican Affairs, U.S. Congress, Senate
IOPA Independent Oil Producers Agency Records, Taft, California
KWS  Kingston Weekly Shaft (Kingston, New Mexico)
LAH  Los Angeles Herald
LAMR Los Angeles Mining Review
LAT  Los Angeles Times
MH  Mexican Herald (Mexico City)
MOB  Mining and Oil Bulletin (Los Angeles)
MSP  Mining and Scientific Press (San Francisco)
MWS  Magazine of Wall Street
NMHR New Mexico Historical Review
NPN  National Petroleum News (Cleveland)
NYT  New York Times
OA   The Oil Age (Los Angeles)
OIJ  Oil Investor's Journal (Houston)
OTJ  Oil Trade Journal (New York)
SCA Sierra County Advocate (Hillsboro, New Mexico)
SCE  Silver City Enterprise (Silver City, New Mexico)
SFC  San Francisco Chronicle
SFE  San Francisco Examiner
WP  Washington Post
WSJ  Wall Street Journal
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Introduction


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1995): 47–65. I thank the New Mexico Historical Review for allowing me to use the material here.


7. Dona Ana County, Deed Record, book 6, 20, 240; Mining Claims, book 1, 239, Dona Ana County Courthouse, Las Cruces, N.M.

8. James A. McKenna, Black Range Tales (New York: Wilson-Erikson, 1936), 116–19. McKenna’s recollections were not taken down until fifty years after the fact, but they accord well with the information available from contemporary newspaper accounts and census material, except for any mention of Doheny’s stint as a teacher (McKenna is the only one to note Doheny’s teaching job).

9. KWS, January 4, 1890, Department of Commerce, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Schedules of the New Mexico Territory Census of 1885, RG29; information about Dr. Wilkins comes from Mariah’s application for a position as the postmistress of Kingston. See Territorial Archives of New Mexico (New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe), microfilm, reel 103, 475–76, 605–6. “Marriage Register, 1872–1899,” Grant County Courthouse, Silver City, N.Mex. This should put to rest one of the most lurid and poorly researched aspects of La Botz’s treatment of Doheny. Based on a reference from Who’s Who in California, in which Edward L. Doheny Jr. (born in Los Angeles in 1893) listed his mother as “Louella Wilkins” (Carrie’s maiden name having been Wilkins), La Botz presumes that Wilkins was merely another partner in a string of illicit relationships and concludes that the younger Edward’s parents were never married. Then, in looking for a reference to any woman named Wilkins in Los Angeles, he located a person who died of a skull fracture, introducing the suggestion of Doheny’s involvement in foul play. See La Botz, Edward L. Doheny, 11–13, 17 n. 16.


12. MSP, Nov. 18, 1882.


14. SCE, Nov. 30, 1883.


16. SCA, Mar. 4, 1887; Kingston paper quoted in the SCE, Jan. 18, 1883.

17. SCA, Dec. 5, 1885.

18. Keith L. Bryant Jr., History of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway

19. SCA, Apr. 22, 1892; KWS, Dec. 9, 1893.


22. SCA, Apr. 25, 1885.

23. Edward L. Doheny to William Higgins, July 27, 1886, exhibit B, case 154, Sierra County District Court, Sept. 1886. Case file is in the New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, N.Mex.

24. Articles of Incorporation, no. 717, Satisfaction Mining Company, January 31, 1887, New Mexico State Corporate Filing Division. The capital stock was listed at $2 million, divided into 200,000 shares at $10 each. An agreement listed in Sierra County, *Miscellaneous Deeds*, Book A, 456, stated that the stock would be divided so that, for every 24 shares, Doheny and two other men received 1 share each, F. A. Urban got 2½ shares, another got 3½ shares, and R. C. Troeger received 15. Doheny's appointment as mining superintendent is also noted in *Miscellaneous Deeds*, Book A, 467.

25. SCA, Mar. 4, 25, 1887.


28. KWS, Dec. 7, 1889. H. L. Pickett was a well-known and respected lawyer whose firm served as counsel for Sierra County. See SCA, Apr. 25, 1885.


30. For a comment on Doheny's consulting work, see SCE, Feb. 7, Sept. 12, 1890; Doheny was commissioned on Apr. 5, 1890, and took the “Bond and Oath of Office” on May 7. See Grant County, *Deed Record*, book 28, 18–19.

31. McKenna, *Black Range Tales*, 295. The comment about alcoholism came
from my conversations with Msgr. Francis Weber at the Archival Center in San Fernando.

32. SCE, Nov. 21, 1890; Jan. 23, Mar. 6, 1891; KWS, Oct. 4, 25, 1890.
33. For a later description of Carrera, see MH, May 19, 1904.
34. SCE, Sept. 12, Oct. 31, Nov. 14, 28, and Dec. 5, 1890; quotation from Jan. 2, 1891.
36. SCE, February 27, March 6, April 24, July 3, 1891.
37. Ibid., Dec. 5, 1890; SCA, May 15, June 19, July 10, 1891.
38. SCA, Oct. 30, 1891; KWS, Sept. 29, 1891.
39. Edward L. Doheny to A. B. Fall, Nov. 24, 1925, Rio Grande Collection, box 1, folder 1, Fall Papers, Las Cruces, New Mexico State University.

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2. See *John Boyle v James P. Welch and E. L. Doheny*, case no. 322, Jan. 18, 1892, RG 21, box 53, Civil Case Files, 1887–1912, National Archives, Pacific Southwest Region, Laguna Niguel, Calif.

3. MSP, Apr. 23, 1892; Articles of Incorporation, Pacific Gold and Silver Extracting Company, May 12, 1892, California State Archives, Sacramento, Calif. Rentchler, who still owned several large mines in Kingston, put up half the money himself.

4. MSP, Jan. 30, 1892. Reprinted from the LAH.


8. LAH, Nov. 2, 1893; MSP, Nov. 14, 1891, 310.

9. The observer was William M. Bohen, who remembered watching them work when he was a boy. See Oil Producers Agency of California, *The Agency Date Book: 100 Years of Events in the California Oil Industry* (Los Angeles: Oil Producers Agency of California, 1946), 87; Whitney, *Charles Adelbert Canfield*, 111. Doheny's
comments are in “Trailing Doheny over Oil and Quicksands,” Current Opinion 76: 283–84.


11. From a reference in the LAH for Nov. 2, 1893, this episode took place sometime in Apr. 1893. Doheny bought at least one lot from a Moses W. Bishop for $500; he paid Bishop $70 cash and agreed to pay off the balance at $15 a month until 1894 and $30 a month thereafter. See Deed Book, no. 860, 192, Apr. 6, 1893, Los Angeles County Courthouse. Carrie Doheny later purchased another lot in her own name for $500. See Deed Book, no. 892, 227, Sept. 30, 1893. By 1894, prices for lots in the oil zone had risen to more than $1,000, and, in May 1895, Doheny paid $7,500 for a one-third and a one-sixth interest in two lots on proven oil land. See Deed Book, no. 962, 222; no. 982, 17; no. 1005, 174.

12. LAH, Nov. 2, 1893.


15. See Articles of Incorporation, Metropolitan Oil Company, Oct. 23, 1894. The actual subscribed stock of the company was $100,000, divided among five shareholders.

16. LAT, Oct. 6, 20, 9, 1894; LAH, Dec. 25, 1894.

17. For examples, see Los Angeles City Records and Archives, City Council, Minutes of Meetings, vol. 40, pp. 545, 546, 568, 594, 644, 691, and vol. 41, pp. 384, 397, 473; quotations are from Petitions, no. 520, 525.

18. See Frederick J. Gillette et al. v Edward L. Doheny et al., case no. 621, Civil Case Files, 1887–1912, RG 21, box 90, Records of the District Courts of the United States, National Archives, Pacific Southwest Region, Laguna Niguel, Calif.

19. LAT, Nov. 24, 1894.

20. Ibid., Jan. 4, Apr. 20, 1895.

21. Ibid., July 2, 13, 1895.


24. W. H. Hutchinson, Oil, Land, and Politics: The California Career of Thomas Robert Bard, 2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 2:75–76; Gerald T. White, Formative Years in the Far West (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962), 149–50; Glenn D. Bradley, "The Santa Fe's Great California Oil Fields," Santa Fe Magazine 10 (Nov. 1916): 23–24. Bradley detailed some of Wade's efforts but did not mention the Union Oil Company at all, stating instead that Wade had been "largely assisted by E. L. Doheny" in procuring a sufficient supply of fuel oil at a competitive price. Another source for Doheny's role in these tests is from an interview with E. O. Faulker, a later vice-president of the Santa Fe's oil company; see MOB, July 1923, 560. Gerald White, on the other hand, substantiates a discussion of the Union Oil deal with the Santa Fe through specific letters from Wade to Lyman Stewart, the head of Union Oil; see White, Formative Years in the Far West, 616 n. 58. Wade sent reports on his work converting passenger engines to the Railroad Gazette; see Jan. 18, 1895. But the whole question of "firsts" with respect to railroads and oil in California is muddled beyond clarification. Caspar Whitney, for example, stated that the earliest known experiment occurred in 1897—which is at least three years too late—and that it was Canfield and his partner, J. A. Chanslor, "who assisted in equipping the locomotive and served as firemen on its trial run." See Whitney, Charles Adelbert Canfield, 128–30. The records in the Santa Fe Archives at Topeka have almost no information on any oil activity prior to 1900, and nothing about Wade's early experiments using fuel oil, which suggests that they were not officially sanctioned.

25. Los Angeles Daily Journal, Oct. 17, 1894. This article also mentioned a new development undertaken by Maginnis and several other men to lease 115 city lots in the Los Angeles Heights, a half mile above the original oil district, as wildcat properties.

26. LAT, May 21, June 10, 1895.

27. Ibid., Dec. 15, 1895.

28. Ibid., Dec. 28, 1895.

29. Ibid., Jan. 14, 1896. Articles of Incorporation, Asphaltum and Oil Refining
Company, Mar. 25, 1896, California State Archives. The company operated inde­pendently until it was voluntarily dissolved on Oct. 3, 1922. A full-page advertise­ment for the company from 1900 is shown in Redpath, Petroleum in California, 153. The official 1896 oil report listed the five refineries in the Los Angeles district and their output: Union Oil Co. (400 bbls/day), Asphaltum and Oil Refining Co. (330 bbls), Oil Burning Supply Co. (300 bbls), Puente Oil Co. (200 bbls), and Clark, Johns and Co. (60 bbls). See W. L. Watts, “Oil and Gas Yielding Formations of Los Angeles, Ventura, and Santa Barbara Counties,” California State Mining Bureau, Bulletin No. 11 (Dec. 1896), 61.

30. LAT, Mar. 14, 1895.
31. LAH, Dec. 25, 1894.
32. See Articles of Incorporation, the Producers’ Oil Company, Jan. 3, 1895. Seven of the ten largest shareholders were part of the Doheny organization, although several other companies were represented, along with a dozen or so other individual producers.

33. White, Formative Years in the Far West, 153–54; “Proposition of the Union Oil Company of California, to the Fuel Oil Producers of Los Angeles,” Papers of Thomas Bard, box 5 (first section), Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.; quotation is from the LAH, Dec. 25, 1894.
34. LAH, June 7, 22, Aug. 31, 1895.
36. LAT, Oct. 5, 10, 1895.
38. LAT, Oct. 3, Dec. 8, 1895.
39. Ibid., Dec. 17, 1895.
40. Ibid., Jan. 21, Feb. 20, July 10, July 13, 1896. White, Formative Years in the Far West, 156. The Oil Exchange bought their own 7,000-barrel tank steamer to transport oil up the coast but lost it in a storm after only a few trips. This disaster and internal dissention caused the Exchange to self-destruct in July 1896.
41. Los Angeles Evening Express, July 30, 1894.
42. LAT, Apr. 13, 1896, p. 5; LAH, May 26, Aug. 1, 1896. The furious pace of Doheny’s operations is evident from a tangential source, a legal suit filed against him by George Allen, the Pennsylvania oilman who developed a “pumping jack,” which allowed up to twenty wells to be pumped simultaneously from one engine. Most local producers replicated Allen's device without acknowledging his patent. When Allen went to Los Angeles to investigate in December 1895, he went after
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Doheny as the most conspicuous violator in the field. See George Allen v E. L. Doheny and S. Connon, case no. 700, May 23, 1896, RG 21, box 108, Records of the District Courts of the United States, National Archives, Pacific Southwest Region, Laguna Niguel, Calif. For a description and illustration of the process, see California State Mining Bureau, Bulletin No. 11, 62–63.

43. LAT, Apr. 13, 1896, Aug. 1, 2, 1896. Doheny and Connon made the agreement on July 28, 1896, and assigned their assets to Morgan for $10. See Deed Book, no. 1109, p. 255, Los Angeles County.


46. LAT, Nov. 16, Dec. 7, 14, 1896, Mar. 1, June 14, 1897.

47. Ibid., Mar. 15, 22, Oct. 25, 1897. Deed Book, no. 1215, p. 25, Dec. 21, 1897, Los Angeles County. A later reference from Forbes indicating that Doheny got his company back after two years was obviously mistaken; see Forbes, Men Who Are Making the West, 113.

48. See Book of Deeds, no. 1, 163, Orange County Courthouse, Santa Ana, Calif. If they failed to find oil in paying quantities, defined as ten barrels a day, they had to put a minimum of $2,500 on each lease to keep the purchase option alive. The lease required a monthly royalty of at least $50, or one-eighth of the gross product of the wells for each property.


50. LAT, July 15, Aug. 16; Oct. 25, 1897; Railroad Gazette, Mar. 19, 26, 1897.


52. See Articles of Incorporation, Brea Cañon Oil Company, July 17, 1899, Secretary of State, Sacramento, Calif.; Redpath, Petroleum in California, 84; Watts, “Oil and Gas Yielding Formations in California,” Bulletin No. 19, 79.

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55. *DC*, Feb. 9, 1900.


58. Doheny to W. G. Nevin, Oct. 24, 1901, Edward and Estelle Doheny Collection, Archdiocese of Los Angeles, Archival Center, Mission Hills, Calif. (hereafter cited as AALA). Doheny received a cash payment of $261,721.60 at the time of the sale and collected the balance, $577,764.40, in four annual installments through 1906. A copy of the final sales agreement dated April 2, 1902, is in “Petroleum Development Company,” RR 116:1, file 647, New York Executive Files, ATSF.


61. For Carrie’s death, see “Inquest on the Body of Carrie Doheny,” Sept. 27, 1900, Alameda County Coroner’s Office, Oakland, California. The official verdict was that her death was caused by “aromatic coma, due to taking poisonous battery fluid, in mistake for medicine, for a cold.” The interview with Morgan is from *The San Francisco Call*, Sept. 28, 1900. Another report on the same day in the *Oakland Enquirer* noted that Carrie’s nurse, a Miss Rose Ridley, told substantially the same story as Morgan, adding that Carrie’s condition was not something that required constant attention. The material she consumed was salammoniac, or ammonium chloride, which was used in galvanizing metal, as a soldering flux, and in dry-cell batteries. It also had some medicinal applications and was sometimes mixed with licorice as a lozenge; see *The New Dictionary of Chemistry* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1940), 32–33.

62. The existing letters written between Edward and Estelle are from the early years of their marriage and reveal a lonely and stressful period of adjustment. As Estelle stated on one occasion, she was more than willing to trade in her “jewels-
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horses-gowns-home” if she could have Edward come home from Mexico to keep her company; see C. E. Doheny to E. L. Doheny, Oct. 28, 1903, AALA.

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4. MH, Jan. 28, Mar. 9, 18, 1900.


11. The company had to begin work within six months, drill at least twenty wells within two years’ time, build transportation facilities to get the oil to market, spend at least $200,000 in the general expenses of the business, and invest at least $50,000 a year operating the business and a total of $600,000 over the life of the
concession. See MH, May 19, 1901; Mexican Petroleum Company, Annual Report (1912), 3; Doheny interview no. 503, 5, DRF.
12. Doheny interview no. 503, 5–7, DRF.
13. NYT, Mar. 29, Apr. 1, 16, May 2, 1901.
15. MH, Aug. 10, 1901.
16. Ibid., Aug. 28, 1901.
17. Ibid., Oct. 6, Dec. 7, 1901.
18. Ibid., Dec. 9, 1901.
19. IMA, 1: 225.
20. R. C. Kerens to Doheny, July 20, 1902, AALA.
21. For Kerens' New Mexico properties, see MSP, Feb. 9, 1889, Aug. 23, 1890. Biographical information is from National Cyclopedia of Biography, vol. 31, 408. MH, May 25, 1901; Kerens to Doheny, July 20, 1902, AALA.
22. MH, Feb. 9, 16, 20, Apr. 11, 1900.
23. Ibid., Feb. 19, Apr. 11, 1900.
24. Ibid., May 15, 1902.
25. NYT, Dec. 29, 30, 31, 1901, Jan. 3, 1902. MH, Jan. 7, 1902. The promotional schemes behind the formation of the Asphalt Trust of America in 1899 have also been interpreted as being among the most fraudulent investment deals of the era. See Lewis W. Haney, Business Organization and Combination (New York: Macmillan, 1934), 333–35.
26. Articles of Incorporation, Mexican Asphalt Paving and Construction Company, California State Archives. With a dozen shareholders, the company started work with $48,000 of initial capital.
27. Fairchild and Gilmore to E. L. Doheny, July 1, 1902; Ezequiel Ordonez to Doheny, October 6, 1902, AALA. E. W. Gilmore was the president of the Mexican Asphalt and Paving Company at the time. See MH, Oct. 16, 1902.
29. Ibid., Oct. 16, 17, 1902.
30. Wylie to Charles E. Harwood, January 23, 1903, AALA.
31. Wylie to Doheny, January 13, 22, 1903, AALA.
32. MH, Apr. 12, 1903.
34. Ibid., Sept. 22, 23, 1901. "Interview with Mr. S. W. Smith," no. 596, box I: 2000–2701, file 2498–2603, DRF.
35. Ibid., Jan. 13, 1902.
36. Interview with Edward L. Doheny, no. 45, DRF; IMA, 1: 213.
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40. MH, Feb. 9, 1904, Oct. 5, 1906; Doheny interview no. 503, DRF.

41. MH, June 23, 1903, December 25, 1904; Doheny interview no. 45, January 25, 1918, box K, 1001–3807, DRF.


43. Ibid., Feb. 21, 1904.

44. Ibid., Dec. 25, 1904, June 5, 1908.


46. NYT, Sept. 4, 1904.


49. M. Martinez del Río to Doheny, October 23, 1902; F. B. McKercher to Doheny, June 5, 1903, AALA.

50. MH, Oct. 11, 21, 1904.


52. MH, June 14, 1904.

53. Ibid., Apr. 20, 1904. The board of directors' certificate authorizing the issue of bonds on June 10, 1904, is filed with the Articles of Incorporation for the Mexican Petroleum Company.

54. MH, June 26, 1904.

55. Ibid., Jan. 6, 1905. Topping is the process of taking off successive layers of vapor when crude oil is heated in a still.

56. Ibid., Jan. 24, Feb. 15, Mar. 6, 29, 30, Apr. 25, 1905.

57. Ibid., May 5, 1905.
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58. Ibid., June 11, July 10, 1905.

60. According to company history, Doheny signed the initial contract with the Mexican Central on May 10, 1905, for 6,000 bbls/day. See Pan American Petroleum & Transport Company, Mexican Petroleum, 52. But as reported in the railway press at the time, the Mexican Central did not commit to using oil until November 1905, when it contracted for the full amount. See Railroad Gazette, Nov. 24, 1905; COW, Apr. 29, 1909; H. L. Wood, "Oil Fields of Mexico," OA, Apr. 21, 1911, p. 3.

61. Railroad Gazette, Dec. 21, 1906. The WSJ information was recorded in the MH, Nov. 7, 1907.


64. MH, Aug. 4, 1905.
65. Ibid., Dec. 23, 1905.


70. MH, June 12, 16, 1908.

71. Ibid., Aug. 23, 1909, Sept. 20, 1910; OA, Dec. 30, 1910. When the Mexican government tabulated its grievances against the oil companies in the late 1930s, it cited the abandonment of the Mexico City pipeline as one example of bad faith. See Mexico's Oil (Mexico City: Government of Mexico, 1940), xxxi–xxxii, 93.

72. MH, July 26, Sept. 20, 1908.
73. Ibid., Jan. 12, Dec. 12, 1909.

74. Ibid, Aug. 27, Sept. 20, 1910; Pan American Petroleum & Transport Company, Mexican Petroleum, 31; White, "Report and Appraisal," 8–12; Mexican Petroleum Company, Annual Report (1912), 4–5. A well is shut in when the control valves are closed to stop or reduce the flow of oil.

75. OGJ, Oct. 20, 1910, p. 20.
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78. NYT, June 6, 26, 1909; COW, June 10, 1909.
79. Statistics compiled from Mexico's Oil, 18; White, "Report and Appraisal."

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4. DC, July 23, 1900.
5. Ibid., Sept. 4, 1900.
6. Ibid., Aug. 11, Sept. 3, 1900.

leum Industry, 1895–1911,” 171–92; for more detail, see Andreano’s “The Emergence of New Competition in the American Petroleum Industry Before 1911” (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1960), chap. 5. In a section on the early development of the Kern River oilfield, Gerald White discusses his belief that, at least for the early 1900s, Standard’s actions “[d]id not reveal a determination to force a dictatorship upon the industry. If it did entertain such an ambition, it was doomed to disappointment.” See Gerald T. White, Formative Years in the Far West (New York: Meredith Publishing Co., 1962), 238.


9. DC, Sept. 7, 20, 24, 1900. Articles of Incorporation, Producers' Oil, Storage, and Transportation Company, Secretary of State, California State Archives.


12. Ripley to Morawetz, Nov. 23, 1904, RR 50:2, file 513–4, ATSF. Harriman paid 37½ cents a share when the market price was 18 cents. Supposedly, according to Ripley, the oil stock was structured so that Harriman could not achieve working control of the company.

13. Don L. Hofsommer, The Southern Pacific, 1901–1985 (College Station, Texas A & M University Press, 1986), 113–14. During the 1910s, the federal government tried to regain control of much of this undeveloped property in its bid to secure a strategic oil reserve in California, plunging the company into a decade-long legal battle over the issue.


15. E. P. Ripley to Victor Morawetz (Chairman of the Executive Committee), Nov. 21, 1903, Feb. 15, 1904, Mar. 2, 1904, RR 36:11, file 19–3a, ATSF.

16. Ibid., Feb. 15, 1904.

17. Ibid., Nov. 21, 28, 1904; Victor Morawetz to E. P. Ripley, Apr. 13, 1905, RR 50:2, file 513–4, ATSF.

18. E. P. Ripley to D. L. Gallup, July 29, 1905, RR 50:2, file 513–4, ATSF.

19. Ibid. The principal stockholders of the Midway Oil Company were also officers and stockholders of the Mexican Petroleum Company. When the first half of the company changed hands, Canfield and his California partner, J. A. Chanslor,
received $195,140, H. M. McIntosh received $77,575, and E. T. Stimson received $26,807. McIntosh and Stimson were also original directors of Mexican Petroleum. See contract between H. M. McIntosh and C. A. Canfield and the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway, Feb. 24, 1905, RR 270, file 830, New York Executive Department Files, ATSF. *OGJ*, Aug. 11, 1910, p. 10.


23. White, *Formative Years in the Far West*, 262. “Minutes of the Board of Directors,” Sept. 2, 1907; February 12, 1908; February 20, 1908, IOPA.


29. Incorporation dates were as follows: American Petroleum Company, Feb. 5, 1908; Niles Lease Oil Company, Feb. 6, 1908; American Oilfields Company, Jan. 6, 1910; Midland Oilfields Company, originally incorporated in Delaware on Feb. 9, 1910, and registered in California on Apr. 12, 1910, with Norman Bridge as the designated attorney for the company. The American Petroleum Company was capitalized for $10 million dollars with five directors: E. L. Doheny, C. Estelle Doheny, Norman Bridge, Charles Wellborn, and I. C. Rolph. The stated capital stock of the company was $500, or one share apiece for each director. The American Oilfields Company had a capitalization of $25 million, with $700 of capital stock divided equally between seven directors: E. L. Doheny, C. A. Canfield, J. C. Anderson, T. A. O'Donnell, J. M. Danzinger, Norman Bridge, and L. A. McCray. The smaller companies were capitalized at $1 million, with as little as $5 of capital stock. The officers were the same for all of these companies, with O'Donnell as the president and Bridge as the secretary-treasurer.


31. Ibid., Oct. 20, 1908. Specifically, Doheny's contract called for the delivery of 2,000 barrels per day in 1909, 4,000 in 1910, and 5,000 for 1911–13.

32. For production and consumption figures, see California State Council of
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1. OA, Apr. 7, 1911.


6. White, *Report and Appraisal of the Properties of the Mexican Petroleum Company*, 15–16. The National Railways of Mexico took 10,000 bbls/day; Standard Oil, 6,000 bbls/day; Waters-Pierce Refinery, 3,900 bbls/day; Santa Fe Railway, 2,500 bbls/day; Gulf Refining Company, 2,000 bbls/day; Mexican Asphalt Paving and Construction Company, 2,000 bbls/day; and Mexican National Gas Company, 250 bbls/day. See Herbert Wylie, "Contract of Mexican and Huasteca Petroleum Companies," Cleland Papers, box 201; Mexican Petroleum Company, *Annual Report* (1915), 19.


9. Sam T. Mallison, *The Great Wildcatter* (Charleston: Education Foundation of West Virginia, Inc., 1953), 102, 233. Mallison's biography of Mike Benedum was based on extensive interviews with the subject in the 1950s, some of which are contained in *The Reminiscences of Michael L. Benedum* (1951), in the Oral History Collection of Columbia University. Mallison's account is interesting, but the information is unreliable without corroboration.


16. A small amount of Mexpet stock had been circulating in Los Angeles for years and was traded at about $29 a share on the regional exchange; the company sold 26,357 shares in 1910. Since Benedum and Trees received 5,000 shares of common stock as a bonus with their preferred stock, there would have been at least
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21,357 shares sold that year, worth about $600,000. See Moody's Mining and Oil Companies, 1909, 3712, and 1910, 3343; Mallison, The Great Wildcatter, 237; OGJ, Oct. 20, 1910, p. 20; OA, Mar. 31, 1911, p. 16; COW, Apr. 6, 1911, p. 7; Moody's Mining and Oil Companies, 1911, 3712; Mexican Petroleum Company, Annual Report (1912), 6.


20. WSJ, Apr. 22, 29, 1912.


23. Ibid., June 9, 11, 13, Jan. 5, 1912, p. 11; Apr. 5, 1912, p. 11.

24. Ibid., May 24, 1912, p. 2.

25. Ibid., May 24, 1912, p. 11; June 7, 1912, p. 9.

26. Ibid., Sept. 6, 1912, p. 11; Sept. 20, 1912, pp. 11–12.


28. Annual tax rates, as a percentage of total oil sales of the Mexican Petroleum Company, reveal this escalating process during the early years of the revolution: 3.7% (1912), 9.9% (1913), 19% (1914), 30.8% (1915), 25.8% (1916), 15.8% (1917). See Mexican Petroleum Company, Annual Report (1913–1917); Moody, Industrials, 1912–1917; FOJ, June 1913, pp. 6, 40.


30. FOJ, June 1913, 1, p. 6; Apr. 1914, p. 6.


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35. FOJ, July 1914, p. 8.


40. For a recent discussion that attempts to balance the extremes of labor theory, revolutionary ideology, and objective reality, see Brown, Oil and Revolution in Mexico, 323–36. Another account, which idealizes the social condition of the agricultural workers before they went to work for the oil companies but provides a clear description of the culture shock encountered on the job, is Lief Adelson, “The Cultural Roots of the Oil Workers’ Unions in Tampico, 1910–1925,” in The Mexican Petroleum Industry in the Twentieth Century, eds. Jonathan C. Brown and Alan Knight (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 36–57.

41. Porfirio Díaz, Jr., to E. L. Doheny, undated letter, AALA. At the time, in late 1914 or early 1915, Díaz’s 508 shares of Mexpet preferred, at around $80 a share, were worth at least $40,000.

42. All figures here and below are from the 1912–1915 annual reports, except for the export totals for 1915, which are compiled from the monthly reports of the FOJ.


44. The large mining companies followed a similar pattern over this same period, as they experienced at least a 50 percent reduction in mineral production in 1914 and 1915. But they did not have the same opportunity as the oil companies to continue exporting from stocks on hand. Thus, after failing to make any earnings and eliminating their stock dividends, only those enterprises with the largest cash reserves were able to ride out the storm until 1917. See Bernstein, The Mexican Mining Industry, 100–105.


46. FOJ, Jan.–Feb. 1912, p. 12.

47. Ibid., Mar. 1912, pp. 7, 23.
50. Mexican Petroleum Company, Annual Report (1914), 27; FOJ, June 1915, p. 3.
51. FOJ, June 1915, p. 5.
53. Ibid., 33.
59. For information on the withdrawal suits, see Report of the Committee on Petroleum, 38–65.

Chapter 6

1. To take advantage of certain tax or business provisions for reasons that are no longer apparent, the company was incorporated in Virginia; see Incorporation Papers, California Petroleum Corporation, California State Archives. Also see Moody’s Analysis of Investments, 1913, 1058–59. For a discussion of the potential legal, tax, and stockholding advantages of such arrangements, see James C. Bonbright and Gardiner C. Means, The Holding Company: Its Public Significance and Its Regulation (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1932), chaps. 2–4.
2. See House Committee on Banking and Currency, “Testimony of Mr. George Henry,” vol. 2, Money Trust Investigation: Investigation of Financial and Monetary Conditions in the United States, under H. R. nos. 429 and 504, before a
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9. It had been the future value of this strategic mix of properties which most impressed Ralph Arnold when he appraised the company; see “Report on the Properties of the California Petroleum Corporation,” 5–6.


11. Ibid., 5, 10; OA, May 15, 1914, p. 8.


15. LAT, Jan. 6, 7, Feb. 5, 1916; Welty and Taylor, The 76 Bonanza, 166–69. In writing an official history of Union Oil, Welty and Taylor mentioned Requa's role in this affair but misconstrued the relationship between the principal actors in the merger. In particular, they failed to connect O'Donnell, Doheny, and California Petroleum. Instead, they assumed that Doheny had been allied with the British investors under Weir in competition with Requa for control of the company.


17. NYT, Sept. 18, Nov. 25, 1915.

24. Asset figures were compiled from Moody’s Industrials and Moody’s Analysis of Investments. The case for adding General Petroleum to the merger was problematic, since the company was experiencing severe financial difficulty, which resulted in a complete internal reorganization in the spring of 1916. See WSJ, Apr. 4, 1916. Still, without General Petroleum, the combined assets of the remaining three companies would have totaled $153,649,860—putting them comfortably ahead of Standard as the state’s largest oil company.
34. OA, May 1916, p. 2; FOJ, June 1916, p. 108.
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Printing Office, 1921), 13–14. C. N. Linkroum, “California Petroleum Improves,” MWS 25 (Dec. 27, 1919): 224–25. All calculations were based on the annual reports of the companies, as found in Moody’s Industrials.


Chapter 7


5. Pan American Petroleum and Transport Company, Pan American Record 1 (Sept. 1916): 12. This publication continued the MexPet Record as of this date.


8. Pan American Record 1 (Mar. 1917): 9. The illustration was included as the frontispiece to this issue.


12. LAT, Apr. 11, 1917.


20. Minutes of the Meetings of the National Petroleum War Service Committee, December 21, 1917, box 6, pp. 2–4, Requa Papers.


24. Ibid. Prior to the spring of 1917, the Union Oil Company had been supplying the Chilean market with California oil through arrangements made with the Independent Oil Producers Agency. But as a conservation measure to ease the oil shortage in California, Union made a deal with Doheny on behalf of the IOPA to use Mexican oil instead of the local product. Thereafter, Union Oil ships were loaded at Tampico by the Mexican Petroleum Company, and they made deliveries to Chile through the Panama Canal. This apparently proved to be a beneficial move for everyone involved, especially for the IOPA, which received an extra 50 cents of profit on every barrel of oil. See *OA*, Apr. 1917, p. 38.


27. All figures taken from the official annual reports of the companies for these years.


29. MWS, Sept. 28, 1918, p. 1003.

30. For contemporary appraisals of the company’s performance, see MWS, Aug. 31, 1918, pp. 833–36, and June 7, 1919, pp. 341–44. Financial information was derived from the annual stock market reports found in CFC. Dividends during this period were as follows: 1916, no common/ $240,000 (2%) preferred; 1917, $590,132 (1.5%) common/ $240,000 (2%) preferred; 1918, $3,168,008 (8%) common/ $960,000 (8%) preferred; 1919, $3,672,506 (9%) common/ $960,000 (8%) preferred. See Mexican Petroleum Company, Annual Report, 1916–1919.


33. Requa to Polk, RDS 812.6363/411.


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Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as WE-5); Situation Report, USS Annapolis, Aug. 31, 1917, GRN, box 88, doc. 4225–175. For the investigation of Green, see Director of Naval Intelligence to Leland Harrison, May 29, 1918, box 661, WE-5.


15. Ibid., Sept. 6, 1917.

16. See “An Address to a Party of Mexican Editors,” June 7, 1918, reprinted in Lloyd C. Gardner, Wilson and Revolutions: 1913–1921 (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1974), 66–69. As the address was intended as a statement to the Mexican people at large, Wilson withheld press copies in the United States until the text had been published in Mexico and sent to American embassies and legations abroad. See “President Wilson on Attitude of United States toward Mexico,” CFC, June 15, 1918, p. 2517.


19. For Pelaez’s goals, see “Translation of Huasteca Home Defense Movement of May 5, 1917,” RDS 812.6363/302; Fred I. Kent, Director, Division of Foreign Exchange, to W. G. Harding, Governor General of the Federal Reserve Board, May 3, 1918, RDS 812.6363/394; Harold Walker, “The Allies’ Oil Supplies,” June 18, 1917, MID 7708–27. For a list of contending forces, see “Estimate of Situation if Disturbances in the Oil Fields make Intervention Necessary,” June 4, 1918, box 660, WE-5.


21. Walker to Polk, Nov. 5, 1917, box 1 (“1st Outlines”), DRF.

22. Doheny to William Green, Mar. 11, 1918, RDS 812.6363/357. For more communications between Green and his superiors, see RDS 812.6363/373.


24. In the most recent evaluation, Jonathan Brown emphasizes Pelaez’s independence from the oil companies, the unique sociology of his political support, and the fact that his bandit activity was far more destructive to oil property than anything done by the federal government. Furthermore, Brown found no evidence to prove the charge of supplying weapons to the rebels. See Brown, Oil and Revolution, 253–304.


26. Doheny letter, Sept. 20, 1917, box 1 (“1st Outlines”), DRF.

27. SFE, Nov. 11, 1917. Information on Scott’s initial work is contained in a collection of letters from Arthur Young, another early member of the research team. See Young Letters, July 1, 16, Aug. 12, Nov. 11, 1917, DRF.

28. Doheny testimony, vol. 1, 270–72, IMA. For the report, see George B. Win-


30. For a good discussion of this trend among academics during this period, see Donald J. Murphy, "Professors, Publicists, and Pan Americanism, 1905–1917: A Study in the Origins of the Use of 'Experts' in Shaping American Foreign Policy" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1970). For some specific examples from Inquiry records, see Chester Lloyd Jones to A. A. Young, June 3, 1918; Bailey Willis to Herbert Bolton, Aug. 26, 1918; Bailey Willis to Percy A. Martin, August 26, 1918; entry 1, General Correspondence, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Records of the Inquiry, RG 256, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

31. See *El Democrata*, Jan. 28, 1918, copy contained in G. W. Scott to Members of the Board of Managers, Doheny Research Foundation, February 15, 1918, Doheny Research Foundation file, Benjamin Ide Wheeler Papers, Records of the Office of the President, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Carranza's comments are from *El Democrata*, March 5, 1918, as quoted in Clifford Trow, "Senator Albert B. Fall and Mexican Affairs: 1912–1921" (Ph. D. diss., University of Colorado, 1966), 214. This work also contains a short summary of the Doheny Research Project.


33. Taken together, these interviews were the singular achievement of the foundation for modern scholars and provide invaluable information about the attitudes of the period. For example, Doheny, Harold Walker, and Herbert Wylie each gave several interviews about the development of the oil industry in Mexico. Similar material was collected for virtually every industry in the country. Recently, Gene Hanrahan claimed that the oil material was conspicuously absent from the existing collection (*The Bad Yankee: American Entrepreneurs and Financiers in Mexico* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985], 10). While the files do not contain the full report, they include copies of the conclusion to Cleland’s oil report as well as other editorial discussions concerning his work. All of the interviews with oilmen are also available and have not fallen victim to some sinister plot. See “Conclusions and Suggestions,” n.d., box 2 (“Miscellaneous”); “Discussion of Mr. Cleland’s Report on Oil,” Aug. 24, 1918, box 4 (“Miscellaneous”); “List of Persons Interviewed,” box 3 (“Miscellaneous”). Cleland’s conclusions are in “Relations of the Oil Companies with the Mexican Authorities,” interview no. 683, box J 11,401–11,901, folder 11,801–11,901, DRF.


37. Dennis Wingsou Lou, "Fall Committee: An Investigation of Mexican Affairs" (Ph.D diss., Indiana University, 1963), intro. Harold Walker to Chester O. Swain, Feb. 6, 1920, Albert Fall Papers, Special Collections, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque (hereafter cited as Fall Papers Albuquerque). In collecting his material, Fall used his own agents plus a number of holdovers from the Doheny Research Foundation.

38. See Samuel Guy Inman, *Intervention in Mexico* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1919). A sympathetic but simplistic account of Inman's appearance before the Fall Committee is found in Kenneth F. Woods, "Samuel Guy Inman and Intervention in Mexico," *Southern California Quarterly* 46 (Dec. 1964): 351–70. Woods portrays Inman as a hero whose charges against Doheny and Fall were vindicated during the subsequent oil scandal.


40. Ibid., 204–8, 233, 248, 274; *OTJ*, Dec. 1917, p. 64. Doheny's testimony covered almost ninety pages of the published report and includes a good review of his early career, although much of it is slanted toward the purposes at hand. And if not intentionally disingenuous, his recollection of events twenty or thirty years earlier is not wholly reliable.


42. NAPARIM, "Plow with Petroleum" (pamphlet), pp. 1, 12.
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3. LAT, June 7, 1920. A less likely source for this quote was Senator James D. Phelan of San Francisco, once described as “California incarnate in Washington,” by Lane. See Anne Wintemute Lane and Louise Herrick Wall, eds., The Letters of Franklin K. Lane (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1922), 359. A check of the Democratic party files among Phelan’s papers, held at the Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, turned up no mention of Doheny—a clear indication that former political associates thought it prudent to file such material in a different receptacle after the oil scandal.


8. For an appraisal of the Cox-Roosevelt ticket, see David Burner, The Politics of Provincialism: The Democratic Party in Transition, 1918–1932 (W. W. Norton, 1967), 63. Burner noted that Cox’s defeat had as much to do with the “dark shadow of Woodrow Wilson” as it did with his uninspired and disorganized campaign, despite Roosevelt’s presence (see pp. 68, 72–73).

10. Lane and Wall, *The Letters of Franklin K. Lane*, 351, 363–64. These were obviously private concerns only, since no trace of these sentiments is evident in Keith Olson's biography of Lane's public career.

11. *NYT*, Nov. 18, 1920; Timothy J. Sarbaugh, “American Recognition and Eamon de Valera: The Heyday of Irish Republicanism in California, 1920–1922,” *Southern California Quarterly* 69 (Summer 1987): 135, 141–45. F. M. Carroll gives a particularly unflattering appraisal of Doheny's contribution to the AARIR. For Carroll, Doheny's involvement in the Teapot Dome made it seem that he was “merely another of the corrupt old Irish-American leaders who continued to reflect badly on the national cause.” See Carroll, *American Opinion and the Irish Question*, 159–60. If Carroll's attitude is typical, it would account for the fact that there are very few references, good or bad, to Doheny among the works on prominent Irish Americans.

12. Franklin K. Lane to Edward L. Doheny (Dec. 8, n.y.), AALA. Lane died six months later, in May 1921.


18. A copy of this message, signed by Doheny and the other members of the committee, is attached to a letter from Thomas W. Lyons, Executive Secretary, AARIR, to Senator Thomas J. Walsh, September 24, 1921, Thomas J. Walsh Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

19. Matthew Cummings to Charles E. Hughes, Mar. 15, 1921, RDS 812.6363/808, 821.


21. Edward L. Doheny to Senator A. B. Fall, Nov. 4, 1920, box 1, folder 1, Albert Fall Papers, Rio Grande Historical Collection, New Mexico State University Library, Las Cruces, N.Mex. (hereafter cited as Fall-LC).

Government Printing Office, 1924), 997–98. This was in addition to the $75,000 he had already given the Democrats before the race tactics became an issue.

23. Doheny to Fall, Nov. 4, 1920, Fall-LC.


30. Ibid., 544–48; Buckley, “The Icarus Factor,” 129.


32. Denby cited the official reasons for this exchange in a letter to Harding on May 26, 1921, and outlined the Pearl Harbor plan in a subsequent communication with Albert Fall. See Leases upon Naval Oil Reserves, vol. 1, 286–87, 921.


34. See “Statement of Rear Admiral John Keeler Robison,” Leases upon Naval Oil Reserves, 894–905.


36. Doheny testimony, Leases upon Naval Oil Reserves, 3038–3040.

37. Ibid.

38. Congressional Record, 67th Cong., 2d sess., 1922, 6041–49.

39. Ibid. This line of reasoning from Daniels’ perspective is also detailed in J. Leonard Bates (Lieutenant, U.S. Naval Reserve), “Josephus Daniels and the Naval Oil Reserves,” U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings 79 (Feb. 1953): 171–79. In January 1921, one reporter noted that, after living under Daniels’ heel for so long, there were few California oilmen “who will not feel like singing for joy, when he leaves
office on March 4.” See OTJ, Jan. 1921, p. 36. The comment about La Follette is in NPN, June 24, 1925, p. 59.

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7. Clarence W. Barron, A World Remaking or Peace Finance (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1920), 80–87; Burgess, “British Mexican Petroleum Co.,” 26. Barron also claimed that Royal Dutch-Shell had been buying Mexican Petroleum shares on the New York Stock Exchange, although Doheny said that this was impossible because he knew every broker handling the trades (see pp. 85, 87).
8. Copies of this report also went to the secretary of state via the War Department. See Newton D. Baker to the Secretary of State, Feb. 27, 1920, RDS 812.6363/648. A copy of the original report, titled “Petroleum: With Particular Reference to the Mexican Situation,” can be found in box 2, Requa Papers.
10. RDS 812.6363/630, 650, 831, 836.
11. The report is in J. A. Phelan, Oil Examiner, to M. W. Bowen, Special Assistant to the President, Dec. 21, 1920, RDS 812.6363/994. For an interview with Phelan about the situation, see RDS 812.6363/731, enclosure no. 3.
13. Production figures were compiled from the monthly reports of the OTJ and the Boletin del Petroleo. Earnings are from the annual reports of the Mexican Petroleum Company. Monthly stock prices are from the CFC and the WSJ.
15. Ralph Arnold, “Mexico’s Dwindling Oil Resources,” MWS, Apr. 2, 1921, pp. 782–83. In an incredible understatement, the editors added a disclaimer noting that “some authorities may find Mr. Arnold unduly pessimistic.”
16. WSJ, May 3, 16, June 4, 1921.
17. WWC [Cumberland], Office of the Foreign Trade Adviser, to Dr. Mills-
paugh, Under-Secretary of State, May 31, 1921, RDS, 812.6363/996; Report from R. J. Sharp, Special Agent in Charge, to R. C. Bannerman, Chief Special Agent, July 20, 1921, RDS, 812.6363/1085.


19. WSJ, June 16, 21, 24, Aug. 26, 27, 1921; NYT, Sept. 8, 1921.


21. NYT, July 1, 1921, Sept. 3, 1921, Nov. 25, 1922, June 20, 1923.

22. Ibid., June 23, 24, 1922; WSJ, Nov. 11, 1922, Mar. 13, 1924.


24. WSJ, June 10, 1921.

25. Ibid., June 28, 1921.

26. Peter S. Linder, “Every Region for Itself: The Manuel Pelaez Movement, 1914–1923” (M.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1983), 169–76; Doheny to Fall, July 16, 1921, box 1, Fall-LC. For Pelaez’s charges against the oilmen and Doheny’s response, see NYT, July 16, 17, 1921.

27. Linder, “Every Region for Itself,” 171. For the most relevant items from Fall’s files, see Papers of Albert B. Fall, Senate Office Files—Mexican Affairs, microfilm edition, reel 30, docs. 1250 (Pelaez letter to Buckley), 1953, 1956, 2499, 2500, 2515, 2528, Fall-Alb. As a reflection of the tenor of the material, Obregón had Buckley arrested and deported in November 1921 for his political activities on behalf of the American Association of Oil Producers in Mexico. A recent work that continues the tradition of uncritically perpetuating every accusation against Doheny and Fall is Linda B. Hall, Oil, Banks, and Politics: The United States and Postrevolutionary Mexico, 1917–1924 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995).


30. Letter from the Petroleum Committee to Adolfo de la Huerta, Secretary of Finance and Public Credit, Aug. 29, 1921, RDS 812.6363/1231. Subsequent quotations are also from this source.

31. See “Mexican Producers in Race against Salt Water,” MWS, Oct. 15, 1921.
36. RDS 812.6363/1228.
38. Smith, The United States and Revolutionary Nationalism in Mexico, 211–28; Hall, Oil, Banks, and Politics, chap. 7.

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2. Ibid., Feb. 1923, p. 17.
3. NYT, Mar. 17, 1923.
5. NYT, Apr. 5, 1923; LAT, Aug. 8, 1923.
7. Summary of Operations, California Oil Fields (San Francisco: California State Mining Bureau,), vol. 9 (Aug. 1923), 10–12; LAT, July 17, Dec. 1, 1923. Apparently, the dock was not supposed to be sold to a commercial enterprise, especially not to one that posed a potential fire hazard, and Doheny, along with the Harbor Commission, came under attack from several public organizations. See LAT, Aug. 29, 31, Sept. 1, 1923; OA, Aug. 1924, p. 24.
8. Oil from the southern fields, at 19 degrees Baume, yielded about 84% fuel oil, 11% gasoline, and 4% kerosene, with a 1% loss. Heavy crude, used for asphalt and gas oil, gave less than 3% gasoline. See W. M. Fraser, “Refining Light and Heavy Mexican Crude,” OTJ, Sept. 1922, pp. 48–54.
10. Financial information from Moody’s Analysis of Investments (1924) and the CFC.
13. Albert B. Fall to H. Foster Bains, Oct. 30, 1922, box 1, Fall-Alb.
14. Doheny’s comment is in CFC, Jan. 6, 1923, p. 84. Terms are explained in United States v Pan American Petroleum Co. et al., 6 F2d 43, 48–49, May 28, 1925. A brief discussion of the contract in relation to all other agreements pertaining to


20. _LAT_, Dec. 1, 1923. For the Mexico City station, see _NPN_, July 30, 1924, p. 55; Nov. 12, p. 69.


25. _Leases Upon Naval Oil Reserves_, 1771–72. Fall's role is best described in

26. A. B. Fall to Emma Fall, May 12, 1920, box 7, Fall-Hunt.
27. Ibid., July 23, 1921.
28. Ibid., Aug. 8, 1922.
31. See Albert B. Fall to Henry A. Wise, July 1, 1925, box 1, Fall-Alb. Quotations from Lucille Miller regarding Edward and Estelle Doheny, interview by Rita Faulders, Dec. 1984, AALA.
32. *Leases upon Naval Oil Reserves*, 973–88, 1006, 1014.
33. Ibid., 990–1013.
36. W. G. McAdoo to F. H. McAdoo, Jan. 28, 1924, General Correspondence, box 294; Tumulty to McAdoo, Nov. 20, 1919, box 536; McAdoo to Tumulty, Nov. 21, 1919, box 526; W. G. McAdoo to Thomas J. Walsh, June 13, 1925, box 212, McAdoo Papers, Library of Congress.
41. A. B. Fall to E. L. Doheny, July 31, 1925, box 1, folder 1, Fall-LC; *WSJ*, Feb. 8, 16, 18, 1924; *CFC*, Feb. 9, Mar. 22, 1924; Pan American Petroleum & Transport Company, *Annual Report*, 1923, pp. 10–11.
43. *LAT*, July 26, 1924.
of oil mergers, Walker went on in 1929 to become president of Bancamerica-Blair Corporation, and he served as chairman of Transamerica Corp. in the early thirties and ended his career at Kuhn, Loeb & Co. Obviously, Walker was a talented financial player, but his relationship to Doheny—as ally or opponent—is unknown. See *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, 126.


47. *WSJ*, Mar. 12, 20, 27, Apr. 2, 1925; *LAT*, Mar. 12, 1925. Despite the *Journal’s* circumspection, V. B. Guthrie of the *NPN* had already reported that Blair & Co. held an option on the Class A voting stock of Pan American Petroleum and was negotiating between Stewart and Doheny. See “Standard of Indiana in New Deal to Assure Itself Production,” *NPN*, Mar. 18, 1925, pp. 33–35.


49. Sadly, Edward Jr. would end up being killed in 1929, the victim of a murder/suicide at the hands of his valet and close associate. Given his son’s condition and wanting no more scandal, Doheny persuaded the Los Angeles police to wrap up their investigation almost immediately with an official conclusion that the perpetrator had been insane. For some comment on the loose ends of the case, see Leslie T. White, *Me Detective* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1936), 106–14.

50. Doheny to Fall, July 2, 1925, box 1, folder 1, Fall-LC.


52. See *NPN*, May 27, 1925, p. 126; Aug. 19, 1925, p. 35; Sept. 30, 1925, p. 156.


55. For a positive report on these themes and Doheny’s testimony, see the coverage from the *WP*, Dec. 2–17, 1926. A survey of opinion about the verdict, from papers around the nation, is in *NYT*, Dec. 17, 1926.


Conclusion


4. The details of Lucille Miller's role in this incident were related to the author during conversations with Monsignor Francis J. Weber, archivist of the Doheny collection, AALA.

