CHAPTER 1


4 Robert M. Fogelson, The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850–1930 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 108; and Marchand, 62–66. As Fogelson points out, before 1920, the Los Angeles work force was largely involved in trades and professions, and the region's principal industries—which included flour mills, foundries, slaughterhouses, and carpentry shops—were
small in scale and oriented toward the local market. Large-scale industry did not really appear in southern California until the 1920s. Rather than establishing branch factories in southern California, national corporations continued shipping their products west, until after World War I, when rapid population growth and rising transit costs made it advantageous to build plants in the Los Angeles basin. See Fogelson, 121–30.

5 Although the discovery of oil in the 1890s certainly played a role in the region's development, its real impact was felt after 1910, when demand for petroleum rapidly rose with increased automobile sales, and especially after 1920, when large oil fields were found. Fred W. Viehe, “Black Gold Suburbs: The Influence of the Extractive Industry on the Suburbanization of Los Angeles, 1890–1930,” *Journal of Urban History* 8 (November 1981): 3–26, argues that although trolley lines—largely Huntington's—were responsible for the suburban development of the north, northeast, and western portions of the Los Angeles basin, as well as Long Beach, Redondo Beach, Santa Monica, and Hollywood, the southern part of Los Angeles and northern Orange County were primarily developed because of the location of oil fields. Viehe's article is provocative, but, as he says, “this [his article] is not meant to depreciate the influence of interurban transportation, but rather to place its role in proper perspective.” Thus, although oil appears to have been significant in the growth of some cities in southern parts of metropolitan Los Angeles, the interurban remained the essential component in laying out and developing southern California.


8 See Lawrence H. Larsen, *The Urban West at the End of the Frontier* (Lawrence, Kansas: Regents Press of Kansas, 1978), 45. For a social and cultural sketch of the Los Angeles urban elite, see Jaher, 577–685.


11 More on James Phelan is available in Issel and Cherny.

13 For a discussion of boosterism in southern California, see, for example, Jaher, 628–29.


15 The idea that Henry Huntington wished to emulate Collis Huntington has been noted in several sources. See, for example, Crump, *Ride the Big Red Cars*; and Isaac F. Marcosson, *A Little Known Master of Millions: The Story of Henry E. Huntington—Constructive Capitalist* (Boston: E. H. Rollins and Sons, 1914). Marcosson (1877–1961) was a respected newspaperman, biographer, and editor. He served on the staffs of the *Louisville Times, World's Work,* and the *Saturday Evening Post,* and he was the editor of Doubleday publishing. An ardent advocate of free enterprise, he wrote many works on business, history, and economics.

16 Moses Shermin, quoted in Fogelson, 314.

17 HEH, quoted in *Los Angeles Examiner,* 12 Dec. 1904.


20 See, for example, the *Los Angeles Times,* 9–10 July 1905.


22 Derived from HEH's personal balance sheets, 1900–27, HEH 11/2/1–4.

23 In 1910, the Los Angeles basin's streetcar network was divided up be-
tween HEH and the Southern Pacific. By this time, HEH was willing to get out of the unprofitable Pacific Electric because he believed it had largely served its purpose of providing transit lines to many of his subdivisions. In a complex deal that involved trading of stock, HEH ended up the sole owner of the profitable, intrurban, downtown-oriented Los Angeles Railway, and the SP secured outright ownership of the interurban Pacific Electric.


26 See Banham.


28 Quoted from Dumke, “Growth of the Pacific Electric,” 114.

29 See _Los Angeles Times_, 12 Apr. 1903.


31 _Santa Ana Blade_, 1 June 1906, quoted in Crump, _Ride the Big Red Cars_, 77.

32 Ibid., 114.

33 Foster, “Model-T, the Hard Sell, and Los Angeles’s Urban Growth,” 473. Furthermore, Foster noted the importance of streetcars to pre-1920 Los Angeles by examining the relationship between trolley lines and street location. Using Los Angeles city maps drawn between 1902 and 1919, he found only a few streets located more than six blocks from a trolley line (p. 476).

34 Jaher, 612–19.

35 For the best account of the subdivider’s role in city development and the rise of urban planning, see Weiss, especially 9–13, 79–140; and Fogelson, 106–07.

36 Weiss, 3.

37 HEH’s real estate holdings were largely in the northeastern portions of Los Angeles County, an area of more than four thousand square miles. He owned about 35 percent of present-day Alhambra and shared ownership of the central business district of Glendale. In Pasadena, he held a majority interest in the Oak Knoll area, as well as property west of Annandale Country Club, land on North Lake Avenue, and one thousand acres in the city’s Rosemead section. HEH owned about 25 percent of the land in San Gabriel, about 25 percent of South Pasadena, and approximately 75 percent of San Marino. Furthermore, he owned business properties in downtown Los Angeles and held a substantial interest in Huntington Park and Vernon. He retained 90 percent of Redondo Beach, a minority interest in Huntington Beach and
Beverly Hills, real estate in Long Beach, and land in Newport Beach. All of these areas became densely settled over the course of the twentieth century. Information on HEH's landholdings comes from transcript of interview with A. G. Walker, 1 Mar. 1960, HEH 19/1.

38 For more information on the use of deed restrictions to determine the makeup of subdivisions, see Weiss.


40 See, for example, HEH to George Patton, 6 July 1904, HEH 7862.


42 HEH, quoted in *The Biblio: A Journal for Booklovers* 1 (February 1922): 158.

43 Marcosson, 23–34.

44 Huntington Land and Improvement Company Board of Directors Minutes, 5 Aug. 1927, HEH 1/F41/C.

CHAPTER 2

1 HEH to Mary Leonora (Huntington) Foster, 8 June 1862, HEH 645.


4 For a glimpse of Solon Huntington's conservative nature, see Lavender, *Great Persuader*, 1–5, 32, 45. Solon's business sense, or lack of it, was the underlying theme of this letter from Collis to Solon, 17 May 1883, HEH 11114: "I am satisfied however that you are making nothing out of your farms, but that you are, on the contrary, losing every year, and I would advise you to sell out everything in the way of farming property at the best price you can obtain.
and let me invest it in something that will be sure to pay interest always. That, with what the rental you will get, will give you all the money you will need to spend."

5 Lavender, *Great Persuader*, 17, 47.


7 Ibid., 72. See also Lavender, *Great Persuader*, 113.

8 Tutorow, 74.


10 Ibid., 245.


12 Lavender, *Great Persuader*, 412 n. 3. See also Joseph Doherty, “Smooth is the Road,” *Tracks* 3 (June 1953): 45. (*Tracks* was an in-house publication of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad.)

13 HEH to Harriet Saunders Huntington, 16 May 1870, HEH 686.

14 Ibid., 13 June 1870, HEH 687. See also, for example, HEH to Harriet Huntington, 15 Aug. 1870, HEH 693; ibid., 5 Oct. 1870, HEH 694; or ibid., 22 Aug. 1871, HEH 700; or ibid., 30 Oct. 1871, HEH 704. HEH remained very close to his mother, and although she continued to live the rest of her life in Oneonta, once HEH and his sister, Caroline, moved to California in the 1890s, Harriet spent several months every year visiting her children on the West Coast. Following his father’s death in 1890, HEH took over managing his mother’s finances.

In his late teens and early twenties, HEH apparently attended church regularly, took communion, and told his mother that she could “rest assured I never close my eyes without praying” (22 Aug. 1871, HEH 700). Although he remained a member of the Presbyterian church, the religiosity of his letters all but disappears by about 1874.

15 HEH to Harriet Huntington, 5 July 1870, HEH 688.

16 Ibid., 16 May 1870, HEH 686; 24 July 1870, HEH 690; 31 July 1870, HEH 691.

17 See HEH Papers, box 19/3. This is part of the Robert O. Schad Collection of biographical material on HEH. File 3 is a chronological outline of HEH’s life (hereafter cited as ROS chronological file).

18 This story varies depending on the source. For comparison, see Marcosson, 11–12; and Doherty, “Smooth is the Road,” *Tracks* 2 (February 1952): 49. My account is based on HEH’s correspondence. See HEH to Harriet Huntington, 13 Apr. 1871, HEH 697, and April 1871, HEH 696; HEH to Harriet and Solon Huntington, 20 May 1871, HEH 734. See also ROS chronology, HEH 19/3.

19 HEH to Harriet and Solon Huntington, 20 May 1871, HEH 734.

20 Marcosson, 12. The sawmill became so efficient that the price of an individual railroad tie dipped from one dollar to twenty-eight cents.
NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

21 HEH to Harriet Huntington, 18 Apr. 1872, HEH 708; ROS chronological file, HEH 19/3. Mary Alice Prentice was the sister of Clara Prentice Huntington, the young girl Collis Huntington and his wife adopted. The father of the Prentice girls, a grocer, was drowned in a flash flood in Sacramento in 1862.

22 HEH to Harriet Huntington, 31 Jan. 1872, HEH 706. As if a portent of the future, this letter makes no mention of religious matters, and business appears to be the driving force in HEH's life. HEH to Harriet Huntington, 1 July 1872, HEH 710.

23 Collis Huntington to HEH, 23 Apr. 1873, CPH Papers, microfilm, series 1, reel 5.

24 See, for example, Richard Franchot to I. E. Gates, 12 Dec. 1873, CPH Papers, microfilm, series 1, reel 6; S. P. Franchot to Richard Franchot, 25 June 1874; and Richard Franchot to Collis Huntington, 12 July 1874, CPH Papers, microfilm, series 1, reel 7.

25 See HEH to Collis Huntington, 1 Feb. 1875, CPH Papers, microfilm, series 1, reel 7; and ibid., 2 June 1875 and 26 Sept. 1875, CPH Papers, microfilm, series 1, reel 8.

26 See HEH to Collis Huntington, 26 Sept. 1875, CPH Papers, microfilm, series 1, reel 8; and ibid., 6 Dec. 1875, CPH Papers, microfilm, series 1, reel 9.

27 The Southern Pacific Railroad was organized by San Francisco businessmen in 1865 and chartered to run from San Francisco to San Diego and then turn east to the California / Arizona border. In 1868 the SP, remaining a paper railroad, came under the control of the Central Pacific. Two years later, the SP was merged with the San Francisco and San Jose Railroad, the Santa Clara and Pajaro Valley Railroad, and the California Southern, to form the Southern Pacific of California. Construction of the SP began slowly; only eighty miles of track between San Francisco and Gilroy were opened by the end of 1870. By 1877, the SP had built more than seven hundred miles of track and had reached the California / Arizona border. Then the SP of Arizona and the SP of New Mexico rapidly laid rails across the deserts, and in 1881 the SP met the Texas and Pacific Railroad in the small town of Sierra Blanca, ninety miles southeast of El Paso. San Francisco was then connected with New Orleans, but Collis was determined to have a solely owned SP road to New Orleans. To accomplish this, the SP took a controlling interest in the Galveston, Harrisburg, and San Antonio Railroad in July 1881. Using the right-of-way granted to the GH&SA, the SP completed its own railroad to New Orleans in 1884. The line ran down from San Francisco through California to Yuma, Arizona; it then moved east through Tucson, El Paso, Sierra Blanca, Del Rio, San Antonio, Houston, Galveston, and finally to New Orleans.

To fulfill his dream of traveling from the Pacific to the Atlantic over tracks he either wholly owned or largely controlled, Collis convinced Crocker and Stanford (Hopkins had died in 1878) to join with him and other associates to build a rail connection between New Orleans and Memphis. The job required rehabilitating several roads Collis already owned, plus additional construc-
tion. Under the name of the Louisville, New Orleans and Texas Railroad, the 450-mile project was completed in October 1884. The Chesapeake and Ohio system was thereby connected with the SP.

28 Grodinsky, 163–65. For information of HEH’s appointment, see Collis Huntington to Willard V. Huntington, 8 Apr., 9 July, and 22 Oct. 1881, CPH Papers, microfilm, series 2, reel 34, vol. 256.

29 HEH to Collis Huntington, 28 Feb. 1872, CPH Papers, microfilm, series 1, reel 27.

30 Marcosson, 15. Although obviously biased in favor of HEH, this source provides the most detailed description of HEH’s activities on the eastern railroads from 1881 to 1892.


33 ROS chronology, HEH 19/3.

34 See Collis Huntington to HEH, 26 Mar. 1885, CPH Papers, microfilm, series 2, reel 24, vol. 157; and Collis Huntington to HEH, 1 Feb. 1886, HEH 3120.

35 For information on the Kentucky Central, see Maury Klein, History of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad (New York: Macmillan Co., 1972), 296–97; and Grodinsky, 163, 298. For specifics on the KC, such as rolling stock, track-age, and earnings, see Poor’s Manual of Railroads (New York: Poor’s Railroad Manual Company). This was an annual publication; see the years 1882–91.

36 The story was remembered by Los Angeles journalist, Otheman Stevens. Although it does not specify the exact location of the incident or the specific railroads involved, Stevens’s account stressed that the episode took place in a “southern city where a railroad he [HEH] headed faced strong competition.” Although it could have taken place when HEH headed the Elizabeth, Lexington and Big Sandy Railroad, it most likely occurred while on Kentucky Central where HEH faced stiff competition from Louisville and Nashville and the Illinois Central. See Otheman Stevens to Robert Schad, 11 July 1929, HEH 19/3.

37 See Marcosson, 16; and Poor’s Manual of Railroads, 1888–90.

38 Evans, 582–83.


40 Tutorow, 269.

41 Ibid., 263.

42 The Sargent Affair referred to an incident in which Huntington and Stanford, then the governor of California, supposedly agreed to back Aaron A. Sargent for U.S. senator in 1885. The election was to be decided by the California legislature, which was dominated by Republicans. All that was required was an indication from Stanford that he supported Sargent, and he would be elected. Stanford balked, and he himself was elected to the senate. Huntington and Sargent believed they had been double-crossed, and it was thought
that the release of this information might damage Stanford's political career. See Lavender, *Great Persuader*, 344–46; and Tutorow, 263–70.

43 Tutorow, 264–65.

**CHAPTER 3**

1 Collis Huntington to Joseph Willcutt, 13 Feb. 1893, HEH 3269.

2 HEH to Collis Huntington, 7 June 1892, HEH 5795. Slowly, HEH's job and powers expanded. The *San Francisco Chronicle*, 1 Jan. 1894, recorded: "When H. E. Huntington came here his position was a nominal one as representative of his uncle, but the power and duties of the Assistant to the President expanded. He gradually superceded Mr. Towne [SP second vice-president] in the management of affairs which hitherto had been exclusively under the charge of Vice President Crocker. . . . H. E. Huntington is an able man."


5 Arnold, 412, 415. The seven other companies, all chartered in the 1860s, were Omnibus Railroad; North Beach and Mission Railway; Central Railroad; City Railroad; San Francisco and San Jose Railroad; Front, Mission and Ocean Railroad (in 1887 this became the Sutter Street Railway); and the Potrero and Bay View Railroad.

6 Ibid., 55, 120–23.

7 Kahn, 123.

8 Ibid., 122–23. Arnold, unnumbered pages; inside of front cover, plate 5, table 1. The population of San Francisco from 1880 to 1910 in ten-year increments was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>233,959</td>
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<td>1890</td>
<td>298,997</td>
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<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>342,782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>416,912</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9 Hilton, 31, 207.


11 HEH to Collis Huntington, 3 Feb. 1893, HEH 5871; and HEH to Collis Huntington, 9 Feb. 1893, HEH 3265.

12 Ibid., 3 Feb. 1893, HEH 5872; and Collis Huntington to HEH, 9 Feb. 1893, HEH 3264.

13 HEH to Collis Huntington, 31 Dec. 1892, HEH 5838; and Collis Huntington to HEH, 5 Jan. 1893, HEH 3245.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

15 J. L. Willcutt to Fred Crocker, 13 Jan. 1893, HEH 8780.
16 Hilton, 229. See also Kahn, 124–26.
17 HEH to Collis Huntington, 13 Mar. 1893, HEH 5898. The Ferries and Cliff House Railway did $50,000 more in business than in the preceding year. HEH and his uncle were not alone in believing that the Omnibus line was too expensive to purchase; Fred Crocker and Thomas Hubbard, a member of the SP board of directors, did not think it was the proper time to purchase the railway. See HEH to Collis Huntington, 15 Apr. 1893, HEH 5926.
18 HEH to Collis Huntington, 12 July 1893, HEH 5987.
19 Collis Huntington to HEH, 10 Aug. 1893, HEH 3379.
20 HEH to Collis Huntington, 22 Sept. 1893, HEH 6059. To join into the merger, the larger companies received stock in the new company. The Market Street Cable Railway Company received 74.27 percent of the shares in the new company, Omnibus was given 18.50 percent, Ferries and Cliff House got 7.14 percent, and North Beach and Mission Railway received 0.09 percent interest in the Market Street Railway.
21 ROS chronology, HEH 19/3.
22 The California Street Cable Company operated only 16.5 miles of track, Geary Street Park and Ocean—owned by the SP—held 8 miles of track, Metropolitan owned 11 miles, Presidio and Ferries had 11.5 miles, the San Francisco and San Mateo employed 21 miles, and the Sutter Street Cable Railway held 13 miles of track. See Poor’s Manual of Railroads, 1894, 1042.
23 Collis Huntington to HEH, 23 Oct. 1893, HEH 3430.
24 On HEH’s economizing and expense reduction, see HEH to Collis Huntington, 5 Aug. 1893, HEH 6026; HEH to Collis Huntington, 25 Aug. 1893, HEH 6043; and Collis Huntington to HEH, 30 Aug. 1893, HEH 3391.
25 HEH to Collis Huntington, 15 Nov. 1893, HEH 6102.
26 The Market Street Railway Annual Report of 1894, 1–3, HEH 8866. Horse car lines were rapidly becoming losing properties. E. P. Vining, general manager of the Market Street system, wrote to HEH on 22 June 1895, HEH 8805: “It is hardly necessary to say that the day of the horse car has passed. People will not pay to ride in horse cars if they can help it and to a great extent, they do manage to help it by walking instead of riding. . . . Horses work efficiently for two years. Our horses have been in service four to six years and are twelve to sixteen years old. We cannot continue present service without purchasing more horses and it would be unwise to do so.” Market Street moved quickly to convert its horse lines to electricity and to sell their aging animals. The company was disposing of their horses at a rate of three to four a day. Management decreased the number of horses from 1,076 in September 1894 to 388 in June 1895. See HEH 8798, and HEH 8804.
27 HEH to E. P. Vining, 6 May 1897, HEH 8127; E. P. Vining to HEH, 7 May 1897, HEH 8853; and E. P. Vining to HEH, 8 Oct. 1897, HEH 8821.
28 Collis Huntington to HEH, 9 Apr. 1896, HEH 3868.
29 Quoted from Monkonen, 161.
30 HEH to Collis Huntington, 15 June 1893, HEH 5962; and Collis Huntington to HEH, 20 June 1893, HEH 3331.
31 See the *San Francisco Chronicle*, 3 Apr. 1896; and the *San Francisco Examiner*, 24 Sept. 1895, and 6 Jan. 1896. For his planned expansions, HEH apparently did obtain loans totaling approximately $500,000 from Isaias W. Hellman and the Nevada Bank. Hellman and his associates, Antoine Borel and Christian DeGuigne, eventually accepted Market Street Railway bonds in repayment of the loan. See the *San Francisco Examiner*, 8 Feb. 1896.

32 See the *San Francisco Call*, 21 Oct. 1895; and the *San Francisco Examiner*, 24 Sept. 1895, and 8 Jan. 1896. According to HEH’s letter of 23 Dec. 1895 to Collis Huntington (HEH 6580), Market Street expected to pay its first dividend of sixty cents per share in the last quarter of 1895 ending 31 December.

33 Track mileage was taken from the annually published *Poor’s Manual of Railroads* for the years 1895–1900. Earnings were found in Market Street Financial Reports, HEH 8880. Operating expenses came from letter from HEH to Collis Huntington, 15 Mar. 1899, HEH 7149.

34 HEH to Collis Huntington, 1 Nov. 1897, HEH 6922.

35 Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), 147. For more on railroad competition from the 1870s to the 1890s and the changing strategies from cooperation to system building, see 122–87.


37 HEH to Collis Huntington, 1 Nov. 1897, HEH 6922; and HEH to Collis Huntington, 26 Aug. 1897, HEH 6854.

38 Ibid., 1 Nov. 1897, HEH 6922.

39 Periods for comparison are the forty months prior to HEH’s arrival in San Francisco, 1 Jan. 1889 to 30 Apr. 1892, and the forty months after HEH took the job with the Southern Pacific, 1 Apr. 1892 to 31 July 1895. See HEH to Collis Huntington, 7 Nov. 1895, HEH 6563.

40 *Los Angeles Evening Express*, 6 Nov. 1897.

41 See newspaper clipping scrapbook, unmarked clipping, HEH 7/6, vol. 1, p. 268, and ROS chronology, HEH 19/3.

42 *San Francisco Chronicle*, 21 Mar. 1895; and *San Francisco Examiner*, 1 and 22 Mar. 1896.

43 Marcosson, 16.


45 HEH to Collis Huntington, 27 June 1894, HEH 6198; and HEH to Collis Huntington, 2 July 1894, HEH 6205.

46 *Los Angeles Times*, 4 July 1894; Williams, 195.

47 HEH to David Parry, 14 Sept. 1903, HEH 7861.
NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

48 HEH to Collis Huntington, 7 Aug. 1894, HEH 6241.
49 Ibid., 6 Feb. 1895, HEH 6435.
50 HEH to Lovell White, 1 and 10 Sept. 1898, HEH 8155; Los Angeles Times, 15 Sept. 1898; Los Angeles Herald, 16 Sept. and 27 Dec. 1898.
51 Henry and Mary Huntington had four children:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Birth Year</th>
<th>Death Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Howard Edwards</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clara Leonora</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Vincent</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marian Prentice</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>1970</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the Huntingtons were living in San Francisco, Howard began working for the engineering department on the Coast Division of the SP in 1894 and often was not home. The daughters often traveled with their mother. In addition to the trip to Europe in 1897, all three girls went to Banff, Alberta, with Mary in 1899; in 1901, Mary, Clara, and Elizabeth took a year-long trip to Europe. For information on the family, see journals of Edmund Burke Holladay 1894–1902, HEH 53/2.

52 Ibid., see 17 Oct. 1897, and 5 Apr. 1898.
53 See, for example, ibid., 7 July 1897.
55 See the journals of Edmund Burke Holladay, 1917–18, HEH 10968.
56 Over the years, Philip Speyer and Company, the American representative of L. Speyer-Ellisen and Company of Frankfurt, Germany, sold millions of dollars of SP bonds. Although the Speyers were not very friendly with the Huntingtons, Collis enjoyed the confidence of James Speyer. With the banker's help, Collis worked out a plan to acquire the Hopkins / Searles and Crocker shares in the SP and at the same time laid out a schedule to pay the federal government the Central Pacific's debt. According to an unmarked clipping in a newspaper clipping scrapbook, HEH 7/6, vol. 2, p. 69, Speyer and Company, in association with Kuhn, Loeb and Company, provided Collis with $28 million to buy out his partners. These firms apparently received a majority on the SP's board of directors.

57 San Francisco Chronicle, 9 Apr. and 22 Oct. 1899; San Francisco Examiner, 15 June 1900. See also newspaper clipping scrapbook, unmarked clipping, HEH 7/6, vol. 2, p. 69.
58 HEH to Herman Shainwald, 20 Aug. 1900, HEH 7956.
59 HEH to William Crocker, 30 Aug. 1900, HEH 5283.
60 HEH to I. W. Hellman, 4 Sept. 1900, HEH 5572.
61 New York Times, 6 Sept. 1900. According to Daggett, 426, by 1900, Collis held 37.5 percent of the SP stock. The Speyers controlled a larger percentage of stock than the Huntingtons; when Collis died, the bankers no longer wished the Huntington family to run the SP, and they were able to gather enough support to name their chosen successor to the SP presidency.
62 HEH to Thomas Hubbard, 8 Nov. 1901, HEH 5726.
63 HEH to Moses H. Sherman, 21 Aug. 1900, HEH 8201.
CHAPTER 4

1 HEH, quoted from Crump, *Ride the Big Red Cars*, 52.


4 Hilton, 175, 331.

5 See Swett, “Los Angeles Railway,” 17; and Nelson, 158.


7 Collis Huntington to HEH, 23 Nov. 1898, HEH 4293.


9 HEH to Lovell White, 1 Sept. 1898, HEH 8155.

10 *Los Angeles Times*, 15 Sept. 1898.


12 Ibid., 20; for Huntington's acquisition of the Los Angeles and Pasadena, see the *Los Angeles Times*, 27 Dec. 1898; and the *Los Angeles Herald*, 27 Dec. 1898; see also *Poor's Manual of Railroads*, 1899, 926–27.

13 *Los Angeles Times*, 1 Jan. 1900.

14 The firm was most likely based in Arizona because of that state's lax incorporation laws. See Crump, *Ride the Big Red Cars*, 44. Crump states that once HEH was restored to the SP, the PE of Arizona incorporation was dropped. However, when the PE of California was incorporated in November 1901, it consisted of several railroads, one of which was the PE of Arizona. See HEH to William B. Dana, 16 Dec. 1901, HEH 5287. See also Swett, “Los Angeles Railway,” 20; and Laurence R. Veysey, “The Pacific Electric Railway, 1910–1953: A Study in the Operations of Economic, Social, and Political Forces upon American Local Transportation” (1953), 19. This typescript is available at Occidental College Library.

15 *Los Angeles Express*, 2 May 1901.

16 *San Francisco Bulletin*, 21 July 1901; see also ibid., 4 July 1901.

17 The quotation is from *PE Topics* 1 (July 1906): 8. Randolph's retirement from the PE is noted in the *Los Angeles Herald*, 12 Apr. 1904. For more on Randolph, see Dumke, “Growth of the Pacific Electric,” 72–75.

18 According to Collis Huntington’s will, Arabella Huntington received two-thirds of her deceased husband's SP stock, real estate in New York, and one-half of the entire estate. After granting his other relatives specific items, Collis bequeathed one-third of his SP stock and the remainder of his estate to HEH. Because of the will, Arabella and HEH came to share a joint interest
in many businesses. Their shared business interests included stockholdings in such firms as

Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company
Newport News Light and Power Company
Old Dominion Land Company
Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad
Chesapeake and Nashville Railroad
Astoria and Columbia River Railroad
Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio Railway
Raquette Lake Railroad
Rocky Mountain Coal and Iron Company
Occidental and Oriental Steamship Company
Hammond Lumber Company


19 San Francisco Bulletin, 29 June 1901.


21 Los Angeles Herald, 23 June 1901; Los Angeles Express, 26 June 1901; and Pomona Times, 10 July 1901.

22 Swett, “Los Angeles Railway,” 38. Shorb was a station on the SP line located southeast of Alhambra. According to Franklin Hoyt, “Railroad Development in Southern California, 1868–1900” (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1951), 203, it stood near present-day Atlantic Avenue and Mission Road in Alhambra.

23 John Bicknell to HEH, 23 Oct. 1901, HEH 1327.


25 For a copy of the Pacific Electric's 1901 Articles of Incorporation, see Crump, Ride the Big Red Cars, 235–36.

26 HEH to William B. Dana, 16 Dec. 1901, HEH 5287.


28 Dumke, “Growth of the Pacific Electric,” 74; and Crump, Ride the Big Red Cars, 45, 53, 58.

29 See David Brodsky, LA Freeway: An Appreciative Essay (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 67. Brodsky continues: “Settlements, for example, paralleled the Santa Fe road at intervals of a mile and a half. More than half of these boomtowns failed, but more than thirty survived to provide a nuclei for subsequent growth of the county. They were Alhambra, Alta­dena, Arcadia, Azusa, Belvedere, Burbank, Claremont, Covina, Eagle Rock, Gardena, Glendale, Glendora, Hawthorne, Hollywood, Inglewood, La Verne, Lynwood, Monrovia, Puente, Redondo Beach, Rivera, San Dimas, Sawtelle,
Sierra Madre, South Pasadena, Sunland, Tropico, Tujunga, Verdugo Hills, Vernon, Watts, and Whittier."

30 HEH to A. C. Howe, 16 April, 1902, HEH 5663. HEH kept close watch on the city’s population growth; his figures were nearly accurate. The Los Angeles population according to Kelker, De Leuw and Company, Report and Recommendations, 21, was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>County</th>
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<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>11,093</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>50,395</td>
<td>101,454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>102,479</td>
<td>170,298</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

31 *Los Angeles Times*, 17 Apr. 1903. Patton, a prominent lawyer, large landholder, and one-time Los Angeles district attorney, arrived in southern California in 1866. He married one of the daughters of Benjamin D. Wilson, a wealthy early settler of the area. This link to the Wilson family brought Patton into contact with J. de Barth Shorb who had also married a Wilson daughter. It is likely that through this relationship, Patton met HEH. After it was announced that Patton was to head HEH’s land office, the 30 Apr. 1903 *Los Angeles Herald*, reported that HEH had purchased a controlling interest in the San Gabriel Wine Company. For information on Patton, see *History of Los Angeles: City and County of California*, 2 vols. (Los Angeles: J. R. Finnelly and Son Publishing Co. 1931), 2: 203–04. For information on Wilson and Shorb, see Glenn S. Dumke, *The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1944); and Midge Sherwood, *Days of Vintage, Years of Vision* (San Marino, Calif.: Orizaba Publications, 1982).


33 Crump, *Ride the Big Red Cars*, 60.

34 HEH to Antoine Borel, 2 Jan. 1903, HEH 12498; and Los Angeles Land Company, Minutes of Directors Meetings, 23 May 1903, 13–15, HEH 1/19.

35 Howard Huntington to Harriet Huntington, 21 Mar. 1903, HEH 11155.

36 HEH to John Boyd, 1 May 1902, HEH 5182.

37 The purchase of the property is described in the *Los Angeles Times*, 5 Mar. 1902; for information on the building, see the *Los Angeles Examiner*, 8 Sept. 1904; and Swett, “Los Angeles Railway,” 40.

38 See Collis Potter Huntington Estate Material, Huntington Vault Material, box 3. The executors of Collis’s estate were Charles Tweed and Isaac Gates.

39 *Los Angeles Times*, 1 Sept. 1907.

40 ROS chronology file, summary of bound clippings, 10 July 1903, HEH 19/3.

41 I. W. Hellman to HEH, 17 July 1901, HEH 2542.

42 See *History of Los Angeles*, 2: 7–10; and Hank Johnson, *The Railroad
NOTES TO CHAPTER 4


43 William G. Kerckhoff to HEH, 24 July 1901, HEH 8440.
44 Ibid., 13 March 1902, HEH 9582; Pacific Light and Power’s Articles of Incorporation, HEH 11/7/2. Although the Kerckhoff group took 49 percent of the new PL&P stock, some of their shares were turned over to stockholders of the San Gabriel Electric Company.


46 Kerckhoff to Commercial and Financial Chronicle, 13 Nov. 1902, HEH 9580.
47 See Kerckhoff to HEH, 27 May 1903, HEH 9585; and Dumke, “Growth of the Pacific Electric,” 45.

48 See transcript of interview with A.G. Walker, 23 March 1960, HEH 19/1; see also ROS chronology file, summary of bound clippings, 24 July 1903, HEH 19/3.

49 Bion J. Arnold, “The Transportation Problem of Los Angeles,” California Outlook, 4 Nov. 1911, 3; and Nelson, Los Angeles Metropolis, 158.


51 HEH to Hervey Lindley, 19 Oct. 1901, HEH 7680; and Hervey Lindley to HEH, 21 Oct. 1901, HEH 8544.


54 HEH to Railroad Gazette, 20 Feb. 1902, HEH 7917.

55 Los Angeles Times, 22 June 1902.

56 Crump, Ride the Big Red Cars, 58–59; and Hilton and Due, Electric Interurban Railways in America, 410.

57 See Nelson, Los Angeles Metropolis, 267; and Crump, Ride the Big Red Cars, 110.


59 Ibid., 67. Although mainly providing interurban service, the PE also operated approximately twenty-five local streetcar lines primarily in the cities of Los Angeles, Long Beach, and Pasadena (see Crump, Ride the Big Red Cars, 75).
NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

60 E. A. Adams to C. E. Graham, 24 1903, HEH 11300.
62 For outstanding PE bonds, see Commercial and Financial Chronicle, Street Railway Supplement, 28 Feb. 1903. Information on HEH's holdings of PE bonds is taken from his personal balance sheets, December 1902 and 1903, HEH 11/2/1.
63 Christian DeGuigne to Isaias W. Hellman, 28 January 1903, HEH 1361; and breakdown of outstanding Pacific Electric stock, Pacific Electric auditor to HEH, 4 Feb. 1903, HEH 9534.
64 Figures for the Pacific Electric are taken from HEH's personal account book, HEH 7687; Los Angeles Railway's earnings come from the company's annual reports, 1900–03, HEH 2/2.
65 Crump, Ride the Big Red Cars, 61.

CHAPTER 5

1 Los Angeles Times, 5 May 1908.
2 Sam W. Wall, "Huntington: What He has Done and What He Failed to Do," Los Angeles Financier, 5 Nov. 1910, 300.
3 Los Angeles Examiner, 29 May 1908.
4 Los Angeles Times, 1 Sept. 1907.
5 HEH to Harriet Huntington, 21 October 1904, HEH 729.
6 Los Angeles Times, 2 Apr. 1903.
7 Marcosson, 8–9, 29–30.
8 See journals of Edmund Burke Holladay, HEH 53/2.
9 The brevity of the divorce hearing is noted in Crump, Ride the Big Red Cars, 87; see also journals of Edmund Burke Holladay, 22 Mar. 1906, HEH 53/2. Contemporary accounts of the divorce of HEH and Mary Huntington may be found in Los Angeles Examiner, San Francisco Call, and the San Francisco Examiner, all for 22 Mar. 1906.
10 Clara Huntington to Robert Schad, 19 Apr. 1929, HEH 19/3.
11 Riverside and Arlington Railway Company, Minutes of Directors Meeting, 7 Apr. 1903, HEH 9065; see also "Lines of the Pacific Electric: Northern and Eastern Division," Interurbans Special No. 61 (1976): 90. Huntington gained a controlling share in the San Bernardino Valley Traction Company by June 1907; see Los Angeles Examiner, 20 June 1907.
12 Los Angeles Express, 28 Apr. 1903, and Los Angeles Times, 24 Apr. 1903; William Kerckhoff to HEH, 28 Apr. 1903, HEH 8447. Crump, Ride the Big Red Cars, 64, states that HEH also acquired an interurban system in Santa Clara County. Long-distance trolley lines as well as extensive statewide interurban systems were becoming common in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan (see Hilton and Due, 255–90).
13 Hilton and Due, 14–15, 197–207.
14 HEH to E. H. Harriman, 20 Jan. 1903, HEH 5559.
15 William Andrews Clark (1839–1925) was a Montana mine operator,

16 For information on the three-cent franchise, see the *Los Angeles Times*, 28 Mar., 4 and 8 Apr. 1903; *Los Angeles Express*, 1 and 9 Apr. 1903, *Los Angeles Herald*, 1 and 8 Apr. 1903; and Crump, *Ride the Big Red Cars*, 62.

17 *Los Angeles Times*, 16 June 1903.

18 Bound newspaper clipping scrapbook, unmarked clipping, 16 June 1903, HEH 7/2/1, 3.

19 William Hook, T. J. Hook, and Mary Hook to W. A. Clark, Agreement for sale and purchase of Los Angeles Traction Company, 14 Apr. 1903, HEH 2773.

20 *Los Angeles Times*, 18 Apr. 1903.

21 Crump, *Ride the Big Red Cars*, 68.

22 *Los Angeles Record*, 5 May 1903.

23 Agreement between HEH, Hellman, Borel, DeGuigne, and Harriman, 7 May 1903, HEH 5605. Prior to the deal, Bicknell, Randolph, and Slauson had apparently sold their interest in the Pacific Electric to Huntington. Then in March 1903, the remaining 95,480 shares of PE stock were subscribed to at one dollar per share as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Holder</th>
<th>Shares</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HEH</td>
<td>37,567.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hellman</td>
<td>9,103.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borel</td>
<td>9,103.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DeGuigne</td>
<td>3,034.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA Land Co.</td>
<td>36,671.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the PE stock owned by the Los Angeles Land Company, a holding company in which HEH held the largest percentage of stock—with the minority interest held by Hellman, Borel, and DeGuigne—went to Harriman. So that Harriman would be an equal partner with HEH in the PE, Harriman received 3,655.66 shares of stock from Hellman, Borel, and DeGuigne. See also Joseph McBride to William Herrin, 14 Sept. 1908, HEH 9532. Following the May deal, the PE stock breakdown was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Holder</th>
<th>Shares</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HEH</td>
<td>40,326.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harriman</td>
<td>40,326.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hellman</td>
<td>8,291.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borel</td>
<td>8,291.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DeGuigne</td>
<td>2,763.16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For additional information on the payment made to the Hooks and to the SP, see HEH to Isaias Hellman, 30 June 1903, HEH 5600, and Isaias Hellman to Epes Randolph, 10 July 1903, HEH 2574.
24 See certificate for issuance of Pacific Electric bonds, 7 Nov. 1903, HEH 34/A/3; Commercial and Financial Chronicle, Street Railway Supplements, 28 Feb. 1903, and 27 Feb. 1904. The PE had $3,555,000 bonds outstanding in February 1903 and $8,494,000 outstanding in February 1904. No more PE bonds were sold while HEH held stock in the railroad.

25 HEH to Isaias Hellman, 3 June 1903, HEH 5596.

26 Although HEH owned all the stock and initially advanced $10 for each $100 in shares subscribed, directors' shares (5 shares each) were held under the names of John Muir; Epes Randolph; George Patton; Howard Huntington; S. C. Baxter, the PE auditor; and George Pillsbury, the PE chief engineer. Incorporated at the same time was the Pacific Electric Land Company, also wholly owned by HEH. Its purpose was to purchase land and acquire right-of-way for the LAIU. See Los Angeles Inter-Urban list of stockholders, 4 June 1903, HEH 8572; the Los Angeles Express, 6 June 1903; and Dumke, "Growth of the Pacific Electric," 36–37. By November 1904, the LAIU directorate included SP men William Herrin, William Hood, and H. I. Bettis (see HEH 34/A/4).

27 For information on cash advances and issuance of a similar amount of LAIU bonds, see A. D. McDonald to Isaias Hellman, 6 Apr. 1909, and receipts issued to the SP, HEH 34/A/4. By April 1905, the officers of both the PE and the LAIU were

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HEH</th>
<th>president</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William Herrin</td>
<td>vice-president</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Mulks</td>
<td>secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaias Hellman</td>
<td>treasurer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See the corrected final proof for the American Street Railway Journal, April 1905, HEH 7819; and George Mulks to C. B. Seger, 27 Mar. 1907, HEH 34/A/4.

28 Los Angeles Express, 12 Oct. 1903; Los Angeles Times, 26 Mar. 1904; Los Angeles Herald, 30 June 1904; HEH to Commercial and Financial Chronicle, 5 July 1904, HEH 1663. See also, Crump, Ride the Big Red Cars, 75.

29 HEH to George Patton, 25 Apr. 1904, HEH 12904.

30 Isaias Hellman to HEH, 25 Nov. 1904, HEH 2576.

31 HEH agreed to pay $598,374.91 for one-half of Hellman, Borel, and DeGuigne's holdings of PE stock and LAIU bonds. His initial payment of $163,592 was in various stocks, but no Los Angeles Railway stock was given in payment. HEH paid the remainder in three installments due in six, twelve, and eighteen months. See Isaias Hellman, Antoine Borel, and Christian DeGuigne to HEH, 7 Dec. 1904, HEH 2576.

32 Los Angeles Examiner, 21 Mar. 1906.

33 Ibid., 29 May 1908.


35 See Ed Fletcher, Memoirs of Ed Fletcher (San Diego: Pioneer Printers,

36 *Los Angeles Express*, 24 July 1907.


40 Clary, 278; and Hill, 173.

41 Crump, *Ride the Big Red Cars*, 100, 248–49. The new cities incorporated between 1900 and 1910 in Los Angeles County were Covina (1901); Alhambra, Arcadia, Azusa, and Hollywood (1903); Venice and Wilmington (1904); Vernon (1905); Glendale, Huntington Park, La Verne, and Sawtelle (1906); Hermosa Beach, Sierra Madre, and Watts (1907); Belmont Heights and Inglewood (1908).


43 The Pacific Electric and Los Angeles Inter-Urban net earnings were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>PE</th>
<th>LAIU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>-$71,891</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>$90,711</td>
<td>-$108,495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>$49,726</td>
<td>-$93,032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907*</td>
<td>$27,932</td>
<td>-$127,799</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1907 figures are for January through October 1907.*

See HEH's personal account book, HEH 7687. Huntington Land and Improvement Company figures are taken from HL&I Auditor's Reports, HEH 1/AA/A.

44 *Los Angeles Railway's Annual Reports*, 1904–06, HEH 2/2. LARY's return on investment follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Return</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>11.0 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>7.3 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>8.0 percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>4.9 percent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

45 Howard Huntington to Harriet Huntington, 15 Jan. 1904, HEH 11156.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

48 HEH to Isaias Hellman, 20 May 1904, HEH 5603.

50 Pasadena Star News, and the Los Angeles Evening News, for 28 Jan. 1907; George Patton to HEH, 4 Feb. 1907, HEH 8330. HEH's personal account book, HEH 7687, lists the stockholders of the LARY, as of 8 March 1905:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Shares</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Howard Huntington</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. A. Henderson</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. B. Holladay</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. D. Bicknell</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. S. Patton</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. S. Dunn</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Borel</td>
<td>5,000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. DeGuigne</td>
<td>2,500*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Hellman</td>
<td>5,005*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Hellman, Jr.</td>
<td>2,495*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Meyer</td>
<td>2,500*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Parrott</td>
<td>5,000*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Harriman purchased the Hellman group's 45 percent interest of the LARY (Hellman group members designated by asterisks) in 1907. I. W. Hellman, Jr., was probably placed on the directorate to maintain a close connection with this powerful banking family.

51 See the Los Angeles Times, 12 July 1905; Dumke, "Growth of the Pacific Electric," 20; and Register of HEH Companies, November 1907, HEH 8231.

52 See the Los Angeles Examiner, 23 Mar. 1906; and William A. Myers and Ira L. Swett, Trolleys to the Surf: The Story of the Los Angeles Pacific Railway (Glendale, Calif.: Interurbans Publications, 1976), 198–204.

53 Weiss, 79–140. The city of Los Angeles did not have any zoning regulations until 1908 when it passed the country's first land-use zoning law. Beginning in 1921, the city moved toward zoning areas strictly for single-family residences. Effective regulation over metropolitan subdivision began in 1922 when the Los Angeles Board of Supervisors established the Los Angeles County Regional Planning Commission, empowered to "plan for and regulate the use of land in all unincorporated areas of the huge county. The Commission, the first of its kind in the U.S., was also charged with coordinating its county land-use planning activities with the city planning commissions of Los Angeles, Pasadena, Long Beach, and the county's other incorporated cities" (Weiss, 13).

54 For subdividers' use of deed restrictions, see ibid., 10–12, 45–47, 68–72.

55 Los Angeles Examiner, 3 Dec. 1905; Carol Green Wilson, California Yan-

56 See William R. Staats Co., Oak Knoll pamphlet (1906); Oak Knoll Tract Map (1912), HEH 9977; and Wilson, 94–95.

57 Pasadena Star News, 27 Nov. 1909; Huntington Land and Improvement Company, Minutes of Directors Meeting, 29 Nov. 1909, 33, HEH 1/F41/B; and Oak Knoll Tract Map (1912), HEH 9977.

58 See the Los Angeles Herald, 13 Sept. 1912; and the Los Angeles Examiner, 25 Sept. 1912. The Huntington name had emerged as a valuable commodity in southern California, denoting quality and prestige, and Allen P. Nichols, a Pomona developer, wanted to use it. He wrote the streetcar magnate requesting the right to use his name on a subdivision in the east San Gabriel Valley. In December 1906, HEH granted Nichols permission to use the Huntington name on the tract: “Naturally, I would not like my name put at the head of anything which is not or is not likely to be a success; but the character of yourself and friends seems to me to be a pretty good guarantee that what you are doing will prove a decided success.” See HEH to Allen P. Nichols, 6 Dec. 1906, HEH 7835.

59 Fogelson, 154.

60 See Los Angeles Herald, 10 and 14 June, 5 Oct. 1903, and 14 Sept. 1907. See also prospectus for Alfred Dolge Manufacturing Company, 8 May 1903; and the articles of incorporation for the Dolgeville Land Company, 9 May 1903, HEH 11/5/3; PE Topics 2 (December 1906): 56–57. Other manufacturers that set up in Dolgeville included Electric Heating and Manufacturing Plant and Tallyrand Manufacturing (makers of metal pipe). See advertisement for Dolgeville in November 1906 PE Topics.

61 Myers and Swett, 50; see also Dennis Shanahan, Old Redondo: A Pictorial History of Redondo Beach, California (Redondo Beach: Legends Press, 1982); and Redondo Improvement Company, Minutes of Directors Meetings, 15 and 20 July 1905, 108–09, HEH 1/R/11.

62 Los Angeles Times, 20 July 1905.

63 Myers and Swett, 51; Crump, Ride the Big Red Cars, 80–81. See also the Los Angeles Record, 10 and 13 July 1905; and Charles N. Glaab and A. Theodore Brown, History of Urban America (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1967), 282.

64 Edmund Burke Holladay to Harriet Huntington, 13 July 1905, HEH 2679. By the end of July, HEH had incorporated a new land company, the Huntington-Redondo Company, through which he and his associates, the Martin family of San Francisco and J. D. Harvey, obtained 1,020 acres south of Redondo. The company’s first subdivision in this area was known as Clifton-by-the-Sea; HEH and architect Myron Hunt built homes here (see transcript of A. G. Walker tape on HEH’s real estate holdings, HEH 19/1).

65 Shanahan, 55–58; and Myers and Swett, 51.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6


67 The phrase “quietly and alone” comes from Marcossion, 30. For quotation, see *Los Angeles Examiner*, 25 Aug. 1905.


69 Kahrl, 185–88; and Crump, *Ride the Big Red Cars*, 116–19.

70 HEH to William Kerckhoff, 20 July 1904, HEH 7658.

71 Clary, 272–75. See also Henry O'Melveny to HEH, 31 May 1904, HEH 9273; A.C. Balch to HEH, 13 June 1904, HEH 5134; and Henry O'Melveny to HEH, 16 June 1904, HEH 7841.

72 HEH to Henry O'Melveny, 21 June 1904, HEH 7841.

73 William Kerckhoff to HEH, 23 July 1903, HEH 9587; and William Kerckhoff to HEH, 24 July 1903, HEH 9588.

74 HEH to William Kerckhoff, 18 July 1904, HEH 7657; HEH to A.C. Balch, 19 July 1904, HEH 5135; and William Kerckhoff to HEH, 23 July 1904, HEH 9596. On the start-up of the Kern power plant, see, ROS chronology file, summary of bound clippings, 29 Dec. 1904, HEH 19/3; and Swett, “Los Angeles Railway,” 40, which places the opening of the Kern facility in January 1905.


77 See Register of HEH Companies, HEH 8231; *Los Angeles Evening News*, 3 Sept. 1907; Huntington Land and Improvement Company, Minutes of Directors Meetings, 4 Sept. 1907, 236, and 8 Feb. 1908, 255, HEH 1/F41/A; and San Gabriel Valley Water Company. See also Minutes of Directors Meetings, 29 Aug. 1904, 37; 26 May 1906, 74; 5 Nov. 1907, 100; and 18 Feb. 1908, 108, HEH 1/U.

78 See HEH to George Ward, 27 Dec. 1904, 18 Jan. 1905, and biographical papers in the George C. Ward Collection, box 2; transcripts of interviews with A.G. Walker, 23 Mar. and 8 Apr. 1960 (in the latter interview, Walker said that Patton resigned as head of HL&I in either 1910 or 1911), HEH 19/1; and Wilson, 139.

CHAPTER 6


3 Samuel T. Clover, *Constructive Californians—Men of Outstanding Ability*

4 See, for example, the Los Angeles Examiner, 8 Sept. 1908, which reported that Huntington and Harriman agreed to spend $2 million on PE expansions.

5 Huntington Land and Improvement Company Trial Balance Sheets, 1908–13, HEH 1/DD/1–5.

6 HEH to William Herrin, 24 Jan. 1905, HEH 5633.

7 Los Angeles Express, 25 May 1907.

8 Los Angeles Times, 30 June 1908; and Crump, Ride the Big Red Cars, 91.


13 See LAIU list of stockholders, 20 June 1908, HEH 8572.

14 See Huntington Vault Material, box 1; and HEH 34/A/4.

15 Hilton and Due, 114.


17 Hilton and Due, 142.

18 California Railroad Commission, Case No. 4002: Report on the Local Transportation Requirements of Los Angeles (Los Angeles, 1935), 72.

19 Los Angeles Times, 12 Nov. 1910.


21 C.A. Henderson to HEH, 12 June 1911, HEH 2590.

22 California Railroad Commission, Annual Report, 1914/1915, 585; and California Railroad Commission, Opinions and Orders, 1 January to 29 May 1915, 274. Net return on investment is calculated by using the stated capitalization of the company. However, because it was common in this period for street railways to overstate the invested capital and the corresponding value of the road and equipment, the net return should be considered a low estimate (see Hilton and Due, 183–91).

23 Los Angeles Railway Annual Reports, 1912–14, HEH 2/2. Up to 1911, this company’s fiscal year ended 31 Dec.; beginning with the annual report of 1912, the fiscal year ended 30 June.

25 See HEH's personal balance sheet, December 1911, HEH 11/2/1.
26 Epes Randolph to HEH, 2 May 1911, HEH 14120; and HEH to Epes Randolph, 8 May 1911, HEH 14120.
29 HEH to Howard Huntington, 3 June 1911, HEH 7629.
34 Huntington Land and Improvement Company Trial Balance Sheets, 1908-13, HEH 1/DD/1-5; and HL&I Auditor’s Reports, HEH 1/AA/A-D.
35 Huntington Land and Improvement Company uncatalogued Ledger, 1902-03, 3; and Pacific Light and Power Company Index, HEH 8/8. See also *Los Angeles Times*, 6 Mar. 1913. On 12 Mar. 1913, six days after the sale, HEH purchased three lots at the corner of Eleventh and Broadway with the proceeds from the property. On this land, he planned to construct the eleven-story Los Angeles Railway Building. The project was not begun until April 1920, and the Los Angeles Railway Corporation moved its offices from the PE Building to its own facility in May 1922.
37 Board of Public Utilities, City of Los Angeles, *Annual Report*, 1909/1910, 58. Two other firms, Southern California Edison and Economic Gas, distributed approximately 2 to 3 percent of the city’s gas.


43 Myers, 60–61; and Johnson, 11.

44 Ibid., pp. 102–03; and David Redinger, *The Story of Big Creek* (Los Angeles: Eureka Press, 1949), 1–33. See also John Eastwood's 1905 report on hydroelectric power development of Big Creek, HEH 11/7/2.


47 See Redinger, 10–18; Johnson, 13–15; and *Los Angeles Examiner*, 31 Jan. 1912.

48 Redinger, 31–32; PL&P and William Salomon and Company, Bond Agreement, 1 May 1913, Huntington Vault Material, box 4; and Big Creek cost sheet, 24 Jan. 1914, HEH 11/7/2.

49 William Dunn to C. E. Graham, 14 July 1913, Huntington Vault Material, box 4.

50 C. E. Graham to HEH, 29 July and 14 Aug. 1913, Huntington Vault Material, box 4; and HL&I Minutes of Directors Meeting, 14 Aug. 1913, 189, HEH 1/F41/B.

51 *Los Angeles Times*, 9 Nov. 1913; Big Creek cost sheet, 24 Jan. 1914, HEH 11/7/2; Redinger, 10–11, 31–32; and Myers, 109.

52 California Railroad Commission, *Annual Report*, 1912/1913, 1405, 1459; and HL&I Minutes of Directors Meeting, 15 June 1915, 270, HEH 1/F41/B.

53 HEH / Kerckhoff-Balch gas and power deal, 14 Apr. 1913, Huntington Vault Material, box 4. As of 24 Feb. 1914, HEH's ownership of PL&P stock was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PL&amp;P Stock</th>
<th>Total Outstanding</th>
<th>HEH-Owned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First-preferred stock</td>
<td>30,570</td>
<td>29,322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second-preferred stock</td>
<td>99,750</td>
<td>96,602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common stock</td>
<td>105,595</td>
<td>104,685</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See list of PL&P stockholders, 24 Feb. 1914, HEH 11/7/2.

54 For newspaper accounts, see *New York Times* and *New York Morning Herald*, of 17 July 1913; HEH to E. B. Holladay, 16 July 1913, HEH 678. In HEH's letter to his sister, Caroline Holladay, on 13 July 1913, HEH 656, HEH
expressed joy regarding his upcoming marriage: “I cannot tell you how happy I am my dear sister, and I hope to make up for all I have lost and again have a home and a home such as I have never had. Bell [Arabella, his bride] is so good and kind to me, and I know she will make my life very happy.”

CHAPTER 7

1 Transcript of interview with Leslie Bliss, Huntington librarian, 3 Jan. 1968; and transcript of interview with Alfonso Gomez, HEH's valet, 11 Apr. 1959, HEH 19/1. For information on Chateau Beauregard, see HEH to Caroline Holladay, Sept. 1913, HEH 659; and Chateau Beauregard financial records, HEH 12/1, 12/3, and 12/7. The Huntingtons' location is best tracked by the journals of Edmund Burke Holladay, HEH 53/2 and HEH 10968. According to Holladay, HEH and Arabella were in Europe in 1913, 1914, 1920, and 1921.

2 See Hilton and Due, 211-12; and Jones, Urban Transit Policy, 37-40.

3 Los Angeles Examiner, 17 Sept. 1916.

4 HEH to William Dunn, 6 Sept. 1923, HEH 12614.

5 For information on the relationship between Dunn and HEH, see the transcript of interview with A.G. Walker, 23 Mar. 1960, HEH 19/1; Lewis, “Street Railway Development,” 2: 39; and transcript of interview with Emma Quigley, 21 Apr. 1960, HEH 19/1. The continued closeness between the two men is recorded in the Quigley transcript, where she recounts how HEH and Dunn shared the same office after the Los Angeles Railway Corporation left the PE Building for the new Los Angeles Railway Building in 1922.

6 Swett, “Los Angeles Railway,” 43; for information on the Los Angeles Railway's reorganization, see Los Angeles Examiner, 6 Dec. 1913; Los Angeles Express, 10 Dec. 1913; Los Angeles Times, 7 Jan. 1914; and California Railroad Commission, Opinions and Orders, 1 Jan. to 29 May 1915, 272-85.


8 Edgerton, quoted in California Railroad Commission, Opinions and Orders, 1 Jan. to 29 May 1915, 284.


10 Dunn, quoted in Los Angeles Examiner, 13 Nov. 1914.

11 Schwantes, 308-9.

13 Fogelson, 167; and Los Angeles Railway Annual Reports, 1914–18, HEH 2/2. The railroad's operations for this period in terms of earnings and expenses per car mile follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Gross Revenues per car mile</th>
<th>Expenses per car mile</th>
<th>Net Earnings per car mile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>23.26 cents</td>
<td>16.02 cents</td>
<td>7.24 cents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>21.60 &quot;</td>
<td>14.94 &quot;</td>
<td>6.66 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>20.72 &quot;</td>
<td>14.04 &quot;</td>
<td>6.68 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>20.26 &quot;</td>
<td>14.95 &quot;</td>
<td>5.31 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>20.86 &quot;</td>
<td>17.44 &quot;</td>
<td>3.42 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


17 *Los Angeles Tribune*, 3 and 13 Apr. 1915.

18 William Dunn to HEH, 3 Aug. 1915, HEH 11717.

19 Los Angeles Railway Annual Reports, 1914–18, HEH 2/2.

20 See William Dunn to Charles Graham, 22 June 1917, HEH 11677; and Charles Graham to William Dunn, 16 Jan. 1915, HEH 11900.

21 Lewis, "Street Railway Development," 2: 123–24; *Los Angeles Herald*, 4 May 1917; and Swett, "Los Angeles Railway," 43–44. Following the successful election in June 1917 banning jitneys from the business district, the LARY granted the second pay raise. Together, the two wage hikes added approximately $240,000 to the Los Angeles Railway's payroll.

22 Los Angeles Railway Annual Reports, 1913–18, HEH 2/2; and Swett, "Los Angeles Railway," 43–44.


24 See, for example, agreement between HL&I and Baker and Burbank, Huntington Land and Improvement Company, Board of Directors Minutes, 8 Jan. 1906, HEH 1/F41/A; agreement between Huntington-Redondo Company and Henry S. Judson, Huntington-Redondo Company, Board of Directors Minutes, 6 Feb. 1914, HEH 1/H/20; and Oak Knoll Marino Sales Pamphlet, HEH 194420.

25 See the Huntington Land and Improvement Company's monthly balance sheets, 1/DD/1–5.
26 The HL&I balance sheet of December 1923, HEH 1/DD/5, records more than $1 million in unrealized real estate profits prior to 1913. Statement of lot sales in California, Huntington Vault Material, box 4.

27 Quoted from letter from Charles Graham to HEH, 2 Aug. 1915, HEH 11966.


29 Myers, 64–66.

30 George Ward to Charles Graham, 26 Mar. 1914, George Ward to HEH, 16 May 1914, HEH 11/7/2; and *Los Angeles Times*, 1 Apr. 1914. The distribution of Ventura County Power Company's stock was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>common stock</th>
<th>preferred stock</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>prior to deal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outstanding</td>
<td>8,101</td>
<td>3,817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unissued</td>
<td>6,899</td>
<td>6,183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>following deal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEH owned</td>
<td>6,980.6</td>
<td>3,371.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owned by outsiders</td>
<td>1,120.4</td>
<td>445.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For information on HEH's acquisition of Mt. Whitney Power and Electric Company, see *Los Angeles Tribune*, 6 Sept. 1916; and Myers, 98–99.

31 See Huntington Vault Material, box 3.

32 *Los Angeles Examiner*, 4 July 1915; and Redinger, 46–47.

33 John B. Miller, quoted in *Los Angeles Times*, 2 Dec. 1916.

34 See William Kerckhoff to HEH, 20 Jan. 1902, HEH 13237; and William Kerckhoff to HEH, 24 Mar. 1902, HEH 8441.

35 William Kerckhoff to HEH, 25 June 1903, HEH 8452.

36 Ibid., 24 Oct. 1908, HEH 8456.


40 Board of Public Utilities, City of Los Angeles, *Annual Report*, 1913/1914, 17; see also Fogelson, 234–36; and Myers, 147–48.

41 Charles Graham to George C. Luebbers, regarding proposed sale of HEH's Safety Insulated Wire and Cable Company, 17 May 1910, Huntington Vault Material, box 3.

42 Huntington was hampered with an enlarged prostate in October 1915,
but he recovered in early 1916, and the expected surgery was not required (see William Dunn to Charles Graham, 14 and 18 Oct. 1915; and Charles Graham to William Dunn, 15 Oct. 1915, HEH 11906). For information on Miller’s proposal of creating a new issue of SoCal Edison second-preferred stock, see Charles Graham to HEH, 14 and 15 Dec. 1915; and Charles Graham to A. N. Kemp, 16 Dec. 1915, Huntington Vault Material, box 2.

43 See memorandum between HEH and John B. Miller, 30 Dec. 1915, HEH 7773; and California Railroad Commission, *Opinions and Orders*, 1 Apr. to 1 Aug. 1917, 262–71. When HEH sold his shares in the PL&P to SoCal Edison, only a small percentage of PL&P stock was held by outsiders.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PL&amp;P Stock</th>
<th>Total Outstanding</th>
<th>HEH-Owned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First-preferred</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>46,175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second-preferred</td>
<td>99,750</td>
<td>96,602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common</td>
<td>105,595</td>
<td>104,685</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


46 This library, which consisted of works by such authors as John Ruskin, William Thackeray, Charles Dickens, Walter Scott, and George Bancroft, was mentioned by relatives of S. P. Franchot, HEH’s partner in the St. Albans sawmill, in letters to the Huntington Library in the 1920s and 1930s. The library came into Franchot’s possession as part of the dissolution of the sawmill partnership. See N. V. V. Franchot to Robert Schad, 4 May 1929; Mrs. N. V. V. Franchot to Robert Schad, 17 June 1937; and Robert Schad to Caroline Holladay, 31 Oct. 1938, HEH 19/3.


49 HEH, quoted in Thorpe, 301, 303.


51 For information on the creation of the Huntington gardens, see William Hertrich, *The Huntington Botanical Gardens* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1949).
CHAPTER 8


3 The low density and dispersed nature of metropolitan Los Angeles compared with other areas across the nation is discussed in Fogelson, 143. In 1930, the San Francisco / Oakland metropolitan district, which was approximately one-half the size of the Los Angeles metropolis, had a central city-to-outlying suburb population ratio of thirty to one; the Los Angeles ratio was only three to one.

4 Lewis, "Street Railway Development," 2: 222; and Stimson, 237.


6 Lewis, "Street Railway Development," 2: 184–85; and Stimson, 237.

7 HEH to Los Angeles Railway Committee of Trainmen, 11 Dec. 1902, HEH 7686.


9 Halberstam, 109.

10 Los Angeles Times, 21 June 1904. For an example of Otis’s editorials, see Los Angeles Times, 29 Mar. 1903.
NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

11 See HEH to David Parry, 14 Sept. 1903, HEH 7861; David Parry to HEH, 5 Oct. 1903, HEH 9614.
15 Stimson, 258.
18 Pacific Electric Railway Company Trainmen to HEH and Epes Randolph, 2 May 1903, HEH 9572.
19 HEH to Andrew B. Hammond, 25 Jan. 1904, HEH 5534; Wollenberg, 358–62; and Crump, Ride the Big Red Cars, 142–43.
20 Los Angeles Record, 24 and 25 Apr. 1903; and Los Angeles Times, 25 Apr. 1903.
21 Wollenberg, 365–67; and Stimson, 267.
22 Los Angeles Record, 2, 5–8 May 1903; Los Angeles Times, 6–9 May 1903; Stimson, 262; and Cross, Labor Movement in California, 280.
24 Los Angeles Record, 11 May 1903; and Los Angeles Times, 12, 13, 19, 24 May 1903.
25 HEH to George Miles, 1 Mar. 1904, HEH 12835.
26 Central Labor Council of Los Angeles, Los Angeles—A Model Open Shop City (Los Angeles, 1 Nov. 1907), 3. A copy of this pamphlet is in the Huntington Library.
28 Transcript of interview with Myron Hunt, 1 Feb. 1930, HEH 19/3; see also Marcosson, 20.


32 Similar thinking of other businessmen is described by Brandes, 75–77.


35 See the weekly issues of the Los Angeles Railway’s employee newspaper, *Two Bells*, June through October 1920. Publication of this newspaper began in June 1920. For a satire on management’s use of interdivisional competition to build company pride and improve work performance, see Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., *Player Piano* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1952).

36 Stimson, 340–41.

37 Ibid. The metal trades strike ended in 1912. Although the metal workers did not achieve their goal of the eight-hour day, they did make small wage gains, but their pay continued to lag behind workers in San Francisco.

38 *Los Angeles Herald*, 17 Sept. 1911, 17 Aug. 1914; and *Los Angeles Tribune*, 24 Aug. 1913. Although the company picnic brought together employees from all the firm’s divisions, the event took place only once a year and did not provide a forum for the airing of worker dissatisfactions. Huntington’s employees appear to have approved of these fringe benefits, yet the various aspects of welfare capitalism did not seem to permanently reduce labor resistance. Organized labor largely opposed such programs. Although Huntington desired to improve working conditions through paternalism, he also wished to extend
his domination over his laborers. According to Daniel Nelson, welfare capitalism can be viewed as a move by management—akin to its earlier steps to increase its control over production—to gain further control over the worker. See his *Managers and Workers: Origins of the New Factory System in the United States, 1880–1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975), 120–21.

39 Perry and Perry, 71–72; *Los Angeles Examiner, Los Angeles Times*, and *Los Angeles Tribune*, all for 13 Sept. 1914.

40 Perry and Perry, 73; and Lewis, “Street Railway Development,” 2: 228. Compared with union scale for various trades in Los Angeles, the LARY’s wage rate for platform men of twenty-five to thirty cents per hour (with a sixty- to seventy-hour work week) was low. See chart below taken from Perry and Perry, 246.

**Union Wage Rates and Hours in Los Angeles, 1913**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Rate per Hour in Cents</th>
<th>Hours Worked per Week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bricklayers</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building laborers</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cement finishers</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compositors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book and job</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper-day work</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrotypers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molders</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finishers</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granite Cutters</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside wiremen</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painters</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plasterers</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumbers</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheet metal workers</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural ironworkers</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typesetting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book and job</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


43 Perry and Perry, 75.

44 Ibid., 76; and William Dunn to HEH, 2 Dec. 1918, HEH 11728.

45 HEH to William Dunn, 5 Dec. 1918, HEH 10964.

46 *Los Angeles Times*, 4 and 8 July 1919, and *Los Angeles Record*, 17 and 23 July 1919.
47 In addition to involving the intracity LARY, the strike included employees of the interurban Pacific Electric as well as those of the steam railroads entering Los Angeles. See Perry and Perry, 78, 86; and \textit{Los Angeles Times}, 15 and 16 Aug. 1919.


49 HEH to New York Chamber of Commerce, 27 Nov. 1922, HEH 12855.

\section*{CHAPTER 9}

1 Quoted from transcript of interview with HEH's valet, Alfonzo Gomez, tape F, 7 Feb. 1959, HEH 19/1.


3 Ibid., 372–73.

4 George Hale to Arabella Huntington, 14 Feb. 1914, C. M. Campbell (secretary of Arabella Huntington) to George Hale, 15 Apr. 1915; and George Hale to HEH, 17 Apr. 1915, George E. Hale Collection (hereafter cited as GEH), box 22, California Institute of Technology Archives.

5 George Hale to HEH, 17 Apr. 1914; and HEH to George Hale, 20 Apr. 1914, GEH Collection, box 22.

6 George Hale to HEH, 11 May 1914; and HEH to George Hale, 5 Oct. 1914, GEH Collection, box 22.

7 George Hale to HEH, 28 Mar. 1916, HEH 2370.

8 HEH to George Hale, 22 Apr. 1916, GEH Collection, box 22.

9 Wright, 380; and Pomfret, 43.

10 See the Trust Indenture establishing the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, 30 Aug. 1919, HEH 27/4, and HEH Institutional Archives 12.5.4.

11 Pomfret, 46–51.

12 Ibid., 51–52, 64–65.

13 William Dunn to Charles Graham, 3 Apr. 1922, HEH 11668. Howard Huntington died of stomach cancer; see journals of Edmund Burke Holladay, 1922, HEH 10968.

14 George Hapgood to Joseph Duveen, 29 Oct. 1924, HEH 10834. Arabella Huntington had been in poor health from about 1916. According to Burke Holladay, Arabella had rheumatism and sciatica. See journals of Edmund Burke Holladay, 1914–24, HEH 10968.

15 See journals of Edmund Burke Holladay, 1925–26, HEH 10968.

16 HEH to Mrs. J. E. Brown, 15 Feb. 1926, HEH 12507.

17 HEH to Mrs. Lasalle Pickett, 4 May 1927, HEH 7900.

18 See journals of Edmund Burke Holladay, 1927, HEH 10968.

19 \textit{Los Angeles Examiner}, 27 Nov. 1908.

20 Transcript of interview with Alfonzo Gomez, tape J, 11 Apr. 1959, HEH 19/1.
21 Otheman Stevens to Robert Schad, 11 July 1929, HEH 19/3.

22 Few photographs were hung on the walls of HEH's office in the Los Angeles Railway Building. One was a shadowbox frame of Collis Huntington, and another was the picture of Collis, HEH, and a newsboy on a New York City street in 1895. See transcript of interview with Emma Quigley, 21 Apr. 1967, HEH 19/1.

23 HEH to Rev. Dr. Jacob Voorsanger, 30 Aug. 1900, HEH 8130.

24 HEH left $2 million to build the hospital. See the Last Will and Testament of Henry Edwards Huntington, 1 Aug. 1925, HEH 27/3.


26 Board of Public Utilities, City of Los Angeles, Annual Report, 1912/1913, and 1913/1914.


29 See Pomfret; HEH Institutional Archives 12.7.6; and HEH personal balance sheets, HEH 11/2/1–4.