

Mission of the

Journal of the Riverside Historical Society

- To publish carefully researched and documented articles of broad popular appeal relating to Riverside personalities, events, and institutions of the past.
- To publish personal accounts by witnesses of or participants in significant past events. These are to be derived both from manuscripts and from planned oral history interviews.
- To encourage both established and new historians to research and publish articles on previously unexplored aspects of Riverside's history.
- To foster among Riverside's newer residents a lively interest in Riverside's history and an active concern for Riverside's historic resources.
- To increase participation in Riverside Historical Society membership and activities among the publication's readers.

Adopted by Historical Society Board March 1996

INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS:

The *Journal of the Riverside Historical Society* is currently an annual publication devoted to the history of the City of Riverside. It is the stated intention of the Board of the Society to increase the frequency of the *Journal*.

Contributions of articles, edited documents, and book reviews are welcome on a continuous basis. They should be submitted (at the owner's risk) to: Publications Committee, Riverside Historical Society, P.O. Box 246, Riverside, CA 92502. The *Journal's* Publications Committee will also announce a specific period of solicitation for each issue.

The authority for matters of style will be the *Chicago Manual of Style*, $14^{\rm th}$ edition. The Editorial Committee reserves the right to return accepted manuscripts to authors for required changes. An author whose article is accepted for publication will receive ten gratis copies of the issue in which his or her article appears. Statements and opinions expressed in articles are the sole responsibility of the authors.

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Editorial Committee

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The premier issue of this Journal is dedicated to Lorne Allmon, long an advocate of this undertaking. ©The Riverside Historical Society P.O. Box 246, Riverside, California 92502

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Foreword to the Premier Issue

F or over ninety years, the members of the Riverside Historical Society have been united in an interest in our community's past. For the last several years, there has been a growing desire to provide a record of that past through the publication of a scholarly journal. The manifestation of that desire is in your hands.

Credit for this first issue of the *Journal of the Riverside Historical Society* is widely shared. Our members have accepted an increase in annual dues to provide ongoing support for a journal. In addition, diverse talents among our members have been applied toward highly effective publication and editorial committees. The authors in this initial effort are among Riverside's most respected local historians.

Special credit for this first issue must be given to Ron Baker, whose quiet competence and organizational skills have guided a desire for a journal from a vague notion to a well-defined objective and reality. To Ron and to all who participated in this production, I offer my sincere appreciation and, I believe, that of all our members.

> Alan Curl, President Riverside Historical Society

About the Authors

Toom Patterson, the dean of Riverside historians, was born in 1909 in Yuma Valley, Arizona Territory. He began his journalism career in 1927 as a reporter for the Long Beach *Press-Telegram*. In 1946 he came to Riverside to accept a position with the *Press-Enterprise*. The following year he became city editor of the Riverside newspaper, a position he was to hold until 1955. Early in his career with the *Press-Enterprise*, he began to do feature articles on local history topics. These resulted in two full-length books: *Landmarks of Riverside* in 1964 and *A Colony for California: Riverside's First Hundred Years* in 1971. The latter title, the only booklength history of Riverside, has recently been reprinted. Mr. Patterson retired in 1974 but agreed to continue doing occasional local history feature articles for the *Press-Enterprise*. By 1978 these articles had evolved into a weekly column called "Out of the County's Past," which ran until December of 1996.

A lthough Joan Herrick Hall did not move to Riverside from her native San Francisco until 1952, she is descended from a prominent local pioneer family. Her great-grandfather, Stephen Henderson Herrick, was a Riverside banker involved in the agricultural development of the Highgrove area. Although Mrs. Hall has authored and co-authored a wide variety of local history books and articles, she specializes in biography and architectural history. Her latest book, *Through the Doors of the Mission Inn*, tells the stories of 45 celebrities associated with Riverside's historic hotel. Mrs. Hall has also had a long civic involvement with local history, having served as chair of the Riverside Cultural Heritage Board and of the Riverside Municipal Museum Board and as president of the Riverside Historical Society.

Raised on a small ranch in rural San Diego County, **Ron Baker** came to Riverside to attend UCR in 1970. He has a B.A and an M.A. in history from UCR and an M.S. in library science from USC. He has worked with local history collections at public libraries in Redlands, Ontario, and Riverside. Mr. Baker has written two institutional histories and several articles on local history topics. Since 1995 he has been head of the Riverside Central Library.

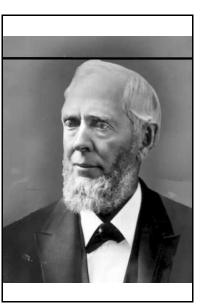
Journal of the Riverside Historical Society

John W. North and His Water Troubles

by Tom Patterson

The Ups and Downs of an Early Career

Tohn Wesley North, founder of J Riverside, has been rightly depicted as dedicated to ethical outlook and practice. He was also dedicated to the prevailing American outlook that hard work, including active land buying and selling, could bring a just personal reward. In this he must have overlooked much of the element of active selfinterest. What else could explain his consistent lack of personal economic success? What else could explain his personal failures in community developments in which he was a major figure and out of which others were successful but he



John Wesley North

emerged as a loser? His unsuccessful personal business career is best illustrated by early Riverside history, although similar problems were apparent in his connection with earlier land developments in Minnesota, Nevada, Tennessee, and with a later one near Fresno, California.

As an ethical young enthusiast for religion, especially for the social content of John Wesley's Methodism, he clashed with his religious superiors who refused to take an active stand against slavery.¹ The eventual triumph of his anti-slavery outlook did not benefit him economically. He studied law in the apparent belief that he could further his outlook more successfully in legal practice, but he took his career to Minnesota where land development became his primary interest. He was a highly successful lawyer in Minneapolis

when he turned developer and founded the town of Northfield. There he was highly respected, but a depression found him overextended, and he lost virtually everything.²

His anti-slavery outlook and his industrious activity prompted President Lincoln to appoint him surveyor general and, later, as federal judge in Nevada Territory. There he emerged as a business success, but was on the losing side of a statehood election because major mine owners objected to plans for the proposed new state government.³ Another businessman-politician would have remained to continue the political fight while maintaining his successful business interests. North chose to liquidate his Nevada investment and re-invest it in post-war Knoxville, Tennessee.

It did not matter that he invested in a foundry, promoted education, and encouraged investment by others in Knoxville. He also publicly advocated fair treatment of Blacks, even shaming a mob out of an intended lynching. In the eyes of Southerners at the time, he and the Washington-appointed governor of post-war Tennessee were detested as carpetbaggers. His plan to organize a colony of Black and white settlers never got off the ground. His businesses were boycotted and he lost all his own investment and much that had been underwritten by his admiring father-in-law.⁴



Charles N. Felton

But he still had believers—some who believed in his ethical social outlook and in his enthusiasm for community formation and some with a more limited appreciation of the development-selling successes that had resulted, in part, from his moral convictions and oratorical effectiveness. One believer in his worldly effectiveness was Charles N. Felton, whom North had helped in his Nevada period⁵ and who was by 1869 a highly successful investor and member of the celebrated Ralston's Ring in San Francisco. Felton's own success had survived William Ralston's business problems and apparent suicide. He agreed to invest with North in the search for a location and organization of "A Colony For California," which turned out to be Riverside.⁶

In fact, there was a family connection between North and Felton. Back in the Northfield days, George Loomis, brother of North's wife Ann Loomis North, had married Kate Ashley. Felton, who had gone to California back in 1849 when North went to Minnesota, married Kate's sister.⁷

The Flawed Riverside Venture

Recession in 1870 and the collapse of a planned silk production colony made possible a favorable deal for the site that became Riverside. Actually, North's real estate experience had led him to favor what later became Pasadena — a smaller deal, closer to Los Angeles, requiring less advance financing⁸. The eventual Riverside site had been favored by E. G. Brown, one of North's staunch supporters, and it also won Felton's approval. However, when North himself first saw the future Riverside site, he became enthusiastic for its potential.⁹

In retrospect, his earlier preference for the Pasadena site might have been preferable for North himself, requiring less potential control by a financial backer. One result of the Riverside site choice was that the costly initial canal-digging from the vicinity of the present La Cadena Bridge required excessive financing by Felton, who emerged as the majority stock owner in the founding organization, the Southern California Colony Association (SCCA).¹⁰

The key North misfortune in Riverside arose out of a logical factor in the site selection. The so-called "Government Tract" was a mile-wide strip immediately south of Jurupa Avenue (southern boundary of the original Riverside site).¹¹ It had remained government land because of the unsettled location of the boundary of the Mexican land grant, Rancho Jurupa. The primary portion of the Colony site was that part of the Rancho east of the Santa Ana

River. The government tract could be watered by gravity from an extension of the original Riverside canal.¹² (The boundary dispute causing the delay was in Prado Basin, to the west.)

The site selection plan included possibility of such a canal extension, offering water to the Government Tract settlers in exchange for half their land once they had received title from the government. It appeared to be a bargain for settlers and a contribution to the Colony's success. Land worth \$1.25 per acre would be worth \$25 or more with water. Members of the SCCA directorate who could establish settler residence filed Government Tract claims.¹³

With the initial arrangements completed, North went east to further promote the Colony and to bring out his family, which, by then, was staying with his parents-in-law in De Witt, New York. Dr. James Porter Greves, who had been in Nevada and in Knoxville during North's time there, and who shared North's anti-slavery views, took charge of the selling. He was later to testify in court that sites in the Government Tract, with the announced water arrangement, were more attractive to potential buyers than those in the Colony itself.¹⁴

But while in Washington, D.C., North found out what, as a lawyer and land developer, he should have known earlier. His associates were evidently equally without knowledge. The U.S. government required homesteaders to take an oath that no other party was financially involved in their claims—a provision (often ignored) to prevent speculators from acquiring land in that way. Shocked to find that the Colony was offering settlers an illegal arrangement, North instructed Greves to discontinue such offers¹⁵.

North was faced with a dilemma. He could not bear the thought that settlers, in order to carry out their agreements, would have to perjure themselves by swearing that they alone were involved, when in fact they had agreed to convey half their claims to the Colony Association. But what of the Colony's agreement to provide water to those who had accepted the offer and who were now demanding water? The canal had not yet been extended, although a half mile of its route had been plowed as a preliminary to the digging. North also could not bear the thought of leaving the settlers without the water he and his associates had promised them.

In an effort to compromise, he told the settlers that if they would dig the canal extension and the necessary lateral ditches he would take it upon himself, pending approval of the Colony directors, to furnish them with water, trusting that in some unexplained manner they would compensate the Colony once they had title to their claims.¹⁶

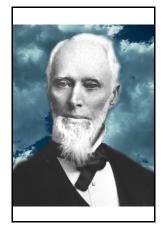
Felton disagreed, insisting that the settlers not be furnished water unless they agreed to compensate for the water right, as well as to pay the rates charged in the Colony itself.¹⁷ Although no vote was recorded in the Colony Association minutes, it was not disputed that the directors supported North's proposal, possibly with reluctance. Dr. Greves later described the approval as "Implied assent, some silent and others approving."¹⁸ Felton's primary activity centered in San Francisco. He was not ready to take charge personally and as yet had no management alternative.

The Government Tract settlers were supplied with water at the rates charged to buyers of land in the Colony. The dispute over the Rancho Jurupa boundary, although it did not affect the Colony area, continued. The patents to settler lands were finally issued in 1878 and 1879. By that time many settler claims had changed hands, some several times. Some settlers claimed they had never heard of any agreement or expectation that they would have to pay for the water right beyond the cost of digging the canal extension and lateral ditches.¹⁹

The Competition

More importantly, a major competitor had entered the situation. South of the southern line of the Government Tract (a line that became Arlington Avenue) a tract of some 8,500 acres had been sold by the U.S. Land Office in 1868 at "auction" to one Benjamin Hartshorn. In this, as in other auctions of government land, there was only one bidder, at the minimum price of \$1.25 per acre.²⁰ (So much for the rule against catering to speculators.) A major part of this land was also irrigable by extension of the original Riverside canal.

Hartshorn sold the tract in 1874 to William T. Sayward, who promptly resold an undivided half interest to Samuel C. Evans, who was soon to liquidate his banking and other business interests in Fort Wayne, Indiana, and to devote the rest of his life to Riverside.²¹ Sayward and Evans planned a "New England Colony" on their land. Meanwhile, a San Francisco mining syndicate had obtained title to the Mexican land grant Rancho Sobrante de San Jacinto and had secured approval of its boundaries to include what eventually became the Home Gardens area. It planned a "Santa Ana Colony."



Samuel C. Evans

These two new ventures south of the Riverside Colony planned a jointly owned canal, to cost an estimated \$35,000, and work was started in the fall of 1874.²² Evans returned to Fort Wayne to settle his affairs there, but was soon to learn that the canal plans were faulty. The cost would be greater and the canal would have to cross the Riverside Colony and the earlier Spanish-speaking settlement of La Placita, alongside the river above Riverside.²³

The Forced Exit and Its Aftermath

Since the new development would compete with Riverside for buyers, North, as president of the Colony Association, refused a right-of-way for the rivals' canal. On February 6, 1875, however, through exercise of Felton's controlling vote, the Colony directors granted the requested right-of-way. In May of the same year, Evans, Sayward, Felton, and the mining syndicate combined forces and formed the Riverside Land and Irrigating Company (RL&I).²⁴ Sayward became president of the Colony Association until Evans settled his Fort Wayne affairs. North was eliminated from Colony management.

Evans soon emerged as the executive head of the combined venture. The mining association took no part in the management and was to bow out in 1880 after receiving payment for its input. Evans and Felton became the major figures in the RL&I, with Evans as president and Felton continuing as a resident of San Francisco. North opened a law practice in San Bernardino and Riverside.²⁵

The new canal was finished and eventually became known as the Lower Canal of the Riverside Water Company, although it probably would never have been dug had Evans and Felton taken charge earlier. The original canal and its laterals were eventually expanded and in 1913 the Lower Canal was abandoned.²⁶

Meanwhile, throughout the nation, farmers and others were actively complaining against railroads, banks, and other dominant corporations on account of interest rates, water rates, and other costs. In California this led, among other things, to an 1879 constitutional convention in which reforms were triumphant, including giving local governments the right to control utility rates.

Throughout California, water projects were being formed, requiring relatively sophisticated engineering and cooperation of potential irrigators. The highly disputed factors in Riverside's Government Tract became the inspiration for an act of the state legislature, introduced by Assemblyman John W. Satterwaite of San Bernardino. It provided that once a utility had begun providing water for land it must continue to provide that water, at rates comparable to those charged comparable customers.²⁷ By that time, some Government Tract settlers had paid the RL&I or the SCCA for the water right and some had not. All were receiving water at the same rate as charged on the original Colony lands.

In May, 1878, the water users received new cause for alarm when the Evans-Felton RL&I formed the Riverside Canal Company and assigned to it an arbitrary amount of RL&I capital.²⁸ Theoretically, the Canal Company stock was to be sold to water users who would eventually become owners and managers of the system. Meanwhile, however, the RL&I would be the owner of the stock. It declared the Canal Company to be entitled to a fixed return on its investment. Growers argued that the RL&I had made a profit on sale of land, which they considered as involving sale of water right.²⁹ With a guaranteed rate of return to the company, irrigators saw themselves in the position of tenants, with a landlord (in this instance the water system owner) who could set rates making the landlord master. That outlook had become part of a nationwide point of view promulgated by such organizations as the Grange.

In December, 1882, the Citizens Water Company was organized by irrigators to enable them to act as a unit. It soon had the backing of owners of most of the irrigated land.³⁰ The San Bernardino County Supervisors, under state legislation, had refused a raise in water rates. Canal maintenance deteriorated. Evans contended that there was insufficient revenue for proper maintenance. Citizens Water Company contended that the RL&I should not be allowed to sell more land because during a drought the available water might be insufficient to irrigate the land already sold.

The Incorporation and the Compromise

A crisis was reached when the irrigators secured incorporation of the City of Riverside, in an election on September 25, 1883, and thereby achieved closer control of local water rates. It has sometimes been said that opposition to saloons was the primary incorporation issue. In fact, the primary issue was water control.³¹ In response, the Riverside Canal Company filed suit against the Citizens Water Company, San Bernardino County, and the City of Riverside (which was still within San Bernardino County), seeking to outlaw their rate controls. In 1884 the City of Riverside sued to prevent the RL&I from selling more land, with the justification that sufficient water would not be available in the event of drought.³² But more than legal matters was involved. The Chaffey brothers had started irrigated colonies at Etiwanda and Ontario, setting up a water distribution system controlled by the water users—the major demand in Riverside.³³ The Boom of the Eighties was beginning in Southern California, but the water dispute in Riverside made it difficult for the RL&I to sell land. The RL&I owed money to San Francisco banks, which were pressing for payment.³⁴

The result was a compromise in which the Riverside Water Company was formed, taking over the established water rights and the distribution system. The unsold lands of the RL&I were placed under ownership of a Riverside Land Company, created as part of the compromise. Half of the proceeds from the Land Company's sales would go to the Water Company for improvement of the canals. Irrigators who had not already paid a \$20 per acre water right charge on the Government Tract were required to pay to the Riverside Water Company through bonding their land.³⁵

The changes took effect on July 1, 1885. In addition to improving canal maintenance, the new company's first major change was the opening of a new intake on ever-flowing Warm Creek, a feature of the great San Bernardino Artesian Basin. The original intakes, both of the original canal and the Lower Canal, had been below the natural underground dam impounding the Basin. It was apparent that the higher intake was needed and the Colony, with that in mind, in 1875 had bought the Mathews Mill on Warm Creek. Its nonconsumptive water right prevented further irrigating claims on the stream prior to the time Riverside could afford a higher intake. The flow from that intake became known as the Warm Creek Canal, joining the original canal in the Spring Street Arroyo in the Highgrove area slightly west of the present Freeway 91. It included a 40-foot drop at Spring Street and Iowa Avenue where a primitive hydroelectric plant was installed, providing the first electric current for Riverside and Colton.³⁶

In the first two elections by Riverside Water Company stockholders, Evans was rejected as a director. Following the second election, at the happy time of the first flow of the Warm Creek Canal, one of the elected directors resigned with the understanding that Evans would succeed him. In the good will of the occasion, Evans became a director and thereafter was an enthusiastic believer in the Riverside Water Company.³⁷

The Continuing Influence

But the good will apparently never extended from the Evans management to North himself. North was attorney for settlers in a lawsuit tried in 1877, important primarily because of the testimony by North and other original colonists confirming the Colony's verbal promises to the Government Tract settlers. William O. Price, a settler who had bought his claim from an earlier holder, contended that he was entitled to water for his entire 40 acres. Evans insisted that the RL&I was obligated only to continue to supply the seven acres Price was already cultivating. He threatened to cut off the supply for the seven acres if any of it was used to put more land under cultivation. Nominally, Price won, but only for his originally cultivated seven acres. It was a pyrrhic victory.³⁸

North and others, as witnesses, had given details on the promises made to the settlers before the discovery that a legal requirement for giving, in advance, half their claims to the Colony would invalidate their claims. North testified that

> The settlers had been there a year anxiously waiting for water. What to do was the question for me at that time . . . I thought it would be an injury to the settlement and a hardship to the settlers, and not acting in good faith with them, to refuse them water after waiting so long in expectation of it. So I said, if you will make your own ditches—the Company have (sic) expended so much they cannot expend any more—if you will make your own ditches, I will assume the responsibility of furnishing you water the same as the others until the Company meet (sic).

I will then submit my action to them and let them determine it . . . I explained, I know, to Mr. Felton my reason for doing as I did. It was assented to by him, and I never knew that any other member of the Company objected . . . As to talking about a division of the land, that was a matter that was left in abeyance and indefinite, without a contract being made, written or oral . . . The government land was settled upon and surveyed by the Company . . . The Company did hope to get something out of it to remunerate them (sic), but hoped to get something from the people at the same time when the settlers got title . . .

North was asked a hostile question: "Do you mean to say that as President of that Company you gave them an absolute right to water there and let them carry ditches on to their own land, and then leave it an open question whether they would give the Company anything?"

He replied: "I never had an understanding with a single settler . . . I refused to do anything of the kind because I thought it improper and would place them in an unpleasant attitude and accomplish nothing."

He was asked: "Would it be an unpleasant attitude for them to pay a certain price for water?"

He replied: "It would be an unpleasant attitude for anyone who would have made such a contract and then swear he did not."³⁹

As mentioned above, Felton, although he was not satisfied with leaving the matter of settler compensation an "open question," did not actually invoke his majority control against it until he had come to terms with Evans, Sayward, and the mining syndicate, which resulted in the formation of the RL&I and the eventual dissolution of the SCCA. It would also appear that the early associates of North in the Colony retained high regard for North himself. Evans was careful to oppose his positions rather than to denounce him personally. However, Felton, considering his political connections in San Francisco and the role of the Southern Pacific Railroad in California politics at the time, may reasonably be suspected of an unnecessary personal blow to North. Under land grants approved by Congress, the Southern Pacific Railroad had a prior right over Riverside settlers to choose among lands as they became available for disposition by the U.S. Land Office. In addition to the Government Tract claims, there were some along the eastern edge of the Colony, irrigable by pumping from the canal. North himself had claimed a plot immediately across the canal from his block of Colony land. He had watered it by a steam pump. Out of all the Government Tract and the eastern edge sites, the Southern Pacific chose two properties, one of which was North's.⁴⁰

This may have been the final blow in North's Riverside defeat. Late in 1879 he sold his Riverside home and moved to San Francisco where he opened a law practice in association with associates from his Nevada period.⁴¹ But land development and politics, not law, were really North's profession. There seems to be no available record of his San Francisco law practice beyond a listing in the 1879-80 San Francisco City Directory.

By mid-1880 North had taken a position as manager of the Washington Irrigated Colony near Fresno and was involved statewide in problems of the many emerging irrigation projects, including Riverside's. He visited Riverside to speak at the Citrus Fair in March, 1882. In 1884 a state-wide irrigation association held its convention in Riverside, where he became its presiding officer.⁴² This convention's discussions, in Riverside and at a later convention in Fresno, advocated what the state legislature adopted in 1887—the Wright Irrigation District Act, giving a majority of land owners and irrigators in a potential district the right to bond all the district's properties and establish irrigating systems.⁴³

Indeed, North's role in the convention brought out evidence of continuing confidence from his old associates as well as from land owners and irrigators throughout the state. Conceivably, his early associates may have faulted him as impractical, but they retained high regard for his economic and political positions, and perhaps for his oratorical skill. The fact that the 1884 convention was held in Riverside with North presiding was in itself an indication of the high regard for him.

Incidentally, the 1884 convention brought out some of the water disputes of Riverside itself, which indeed had statewide implications. James Roe, druggist and claimant on the Government Tract, gave what might be called a keynote talk. He said that "The water and land interest should never have been separate . . . Irrigating water should never be subject to variations in price or fluctuation in value such as are natural in respect to land."⁴⁴

The presence of Evans and Felton was seen by some as improper. North said, however, that some water companies were themselves irrigators and "if it should be found from experience that there could not be harmony between us in the consideration of our respective rights, it occurs to me that then will be time enough to start to say: 'We will not hold conference with them in a state convention.'"

Evans insisted that he and Felton, in control of an irrigating company, were only seeking to determine their rights and that their investment and their costs of operation should be considered in setting rates. Felton joined in with what appears in retrospect to be a snarling and dishonest remark: "I do not control or help to control any canal company in Riverside. Thank God I am not under the control of the Riverside people, and I think a man would be exceedingly unfortunate if he were."⁴⁵

The Last Development

At Fresno, North presided over the sale of the Washington Colony lands and then invested all or most of his proceeds in a nearby colony of his own, in which he laid out a town called Oleander. There he lived alone and much of the time in poverty. His wife refused to suffer from the summer Fresno weather.

Her reactions to his troubles, however, are not clear. Presumably on account of the weather she lived with relatives or in a San Francisco boarding house. During that time he wrote her many loving letters that have survived in the North Collection at the Huntington Library. Her letters to him have not survived, but one of his tells her that the Oleander colony was not a wild goose chase, evidently responding to a comment from her that it was.⁴⁶

Indeed there are questions about family relationships throughout the 1880s. In 1883 North, having invested heavily in land, was seeking unsuccessfully to borrow money to attend the wedding of their daughter, Emma, to Clarence Messer, in Washington, D.C. One of his letters to his wife says, with apparent bitterness, that her brother George had refused such a loan although he had recently joined Felton in forming an oil company.⁴⁷ It is not clear who did provide the money for the 1883 trip, during which North not only attended the wedding but was given fond recognition from old associates of the anti-slavery days in Connecticut and New York and of community building times in Minnesota.

At this point it needs to be mentioned anew that North's brotherin-law, George Loomis, and Charles Felton had married sisters and had become associates in business, among other things forming the Pacific Coast Oil Company.⁴⁸ For some years, until his death in 1894, George Loomis was president of the company, with offices at 13 Pine Street in San Francisco. Felton was listed in the San Francisco city directory as a "capitalist" at the same address. The residence of both was given as Menlo Park and sometimes additionally as the Pacific Union Club.⁴⁹ Ann Loomis North's eventual attitude toward her husband is not clearly identified, but she may well have been influenced by more than the Fresno weather in living elsewhere. North's biographer, Merlin Stonehouse, wrote that North had "even sacrificed the patient trust of his wife."⁵⁰

John W. North died on February 22, 1890, in Fresno. His cremated remains are buried in Evergreen Cemetery, Riverside. His most successful son, John G. North, was present at the deathbed. This son had worked as a young man in the 1870s for the U.S. Mint in San Francisco, while Felton was in charge there. He later returned to Riverside where he became active in combatting the Evans-Felton water arrangements. John G. North was the first superintendent of the Riverside Water Company and eventually a highly successful lawyer, specializing in water matters.⁵¹

Notes

- ¹John W. North, "Random Sketches of a Crude Life,1882(?)" North Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
- ²Merlin Stonehouse, *John Wesley North and the Reform Frontier* (University of Minnesota Press, 1965), 118.
- ³David A. Johnson, "The Courts and the Comstock Lode: The Travail of John Wesley North," *The Pacific Historian* 27 (Summer 1983): 31-46.
- ⁴Stonehouse, John Wesley North, 209.

⁵Ibid., 152, 218.

- ⁶Ibid., 218.
- ⁷Ibid., 152

⁸Ibid., 218.

- ⁹John W. North to Ann Loomis North, December, 1870, North Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
- ¹⁰Tom Patterson, A Colony for California: Riverside's First Hundred Years (Riverside: Press-Enterprise Co., 1971), 38.

¹¹Ibid., 63.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid., 39.

- ¹⁴Testimony of John W. North, Price v. Riverside Land and Irrigating Co., 18th Dist. Court, County of San Bernardino, 1877, California State Archives, Sacramento, Calif.
- ¹⁵Testimony of Dr. James Porter Greves, Price v. Riverside Land and Irrigating Co., 18th Dist. Court, County of San Bernardino, 1877, California State Archives, Sacramento, Calif.

¹⁶Testimony of North, Price v. Riverside . . . Co.

¹⁷Testimony of Charles N. Felton, Price v. Riverside Land and Irrigating Co., 18th Dist. Court, County of San Bernardino, 1877, California State Archives, Sacramento, Calif.

¹⁸Testimony of Greves, Price v. Riverside . . . Co.

¹⁹William Hammond Hall, *Irrigation in California [Southern]* . . . (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1888), 240.

²⁰Patterson, A Colony for California, 22.

²¹John Brown, Jr. and James Boyd, *History of San Bernardino and Riverside Counties*, vol. 2 (Chicago: The Western Historical Association, 1922), 709.

²²Patterson, A Colony for California, 21.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Hall, Irrigation in California [Southern], 226.

- ²⁵John Brown, Jr. and James Boyd, *History of San Bernardino and Riverside Counties*, vol. 1 (Chicago: The Western Historical Association, 1922), 367.
- ²⁶Riverside Water Department Records; Howard L. Creason of Riverside, interview by author, 1993.

²⁷Hall, Irrigation in California [Southern], 240.

²⁸Ibid., 227.

²⁹Patterson, A Colony for California, 89.

³⁰Hall, Irrigation in California [Southern], 229-230.

³¹Ibid., 230.

³²Ibid., 231.

³³Patterson, A Colony for California, 91-92.

³⁴Luther M. Holt, "Holt's Experiences with the Press," *Riverside Daily Press*, 1 November 1902, Sunday Supplement, 3; Brown and Boyd, *History of San Bernardino and Riverside Counties*, vol. 1, 386.

³⁵Patterson, A Colony for California, 97.

³⁶Hall, Irrigation in California [Southern], 208.

³⁷Patterson, A Colony for California, 102.

³⁸Hall, Irrigation in California [Southern], 239.

³⁹Testimony of North, Price v. Riverside . . . Co.

⁴⁰Donald Allen Price (grandson of W. O. Price) to author, 5 March 1970.

⁴¹[San Francisco City Directory] (San Franciso, Henry G. Langley, 1879-1880). North is listed as a partner in the law firm of North, Lewis and Deal.

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⁴²Proceedings of the State Irrigation Convention, Held at Riverside, California, May 14, 15 and 16, 1884 (Riverside: Press and Horticulturist Steam Job-Printing House, 1884), verso of title page.

⁴³Patterson, A Colony for California, 101.

⁴⁴Proceedings of the State Irrigation Convention, 22.

⁴⁵Ibid., 93.

⁴⁶Stonehouse, John Wesley North, 238.

- ⁴⁷John W. North to Ann Loomis North, 12 August 1883, North Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
- ⁴⁸John S. Hittell, Commerce and Industry of the Pacific Coast of North America . . . 2d ed. (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and Co., 1882), 317-318.
- ⁴⁹[San Francisco City Directory] (San Francisco: Henry G. Langley, 1890-1894)

⁵⁰Stonehouse, John Wesley North, 204.

⁵¹Elmer Wallace Holmes, *History of Riverside County, California*... (Los Angeles: Historic Record Co., 1912), 311-312.

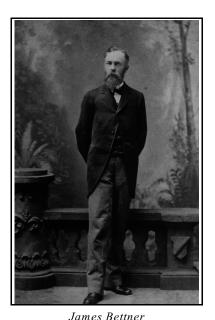
Journal of the Riverside Historical Society

Health Seekers

By Joan H. Hall

Journalist Charles Nordhoff wrote a book in 1873 for travelers and settlers entitled *California for Health, Pleasure and Residence*. Published in New York, it was widely circulated due to the interest of a large number of people suffering from a variety of serious illnesses. This popular book included the economic and healthful advantages to be found in several Southern California communities and among those listed was the new colony of Riverside. Due to its healthy environment of dry, uniform temperatures, the small settlement in San Bernardino County was recommended for invalids suffering from consumption and bronchial disorders. Consumption, or tuberculosis, was a contagious lung disease, quite prevalent in the East, with no known cure.

The book furthermore claimed some individuals with debilitating diseases miraculously restored their health and enjoyed



"a prolonged, comfortable life" after spending time in California. With this encouraging data, James Bettner, his wife Catharine, and their baby Katie left New York for California to find the healthiest climate possible. Doctors had informed James Bettner that he had but three months to live if he did not move to a warmer winter climate.¹ He was advised that sound care and a good location might improve his condition, which was ultimately diagnosed as Bright's disease, and other disorders of the liver and kidneys.

In the fall of 1873, the Bettners traveled across the country on the four-year-old transcontinental railroad. After seven days of some discomfort, they arrived in San Francisco, "The Hub Of The West." Here the Bettners befriended a fellow New Yorker named Albert S. White, who was also seeking a healthier winter climate.¹ This distinguished bachelor was recuperating from a severe case of pneumonia and had been told to find a milder climate or he would surely die an early death.²

White learned the Bettners had lost a baby named James in 1871 and that their two sons, seven-year-old Louis and nine-year-old Robert, remained at home to attend school. James Bettner's quest to regain his health became the uppermost priority for the entire family.

The Bettners and Albert White found mutual interests and became congenial traveling companions in their common pursuit of dry, warm weather. Damp, foggy days in San Francisco convinced the travelers to look elsewhere for a better place to stay and they decided to go to Southern California. The health seekers boarded the steamer *Arazaba* and cruised down the coast for two days, arriving in San Pedro in January 1874.³

James Bettner, educated both in law and engineering, belonged to an honorable family of wealthy, influential New York property owners. Albert White, also a man of means, was an astute businessman and owner of a successful transportation company. When the travelers arrived in Los Angeles, they lodged in the finest hotel, the modern Pico House located in the center of town. The three-story hotel was built with a central courtyard with windows in each room providing sunlight and fresh air. January temperatures were cool, however, and the building lacked sufficient fireplaces for desired heat.⁴ Another location with agreeable and advantageous weather became an immediate necessity.

Accordingly, the gentlemen decided to explore sites further inland for a suitable place to spend the winter. They were first directed to Cucamonga by developers who were promoting land that was found to be unsuitable. Traveling by coach and wagons over dusty, dreary roads, they arrived in Riverside on a Sunday afternoon.

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They were delighted to find the colony mentioned in Nordhoff's book a pleasant town with a small population of hard working people and perfect winter weather.

The three Bettners and Albert White spent the first few months of 1874 as paying guests in George Garcelon's Riverside home.⁵ Although not pretentious, the roomy two-story plastered house at Seventh and Mulberry streets was cheerful and clean. After several months of beneficial weather and the gracious hospitality of the Garcelon family, the health seekers returned to New York with renewed hope for healthier and longer lives.

When Albert White returned to Riverside for the winter in November 1876, he stayed with the Miller family in their new home. Christopher Columbus Miller had constructed a 12-room, two-story house of adobe bricks a few blocks west of George Garcelon's house, on Seventh Street. Mr. White was the first paying guest in the Miller home, known as the "Glenwood." Through the years, this ordinary hostelry evolved into the famous, historic Mission Inn of Riverside. The Bettners came to town shortly thereafter and also stayed at the Glenwood. Their three-year-old daughter Katie had died that summer, but their sons, Louis and Robert, were with them.⁶

James Bettner became enthusiastic about the development and potential prosperity of the area. Raisin crops were profitable and varieties of citrus trees were beginning to produce marketable fruit. With land and water relatively inexpensive, small farms and homes were being built throughout the settlement. Samuel C. Evans, a former banker from Indiana, developed a large tract of land south of town called Arlington. Through this property ran a grand boulevard named Magnolia Avenue, a street 130 feet wide with a row of shade trees on each side and another row down the center. Bordered in citrus trees and cypress hedges, this prestigious neighborhood became the home of several former New Yorkers who referred to it as "The Brooklyn of Riverside."

Wealthy New Yorker James Benedict built the largest and grandest house on the Avenue in 1878. Designed by Los Angeles architect Ezra Kysor, the two-story mansion was named Casa Grande. Across from it stood another multi-gabled house belonging to Mr. Benedict's sister, Mrs. LeGrand Lockwood, and her personable son Henry.⁷ Their residence, Casa Blanca, became a favorite gathering place for Riverside society, which eventually included the Bettners and Mr. White.

The Bettner family arrived in Riverside on November 5, 1878, to become permanent residents.⁸ Louis had consumption and James continued to fight Bright's disease, an ailment of the kidneys often leading to uremic poisoning. Although they had different health problems, they both experienced sleeplessness and lack of appetite. Louis had frequent coughing spells and periods of hemorrhaging.

The year-round outdoor activities proved beneficial to both invalids and James decided to become a horticulturist. He purchased 40 acres near Indiana Avenue and Jefferson Street, one block east of Magnolia Avenue, and there started his ranch. First he built a windmill and tankhouse and hired Ezra Kysor, who had designed Casa Grande, to plan a two-story Queen Anne style house. It had three protruding wings with many windows for sunlight and fresh air to circulate through the building. The first floor of thick, adobe bricks was coated on the outside with tasteful stucco cementimpervious to water and moisture. The Bettners moved into their beautifully furnished home in October 1880.⁹

A ranch hand was hired to oversee the vineyard of raisin grapes and the orange, lemon, and lime trees. Near the barn, James had installed a self-registering thermometer and took pride in becoming the unofficial weather recorder of Riverside. Apparently, his outdoor activities agreed with him as his health improved and he became involved in a number of civic organizations, often taking a leading role.

Catharine Bettner filled her days overseeing her household and supervising her Chinese house servants. As a typical Victorian matron, she kept a low profile, with her interests centered around Health Seekers



James Bettner Home

family and her home. When her mother-in-law, Mrs. James (Annie) Bettner of New York, came for an extended visit in the fall of 1881, Catharine entertained—often including such prominent Riversiders as the Benedicts, Lockwoods, Evanses and good friend Albert White. The bachelor's health had been restored in Riverside, where he continued to live as a permanent resident at the Glenwood. Here, he enjoyed a full, productive life for more than 30 years.

The Bettner boys, Louis and Robert, attended a private school taught by Reverend C. Day Noble and his wife. Other students in the school included Samuel Evans' sons, Pliny and Sam, and the Benedict boys, Charles and Howard. In the spring of 1883, Louis Bettner was appointed a cadet to West Point by Congressman Summer of San Bernardino. It remains unknown if this appointment was due to his academic achievements or to James Bettner's political influence. Father and son went East together, Louis to school and James to attend to family business in New York.¹⁰ The eastern climate proved detrimental to Louis, however, for he returned to Riverside sometime later, a sick young man.

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In January 1888, James Bettner began disposing of his Riverside property. He sold nine acres of his ranch for \$18,300 and sold downtown business buildings. These transactions may have been the means of providing financial security for his family, for by this time he was once again very ill. Even though there were five practicing physicians in town, no one could save James Bettner, who died in May. The 44-year-old health seeker died of Bright's disease. Riversiders mourned his passing but there were no services. Catharine Bettner, accompanied by her son Robert, took his body to Yonkers, New York, to be buried in the Bettner family cemetery plot of St. Johns Church. Louis was too ill to make the trip.

Later, in 1890, Robert Bettner married a charming English lady and they moved to New York. Catharine took care of her son Louis, who was suffering from consumption and had long coughing spells and frequent hemorrhaging. In January 1891, he died at the age of 22. Again, Catharine traveled to Yonkers, where Louis was buried near his father. While in the East, she persuaded Robert and his wife to move back to Riverside with their new baby, and in March they arrived. She turned the ranch over to Robert and erected a grand house of her own on Magnolia Avenue.

In January 1892, Catharine Bettner moved into her magnificent Queen Anne house at 8193 Magnolia Avenue, where she enjoyed a comfortable life for the next 36 years.¹¹ Today this authentically restored mansion is Riverside's historic Heritage House.

Charles Nordhoff's book not only stimulated great migration to the state of California but also his prophecy offered hope to hundreds of health seekers suffering from a variety of illnesses. The book did not claim that California was a cure for these diseases, but instead suggested a warm, dry climate might restore one's health and even prolong life. With these promising expectations, it is no wonder Albert S. White and the Bettners traveled across the entire continent searching for the right place to settle "for health, pleasure and residence." Notes

¹Betty Holzer's Heritage House Files. Betty Holzer, a Riverside Heritage House docent, has extensively researched the Bettners and, in the process, has acquired valuable photographs, documents, and other pertinent memorabilia relating to this pioneer family.

²"Tales of Pioneer Days," *Riverside Daily Press*, June 9, 1907.

³Ibid.

⁴Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California through the Progressive Era*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 41.

⁵"Tales of Pioneer Days."

⁶Betty Holzer's Heritage House Files.

- ⁷Tom Patterson, *A Colony for California: Riverside's First Hundred Years*, (Riverside: Press-Enterprise Co., 1971), 76.
- ⁸James H. Roe, "Notes on Early History of Riverside," author's collection, Riverside, California.

⁹Press and Horticulturist, 16 October 1880.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 9 June 1883.

¹¹Betty Holzer's Heritage House Files.

Letter from California, 1895

Riverside, Cal., May 12th, '95

Mr. D. H. Clymer, Claypool, Ind.

Dear Sir:—As you requested me to write an article for the *Times*, I may as well begin by describing some of the sights and beauties of Riverside.

On the left bank of the Santa Anna (sic) river, forty-five miles from the Pacific ocean, sixty miles east of Los Angeles and one hundred miles north of San Diego lies Riverside, the most famous orange producing city in the world. It is reached by two great railways, the Southern Pacific and the Santa Fe.

When Riverside was first located, the pioneers wisely laid the foundations for its future prosperity by the construction of extensive irrigating canals. The basis of all the growth and wealth of the city lies in these. Where water is abundant almost everything that grows can be raised, but outside the irrigation district, the hills are dry and barren, except for a few months in the winter, when vegetation springs up. Water here is indeed wealth, and the "rancher" with ten or twenty acres with plenty of water considers himself wealthy, for in this land of sunshine and flowers the growth of cultivated vegetation is wonderful. Two crops of nearly everything can be raised and alfalfa is cut six times during the year.

There are few cities more beautiful than Riverside. Though the public buildings and private residences are superior it is not to these she owes her pre-eminence. Miles of beautiful avenues and streets, tree lined, flower bordered and sprinkled daily so as to make driving a comfort and pleasure have given Riverside the reputation of being the most charming city on the coast. The fame of Magnolia avenue, with its ten miles of magnolia, pepper, palms, eucalyptus, and grevilas, flanked by ten thousand acres of orange groves, is unrivalled in the world.

Letter from California, 1895

The city's territory embraces fifty-six square miles and both improved and unimproved land can be found inside the limits. It has been styled by some as "a garden plat ten miles long." One can ride, or walk, mile after mile through vineyards or orange groves, the wayside delineated by hedges or shaded by tall eucalyptus and almond, peach, pear fig, apricot and walnut tress thrown in for luxury; fountains, flower gardens, pastures, and mowing plats--in short, a garden township without a wasted acre.

The city lies at an altitude of 1,000 feet above sea level and surrounded by lofty mountain ranges possesses a dry and pure climate unsurpassed for healthfulness. There are probably fewer rainy days here than at any other point in Southern California, west of the great mountain range. The average rainfall is about 8 inches, which falls mostly in January and February. The summers are dry and have a temperature ranging from 80 to 100 degrees, although it sometimes reaches 108 degrees, and then everybody wishes they were at the coast. The nights are invariably cool, made so by the air from the mountains; and the days are tempered by the cool sea breezes.

But you must not imagine from the foregoing remarks that Riverside is a paradise, although it is as near an earthly one as regards pleasure and beauty as can be found. Every city has its drawbacks; so with this place. Whenever a place depends upon one thing alone, as this city does, when that thing fails disaster must follow. When the orange crop fails here, as it frequently does, the whole resources of the place are cut off and hard times are inevitable. This is a year of abundance, and business is good. Work is plenty, although wages are down nearly as low as the Eastern standard. The orange crop is nearly all shipped, although a few late ones are coming in and will not be all off before the first of June. At present the trees are very beautiful, having both blossoms and fruit on them.

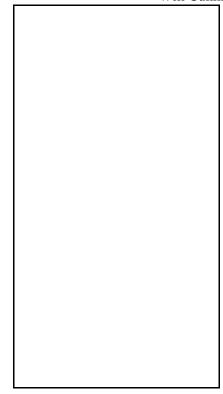
But, taking all into consideration, it is the most beautiful and advanced city I have ever been in, in the West. Has more business wealth, beautiful drives and places of amusements and fewer drawbacks than any other city of its size in the United States. It is very aptly styled by the poet as:

> The land where the lemon trees bloom, Where the golden orange grows in the deep thickets gloom, Where the wind ever soft from the blue heavens blows,

And the groves are of laurel and myrtle and rose.

Very Truly Yours,

Will Cunnison



Title page of 1894 promotional brochure for Riverside

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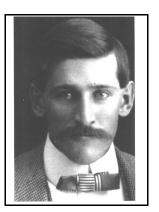
Will Cunnison: A Life Lived in the "Garden Township"

by Ron Baker

B orn and raised in northern Indiana, Will Cunnison left his native state at age twenty-one to attend the 1893 Chicago World's Fair and then headed west.¹ He ended up in Tacoma, Washington. Although he had attended college in Fort Wayne for two years and had taught high school algebra in Indiana, Cunnison never returned to the teaching profession. While in Washington he learned the shingle weaver trade and worked in several small towns north of Seattle. In January, 1895, he made a stormy, eight-day trip by coastal steamer from Seattle to Redondo Beach and briefly took a job in a grocery store in Los Angeles.²

Cunnison first visited Riverside on February 1, 1895. Three months later he sent the above letter to the **Times** of Claypool, Indiana, where he had last taught school. The author borrows heavily from a promotional brochure entitled *Riverside, California: The Greatest Orange Growing City in the World*, which had been printed in Los Angeles a year earlier. To the "booster" language of this brochure he does add a frank assessment of some of the so-called "Garden Township's" shortcomings. More than fifty years later Cunnison would describe Riverside of the 1890s as a town of 6,000 population with "no paved streets, no electric lights, no gas, and about six blocks of small businesses."³ At least one of these shortcomings he soon worked to set aright. As a teamster for the drayage company of Horace Branch, he worked on a crew which gave Riverside its first paved streets.⁴

In 1897 Cunnison returned to Fort Wayne, Indiana to marry Lillian A. Glass. One month following the wedding, the young couple returned to Riverside, where Cunnison opened a livery business. After a year and a half, he sold his business and began thirteen years of work as a driver for the National Ice Company.⁵ During these years he also moonlighted as a chauffeur and tour guide for the Glenwood Garage, taking guests of Frank Miller's Mission Inn as far afield as Bishop.⁶



Will Cunnison around 1900

The young man seems to have been not only industrious but also very sociable. He was an early member of the Elks and the Eagles in Riverside and remained active in both lodges throughout his long life.⁷ Nephew Dale Cunnison still fondly remembers his uncle as a likeable, humorous, generous man with real gifts as a card player.⁸

In 1912 Cunnison made what seems like an abrupt career change: he went into the liquor business. His connection with the local ice company and with the local lodges, which were traditionally dependent upon in-house bar revenues,

may have pointed him toward the liquor business. But it was a political development in the neighboring town of Colton which made possible his new, lucrative career. After a year-and-a-half experiment with local option prohibition, Colton voters recalled their city council and approved a "wet" ordinance on December 24, 1911.⁹ This opened the way for the centrally located "Hub City" to serve the drinking needs of the many surrounding "dry" jurisdictions, including Riverside.

Cunnison moved his family to Colton and quickly established himself as a liquor wholesaler to the town's many newly opened saloons and liquor stores. If anything, Colton's liquor business became too successful and soon provoked a reaction from the prohibitionists in the town. With one saloon for every 1,000 population, Colton's city fathers were shamed into acting to curtail the liquor vice. On March 28, 1913, Cunnison's Wholesale House on "J" Street and one other firm had their liquor licenses revoked. Within a month, however, Will Cunnison had opened a retail liquor store in remodeled rooms of Colton's Palace Hotel Block.¹⁰ A few years later he bought a second store, in Elsinore, one of the few remaining "wet" communities in Riverside County.

Will Cunnison

National Prohibition closed both of his stores in the late Teens, but, surprisingly, provided Will Cunnison with his "main chance." When it became obvious that Prohibition would soon be the law of the land, he bought up the stock of his nearby competitors and sold it, together with his own remaining merchandise, at so huge a profit that he was able to retire for some fifteen years!¹¹

The Cunnisons moved back to Riverside—into a spacious bungalow on North Mulberry Street—and bought grove property not far from their home, on La Cadena Drive. In the succeeding years, Will owned a billiard hall on Main Street, built the first Safeway store in Riverside (now the Municipal Museum Annex at Main and Third streets), and accumulated other commercial property in the downtown area.¹² However, as early as 1920 he began to list himself simply as a "rancher" in the voter rolls, an occupation he was to claim until the repeal of Prohibition in 1933. In that year Cunnison opened another liquor store, this time on Seventh Street in Riverside. He sold this business to his son, Wayne G. "Brick" Cunnison, in 1937 and retired a second time.¹³ During the following two and a half decades, Cunnison was to become a valuable and increasingly rare source of information on the early days of Riverside.

Athough never a churchgoing man, Cunnison was "converted" during the last year of his life. Dr. Henry Clark Smith, his long-time fellow poker player at the Elks Club, was the retired re ctor of All Saints Episcopal Church. At some point Cunnison told the clergyman that he wanted him to conduct his funeral service. Smith would agree to do so only if his friend would become an attending member of All Saints. So in his nineties Will Cunnison became an Episcopalian.¹⁴ When the man who had worked on Riverside's first street-paving crew died on July 19, 1965, his Mulberry Street home was only a stone's throw away from a freeway on-ramp! Will Cunnison was entombed at Olivewood Cemetery, among relatives he had long ago convinced to leave northern Indiana for his "Garden Township."

Notes

¹Will Cunnison, "A Short Life of Will Cunnison, 1951(?)" original held by Edna Cunnison, Riverside, Calif.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.; "Pioneer Riverside Resident Dies at 93," *Riverside Press*, 20 July 1965, B2.

⁵Cunnison, "A Short Life."

⁶Dale Cunnison of Riverside, interview by author, 23 September 1996.

"Pioneer Riverside Resident Dies."

- ⁸Dale Cunnison of Riverside, interview by author, 23 September and 9 October 1996.
- ⁹Hazel Olson, *As the Sand Shifts in Colton, California* (Colton: published by author, 1989), 479, 484.

¹⁰Ibid., 485, 489.

¹¹Dale Cunnison, 23 September 1996.

¹²Ibid., 9 October 1996.

¹³Cunnison, "A Short Life."

¹⁴Edna Cunnison of Riverside, interview by author, 23 September 1996.

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