The Scripps Family's San Diego Experiment By

Molly McClain

Ellen Browning Scripps (1836-1932) and her brother Edward Wyllis ("E.W.") Scripps (1854-1926) made their newspaper fortune in the expanding industrial cities of the Midwest—Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and St. Louis—but they spent much of it in San Diego, California. In the early years of the twentieth century, they contributed substantial sums of money to the Scripps Institution of Oceanography, the Scripps Memorial Hospital, the La Jolla Recreational Center, the San Diego Natural History Museum, the San Diego Zoo, and The Bishop's School in La Jolla, among other organizations. They both invested in Miramar, a vast ranch located on the arid, chaparral-covered mesa now known as Scripps Ranch.¹

What brought the Scripps to California? And why did they stay? In the 1890s, San Diego was still reeling from the effects of an economic depression caused by railroad overbuilding, bank failures, and the collapse of the real estate market. E.W. described the city as, "a busted, broken-down boom town…probably more difficult of access than any other spot in the whole country."² Ellen, meanwhile, found a "rude, rough pioneer element," noting that even prominent men in the city spoke in a "language of slang, short epithets, and 'wag."³ They discovered in rural Southern California, however, both a retreat from civilization and a place where they could heal family rifts and prevent divisions caused by the rapid acquisition of wealth. They did not move to San Diego to make a fortune but to give one away.

San Diego's development coincided with the anti-modernist movement that swept through Europe and America in the late nineteenth century. Urban life fast-paced, individualistic, and profit-driven—had been a source of anxiety for centuries, particularly among the landowning classes. By the 1880s, however, doubts about modernity became widespread. Industrial advances, together with the rapid expansion of cities, caused people to think anew about the world they had built. T.J. Jackson Lears described the process by which people "began to recognize that the triumph of modern culture had not produced greater autonomy (which was the official claim) but rather had promoted a spreading sense of moral impotence and spiritual sterility—a feeling that life had become not only overcivilized but also curiously unreal."⁴ They sought regeneration and renewal in a variety of different ways: sojourns into the wilderness, shows of military virtue,

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The Scripps family gathered in Detroit to celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of William Scripps' arrival in the United States in 1791. Twenty-nine lineal descendants and their spouses were photographed on the steps of George G. Booth's residence on Trumbull Ave., Detroit, June 29, 1891. Ellen B. Scripps stands second from the left. ©SDHC #14393. See back cover for individual names.

exploration (and exploitation) of native cultures, psychological study, aesthetic production, and experimental urban planning.⁵

San Diego offered newcomers the opportunity to build a different kind of city, one with "geraniums" instead of "smokestacks" as George W. Marston promised in his 1917 campaign for mayor. Property owners drew on the aesthetic philosophy of John Ruskin and adopted new approaches to urban planning such as the Garden City and City Beautiful movements. Utopian novels as different as *Looking Backward* (1888) and William Morris' *News From Nowhere* (1890) informed debates about the future of the city, as did dystopian accounts of the rise of an urban proletariat and the decline of American industry.⁶ It was here that E.W. and Ellen Browning Scripps reconsidered their future as capitalists and experimented with a new way of life.

The Scripps family wealth was derived from the industrial advances that made possible a revolution in printing and circulating newspapers; it also depended on the urbanization and industrialization of the Midwest. In 1873, James E. Scripps and his brothers founded *The Evening News* in Detroit, at that time a port on the route of cargo vessels carrying goods between Lake Erie and the Upper Lakes. The nation's largest supplier of railroad cars, the city also supported industries such as iron and steel, shipbuilding, pharmaceuticals, and cigar manufacturing. Scripps newspapers expanded its working class readership by moving into existing and developing markets such as Cleveland, Cincinnati, Buffalo, and St. Louis.

Ellen, who grew up with her brothers and sisters on a farm in Rushville,

Illinois, worked on the *News* as a copyeditor and journalist. Her younger brother E.W. helped found the *Cleveland Press, Cincinnati Post,* and *St. Louis Chronicle*. In the late 1880s, the latter's attempt to seize control of the Scripps Publishing Company failed, resulting in a divisive lawsuit and a break with his brother James. E.W. was sufficiently depressed about his prospects to begin looking around for other opportunities. He later wrote, "I did not wish to come to California for money. I wanted to get as far away from the detestable temper as possible."⁷⁷

Ellen and E.W. Scripps began to reflect on their roles as industrialists following the publication of a controversial novel, *Looking Backward*: 2000-1887, by Edward Bellamy. The author characterized the nineteenth century as time when "riches debauched one class with idleness of mind and body, while poverty sapped the vitality of the masses by overwork, bad food, and pestilent homes." He, like others, saw the uneasy relationship between labor and capital as a harbinger of change. His protagonist, a young Boston gentleman, goes to sleep in 1887 and wakes up more than one hundred years later at a time when individuals have put aside their self-interest in order to work for the good of the whole. Tenements and smoke-stacks disappear to be replaced by tree-lined streets, parks, and public buildings of "a colossal size and architectural grandeur." Everyone feels him or herself to be a member of an "industrial army" working for "one great business corporation," the state. The result, according to Bellamy, was the end of poverty and great wealth, "the solidarity of the race and the brotherhood of man."⁸

E.W., an ardent capitalist, was startled by Bellamy's critique of modern society.

He wrote to his sister, "By the way, I have read that book of Bellamy, 'Looking Backward.' I was surprised to find myself thoroughly absorbed and interested in it. When you read it, did you not feel that you were being attacked and justly attacked for your selfishness and your folly? Did you not feel your own hands dripping with the blood of your murdered victims? I did. I feel now that I am doing altogether wrong. I have not yet decided whether I can do entirely right but I am sure I can do a great deal better than I am and I am going to try." He was particularly struck by the fact that "there are poor widows and orphans in Cleveland and Detroit who are such because our companies have been too mean to furnish healthful work rooms and merited salaries sufficient to feed and clothe them properly." More than one person had died in the service of the paper, "and my only wonder was that the number was not greater considering the terrible condition of the old press office" in Cleveland.9



Edward Wyllis Scripps, ca. 1890. This photo was published on the cover of The Fourth Estate, the weekly newspaper trade magazine, May 11, 1912. Courtesy of Mahn Center for Archives and Special Collections, Ohio University Libraries.



Ellen Browning Scripps, ca. 1891. Courtesy of Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College.

Ellen was not particularly concerned about the poor—in fact, she had a horror of beggars—but she disapproved of monopolists and the accumulation of vast wealth. She once asked E.W. why he did not consider separating his business interests from those of their brother James: "It may seem a pity to your ambitions to check in its mid-career a business which promises magnificent growth and results. But, after all, what is it we are doing but amassing money and becoming monopolists? I see that Carnegie in the North American is discussing the duties of a monied man. He has amassed \$20,000,000. The question of benefitting mankind should have been considered and solved at a time and in a way that should have prevented his becoming a millionaire."10

At the same time, Ellen shared E.W.'s belief that philanthropy should not lead to dependency but should go towards organizations and institutions that aimed to improve society. She understood all too well the emotional dynamics created by wealth and poverty within a family—and by extension the human family—and believed that money could and should help people take steps towards self-sufficiency. On occasion, family tensions caused her to imagine escaping to a distant desert island, "where the air that I breathe will not be tainted, nor my ears polluted with the foul smell and sound of money, and the baseness of spirit it engenders." She thought that only one member of the family, her older sister Elizabeth, remained "uncontaminated by the vile thing" and, as a result, preserved her "independence and moral tone."¹¹

California offered both Ellen and E.W. a chance to escape, albeit briefly, from the business of making money. They had considered a trip as early as 1885—"We ought to cross the country *some time*," the latter wrote.¹² Instead, they decided to travel through Mexico with James and his family in 1885-86. They visited cities on Mexico's Pacific Coast and, once back in the United States, traveled as far west as Albuquerque and Las Vegas. It was not until their sister Annie headed to California that the Scripps family found an excuse to leave for the Golden State.

Annie Scripps went to California in 1887 in search of a remedy—both spiritual and physical—for crippling rheumatoid arthritis. She found a home at the Remedial Institute and School of Philosophy, also known as the New Order of Life, in Alameda.¹³ One of many utopian communities founded in late nineteenth-century California, it offered "a life of brotherly love" guided by the pseudo-scientific principles of its founder, Dr. Horace Bowen.¹⁴ Annie spoke highly of her experience, writing to her brother that the "principles that have been inculcated in my soul's consciousness" had blessed her. "You are a businessman," she wrote, "and, of course, this to you may seem soaring or theoretical but to me it is living truth, the carrying out of my soul's connections. I feel that I am just where my God has placed me having used my very weakness as you term it for the further development of my soul."¹⁵

Ellen and E.W., however, remained concerned about their sister's welfare, particularly as they had taken on financial responsibility for her care. In 1889, the latter intended to travel to California to investigate the situation but, instead, remained in Ohio while his wife recovered from diphtheria.¹⁶ Ellen, having recently returned from Europe, packed her trunks and, at the end of 1889, headed to San Francisco with her brother Fred.¹⁷

Ellen arrived in Alameda on January 1, 1890, after a ten-day train journey from Chicago. She found the San Joaquin Valley to be disappointing: "I had pictured to myself as a smiling, fertile valley with trees and running water." Instead, she found "a great level stretch of ground extending all around

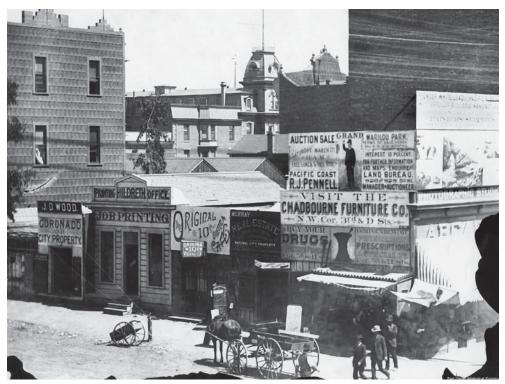


Julia "Annie" Scripps (1847-98) was one of the few family members that Ellen B. Scripps spoke of with affection. Ellen described her as "very gentle, patient, and quite a religious person" with an "intelligent face"; she thought her "the ablest of the lot." Courtesy of Warren S. Wilkinson, Mahn Center for Archives and Special Collections, Ohio University Libraries.

to the horizon" with few fences and even fewer houses. She saw tents belonging to workmen and a few stations, little more than shanties, "chiefly saloons and billiard rooms." Oakland also surprised her: "Where are the palatial houses, the beautiful gardens, the avenues of trees I expected to see? Behold a country town set on a marsh, low one-storied buildings basely painted and adorned with gingerbread carvings around the porch awnings, muddy streets, shabby sidewalks."¹⁸

She spent a month with her sister while Fred decamped for nearby Byron Hot Springs for the treatment of rheumatic symptoms. "I advocate his going," she told E. W., "not because I apprehend any particular virtue resides in the springs, but because this 'atmosphere' is too light and elevated for his grosser spirit." She could not imagine him attending theosophical lectures on karma and reincarnation or listening to Dr. Bowen's strictures on the "molecula remedy" for disease. Annie, however, seemed remarkably happy even if physically frail. She considered Alameda to be her "Paradise" and looked "better contented and in serener mood than ever before," according to Ellen.¹⁹

Seeing little reason to remain in northern California, Ellen and Fred traveled south to San Diego to visit their cousins, Hans and Fanny Bagby. The latter worked as a journalist for several Scripps papers before joining the staff of the San Diego *Sun*.²⁰ They arrived on February 15, 1890, took rooms at the Horton House, and set about viewing the city. They crossed by ferry to Coronado and spent their first morning wandering around the hotel grounds. A few days later, they went



San Diego recovered slowly from the real estate "boom and bust" of the late 1880s. In 1890, the city's population was 16,159. Photo shows the southeast corner of Fifth Street, ca. 1890. ©SDHC #1501.

to La Jolla to gather seashells and mosses. Ellen noted in her diary, "Found a few fine specimens also starfish, black mussels, and various other kinds of shells. The rocks here are undermined with caves washed out of the softer parts of the rocks by the action of the waves."²¹ She traveled to Pacific Beach, Old Town, Point Loma, Linda Vista, the City Park (later Balboa Park), the San Diego Mission, National City, Tijuana, the Sweetwater Dam, and Fallbrook. She also visited Mission Gorge where a cousin, Lida Scripps, had a ranch.²²

Ellen received a great deal of attention from San Diegans as a result of her connection to the *Evening News* and the Scripps Publishing Company, "the fame of which I found had preceded me." Her cousin Fanny also advertised her arrival in a typically "effusive" fashion with the result that she found herself "more of a lioness than was agreeable to one of my pacific nature. I could have had, had I chosen it, entrée to the best circles of the city."²³

Among the more notable San Diegans that she encountered were National City founder Frank Kimball, Captain John Dillingham, and Father Antonio Ubach, "who inscribed his name in a copy of *Ramona* that I had bought."²⁴ She toured a section of Balboa Park and described efforts to "beautify" the area, noting that local women had "put out seats and a sort of pagoda of rough wood called a 'summer house.' An Indian encampment of a few families is still in the ground."²⁵ She also visited the homes of several local authors, including Rose Hartwick Thorpe, and met landowner Lorenzo Soto who told her that he was a Peruvian descendant of the Incas who had arrived in California in 1849.²⁶ Like many visitors to California, Ellen noted the effects of the speculative real estate boom of the 1880s. In fact, she knew many families from her hometown of Rushville, Illinois, who had moved to Southern California, invested in real estate, and lost thousands of dollars. She was surprised by their continued belief in the virtues of the West. One acquaintance told her, "People can make money faster in the East…but for sun, comfort, and enjoyment of living give me California!" A Methodist minister named Stevenson who had preached in Rushville continued to boost investment opportunities in Monrovia, an agricultural community located to the east of Pasadena: "He was one of the biggest boomers of the lot. Affects to regard Monrovia as a Paradise and is trying to inveigle his friends into this Garden of Eden." She added, "Methodist preachers take to the real estate business as readily as a duck to water. I wonder what connection there is between preaching the gospel and skimming one's neighbors!"²⁷

Although she was wary of boosters, she did see opportunity in San Diego. She told E.W., "This town went up with the boom but fell flat with its death, I should judge. However, there is plenty of land and water here, and there should be a steady growth towards prosperity."²⁸

Her brother Fred, meanwhile, was captivated by San Diego's warm, dry climate. He had endured a serious illness—either malaria or rheumatic fever—in the early 1880s and, like his sister Annie, suffered from aching and swollen joints. Moreover, he had failed in several businesses, most notably the management of the family farm, and was looking for a fresh start. Ellen told E.W., "He is strongly disposed to settle here. He gives as the main reason his health. The climate agrees with him. His rheumatism he has scarcely felt." She supported his plan to buy property in San Diego; in fact, she offered to take up the mortgage herself. "I believe the pur-



La Jolla Cove, ca. 1887, with a wooden ladder leading from the cliff to the beach. At this time, La Jolla had summer visitors but few permanent residents. The subdivision and sale of La Jolla Park by Frank T. Botsford in 1887 marks the beginning of La Jolla's history as a community. ©SDHC Archives, Douglas Gunn, Picturesque San Diego (Chicago, 1887).

chase of good land is a perfectly safe investment here," she wrote, "Every year demonstrates more and more the fruit growing capacities of the soil and climate." She, too, was affected by California's mild winter: "The sun is very hot, and vegetation is like ours of summer. People were bathing in the sea today. Open windows are a luxury. Green peas and other summer 'garden sauce' has become monotonous. The sky is as blue and cloudless as that of Southern Italy; the dust 10 inches deep."²⁹

Before they left California, Ellen and Fred planned to purchase 160 acres of land on the Linda Vista mesa, not far from a railroad flag-stop.³⁰ The deal was complicated by the fact that the wholesale grocery firm, Klauber & Levi, owned half the property known as the Douglas Tract, but they remained committed to the idea.³¹ Fred felt that his health improved remarkably in California, "a condition that could be only attributable to the climate."³² Ellen, meanwhile, remained willing to invest "a few thousands," as she put it.³³

After her trip to California, Ellen found Detroit to be "dull and depressing." She felt detached from the real business of the city—making and spending money—and in need of a change. She hoped that her brother George would go to California with Fred, thinking that if he spent a year there, even a winter, "he will never return to Detroit to live."³⁴ George, instead, headed to Colorado in an attempt to recover from a recurring illness that left him looking "pale and haggard."³⁵ She remained in Detroit until July, helping her brothers look for evidence in a lawsuit brought by their former partner, John Sweeney.³⁶ She visited her stepmother in Rushville and spent a month in the Riverside Sanitarium in Hamilton, Ohio, to get treatment for inflammation in her knee.

Since Fred continued to pursue the idea of buying land in San Diego, E.W. decided to make a visit in November 1890. He felt financially responsible for indigent members of the family—"Ma," Annie, Jennie, and Fred—and wanted to ensure that they spent money in ways that he approved. Ellen accompanied her brother as far as Alameda but did not return to San Diego. Instead, she stayed with her sister Annie who still suffered debilitating episodes of arthritis.

E.W. arrived in San Diego wearing the traditional costume of a *caballero*, presumably thinking it appropriate attire for a would-be landowner in the former Mexican California. The *San Diego Union* reported, "Mr.



Frederick Tudor Scripps (1850-1936), n.d. In 1893, he married twenty-one-year-old Sarah Emma Jessop whose family owned a tract of land near Miramar Ranch. Her father Joseph E. Jessop (1851-1932), a jeweler, emigrated from Lancashire, England, to the United States in 1890. He worked with Fred to build Surr dam at Miramar Ranch, completed in 1894. ©SDHC Box 2000/61. Scripps is a conspicuous figure in his Ranchero's costume—broad hat, blue velvet suit and varnished top boots drawn over the trousers."³⁷ Local elites appeared to be taken aback by this display of eccentricity for he attributed his "cordial and even flattering reception" not to his wealth or newspaper connections but to the words of an old acquaintance: "I overheard him telling a knot of men—viz., 'That all the Scrippses were villainous but that I was also a white man.'"³⁸

E.W.'s self-presentation revealed his interest in what historians describe as the "Spanish fantasy heritage" created by nineteenth-century immigrants to California.³⁹ By reimagining themselves as upper-class Spanish dons, Anglos inserted themselves at the top of the social hierarchy created after the U.S. conquest of Mexican territory in 1846-48. They also created stereotypes that rendered neutral their former enemies: the poor but proud gentleman, the indolent Indian laborer asleep under his sombrero, and the flirtatious and opportunistic *señorita*. Having transformed an old way of life, Americans did their best to hold on to what remained of Spanish and Mexican culture, restoring missions, preserving neighborhoods such as Old Town in San Diego, even reinventing traditions such as the Mexican fiesta that appealed to tourists. This was hardly just a California phenomenor; the re-appropriation and commoditization of indigenous cultures took place all over the world.⁴⁰ In California, however, there was an added bias in favor of the "white" and civilized Spaniard with European blood in his veins as opposed to the poorer, darker Indian or Mestizo.

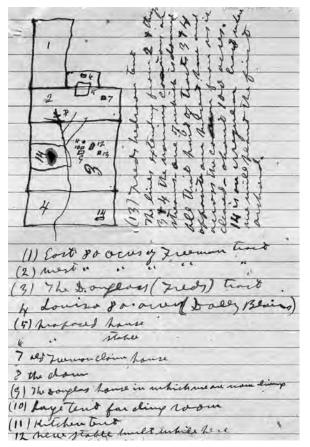
Like most of their contemporaries, E.W. and Ellen were race and class conscious but they did not find the Spanish to be superior to the indigenous people of Mexico. In fact, their travel experience gave them the opposite opinion. Having taken several trips through Spain, Ellen viewed it as neither picturesque nor prosperous. She noted the ruinous decay of cities like Burgos with their dark, narrow and deserted streets, "old tumble-down houses," and beggars whose rags and tatters covered "decrepit" and "malformed" bodies. She saw fields of dry and stunted Indian corn, empty factories and mills, and peasants who wore "a hang-dog air." In fact, she gave one of her *Evening News* articles the following subheading: "Spanish Character and Manners: A Lazy, Thriftless People with No Ambition for Improvement." She considered the country to be at "the back ranks of civilization" and wondered at the American mania for traveling there.⁴¹

Mexico, on the other hand, appeared to be a progressive, modern state, newly freed from its corrupt imperial rulers. On the road from Puebla in 1885, the Scripps saw evidence of rural prosperity: large haciendas "looking more like some factory establishment" with hundreds of employees and huge herds of sheep, cattle, and horses. Ellen wrote approvingly of the "industry and prosperity" of the region, "Everywhere work is going on—plowing, manuring, threshing, and other agricultural pursuits."⁴² In Orizaba, a city in the Mexican state of Veracruz, she observed, "Cleanliness is one thing that we notice everywhere....The cheap print dresses that the women wear are fresh with soap and starch. No one seems to be lounging about. Everyone is busy. The peeps we get into the interior of the houses, even of the poorer sort, show models of comfort and neatness. Not only the sidewalks but the streets are kept clean by constant sweeping."⁴³

California promised to be more like Mexico than Spain: a modern, agricultural state with a new ruling class. E.W. recognized that the state was sold as a land of opportunity where a small farmer could sustain his family by growing cash crops

like figs, oranges, and olives, but he did not think this to be economically feasible. Instead, he believed that commercial landowners in Southern California, like their counterparts in Mexico and Latin America, would control vast amounts of property because of the large amount of capital required to build irrigation systems.⁴⁴ He thought that land was a good investment, particularly if the "free trade' we have all been howling about and shouting for" came to pass. He told his sister that a decline in the profitability of manufactured goods would lead people to invest in property in the West and South. "The rich of the next American generation will be the same as the rich of England are today, the holders of large tracts of agricultural lands," he opined.⁴⁵

E.W. and Ellen returned home late in 1890, having agreed to purchase 400 acres of land, formerly part of the ex-Mission San Diego.⁴⁶ In 1890 and 1891, the Scripps bought two tracts of 160 acres, the Douglas Tract and another owned by Freeman & Gay, as well as an 80-acre tract belonging to Louise Vollmer.⁴⁷ They jointly paid \$5,500 for the property and allowed their brother Fred a small allowance to



On March 15, 1891, E.W. Scripps drew a sketch of Miramar Ranch showing, at top, the location of the proposed house and stable. He also identified "(9) the Douglas house where we are now living; (10) Large tent for dining room." The lines show the canyons and streams that ran through the property and, at (8) a dam built by Fred Scripps. Courtesy of Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College.

purchase farm equipment and other necessary supplies.⁴⁸ The latter, having sold his 180-acre tract south of Rushville to Ellen, returned to California and started work on a dam to provide irrigation for future citrus groves.⁴⁹

In February 1891, brothers E.W. and Will Scripps took their wives and mother to Southern California.⁵⁰ They thought that San Diego would be an excellent home for the elderly Mrs. Scripps and, possibly, Annie if the latter could be persuaded to leave the Remedial Institute. They set up camp at Fred's ranch before a torrent of rain caused them to take refuge with neighbors. The storm was so bad that railway tracks washed away, roads became waterlogged, their tents blew over, and all their personal effects were soaked with water. E.W.'s wife Nackie loved Los Angeles and was far more critical of San Diego, particularly the mesa on which her husband considered building a house. E.W. told Ellen, "From the first view of the desert wilderness,



Miramar Ranch, ca. 1890s. E.W. Scripps was pleased to find a "dead level beautiful road over the mesa to the cliffs above the ocean...The view of La Jolla Point from those hills as seen in the evening is enchanting.... It is just such a short easy ride as we can make in an hour or less with a good horse—to see the sun set of an evening and get back before the twilight goes out." ©SDHC OP #12423-455-7.

Nackie's face drew out a foot long and she declared that she would not let her children live so far away from a doctor and so near a rattlesnake."⁵¹At that time, it took thirty-five minutes from the ranch to the railway station and the same amount of time to town. Los Angeles, meanwhile, required "two-hours hard driving," one by carriage and the other by rail.⁵² She also may have been discomfited by the fact that one of E.W.'s first loves, cousin Lida with her "honey blonde hair," lived only a few miles away.⁵³ Will's wife Broie, meanwhile, seemed to think, "It would be a difficult thing to find a worse hole than San Diego."⁵⁴

E.W., however, was delighted with the area. He spurned Ellen's suggestion that he find another piece of land so that Fred could work the ranch independently. He felt that he would never find such an "ideal place of abode." He wrote, "There is just enough of mountain background—just enough of sea foreground, just enough of level plain around and just enough of hill and hollow on the spot to suit a man whose aspirations are dreams and whose present comfort demands ease without plain flatness."⁵⁵ Fred, in turn, thought that his brother's enthusiasm gave him license to spend more money than he had been allocated for the purpose of developing a large, commercial ranch.

In August 1891, E.W. and his brothers began building a ranch house on a wide, flat-top ridge overlooking the Linda Vista mesa. It was named Miramar (in Spanish, "sea view") after Emperor Maximilian I's palace on the Adriatic Coast, later replicated at Chapultepec in Mexico City.⁵⁶ E.W. decided to imitate the Italianate structure with its crenellated towers, Romanesque windows, and promenade on the roof. However, he modified the plan by adopting the structural footprint of a villa or rancho with four one-story wings around a central courtyard.



Miramar Ranch, ca. 1890s. E.W. Scripps kept a number of vehicles, including a phaeton, a surrey, a buckboard or "jumper," and a wagon. At left, workers clear land around the house for what E.W. described as "a real tropical garden" that included palms, aloes, and guava bushes. ©SDHC OP #12423-455-16.

The west wing, built in 1891, contained a primitive kitchen, dining room, and several bedrooms. There was little furniture. Tablecloths and napkins "were kept piled up on top of a barrel, collecting dust" while hats and coats went on the floor.⁵⁷ At 15 feet-wide and 108 feet in length, the flat roof, or *azotea*, was an experiment that had to be replaced with a sturdier structure the following year.⁵⁸ Annie, observing the leaks and falling plaster, did not think that any roof could bear her brother's "constant promenading."⁵⁹ The south wing of the house, including a tower, was completed in 1892. "You have no idea what a tremendous effect the new wing produces," E.W. wrote, "From the south and west, the house looks like a palace indeed."⁶⁰ By the summer of 1893, the compound had an east wing with another tower room and considerably more furniture. By the time the house was completed in 1898, it had forty-nine rooms—most with their own fireplace—running water, and a telephone line.

Miramar was more than just a house; it was a utopian experiment in family living that E.W. hoped would rank among "the most famous of dwelling places." He wrote, "To make it a paradise all that is needed will be a little more spending money than we now have (which we will soon have), contentment in our hearts, and ability to compel to quietness those restless spirits who grumble because the country will not yield dollars as well as beauty."⁶¹ He imagined a domestic space that would provide companionship and care for the elderly and infirm, a source of income for brothers who needed work, and "isolation and privacy" for individual families, including his own. He shared this vision with Ellen, considering it to be a "joint effort in philanthropy."⁶² He was sure that his quarrelsome and often divided extended family would be able to live together in harmony if he could only organize the space in a sufficiently innovative way.⁶³

Social experiments of this kind were often predicated on the idea that environ-



Miramar, 1906. ©SDHC #87:16266.

ment affected physical and emotional health. In the nineteenth century, physicians thought that the stresses of modern industrial society created a "peculiar impoverishment of nerve force" that they characterized as neurasthenia. Symptoms included: headache; acute sensitivity to touch, light, or sound; inability to concentrate; drowsiness; a feeling of hopelessness; insomnia; and physical symptoms such as back pain. Neurologist George M. Beard called these "diseases of civilization, and of modern civilization, and mainly of the nineteenth century, and of the United States."⁶⁴ Cures often required a change in patients' physical environment. Some received a prescription for "absolute rest in bed, in quiet, if not darkened rooms" while others stimulated their nerves through physical activity, travel, electric therapy, and massage.⁶⁵ Viennese neurologist Sigmund Freud offered a competing theory that took into account the power of the unconscious mind. In the 1880s, however, most American doctors believed that neurasthenia was caused by external factors that could be changed. As a result, people focused their attention on altering the environment in which they worked and lived.

E.W. and Ellen intended Miramar to foster a spirit of independence among its residents while, at the same time, providing dependent family members with a home and a way to make a living. Apartments and suites were intended to be large enough "to give each tenant room enough to practice all their idiosyncrasies without disturbing others."⁶⁶ Tower rooms offered isolation for those who needed to rest or read. Household expenses were divided evenly and all had to take "pot luck" when it came to choosing rooms.⁶⁷ The house rules, meanwhile, were expressed in a constitution: "(1) no debts, (2) no speculation, (3) that it should be an agreeable home, (4) that mere agriculture should be the sole source of income from the investment."⁶⁸ By the time that the compound was finished in 1896, E.W. felt that he had successfully implemented his plan: "Miramar house has the advantages of a great amount of room—of isolation and privacy for most of its inmates, and very impressive exterior effect." He continued, "Our place of residence and mode of living is so unique—so absolutely different from the customary—that no one can understand it and hence appreciate it."⁶⁹



Ellen B. Scripps and her brother Will typically played chess after dinner at Miramar. Courtesy of Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College.

In theory, separate wings permitted family members to live and work in the same house without coming into constant contact—or conflict. E.W. told a dubious Ellen, "Fred would have his room or rooms and I would have mine…I will not interfere with him, his wife, his remnants, or his land, neither shall he interfere with mine."⁷⁰ In fact, they both thought they could reform Fred's somewhat unscrupulous tendencies by giving him "honorable employment at a living salary so long as he wants it."⁷¹

The reality of course, was different from the imagined plan. In the spring of 1892, Fred was indicted by a grand jury—though never brought to court—for having sexual relations with a fourteen-year-old girl, Mary Benoit, who lived in the neighborhood.⁷² This episode, combined with tensions over the management of the ranch, led to the kind of "differences and dissentions, unhappy 'states of mind,' and carping and criticism," that had long characterized family relations.⁷³ Annie and Fred complained to their mother about Will's "overbearing" behavior as ranch manager; they also characterized the most recent wing of the house as a "perfect failure." The former told E.W. that the dampness of her room contributed to her rheumatism, "in that sort of resigned, reproachful, martyr-to-her-brother's-cruelty tone." Fred harbored bitter feelings against E.W.; Annie thought that Fred could use more discipline, less indulgence; and E.W. was irritated by the "shabby, second-hand" furniture (including Ellen's bedroom set) that Will had sent from Detroit to the ranch.⁷⁴

Ellen and E.W. both feared that their experiment was a failure. The former wrote, "I am beginning to think that, after all,...it is ourselves not our circumstances that are responsible for the discord that exists among us. Are there any two of us as a family who could live happily and contentedly together?" She suspected that the family suffered from a "moral taint" that no utopian experiment could cure: "Let us hope that the next generations do not inherit it, for it is a nasty sort



E.W. Scripps at Miramar, ca. 1900. ©SDHC #89:17480.

of heritage to pass on to others. I feel sometimes as though I would like to go and bury myself in the desert, out of sight and hearing and knowledge of everybody I belong to!"⁷⁵ Nevertheless, she felt obliged to support her brother in his determination to create a family compound. She acknowledged the fact that Will and Fred needed a greater degree of independence than the ranch could provide. The former returned to his property in Altadena while the latter was helped to buy a 55-acre tract adjacent to Miramar. Ellen consoled E.W., "You call yourself a dead failure because everybody doesn't slip into the grooves you cut for them, and all revolve in the same sphere without collision...I suppose you made some mistakes, but don't give up because you haven't found your material as pliable as you expected. I suppose the generation to come will rise up and call you blessed."⁷⁶

Miramar may have been a less-than-perfect social experiment but it changed E.W. for the better, or so he claimed. He shed his formal black suit and mustache, gained thirty pounds, grew a beard, and dressed in "last year's clothes" and a crumpled old hat. He cursed his Scripps heritage, "the ability to make money and the necessity of doing so," and harkened back to his maternal ancestor, Absalom Blair, who roamed "virgin forests" with "gun and rod, an 'expert fisherman,' and a 'crack shot,' free from British rule and free from all other ambition than that of living as Nature's friend rather than her master."⁷⁷ E.W. and his wife frequently traveled by horseback along canyons, across mesas and up mountains. Days were spent hunting and shooting quail, inspecting the ranch's dams and cisterns, planting orchards, and wrangling with the Irrigation District. He reflected that



The Scripps family gathered together at Miramar in early April 1900 before the death of their brother George H. Scripps. Left to right: E. Virginia Scripps, Ellen B. Scripps, Fred Scripps, and E.W. Scripps with son Robert on his lap. Photo fragment. ©SDHC #14393.

the family, too, was "greatly benefited by being here." His sons John and Jim "seem to have at last developed from children into boys," while his dog Duke was transformed: "From an aristocratic, exclusive, gentlemanly sort of dog, he has come down to being a common rough pub. He fights and licks Pablo and every other dog not more than double his size...He no longer poses as a beautiful statue, but rolls around in the dust and dirt, basking in the sunshine."78

Ellen, too, was changed by life in California. She began to feel more independent, both financially and emotionally. In the past, she had lived with other family members in either Detroit or Rushville, worked in the family business, took care of small children, and nursed relatives through illnesses and pregnancies.

She always felt that she held an "anomalous position" within the family; she was not financially dependent on her brothers as she received dividends from most of the Scripps newspapers, but she was still an aging spinster without a home of her own.⁷⁹ Around 1885 she expressed a feeling of "homelessness" to her brother James and several years later told E.W. that she no longer had the "freshness and vigor of mind" necessary to care for small children.⁸⁰ After several winters spent in San Diego, however, she began to imagine a life of independence for herself. She was, after all, one of the proprietors of Miramar Ranch. Why should she not purchase land of her own?

In 1895, she began to consider buying a cottage in either La Jolla or Del Mar, having visited a seaside bungalow with her twenty-four-year-old niece, Floy Scripps Kellogg. The latter spent much of the winter in La Jolla while her two small daughters visited their grandfather Will at Miramar. Ellen noted, "Floy spent from last Wednesday till the following Sunday at La Jolla—and wasn't anxious to get home then! She got quantities of abalones (I should think 100), limpets, starfish, sharks' eggs, etc. also made many pleasant acquaintances," including a Miss Spencer from Connecticut and the artist Anna Held who owned a few rustic cottages on the cliffs above Goldfish Point. Floy and her new friend arranged to rent a cottage, the Green Dragon, and invited Ellen to take tea with them. The latter wrote, "It is rather shanty-like outside, but very cosy within. There is a very large, deep fireplace with a crane and pot and trivet." It was so small, however, that she had to sit with her knees tucked under her in order to avoid knocking over the table. "They had 3 fires going—a wood fire in the big fireplace, a coal oil stove, and an alcohol lamp. We had fried potatoes and toast and tea (which accounted for the 3 fires) and canned salmon and nice bread and butter and plum jam (purloined of Miss Held's store) and cake," she wrote, "It was all so nice. I am thinking of having a cottage of my own."⁸¹

Ellen, like her niece, found that she enjoyed socializing with visitors to La Jolla. The town developed slowly after the real estate boom-and-bust of the late 1880s but the beauty of the scenery and the abundance of sea life continued to attract temporary residents. At the hotel, she met Mrs. Schneider, a naturalist, and admired her collection of over sixty different varieties of sea mosses, "all of which she has mounted beautifully, classified, and given their scientific names."⁸² On one occasion, Mrs. U.S. Grant, Jr., and friends came out to stay in the Green Dragon. Lida and her friend vacated the cottage and Ellen helped them fill it with flowers for their arrival. She noted, "The chicories (wild cucumber) which grow thereabouts in abundance we used for draping the mantle, windows, etc., and we filled everything we could find with flowers—poppies, cyclamen, yellow violets, painted cup, etc., etc. They were really lovely and were greatly admired by the guests, who came in numbers during the day."⁸³

Ellen began looking at property in February 1895 but she did not make a purchase until April 30, 1896, when she bought Lots 4 and 5 in Block 35 of La Jolla Park, a subdivision created by Frank Botsford.⁸⁴ She commissioned the architects



Florence "Floy" M. Scripps Kellogg (1870-1958) in 1895. Ellen B. Scripps described her niece as "a 'gadder' par excellence" who loved La Jolla's social life. The eldest daughter of William A. Scripps, she married Frederick William Kellogg in 1890. She and her husband purchased the La Jolla Beach and Tennis Club in 1934. Courtesy of Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College.



Anna Held and a young U.S. Grant III outside the Green Dragon cottage in La Jolla, 1894. Ellen B. Scripps often spent the evening at the Green Dragon Colony listening to music. ©SDHC OP #12423-297-1.

Anton Reif and John Stannard to draw up plans for a large cottage on Prospect Street overlooking the ocean.⁸⁵ While in Chicago, she had viewed a number of

"modern" houses in Rogers Park, referring to the Queen Anne and Italianate styles popular in the late-Victorian period. She decided, however, that she preferred a simpler, "colonial style, if it can be suited...to the cottage size." She told E.W., "I like its simplicity and unpretentiousness while it can be made as ornate as one chooses."86 The architects worked with Will Scripps to design a two-story house with a south front in the Colonial Revival style and a north front in a modified Queen Anne style.87 The side of the house facing Prospect Street was rectangular with a lowpitched, hipped roof topped by a railed rooftop platform and two chimneys. A wide entry porch with classical columns covered the front door. The north facade, meanwhile, was far more dramatic. A round tower jutted out from the northeast corner while a circular, columned

South Molton Villa Ola. San Diego Co. California. Ollen B. Scripps, Owner. a. Scripps. Designer. architect. Keit Building Began March 1897. Completed august dino Occupand Sept 1897.

A sketch of South Moulton Villa from Ellen B. Scripps' Guest Book, 1897-1915. It reads: "Ellen B. Scripps, Owner; Wm. A. Scripps, Designer; A. Reif, Architect. Building began March 1897. Building completed August 1st 1897. Occupied Sept 1897." Courtesy of Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College.



Ellen B. Scripps' residence, South Moulton Villa I, November 16, 1902. ©SDHC #22285.

porch extended from the opposite side.

In 1899, Scripps hired architectural partners Hebbard & Gill to make improvements. Irving Gill drew up plans for enlarging the kitchen and adding a one-story, flat-roofed wing on the east side of the house, replacing a porch.⁸⁸ At his suggestion, Ellen repainted the house from yellow with white trim to "Poinsettia red" with green trim, perhaps to reflect an Arts & Crafts aesthetic. She also allowed nursery owner and horticulturalist Kate O. Sessions to redesign the garden, adding lawns, hedges, shrubbery, and a grouping of fifteen Stone Pines (*Pinus pinea*).⁸⁹

Ellen named her new house "South Moulton Villa," after her family's home on South Moulton Street, London, where she had been born. The name suggested family continuity, better times, and pride in her English origins. A poem in her guest book read:

In Old South Moulton Street In London, England. 6,000 miles away Our Family, some sixty years ago

First saw the light of day

'Absorbed in Retrospection, The Mind in deep Reflection, Is torn a good suggestion, To ensure commemoration,'

To perpetuate the name, the place, and old associations, of past four generations, Naming the Villa-by-the-Sea,

With name of Street, in memory sweet, South Moulton, joining B—.

Of Spanish names of true significance Of French with equal grace and meaning Many were given, and none accepted For with due Reverence for Birthplace Childhood-days, and Home and Recollection The name shall ever stand, for the Villa-by-the-Sea, In California Land

'SOUTH MOULTON'90

Although Ellen had intended to build a private cottage where she could be free from the communal living arrangements at Miramar, she shared her home with her sisters, calling it "an 'old maids' establishment."⁹¹ In August 1897 Annie moved from Miramar with her companion Miss Kaley and two nurses; she remained in La Jolla until her death in 1898. In November, Ellen and another sister Virginia ("Jenny") arrived from Detroit to find the house largely completed. The latter threw herself into the social world of La Jolla, making numerous friends and planning a wide variety of activities. Ellen noted, "Jenny must live in the atmosphere of



Grace M. Scripps (1878-1971), daughter of James E. and Harriet Scripps, pasted this photo of herself in Ellen B. Scripps' guest book, March 30, 1898, along with photos of South Moulton Villa and Miramar. In 1901, she married Rex B. Clark who built the opulent Lake Norconian Club resort in Norco, CA, for nearby Hollywood celebrities. Courtesy of Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College.



La Jolla Cove, 1894. ©SDHC #21671.

action and thinks it is the life for everyone else."⁹² She herself preferred peace and solitude, both of which were in short supply in early La Jolla.

Ellen gradually stepped out of her intimate family circle and began to acquire a large set of female acquaintances. The village had a growing population of summer and year-round residents, many of whom were unmarried women or widows. She remarked that in the early days, "It was a woman's town."⁹³ She joined a women's literary and current events club that later became the La Jolla Woman's Club (1899). At the first meeting she attended, Eleanor Mills spoke on the subject of British imperialism in Africa, or "Cape to Cairo"; they subsequently discussed the troubles in South Africa that would lead to the Boer War.⁹⁴ She became involved in the County Federation of Women's Clubs and attended large conventions in San Diego. Ellen joined the Whist Club and the Ladies' Aid Society and helped to organize the La Jolla Village Improvement Society, the Library Association of La Jolla, the Shakespeare Club, and the Parliamentary Law Club.⁹⁵ She heard concerts at the Green Dragon colony, went to lectures, chaperoned dances at the Pavilion, picnicked at Del Mar and Pacific Beach, visited neighbors, took sightseeing trips, and invited friends to her cottage for dinner and conversation.

Ellen particularly enjoyed the rustic, seaside character of early La Jolla. In a speech given to the woman's club, she described what the town had looked like in the early 1890s: "There were a few—a very few—little resident cottages scattered over slopes and levels, picturesque in their environment and their unpretentiousness." People acted like neighbors, "with the house door always on the latch, and the glad hand always open to another's clasp. And it didn't take a very big house, or a classical program, or an elaborate menu to entertain as evening guests the whole community—men, women and children. For our literary tastes were not

hypocritical, nor were our appetites capricious; and we always had a 'feast of reason and a flow of soul,' even if it was of light weight." She continued:

How we loved her [La Jolla], in those far off days, unvexed by city turmoil, untroubled by national and international problems! How we loved the sunshine that flooded the homes, glorious sunsets that empurpled the seas and bejeweled the hills, the white surf that lapped her feet, her own little mountain that crowned and fortressed her. How we loved her shell-strewn beaches, her unstable sand dunes, her legend-haunted caves, her rock-bound pools teeming with life and color, her wave-carved Cathedral Rock, even her dusty roads and grass grown foot paths which lured us to unexplored wonders of sea and land.⁹⁶

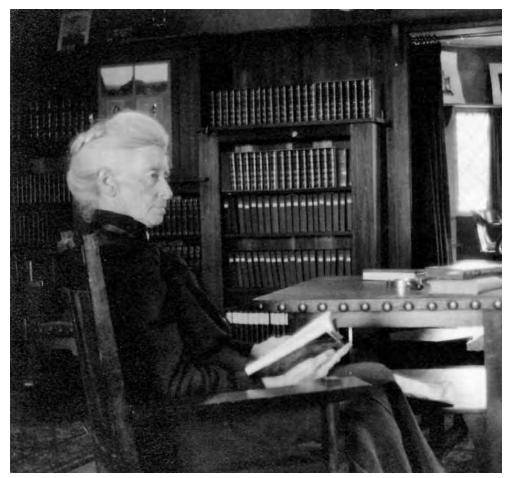
Many early residents thought that the natural beauty and character of La Jolla were worth preserving. In 1907 Ellen hosted a meeting at her house where neighbors discussed efforts to preserve "simplicity of living in La Jolla and to discountenance expense of all sorts."⁹⁷ Ellen led by example, dressing modestly and often wearing cotton sunbonnets instead of elaborate hats. She appeared to Mary B. Ritter as "a small, inconspicuous, plainly dressed woman....The hat she wore when I first saw her was of several vintages past and she wore the same hat at least two or three years longer."⁹⁸ Her efforts must have made some impression for, according to one local author, La Jolla developed the reputation as a place "where you could wear out your old clothes!"⁹⁹

As La Jolla grew from a small village into a popular seaside resort, Ellen worked to provide cultural resources that could help residents become healthier and better-informed citizens of the world. Women were crucial to California's "growth machine," as author Lee Simpson recently pointed out, shaping the plan and development of cities from the 1890s through World War II.¹⁰⁰ Ellen and E.W. financed the Scripps Institution of Oceanography and donated land for Torrey Pines State Park. With her sister Virginia, Ellen supported the development of The Bishop's School, a college preparatory school for girls. She opened her library and gardens to the public, collected Egyptian archeological artifacts to give to the San Diego Museum, and encouraged the development of Balboa Park. She donated land money for the construction of public spaces such as the La Jolla Playground, Community Center, and Woman's Club; she also funded the Scripps Memorial Hospital and a research center, the Metabolic Clinic in La Jolla.¹⁰¹

Interestingly, Ellen felt little affinity—or responsibility—for the cities where the Scripps family had earned its wealth. She responded negatively to an appeal for charity for the "teeming cities of Ohio, with their great industrial populations and thousands upon thousands of little children who are crowded in tenement houses." She wrote briskly to her attorney, "Cleveland is a city of multimillionaires whose loyalty to their city should go a long way to mitigate the poverty and wretchedness of its congested quarters." She excused her admitted "narrowness of vision" by repeating the adage, "Charity begins at home."¹⁰² Her immediate concern was San Diego, a city that could be shaped into a utopia by the sea.

San Diego was an experiment for the Scripps family—a place where the damaging effects of individualism on both family and community could be lessened, if not relieved. E.W.'s personal ambition and pursuit of wealth had alienated him from his brothers and caused him to feel ashamed of his "unmanly, unphilosophical, resentful, and even revengeful feelings" towards them.¹⁰³ His solution was to take on the role of *pater familias*, building a family compound at Miramar where harmonious social relations could be brought about by the physical allocation of space. Ellen, meanwhile, had privileged self-expression over social activity for much of her life. In San Diego she invested, for the first time, in organizations dedicated to the good of society. "For as we get nearer to the end of life," she wrote, "we see more clearly (and wonder at our former obtuseness) how the individual is but a part of the great whole, and of moment only so far as it helps to build up and form and perfect that whole."¹⁰⁴

The Scripps family's vision shaped the development of San Diego through the 1940s, if not longer. In the early twentieth century, residents developed and maintained civic institutions and public spaces that promoted health, social welfare, intellectual life, and cultural activity. Today, many civic leaders still share the Scripps' utopian vision of San Diego as a sustainable paradise that both fosters a sense of community and transforms individual lives.



Ellen B. Scripps in the library of her La Jolla home, n.d. Courtesy of Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College.

NOTES

- Works on the Scripps family include Gerald J. Baldasty, E. W. Scripps and the Business of Newspapers (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Albert Britt, Ellen Browning Scripps: Journalist and Idealist (Oxford: Printed for Scripps College at the University Press, 1960); Jack Casserly, Scripps: The Divided Dynasty (New York: Donald I. Fine, Inc., 1993); Gilson Gardner, Lusty Scripps: The Life of E. W. Scripps (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1932); Frances K. Hepner, Ellen Browning Scripps: Her Life and Times (San Diego: San Diego State College, 1966); Charles Preece, E. W. and Ellen Browning Scripps: An Unmatched Pair (Chelsea, MI: BookCrafters, 1990); Patricia A. Schaelchlin, The Newspaper Barons: A Biography of the Scripps Family (San Diego: San Diego Historical Society, 2003); Duane C. S. Stolzfus, Freedom from Advertising: E. W. Scripps's Chicago Experiment (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2007); Vance H. Trimble, The Astonishing Mr. Scripps: The Turbulent Life of America's Penny Press Lord (Ames, IA: Iowa State University of Illinois Press, 2008).
- 2. Edward W. Scripps, *Edward W. Scripps*, unpublished autobiography, pp. 113-14, Series 4, Box 11, E. W. Scripps Papers, Alden Library, Ohio University.
- 3. Ellen Browning Scripps (hereafter EBS), February 17, 1890, *Diary, 1890*, Ellen Browning Scripps Collection (hereafter SC) 22/40, Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College. The Oxford English Dictionary defines "wag" as a mischievous, habitual joker.
- T. J. Jackson Lears, No Place of Grace: Antimoderism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 4-5. See also: Lears, Rebirth of A Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877-1920 (New York: HarperCollins, 2009).
- Lears, No Place of Grace. See also: Gail Bederman, Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Richard Slotkin, Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860 (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1973); Slotkin, Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998); William H. Wilson, The City Beautiful Movement (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).
- 6. Edward Bellamy, Looking Backward, 2000-1887, forward by Eric Fromm (1888; New York: New American Library/Signet, 1960); William Morris, News from Nowhere, ed. Krishan Kumar (1890; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). For other examples of nineteenth-century utopian and dystopian literature, see: Carol Farley Kessler, Daring to Dream: Utopian Fiction by United States Women before 1950, 2nd ed. (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995); Lyman Tower Sargent, British and American Utopian Literature, 1516-1985: An Annotated, Chronological Bibliography (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988); Glenn Robert Negley and J. Max Patrick, The Quest for Utopia (New York: Schumann, 1952); Negley, Utopian Literature: A Bibliography (Lawrence, KS: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1977).
- Edward W. Scripps (hereafter EWS) to EBS, San Diego, March 23, 1891, SC 2/34. In fact, E.W. considered naming the ranch, Dolly Blair Ranch, after his maternal grandmother, the daughter of Absalom and Martha Blair of Williamstown, MA. EBS Diary, March 23, 1891, SC 22/41; Scripps, A *Genealogical History*, 23.
- 8. Bellamy, Looking Backward, 43, 53, 99, 153.
- 9. EWS to EBS, West Chester, March 20, 1890, SC 2/32.
- 10. EBS to EWS, Alameda, January 2, 1890, SC 2/32. See: Andrew Carnegie, "Wealth," North American Review, 148, no. 391 (June 1889): 653-65.
- 11. EBS to EWS, Detroit, December 19, 1890, SC 2/33. Ellen reminded her brother of the power of money when she wrote that if he needed domestic help, all he had to do was telegraph a few family members, "and—presto—there we are all settled as if for life; a modern application of the old myrrh of Aladdin's Lamp. True, but after all, there must be a genius in the case—the genius of money." EBS to EWS, Madrid, November 16, 1888, SC 2/29.
- 12. EWS to EBS, Cincinnati, September 6, 1885, SC 2/26.
- 13. In the early 1880s, Julia Anne "Annie" Scripps (1847-98) tried a cure offered by a female physician, Dr. Fairchild, and took several trips to Hannibal, Missouri, and Hot Springs, Arkansas. In 1885, she went to Milwaukee to live with Christian Scientists whom she much admired. In March

1886, Dr. Fairchild returned from Pasadena, California, with a partner of Dr. Bowen who offered classes on what Annie described as a "new theology" that accounted for the theory of evolution. She traveled to California in April 1887 and, later that year, took a trip to Europe and the Near East. Annie to EBS, Hannibal, MO, February 21, March 12, 1886, SC 3/38.

- 14. Annie to EWS, Alameda, February 4, 1892. Bowen founded "The Order of the New Life" at his Vineland Sanitarium near Millville, New Jersey, and relocated to California following a financial scandal. Schaelchlin, *The Newspaper Barons*, 109-10. Ellen noted in her diary that members of the order "believe Dr. Bowen, the founder, to have received by the overpowering shadow of God a 'germ' by which he has developed into a teacher and leader above all. To quote Mr. C[arpenter]'s own word, 'Jesus Christ was nothing to Dr. Bowen.'" She also wrote, "He has what he calls a molecula remedy which is supposed to cure all complaints." EWS Diary, January 16, 17, 1890, SC 22/40.
- Annie to EWS, Alameda, February 4, 1892, SC 27/48. In 1889, Ellen remarked that her letters talked about taking daily drives, teaching, and studying. EWS to EBS Cincinnati, April 25, 1887, SC 2/27; EBS to EWS, Innsbruck, May 23, 1889, SC 2/30.
- 16. EBS to EWS, Brussels, July 1, 1889; Lynton, August 29, 1889, SC 2/30.
- 17. Frederick Tudor Scripps (1850-1936), the third of five children born to James Mogg and Julia Osborn Scripps, occupied the role of the 'problem' sibling in the Scripps family. He never settled on a career, instead moving from one venture to another, losing money along the way. He reminded E.W. of their father who also had more enthusiasm than talent for business. In the mid-1880s, Fred ran up such large debts on the Rushville farm that creditors threatened to seize the property. Ellen and her brother George bailed him out against the advice of family members who thought, "Fred will never learn his lesson at this rate." E.W., infuriated, later accused him of using Miramar's credit to buy supplies for his own farm. Fred, meanwhile, claimed that E.W. had undermined his ability to borrow money in San Diego. In 1893, he married Sarah Emma Jessop (1872-1954), daughter of Joseph and Mary Jessop of Miramar, CA. They produced three children: Thomas Osborn Scripps, Julia Mary Scripps, and Annie Jessop Scripps. Joseph Jessop had a 40-acre plot adjoining the Miramar ranch at the southwest. He helped Fred to build the Surr Dam, completed in 1894. Scripps, A Genealogical History, 46; Annie to EWS, n.d., SC 27/48; EWS to EBS, May 1, 1885, SC 2/26; Annie to EBS, Rushville, April 10, 1885, SC 3/38; EWS to EBS, West Chester, August 27, 1892, SC 2/38; EWS to EBS, Miramar, November 4, 1892, SC 2/39; EWS to Fred, Miramar, January 25, 1916, SC 27/28; Map of Scripps Landholdings in Miramar Ranch, Patricia A. Schaelchlin/Scripps Family Research, Denison Library, Scripps College (hereafter PAS/SC) 42/50; "Dams Jessop Helped to Build," San Diego Tribune, November 18, 1959.
- 18. EBS to Eliza Virginia Scripps, Alameda, January 1, 1890, SC 3/15.
- EBS to EWS, Alameda, January 2, 1890, SC 2/32; EBS Diary, January 5, 17, 1890, SC 22/40. Ellen described Annie as "very gentle, patient, and quite a religious person" with an "intelligent face"; she thought her "the ablest of the lot." Memoranda of Conference between J.C. Harper and Mary B. Eyre, March 4, 1934, EBS Biographical Material C-H, SC 37.
- 20. Mary Frances "Fanny" Bagby (1851-?) worked on both the Detroit Evening News and the St. Louis Chronicle before going to California to recover her health. She was the eldest daughter of John Courts and Mary Agnes (Scripps) Bagby, born in Rushville and educated at Knox College. She married Paul Blades, editor of the San Diego Union, in Pomona, California, on March 10, 1891. When the *Sun* was offered for sale in the spring of 1891, E. W. agreed to back the purchase of the paper by Blades and E.C. Hickman, perhaps as a wedding present. Her brother Edwin Hanson "Hans" Bagby (b. 1871) was selected by E. W. to manage the Los Angeles Record, a paper he founded in 1895. James E. Scripps, A Genealogical History of the Scripps Family and Its Various Alliances (Detroit: private printing, 1903), 34-35, 61, 76. In 1890, Ellen described Fanny as "the same person that she was ten years ago, toned down a little by age and experience, but with a never failing fund of energy and industry. At the office before 8 every morning, and busy till 5 or 6 in the evening. I think she is appreciated very highly, but not nearly as much as she merits, for she does the only good work in the paper. She is cut out for a reporter; has the nose to smell out news; ears and eyes for observation and to pick up information, a suave tongue, and a steady pen. She is the body and soul of the *Sun*—which is after all only a country paper. She knows everybody and is universally liked. I don't think, however, that she intends to cast in her lot with these barbarians. Her fame has gone out, and she has had various offers on Eastern papers. Has a standing offer on the New York World. I fancy her intention is to remain here until her health is firmly reestablished." EBS to EWS, San Diego, February 21, 1890, EBS to EWS, February 21, 1890, SC 2/32.

- 21. EBS Diary, February 19, 1890, SC 22/40.
- 22. Eliza "Lida" Scripps (1855-?) was the daughter of William Hiler and Mary Caroline (Johnson) Scripps. William was a wealthy merchant and banker in Astoria, Illinois. Lida moved to California due to ill health. In 1891, E.W. wrote, "Lida Scripps, an invalid for the past two years, is well and seems happy out in her shanty." Scripps, *A Genealogical History*, 30; EWS to EBS, San Diego, February 25, 1891, SC 2/34.
- 23. EBS to EWS, Los Angeles, March 14, 1890, SC 2/32.
- 24. Ellen wrote that Father Ubach was the inspiration for the character of Father Gaspara in Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona*. He inscribed his name in her copy of the novel: "Says the whole story is substantially true." She noted: "He has 14 Indian charges in and among the mountains. Calls the people 'my Indians' and is very greatly attached to his work." EBS Diary, March 3, 4, 1890, SC 22/40. She said that Captain Dillingham had been a ship master for twenty-five years "and has entered all the principal ports of the world and that, without any exception, the harbor of San Diego is the best he has ever seen." EBS Diary, March 1, 1890, SC 22/40. For more information on Captain John Dillingham, see J. Henry Sears, *Brewster Ship Masters* (Yarmouthport: C.W. Swift, 1906), 28.
- 25. EBS Diary, February 22, 1890, SC 22/40.
- EBS Diary, February 20, 21, 1890, SC 22/40. Ellen noted that Rose Hartwick Thorpe, "Lives with her husband and daughter at Pacific Beach. Came here for her health. Writes for several magazines. Is very pleasant, unassuming lady. The daughter displays great artistic skill." EBS Diary, March 2, 1890, SC 22/40.
- 27. [EBS to EWS], [January 1890], SC 2/32.
- 28. EBS to EWS, San Diego, February 21, 1890, SC 2/32.
- 29. EBS to EWS, Los Angeles, March 14, 1890, SC 2/32.
- 30. EBS Diary, March 8, 1890, SC 22/40. Linda Vista was the railroad flag-stop closest to the Scripps Ranch.
- Allan S. Klauber, "90 Years in San Diego: The Story of Klauber Wangenheim Co.," *The Journal of* San Diego History (hereafter JSDH) 5, no. 3 (July 1959): 43-45; Richard Muller, "Pioneer Spirit: The Klauber Wangenheim Company," JSDH 29, no. 1 (Winter 1983): 1-19.
- 32. EBS to EWS, Chicago, April 9, 1890, SC 2/32.
- 33. EBS to EWS, Los Angeles, March 14, 1890, SC 2/32.
- 34. EBS to EWS, Detroit, April 14, 1890, SC 2/32.
- 35. EBS to EWS, Detroit, April 18, 1890, SC 2/32.
- 36. EBS to EWS, Detroit, June 27, 1890, SC 2/32.
- 37. San Diego Union, November 28, 1891. He likely purchased this elaborate and costly outfit during his trip to Mexico six years earlier. In her diary, Ellen wrote: "The costume of the Mexican caballero is unique and picturesque (also costly)—a felt hat with enormous brim, high crown pinched in at the sides in 4 equal spaces & heavily trimmed with silver band, cord, binding and ornaments, costing often from \$50 to \$200; tight fitting trousers either of cloth or buckskin thickly ornamented on the outer seams of each leg with silver buttons & chains; a tight jacket of the same material, also heavily and profusely ornamented with silver; and the usual array of pistols silver mounted at the girdle." EBS, Mexico Diary, March 9, 1885, SC 24/30.
- 38. EWS to EBS, San Diego, November 23, 1890, SC 2/33.
- Carey McWilliams, Southern California Country: An Island on the Land (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), 70-83. See also: Phoebe Kropp, California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Kropp, "Citizens of the Past? Olvera Street and the Construction of Race in 1930s Los Angeles," Radical History Review 81 (2001): 35-60; William Deverell, Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of Its Mexican Past (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).
- 40. Historians have identified similar cases in Africa, Brazil, India, Ireland, Japan and Scotland as well as the American West. The British, for example, acknowledged their hold over Ireland by

stereotyping the natives as ignorant and hot-tempered "paddies" rather than worthy adversaries who had withstood centuries of war and aggression. See, among other works on the subject: L. Perry Curtis, Jr., *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (1971; Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997); Elizabeth Hallam and Brian Street, eds., *Cultural Encounters: Representing Otherness* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge: 1995); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Nandina Bhattacharyya-Panda, *Appropriation and Invention of Tradition: The East India Company and Hindu Law in Early Colonial Bengal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); L.G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians*, *1883-1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996); Stephen Vlastos, ed., *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

- 41. EBS, "Burgos. Spanish Character and Manners: A Lazy, Thriftless People with No Ambition for Improvement," *Detroit Evening News*, February 6, 1883, SC 24/16; "Into Spain: The Journey Thither From Paris. Spanish Railroads and Hotels," *Detroit Evening News*, January 22, 1883, SC 24/16.
- 42. EBS, Mexico Diary, February, 19, 1886, SC 24/30.
- 43. EBS, Diary, February 20, 1886, SC 24/30.
- 44. EWS to EBS, San Diego March 23, 1891, SC 2/34.
- 45. EWS to EBS, West Chester, August 16, 1888, SC 2/29.
- 46. The title had been settled, and the property partitioned, in 1889 after a lengthy lawsuit brought by the heirs of Don Santiago Argüello. Speculators—including two English families, the Surrs and the Jessops—bought 40-acre parcels. Clare B. Crane, "The Pueblo Lands: San Diego's Hispanic Heritage," JSDH 37, no. 2 (Spring 1991): 105-127; Jesús Ortiz Figueroa, "Evolución de la Propiedad en el Rancho de Tijuana, 1829-1900," in David Piñera Ramírez and Jesús Ortiz Figueroa, eds., Historia de Tijuana, 1889-1989: edición conmemorative del centenario de su fundación, 2 vols. (Tijuana: Centro de Investigaciones Históricas UNAM-UABC/Goberierno del Estado de Baja California/XII Ayuntamiento de Tijuana, 1989); "Map of Scripps Landholdings in Miramar Ranch, 1891," PAS/SC 42/50.
- 47. Half of the 160-acre Douglas tract was conveyed to the Scripps by Klauber & Levi in 1892 and 1894. Miramar Ranch, 1903-12, SC 11/16.
- 48. EBS to EWS, Detroit, December 23, 1890, SC 2/33. They paid \$2,240 for one 160-acre parcel; \$2,080 for another, and \$1040 for an 80-acre plot.
- 49. EBS Diary, January 3, 15, May 27, 1890, SC 22/41.
- 50. William A. "Will" Scripps (1838-1914) was the fourth of six children born to James Mogg Scripps and Ellen Mary Saunders Scripps. He married Ambrosia "Broie" Sutherland, née Antisdel (1847-94), in 1869. He worked in Detroit on the *News* before settling in Altadena, California, in 1891. In 1895, he married Katharine Pierce, a neighbor of the Scripps family at Miramar. Scripps, *A Genealogical History*, 45.
- EWS to EBS, February 25, 1891, SC 2/34. Ellen was surprised that Nackie was so enthusiastic about Los Angeles. She wrote, "I much prefer San Diego." EBS to EWS, February 21, 1891, SC 2/34.
- 52. EWS to EBS, San Diego, March 10, 13, 1891, SC 2/34.
- 53. As a young man, E.W. had wanted to marry Lida but her parents objected due to the fact that they were first cousins. He felt that they objected to his poverty, not his close relation. Schaelchlin, *The Newspaper Barons*, 91.
- 54. EBS to EWS, West Chester, March 17, 1891, SC 2/34.
- 55. EWS to EBS, San Diego, March 10, 1891, SC 2/34. E.W. wrote, "Another good thing to report is the finding of a dead level beautiful road over the mesa to the cliffs above the ocean from which most superb views are had of the sea and parts of the coast. The view of La Jolla point from those hills as seen in the evening is enchanting. But that which pleases me about it all is that it is just such a short easy ride as we can make in an hour or less with a good horse—to see the sun set of an evening and get back before the twilight goes out." He planned to create "a real tropical garden" around the house. EWS to EBS, Miramar, November 4, 1892, SC 2/39.
- 56. In 1888, Ellen visited a site outside Barcelona called "Miramar" that commanded a "beautiful

prospect of land and sea." EBS, Diary, December 24, 1888, SC 22/39. For more information about Miramar, see Jeanne Marie Heffron, *Edward Willis Scripps and Scripps Ranch* (master's thesis, University of San Diego, 1990).

- 57. EBS to EWS, Detroit, September 12, 1892, SC 2/38.
- 58. Fanny Bagby, visiting in November, found the view to be "surpassingly fine" and penned a brief description for the *San Diego Union*. [Fanny Bagby] to Nackie, San Diego, November 5, 1891, Ohio University Library 3.1 Box 1-6; *San Diego Union*, November 19, 1891. E.W. claimed that that the roof had not been properly prepared for asphalt with tar and felt building paper. "I am going to keep that flat roof for promenade if it doubles the cost of building." EWS to EBS, West Chester, May 15, 1892, SC 2/37.
- 59. Annie to EBS, Miramar, May 3, 1892, OU 3.1, Box 1-7. Ellen corresponded with her brother about the architecture of Miramar, reminding him that he could build a roof sturdy enough to walk on, "Do you remember the Spanish roofs? They were subject to continual trafficking. I remember in some cases that the laundry work was done on the hotel roofs, heavy tubs and machinery used, and almost constant walking on them." She suggested that a promenade might be constructed with the mixture of plaster, cement, and hemp that was being used to construct buildings at the World's Columbian Exposition, or the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. EBS to EWS, Rushville, May 17, 1892, SC 2/37.
- 60. EWS to EBS, Miramar, November 4, 1892, SC 2/39.
- 61. EWS to Nackie, Miramar, June 1893, Ohio University 1.2, box 2-8. He wrote, "Oh, but it is so beautiful just to look out over the yellow brown—the distant hills—the white and red cliffs towards Del Mar."
- 62. EWS to EBS, October 15, 1912, SC 11/16.
- 63. E.W. laid out a simple constitution, claiming that Fred did not abide by it: "(1) no debts, (2) no speculation, (3) that it should be an agreeable home, (4) that mere agriculture should be the sole source of income from the investment." EWS to EBS, West Chester, June 12, 1892, SC 2/27.
- 64. George M. Beard, A Practical Treatise on Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia), 5th ed. (New York: E.B. Treat & Co., 1905), 25, 255. See also: Beard, American Nervousness, Its Causes and Consequences (New York: G.B. Putnam's Sons, 1881); F.G. Gosling, Before Freud: Neurasthenia and the American Medical Community, 1870-1910 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra and Roy Porter, eds., Cultures of Neurasthenia: From Beard to the First World War (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001); Tom Lutz, American Nervousness, 1903 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); Zachary Ross, ed., Women on the Verge: The Culture of Neurasthenia in Nineteenth-Century America (Stanford: The Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, 2004); Barbara Will, "The Nervous Origins of the American Western," American Literature 70, no. 2 (June 1998): 293-316.
- 65. Beard, A Practical Treatise on Nervous Exhaustion, 178, 179-270 passim.
- 66. EWS to EBS, West Chester, June 12, 1892, SC 2/27.
- 67. EWS to EBS, Miramar, November 4, 1892, SC 2/39.
- 68. EWS to EBS, West Chester, June 12, 1892, SC 2/27.
- 69. EWS to EBS, Miramar, June 26, 1896, SC 2/44.
- 70. EWS to EBS, West Chester, June 12, 1892, SC 2/27.
- 71. EWS to EBS, West Chester, June 22, 1892, SC 2/27.
- 72. Benoit's father, meanwhile, was arrested, tried, and sentenced to ten years in prison for statutory rape. Court documents contain vivid descriptions of domestic abuse. Fred appears to have been one of several neighborhood men who used Benoit as a prostitute. Details about the case can be found in S/SC 39/126-128; and California Supreme Court and San Diego County Appellate Court Briefs, The People of the State of California vs. Charles Benoit, Folder 9: 11247, June 1892. E.C. Hickman, co-owner of the *Sun*, told E.W. that he had taken it upon himself to make sure that papers for the prosecution conveniently disappeared; as a result, Fred was never brought to trial. E.W. told his sister that he had forwarded \$584, noting, "I don't know who gets the money or anything else about its use...It is too bad that I should have had to be drawn into such a matter.

But had there been a trial I suppose I would have had to bear the expense and trouble and I am glad to get off so easily." Trimble, *The Astonishing Mr. Scripps*, 167; EWS to EBS, West Chester, July 1892, SC 2/37.

- 73. EBS to EWS, Detroit, November 14, 1892, SC 2/39.
- 74. EWS to EBS, Miramar, November 4, 1892, SC 2/39.
- 75. EBS to EWS, Detroit, November 8, 1892, SC 2/39.
- EBS to EWS, November 18, 1892, SC 2/39. Ellen and E.W. bought land owned by Fred in Arkansas, enabling him to purchase 55 acres adjacent to Miramar. EWS to EBS, October 15, 1912, SC 11/16.
- 77. EWS to EBS, San Diego, March 23, 1891, SC 2/34. In fact, E.W. considered naming the ranch, Dolly Blair Ranch, after his maternal grandmother, the daughter of Absalom and Martha Blair of Williamstown, MA. EBS Diary, March 23, 1891, SC 22/41; Scripps, A Genealogical History, 23.
- 78. EWS to EBS, Miramar, June 26, 1896, SC 2/44; EWS to EBS, Miramar, November 4, 1892, SC 2/39.
- 79. EBS to EWS, Detroit, September 13, 1891, SC 2/36.
- 80. JES to EBS, October 4, 1885, transcript, SC 25/3.
- EBS to VS, Miramar, February 24, 1895, SC 3/15. Ellen wrote, "Floy is a 'gadder' par excellence. She has no idea of going home in April unless obliged to." EBS to VS, Miramar, March 9, 1895, SC 3/15.
- 82. EBS to VS, Miramar, February 20, 1895, SC 3/15. She noted that Mr. Schneider was taking a year's leave-of-absence from Champaign Industrial University after a twenty-two year career as a German professor. For the Scripps' interest in ocean life, see: Helen Raitt and Beatrice Moulton, *Scripps Institution of Oceanography: First Fifty Years* ([Los Angeles]: W. Ritchie Press, [1967]); Elizabeth N. Shor, "How the Scripps Institution Came to San Diego," *JSDH* 27, no. 3 (Summer 1981): 161-173; Abraham J. Shragge and Kay Dietze, "Character, Vision and Creativity: The Extraordinary Confluence of Forces that Gave Rise to the Scripps Institution of Oceanography," *JSDH* 49, no. 2 (2003): 71-86.
- 83. EBS Diary, February 22, 1895, SC 22/46; EBS to EVS, Miramar, February 24, 1895, SC 3/15. Anna Held had served as governess to the children of U.S. Grant, Jr. Patricia A. Schaelchlin, *La Jolla: The Story of a Community* (San Diego: Friends of the La Jolla Library, 1988), 81-82. For Ellen's interest in wildflowers, see: Bruce K. Kamerling, "Anna and Albert Valentien: The Arts and Crafts Movement in San Diego," *JSDH* 24, no. 3 (Summer 1978): 343-366.
- 84. She paid Botsford \$800 for the lots and, by the end of 1897, spent nearly \$8,000 on construction and \$1,400 on "inside expenses." Accounting Diaries, 1894-97, SC 6/24.
- 85. EBS, Diary, November 22, 29, 1896, December 1, 31, 1896, SC 22/47. Anton Reif was a Germantrained architect who had partnered with A. W. Delaine and Domenick P. Benson, successively, from 1887 to 1890. John B. Stannard (1852-1942) began working as an architect in San Diego in 1887 and is best known for the Louis Bank of Commerce Building. Stannard and Reif worked together on the Albert Morse Block (1896) located at 740-744 Market Street in downtown San Diego. Raymond S. Brandes, *San Diego Architects, 1868-1939* (San Diego: University of San Diego, 1991), 146-47, 167-68; City of San Diego and Marie Burke Lia & Associates, "East Village Combined Historical Surveys 2005" (January 2005), Table 4. In May 1896, Ellen noted in her diary, "Saw an architect about building at La Jolla—Stannard, who drew rough plans instructive to me." She later wrote, "Mr. Stannard, architect, drove out and talked on plan for La Jolla cottage" and ""Will and self spent the day in town, chiefly with Stannard and Reid, the architects." EBS, Diary, May 20, November 29, December 1, 1896, SC 22/47.
- 86. EBS to EWS, Chicago, Chicago, June 18, 1896, SC 2/44.
- 87. Will Scripps supervised the construction of South Moulton Villa as Ellen was in Europe from May-October 1897. There appear to have been problems with construction for, in March 1898, builders Edmund C. Thorpe & John Kennedy brought "a jack and crew" to raise the house threequarters of an inch "where it had settled." Thorpe continued to do work on the house, installing bookcases and folding doors, among other things. EBS Diary, March 31, 1898, SC 23/2.
- EBS, Diary, July 6, August 19, September 27, October 15, 1899, SC 23/3; "Week at La Jolla," San Diego Union, November 12, 19, 1899. William S. Hebbard and Irving J. Gill were partners between 1896 and 1907. In 1898, the firm designed a number of Shingle-style homes for residents of

Coronado. Sylvia Kathleen Flanigan, *William Sterling Hebbard, Consummate California Architect, 1888-1930* (master's thesis, University of San Diego, 1985), 33. See also Bruce Kamerling, "Hebbard & Gill, Architects," *JSDH* 36, nos. 2-3 (1990): 106-29.

- 89. Sessions supplied the first plants to South Moulton Villa. In March 1897, Ellen wrote in her diary: "Will and self spent the day at La Jolla. Building going on all right. Met Miss Sessions there and made some arrangements for planting." EBS, Diary, March 13, 1897, SC 23/1. On a visit in July 1899 she "interested herself in suggesting various plantings." She later sent plans for the improvement of the grounds. EBS Diary, March 29, 1898, SC 23/2; EBS Diary, July 7, 26, 1899, SC 23/3; "At the Seaside: La Jolla Notes of Interest," *San Diego Union*, November 26, 1899. The newspaper article suggested that Sessions had planted fifteen Torrey Pines (*Pinus torreyana*) "grown from seed brought by Miss Scripps from Italy. These Roman pines are noted for the beauty of their growth, which assumes an umbrella form as they grow older. Their fruit is the nut so popular in the confections and dainty dishes of Italy." In fact, the author is referring to the Italian Stone Pine or the Umbrella Pine, *Pinus pinea*.
- 90. Guest Books: South Moulton Villa, 1897-1915, SC 25/56.
- 91. EBS to EWS, Chicago, July 11, 1895, SC 2/43. Ellen's older sister Elizabeth (Scripps) Sharp moved to San Diego in 1900 with her daughter Mary Billmeyer after the death of the latter's husband. She lived nearby, in a poor state of health, until her death in 1914. EBS Diary, October 11, 1900, SC 23/4.
- 92. EBS to EWS, Palomar, August 31, 1901, SC 2/47. Virginia occupied the neighboring Wisteria Cottage (1904) before returning to her home in Rushville in 1915. Thereafter, she visited frequently, often spending the winter and the summer months in San Diego.
- 93. EBS, "La Jolla Then and Now" [ca. 1911], SC 22/19.
- 94. Ibid.
- 95. Dr. John Mills Boal served as the first president of the La Jolla Village Improvement Society founded in 1899; Ellen Browning Scripps and Mr. Flint were on the board of directors. EBS Diary, March 5, 1899, SC 23/3. The Library Association was founded following Florence Sawyer's gift of the Reading Room to the City of San Diego in 1899. EBS, Diary, May 27, August 26, 1899, SC 23/3; Susan Self, "The History of the La Jolla Art Association," *The La Jolla Art Association* (2002), http://www.lajollaart.org/about_ljaa/historyljaa.pdf (accessed January 5, 2010).
- 96. EBS, "La Jolla Then and Now."
- Ellen noted, "Professor Ritter [of the Scripps Institute] opposed the organization of any society for this purpose as impractical and spoke strongly about common sense and individualism." EBS, Diary, January 14, 1907, SC 23/11.
- "Memoirs of Ellen Browning Scripps: Personal Reminiscences by Mary Bennett Ritter," Berkeley, CA, April 5, 1937, SC 1/36.
- 99. Howard S. F. Randolph, La Jolla Year by Year (La Jolla: The Library Association of La Jolla, 1955), 128.
- 100. Lee M. A. Simpson, Selling the City: Gender, Class, and the California Growth Machine, 1880-1940 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 6-9.
- 101. See Bruce Kamerling, "How Ellen Scripps Brought Ancient Egypt to San Diego," JSDH 38, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 73-91; Molly McClain, "The Bishop's School, 1909-2009," JSDH 54, no. 4 (Fall 2008): 235-267; Patricia A. Schaelchlin, La Jolla: The Story of a Community, 1887-1987 (San Diego: Friends of the La Jolla Library, 1988); Schaelchlin, A Parish by the Sea: A History of Saint James-by-the-Sea Episcopal Church (La Jolla: Saint James Bookshelf, 1988); Victor Walsh, "Preserving 'Nature's Artistry': Torrey Pines During its Formative Years as a City and State Park," California History 85, no. 2 (2008): 68-71.
- 102. EBS to J. C. Harper, La Jolla, July 19, 1914, SC 1/89.
- 103. EWS to EBS, San Diego, February 25, 1891, SC 2/34.
- 104. EBS to EWS, Detroit, June 17, 1890, SC 2/32.