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Boulevards in the forest: Progressive urban planning, environment and labor in Longview, Washington

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BOULEVARDS IN THE FOREST: PROGRESSIVE URBAN
PLANNING, ENVIRONMENT AND LABOR
IN LONGVIEW, WASHINGTON

By

Abraham Ott

Bachelor of Arts, History
University of Washington, Seattle

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements of the

**Master of Arts Degree in History
Department of History
College of Liberal Arts**

**Graduate College
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
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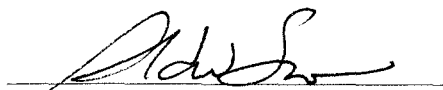
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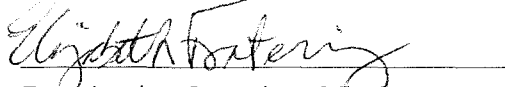
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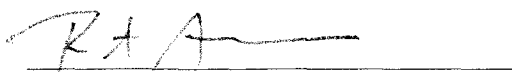
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ABSTRACT

**Boulevards in the Forest: Progressive Urban Planning,
Environment and Labor in Longview, Washington**

By

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This study focuses on the development of Longview, a city in southwest Washington, founded by Long-Bell Timber Company in 1923. It will discuss the reasons behind Longview's development, the ways that Long-Bell's diverse interests and experiences impacted the city's planning and construction, and the influence that Robert A. Long, Long-Bell's founder and chief stockholder, had in the city's realization. In doing so, this study proves that Long-Bell pursued the same paternalistically driven elements of social control that have been traditionally attributed to company towns throughout the Pacific Northwest. The manifestation of those elements, however, was informed by a variety of new social, architectural, and religious movements, new strategies for the control of labor, and new levels of corporate cooperation that have not previously been considered relevant to Pacific Northwest company towns. Thus, Longview provides a vital new stage in our understanding of the trajectory of Pacific Northwest industrial housing.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----|
| ABSTRACT..... | iii |
| LIST OF FIGURES | v |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | vi |
| CHAPTER 1 LONGVIEW AS A NEW COMPANY TOWN..... | 1 |
| CHAPTER 2 LABOR, ENVIRONMENT AND THE DECISION TO BUILD LONGVIEW | 17 |
| CHAPTER 3 R.A. LONG AND THE CITY BEAUTIFUL MOVEMENT..... | 43 |
| CHAPTER 4 PLANNING FOR PERMANENCE..... | 59 |
| CHPATER 5 LONGVIEW'S CONTINUING RELEVENCE..... | 101 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 118 |
| VITA | 132 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| | | |
|----------|---|-----|
| Figure 1 | Map of Longview, 1928 | 64 |
| Figure 2 | Photograph of St. Helens Addition, April 30, 1924 | 69 |
| Figure 3 | Photograph of Monticello Hotel, April 30, 1924 | 79 |
| Figure 4 | Advertising Brochure, Monticello Hotel, no date | 87 |
| Figure 5 | <i>Literary Digest</i> ad, July 4, 1925 | 91 |
| Figure 6 | Page from Advertising Circular, 1928..... | 105 |
| Figure 7 | Page from Advertising Circular, 1928..... | 106 |

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CHAPTER 1

LONGVIEW AS A NEW COMPANY TOWN

Longview is a small city in southwest Washington that sits at the confluence of the Columbia and Cowlitz rivers. Like most cities in the region, Longview owes its existence to the timber industry. The lush hills that surround it are covered in what some have argued to be the best timber in the world. It was the timber that attracted the Long-Bell Lumber Company to the region in the early 1920s and precipitated the development of Longview as an industrial housing community for the two flagship mills Long-Bell constructed there. However, due to the charismatic leadership of Robert A. Long, the company's founder and chief stock-holder, a unique national social environment, and the company's long history of tension with organized labor, Longview was developed as a city unlike any other industrial housing community in the region. Through the incorporation of contemporarily popular notions of the environment's role in shaping the mindset of a metropolitan populace, Longview's design bears more resemblance to portions of Seattle, Kansas City or Chicago than what we typically imagine to be a Pacific Northwest company town. For this reason, most prominent regional historians have ignored Longview when discussing Pacific Northwest industrial housing, arguing that the city constitutes an anomaly in the otherwise static story of paternalism, social control, and single-company communities.

Fortunately, industrial housing historians working on communities primarily outside of the Pacific Northwest have recently broadened the definition of company towns to include “new company towns.” These communities, almost entirely products of the first two decades of the twentieth century, provide a new framework in which historians are able to integrate the myriad of housing solutions attempted by American industry to combat the growing animosity between labor and capital during the period. Using the framework established by the discussion of new company towns, this paper will argue that Longview is the embodiment of a new paradigm on industrial housing in the Pacific Northwest. Within the confines of the new city, Long-Bell Lumber Company redefined the relationship between the employer and employee and broke free from the traditional conception of regional company towns.

When applied to the existing body of regional history, this investigation of the development of Longview will enrich current notions of a static and non-evolving landscape of Pacific Northwest regional industrial housing with a more complex, evolving model. Positioning Longview in the landscape of Pacific Northwest industrial housing allows a more nuanced understanding of the changes in the relationship between labor and capital and efforts on the part of employers to more adequately meet the desires of their employees while maintaining a more subtle form of control. Furthermore, students of Longview's history will be more able to rectify its creation with larger national trends and understand the city's development on the broader stage of national labor relations, industrial housing, and urban planning.

Truly understanding this progression requires some background into the industry that spawned Longview, the timber industry. The roots of the industry in the Pacific

Northwest reach as far back as some of the earliest recorded descriptions of the region. As early as 1805, William Clark described the shores of the Columbia around the Cowlitz as “rich and thickly timbered on each side of the river.”¹ The years that followed Lewis and Clark’s perilous journey across the continent saw an increasing number of visitors coming to the area and the Pacific Northwest in general. Increasingly, these visitors began to view the ancient trees of the region simultaneously as celebrated examples of the grandeur of nature and awe-inspiring figures of acreage and board feet.²

Already by the late 1800s, the United States Navy had pronounced Douglas Fir, one of the region’s most numerous forest resources, superior to White Oak, the mainstay of naval construction, in both strength and durability.³ In 1888, four Midwestern lumbermen purchased 80,000 acres from the Northern Pacific Railroad, who, as a result of their railroad construction contract in 1864 (revised in 1870)⁴, had become the largest landholder in the region. The Lumbermen formed the St. Paul and Tacoma Lumber

1 Gary E. Moulton, *An American Epic of Discovery; The Lewis and Clark Journals* (Lincoln; University of Nebraska Press. 2003), 234.

2 *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine*, “From Astoria to the Cascades.” 8, no. 2 (Feb 1872). American Periodicals Series Online, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>. 146.; *Scientific American*, “Lumber at Portland, Oregon.” LXV, no. 15 (Oct 1891). American Periodicals Series Online, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>. 228.; *Tacoma Daily News*, “Lumber Notes,” (October 18, 1892), 3.; Hon. F.I. Vassault, “The State of Washington.” *Californian Illustrated Magazine* 3, no. 4 (Mar 1893). American Periodicals Series Online, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>. 484.; *Scientific American*, “Washington Timber” LXXIII, no. 3 (Jul 1895): 44. American Periodicals Series Online, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>.

3 Pratt, Louis W.. “The Story of Tacoma.” *Bankers Magazine* 73, no. 1 (Jul 1906): 49. American Periodicals Series Online, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>. Wilkeson, Samuel. “From Lake Superior to the Puget Sound.” *Christian Union* 3, no. 3 (Jan 1871): 36. American Periodicals Series Online, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>.

4 Derrick Jensen, *Railroads and Clearcuts: Legacy of Congress’s 1864 Northern Pacific Railroad Land Grant* (Spokane: Inland Empire Public Lands Council, 1995), 56.

Company near Commencement Bay.⁵ The success of this venture convinced a number of other Eastern lumber concerns to purchase land from the Northern Pacific and spawned a timber industry that was quickly surpassing any other region in the United States.⁶

In an article in the *Scientific American* in 1895, the author argued that the Pacific Northwest was “the lumberyard of the United States” and forecasted a growing international role for the region. He then went on to argue that the latest survey placed the standing timber in the region at 410 million board feet, a figure that dwarfed any remaining forest reserve in the United States.⁷ F.I. Vassault, writing for the *California Illustrated Magazine*, placed the figure at 77 million board feet, but spoke of the region’s future and importance in similarly glowing terms.⁸ As a result of these articles, the Pacific Northwest became nationally synonymous with the timber industry.⁹

In 1900, Frederick Weyerhaeuser and his associates of Weyerhaeuser Timber Company, the largest timber concern in the United States, completed nearly twenty years of cautious investigation, and bought 1,000,000 acres of timber from the Northern Pacific for \$6.5 million.¹⁰ With this purchase, the company became the largest private holder of

5 *Magazine of Western History*, “Three Men of Tacoma”. November, 1890. 20.; *Bankers*, “The Story of Tacoma: Industrial Center of the Pacific Northwest.” July, 1906. 49.; Charles E. Twining, *George S. Long: Timber Statesman* (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1994.), 17. Commencement Bay is the natural harbor to the north of Tacoma.

6 Joseph N. Dolph, “The New Northwest” *Forum*, (Jun 1891): 453. American Periodicals Series Online, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>. 228.; *Tacoma Daily News*, “Lumber Notes.” 3.

7 *Scientific American*, “Washington Timber” LXXIII, no. 3 (Jul 1895): 44. American Periodicals Series Online, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>. 44.

8 Vassault, 484.

9 T.R. Cox, *Mills and Markets: A History of Pacific Coast Lumber Industry to 1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974), provides an excellent, if slightly Marxist, overview of the industry up to 1900.

10 Charles E. Twining, *Phil Weyerhaeuser: Lumberman* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985); Twining, *George S. Long: Timber Statesman*; Ralph W. Hidy, Frank Ernest Hill and Allen Nevins. *Timber*

forest reserves in Washington, and also lent an air of legitimacy to the growing industry in the region. Following this purchase, it was becoming more and more clear that any timber company would have to move west of the Cascades into Oregon or Washington to remain competitive.

The death of the industry in the South and the Midwest coincided with the development of the timber industry in the Pacific Northwest. Industry practices had perpetuated a mindset that had wreaked havoc to the forests that they depended upon and the lumbermen had quickly exhausted their resource base. Already by 1876, the Midwestern timber concerns centered around Chicago were described as “not only burning the candle at both ends... but cutting it in two, and setting the match at four ends to enable them to double the process of exhaustion.”¹¹ The practice of “cut and run” logging was widespread, wherein timber companies purchased a plot of ground and razed it, then sold it to the highest bidder. “Cut and run” logging was indicative of the complete lack of social and environmental responsibility on the part of much of the timber industry. The result was unprecedented environmental degradation and the destruction of entire forest ecosystems. Since there was little incentive for any type of conservation or reclamation effort, and profit motive outweighed what little there was, the timber companies simply looked on for new forests to conquer.

and Men: The Weyerhaeuser Story (Minneapolis-St.Paul: Weyerhaeuser, 1963), all provide excellent overviews of the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company and its Pacific Northwest expansion

¹¹ William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1991), 200. quoting an article in the *Northwestern Lumberman* (Jul. 29, 1876) pg 243, which describes the exhaustion of the US and Canadian forest reserves. It is also worth noting that Long's staple crop Yellow Pine was a product that was turned to only after the devastation of the northern White Pine forests, which were judged a superior wood for construction (Cronon, 434, footnote 179.)

Long-Bell Lumber Company, despite its roots in the retail sector, was one of those companies streaming west to Pacific Northwest forests. Expanding from a small lumber concern, RA Long & Company, founded in 1875, Long-Bell Lumber Company became a force in the timber industry. By 1915, with Robert A. Long as its president and principle stockholder, the company had established a chain of retail and wholesale lumber lots across several states. The company was also cutting and milling its own lumber at the rate of 500 million board feet annually. Until 1918, Long-Bell was almost solely dependent on the rapidly depleting eastern forest reserves to provide the resources for this phenomenal production rate.¹²

In 1918 and 1919, the company purchased enormous tracts of land from Weyerhaeuser in Southern Oregon and Southwest Washington. Upon completing these purchases, the company immediately began to discuss the creation of a mill site and industrial housing. They eventually settled on an area in Southwest Washington bound on one side by the Columbia River, and by the Cowlitz River on the other. By 1924, that area was an incorporated into a third class city, Longview. The city was unlike anything that had been constructed with such haste in the past. Built to accommodate 50,000 people, Longview boasted something very few cities in the Pacific Northwest could boast of, a master plan that included; paved streets, sidewalks, and an extensive park system. This master plan, designed at Long's behest by a group of nationally recognized city

12 Connelly 2007-8.; for details of Long's operation; Cronon, Chapter 4 "The Wealth of Nature: Timber", covers the Chicago lumber industry; Sing C. Chew, *Logs for Capital: The Timber Industry and Capitalist Enterprise in the Nineteenth Century* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1992), provides a great overview of Eastern timber enterprise. John McClelland Jr., *Longview: The Remarkable Beginnings of a Modern Western City* (Portland: Binford & Mort, 1949), 2., argues that Long became aware of his timber shortage in 1918., Raymond M'Rride, "Logging in the Northwest." *Scientific American* XCVII, no. 21 (Nov 1907). American Periodicals Series Online, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>. 375. Offers a harangue against eastern timber practices, and foretells of their transfer to the Pacific Northwest.

planners, provided the blueprint for the development of the entire city. Once finished, Longview housed two of Long-Bell's mills and proved attractive to Weyerhaeuser and a variety of other forest sector companies as well. Its attractiveness came from the attention the planners paid to managing growth, providing access to transportation and resources and providing an environment conducive to civic pride and socio-economic harmony.

Despite the speed, and magnitude of its birth, the history of Longview's planning and construction is examined in very few publications. The literature that does exist is very impressive though. Following the 1949 publication of *Longview: The Remarkable Beginnings of a Modern Western City*, John McClelland Jr. further adapted his work through the addition of a considerable number of pictures and explanatory text. R.A. Long's *Planned City: The Story of Longview*, which was published in 1974, was the result of that effort. The publication was timed to coincide with Longview's fifty year anniversary; just as his first book had been published on the city's twenty-fifth anniversary. In 1999, McClelland Jr. released a second edition of R.A. Long's *Planned City*, complete with an additional chapter covering the twenty-five years that had elapsed since the last publication.¹³ While these books cover the planning and construction to a depth with which this study does not hope to compare, they neglect to offer a serious discussion of the ways that the construction of Longview was impacted by labor discontent, the national social environment, and the experience of Robert A. Long and Long-Bell.

Lenore K. Bradley has also written an amazing book that deals with Longview, though not in a direct sense. Her book, *Robert Alexander Long: A Lumberman of the*

¹³ McClelland Jr., *Longview*.; John McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City*.

Gilded Age, provides an amazing look into Long and the company that he created. She traces the progression of Long's life from Missouri to the Pacific Northwest, as well as the rise and eventual decline of Long-Bell. Since Longview comprised such a major part of the company's history, Bradley deals extensively with the subject.¹⁴ Her treatment of Longview does recognize that the strategies of urban development that underlay the project were unique in the region. However, since informing the discussion of Pacific Northwest industrial housing was not the purpose of her work, she does not adequately explore the significance of Longview's development.

All three books prove to be invaluable resources for understanding Longview's history. McClelland's books are a virtual repository of quotes, pictures, articles, and company history. In the pages of *R.A. Long's Planned City*, he describes the creation of the city in such detail that the reader is almost overwhelmed with information. His description of the dimensions of the monumental building project, the amount of Long-Bell money that went into the venture, and the grandiose dreams of the creators, equate to an unquestioning celebration of the city's existence. His emphasis on the beneficence of Long and the company, create the image that the city of Longview was a gift to its denizens from a truly great man.

Written only twenty-five years after the city's founding, *Longview: The Remarkable Beginnings of a Modern Western City*, was also filled with this celebratory jargon. McClelland Jr. had come to Longview in 1939 to work with his father, John McClelland Sr., the same man who had been chosen by Long in 1923 to head *The Daily News*, Longview's company-backed newspaper. After ten years in Longview, working under his

14 Lenore K. Bradley, *Robert Alexander Long: A Lumberman of the Gilded Age* (Durham: Forest History Society, 1989)

boosterish father, McClelland Jr's perspective of the city was obviously colored by his close ties to Long-Bell. His book was an extension of the Silver Jubilee, Longview's twenty-fifth birthday celebration. The intention of the book was to explain the history of the town in a manner that created cause for celebration, a goal that he clearly achieved.

He inherited much of his exuberance about the city from his father, John McClelland Sr. who was well versed in this sort of celebratory boosterism. He wrote, seven months after he arrived, in January of 1924, that Longview was "hardly any different than his home in Kansas City." Supporting this claim, he was to list the streets and sidewalks, the hotel, and a number of services provided in the town. McClelland wrote this letter the same day that Wesley Vandercook, the Chief Engineer, and superintendent of construction in Longview, drafted a quite different letter to his supervisor arguing that the city plan should be scrapped and undergo "complete revision," due to the inadequacy of the plan and overzealousness of the planners. Thus, it is quite clear the McClelland had quite a bit invested in the propagation of a story about a successful city, and his son's book reflected this.¹⁵

McClelland Jr., worked within the celebratory theme set by his first book by expanding several chapters and adding some new ones. While this volume tackled more challenging issues, such as zoning, racism and some labor unrest, these issues were dealt with in a cursory manner and seem disconnected to the creation of the city itself. Even as McClelland Jr. discusses Long-Bell control of the city government well after Longview

15 John McClelland, Letter to Robert A. Long. January 9, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.), Wesley Vandercook., Letter to Samuel Morris. January 9, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.), McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City*, 90-94

was incorporated, his analysis seems to describe this as an anomaly, something the company is almost forced into.

While his books lay out many of the same issues that are in this study, McClelland Jr. does not discuss those issues in terms of an overriding company policy of control. Rather he focuses on those elements of the city's creation that demonstrate the company's largesse and celebrate their success. There is no room in that interpretation for the idea of Longview as a company town.

Lenore K. Bradley, in *Robert Alexander Long: A Lumberman of the Gilded Age*, comes far closer to this realization. Using her incredible grasp of Long's personal history, Bradley also draws from many of the same issues that this study does. Her portrayal of Long captures many of the same motivating factors, and her description of Longview's construction also focuses on the company's paternalism. However, Bradley, necessarily so, treats the creation of Longview as an important but not all encompassing element of Long's life. Consequently, she uses the McClelland's accounts extensively in her section on the development of Longview, and also fails to label the city as an attempt at progressive company town construction.

In a similarly peripheral way, Linda Carlson, whose recent publication of *Company Towns of the Pacific Northwest* has put her at the forefront of Pacific Northwest industrial housing scholarship, also deals with Longview. However, her description of the city is merely a justification for its exclusion from her study. She argues that Longview was "never intended to be a company town." Though it was planned and constructed by the

company, the incorporation of other industries and the sale of real estate led Carlson to exclude it from her definition of company towns in the Pacific Northwest.¹⁶

Carlson's definition of company towns in the Pacific Northwest revolves around the control exerted by a single company. This single company exerted direct overt control over the community's "morals and manufacturing."¹⁷ Furthermore, she sees this as a stereotype and static model that is applicable throughout the generations of company towns that have been constructed in the Pacific Northwest. The focus of her study is to provide continuity and comparison through similarity of the hundreds of Pacific Northwest company towns constructed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. With this goal, Longview stands in stark contrast with the other communities in her study. Carlson's static vision of the regional industrial housing landscape ignores the rich and turbulent labor history of the area and fails to take into account the effect that such a militant contingent of labor agitators might have had on the employers of the region. It also does not account for the effects of progressive social movements and the changes that those movements generated in the company town environment during the early twentieth century. Finally, the model adopted by Carlson does not allow for intra-industry cooperation brought about by a desire to utilize as much of the forest resource as possible, as it does not fit the single company model. Thus, clearly, Longview does not fit Carlson's definition of company town.

Fortunately, the definition of "company town" that Carlson uses has been expanded by the scholarship of Margaret Crawford. Carlson views company towns in terms of their

¹⁶ Linda Carlson, *Company Towns of the Pacific Northwest* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003) 226.

¹⁷ Carlson, 8.

similarities and describes their development as static and non –evolving. This allows her to group company towns created in the mid-nineteenth century with those of the mid-twentieth century, without any problem. However, using a model put forth by economist Michel Aglietta in his book *A Theory of Capitalist Regulation: The US Experience*, Crawford has created distinct phases in company town development. She argues that the first phase, encompassing Lowell, Massachusetts and other early experiments in industrial housing, stretched from the around 1825 to the triumph of Taylorism and the creation of Pullman on the outskirts of Chicago in 1883. This second phase of housing ended with the First World War, the awakening of organized labor and the onset of Fordism. In *Building the Workingman's Paradise*, published in 1995, Crawford argues that a new relationship began to evolve between labor and capital after the First World War, which encouraged business owners to attempt what she has labeled as a “new” company town.”¹⁸

Crawford chose to illustrate the beginning of this trend with three planned industrial housing communities constructed slightly before the 1920s: Fairfield, Alabama; Torrance, California; and Goodyear Heights, Ohio. Much like the industrial housing experiments of the past, all of these communities were formed in response to severe labor trouble experienced by their respective founders. However, unlike those previous attempts at industrial housing, which, like the examples Carlson describes, relied on top down, overt control mechanisms, these towns treated their patrons as consumers. They created environments that they deemed attractive to skilled workers with career

¹⁸ Margaret Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns* (London: Verso, 1995); Michel Aglietta, *A Theory of Capitalist Regulation: The US Experience*. Translated by David Fernbach (London: Verso, 2000)

motivations, as well as stable married men. In order to accomplish those ends, the creator companies hired the help of nationally prominent designers, city planners, and landscape architects to create entirely new industrial housing environments.

Rather than renting homes constructed cheaply by the company, they sold homes crafted to be aesthetically pleasing to their workers. Instead of relying on overt means of class control, these cities deftly and covertly inserted separation and distinction through the use of zoning and artfully landscaped barriers. Using curvilinear streets, and rotating house designs to create the appearance of individuality, these company towns were far from the stark grid-like layouts and monotonously identical housing that characterized the company towns of Carlson's definition. Furthermore, according to Crawford, new company towns were no longer beholden to an individual company. Torrance, California, for instance, was founded by three separate companies with similar aims; Llewellyn Iron, Union Tool Company, and Pacific Electric Railway. Unlike Carlson's model, these companies were able to cooperate within the confines of single municipality, because of a single concern.¹⁹

That concern was, undoubtedly, the supply of a stable and skilled labor pool. The overriding unifying characteristic of these new company towns described by Crawford was a shift in the relationship between labor and capital. Labor had proven their ability to interfere with the profits and production of these companies. In response, capital was forced to make concessions to labor and, ultimately, seek its approval in their endeavors in order to ensure their success. The environmental and planning changes embodied in the new company towns were an effort on the part of employers to create an experience

¹⁹ Crawford, 83-100.

that felt like freedom for the employee and was determined through their own personal choice. Instead of overt social control, the employer relied almost completely on controls built into the community plan. These controls simultaneously enriched the populace and encouraged their sense of individual will, all the while achieving many of the same ends that overt control attempted.

Crawford's study, while it did not extend to the Pacific Northwest, provides an entirely new set of criteria for defining company towns and allows a new level of analysis in formulating the history of Pacific Northwest industrial housing. This study will illuminate the ways in which Longview's planning and construction follows the model suggested by Crawford. In doing so, it will inform the current understanding of Pacific Northwest company towns, as embodied in Carlson's writings, by incorporating a new dynamism into the relationship between employer and employee. While the study will not dispute that Longview is fundamentally different from the static description of company towns that she offers, it will advance the proposition that while the environmental cues may have changed, the underlying distinction between employer and employee, labor and capital, did not change.²⁰

Additionally, this study enriches accomplishments of the McClellands and Bradley by providing new insights into the motivations for the city's creation. When viewed as a new company town, Longview's history takes on a new meaning. While this meaning may not be appropriate for an anniversary celebration, an adequate understanding of Long-Bell's motivations in the region, and in Longview specifically, will offer an entirely new paradigm through which local history can be viewed.

20 Antonio Gramsci, "The Modern Prince: Some Theoretical and Practical Aspects of 'Economism'." 1929-1935. http://www.marxists.org/archive/gramsci/editions/spn.modern_prince/ch.

In order to accomplish this, the study will trace the series of events and decisions that led to the creation of Longview. In order to properly understand them, those events will be set against a backdrop of previous company experiences and the influence R.A. Long brought to the project.

To begin, it will discuss the nature of Long-Bell's labor trouble in the South and the way that impacted their search for a location for their new West Coast operation. It will also address the variety of challenges that Long-Bell encountered in coming to their new home, both in terms of new technologies and methods, and new social landscapes. The intersection of these factors, as well as the opportunities inherent in the Longview site, led to shift in the original plans of Long-Bell, and opened the door to a new vision of a company town.

Grounding the decision to move toward a planned environmental solution in Longview, the study will then address the way that the progressive personal philosophies and religious outlook of Long led to a close partnership with progressive city planners, particularly Jesse Clyde Nichols, a proponent of the City Beautiful movement. This section will demonstrate that much as the construction of company towns had evolved, so too had the societal perceptions that underlay them. Long simultaneously agreed with the underlying principles of the Nichols and City Beautiful, and recognized the need for their practical application in Longview.

Following this, the study will investigate the way that the plan reflected the developments of the City Beautiful movement, as well as the paternalism and classism of Long and Nichols, and the way that was realized in the construction of the city. This section will focus on the use of parks and landscaping and the incorporation of zoning as

a means of covertly establishing control. Additionally, it will analyze the ways in which the plan proved inadequate, yet remained impervious to change, despite constant requests from onsite company supervisors.

Lastly, the study will briefly discuss the ways in which the Longview venture met and fell short of the company's expectations, as well as the way that the city plan has survived well into the twenty first century. The study will also analyze the ways that Longview maintains relevance despite the downfall of its founding company in the 1950s, and the loss of meaning for the company town model. Following the increasing popularity and affordability of the automobile, many companies did away with constructing worker housing all together, relying on surrounding communities to house and feed their workforce and personal vehicles to provide conveyance to the workplace. This meant that Longview was not destined to be widely emulated or even discussed and the remarkable new strategies of labor control that it encompassed received very little acclaim.

This study aims to rectify that oversight by reinforcing Longview's continuing relevance in describing the early twentieth century dynamic between the forest sector employer, labor and environment; something that has been dramatically understated in the current historiography of Pacific Northwest company towns. Focusing on these elements will lend a new complexity to regional industrial housing and situate the changes embodied in Longview on a national stage.

CHAPTER 2

LABOR, ENVIRONMENT AND THE DECISION TO BUILD LONGVIEW

R.A. Long and the Long-Bell Lumber Company began their venture in Southwest Washington with an investigation of the factors that would confront them in their new environment. Exposure to considerable labor trouble in the South and a lack of knowledge about Pacific Northwest timber industry practices, created a genuine need for the company to gather intelligence prior to their move to the region. This intelligence was later disseminated in a report promulgated by Long-Bell chief engineer, Wesley Vandercook. His report highlighted existing labor issues that might affect the company, and a variety of regional logging practices that the company would need to be familiar with in order to be successful. The Vandercook report, more than any other document aside from the city plan, was instrumental in the company's eventual decision to pursue the next evolution of the company town in Longview.

However, the plan that the company eventually pursued in Longview was far from the one it had initially moved west with. Long-Bell began to move to the West when it bought into a new corporation founded by Abner Weed near the Oregon-California border. Weed had already constructed two mills and a small industrial housing community, Weed, California, by the time Long became involved. Despite the fact that

the funding Long provided the corporation nearly depleted his personal coffers, the success of the Weed operation convinced Long-Bell to buy out Abner Weed's share in 1905 and become the controlling interest in the company.²¹ Long-Bell ran Weed as they ran most of their eastern operations in terms of housing. The town followed what Carlson described as the standard company town model. The land and housing was company owned, services and groceries were sold in a company store, and very little of the community lived outside of company control.

Despite genuine attempts on the part of Long-Bell to provide for worker comfort and, ultimately, morale, few allowances were made for expressions of worker individuality nor was the perception of complete company control in any way squelched. Few amenities or aesthetic improvements were incorporated into the town's design after Long-Bell took over, and for the most part it was indistinguishable from many other mill towns along the Pacific Coast.²² Nor was this the last time that Long-Bell would follow the popular company town model to construct industrial housing. Ryderwood, constructed slightly to the Northwest at the same time as Longview, followed much the same model.²³

However, the years between the takeover of Weed Lumber Company and the construction of Longview and Ryderwood had been fraught with conflict between the forces of organized labor and their corporate employers. The most spectacular example of

21 Bradley, 60.; Kieth C. Peterson, *Company Town: Potlatch, Idaho, and the Potlatch Lumber Company* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1987)

22 Bradley, 129.

23 Ryderwood, named after Bill Ryder, Long's chief timber boss, was constructed as housing community for the harvesting operation. As such, the city was always considered temporary, and was very remote. These are most likely the reason why Long-Bell chose to construct Ryderwood following the standard company town model.

this being the “Louisiana-Texas Labor War,” which entangled one of Long-Bell’s most profitable enterprises, the Hudson River Lumber Company at DeRidder, Louisiana. Despite the best efforts of the Southern Lumber Operator’s Association (SLOA), , organized labor slowly gained a foothold in the South. Founded in 1906, largely at the behest of C.B. Sweet, Long-Bell’s vice-president and assistant general manager of subsidiaries and operations, was a corporate response to increasing pressure on all industries by organized labor. After four years, the SLOA had firmly established itself by 1910 when the labor issue exploded into open conflict around DeRidder. The association, then 87 companies strong, reduced working hours and closed mills in order to curtail rampant strikes and agitation.

These strategies, in addition to a persistent campaign of blacklisting, held union gains to a ten-hour day and a slight pay increase. However, these modest gains encouraged the IWW and the Brotherhood of Timberworkers to launch a series of strikes to gain recognition for their unions. In 1913, these strikes focused on Deridder and a nearby operation, paralyzing Long-Bell’s flagship mill. The strikes were eventually subverted when IWW spokesman Bill Haywood made an appeal for racial integration at union meeting, an appeal that was greeted with violence and vigilantism by a local population already suspicious of outsiders. Eventually the state militia was sent in to restore order and the DeRidder operation returned to full production. However, the 1913 strikes had a lasting impact on Long-Bell Company thinking.

One of the most important lessons was the role of the community in defeating the strikers. DeRidder was not controlled solely by Long-Bell; a number of other businesses dependent on the mill had a stake in the prosperity of the town. As a result, the pressure

that had brought to bear on the unions came from a wide spectrum of businesses that also had a stake in the success of the mill. Thus, diversity of ownership had actually benefited the company in the conflict, a lesson that would be put into practice in Longview.²⁴

Secondly, the company was now forced to plan for labor stability as steadfastly as they planned for continual access to resources. While Long-Bell's participation in the SLOA clearly indicated a concern about labor unrest, the success of the DeRidder strike made organized labor a central concern, due to its impact on production and profits. The company was subsequently far more open to new strategies for guaranteeing a compliant workforce and actively sought to attain that goal.

The area of Washington where Long-Bell was relocating had also gained national attention as a hotbed of union and IWW activity. Beginning in 1901, the International Shingle Workers Union of America (ISWUA) staged relatively large-scale strikes in the major shingle producing areas of Everett, Ballard and other cities in Washington. While their early strikes afforded them an agreed upon wage scale and a later pay increase, the ISWUA met staunch opposition from the industry in 1906 when they issued a call to strike.²⁵ In 1907, the IWW led an unsuccessful mill hand strike in Portland, Oregon. This was followed by action in Spokane and Grays Harbor, Washington, and, in 1916, in Everett, Washington, where their "invasion" led to bloodshed and national media coverage. Following this, the unions were forced into temporary retreat, but the strategy changed as the U.S. entered the First World War.

²⁴ Bradley, 69-71.

²⁵ Philip Dreyfus, "Nature, Militancy, and the Western Worker; Socialist Shingles, Syndicalist Spruce." *Labor: Studies in Working Class History of the Americas*, 1, no. 3 (2004) 80-81.

While before the war the unions could gain little ground due to the size of the labor pool available to the employers, as the prospect of U.S. involvement became more likely, the threat of a labor shortage allowed them to gain more leverage. One month before the war began, the Lumber Workers Industrial Union in Spokane, Washington initiated a strike calling for an eight hour day, Sundays off and higher wage rates. The IWW affiliate began a series of wartime strikes in which IWW numbers blossomed especially in the traditionally voiceless and unorganized timber workers. The IWW strikes were met with some compromise initially, but a planned August 20, 1918 strike to free “class prisoners,” in the midst of negotiations, led to a government sponsored crackdown on the IWW. Similarly, the success of the IWW and its socialist agenda had garnered it few friends in the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Despite the downturn of the IWW though, the Pacific Northwest woods were still ridden with “wildcat strikes,” strikes organized without the benefit of a larger union apparatus supporting them.²⁶

The prevalence of these strikes led to the government sponsored organization of an employer-employee union, The Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen (4L), in November of 1918. The 4L was formed in response to continued agitation and its impact on the production of spruce, which was vital to the U.S. war effort. The army dispatched Colonel Bryce P. Disque to gain control of the labor situation and guarantee the continued production of spruce in the Pacific Northwest. Disque and his advisors, Dr. Henry Suzallo, president of the University of Washington, and Dr. Carlton Parker, head of the University Of Washington Graduate School Of Business, persuaded George S. Long of Weyerhaeuser and six other major companies to meet and discuss the formation

²⁶ Dreyfus, 86-88.

of a union that might alleviate the labor unrest in the woods. Out of this discussion the 4L was born. Later, in an effort to be conciliatory, the AFL was also brought into the process.²⁷ Additionally, Disque was authorized to create the Spruce Production Division and utilize soldiers in the woods.

Despite the Spruce Production Division and the creation of the 4L, Disque was still having trouble maintaining a stable workforce and ensuring steady production. So, he used popular disdain of the IWW to suggest that the strikes were an attempt to harm the war effort and cast serious doubts about the patriotism of the organization. Simultaneously, he was able to convince the industry that adopting the eight-hour day would temper the union's attractiveness and destroy their appeal amongst forest sector workers. As a representative of the army, Disque was judged impartial by the industry and allowed to craft regulations for not only the eight hour day, but also a variety of other regulations. This was successful in seriously undermining worker support for the IWW, as the remaining elements of their platform leaned more heavily on socialist theory and tended to be more divisive.

While the war was the highpoint of IWW influence in the Pacific Northwest woods, continued "wildcatting" and other, non-IWW, union organized activity perpetuated a state of vigilance in the industry. On Armistice Day, 1919, a spontaneous raid on an IWW meeting hall in Centralia, Washington during a parade rekindled old passions and led to a shoot out that left several dead. The furor that was created over the Centralia raid, and the subsequent shootout that killed four veteran legionnaires, seemed to justify that

27 John McClelland, Jr., *Wobbly War: The Centralia Story* (Tacoma: Washington State Historical Society, 1987), 32-36.

vigilance on the part of the industry and lead to continued concerns in the post-war environment.²⁸

Long-Bell was certainly aware of the labor struggles in the Pacific Northwest. Since 1894, the company had operated a purchasing office in Tacoma, Washington, relatively close to both Ballard and Everett. While they were not directly involved in the ISWUA and IWW strikes, through this outlet, the company was able to see the effects of Pacific Northwest Labor unrest first hand. Additionally, their 1918 and 1919 purchase of over 150,000 acres in southern Oregon and Northern California, as well as creating the first sash and door company and plywood mill on the West Coast at Weed, made them more and more concerned with developments in the Pacific Northwest labor pool.²⁹

In July of 1919, Long and several company men stood at Campbell creek in Lewis County, Washington and remarked that the timber there was probably the best in the world. By November of 1919, Long-Bell had already purchased large tracts of timber from the Weyerhaeuser 10-3 tract, which included Campbell Creek and the future site of Ryderwood, a Long-Bell company town.³⁰ When tension surrounding the IWW exploded in Centralia that Armistice Day, merely 35 miles to the north of Campbell Creek, it became apparent that Long-Bell had not only bought some of the finest timber in the world, but also a piece of one of the nastiest labor controversies in the country.

After some initial scouting by Long-Bell cruisers Bill Ryder and L.L. Chipman, Chief Engineer, Wesley Vandercook, was left to compile a report on the region and likely mill

28 McClelland Jr., *Wobbly War*.

29 McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City*, 4.; Bradley, 179, 180. Long Bell created the Sash and Door Company in 1909 and the Plywood mill in 1912.

30 McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City*, 4.

sites.³¹ His report was not confined to mere topography and geography. It was intended to provide the necessary intelligence for the company to establish and successfully operate their enterprise in the Pacific Northwest. Long-Bell, despite its Weed operation and the purchasing office in Tacoma, had comparatively little experience in the Pacific Northwest. Long, who had established a name for himself as a scrupulous man, was not going to engage on the venture without a clear understanding of the undertaking. In that regard, Long Bell was sorely lacking. The trees in the tract the Long-Bell had purchased contained, on average, 7,000 board feet of lumber, a figure that dwarfed anything Long-Bell had logged or processed in the past. Thus, Vandercook needed to cover every aspect of the logging process, from the tree to the board, as Long-Bell was be forced to relearn even many of the basic aspects of operating an effective forest sector company.

Vandercook's report, promulgated in December of 1920, went a long way toward fleshing out Long-Bell's understanding of the area. It covered four locations on the lower Columbia River near Astoria, Oregon, site "E" that became Longview, three sites near Portland, Oregon and a variety of Vandercook's observations about the regional industry. These insights included a discussion of the wastefulness of the industry, the magnificence of the timber, methods of extraction and harvest, as well as an exposé on the "labor situation" in the area.³²

Vandercook's assessment of "the labor situation" in the Pacific Northwest hinged around it not being "efficient" as a class. He described the labor pool as "floating," single men with very little loyalty to a particular job. He argued that the industry and the

31 McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City*, 4-5.

32 Wesley Vandercook, *Engineering Report on Pacific Northwest Sites*, 1920. (Archives, Cowlitz County Historical Museum: Kelso, WA.)

location encouraged young, robust seekers of adventure to come the Pacific Northwest. Particularly as the industry began to establish itself in the late 1800s, these adventure seekers flocked to dangerous work. At this point, Vandercook noted, “the labor supply was considerably in excess of the demand.” This led to a separation between “the men who wanted to work: and the men who wanted work to be done.” As the number of the available workers increased, Vandercook postulated that a larger gap separated the employer from the employee. The ability of the employer to find a new worker to replace a dissatisfied worker allowed the employer to treat the employee as though he were the “under dog.”

In reality, the gulf between the employer and the employee had much deeper roots that stretched into the formation of the industry. Following Weyerhaeuser’s gigantic land purchase and a corresponding increase in regional boosterism, the landscape of the post-1900 Pacific Northwest was filled with a rush of timber concerns and entrepreneurs hoping to capitalize on the region’s timber. The result of this rush to purchase land was an incredible diversity of timber operations throughout the region. In this highly decentralized environment, with no single corporation dominating the industry, price competition became fierce. The sheer number of operations west of the Cascades flooded even the most demanding of markets and drove prices down quickly. In order to remain competitive, lumbermen were forced to make their mills produce more to make up for the price cuts. This, in turn, fueled further decreases in timber prices and an ever increasing pursuit of more production.³³

33 Dreyfus, 71-96.; W. Scott Prudham, *Knock on Wood: Nature as Commodity in Douglas-Fir Country* (New York; Routledge, 2005), provides some insight into the mechanics of overproduction in the post-war era.

Weyerhaeuser and other major landholders seemingly encouraged smaller competitors to enter the market by continually selling to them. However, this trend was largely the result of a request by Senator A.B. Kittredge of South Dakota, after a sharp increase in lumber prices, for the Department of Commerce and Labor to investigate the lumber industry for monopolistic practices. The threat of an investigation impacted the industry in several ways. Most importantly, it blunted attempts by industry leaders to create limits for allowable cuts and curtail wanton overproduction. Prior to the investigation, industry journals promoted industry-wide uniformity and openly publishing price-lists. The investigation led to a genuine attempt on the part of the industry to appear fragmented. It terminated the price-lists and cooperative attempts to cap production, leaving the industry increasingly decentralized and incurring the disadvantages of overproduction at an alarming rate.³⁴

As other methods of cost reduction reached the end of their practicality, labor alone began to bear most of the attempts to reduce overhead. Increasingly, woods workers faced a job market that dramatically underpaid its workers. This was possible, for the most part, because of the highly migratory, or “floating,” work patterns established by the single male forest sector worker. However, as Vandercook noted, this pattern was reinforced as employers maximized the profitability of the large labor pool available to them by affording their workers “bunk house that were often filthy. Refus[ing] to allow him to associate with his family; and only associate[ing] with him himself so far as the work required.” This environment seemingly encouraged worker dissatisfaction and promoted mobility amongst the labor pool. When dissatisfied workers voiced opposition

34 Twining, *George S. Long*, Chapter 3, “West with Weyerhaeuser.” 17-39. Dreyfus, 80

or quit they were replaced with other readily available workers at far less cost to the employer than maintaining adequate worker housing, hours and working conditions.³⁵

Vandercook attributed the rise of the IWW to the peculiar set of conditions that arose with the impending labor shortage of World War One. He argued that division of the forest sector into two classes, the employer and the employee, allowed the employer to take advantage of the employee as long as the labor pool was large. Under these conditions, the employer gave the well-being of his workers little thought. However, as the available labor pool shrank, employers began to “cater” to the worker in order to keep him. As “many employers did it in a patronizing way”, this led to increasing division between labor and the employer, or as Vandercook put it, labor “came to feel not only hate for the employer, but to despise him as well.”³⁶

He argued that the success of early strikes and union activity and the ineffectual response on the part of the employers in the region led to a perceived role reversal in the employer-employee relationship. As demands were granted, labor began to feel as though the employer feared them and that the power structure had shifted allowing their preeminence. Under such conditions, the IWW found many ready converts and quickly gained power. Vandercook felt that it was at this point that the doctrine of “class hatred” gained widespread acceptance amongst labor. A condition, he argued, whose symptoms were remedied in the short term by the 4L, but remained a worry. Finally, in his

35 Dreyfus, 82-96.;Vandercook, 68.

36 Vandercook, 28.

assessment, the 4L had devolved to become a mere mouthpiece for labor's demands, the employer being forced to the margins.³⁷

Vandercook's description of labor in the Pacific Northwest included the note that it was "a factor which may have to be largely considered in making plans to use the labor supply now available." In other words, if the venture Long-Bell had embarked upon was going to utilize the local labor supply, it had to find a way around its inherent instability. The rich history of labor unrest that covered the region was reminiscent of the turmoil the company had experienced at DeRidder. While minor concessions, changes in working conditions, and company and community pressure may have been worked in the short term at DeRidder, Vandercook seemed unsure that traditional strategies would work in the charged atmosphere of the Pacific Northwest.

Vandercook was sure that the company's traditional strategies would not work when came to the actual practice of logging. As previously mentioned, the timber in the Pacific Northwest was considerably larger than the Southern Pine the company was used to logging. This, as well as steeper topographical characteristics, contributed to make regional logging practices completely foreign to Long-Bell.

According to Vandercook, regional logging practices differed from the Southern logging largely in its application of engineering. While engineering expertise and capability was viewed as an asset for Southern logging companies, it was not regarded as necessary to achieve success. In the Pacific Northwest, "it is not possible to do successful logging without it."³⁸

³⁷ Vandercook, 29.

³⁸ Vandercook, 71.

To a large degree, he was right in his assertion. The region where Long-Bell had purchased their land lay along the eastern edge of the geographical unit called the Willapa Hills.³⁹ This series of hills and minor mountains stretches from the coast to the foothills of the Cascades. The topography of the region is filled with steep, stream carved ravines, abrupt cliffs, and steep ridges. This sort of landscape, commonly referred to as “ridge and ravine topography”, is generally associated with highly vegetated, stream rich environments.⁴⁰ Unfortunately, it was also unlike any topography Long-Bell had encountered in the course of their enterprise.

This difficult landscape had forced the regional pioneers of the industry to seek engineered and technological solutions to the problems they faced in harvesting and transporting timber to market. Consequently, the logging operations that Vandercook witnessed relied on a myriad of engineering marvels constructed of timber, cable and spikes, these included; dams, flues, immense logging trestles, yarding operations, and huge log rafts. Additionally, as the turn of the century neared, the Pacific Northwest timber industry became the benefactors of a variety of technological innovations that further revolutionized the process of turning growing trees into marketable boards.

The industry that Vandercook saw was far different than the one that spawned logging in the region. As he noted in his report, logging conducted prior to the turn of the century was largely limited to what timber could be easily reached and transported to a

39 James LeMonds, *Deadfall: Generations of Logging in the Pacific Northwest* (Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 2001), 27.

40 Robert Micheal Pyle, *Wintergreen: Rambles in a Ravaged Land* (Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 2001), 19.

mill.⁴¹ Falling was usually done with double bitted axes and crosscut saws. This continued until the chainsaw made its appearance.⁴²

After the tree was fell, the logs were manhandled by peevee⁴³ and gravity to a narrow skidroad, composed of half buried logs stripped of their bark to reduce friction, where a team of oxen or horses skidded the fallen timber to a suitable waterway for transportation to a mill. Logging was an operation that was severely limited by the topography and required access to deep waterways. It was also an endeavor that was very time and labor intensive.⁴⁴

However, the advent of practical steam changed all of that. Small mobile steam engines revolutionized lumber milling, allowing smaller mobile mills to move closer to areas being cut, reducing the need to transport raw logs. Similarly, smaller mills were also more easily affordable and allowed smaller entrepreneurs to enter the market far

41 Vandercook, 71.

42 Double bitted axes are relatively thin broad-bladed axes with straight handles. They receive their name from their having a cutting edge, or "bit," on both sides of the head. A crosscut saw is basically a large, broad toothed saw-blade with handles on either end. It was usually operated by two lumberjacks, one on either side. For more see, Ronald Jager, "Tool and Symbol: The Success of the Double-Bitted Axe in North America." *Technology and Culture*. 40, no. 4. 833-860.

43 A peevee is a long device with a round wooden handle that ends in a metal Shepard's crook with a small spike at the end. At the base of the crook, a short curved metal hook pivots. The device is wedged under a log, the metal hook is fastened into the exterior of the tree, and the handle provides enough leverage to roll to the tree trunk some distance. Obviously, the use of a peevee is contingent on the tree being limbed.

44 William E. Brown, "A Great Timber Country." *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* XLV, no. 6 (Jun 1905). American Periodicals Series Online, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>. 17.; Ralph D. Paine, "The Builders." *Outing Magazine* 48, no. 6 (Sep 1906). American Periodicals Series Online, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>. 719.; Day Allen Willey, "The Sea-Rafts of the Northwest." *Scientific American* XCVI, no. 5 (Feb 1907): 112. American Periodicals Series Online, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>. 112.; John Foster Carr, "Creative Americans." *Outlook* 87, no. 8 (Oct 1907). American Periodicals Series Online, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>. 868.; M'Ride, 375.; *The Youth's Companion*, "The Friend of the Northwest." 90, no. 27 (Jul 1916). American Periodicals Series Online, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>. 370.; J. Russell Smith, *North America Its People, Its Resources, Development, And Prospects Of The Continent As An Industrial And Commercial Area* (New York: 1925), 598,637.; Donald Culross Peattie, "Trees." *The North American Review* 244, no. 2 (Dec 1937) American Periodicals Series Online, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>. 325.

more easily.⁴⁵ Vandercook remarked that even with a highly inefficient operation, these small, more mobile mills were able to profit due to the availability of cheap logs.

Initially, timber was so plentiful that mills were able to discard logs or portions of logs that would only yield small profit, and only mill the more valuable timber.

Unfortunately, even smaller mills did not allow for the efficient transportation of product not located within easy reach of a water way. As a result, the timber along most waterways and streams large enough to support a flue or damming operation, were logged extensively by 1900. B.F. Brock, a lumberman operating about ten miles downriver from the future site of Longview, inaugurated a new era in regional logging and extended the range of his logging operations dramatically in 1883 with his purchase of "The Little Ant," the first logging locomotive in the region.⁴⁶ In 1891, Simon Benson, a new arrival to the area, purchased two more engines, and built his first railroad.⁴⁷

These pioneers, were on the forefront of steam's takeover of woods operations in the Pacific Northwest. Following them, smaller, more powerful, articulated locomotives capable of negotiating tight switchbacks and steep grades under heavy load were developed. This allowed railroads to penetrate into the uneven terrain of the woods and move closer than ever to logging sites. For the first time, the railroad was reliable enough to replace water as the chief means of getting timber out of the woods. This opened up

45 Tom Hull, "More Deadly than War: High Lead Steam Logging Unit." *Technology and Culture*, 44., no. 2., 2003. 355-358.; Cox.; Ronald Jager, "Tool and Symbol: The Success of the Double-Bitted Axe in North America." *Technology and Culture*. 40, no. 4. 833-860. Ralph W Andrews, *Timber: Toil and Trouble in the Big Woods* (West Chester: Schiffer, 1984)

46 *History of Stella, Oak Point, Eufala, and Coal Creek* (Longview: Stella Historical Society, 1984), 3.

47 Alice Benson Allen, *Simon Benson: Northwest Lumber King* (Portland: Binfords & Mort, 1971), 27.

enormous tracts of unspoiled timber that had previously been out of reach of the timber companies.

To facilitate the laying of rail on uneven terrain, Benson and other companies produced enormous trestles spanning ravines of incredible magnitude. Many of these spans utilized in excess of half of a million feet of saleable timber. The most impressive example being over one hundred feet high and in excess of one thousand feet long.⁴⁸

Vandercook noted these developments with interest. Long-Bell had established a reputation in the South and in California with its superb railways. Unlike most proprietors of logging roads, Long-Bell spent extra money constructing ballasted roadbeds, heavy gauge steel rails, and utilized excellent rolling stock. By 1904, Long-Bell had two hundred sixty nine cars and seventeen locomotives in operation. Soon after, it was to construct an even more impressive line in Weed, California conforming to Union Pacific standards and utilizing three of the best locomotives available. One of which, a geared drive Heisler, was already in use in many Pacific Northwest logging operations.⁴⁹

In addition to advances in logging roads, the rugged terrain of the region was further tamed by the introduction of the steam donkey. The Wiest brothers, running an operation at Oak Point, about twelve miles downriver from the future site of Longview, brought in a Munday Donkey in 1890.⁵⁰ This was the first donkey in the local area. A steam donkey

48 Ralph W. Andrews, *This Was Logging!: Selected Photographs of Darius Kinsey* (West Chester: Superior Publishing Company, 1954), 125. This refers to a Weyerhaeuser trestle designed by Chief Engineer, Walter J. Ryan of Weyerhaeuser, and built after the company established its mills in Longview. Long-Bell was well established in the region. The trestle was located in the Kalama River basin on Baird Creek, and its rail line serviced Weyerhaeuser's Longview mill

49 Bradley, 77-78.

50 *History of Stella, Oak Point, Eufala, and Coal Creek*, 3.

is essentially a small, extremely powerful steam engine that powers a large rotary winch. Often, the entire apparatus was mounted on two skids constructed of logs of a suitably large diameter. Using the winch cable, the donkey pulled itself on its skids from one location to the next over almost any terrain. Its mobility and power soon made it an indispensable element of woods operations of most every timber company.

The steam donkey had already seen use in California, prior to its popularity in the Pacific Northwest.⁵¹ However, in California, steam donkeys were used for a practice called ground-lead logging. With this method, the cable from the winch of the steam donkey was linked directly to the choker, the cable that holds the log. In the Pacific Northwest, the immense amount of vegetation and undergrowth, as well as the density of the forests and the rugged topography, made this method impractical as the cable was often snagged, causing time-consuming delays.⁵²

The solution to this problem came in the form of high-lead logging. Using a high-lead system elevated the cable out of the underbrush, and forever altered process through which fallen logs are brought to an assembly area for transportation. Once a site was chosen, the steam donkey was dragged, under its own power, to the top of a suitable hill. A spar tree, usually a tall, straight tree that had been topped, stripped of its limbs and reinforced by several guy wires and cables, was chosen and prepared near the steam donkey. The lead, or cable, from the steam donkey was then routed through the spar tree and to newly fallen timber. A properly rigged donkey could then pull any tree up to five or six feet in diameter, in its entirety, to the landing, or the assembly area near the steam

51 Allen, 29

52 Allen, 34

donkey. This process, as well as a variety of variants, simultaneously increased the efficiency of the logging operation in the woods and allowed the logging of steep slopes, ravines and other areas that were previously inaccessible.

The conglomerate effect of practical steam in the woods was an enormous increase in efficiency and rates of production. From 1900 to 1930, logging in the Pacific Northwest proceeded at a faster pace than had any other regional logging industry in history. In many respects, it had to. The ever-growing number of competitors, unstifled by larger corporations scared of appearing monopolistic, crowded the market and put increasing emphasis on production. Logging railroads, high-lead logging, and other advances facilitated these interests and allowed production at a rate that was unfeasible in the days of horse and oxen logging. Ken Kesey, writing in 1964, chronicled this change with his character Henry Stamper in *Sometimes A Great Notion*, a novel about post World War Two logging southern Oregon that often correlates to the industry in general.

...Say them oldtime tales where we greased the skids and rode the oxen and all that noise? Hm? Them oldtime jacks in mustaches and ten-gallon hats carryin' a misery whip over their shoulders, you seen them pictures, ain't you? Lookin' all dashin' an' romantic? Well them boys are good pictures in The Pioneer magazine, but I tell you now an' you can mark 'er down: they weren't the ones! That really rolled the logs. No sir. It was boys like me and Ben and Aaron, boys what not only had the grit but what had the sense to get hold of a machine. You're godblessed right! Let me say... hm, well now, roads? We didn't have roads worth sour apples, sure, but what did I tell 'em? Roads or no boogin' roads, I say, I'll take this here donkey machine anyplace you can take that worthless tow-oxen of

yours! Shoot; all I got to do is run a little piece of line up to a stump somewhere and pour it to 'er. Reel myself right up to where I want, then run a line to the next stump. Jumpin' the donk, we called it; cookin' with steam. Yessir, steam, steam, that's the business. You feed them animals of yourn bale of hay every other day at eighty, ninety cents a bale, and you know what I'm feedin' mine? Wood chips, and slashin', and scrub oak, and any other damn thing layin' around handy for the burnin'. Steam! Gasoline! Now Diesel! Yessir, that's the ticket. You can't whup the swamps with an animal. A animal is on the other side! You can't take much shade offn the ground with a nutted ox an' a whittlin' knife! You got to have a machine.⁵³

While Kesey was using Henry to discuss logging in a different era and part of the region, his words have equal application to the entire Pacific Northwest in the early nineteenth hundreds.⁵⁴ The goal remained to cut as many trees as possible in order to maximize profit and surpass the competition. While the technology changed; diesel Skidders replaced steam donkeys and log trucks replaced logging railroads, the same attitude prevailed.

In 1904, Ray Stannard Baker journeyed to the Pacific Northwest to let his readership in the *Century Illustrated Magazine*, get a glimpse of what Pacific Northwest logging was like, he published his report in May of 1903, entitled; "The Conquest of the Forest." Baker started his narrative of logging in the region by introducing the reader to "a ruddy

⁵³ Ken Kesey, *Sometimes A Great Notion* (New York: Penguin Books, 1964), 237.

⁵⁴ W. Scott Prudham, *Knock on Wood: Nature as Commodity in Douglas-Fir Country* (New York: Routledge, 2005), Argues that the situation in southern Oregon in the post war years had dramatic similarities to early nineteenth century Washington.

young Swede with tobacco in his cheek and holes in his hat. To him a forest is so much merchantable lumber, lath, shingles; a tree, three or four logs, sound or shaky." The parallels in the Swede's outlook on the forest and Henry's are obvious, both, as the title of Baker's piece implies, were in the process of dominating nature. Baker then used the rest of his article to describe the concert of "roaring and bucking" machines that changed a Douglas Fir from standing timber to a log on a landing.⁵⁵

"Conquest of the Forest" was one of a variety of articles about the Pacific Northwest timber industry that began to look somewhat critically at the interchange of technological advancement and unbridled resource extraction.⁵⁶ This represented an enormous shift from articles even a decade before that focused on the abundance of the Pacific Northwest's standing timber, and natural resources.⁵⁷ However, few argued that the Pacific Northwest timber industry had developed one of the most efficient systems in the world to cut trees and get them to a mill. In fact, the process was so efficient that a variety of foreign nations sent envoys to witness Pacific Northwest logging teams in operation. Perhaps most impressively, an official from tsarist Russia visited a western Washington operation in order to better understand how the lessons of modernized logging could be applied to harvest forests in Siberia.⁵⁸

55 Ray Stannard Baker "The Conquest of the Forest." *Century Illustrated Magazine* LXVI, no. 1

(May 1903): 85. American Periodicals Series Online, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>.

56 Baker, 85.; Peattie, 325.; M'Ride, 374.

57 Joseph N Dolph, "The New Northwest" *Forum*, (June, 1891): 453. American Periodicals Series Online, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>; *Northern Pacific Railroad, Land Department, Settlers' Guide to Oregon and Washington Territory and the Lands of the Northern Pacific Railroad on the Pacific Slope* (New York: Northern Pacific Railroad, 1872).; Summer F. Lockwood, "Washington Territory." *Ohio Farmer* 61, no. 1 (Jan 1882): 10. American Periodicals Series Online, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>; *Morning Olympian*, "Railroad to Shelton," March 7, 1896.

58 Baker, 85.

Vandercook, as a representative of Long-Bell who believed in controlling the process of lumber production from “tree to trade,” maintained an interest in both logging and milling processes in the region.⁵⁹ However, he noted that Long-Bell would be one of the few operators to own both milling and cutting operations, as well as the transportation between them. The number of independent operators meant that often cutters operated by selling their cut to whatever mill gave them the highest price, or the one they could transport their logs to.⁶⁰ This did not dissuade him however, as he noted that the process, as it existed, was so wasteful that, “it is difficult to find words to intelligibly indicate its extent.” He estimated the annual loss in wasted resources at over six billion board feet. Additionally, he noted that most of these losses were easily preventable.⁶¹

R.A. Long had already established Long-Bell as a company with interest in conservation. As a company that had born witness to the devastation of eastern forests first-hand, Long-Bell had engaged in a variety of conservation efforts on their own. In 1906, Long-Bell invested \$50,000 in an experimental farm intended to utilize cut-over lands. The farm was a success and lead to the Southern Pine Association’s first cut-over lands conference in 1917. Additionally, Long had publicly supported conservation in 1903, in a paper that he had prepared on the rapid depletion of timber for the Southern Lumber Manufacturer’s Association’s annual meeting.⁶²

In 1908, Long was invited by President Roosevelt to represent the timber industry at the Governor’s Conference on conservation. Held at the White House, the conference

⁵⁹ Bradley, 30. actually the Long-Bell Company slogan sometime in the 1890s.

⁶⁰ Vandercook, 72.

⁶¹ Vandercook, 72

⁶² Bradley, 57.

was organized by Gifford Pinchot, the head of the Forest Service, some time after Senator Kittredge had begun anti-trust investigations. Long prepared a speech that was not exactly what his fellow conference goers had wanted to hear. He called for government support for private reseedling programs and change in the tax code for cut-over lands, arguing that the current one encouraged “cut and run” logging and ecological depletion. Finally, he argued that none of this could be accomplished without industry cooperation in the form of price regulation, as no company would sink valuable capital into conservation in the cut throat economy of 1908. Unfortunately, Long’s words were to fall on deaf ears, as Pinchot had by that time already been convinced that monopolistic activities constituted a major threat to conservation.⁶³

Nonetheless, Long-Bell had clearly established itself as a company that not only recognized the need for conservation, but also the potential for profit from such efforts. Thus, as Vandercook toured regional mills and saw their massive wigwam burners burning mill waste, the number of logs of “inferior quality” that the mills discarded, and the general waste of the harvesting process, he recognized a massive amount of unrecognized profit and Long-Bell’s ability to recognize it.⁶⁴ While he noted that a mill in Portland, Oregon made the highest profit and the most waste of any in the region, he felt that much of the waste inherent to the milling process could be eliminated easily

⁶³ Dreyfus, 80.; Bradley, 55-57.; The Conservation issue is beyond the scope of this paper, however, Samuel P Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959) provides a great overview. For more on the policies and ideology of Pinchot, see: Harold K Steen, ed. *The Conservation Diaries of Gifford Pinchot*. (Durham: Forest History Society, 2001); Char Miller, *Gifford Pinchot and the Making of Modern Environmentalism* (Washington DC: Island Press, 2001). For a broader overview of conservation see Char Miller, ed. *American Forests: Nature, Culture and Politics* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1997).

⁶⁴ Wigwam burners are large, steel, conically shaped burners reminiscent of a wigwam in shape. Generally the aperture at the top of these structures was covered by a hemispherical screen to arrest sparks. They were fueled by the immense amount of wood waste created by the milling process at an average mill. Generally, a mill would have several wigwam burners operating almost nonstop to keep pace with mill-waste.

without harming existing margins. Additionally, he warned that such considerations may become necessary as the region's forest resources became more and more depleted⁶⁵

Finally, Vandercook's report discussed the various sites he had visited and weighed their respective merits. His report progressed from the coastal sites near Astoria, up the Columbia River, to Portland Oregon. Prior to writing his report, Vandercook had already dismissed all considerations that did not lie on the Columbia. Though, for a time, Ryder and his group considered Vader, a small community that adjoined the Long-Bell purchase. However, it was summarily rejected due its isolation from major water transportation. The Columbia, with its deep channel and proximity to company holdings, was deemed the lynchpin in the operation's transportation network.⁶⁶

The Astoria area was not directly adjoined to the Long-Bell purchase, thus raw timber would have had to be shipped downriver before reaching the milling operation. Simon Benson did this quite effectively in the first decades of the twentieth century, shipping his engineered log rafts not only down the Columbia, but a full 1,100 miles down the river and coast to his mills in San Diego.⁶⁷ However, Vandercook was not interested in the extra time and money needed to make such an endeavor work. Rather than locate the mill close to the market, as Benson had done, Long-Bell was going to only transport the actual saleable product any great distance, thereby eliminating the extra shipping involved in transporting raw logs to a distant mill.

⁶⁵ Vandercook, 72.

⁶⁶ McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City*, 6.

⁶⁷ Allen, 35.

However, the difficulty in forging a reliable rail connection to the Astoria area, where the first four sites were considered, weighed heavily in the decision making process.

While the area had direct access to the Pacific Ocean, and consequently, the international market, lack of rail connection would provide an extra hurdle in accessing the domestic market, Long-Bell's bread and butter.⁶⁸

Vandercook found the answer to these shortcomings sixty miles up the Columbia, at the confluence of the Columbia and Cowlitz rivers. Site "E," as Vandercook labeled it, stood directly across the Cowlitz from a small mill town called Kelso.⁶⁹ It was near Long-Bell's land holdings as well as a variety of other companies', ensuring that a mill would have adequate supply of timber well into the future. The site was also attractive as it was the lowest site on the river where it was feasible to establish a spur to existing the existing Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad. In addition, its location on a triangular spit of land between two rivers dramatically increased the available waterfront. The Columbia was deep by the site and could easily accommodate shipping with minimal amounts of dredging. And finally, the site could also accommodate the construction of a town to support the mill.⁷⁰

The report estimated that it would cost about \$1,851,575 to purchase two thousand six hundred ten acres, prepare the land, dredge the river, and establish rail connection, not including the construction of piers or mills. Much of the construction costs would go toward diking and bulkheading, as most of the area was on or below the water table. He

⁶⁸ Vandercook, 115.

⁶⁹ Kelso received its moniker from its Scottish founder, Peter Crawford, in 1884.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 136.

was careful to note that flooding from annual snow melt had the potential to cause serious problems, due to the site's low elevation. These drawbacks aside, Vandercook was enthusiastic about the site's promise, noting that not only would the site be excellent for a town, the possibility of selling developed commercial and residential real estate after Long-Bell's arrival also made the town attractive.⁷¹

He also was careful to point out, unlike most of the region, "site E" and the surrounding area had relatively few issues with organized labor, noting that labor control was "good."⁷² However, the small community of Kelso, with a population of roughly twenty three hundred, had achieved local notoriety as the seat of IWW activities and the home of a number of saloons, gambling establishments, bordellos and combinations thereof.⁷³ Therefore, as the Long-Bell board read Vandercook's report they understood the implicit suggestion that if Long-Bell were to place their mill there, they needed to provide housing that was separate from Kelso.

Vandercook also spent considerable time discussing three sites around Portland, Oregon. However, their proximity to already established mills and industrial housing, as well as the increased distance from the mouth of the Columbia prevented them from being selected.⁷⁴ Eventually, after reading the complete site comparison focusing on six aspects; steamships, railroads, site, log supply, labor, and general, the board chose the Cowlitz location for their new mills.

⁷¹ Ibid, 136.

⁷² Ibid, 136.

⁷³ Bradley, 133.; McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City*, 11

⁷⁴ Vandercook, 146.

This decision encapsulated the information that the company had gained through Vandercook's multi-faceted study, their own knowledge of the industry and labor, and the experiences that they had in Southern Pine. 1920, the same year that Vandercook presented his report to the Long-Bell board, was also the year that Long-Bell became the largest lumber manufacturer in the United States.⁷⁵ The Vandercook report highlighted differences the company could expect when they came to the Pacific Northwest, but also reinforced the company's past lessons in labor relations and their previous involvement in the industry. These elements created a situation that encouraged the company to pursue unique strategies in creating the company town that headquartered their new operations in the West.

⁷⁵ Bradley, 180.

CHAPTER 3

R.A. LONG AND THE CITY BEAUTIFUL MOVEMENT

While the route that led to it was long and circuitous, the Vandercook report, as well as the subsequent involvement of a variety of prominent planners and architects, eventually precipitated a city plan that was far different from any industrial housing project contemplated by the company in the past. The requirements of the region as well as the zeal of Vandercook to expand the project, dovetailed neatly with R.A. Long's progressive personal views and his previous experience in construction and development. This marriage created the conditions for the Longview plan to reach its fruition. The process began with the seemingly simple act of obtaining "site E."

By February of 1921, Vandercook was authorized to purchase the options he had arranged while conducting his survey on "site E." The options, amounting to 2,610 acres, were split between four land owners; E.T. Olson, F.C. Barnes, Charles Ketch, and Wallace Huntington, the largest land owner with 1,343 acres. These holdings, which were mostly donation land claims, cost the company \$413,538.⁷⁶ However, by June of 1921, after completing a \$20,000 three dimensional contour map of the area, and beginning the

⁷⁶ Vandercook, 133.

process of heavy brush-clearing, Vandercook began to ask Long about purchasing more land in the area in order to complete the diking project.

He argued that extending the diking project would allow the land that Long-Bell purchased avoid being in a massive topographical depression that would have to be accounted for in railroad grades, roads, and diking. Additionally, he felt that with two Long-Bell mills operating in the area, space constraints would force some workers to build outside of the dike in the floodplain. In January of 1922, Long was won over by Vandercook's arguments and allowed him to proceed with optioning out the rest of the valley. In three days, Vandercook and four local men succeeded in signing forty seven options and securing the entire valley aside from two small parcels.⁷⁷

This optioning spree dramatically expanded the acreage Long-Bell could potentially control in the valley, and generated a new monumentality around the project. Long, who was immediately apprised of the options at a meeting in Los Angeles with Vandercook, quickly realized that the company had the opportunity to create something far larger than the traditional company town. He immediately contacted his old friend, J.C. Nichols.

Jesse Clyde Nichols was a developer that had strong ties to the City Beautiful movement. Inspired by Frederick Law Olmsted, a prominent urban planner of the mid-nineteenth century, City Beautiful and its followers drew from the centrality he placed on the role of beauty in urban planning. He felt that the urban environment could be altered to incorporate elements of natural beauty. Often, this involved what City Beautiful historian William H. Wilson has termed "naturalistic constructivism," or massive disruptions to the existing urban and uncomfortably featureless terrain with the aim of

⁷⁷ McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City*, 11-12.

creating a pastoral-romantic landscapes.⁷⁸ Olmsted believed that incorporating elements of the naturalistic into the urban environment was a positive force that had the power to uplift human thought and behavior. Natural scenes, as encapsulated in his parks, he felt had enormous restorative power, allowing businessmen to relieve anxiety, increase production, and retire later. Similarly, he felt that parks and other emblems of nature in an urban environment would effect the working class in a positive manner, filling the void left by faltering church attendance, and proving to be more attractive than “Grog Shops,” he noted in a speech before the American Social Science Association at the Lowell institute in Boston, February 25, 1870.⁷⁹

Olmsted’s parks, and later his park and boulevard systems provided two very important beacons for his followers in the City Beautiful movement. Additionally, his persuasiveness in regard to those earlier points allowed Olmsted to bequeath one other legacy to the movement. With Olmsted’s growing popularity, a number of other landscape architects were drawn to his particular school of thought. This, in turn, created a group of City Beautiful planners that were widely used as city planning consultants and generally increased the movement’s popularity.

The moment that most historians believe spawned the City Beautiful movement was the World’s Columbia Exposition. The Exposition was organized as a spectacular

78 Wilson, William H., *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1989); Frank Jackson, *Building the City Beautiful: The Benjamin Franklin Parkway and the Philadelphia Museum of Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989); Thomas J. Noel and Barbara S. Norgren. *Denver: The City Beautiful and Its Architects, 1893-1941*. (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1987) also provide great background material on the City Beautiful movement. Carl Smith, *Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief: The Great Chicago Fire, The Haymarket Riot and the Model Town of Pullman*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) also provides compelling background reading for the World’s Columbia Exposition and progressive urban reform in general.

79 Wilson, 30.

monument to Columbus' discovery of the Americas. Though many cities competed for it, a largely unimproved tract of Chicago's Jackson Park was eventually chosen to host the celebration. The design of the exposition was largely commanded by Daniel Hudson Burnham, though a variety of other prominent planners participated, including Olmsted. The result was emblematic of what the City Beautiful movement would become. It emphasized monumental, neo-classical and Beaux Arts structures set amongst landscaped and aesthetically pleasing public space. Nothing was particularly revolutionary, as the fair admittedly drew from a variety already existing styles. Rather, the Exposition was marketed as a showcase for the use of existing elements, rather than utopian ruminations, to construct new environments that improved the urban landscape and the urban mentality. It relied on elements of the traditional, monumental and natural to evoke tendencies of social complacency and civic pride. The incorporation of natural elements in the midst of orderly and sanitary public space was meant to encourage civic pride and healthful citizens. Simultaneously, the monumental Neoclassical and Beaux-Arts architecture that bordered the public space was meant to inspire awe and a sense of separation between the classes. In choosing from a well used architectural palette, the Exposition's planners were able to embody the traditional symbolism of success in nearly every major American city, and constantly remind visitors of it.⁸⁰

The City Beautiful movement, which did not actually receive its moniker until 1899, relied heavily on the legacies of Olmsted and the specific vision of beauty espoused in the Columbia Exposition. The movement relied heavily on Olmstead's parks and park and boulevard systems, and emphasized the way that the social landscape could be made

⁸⁰ Ibid, 53-61.

to promote more civic minded citizens, less prone to discontent. City Beautiful proponents found a “secular salvation” for urban inhabitants through the incorporation of parks, boulevards, aesthetically pleasing amenities, community facilities, and comprehensive city planning within the context of existing urban environments. Through these beautified elements of the urban landscape, City Beautiful sought to confront a host of urban ills including; juvenile delinquency, poverty, crime control, housing and others.⁸¹

JC Nichols followed in the footsteps of the City Beautiful movement in Kansas City.⁸² He borrowed many of the movement’s aesthetic trademarks and used them for the creation of subdivisions in and around the city, for which he was famous. However, Nichols had also subverted the elements that had been present in World’s Columbia Exposition by creating new zoning laws, restrictive covenants, and percentage leases in his subdivisions. He called his vision “planning for permanence,” as it was intended to attract civic and community minded citizens that would ensure stability.

Unfortunately, as the African-American community has come to find out in recent years, many of Nichols achievements were more permanent than many like. In the exclusive Country Club District, which Nichols opened in 1906 in Kansas City, covenants prevented ownership or lease by African-Americans. While these covenants now retain only symbolic meaning, they continue to provide pause for African-American homeowners in the area. Similar neighborhood covenants in the Kansas City area

⁸¹ Ibid, 75-95. I borrowed term “secular salvation” from Wilson.

⁸² Ibid, 99-125. *Kansas City Star*, “Opportunity and the Kansas City Men Who Found it At their Elbows.” Dec. 12, 1911. America’s Historical Newspapers, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>; K. K. Hooper, “Environment a Factor in Building a City”. *Dallas Morning News*, Oct. 24, 1917. America’s Historical Newspapers, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>.

organized by Nichols prevented ownership by Armenians, Jews, Hebrews, Turks, Persians, Syrians and Arabians.⁸³ This lingering legacy of Nichol's developments has generated an immense amount of cynicism around his venture. Including a less than savory appraisal in science fiction great, Robert A. Heinlein's book, *To Sail Beyond the Sunset*.⁸⁴

However, Nichol's achievements in landscaping and residential development were also magnificent in many ways. Following in Olmsted's footsteps with "naturalistic constructivism," the Country Club District and many of Nichol's other creations, bent nature to conform to his vision of the residential paradise. Streams were moved, land graded, and ground manipulated to conform to boulevards and sidewalks. Additionally, in some of his ventures, Nichols experimented with contoured streets that followed the existing land, allowing a natural form to replace the rigidity of traditional designs.⁸⁵

83 Judy L. Thomas, "Home ownership, Self-Determination, Restrictive covenants, Redistricting," *Kansas City Star*, Feb 13, 2005. Accessed through VisionCircle, <http://www.visioncircle.org/archive/003423.html>.

84 Robert A. Heinlein, *To Sail Beyond the Sunset*. (New York: Berkley Publishing Group, 1987), 178,281,302.

85 *Kansas City Star*, "South Side Acres Sold. A tract at the Corner of Fifty-[Illegible]and Oak Street transferred." April 21, 1908. America's Historical Newspapers, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>; *Kansas City Star*, "Nichols to Improve 1,000 Acres. Plan for a High Class Residence District South of City Limits." April 28, 1908. America's Historical Newspapers, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>; *Kansas City Star*, "To Plat a Battlefield Tract J. C. Nichols Pay \$105,000 for 105 Acres Owned by J. W. White." July 3, 1908. America's Historical Newspapers, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>; *Kansas City Star*, "A New South Side Home. J. C. Nichols Has Balls at Fifty-Second Street and Grand Drive." October 20, 1908. America's Historical Newspapers, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>; *Kansas City Star*, "To Build near the Country Club." November 15, 1908. America's Historical Newspapers, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>; *Kansas City Star*, "As it Looks by Aeroplane. a Photograph of Kansas City Land to be Taken from 1,000 [Illegible] Up." March 7, 1909. America's Historical Newspapers, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>; *Kansas City Star*, "Big Sale of Acre Property. [Illegible] Syndicate Pays \$168,500 to the Wornalls for 154 Acres." April 1, 1909. America's Historical Newspapers, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>; *Kansas City Star*, "The River an Investment Property Owners Are Directly Interested, Says J. C. Nichols." September 9, 1909. America's Historical Newspapers, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>; *Kansas City Star*, "J. C. Nichols Buys New Land. a Tract of Forty-Two Acres Sold by T. J. Wornell for House Sisters." October 2, 1909. America's Historical Newspapers, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>.

Long met Nichols in 1908, through his dealings with the National Bank of Commerce in Kansas City, where Nichols was a board member. Long, who had heard of Nichols' exploits, soon became fast friends with the developer. When Long also became a board member in 1910, that fraternity grew even closer. Throughout their association, Long and Nichols were to have many dealings, perhaps most notably, aside from the planning of Longview, the creation of the Liberty Memorial in Kansas City, which Long financed and Nichols helped create. J.C. Nichols was to later praise the Liberty Memorial as, "an inspirational monument free from the slightest utilitarian purpose."⁸⁶

However, Nichols was also to remark in 1925, one year after Longview was inaugurated, that, "Measured in the scope of national importance, in gigantic financing, in human vision, human courage, human daring and adventure into an almost entirely new field of American endeavor – the Highest Peak, towering above all the structures we have surveyed, is the building of the wonder-city, Longview, Washington."⁸⁷ The city was the crowning venture in Long's life and the last of many that he and Nichols embarked upon. Throughout these previous experiences, Nichols had undoubtedly influenced Long's sense of development, as his tastes quickly conformed to Nichols' aesthetic.

Immediately after their meeting, Long began to construct his new home, Corinthian Hall. At Nichols' urging he contracted Henry Ford Hoit, an architect for Van Brunt and Howe, who had worked at the World Columbia Exposition.⁸⁸ Hoit became Long's favorite architect and worked with him on many projects. He used him and Hare and

⁸⁶ Jesse Clyde Nichols, Speech, 1925.

<http://www.umkc.edu/whmckc/PUBLICATIONS/JCN/JCNPdf/JCN015.pdf>. pg 2.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 2.

⁸⁸ Wilson, 50.; Bradley, 80.

Hare, a landscape architecture firm also heavily invested in City Beautiful, almost exclusively in his Kansas City constructions. With J.C. Nichols advising, Long was to use these designers to construct his colossal home, his downtown office building, and his model farm, coincidentally named “Longview Farm.”⁸⁹

In many ways, Nichols, and the City Beautiful movement that he represented, meshed nicely with Long’s own progressive interpretation of society, undoubtedly contributing to their friendship. Both Long and Nichols were manifestations of changing upper class conceptions of their role and the role of religion in society. As it became more and more apparent that society was rapidly modernizing and industrializing in the late nineteenth century, a body of work that expressed discontent with the conservative ideological underpinnings of Christian thought began to emerge. These Christian thinkers began to offer a critique of the sacred and social implications of older more deterministic ideologies like Popular Calvinism that placed very little emphasis on social responsibility. Proponents of Popular Calvinism, like Russell Conwell, and its companion social theory, Social Darwinism, largely associated with William Graham Sumner⁹⁰, argued that social assistance and programs of social reform were misguided. Their conception of religion placed hard work and self-denial as central to the course of human progress, such efforts to better the position of the “unfortunate classes” ran contrary to these principles⁹¹.

89 Bradley, 64.

90 Many argue that William Graham Sumner’s classification as a “Social Darwinist” over-exaggerates his appreciation of Darwin. For more see: Robert C. Bannister, *Social Darwinism: Science and Myth in Anglo-American Thought* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989),

91. For a concise essay of “Social Darwinist” thought See: William Graham Sumner, “Sociology” (1881) in Hollinger, David A. and Charles Capper eds. *The American Intellectual Tradition; Volume II 1865 To The Present* (New York; Oxford University Press, 1997), 19-38. It is helpful to situate these movements as part

While Sumner grounded his theory in the “scientific” thought of Thomas Malthus, David Ricardo and others who espoused a laissez-faire attitude towards economics, he found an equally scientific rival in Lester Frank Ward. In 1884, Ward wrote “The Mind As A Social Factor.” In it, he argued that the human mind had reached a higher stage of evolution than the animal world from which Darwin drew his inspiration. Unlike the animal world, humans had reached a stage in which they could promote progress by aiding the weak, rather than allowing them to succumb to “survival of the fittest.” Similarly, he argued that social patterns were not immutable, but rather products of human action, and thus malleable.⁹²

City Beautiful, as espoused in the Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition, was an offshoot of this remarkable change in thought. The monumental aspects of the architecture in the Exposition’s centerpiece, “The White City,” were built in the midst of public space. This juxtaposed architecture that was domain of the rich with space that anyone could enjoy. However, the magnitude of the Beaux-Arts and Neoclassical architecture imposed on the space was meant not to encourage a sense of egalitarianism or classlessness, but to reinforce the magnificence of the luxury enjoyed by the fortunate classes.

Long was particularly susceptible to this line of thought, as he had been dramatically affected by the 1889 publication of Andrew Carnegie’s *Gospel of Wealth*, a Gilded Age classic. In it, Carnegie espoused the concept of successful Gilded-Age businessmen

of the larger, more ambiguously defined Progressive Movement. As these movements are essentially a subset of the Progressive movement, this study will often refer to them as “progressive.” For more on the Progressive movement, see: Richard Hofstadter, *Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1955); Michael E McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920* (New York: Free Press, 2003); Hays.

⁹² Lester Frank Ward, “Mind As A Social Factor” (1884), Hollinger ed., 39-47.

giving back to the community that had afforded them their success in a socially responsible way. Though deeply paternalistic in its assessment of class relations, it did further a sense of social responsibility that had been rare amongst the Calvinist businessmen of a generation before.⁹³ It also provided a justification for monumental acts of paternalistic philanthropy, a concept Long was to publicly support on many occasions.

Additionally, Long's religious convictions, while continuing to justify his paternalistic outlook on the lower classes, also had shifted to make his monumental philanthropy a "good work." Spearheaded by Walter Rauschenbusch, the author of *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907), a new movement, with a similar disposition as Reform Darwinism, began to provide a progressive alternative to Popular Calvinism. Rauschenbusch provided his readers with a vision of Christ as a believer in social consciousness, an idea with massive applicability to a world he describes as being beset a variety of social ills including exploitation of labor, the destruction of political democracy, and generalized moral decay. He argued that programs to promote general welfare and social reform were far closer to the teachings of Christ than the Popular Calvinists had ever imagined. In doing so, he provided the vision for a new progressive ideological predisposition that was later termed the Social Gospel movement.⁹⁴

The Social Gospel Movement presented a Christianity whose main goal was assistance of the downtrodden. This assistance extended to providing the working class with a good living, places for leisure activities, and good nutritious food.

93 Andrew Carnegie, *The Gospel of Wealth and Other Timely Essays* (New York: The Century Co. 1901); Bradley, 101.

94 Christopher H. Evans, *The Kingdom is Always But Coming: A Life of Walter Rauschenbusch* (Grand Rapids; William B. Erdmans Publishing Company, 2004), 177-182.

Rauschenbusch's book was immediately espoused by the YMCA as the "greatest utterance along this line which America has yet produced"⁹⁵ However, his message was laden with Victorian class prejudice in that it was the role of the established and successful protestant to help out the less well off, and mostly immigrant, lower classes. In keeping with this tradition, Rauschenbusch was to level an appeal directly to the wealthy industrialists of the country to gain a degree of "social compunction" and responsibility.⁹⁶

Long wholeheartedly embraced this call to action. By 1922, his impressive list of contributions to his community and his conceptions of religion placed him squarely in the ranks of the Social Gospel tradition. Between 1910 and 1914, he contributed over \$1 million to his local Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), a small Presbyterian splinter group that placed immense value on evangelism. He served as president of the Christian Board of Publications, a house that was supposed to speak to the entire Christian Church through the *Christian Evangelist* newspaper. Unfortunately, the paper only increased already existing rifts in the denomination and put Long at the center of a denominational schism. Additionally, he served on the American Christian Missionary Society, was Chairman of the Board of the Christian Hospital Association, constructed the magnificent, neoclassical Independence Boulevard Christian Church in Kansas City, and his money financed denominational colleges and mission schools throughout the world.⁹⁷

The importance of Long's convictions can not be understated. His role as the president of the Long-Bell corporation, the founder, and as a forward thinking, capable

95 Evans, 192. quoting letter from C. Nesbit (YMCA) to WR, June 3, 2007.

96 Evans, 192. from "Christianity and the Social Crisis," 363,368.

97 Bradley, 105-107.

and well respected businessman who had brought his company to national dominance, allowed him to direct the company as he saw fit. Often, the company used rail connections, construction material, land, and capital that had been arranged through Long's personal efforts.⁹⁸ Thus, to a large degree, after Vandercook succeeded in securing options for the valley and transmitted the results those efforts to Long, the future of the Long-Bell property on the Cowlitz and Columbia was in Long's hands. He alone determined how the project would proceed.

His choice to seek J.C. Nichol's advice came from a similarity in perspective. Long and Nichols held many of the same social models central to their belief system. Reform Darwinism and Social Gospel provided the ideological framework for movements like City Beautiful, and J.C. Nichols developments, while simultaneously allowing Long to act out the principles of *The Gospel of Wealth*. Both believed in the power of the monumental and the natural to create civically minded populations, and both believed in assisting those less fortunate than them. However, both personal philosophies were also tinged with paternalism and a desire to maintain a carefully manicured distance between the classes.

This is clear in Nichol's use of restrictive covenants and zoning in his vaunted Country Club District as well as other developments. These devices were meant to craft an environment that separated the lower and less community minded classes from the social elite he planned to attract to his developments. Nichols used environmental clues to remind the denizens of these neighborhoods of their civic virtue. His brilliant use of City Beautiful architecture and landscaping created an Olmstedian landscape for those lucky

⁹⁸ Bradley, 61-2, 20.

enough to reside in it. Long also relied on environmental clues to separate himself from the working class. His use of Hoit, whose neoclassical and Beaux-Arts architecture imbued his office, home and farm with symbolic status, separated him. As did his phenomenally appointed “Kymokan,” a private Pullman Palace car, generally regarded as the ultimate Gilded-Age status symbol.⁹⁹ For men such as these, it is little wonder that the expressions of discontent among the lower classes might be regarded as a yearning for the environment of the rich and powerful, which they themselves gained so much pleasure from.

To that end, Long had already participated with Nichols in constructing the Liberty Memorial, as well as a variety of other public buildings and spaces. Similarly, Long-Bell had also chosen environmental solutions for evolving discontent amongst its workers. A survey of five of Long-Bell’s mill towns in the Southeast, well after the paralyzing strikes of 1913, mentioned paved streets, better than average housing and landscaping, as well as access to leisure activity.¹⁰⁰ By 1920, *The Log of Long-Bell* reported better than average living conditions in Weed, California, as a means of attracting new workers.¹⁰¹ To a large degree, as Carnegie had suggested in *An Employer’s View of the Labor Question*, Long-Bell was acquiescing to the greater intelligence that labor had begun to display about their relationship with capital.¹⁰² Labor unions had demonstrated successfully that the working class could pose as big a stumbling block as they could a reliable resource for capital. In that regard, employers had to take the needs and allegiances of their employees

⁹⁹ Bradley, 77.

¹⁰⁰ Bradley, 49.

¹⁰¹ Bradley, 131. Quoting *Log of Long-Bell*.

¹⁰² Carnegie, 107-126

far more seriously. For Long-Bell, that effort continued to revolve around the environment and leisure activities that their workers were exposed to.

In turning to Nichols, Long was asking for who he perceived to be the contemporary master of constructed environment. The City Beautiful movement had altered the environment around him and he wished to impart the same to the new community that he was founding in Washington. However, Long had also expanded the project beyond the capability of his own company engineers. He was no longer constructing simple worker housing and a small commercial block. The area that Vandercook had chosen on the Columbia and Cowlitz could facilitate a city, and by turning to Nichols, Long indicated a desire to create one.

Nichol's response was that Long should create a planned city that incorporated all the Nichols knew about development, zoning and City Beautiful. The city was divided among various levels of residential housing, commercial districts, and an area zoned industrial. Long-Bell was to eventually agree to these planning requests and begin to create something far different from the mill town that the timber cruisers were sent to find in 1920.

In many respects, this meshed beautifully with the various lessons that the company had learned and the diverse interests it had cultivated over time. In 1910, Long had organized the R.A. Long Real Estate and Investment Company, and in 1916 the Long-Bell Farm Land Corporation was organized, to develop and sell cut-over lands.¹⁰³ Both subsidiaries allowed the company a considerable amount of experience in real estate and development. This situated the Long-Bell company far better than most Forest Sector

¹⁰³ Bradley, 180-182

companies to handle and profit off of a large-scale, non-timber land purchase.

Consequently, the company wanted to attract other industry to realize more profit in their real estate venture.

Additionally, the company recognized the role that a diverse community had played in suppressing labor unrest in De Ridder, as well as the community action that had resulted in anti-IWW riots in Centralia, Washington. These experiences proved that a diverse number of employers could create a far more resilient social structure, able to combat the effects of organized labor far more easily. By agreeing to industrial zoning, the company was essentially agreeing to Nichol's assertion that other industries be involved in the creation of Longview, thereby diversifying the capital base and the number of industries that depended on a stable workforce.

Yet another reason for the inclusion of multiple employers in the schema of Longview's development was the elimination of waste. As Vandercook had noted, one of the hallmarks of the regional industry was the magnitude of the product that was wasted from the forest to the actual finished product. By allowing for the inclusion of additional industries near the Long-Bell mill, the company was allowing room for other industries that could arise utilizing the mill waste from Long-Bell, thereby increasing profit through the sale of waste material. This possibility would be soon realized, shortly after the city's founding.

Along with the company's decision to include other employers in the city, came an implicit corollary that Long-Bell was not going to follow the traditional company town model. The experiences of Long-Bell and R.A. Long were markedly similar to those of the founders of Fairfield, Torrance, and Goodyear Heights. Compounding this, Long's

personal philosophies and previous experience with construction made him especially susceptible to the new company town mentality. Already, before planning had even begun, he had hired who he thought was the most qualified planner in the country, Nichols. This was remarkably similar to the strategy that the triumvirate behind Torrance had chosen almost a decade before, when they had contracted Olmsted to do their initial planning.

The Longview plan was a direct result of the company's experiences with labor unrest in the South and the environment where they were relocating. However, it was just as dramatically dictated by the personal views of Long. His progressive outlook and previous involvement with City Beautiful planners, J.C. Nichols in particular, created the conditions for Long to lead his company toward a similarly progressive model for its company town. Nichols imbued the Longview project with his knowledge of parks, boulevards, monumental luxury, and covert class separation. Thus, the Longview plan was constructed from Long's personal convictions, the professional planners that illustrated them, the company's previous labor experiences, and a desire to apply those elements to the forum of industrial housing.

CHAPTER FOUR

PLANNING FOR PERMANENCE

Nichols brought the same City Beautiful mentality he had brought to the Kansas City Country Club to the Longview project. He quickly utilized his extensive connections in real estate, landscape architecture, and planning to augment his own expertise and create an entirely new city based on the City Beautiful concept of urban renewal. In keeping with City Beautiful projects of the past, the Longview project incorporated parks, boulevards, and a particular aesthetic that was not dictated by the actual environment but by adherence to an ideal. Long embraced the resulting plan and perceived it to be both an illustration of his personal beliefs, as well as a solution to the problems that plagued the Pacific Northwest timber industry. Under Long's directive, the company followed the vision of the planners to completion, despite a variety of environmental, logistic, and fiscal reasons to alter the plan and institute other measures. The company invested its faith in the plan alone, and ignored any reason to deviate from it. In doing so, Long-Bell created a distinct vision of a company town that set Longview apart from its peers in the region.

Following Long's invitation, Nichols turned to Hare & Hare, a firm he had worked with in the past, and George Kessler, a well noted City Beautiful planner, as the planners for his venture. Nichols had a relationship with both the firm of Hare & Hare and Kessler and both had distinguished themselves in and around Kansas City. This allowed Nichols

to easily convince Long that the project should be handled by them. While Vandercook suggested in March of 1922 that Long-Bell solicit for bids on the planning and construction of the town, Long was not to be dissuaded and gave the job to Nichols' picks.

George Kessler was one of the fathers of the City Beautiful movement in Kansas City. He worked briefly at New York's Central Park, but quickly transferred to Kansas City at the urging of friends who owned stock in the Kansas City, Fort Scott, and Gulf Railroad. By 1886, he had built a park, complete with zoo, south of the city, managed all the landscaping around the railroad's stations and supervised a 1,500 acre forest at Farlington, Kansas. He had also landscaped and planned Hyde Park, a phenomenally successful park oriented residential development.¹⁰⁴ Following this, he became integrally involved in the Park Movement in Kansas City that successfully planned and implemented a park and boulevard system at about the same time City Beautiful came into popular parlance.¹⁰⁵

Catapulted to national fame following the success of Kansas City's park and boulevard system, Kessler served as city plan advisor to Dallas, Wichita Falls, Mexico City and Oklahoma City. In 1904, he was responsible for the landscape plans of the St. Louis Exposition. This exposition, meant to celebrate the centennial of the departure of Lewis and Clark from St. Louis, inaugurated the founding of the organizational arm of City Beautiful, the American Civic Association. Thus, Kessler, the chosen architect, was widely regarded as at the forefront of City Beautiful design and a true progenitor of its

¹⁰⁴ Wilson, 107-111.

¹⁰⁵ Wilson, 115-125.

elements.¹⁰⁶ During World War One, Kessler was contracted by the Army to design 16 cantonments along with a committee of other widely recognized architects, further legitimizing him as one of the nation's most prominent planners.¹⁰⁷

Kessler's ability to blend the formalism of plazas and axial boulevards with natural land formations had earned him national acclaim, as well as a variety of followers. One of his follower was Sidney J. Hare, who had been introduced to Kessler while working as a city engineer in Kansas City. That relationship led to an active interest on Hare's part in landscape architecture. He quit his job with the city in 1896 and became the superintendent at a local cemetery. By 1901, he had established himself as an authority in the previously unacknowledged field of modern cemetery design. He argued that the cemetery should be an arboretum, botanical garden or bird sanctuary and make an active effort to incorporate nature in much the same way that City Beautiful planners were during the same period. He also dabbled in other areas, designing several small subdivisions in and around Kansas City. He had completed around twenty five major projects by the time he quit his solitary practice and opened a firm with his son.

In 1910, Sidney became partners with his son, S. Herbert Hare, in the firm Hare & Hare. Herbert had been admitted to the Harvard School of Architecture in 1908. While he finished his coursework by 1910, the school never gave him his Masters degree due to his not fulfilling the necessary prerequisites. Nonetheless, his time at Harvard was well spent. He and five others were the first class in the nation to be formally taught the profession of landscape architecture. His principal instructor was Frederick Law Olmsted,

¹⁰⁶ Wilson, 50.

¹⁰⁷ McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City*, 20.

Jr., the son and protégé of Frederick Law Olmsted. Herbert emerged as a well trained planning professional, and soon found a place in his father's burgeoning firm.

In the course of the twenty-eight years that the father and son team ran Hare & Hare, no moment was more important than 1913, when they attracted the attention of J.C. Nichols. Nichols, aware of Sidney's experience and Herbert's training, hired the Hares to do the landscaping for the Country Club District. The fame of the District propelled not only Nichols, but Hare & Hare to national prominence. The collaboration translated the reputation that Hare & Hare had in site work into the larger field of "district planning." However, the collaboration is perhaps more remarkable because it was also the beginning of a long and fruitful relationship between the Hares and Nichols.¹⁰⁸

It was undoubtedly this relationship that led Nichols to choose them as the town's principle planners, with Kessler providing oversight and final approval. Finally, Nichols chose Letcher Lambuth as the third member of the planning team. Lambuth had met Nichols in Seattle and had established himself there as a competent real estate man. Nichols, impressed with his vision, invited Lambuth on the planning team to help the planners realize maximum real estate profits and to organize the real estate team during the city's construction.¹⁰⁹ His efforts were largely responsible for the success that Long-Bell had in converting their real estate into profit.

The city plan, as it began to take shape, was a remarkable departure from any other company town in the region. The city, which revolved axially around a city center,

108 Cydney Millstein, "History of the Landscape Architecture Firm of Hare and Hare." Kansas City: University of Missouri, 2007. WHMCKC@umkc.edu.

109 Dan Cahill, "Art Lingren Receives the Letcher Lambuth Award." *FlyLines*. Spring, 2007. www.bcfff.bc.ca. pg. 13, For his part, Lambuth is now widely remembered as an avid flyfisher, who created a new rod design, two of the most effective salt water fly patterns ever, and achieved national attention as an advocate of "fly-only" rivers in the Pacific Northwest.

initially named “Jefferson Square,” relied on an encircling road to prevent it from becoming the backyard of the buildings surrounding it. Kessler had proven the effectiveness of this with his Hyde Park subdivision, the net result being a pleasant public space defined by the frontal facades of monumental buildings.¹¹⁰ Anchoring Jefferson Square, on the western side, a magnificent hotel was planned. Directly across the square, the main axis of the town began, what was eventually called “Broadway.” Broadway stretched ten blocks through the heart of the commercial district to where the train depot was planned. It was a large directionally separated street with a landscaped median complimenting wide sidewalks and neoclassical storefronts.

Aside from Broadway, four other main avenues came off of the square, at each corner. One led to the northwest toward Ocean Beach Highway, the main connection between the Pacific Highway, running between Portland and Seattle, and the coast. Another ran to the Southwest toward the river and the future site of the Weyerhaeuser mill, though, at the time, it was merely unrealized industrial real estate with river frontage. Off of the Northeast corner, an avenue ran almost directly to the location of the bridge over the Cowlitz River. Finally, to the southeast, a short connector road ran to the future “Oregon Way,” which terminated sixteen blocks later at the ferry terminal to Oregon.

¹¹⁰ Wilson, 108.

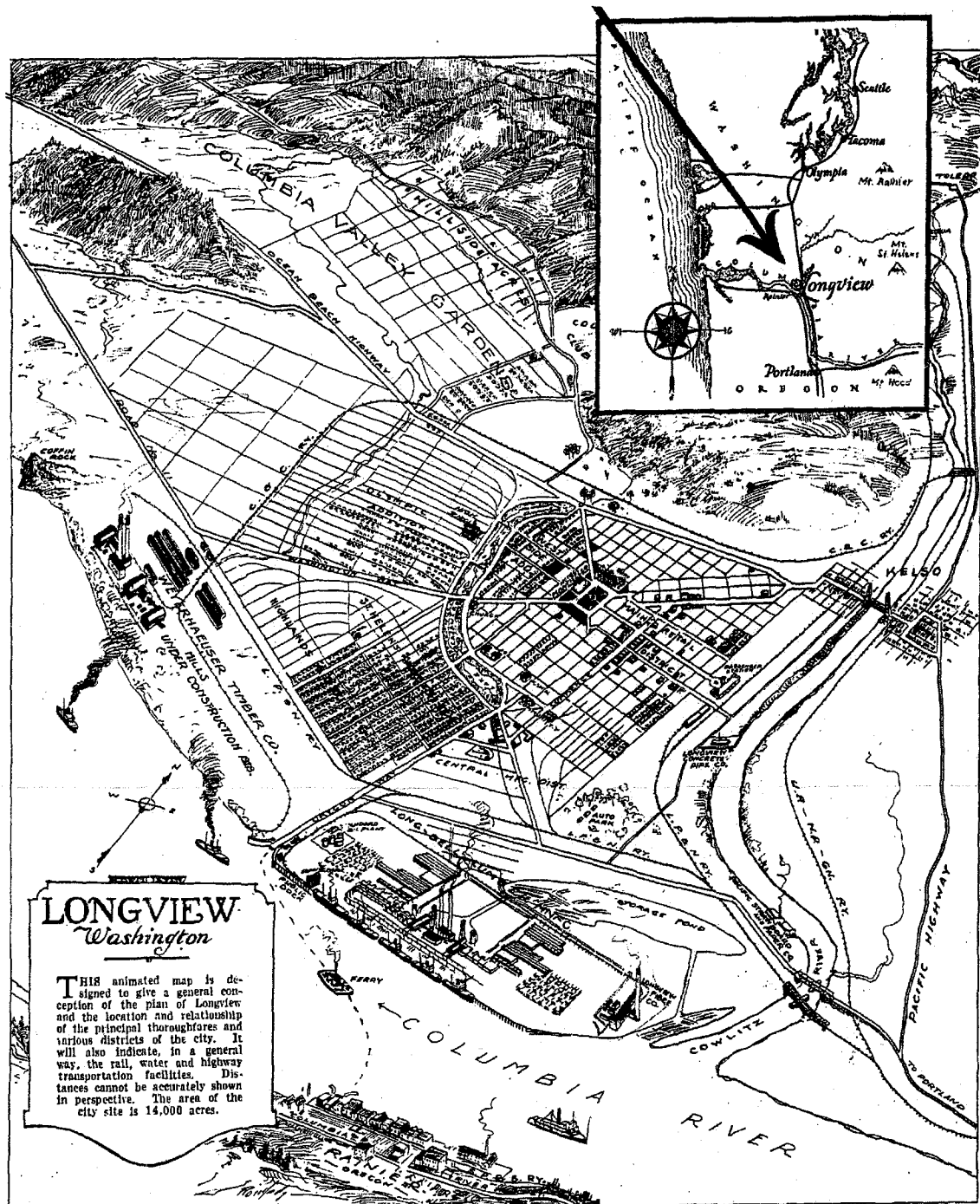


Figure 1. Advertising map from 1928, showing city plan and early development.

(Reproduced by permission of Longview Public Library.)

The streets within six blocks of Jefferson Square, aside from the diagonal axial streets, all lay in a grid pattern. This pattern had been largely substituted with curvilinear streets that virtually eliminated corners and intersections in most cutting edge city designs and second phase company towns. However, Lambuth pushed a grid pattern in order to realize the maximum amount of corner lots, as well as a uniform lot size that facilitated ease in pricing. Corner lots, which generally were in much higher demand, realized far higher profits and a curvilinear design would eliminate that potential.

On the eastern side of the city, the plan terminated abruptly, with the eastern-most street running parallel to the Cowlitz some distance away from the dike. On the western side however, running in an arc roughly six blocks from the perimeter of Jefferson Square, lay the planner's ode to the "naturalistic constructivism" of Olmsted. A narrow, mile and a half long lake, created out of a slough, cleaved the residential area in two and created a large park system that stretched through several additions. Already, both Kessler and Nichols had proven themselves adept at massive changes to the natural landscape in order to perpetuate an aesthetic, and Longview was no exception.

Kessler had created Penn Valley Park in Kansas City around O.K. Creek, which at that time was a refuse laden refuge for lower class dwellings. His improvements included the construction of a modest earthen dam to create a picturesque lake in a basin-like low point. Additionally the park was laced with over three miles of macadam roads, massive underground drainage systems feeding to the lake, and relied on artfully disguised limestone retention walls to hold back the hillside above the road system. This park, completed in 1904, represented another link in Kansas City's growing park and

boulevard system, but also represented a continuation of Olmsted's emphasis on naturalistic constructivism.¹¹¹

Nichols used similar means in the construction of his Country Club addition in Kansas City. Brush Creek, whose spring overflow made thirty acres of the addition useless, was completely redirected in a \$30,000 effort. Relandscaped, the stream provided a picturesque addition to the District and allowed the plan to utilize an extra thirty acres.¹¹² Hare & Hare's later cooperation on the Country Club project similarly familiarized that firm with the Olmstedian approach to naturalistic constructivism.

Naturalistic constructivism manifested itself in the Longview plan in the magnificent redevelopment of Fowler's Slough. The slough, which ran in roughly a half-arc through the western side of the city plan, was dramatically altered in order to provide a greenbelt-like lake that ran for around a mile and half, directly through the residential district. This provided the most accessible, and heavily used, element of public space incorporated into the plan. It also served the planner's needs in other ways.

The expense of damming, dredging and grading the lake, not to mention the extensive landscaping efforts after it was roughed out, put the lake on par with the Country Club and Penn Valley Park in terms of its magnitude. The entire lake was encircled by a walking path that ran along its banks. The old slough banks were excavated and graded to provide an aesthetically pleasing slope to the lake. The lake bed itself was dredged by the *Texas*, one of two dredging barges hired by the company. A single trip for the *Texas* in

¹¹¹ Wilson, 208-9.

¹¹² *Kansas City Star*, "Moving Brush Creek's Bed. to Make Room for Homes, J. C. Nichols is Making a New Channel," December 6, 1909. America's Historical Newspapers, via UNLV Library, <http://www.library.unlv.edu/>.

and out of the lake, without figuring the cost of actually dredging, cost the company \$9,000. This staggering amount was multiplied many times by the time the lake was finished, in 1926.¹¹³

The lake not only provided the prerequisite City Beautiful incorporation of nature into the city plan, as well as a marvelous example of naturalistic constructivism, it also provided a very real means of separating the classes in Longview. The southern edge of the lake delineated the beginning of lower class housing. Classified as "industrial housing" by Lambuth, these were smaller, less improved lots. However, in an effort to eliminate shoddy construction and maintain a city-wide distinction, these properties had the same boilerplate dedicatory statements attached to them as every other residential area in Longview.

Since the entire area was company owned, the planners were able to circumvent the lack of a state enabling act supporting zoning by placing private restrictions on the property at the sale in the form of a dedicatory statement. This allowed Nichols' "planning for permanence" to be introduced into the city before it was even incorporated, and ensured its existence well after. Subdivision 8 covered "Minimum Cost of Residence." In the St. Helens addition, directly to the south of the lake, the dedicatory statement mandated that, "Any residence erected wholly or partially on any of the lots or parts thereof, in the residential or apartment district shall cost not less than \$1,250.00."¹¹⁴

113 McClelland Jr, *R.A. Long's Planned City*. 30-32.; J.D. Kosht, Letter to Samuel Morris. January 31, 1924 (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

114 "Longview Washington, A Portion of Restricted Residence and Apartment Districts; Declaration as to Dedication, Reservations, Restrictions and Covenants," (File EL-1-9, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

In addition to Subdivision 8, the dedicatory statement also provided a number of other stipulations. The company reserved the right to determine which street was the front, back or side street and assess the property set-back accordingly. They also reserved the right to maintain easements for utilities and access roads and to clear them at their discretion. Subdivision 11 placed a blanket moratorium on all billboards or signage over five feet in width or height. Subdivision 9, much like the Country Club district in Kansas City, stated, "Ownership by Anyone Other Than White Race Prohibited." Subdivisions 12 and 13 stated that the dedicatory statement remained in effect for a period of twenty years from the date of purchase. Additionally, unless overruled by owners of fifty percent of the front feet of the plat, the stipulations would be binding for additional periods of twenty years into the indefinite future. Finally, the statement suggested that those in breach of the agreement may find their title of ownership revoked. Thus, in creating the dedicatory statements, Nichols and Long-Bell had already begun to mold the social fabric of the city that they were creating.¹¹⁵

Below the St. Helens addition, between the boulevard-like, directionally divided, Beech St. and the mills, lay the Highlands Addition with even smaller lot sizes. These lots demanded structures of a lower minimum cost, though minimums were still imposed and other stipulations in the boilerplate dedicatory statement still applied. Another "low price housing addition", whose minimum residence prices were not to exceed \$1500, had been considered east of 11th Street, to act as a buffer to West Kelso and provide a more readily available market for the city's commercial district. This notion was eventually

¹¹⁵ "Longview, Washington: A Portion of Restricted Residence and Apartment Districts; Declaration as to Dedication, Reservations, Restrictions and Covenants." (File EL-1-22, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

discarded due to the proximity it would have to Kelso, which the company had long thought to be a hotbed of labor unrest.¹¹⁶ As R.P. Combs, the company treasurer, noted, “it would develop into a district that would lend itself to harboring a class of citizens we would not wish to have in Longview.”¹¹⁷

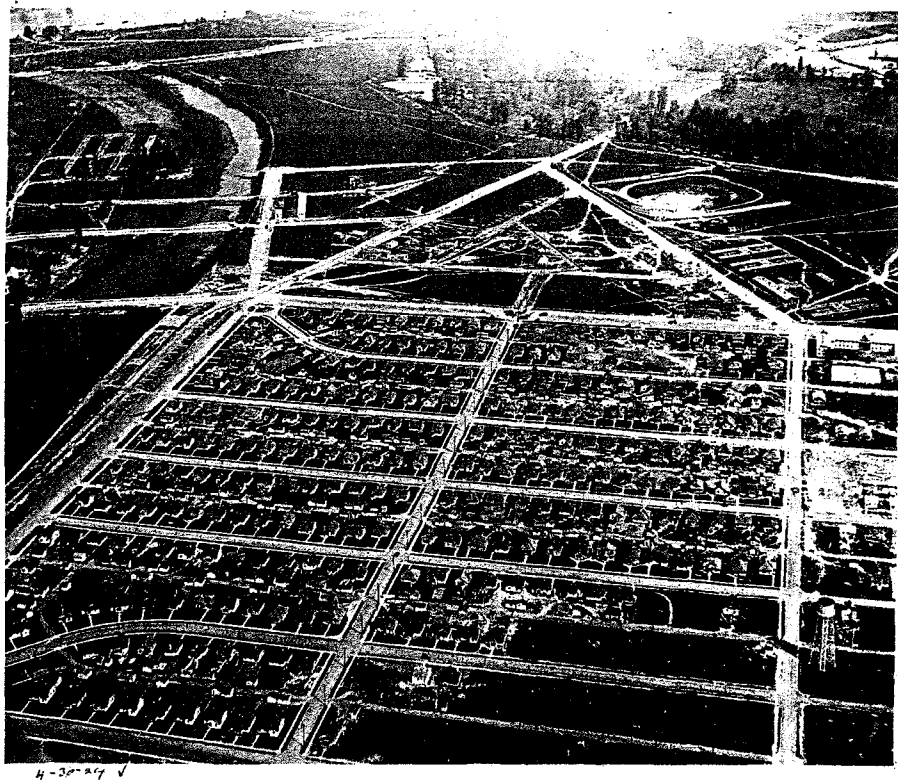


Figure 2. The St. Helens Addition in Spring, 1924. Note Fowler's Slough stretching off to the upper left. This section of the slough was eventually filled in the process of creating the lake. (Reproduced by permission of Longview Public Library.)

116 Wesley Vandercook., Letter to Samuel Morris. December 1, 1923. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

117 R. Pryor Combs, Letter to Samuel Morris. January 19, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

The St. Helens and Highlands additions, were located farther than any other residential district from the entrance to Kelso. They were also located considerably further than the upperclass Westside addition from the central commercial district. The aforementioned lake barrier separated them from Jefferson Square and the more affluent developments in both a real and metaphorical way. The houses were of relatively cheap construction, were easily assembled, and were often placed on relatively unimproved lots in order to keep the price down. The Highlands addition was not serviced by the city sewer and relied on outhouses for their septic needs for several years. The St. Helens addition was serviced by sewer, though the untreated sewer outfall was directly pumped into the Columbia. Similarly, many areas of the Highlands also did not receive individual water service and used a community tap for washing and drinking water.¹¹⁸ Several areas also relied on gravel roads to access their dwelling, a daunting trip considering Southwest Washington's annual rainfall. Despite their cheap construction and lack of improvements, these houses were constructed well, and were considered relatively good industrial housing, as were the Inns and housing in the St. Helens addition.¹¹⁹

The planners also incorporated an area for African-American residents in the town. The area that the planners chose was relatively small and was isolated from the Central Manufacturing District that was adjacent to it by means of a small park to the north and

118 McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City*, 53.

119 Ibid, 53.

the mills to the south.¹²⁰ This was one of the few areas in Longview not bound the restrictions in Subdivision 9 preventing the sale of property to a non-white person.

Few African-Americans migrated to the town anyway. Its chief means of employment was working in the forest sector. However, an overriding air of prejudice at the mills and in the woods prevented most from being employed. This, as well as the stiff segregation that they experienced in restaurants, theaters, and other public locations dissuaded most African-Americans from resettling in the Longview area.¹²¹

A small number of Japanese contract laborers were allowed to work in the mills, though their employment was strictly isolated to the most physically demanding work in the sawmill. Despite Vandercook's mention of the reliability of the Japanese contract workforce in his initial report on the region, the city planners did not account for the arrival of this group. Consequently, they were sandwiched directly adjacent to the mill on streets labeled "a," "b," and "c" in hastily planned housing units. Their stay being regarded as temporary, they also were not beholden to Subdivision 9.¹²²

However, those two areas of Longview were the exceptions rather than the rule. The remainder of the residential sections had much the same dedicatory statement as the St. Helens addition. In the Olympic Addition, on the same side of the lake but to the north of the axial that was later called "Washington Way," Subdivision 8 read much the same way. Since the area was intended as a middle class residential area, the monetary value of the structure was required to be a minimum of \$2,500.00. This effectively created a

120 Letcher Lambuth, Letter to Robert A. Long, November 1, 1922. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

121 McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City*, 57.

122 Vandercook 69.; *Ibid*, 57.

barrier to all those who could not afford to create or purchase such a structure and preserved the socioeconomic heterogeneity of the city.

East of the lake, stretching toward the hotel, lots stipulated a minimum of \$3,000.00 in Subdivision 8. These lots in the Westside addition were also priced to exclude the lower and lower middle class. They were completely separated from the industrial housing by the lake, stood within walking distance of Jefferson Square and were the only properties with almost direct access to the commercial district. This area, zoned for higher class residential, attracted affluent clientele and upheld the city's virtuous image by affording only the most successful and civic-minded of the population direct access to the city's heart. The class isolation and convenience of these lots was surpassed only in the future with Hillside Acres.

Hillside Acres relied not on a moat-like lake to provide social isolation, but distance. The plat of the addition lay well outside the axial design of the central city and was nestled into the base of the hills overlooking the valley. The physical as well as social isolation of Hillside acres was improved upon by curvilinear road design and attention to the natural landscape, a nod to more modern and less constructivist landscape architecture. The design and stature of these lots allowed Lambuth to speculate that while the opening of these sections might be deferred a bit, the company could stipulate minimum residence prices of \$10,000.00. These prices were made only more astronomical with the addition of the Longview Country Club, Longview's second golf course.¹²³

123 The first being a temporary golf course of nine holes laid out in a pasture on the outskirts of town. It was used for several years despite Weyerhaeuser's construction of a spur directly through it. McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City*, 125.

The planners, once they had locked the socio-economic divisions of the city into cohesive areas, endeavored to separate those areas using natural barriers like the lake. For the most part, they relied on parks and widened Boulevards like Beech Street to accomplish this task. Though some were planned as grade separators, most parks in the city plan exist as insulation between the different zoning areas.¹²⁴ These zoning areas neatly packaged the residential areas on the west side of town into distinct geo-social units. Often, these units were a reflection of both the social stratification that Long-Bell and the planners had already encountered in Kansas City, as well as a physical manifestation of the separation that already existed in the Pacific Northwest labor force as reported in Vandercook's original assessment of the region.¹²⁵

Zoning was a concept that Nichols, as previously mentioned, was quite comfortable with. He had used it in the Country Club District as well as a variety of other subdivisions and developments in the eastern U.S. Kessler, who Nichols emulated as one of the original proponents of City Beautiful, had also extended the idea as a means of controlling what Park Board president termed the "evils" of retail-residential intermingling in Kansas City's neighborhoods. Already, before the turn of the century, Kessler had been a staunch advocate of allowing residential growth to reach new heights by forcing retail outlets to locate elsewhere. This, he argued, prevented the growth of the neighborhood shops that forced high-end real estate to relocate constantly and destroyed the orderly progression of growth in a residential neighborhood.¹²⁶

124 Letcher Lambuth, Letter to Robert A. Long. November 1, 1922. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

125 Vandercook, 69.

126 Wilson, 110.

Consequently, the city plan located the commercial district on the eastern side of the square, between the hotel and the train depot. Commerce, the main commercial street, ran perpendicular to Broadway, and eventually provided what Lambuth labeled "A" street real estate. During the early stages of development, a full six to seven blocks separated Commerce from the nearest residential neighborhood. However, the placement of the commercial zone was also a result of the nearby location of Kelso. While the small town was not a place that Long-Bell executives wanted their workers to live or their factories to associate with, they would not mind its denizens availing themselves of the retail establishments in eastern Longview. As a result, the intersection of Broadway and Commerce, the heart of the commercial district, also lay a mere six blocks from West Kelso.

Lambuth incorporated a number of restrictions similar to the dedicatory statements in residential into the commercial district zoning. During phase one of the construction projects, the most distant street from the future downtown, which he labeled street "C," was developed first. Lambuth suggested that these buildings be two stories high. When combined with the three to five story buildings he projected at a population level of 6,000 to 10,000, they formed a gradient leading to the commanding buildings of street "A."¹²⁷

Already by September of 1922, Lambuth was forecasting 20,000 citizens two years hence, and calculating \$1,000 per front foot or \$50,000 for a lot in the heart of the city's commercial district. However, Lambuth was careful to temper his assessment of the future profits to be gained from this high price real estate. He noted that these property values could only be realized with five story and larger, fireproof brick buildings. These

¹²⁷ Letcher Lambuth, Letter to Robert A. Long. September 7, 1922. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

would be situated in the heart of the future city's downtown, on what Lambuth labeled "A" street. He felt that a population of 15,000 to 20,000 was needed to support such a dense commercial district.¹²⁸

This population, the planners felt, would come from the opening of the Long-Bell mills. The mills were to be placed on the southeastern-most portion of the land that Long-Bell bought. The Long-Bell property stretched from the base of Oregon way to the mouth of the Cowlitz river. The mills themselves were to be placed in the center of the Long-Bell lot, with storage surrounding them and river frontage with ocean-going vessel moorage one hundred yards to the southwest. Directly to the north of the mills, a large log pond provided raw log storage for the mill.

Since Long-Bell was interested in attracting industrial clients other than the Long-Bell mills, considerable additional property was zoned industrial. This area stretched from the western side of the terminus of Oregon way to Coffin Rock, a prominent craggy landmark on the Columbia River. The industrial area stretched back to the planned route of the Longview, Portland & Northern Railway, the company rail line. This stretch of track was located directly to the south of the southern extreme of the Highlands, and provided ample space for additional industry.

To compliment the industrial area, the planners also incorporated a manufacturing district. This area stretched from the northern edge of the Long-Bell property along Oregon way about five blocks into the city. A sizable portion of the area lay directly across from the Highlands and a portion of the St. Helens addition, further decreasing the attractiveness of those districts.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

However, elements of City Beautiful permeated the entire city design, even the lower class districts. The town plans extended the same sort of sidewalk and curb system that utilized a strip of grass between the sidewalk and the street throughout the town.

Similarly, even the Highlands and the St. Helens additions were drawn by Hare & Hare with artistic curvilinear entrances that emanated from a single, landscaped focal point that served as the intersection to the major streets. The requisite town square, surrounded by the façade of buildings, as well as the lake park and a variety of smaller parks, extended the City Beautiful vision throughout the city and allowed all of its residents to enjoy it. Similarly, insuring that at least some magnificence was incorporated into the downtown commercial district regardless of population level, the planners stipulated that minimum building height in the core areas was two stories that must be constructed of masonry.¹²⁹ The buildings Long had constructed immediately after the construction of the city began followed this model and provide an example for businesses to come.

Long chose Samuel Mark Morris, a long time Long-Bell executive, and John Tennant, the man who had drafted the plans for the mill and also a long serving executive, to oversee the construction of the mills and the city. Vandercook was to supervise the construction of the dike and the city, reporting directly to Morris. Lambuth continued in his role as the coordinator of the Long-Bell real estate venture.¹³⁰

The construction of Longview began in much the same fashion as had a myriad of company towns before it. In late summer of 1922, construction began with five dormitories and three hundred small industrial housing units, chiefly in the St Helens

¹²⁹ McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City*, 24.

¹³⁰ Ibid, 34.

Addition. Morris, in the interest of the company budget and expediency had subcontracted this, as well as a variety of other portions of the first phase of construction, including dredging and most of the rail work. Both he and Long agreed that, “a reliable organization with the proper equipment to do certain kinds of work can and will do the work cheaper than one not prepared and one that does not understand such work.”¹³¹

The housing units were of such simple design, that all construction, including finish carpentry was able to be completed by several men and, “a couple universal ripping and cut off saws.”¹³² However, this construction was isolated to a small portion of the planned residential neighborhood. The construction was typical industrial housing for single families, and was located in a lowerclass housing addition. This was not to be the public face of the construction of Longview, however. As the construction of the industrial housing began, the notice to proceed was given to begin construction of the Hotel Monticello, which was named after the historic town formerly located on the site.

When Long came to the Cowlitz area to initially survey the land, the largest hotel that Kelso had to offer was the Hotel Washington, a three story wood framed building.¹³³ The Hotel Monticello was a steel frame, six story building, resplendent on the exterior with neoclassical masonry, and lavishly decorated on the interior with mahogany.¹³⁴ The

131 Samuel Morris, Letter to Robert A. Long, October 30, 1922. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.) Letcher Lambuth, Letter to Robert A. Long, September 7, 1922.

132 Samuel Morris, Letter to Robert A. Long, October 30, 1922. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

133 McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City*, 51.

134 Ibid, 37. Suggests that the Hotel may have been patterned on the interior after the Benson Hotel in Portland. This would make sense, as Long had a certain keenness on overthrowing the major port status of Portland by creating a port at Longview, which would connect to major transportation networks and be considerably closer to the mouth of the Columbia than Portland

building was designed by the Kansas City architectural firm F.E. McIlvan, who designed not only the hotel, but several of the city's other first buildings. Construction was awarded, without bids, to a St. Louis construction firm Westlake Construction Company.¹³⁵ Long felt that this structure was a suitable illustration of what the company planned in the location and proof that Longview would be superior to Kelso.

Long mandated that the Hotel be completed before anything else. This was the centerpiece of Longview, literally. Situated on the Western side of the square, the hotels faced east down the main thoroughfare, Broadway. Long felt that this centerpiece, if it were completed early, would serve as a symbol to what the company envisioned the town could be to any visitor. The building simultaneously provided lodging of the stature Long envisioned his potential buyers would appreciate, and served as a mark of excellence that the city could strive toward in its construction. Of course, the added media attention afforded Longview by the incongruous location of a luxury hotel in the midst of a vast expanse of dirt and mud was an unexpected bonus.

¹³⁵ McClelland Jr., *Longview*, 35.; McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City*, 33.

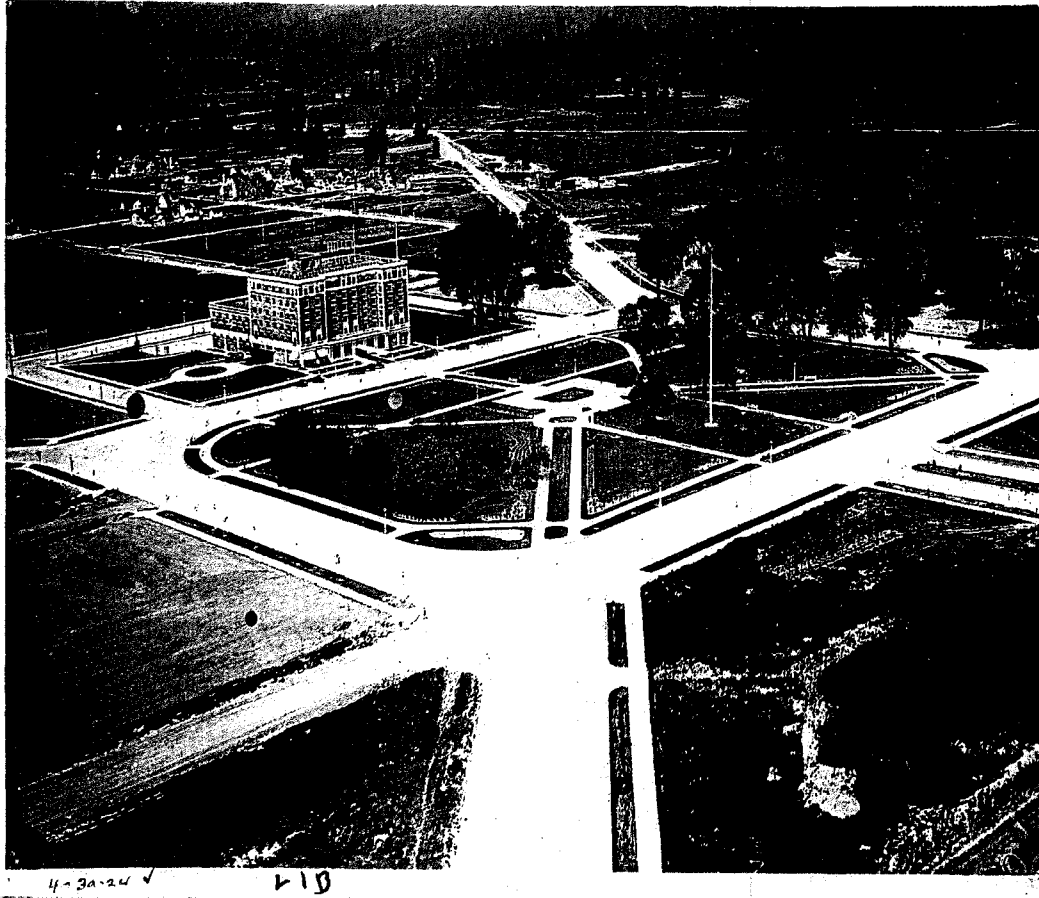


Figure 3. The Hotel Monticello, nearly a year after its completion in 1923.
(Reproduced by permission of Longview Public Library.)

However, Long's insistence on constructing the Hotel at the outset of the construction project, before work had even begun on the diking system that prevented the annual freshets from flooding the entire valley, also began to symbolize a growing rift between the men onsite and the visionaries in Kansas City. Morris and Vandercook were men accustomed to constructing industrial housing in the traditional sense, wherein the bottom line and expediency governed the direction of the project. While the company had begun to harbor a reputation for industrial housing that was of better quality and offered more

amenities than average, nothing had prepared the management team for the venture that confronted them now.

In December of 1922, Long was to call a company meeting at the ornately appointed boardroom of the R.A. Long building in Kansas City. He invited not only the key players in the Longview venture, but also their wives. At this point, it was clear that Long had realized fully the extent of the project that he had embarked the company upon. He informed his staff that the project was immense and would more than likely keep the men away from their wives into the unforeseeable future. He also set the tone for the project by opening the meeting with Fred Bannister, the then newly elected company president, who read a Psalm selected by Long:

God be merciful unto us, and bless us

And cause his face to shine upon us

Selah

That the way may be known upon earth

Thy saving health among all nations

Let the people praise thee, O God

Let all the people praise thee

Then shall the earth yield her increase

And God, even our own God, shall bless us.

God shall bless us

And all the ends of the earth shall fear him.

-Psalm 67¹³⁶

136 King James version.

Though the Psalm clearly communicates the bounty that the company expected to harvest with the founding of their new city and two mills along the Columbia, it incorrectly assumes that the task would somehow be made easier by the mercy of God. Unfortunately, this was not to be the case. The experience that Morris and Vandercook had gathered in the course of their tenure at Long-Bell did not prepare them to deal with the aesthetic priorities of the city planners, the expediency that Long expected out of the construction team, and the constant schedule and plan changes that plagued the project.

Already by December 22, Lambuth had written Hare suggesting that, “in my opinion the formal adoption of the physical plan of development along tentative lines is superior in importance to price lists, restrictions, and other material.” The period from Long’s initial contact with Nichols regarding the Longview project to the start of construction was less than nine months. Thus, Hare was strained to formulate a comprehensive plan for the entire city before the construction team had arrived onsite. As a result, much of the initial phase of construction was completed without a finalized set of plans.¹³⁷

Additionally, the planners, as well as Long, continued to provide small adjustments to the exterior facades of the buildings in order to project the correct image. This led Hughes Bryant, the construction superintendent, to remark that many contractors were forced to bid off of an incomplete or incorrect set of plans. Naturally, contractors, in an effort to realize profit off of an ambiguously defined scope of work, built larger amounts

137 Letcher Lambuth, Letter to S, Herbert Hare. December 22, 1923. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

of overhead into their estimates to account for the poorly defined plans. Undoubtedly, this cost the company far more than a bid based off of a complete set of specifications.¹³⁸

The Hotel, despite its value in terms of providing distinction from Kelso, and a marketing tool, was an extremely costly venture. The haste with which it was designed and constructed had made bidding impossible. This meant that Westlake Construction Company was able to negotiate a contract amount with Long-Bell without any competing bids. This enviable position allowed Westlake to virtually dictate the terms under which they carried out the contract, as well as the other buildings under construction, an office and a school house.¹³⁹ Of course, the added costs of conducting the project without the benefit of the infrastructure that was to arrive later only inflated the bid amount and wasted more of the company's money. Furthermore, in order to facilitate the operation and service of the Hotel, the entire construction schedule had to be geared toward providing utilities, sewer and roads to the Hotel site before anything else. This, as well as other modifications to the schedule, threw most of the construction plan in chaos.

Tennant was to respond to Bryant's letter by noting that, "We have been forced to do some work in Longview before we were really ready, in order to meet what seemed to be urgent needs."¹⁴⁰ However, Morris, in writing to Tennant, was much more candid, stating, "the way this work was started out here and especially the hotel gave us no chance for a plan as outlined by Mr. Bryant. As you know, everything has been done in a

138 Hughes Bryant, Letter to Robert A. Long. January 11, 1923. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

139 McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City*, 36.

140 J.D.Tennant, Letter to Robert A. Long. January 15, 1923. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

rush and Mr. Long has been the primary mover in the rush business.”¹⁴¹ Indeed Morris’ observations seemed correct, as the entirety of the early construction project seemed ill-planned and constantly under revision, leading to a series of unnecessary expenditures.

Long, for his own part, recognized these expenditures as well as the turmoil that his demands had caused in the construction schedule. He assured Bryant that the future was dictated by a detailed plan of operations, “in order to achieve the best and cheapest construction possible.”¹⁴² He also assured Tennant and Morris that the urgent buildings were constructed and that henceforth, the plan laid out by Bryant would be followed. This, he noted, allowed the company to, “construct our buildings on a cheaper basis than where we start out without some definite object in view.”¹⁴³

Contributing to the constant revisionism in the overall city plan were the wild exhortations of Lambuth. While both Long and Nichols seemed enamored by Lambuth’s optimistic projections about the city’s growth, Morris was unconvinced. He argued that Lambuth was “way up in the clouds most of the time,” and that he should “get down to real business getting in some money and lay off of so much hot air work and fancy planning.” Morris substantiated this claim by noting that a plan that Lambuth had submitted to the architect from F.E. McIlvan, Arch Torbitt, for an apartment building that

141 Samuel Morris Letter to J.D. Tennant. January 20, 1923. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

142 Robert A. Long, Letter to Hughes Bryant. January 13, 1923. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

143 Robert A. Long, Letter to J.D. Tennant & Samuel Morris. Jan 13, 1923. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

would, “cost around one-half million dollars and be big enough for the town of Seattle.”¹⁴⁴

Both Long and Tennant seemed to agree with Morris’ assessment of Lambuth’s involvement in the city, which he was only visiting once a week at this point.¹⁴⁵ Long wrote back to Morris suggesting he inform him that “economy” be at the forefront of his mind when planning any further buildings to be constructed from the companies coffers.¹⁴⁶ Tennant concurred, stating if he could, “get down to real estate business and make some sales he would serve our interests better.”¹⁴⁷

However, Lambuth’s real estate division was fighting an uphill battle to sell land in Longview. As Long himself was to admit, “there are only a few people who have enough vision to see sufficiently far ahead to understand what we have before us to do that are coming to our place to invest their money in lots or buildings or merchandise.” He attributed most of these problems to Longview’s lack of transportation. In a letter to Morris he was to stress the completion of sidewalks and street paving. April, when he wrote the letter, was the middle of the famous Pacific Northwest spring rain season. The rains undoubtedly plunged the construction site into a sea of mud. In a memorandum issued by Long in August, he was to list ten pressing concerns in regard to Longview. The first was the completion of the first Long-Bell mill, Unit #1, as it provided the reason

144 Samuel Morris, Letter to J.D. Tennant. January 20, 1923. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

145 McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long’s Planned City*, 36.

146 Robert A. Long, Letter to Samuel Morris. January 23, 1923. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

147 J.D. Tennant, Letter to Samuel Morris. February 5, 1923. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

for the city's existence. However, items two through nine all dealt with the completion of roads and various sidewalk projects. Lastly, Long pushed for completion of the city's infrastructure, arguing that double shifts may have to be utilized to hurry the installation of sewer mains.¹⁴⁸

The meteorological conditions in Southwest Washington are such that precipitation is commonplace from late fall throughout late spring and early summer. The amount of water that falls makes the creation of adequate drainage essential for the upkeep of any property. Since Longview was created out of a swamp, and was no longer held prisoner of the Columbia's water table only because of the extensive network of dikes surrounding it, rainwater and runoff were a serious problem. For the most part, exceptionally low areas were filled in by dredge spoils from the creation of the lake. However, the spoils generally needed to dry for at least five to six months before any construction could be based off them. This meant that many areas of the city, entire residential neighborhoods received no infrastructural work at all during the early stages of construction while the spoils dried.

Similarly, the speed with which the company had approached the project and the constant changes in directive that had left the construction plan in shambles was negatively impacting the quality and efficiency of the construction. Sewer lines and utilities were laid after additions received backfill, thereby adding considerable cost to reexcavate to an elevation that the lines could have been laid at initially. Additionally, many of the sewer and utility lines were laid on soil that had not drained properly or had

148 Robert A. Long, Letter to Samuel Morris. April 23, 1923. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

not been compacted, which caused an unnecessary amount of shifting as paving and construction occurred directly over them.¹⁴⁹

Vandercook, whose vision had put the company in the position it was in, constantly remarked that things were not progressing as one might expect with the planning might arrayed behind the project. Despite this, Vandercook and his drafting team, headed by J.D. Kosht, did not stray from the plan that was outlined by Hare & Hare, and often consulted them on the construction in progress. Since any deviation in the plan required consultation, even such minutia as curb height on the center islands in Broadway, Vandercook requested Hare's assistance often enough to warrant several visits, though not nearly as many or as long as Vandercook would have liked.¹⁵⁰

However, regardless of the planner's presence, the plan continued on. Despite his death in March of 1923, the plan outlined by Kessler, fleshed out by Nichols, and drawn by Hare remained in full effect, dictating every aspect of the construction, aside from those Long had hurried. Long continuously mentioned the importance of adequate landscaping, and focused on the aesthetics of the city as paramount.¹⁵¹ While the expanse of mud and rubble had made attractive copy for the front page of the Long-Bell financed city newspaper, *The Daily News*, when it started publication in January of 1923, it was no

149 Wesley Vandercook, Letter to Samuel Morris. January 29, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

150 McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City*, 11, 36.; S. Herbert Hare, Letter to J.D. Kosht. April 13, 1923. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

151 Robert A. Long, Letter to Samuel Morris. April 23, 1923. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

longer suitable as the hotel neared completion and the marketing campaign began to tout the city's model attributes.¹⁵²

Hotel Monticello

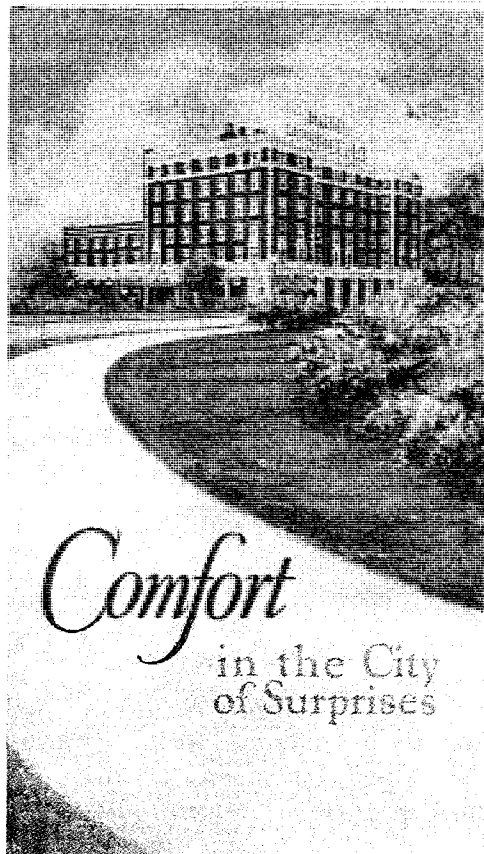


Figure 4. Cover from an early Monticello Hotel advertising pamphlet.
(Reproduced by permission of Longview Public Library.)

¹⁵² McClelland Jr., R.A. *Long's Planned City*, 44.

In response, the company was to draft an “emergency planting” program with the help of Seattle’s head gardener. Seattle, despite the defeat of the Bogue Plan in 1912, was noted for its extensive City Beautiful park system and landscaping.¹⁵³ The gardener drafted a list of quick growing trees, shrubs and bedding plants. These were quickly incorporated into the landscaping around the newly completed roads and sidewalks as well as Jefferson Square, as outlined by Hare. Additionally, Long-Bell hired a Seattle nurseryman, John Null, to head future park development, tree-planting and landscaping efforts.¹⁵⁴

These effort were redoubled by the end of June as the hotel neared completion. On July 14, 1923 the hotel was dedicated by Long, The Long-Bell Lumber Company, and the Longview Company, a Long-Bell subsidiary formed to develop, construct, and sell property earlier that year¹⁵⁵. The hotel was resplendent with a massive red sign on the roof that proclaimed the name to be Monticello Hotel, in honor of the historic town that was had previously occupied the site. The Daily News ran an accompanying front page piece proclaiming, “A New City Is Born,” and a massive, company organized festival was thrown to celebrate the occasion.¹⁵⁶ In accordance with Long’s wishes, Jefferson Square and the majority of the landscaping within the central radius of the city was completed and the city looked “in such a condition as will take care of the comfortable

153 Wilson, 213-234.

154 Samuel Morris, Letter to Robert A. Long. April 30, 1923. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.); McClelland 63-64

155 Invitation to the opening of the Monticello Hotel , (File L-13-13, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

156 The Daily News, July 12, 1923. Frontpage, reproduced in: McClelland Jr., *Longview*, 91.

handling of our people, thereby leaving the impression on the minds of others that we are ready for them and will take them in the proper shape when they come to us.”¹⁵⁷

This appearance of readiness was quickly becoming necessary, as already by August of 1923, the company was advertising in thirty two regional publications, several national publications, and twenty-eight newspapers.¹⁵⁸ Long-Bell had been advertising their products and revolutionary trademark lumber in national venues for four years already by 1923, and already had an advertising mechanism in place.¹⁵⁹ The Long-Bell advertising department was headed by Paul E. Kendall. It’s chief mission had been to communicate the pride that Long-Bell had in it’s product and “the heart cooperation of the mills and the folks at the mills who have made known in various ways their interest in continuing to improve their workmanship and service.”¹⁶⁰ While the advertising department also continued in these old endeavors, their newly overriding mission was to sell the city of Longview to people who would also be interested in buying into that cooperation.

The initial proclamations about Longview’s developments were delivered by Longview’s new newspaper, but soon the advertising department, with the help of an advertising firm in Kansas City, Ferry Hanly, were delivering a steady stream of ads, booklets and press releases extolling the virtues of the new city. An ad in the *Literary*

157 Robert A. Long, Memorandum to the employees of Long-Bell. August 2, 1923. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

158 R. Pryor Combs, Letter to Robert A. Long. March 3, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.); McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long’s Planned City*, 45.

159 Long-Bell was the first company to stamp a trademark on the board it was selling, a way of guaranteeing the public of what they were receiving. *Literary Digest*. October 11, 1924. (File L-5-2, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.) pg. 80.

160 *Log of Long-Bell*, January 1922 Vol IV #1. (Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.) pgs 67,9.

Digest, May 19, 1923, included five artists' conceptions of public buildings that were constructed in the next year. These included; the hotel, the National Bank: the power plant, the community house, and the school. A banner heading across the top exclaimed that Longview was "The City Practical that Vision Built." The text body beneath laid out the strategic location of Longview amongst abundant resources and industrial opportunities, and urged the reader to make Longview a stop on their summer trip. Finally, a mail in stub at the bottom asked the reader to fill in their name and address and check a box next to the "opportunity" they were interested in, which ranged from manufacturing to rental property investment.¹⁶¹

These, as well as a glut of other ads, proclaimed Longview's planned background, the opportunity for industrial success, the access to labor, and, of course, the community spirit.¹⁶² All of which, the company attempted to present as solvency for all major industrial problems. One ad in the *Literary Digest* explained why the success of Longview was pre-determined. It explained that Longview presented the "ten essentials" of successful industry, three of which had to do with labor, health, and community spirit. It stated that Longview had been planned by experts and was "built for permanence," and through moving in "strict accord" with the plans, Longview was destined for success. While none of these ads explicitly suggested that Longview would be a model for developments in the future, the tenor certainly suggested it. The text seemed to imply that Long-Bell had created not just town, but a solution to all things ailing the industry.

161 *The Literary Digest*. May 19, 1923. (File L-5-2, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.) pg. 55.

162 *The Literary Digest*. May 19, 1923. (File L-5-2, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.) pg. 55.; *The Literary Digest*. June 6, 1925. (File L-5-2, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.) pg. 85.; *The Literary Digest*. August 8, 1925. (File L-5-2, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.) pg. 51.

The Success of LONGVIEW, Wash. was Pre-determined



FROM the first master stroke—the selection of its location—Longview's ultimate development into one of the future great cities of the Pacific Northwest has been systematically planned.

The success of Longview was pre-determined.

From a standing start, only two years ago, in a valley of farms and orchards, Longview already has become a city of more than seven thousand inhabitants. Great manufacturing plants have been built and the roar of industry is now a reality. Ocean liners—three and four at a time—are loading cargo at Longview docks. Millions of dollars are being spent in new projects. And so Longview moves rapidly in strict accord with the pre-determined plans and desires of its founders.

FACTORY INDUCEMENTS—Longview presents the ten essentials for successful industry.

- 1—Transportation by river, by sea, by rail and by highway.
- 2—Accessible markets, domestic and foreign.
- 3—Expertly planned industrial districts.
- 4—Reasonable land prices.
- 5—Raw materials.
- 6—Fuel and power.
- 7—Labor.
- 8—Unexcelled climate.
- 9—A place to live with all the conveniences of a modern city.
- 10—Community spirit.

The Long-Bell lumber manufacturing plants are now in operation and a second unit is being built. The Weyerhaeuser Timber Company has selected Longview for one of its great manufacturing plants.

The Fleishacker banking interests of San Francisco have purchased the control of the Longview National Bank.

Big business is sure of Longview.

PROPERTY INVESTMENT—No section of the country offers greater opportunities, or greater security for investments in income producing properties, than the Pacific Northwest.

The continued rapid growth of Longview, on a safe and sane basis, without the aid of boom methods, invites the utmost consideration of the careful, conservative investor in income properties.

Office buildings and store rooms, apartment houses, apartment hotels, suburban garden lands and rental houses are some types of income producing properties which will be needed.

Longview's growth, although phenomenal, is not of the "mushroom" variety.

The millions that have been expended for construction are invested in permanent types of buildings.

Longview is not an experiment. Longview is a fact.

Monthly Payrolls Near Million Mark

Longview's payrolls will aggregate \$800,000 a month as early as the middle of this summer, it is conservatively estimated. . . . Longview has grown from nothing to a permanent, modern city in less than two years' time without the use of "boom methods".

WHOLESALE AND JOBBING—More wholesale and jobbing establishments, of the better class, will be required to serve Longview's ever increasing population.

Big industries permanently locating in Longview are bringing well paid workers and rapidly enhancing the business opportunities in many lines.

Longview is fifty miles from the nearest larger city. It is surrounded by several smaller towns and by an abundantly productive farming community. Located on two of the most popular national highways, Longview is visited yearly by thousands of tourists. Last year Longview had, it is estimated, more than 200,000 visitors.

This year a new \$15,000 auto tourist park, with every modern convenience, has been built to accommodate the ever increasing number of tourists visiting Longview.

A HOME DELIGHTFUL—Who has not dreamed of just such a place as Longview for a home?

Situated in a beautiful valley where the Cowlitz River joins the Columbia on its way to the Pacific Ocean—amid the grandeur of immense forests and mountain ranges—Longview is the dream come true for happy young home builders.

Longview is not a straggling "boom-type" town. Longview is a city of vision—planned by expert city planners and built for permanence.

You will enjoy the progressive spirit of this modern young city. You will find the climate delightful. There are complete facilities for the education of your children and every approved means for healthful recreation. Longview's stores are of the highest type. Living costs are moderate.

The Longview Co.
Longview, Wash.

Building Activities This Year

The first unit of a \$200,000 public hospital with 80 beds. A \$150,000 public library. A \$75,000 passenger station. A \$125,000 community church. Five larger business buildings aggregating \$250,000. A \$100,000 addition to the public school. 15 additional miles concrete paving.



Longview is served by three trans-continental railways, the Northern Pacific, the Union Pacific and the Great Northern; the Columbia River with its ocean-going commerce to the leading ports of the world; two internationally famous paved highways—the Columbia River Highway and the Pacific Highway—and a third, the Ocean Beach Highway, now being built. Longview is 50 miles northwest of Portland, 50 miles east of the Pacific Ocean and 135 miles south of Seattle.

Figure 5. Previous Page. *Literary Digest* advertisement, ran July 6, 1925.
(Reproduced by permission of Longview Public Library.)

However, in order for this vision to become a reality, both Long and the ads implied that the key to the city's success was conforming to the plan laid out by Hare & Hare. This vision, provided by experts, and approved by Long, allowed the city to provide a healthful atmosphere that encouraged civic harmony. In doing so, it would become a paradise for industry looking for a stable environment, more than adequate resources, and access to multiple nodes of transportation.

Unfortunately, Vandercook was becoming less and less satisfied with the plan, and continued to voice his concern over the plan's expense, layout, and strategy. By the end of the year, he had voiced his concern to Morris that the planners had laid out far too large a space for the residential and commercial districts, arguing that they "might be about right for a city of several million people." As a result, he felt that Longview had begun to develop from the outside in. He pointed to the huge gaps between the St. Helens addition and the commercial district, and foretold of envelopment by Kelso should Longview not develop a strong commercial district surrounded residential. He argued that a housewife boarded a stage to go shopping and went "right through to Kelso where she has more shops to purchase from." This, of course, could only be detrimental to the growth of Longview's own commercial district.

Similarly, Vandercook was to remark that the only platted pieces of the city with good drainage and lay and requiring no grading were held off the market by the real estate division. He suggested getting Kelso real estate "live wires" in to sell Longview lots, as they were outselling Lambuth and his team by 10 to 1, a deficit that Vandercook

found incredible, as he felt Longview was obviously superior real estate from any that Kelso had to offer.¹⁶³

R. Pryor Combs, Long-Bell treasurer and son-in-law to Long, was increasingly drawn into the project as the company spent more and more money on the enterprise. He concurred with Vandercook that all improved property should be offered for sale, none withheld. However, he was also to suggest that property without any improvements should also be offered for sale. He argued that improvement districts be formed in order to offset the cost of purchasing a lot, and that purchasers be allowed to improve their own "stake." This, in addition to suggesting a lower down payment and interest rate for slumping home sales in the St. Helens addition were Comb's first attempts at cost-cutting, as he and Morris became burdened with nearly the full responsibility of the project in late January, 1924.¹⁶⁴

Comb's observations came from the housing situation by the end of 1923. The company reported that at the end of the year, 10 foreman and over 200 employees were living in Rainier alone. Kelso was suspected to be harboring far more. Central to the company's strategy was the construction of adequate housing to house the workers, not only from their own mills, but those of several other industries as well. The number of expatriate employees translated directly into lost capital and lost growth potential for the

¹⁶³ Wesley Vandercook, Letter to Samuel Morris. December 1, 1923. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.) Wesley Vandercook, Letter to Samuel Morris. January 14, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

¹⁶⁴ Excerpt from Executive Committee Meeting. January 3, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.); Wesley Vandercook, Letter to Samuel Morris. January 5, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.); R. Pryor Combs, Letter to Samuel Morris. January 16, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.); M.B. Nelson, Letter to R. Pryor Combs. January 23, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.); M.B. Nelson, Letter to Samuel Morris. January 23, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

company. Several Long-Bell financed apartment buildings and dormitories were “full,” though they ran at a loss, because workers would not share the dual-use rooms. Additionally, it seemed few workers could afford to pay for the down payment or rent on one of the company homes in the St. Helens addition. Even fewer workers could afford to purchase a lot and construct a home that satisfied the dedicatory statement.

Vandercook, who as onsite supervisor of the project had the best grasp of conditions, suggested that the plan may have to be altered in order to propagate the growth of the city. In January of 1924 he wrote to Morris, “Even tho we will have to admit that the splendid ability was obtained in zoning and planning the town, it has now come to a point where a complete revision is necessary. However we have not varied a hair’s breadth from the first plan as suggested by Mr. Kessler and outlined by Mr. Nichols.” He suggested, as he had earlier, that the zoning had created residential zones that were far too big and created huge gaps in development. Furthermore, he argued that the winter rains had already proven that the residential districts in the outlying areas found transportation difficult, due to the lack of roads and extensive mud. By the close of the year, forty four miles of street had been graded and twenty four miles graveled, but only six miles had been paved. Vandercook suggested that the development of the town should utilize those existing streets, rather than force those residents who chose to purchase from the company to settle outside the reach of easy transportation.¹⁶⁵

Essentially, Vandercook was asserting that the planners had failed to take into account the actual situation of the workers that they were planning to house. Inherently built into the city, in the form of dedicatory statements, architecture, advertisements, and

165 McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long’s Planned City*, 40, Wesley Vandercook, Letter to Samuel Morris. January 9, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

landscaping, was an assumption that Longview would attract the best workers in the industry and provide for them a wholesome home. This, as well as the opulence exuded by structures like the hotel, was also meant to attract businesses and entrepreneurs who would be attracted to the stable labor force. Unfortunately, few members of the labor force had enough money in their bank account to buy anything, much less a home.¹⁶⁶

The ugly reality that confronted Long-Bell and their associates was that the company had furnished the bulk of the development in the town. That which the company did not provide was supplied by Long or his family trust, R.A. Long Properties. Furthermore, the company was also supplying the bulk of the income for the town, which Morris prophesized would continue “until we get other industries in which will circulate new money.” Any new arrival to the town had to depend totally on the good graces of the company to survive. And, as the dedicatory statements had made clear, the company’s good graces did not extend below \$1250. As a result, Vandercook argued that any new arrival on moderate income and would look to Rainier and Kelso for housing.

Unfortunately, as construction continued, this disparity was to grow. Improvements to the neighborhoods in accordance with plan cost more and more. Compounding the problem, both Vandercook and Morris continually asserted that environment and climate necessitated paved streets and sidewalks, especially in the Kessler and Westside additions, which lay inside the lake boundary. These improvements drove the cost of lots up more and more. This prompted Combs to respond, “I doubt the ability of the incoming citizens to place themselves on the financial scale that would maintain the high standard that was outlined for their use.” He argued that this deficit would impact the entire

166 Wesley Vandercook, Letter to Samuel Morris. February 2, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

economy, as families would be forced to spend money on housing that might otherwise spent in the city's emerging commercial district. This problem was magnified by the relatively high-priced merchants in the area, which further discouraged emerging consumers from engaging in the Longview marketplace.¹⁶⁷

Additionally, Combs referred to the emergence of "unlooked for" developments in the Highlands addition, well below the minimum standards set by the dedicatory statements. However, he argued that these developments were inevitable as it was illogical to expect housing costs to exceed the net income of the purchaser. Combs linked these problems squarely with the city plan, which he regarded as far too ambitious. He closed the letter by stating that cities "save as they grow," and that, "It is my earnest suggestion that the high costs in Longview be lowered, that the cost of luxuries of modern cities be not demanded of our people, and that our program be altered to give the people what they want and can afford to buy rather than insisting on their purchasing what we think they should have."¹⁶⁸

By the beginning of the year, the inherent problems in the plan had come to light far more visibly. An estimated five hundred or more "residents" of the city of Longview lived in tents or out of their cars in deplorable conditions in the Auto Park on the outskirts of town. When one of the few grocers in town found the majority of his accounts going unpaid in the Auto Park, he sent a manager to investigate. The conditions he reported were horrible. In many places the mud was so deep that cars could not travel. People

167 Samuel Morris, Letter to R. Pryor Combs. January 28, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.); R. Pryor Combs, Letter to Samuel Morris. February 6, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

168 R. Pryor Combs, Letter to Samuel Morris. February 6, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

constructed rudimentary shelter with packing crates and tarpaper, and many were starving.¹⁶⁹ These reports, as well as reports showing the vast number of employees located in Kelso and Rainier, gave Vandercook the leverage he needed to propose a temporary solution.

The company contracted Crites Construction to construct 300 ten foot by twenty-four foot, two room, mobile housing units. These flat roofed units cost \$114 to build and were mounted on skids, as were many logging town buildings at the time. The units were placed in neat rows on an unoccupied residential section directly to the south of Jefferson Square. This area, which had been zoned for upper middle class residential, but was now called "Skidville", already had the necessary utilities and sewer to provide the units with community bathrooms. At \$7.50 a month, these units provided much needed relief for the denizens of the Auto Park; denizens that Morris and Vandercook realized were generally skilled workers with families, not transients.¹⁷⁰

This solution was enough to appease Vandercook and Morris in the interim period before adequate housing constructed and rent-to-own procedures implemented. He was to steel up the courage to reply to Combs in late February. His reply reinforced his earlier assessment that improvements were a necessary step towards the completion of the plan. Similarly, he argued that perhaps Longview would save if it were to go through "the agony of small village conditions," but it had not been planned that way.¹⁷¹

169 McClelland Jr., R.A. Long's Planned City, 52-53

170 Ibid, 52-3,74.; Carlson, 199-201.

171 Samuel Morris, Letter to R. Pryor Combs. February 27, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.) Wesley Vandercook, Letter to Samuel Morris. February 2, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.), shows root of rent-to-own.

By late March, Morris had enough faith in the city plan to deny permission to Vandercook to alter Hare's "artistic entrances" to various subdivisions in order to save capital, without even consulting Hare. After the doubts of the year's end had raised the question of departing from the plan in order to accommodate workers whose financial means they had obviously miscalculated, the company proceeded with few extremely minor alterations to the plan.¹⁷²

For the remainder of the project, the construction team was not to vary a "hair's breadth" from the plans. Despite huge gaps between the residential and commercial districts, a number of the city's residents living in "Skidville," transportation, and rampant funding issues, Kessler's original vision, was born out into reality. Ultimately, the company's faith in the architects' ability to mold a successful and beautiful city, with a compliant, civic-minded and, class-segregated, population, won out over the exigencies of supplying housing to an onrush of prospective citizens and environmental constraints.

On February 9, 1924, the company succumbed to forming a municipality, which significantly decreased their tax burden. With a full seventy-five percent of registered voters reporting, the city was nearly unanimously voted into existence. However, as M.B. Nelson suggested, due to the extent of the tax base still under Long-Bell control," it is necessary that we control, insofar as possible, the city officials having this matter under their jurisdiction." Consequently, the first elected government of Longview was composed entirely of men from the Men's Brotherhood Class. The Class was considered mandatory for every Long-Bell executive, and was highly sympathetic to the company. Eight of eleven seats in the city government were occupied by company employees, and

¹⁷² Samuel Morris, Letter to Letcher Lambuth. June 11, 1923. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.), adjusts the building height on "a" street, or Commerce.

the remaining three by community members with direct ties to Long-Bell. Thus, it was still under company leadership that Longview embarked upon its first years.¹⁷³

Despite the company's reluctance to relinquish control of the municipal government, Long-Bell's feat should not be understated. Nichols leadership had led to the involvement of a variety of prominent national planners and architects in the Longview project. The result of this collaboration was a city plan that veered sharply from the traditional Pacific Northwest conceptualization of an industrial housing community. The plan incorporated a number of progressive ideas about the power of constructed environment to shape the well-being and complacency of its denizens, as well as a number of stipulations incorporated into the legal framework. The parallels between Long's personal belief system and Nichols' led to his complete acceptance and support of the city plan. Long's support overrode the objections of the onsite team whose firsthand perspective afforded them less confidence in the wisdom of the plan. As a result, Longview was constructed exactly as it was laid out by the planners, despite a variety of environmental, logistic, and fiscal reasons for a departure. The consequent dominance of City Beautiful ideology and aesthetic throughout Longview created a markedly different landscape than those normally attributed to company towns.

173 M.B. Nelson, Letter to R. Pryor Combs. January 23, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.); McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City*, 66-67.

CHAPTER 5

LONGVIEW'S CONTINUING RELEVANCE

As construction neared completion, it was clear that Longview was unlike any other company town in the Pacific Northwest. Its massive lake, civic center, axial boulevards and neoclassical architecture represented modern progressive urban planning. Similarly, the landscape of Longview represented the personal philosophies of Long and the experiences of his company. The city plan was developed by Nichols as direct result of the intersection between Long's progressive worldview and Long-Bell's continuing concern with labor unrest. The solution that City Beautiful presented proved attractive enough to garner the crucial support of Long, which overrode a host of problems to the see the plan to completion. As a result, Longview became an environment that departed from the traditional company town aesthetic and design and sought to solve the problems inherent in such communities in a new and evolutionary way.

Beneath the boulevards, parks and wide sidewalks, was the hope that the Long-Bell had discovered a new solution to a number of old problems. While the rising popularity of the automobile soon made the majority of company towns irrelevant, the motivations engendered in the unique planning of Longview assure its relevance to regional industrial housing history. The progressive approach embodied in Longview provides a new dynamism to what had previously been considered a static model. Whereas historians have traditionally attempted to find similarities amongst the industrial housing

communities of the Pacific Northwest, Longview clearly was not constructed in a comparable manner. When viewed in the larger context of other “new” company towns, Longview provides a compelling new chapter to the existing regional historiography by providing an example of an industrial housing community that embodies a new approach limiting worker discontent, providing a more subtly socio-economically stratified environment and encouraging commerce and industry.

Long-Bell viewed their accomplishment as a new chapter in the Pacific Northwest forest sector economy. The task that they had undertaken was monumental, and by the close of 1924, they were well on their way toward completion. In July of 1924, the West Fir Unit, then the largest mill in the world, began production, providing a much needed boost to the economy and population. This occasion was marked by a city-wide celebration, “The Pageant of Progress,” with included contests, a pageant queen, and a parade.¹⁷⁴ In July of 1926, the East Fir Unit began production, making Longview the home of the two largest mills in the world. This was the same year that Long-Bell finished the substantial portion of their construction efforts in the city.

The first non-company affiliated forest sector industry to move to Longview was a speculative venture, based on the proposition that straw was a viable material for the creation of paper. Pacific Straw Paper & Board was organized in January 1923, largely through the efforts of Charles Schaub, one of three men on the company’s board. In March of 1924, Schaub informed Long-Bell that he had chosen Longview to construct his first mill. However, by 1926, when the mill had begun operation, the venture had shifted

174 McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long’s Planned City*, 48-49

to focus on wastewood and scrap rather than straw, which was in short supply in Longview.

On June 5, 1925, Weyerhaeuser ran an ad in the *Saturday Evening Post* proclaiming their intention to construct a mill in Longview. This fortuitous decision on the part of the undisputed leader in Northwest timber holdings, took a year of wrangling on the part of Long-Bell executives. Perhaps the 1925 completion of the Longview, Portland & Northern rail link, finally won them over. Whatever the reason, the arrival of Weyerhaeuser, another major boost to the economy and growth of the city, was greeted with welcome arms, and real estate offices posted the ad in their windows.¹⁷⁵

Also in 1925, Monroe A. Wertheimer, president of the Thilmany Paper Company, based out of Kaukauna, Wisconsin, began to express interest in acquiring industrial property for the construction of a paper mill. As this was an excellent way to dispose of the mill waste that Vandercook had railed against in his initial report, Long-Bell was to take concerns about the inherent stench of the paper production process in stride. Especially after Wertheimer had his labs in Kaukauna create what he called a “destinking” process, which he agreed to install on his plants in Longview.¹⁷⁶

However, Wertheimer’s partner was not entirely sold on the project. The amount of loans and municipal bonds that Long-Bell had accrued in the course of constructing Longview, two massive mill units, a railroad, and Ryderwood, the company’s logging base to the north, had made the company a bad risk. Since the paper mill would be

175 Ibid, 118.

176 Ibid, 120-122

entirely dependent on mill waste from Long-Bell mills, Wertheimer's partner was reluctant to invest so much on a company that could fail.¹⁷⁷

As a result, when Wertheimer came to Longview, he renamed the company that Long-Bell owned 11¾ % of, Longview Fibre Company, and begin construction of a new plant in 1927. By means of a wastewood contract, Fibre Company employees soon were a fixture on the Long-Bell mill sites picking through wood scraps, going to the wigwam burners, for pieces of usable wood. Fibre eventually grew to be so successful that it bought its own timber, solely for the purpose of converting to pulp and then paper.¹⁷⁸

In 1927, Weyerhaeuser finally began construction of the mill complex that they had announced in 1925. However, the size of their venture made up for their tardiness. When it was complete, the 160 acre mill site contained three saw mills and a shingle mill, an effort comparable, if not superseding, the gigantic Long-Bell operation. The mill was completed in June of 1929.

Additionally, before the Weyerhaeuser mill complex was even started, members of the company began to express interest in creating a bleached sulfite paper mill in order to utilize the substantial woodwaste from future milling operations. By the early 1930s, Weyerhaeuser had expanded their already expansive new mill site to include the paper mill. In 1934, the new mill had already achieved an average output of 170 tons a day, further fueling Longview's growing economy. At the close of that year, despite growing economic problems, Longview had become one of the crown jewels of the regional forest sector economy, a distinction it was to retain, in varying degrees, to the present.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, 160-167

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, 120-122, 160-167.

Long-Bell had also successfully engaged the attention of a labor force that was unlike any in the Pacific Northwest. Their massive advertising campaign, covering over fifty media outlets and a variety of billboards throughout the Northwest succeeded in attracting men from all over the country in addition to industry. Longview's first census, completed in December of 1923, when the city's population stood at a meager 3,724, bears mute testimony to this fact.¹⁷⁹

When Vandercook completed his initial report in 1920, he carefully noted the ethnic background of most of the regional labor force. His remarks highlight the preponderance of Scandinavian men working in the woods and mills of the Pacific Northwest. However, a review of the first census finds that Scandinavian surnames comprise less than one-quarter of the city's residents.

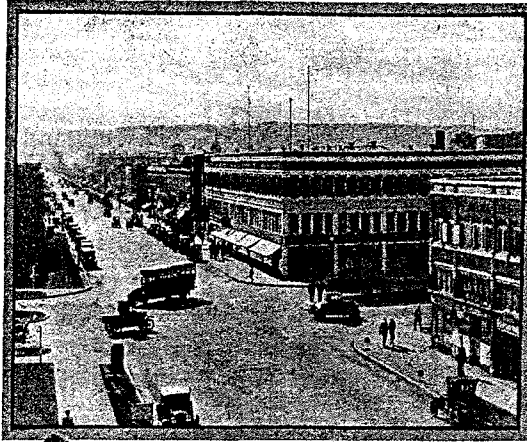
This dramatic departure from normal ethnic makeup of Pacific Northwest company towns is attributable to two factors. An informal policy of the city's real estate agents had been to put Long-Bell employees, especially those vital to the construction project on a "preferred housing list." This allowed the majority of new houses constructed to go directly to Long-Bell employees who, like the company, were new to the region and carried an unusual surname. The informal "preferred housing list" was codified in the executive committee meeting directly after New Year's, 1924, when the company directive that all Long-Bell employees and "those persons important to the development of Longview" were to be on a "preferred list" for housing was established.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ Census as featured in: "Appendix", McClelland Jr., R.A. *Long's Planned City*, 253-268.

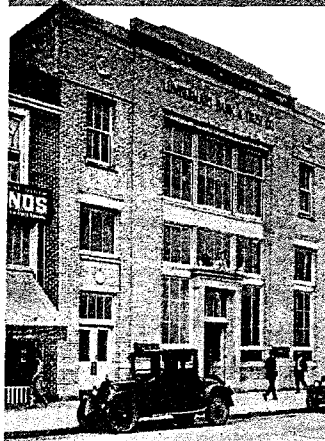
¹⁸⁰ Excerpt from Executive Committee Meeting. January 3, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

Here SHOPPING is a PLEASURE

"FEW things in the record of American industrial development can surpass in interest the story of the origin and growth of Longview. Built in accordance with plans that were splendidly conceived, the city's future is assured, and it will endure long as a monument to the energy and foresight of those who founded it." Charles Donnelly, President, Northern Pacific Railway, St. Paul, Minn.



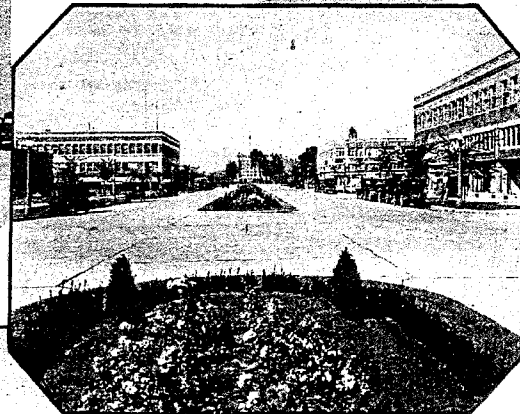
Looking south on Commerce avenue. Of the scores of masonry buildings, ranging from one to four stories, now erected in the retail district, but one was completed in July, 1923.



The Lumberman's Bank and Trust Company Building.



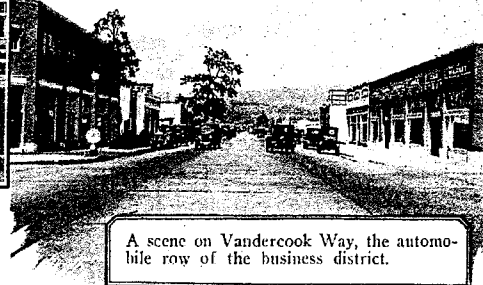
(Above) Construction view on the Washington Gas and Electric Company building. This company is a subsidiary of the United States Electric Power Corporation, a public utility corporation of nation-wide scope. The parent company is controlled by the Emanuel Interests of New York City. Within a year after the purchase of the public utilities of Longview this company found conditions warranted the erection of this splendid building.



Though Broadway is a business street, it has been beautified with trees and flower-filled esplanades. Hotel Monticello can be seen in the distance.



The Longview Daily News Building, Hotel Broadway and the Moose Temple. The News is an eight to sixteen page daily with full Associated Press service, whose circulation early in 1928 was 5700. The News plant is one of the best equipped in the State.



A scene on Vandercook Way, the automobile row of the business district.

Figure 6. Page from 1928 advertising pamphlet. (Reproduced by permission of Longview Public Library.)

Fine PUBLIC BUILDINGS



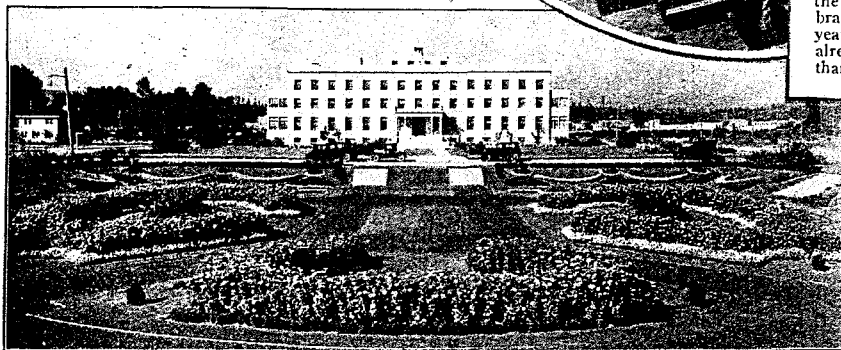
Looking across a corner of Jefferson Square toward the Longview Public Library, the gift of one of the founders of the city.



The Community Y, center of recreational activities in Longview. It numbers men, women and children among its membership and provides them with gym, swimming pool, club rooms, bowling alleys and tennis courts, under the direction of experts.



Looking through the archway from the charging room into the children's reading room of the Longview Public Library. Although but two years old, its collection already numbers more than 11,000 volumes.



Careful attention and pleasant surroundings are given sick folk at the Longview Memorial Hospital, which overlooks the sunken gardens of Lake Sacajawea. The first unit, shown here, was built by public subscription and was approved by Dr. W. J. Mayo of Rochester, Minn.

Figure 7. Page from 1928 advertising pamphlet. (Reproduced by permission of Longview Public Library.)

Secondly, the aforementioned advertising campaign dovetailed neatly with the death of the timber industry in the South and the Midwest. The company received their highest response rates on advertising from Memphis and Kansas City, places they themselves were vacating. In these cities, more than almost anywhere else in the US, forest sector economies were crumbling and employees were left searching for a new employer. Long-Bell had already established themselves as a household name in the South and their success seemed to guarantee that moving to Longview was a sound investment. Consequently, the majority of Longview's initial residents came from outside the regional labor pool that Vandercook had so many misgivings about in 1920. This development was not displeasing to Long-Bell.

However, another trend apparent in the first census did remain a thorn in the side of Long-Bell for many years to come. The percentage of Longview's first residents living in temporary Skidville housing or in the Auto Park was astounding. Numbering in the several hundreds, this population of newcomers who could not afford to buy into the Longview dream, lived within the planned community in quite visibly poor conditions. A 1923 article by Geddes Smith, an associate editor at the national publication *Survey*, reported on arriving in Longview to be impressed by the apparent grandeur of a city lit with electric lights, decorated with parks and civic center, and adorned by a remarkable hotel. However, when he woke in the morning, his southern facing room in the Hotel Monticello was faced with the spectacle of Skidville. Upon further investigation, Smith was also to comment critically on the Highlands addition with their communal toilets. He also looked critically upon the system and minimum housing prices that caused the city to adopt what he termed, a "curiously regimented" look. He was undoubtedly referring to

the barebones housing in the lower income housing additions that relied on a simple rectangular single story design in order to satisfy budgetary constraints, which did resemble a military encampment in some respects.¹⁸¹

Long-Bell executives continued to remark on Skidville housing and subpar developments in the Highlands and portions of the St. Helens addition for many years to come. However, through a program of discouragement and, in some cases, exercising their rights in the dedicatory statement, the company was able to eliminate most of this housing by 1930.¹⁸² Nonetheless, the tenacity of these developments did indicate shortcomings in the company policy.

As Vandercook's apprehensions had been quelled during the construction phase, the company continued to follow the plan laid out by the city's planners. While this resulted in rather extensive gaps in development that were not filled for decades, these vacant lots were simply landscaped and kept in waiting for future growth. Thus, much of the municipality was comprised of vacant lots complete with flowers, grass, broad sidewalks, utilities, and fronting on newly paved streets. Over the course of the twentieth century, these lots slowly filled and now little is left to remind Longview's residents of its once patchy development.

Despite the company's involvement in municipal politics from 1924 to 1928, there seems to be very little other evidence of overt mechanisms of control being exercised in

181 McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City*, 80.; Bradley, 140-141.

182 Wesley Vandercook, Letter to Samuel Morris. January 15, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.); Samuel Morris, Letter to R. Pryor Combs. February 1, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.); M.B. Nelson, Letter to J.D. Tennant. September 5, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.); Letcher Lambuth, Letter to Samuel Morris. December 8, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.); McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City*, 80.

Longview. This complete faith in the covert mechanisms of the city plan was manifest very early in the construction project. A note from a local minister, W.W. Switzer, written in March of 1923, requesting that the local cinema be closed on Sundays to encourage church attendance, clearly illustrates this. While the behavior that Switzer espoused in his note is clearly in line with Long's and the company's highly religious outlook on life and business, and such an operation might easily have been carried out in any other Long-Bell town, Morris responded negatively. His response, "It would hardly be in our province to make such restrictions with reference to the City of Longview," clearly indicated that the company had shifted their approach to industrial housing and had invested themselves in that alternate approach to the point that it had overridden the company's standard procedures.¹⁸³

Similarly, when control was eventually wrested from the company in the municipal government in 1928, it did not respond vindictively. The transfer of power occurred peacefully and without protest, so complete was the company's faith in the plan and the power of the city's environment to carry out their ends. Of course, the major sale of industrial property in the interim, and the corresponding decrease in Long-Bell's tax burden may have contributed to this lack of protest.¹⁸⁴

The unique labor force that Long-Bell attracted contributed to a remarkable period of relatively tranquil labor relations immediately after the city's founding and stretching to the 1930s. However, in 1935, the AFL Local 2504 organized mill workers enough to

183 McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City*, 69-70.

184 W.H. Sharp, Letter to Samuel Morris, March 10, 1923. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.); Samuel Morris, Letter to W.H. Sharp, March 15, 1923. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

stage a massive strike that was broken only with the assistance of the Longview Police. The strikers were quelled with the organization of three other Locals and a pay raise of five cents an hour.¹⁸⁵

This strike was the only major disruptive labor event marring Longview's history. Throughout the following year, 1936, when labor unrest paralyzed most of the Pacific Northwest forest sector, Longview remained blissfully untroubled. Undoubtedly, both Weyerhaeuser and Long-Bell attributed much of this to the unique environment that had been created in Longview.¹⁸⁶

Despite this, Longview received few accolades. Long's appeals to the Harvard School of Landscape architecture and Ford Motor company to take tours were rebuffed, and that literature that was produced on Longview was mostly localized to Forest Sector trade publications and a few minor city planning articles.¹⁸⁷ Nonetheless, the company did their best to notify the world of their experiment in Southwest Washington. As part of the gargantuan advertising campaign, visits from various notables were arranged. Included in the retinue were Billy Sunday, the phenomenally popular Social Gospel evangelist, and Queen Marie of Romania, who stopped in as part of a tour of the continent. Despite these attempts to fan the flames of publicity, Longview was to remain relatively unremarked upon.¹⁸⁸

185 McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City*, 188-190.

186 Ibid, 190.

187 Max S. Wehrly, Letter to The President of Long-Bell Lumber Company, March 18, 1936. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.); Max S. Wehrly, Letter to Mr. Morris, June 3, 1936. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.); Samuel Morris, Letter to Max S. Wehrly, June 18, 1936. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.); Carlson, 186.

188 Ibid, 47-48.

Unlike the early projections of Lambuth, who suggested that Kelso would be called East Longview and Rainier, Oregon, the city directly across the Columbia, Longview, Oregon within decades, both Kelso and Rainier continue on as separate municipalities. In fact, Longview only reached 12,000 by 1935, and by 1940 gained only 385 more. This dramatically undershot even the most conservative estimates of most of the townspeople in 1930, whose population predictions for 1940 had been collected by R.P. Combs in a survey. Already by 1930, Lambuth had resigned and returned to Seattle, allegedly stating that “I would feel somewhat in the position of a school boy whose teacher states that every time the boy opened his mouth to speak he subtracted from the sum total of human knowledge.” Undoubtedly, this remark was the result of nearly a decade of Lambuth’s optimism, in the face of under-realized real estate sales and corresponding pressure from Long-Bell executives.¹⁸⁹

Similarly, despite Longview’s position as the most populated city in the county and the county seat, it still loses much of its retail revenue to Kelso, much as Vandercook had suggested in early 1924. The Three Rivers Shopping Center, a mall constructed in the last quarter of the twentieth century has since robbed the commercial district in Longview of all of its flagship stores. As the purveyor of a variety of national retail outlets like Macy’s and Target, the Kelso mall attracts a large percentage of its business from the municipality directly across the Cowlitz.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁹ McClelland Jr., *Longview*, 63-64.

¹⁹⁰ Letcher Lambuth, Letter to Robert A. Long. September 7, 1923. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.); Wesley Vandercook, Letter to Samuel Morris. January 9, 1924. (File L-1, Longview Room, Longview Public Library; Longview, Washington.)

Many of Longview's aesthetic components from the original plan have also been muted with the passing decades. Following a short timber boom in the 1960s and early 1970s, the buildings of Longview were infused with modernist architecture through new construction. Additionally, while the methodology that Lambuth had established for developing the commercial core was followed in the immediate vicinity of the commercial district's hub, Commerce and Broadway, as time went on, it became less and less applicable.

The net result is that Longview no longer retains the architectural uniformity that once clearly marked it as a City Beautiful development. The skyline was never to grow any taller than the commercial buildings constructed during the 1920s under the guidance of Lambuth and Long-Bell. Those buildings continue to provide a neoclassical façade to the core of the commercial district. Though, they are plagued with vacant storefronts, and crowded by the more modern architecture surrounding them.

Unfortunately, the completion of Longview was nearly simultaneous with the rapid increase in the popularity and availability of the personal automobile. The advent of the automobile dramatically expanded the housing range of workers in large mills and factories and eliminated the need for company supplied housing. Roughly twenty miles downriver from Longview, the town site of Wauna, Oregon no longer exists. It was liquidated by the owners of the mill it serviced, Crown Zellerbach, shortly after the completion of Longview. Rather than use their property to house worker's, Crown Zellerbach converted the land where houses once stood into a new paper mill, cutting overhead and increasing profit. The workers, no longer provided for by the company, were left to fend for themselves. Many settled in distant communities, like Longview, and

commuted to work. By the Second World War, this strategy was almost universally accepted, negating the need for company towns. Simultaneously, Longview lost its applicability as an example of cutting edge industrial housing development. As more employees commuted, the regional forest sector industry no longer needed to rely on housing of their own construction and could shift that burden to local municipalities.

Despite this loss of meaning, the city plan is alive and well in Longview. The YMCA Community Building, The Nondenominational Community Christian Church and the Longview Public Library, all constructed at Long's behest and largely through his funding, still stand in one form or another. Jefferson Square, now referred to as the "civic circle," still retains its original City Beautiful centrality. The lake, now referred to as "Lake Sacagawea," is still used by many of the city's denizens for exercise, fresh air, and photo opportunities, thus fulfilling its envisioned purpose. It also continues to fulfill the its role as a barrier between socio-economic levels.

While houses that front the lake on either side draw high real estate values, those on the inside of the lake seem to consistently draw slightly higher prices. This phenomenon is exacerbated the further the house is located from the lake on either side. Additionally, the Highlands and St. Helens additions comprise the lowest income neighborhoods in the city to this day.¹⁹¹

In 1934, Robert Alexander Long died. One year later, struggling from massive debt incurred directly before the onset of the depression, Long-Bell was reorganized after declaring bankruptcy. Eventually, Long-Bell emerged from the economic doldrums that

191 A quick perusal of <http://www.zillow.com> reveals that while there are few houses on the Southern Side of the Lake that fetch over \$200,000, the majority of those on the Jefferson Square (now labeled "civic circle") side of the lake are asking for upwards of \$300,000.

plagued them, as well as most of the country, throughout the 1930s. However, without the visionary leadership of Long, the company stagnated and refused to take risks. In 1956, the Long-Bell Lumber Company merged with International Paper Company, and ceased to exist as a separate corporate entity.¹⁹²

Despite the absence of Long-Bell, Longview continues to be a community dominated by forest sector industry. Weyerhaeuser, the largest employer in the county, continues to operate several mills and a subsidiary company in Longview, and is currently constructing a new mill to replace the one currently located near Toutle, Washington. Additionally, Longview is home to several chemical production facilities, small electronics manufacturing, and a host of other manufacturing industries.

Thus, the industrial, commercial and residential districts, as well as their various accoutrements continue to exist well into the twenty-first century, as they were envisioned by the city planners so many years ago. While the city may not have performed quite as well as the planner's had envisioned, their plan was, nonetheless, carried out. Despite a multitude of reasons for the company to depart from the plan initially envisioned by Kessler, Longview continues remind its visitors of its City Beautiful origin. Unlike those communities outlined by Carlson in *Pacific Northwest Company Towns*, Longview's construction was not dominated by the immediate exigencies of speed, minimal fiscal impact, and overt control of labor. While speed was clearly a priority, fiscal impact and overt control were replaced with a different agenda that embodied a new element in industrial construction in the Pacific Northwest.

¹⁹² Bradley, 184.; McClelland Jr., R.A. *Long's Planned City*, 208-216.; *Equitable Life Insurance Co. of Iowa v. Halsey, Stuart & Co.*, 312 U.S. 410 (1941).

Long-Bell's experiences in the South with organized labor had elevated their awareness of the importance of maintaining worker satisfaction and had expanded their interest in establishing means of effective worker control. The Vandercook report had highlighted the volatility and instability of the Pacific Northwest labor pool, as well as a variety of other conditions endemic to the Pacific Northwest. Those preexisting conditions coincided with the possibilities inherent in the Longview site, and convinced R.A. Long and Long-Bell to embark on a construction project unlike any other in the region.

Through the involvement of J.C. Nichols, Hare & Hare, and several other planners and architects, the city plan became an embodiment of the progressive ideological underpinnings of both Long and the City Beautiful movement. The planners created a city plan that contained parks, boulevards, elements of naturalistic constructivism, and a rigid social hierarchy, held in place with dedicatory statements. The environment created by the planners incorporated progressive solutions to the problems that Long-Bell anticipated in moving to the Pacific Northwest.

Despite a myriad of setbacks, the city plan outlined by the planners was stringently adhered to by the construction team. The moist Pacific Northwest Environment, the incredible costs of the monumental project, housing shortages, unrealized commercial and real estate profits, and an unnecessarily chaotic construction schedule all threatened to derail the project at one point or another. However, the wholehearted acceptance with which Long had greeted the plan and continued to support it overrode criticism, the environment, and the immense cost.

The completed city was remarkable in its unique aesthetic, the way that it had dealt with socio-economic difference, the labor pool that it attracted, and the industrial diversification that formed its economic backbone. However, despite a massive advertising campaign touting its model attributes and its place of honor in the regional forest sector economy, Longview's construction coincided with a decline in the popularity of company towns and the obsolescence of even the most progressively minded company town designs. Unfortunately, this doomed Longview to relatively little exposure in popular media and academic press.

While the literature about Longview is impressive, it falls far short of realizing Longview's potential impact on the historiography of Pacific Northwest company towns. Largely celebratory, the existing histories view Longview in a vacuum, isolated from national trends and the motivations of the planners and the company. Similarly, the literature on Pacific Northwest industrial housing tends to ignore Longview and focus on those communities that fit the preconceived notions of traditional company towns.

However, just as Margaret Crawford has illustrated that Fairfield, Torrance and Goodyear Heights, despite their unconventional approach, shed light on the evolution of company towns on the national stage, Longview provides dynamism to the study of company towns in the Pacific Northwest. While previous literature has focused on the intractability of the employer, overt mechanisms of control, and a Spartan, if not subpar, environment, Longview constitutes a progressive evolution away from that conception of industrial housing.

Understanding Longview in the broader context of regional company towns provides a more complex illustration of the ways the forest sector industry interacted with labor,

the environment, and society in the early twentieth century Pacific Northwest. It does this by illustrating a new approach by a regional industry leader toward appeasing and controlling their labor force through a constructed environment while simultaneously attempting to attract additional commerce and industry. While it is clear that the approach embodied in Longview is unique to the region, it is equally clear that the forces that led to its design and eventual construction are not unique to the city, but tied to a number of national trends and movements. Placing Longview within the larger spectrum of progressive national movements, labor relations and urban planning will illuminate connections between the existing local historiography and the historiography of the early twentieth century United States. This will dramatically increase the ability of local historians to understand the relevance of their community.

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