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FORT CLATSOP NATIONAL MEMORIAL

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON
Administrative History:
Fort Clatsop National Memorial

by
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

After reaching the Pacific Ocean in November, 1805, the Corps of Volunteers for Northwest Discovery moved south of the Columbia River to set up winter camp. They had chosen a place inland, a campsite that provided access to a fresh water spring and the Netul River for transportation, access to the coast for salt production and possible encounters with trade ships, had promising elk populations, and was removed from the harsh weather carried in from the Pacific Ocean. For three-and-one-half months, the members waited out the rain, hunting, making salt, compiling their journals and maps, and preparing for the journey home. One hundred fifty years later, the residents of Clatsop County celebrated the Lewis and Clark Expedition by building a replica of their winter quarters on the site long referred to as the "site of Old Fort Clatsop."

It is this community-sponsored replica that is the central focus of Fort Clatsop National Memorial. Since the turn of the century, Clatsop County settlers had sought national recognition of the site. Established in 1958, this unit of the national park system has grown to be one of the most popular tourist attractions along the northern Oregon Coast. Visitation currently averages approximately a quarter of a million people a year. For thirty-five years, this park has endeavored to tell the story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and its impact on the settlement of the Pacific Northwest.

Geographic Location

The memorial is located off U.S. Highway 101 in Clatsop County in northwestern Oregon, six miles south of Astoria. The site sits along the Lewis and Clark River, south of Youngs Bay and four miles from the Pacific Ocean. The satellite Salt Works site is located 15 miles south of the memorial in Seaside, Oregon. The memorial totals 125.2 acres.
Resources

Buildings at the memorial include a visitor center containing exhibits, a theater and multipurpose room, the Fort Clatsop Historical Association gift shop, public facilities, the administrative offices for the park and the association, and the Fort Clatsop Research Library, two employee residences, and a maintenance shop. Interpretive points of interest center around the replica fort, and include a canoe landing site and spring site, as well as the Salt Works site in Seaside. There is a small picnic area with covered shelters. Foot trails with natural history interpretive markers connect the memorial's interpretive sites. There is also a hiking trail.

Fort Clatsop has very diverse natural resources. The memorial environment consists of coastal conifer forest and estuarine wetland habitats, with well over 300 known species of plant and animal life. The climate is very wet, averaging about 75 inches of rainfall per year. The memorial's cultural resources include the fort and salt works replicas, a bronze statue, original art, and its artifact, natural specimen, and rare books collections. Limited archeological surveys have revealed the foundation of a 19th-century home and artifacts of 19th century settlement. As yet, no archeological evidence of the location of the original Fort Clatsop have been identified.

Purpose

In considering specific events of American history, the Lewis and Clark Expedition is one of the most well known, as well as one of the most studied, U.S. explorations. The Expedition was the first exploration promoted and financed by the United States government. Commissioned by President Thomas Jefferson, the Expedition was to explore and document the territory between the Missouri and the mouth of the Columbia River and map the area; determine a suitable water route to the Pacific; establish contacts with American Indian cultures and record information about those cultures; and scientifically document the plants and animals of the area, especially those of economic
importance. To the expanding country that was then the United States of America, exploring the newly-acquired Louisiana Purchase and beyond marked the opening of new frontiers, knowledge, and opportunities. Entrepreneurs such as John Jacob Astor followed close on the heels of the Corps of Discovery and established American settlements and trade on the edge of the continent. Fort Clatsop, despite the fact that it was a temporary structure designed to keep the Corps sheltered until the worst of winter passed them by, was the first American military structure west of the Rockies. For three-and-one-half months, the fort was the first outpost of American overland penetration of the West Coast. During that time, the Corps displayed American culture and society to the local cultures. They lived by military organization, explored the environment and documented American plant and animal species new to science, wrote and copied their journals, made maps, entertained themselves with European and early American music and games, traded and interacted with the local native communities, complained about the weather and fleas, hunted, made buckskin clothing, produced salt, and waited. It was at this fort that Lewis and Clark contemplated their findings and planned the trek home. And it was this brief encampment on the Pacific Coast that helped give the United States a foothold into the Oregon Country. Long after the Corps left, their presence remained known to the local population. During the next one hundred years, when new Americans pushed into this corner of Oregon, they acknowledged and visited the site.

**Values and Significance**

The memorial was established

for the purpose of commemorating the culmination, and the winter encampment, of the Lewis and Clark Expedition following its successful crossing of the North American Continent... (Public Law 85-435, 72 Stat. 153)

Fort Clatsop National Memorial commemorates the Corps of Discovery's accomplishments and its impact on the development of a young, expanding nation. The
memorial presents the history of the expedition and its significance to American and Pacific Northwest history as well as what life was like at the fort during the winter of 1805-1806. The memorial is also a testimony of the pride the local community has for their history and the value Americans place on the Corps of Discovery. Nearly two hundred years later, the expedition continues to capture the imagination of Americans. It is the significance of the Corps of Discovery to the history of the United States and its popularity that gives Fort Clatsop National Memorial its value.

**Purpose of Study**

This administrative history is an examination of the memorial, from local preservation efforts to its designation as a national park unit, its management history as a national park unit, and its growth since inception. The author will strive to show what issues have confronted park staff on a daily and recurring basis and how those issues have shaped the park for its first thirty-six years. This history is designed to be a practical document that shows how the park has been managed over time and how the memorial has met its goals, without making judgments about past or present management practices.

Research for the history has been based primarily on the park archive, compiled by the author during the summer of 1993. The park archives consists primarily of materials generated by the staff of Fort Clatsop over the years, as well as materials from the Western and Pacific Northwest Regional Offices of the National Park Service. Materials regarding the site prior to establishment as a memorial came from the files and archives of the Oregon Historical Society and the Clatsop County Historical Society. Oral history interviews were conducted with members of the community who were involved in the reproduction of Fort Clatsop and its designation as a national memorial, past park superintendents and staff, and the current memorial staff. The intent of this administrative history is to help future staff and superintendents understand the management history of the park and help them better understand the issues they may face and need to resolve.
Salt Works site, view from street, August 1994. (Photo by author)
CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The area around the mouth of the Columbia River, where the Corps of Discovery spent the winter of 1805-1806, was home to the Lower Chinookan peoples. More specifically, the site of their fort was in the territory of the Clatsops, after whom they named their fort. The Clatsops were already very familiar with European maritime traders and explorers traveling along the Pacific Coast. European contact (disease and the influx of European goods such as guns) affected them long before the Lewis and Clark Expedition arrived. But no group from any European nation had ever spent as much time interacting with and recording information about the Chinookan people as did the Expedition. The material recorded by the Lewis and Clark Expedition during their stay is the best contact-era observation of the Chinookan people and their life prior to the settlement of the Oregon Country and the end of their precontact way of life.

The Lower Chinook

The name Chinookan applies to the linguistic group made up of the different tribes or villages from the mouth of the Columbia up river to The Dalles. Within this group, the Chinookan are divided into the Lower and Upper Chinookan, each containing different villages and some dialect variations. The name Chinook was derived by European and American traders from the Salish name for a specific village on Baker Bay. As European and American traders moved through the area, all the villages on the north side of the Columbia that shared the same language, from Grays Bay, about 15 miles inland, to north end of Willapa Bay, became known as the Chinook proper. The Clatsops, who probably shared the same Chinookan dialect as the Chinook proper, lived on the south side of the Columbia, from Cape Adams to Tongue Point and south along the coast to Tillamook Head. The Chinook proper and the Clatsops are the two primary members of the Lower
Historical Background

The Lower Chinookan were fishers, gatherers, hunters, and traders. Their diet included salmon and other fish, various berries and roots including the wapato root and the salal berry, elk, deer, waterfowl, small mammals like beaver and rabbits, and occasional whales and sea lions. Fishing was done with seine nets, spears, rakes, and hooks. Hunting methods included traps, snares, spears, bows and arrows, and with the arrival of European trade ships off the Pacific Coast during the 1700's, muskets. Hunting and gathering also supplied materials for clothing and essential Chinookan household items, such as baskets, hats, mats, and utensils carved from bone and wood. Clothing was fairly sparse, generally consisting of grass skirts or mats and robes made from animal skins and furs.

The Lower Chinookans lived in villages of semi-permanent houses, moving to established fishing camps during the peak fish runs. They lived in oblong houses built from cedar log frames with cedar planking for walls and roofs. Although the number of houses per village varied, each house usually home to a patrilocal extended family of around 20 individuals. The village was the primary social unit and was linked to other villages by ties of trade and kinship. The Lower Chinookan were expert canoe builders, carving as many as six different functional styles from cedar logs. The canoe was their main mode of transportation and, owing to their strong reliance on the ocean and river for their subsistence, were highly valued pieces of property. Lewis and Clark, who had hoped to procure a canoe from their neighbors, fretted on many occasions about the high prices the Clatsops asked for their canoes.

Within Chinookan society, there was division by class and rank, as well as by free and slave status. Usually obtained through trade, slave status was hereditary. Each village had a headman or chief and leadership rights were hereditary. Chiefs generally had control of only their own village, although an influential chief could gain influence over other villages. Status and influence were maintained by wealth and free Chinookans could elevate or lower their status in society through its accumulation or loss. The most famous
trait of Chinookan culture was the practice of flattening a person's forehead during infancy. This was done by placing a baby or developing child into a cradle and strapping a board to the cradle and child, which applied pressure to the front of the forming skull. Slaves were not allowed this feature. Marriage was polygynous and marriage alliances were used to obtain both status and commercial ties to other villages. At death, the Chinooks placed a person's remains in an elevated canoe, the Clatsops in an elevated carved box and an individual's rank or class defined how elaborate the "burial." Slaves were not given a ceremonial burial.

The Pacific Northwest Indian groups were members of a highly developed, geographically extensive trade system and the Lower Chinookans were an integral part of that system. Dentalium shells from Vancouver Island were a primary currency item among the Chinook and their trade partners. Trips up the Columbia to trade markets were common. By the time European and American traders arrived, including Lewis and Clark, this trade system was well entrenched and the different Indian groups tried to incorporate these new trade partners into the existing system.

The Corps of Discovery

When the Corps of Discovery arrived at the Pacific, the expedition consisted of thirty-three people and one dog. Of the thirty-three, most were American frontiersmen or furtraders. A few were French-Canadian or other European descent. Toussaint Charbonneau and his American Indian wife, Sacagawea, were hired as interpreters for the expedition and were accompanied by their infant child. William Clark's African-American slave York was also a member of the expedition.

After reaching the Pacific Ocean, the Corps voted to move up the Netul River (the present day Lewis and Clark River) to a camp site selected by Captain Lewis in early December, 1805. Work clearing the site for a fort began immediately. By December 10, the foundations for their rooms were laid and by December 14, they had finished the room walls and had begun roofing the meat house room. All roofing was completed by
December 24 and the walls were daubed with mud. The captains moved into their room on December 23, the rest of the expedition moving in on Christmas Eve and Day. The rooms had bunks and puncheon floors. After Christmas, they installed interior chimneys in the living quarters and installed pickets and gates. On December 31, they built a sentinel box and dug two "sinks."

The journals do not give a detailed description of the fort. Expedition journals offer two floor plans, one drawn by Sergeant John Ordway and one by Captain William Clark. The two floor plans differ. Precedence has traditionally been given to Clark's documentation due to his rank and role in directing construction. By Clark's description, the fort was fifty feet square with two parallel cabins. One cabin contained 3 rooms, each with a central firepit, which were the enlisted men's quarters. The opposite cabin contained four rooms, two with firepits and one with a fireplace and exterior chimney. The orderly room, which had a firepit; the store room, which had a locking door; the room shared by the captains, which had a fireplace and exterior chimney; and the Charbonneau family room were all located on this side. Two gates were installed, one at each end of the parade ground. One was the main gate, which was locked at night. At the opposite end, the second gate was used to access the spring for water or other necessary trips outside the fort.

The expedition party stayed at Fort Clatsop until March 23, 1806, when they set out on their return journey. During their stay, hunting was a major occupation for the Expedition members, and hunting parties were often away from the fort overnight or even for a few days. It was a continual process providing food for so many people. The party lived primarily off elk, consuming also deer and fish, wapato roots, some water fowl and beaver, dog, and the rare treat of whale blubber. Well before they had selected the site of Fort Clatsop and built their quarters, the damp climate had rotted their clothing, tents, and other hide based goods. The animal hides brought in from hunting were used to make new clothing, moccasins, bags, and covers for their luggage. Members also spent time preparing game meat, rendering candles, and repairing weapons. A group from the
expedition party was sent to the coast to extract salt from sea water, leaving Fort Clatsop on December 28, 1805. They established a camp site near a Clatsop village at present day Seaside and made salt continuously until their return to Fort Clatsop on February 21, 1806.

A system of guard duty was established which constantly occupied a sergeant and three enlisted men. The guard was in charge of announcing approaching groups of Indians, opening and closing the gates, tending the meat house fires and wood supply, periodically checking the condition of the canoes at the landing site, and bringing in wood for the fireplace in the captains' quarters.

Chinook and Clatsops interacted extensively with the Expedition, exchanging goods, services, and information on a regular basis. The captains occupied their time preparing their journals and maps. Lewis' journal from Fort Clatsop ended a three month hiatus from journal keeping and provides some of his best ethnographic and botanical information recorded during the expedition. Both captains made separate trips out to the coast, one of these being a trip led by Captain Clark to procure some blubber and oil from a beached whale.

Generally speaking, the expedition party was miserable while at Fort Clatsop. Fleas tormented them and it rained on all but twelve days of their stay. The weather was usually grey and wet, which made them disagreeable. Illness and injuries abounded during their stay, ranging from colds, fevers, and muscle strains, which the men contracted while tracking, hunting, and carrying game long distances in rough, damp terrain often miles away from the fort, to venereal disease. Their diet was usually less than desirable owing to the dampness which quickly spoiled their meat. Their general discomfort and the movement of elk herds to the mountains persuaded the expedition to leave on March 23, 1806, rather than the April 1 departure date established earlier.

**Settlement of the Site, 1806-1899**

On March 22, 1806, Lewis recorded in his journal the visit of Chief Comowool and three Clatsops. He states "to this Chief we left our houses and furniture." According to
descendants of Comowool, he used the fort during hunting season for several years after the Expedition left. Beginning in 1811 with the arrival of John Jacob Astor’s Pacific Fur Company and the establishment of the fur post at Fort Astoria, there is a record of visitation to the site by American and European traders, explorers, and settlers. On October 2, 1811, Gabriel Franchere, a member of the Pacific Fur Company, reported visiting the ruins of the fort and seeing only a pile of rough unhewn logs. A second trip was made by Ross Cox in May or June 1812. He noted that logs from the fort were still standing and marked with the names of several of the party.

In 1813, after the outbreak of the War of 1812 and the loss of their annual trade ship, the Pacific Fur Company sold out to the North West Company. Fort Astoria was taken over by the British and renamed Fort George. In 1813, Alexander Henry of the North West Company and a captain of the British Royal Navy made a canoe trip to the site. At that time they found two Clatsop houses at the site, saw the remains of the fort and reported willows growing up inside the remains. They reported that the Clatsops had cut down and used a good portion of the wood from the fort walls. An 1821 Congressional report on settlement of the Oregon Country stated the fort remains could still be seen. Various other travelers and settlers took the time to visit the site and their documentation gives a record of the site’s condition over time.

In 1849, S.M. Henell of Astoria attempted to claim land containing the site of Fort Clatsop through a donation under an Oregon Provisional Government land claim law. The next year, however, Thomas Scott jumped Henell’s claim under the federal 1850 Donation Act and shortly thereafter traded the property to Carlos Shane. Shane built a house a few feet from the remains of the fort. In 1852 or 1853, Carlos Shane’s brother, Franklin Shane, moved to the site. Carlos Shane moved up river and transferred the site to Franklin. The claim consisted of approximately 320 acres along the west bank of the Lewis and Clark River, and included the fort site and the site along the river bank believed to be the Corps’ canoe landing. In 1852, Richard Moore wanted to build a mill at the canoe landing site. An agreement was reached between Shane and Moore resulting in the movement of
Chapter Two

Shane's boundary slightly north so that Moore could claim the landing. Moore built a mill and from 1852 to 1854 the area around the mill was logged and lumber sent by boat from the canoe landing site to San Francisco.

During this time, Franklin Shane put in an orchard on his property. In 1853, Fort Clatsop was its own voting precinct with 56 votes polled. In 1854, the bottom fell out of the lumber market and the mill closed. Three years later, when Franklin Shane refilled papers for his claim, the boundary returned to its original place and included the landing in his property. Donation Certificate number 5001 was issued to Franklin Shane in 1857. The claim was 320.5 acres, stretching about half a mile along the west bank of the river and extending about a mile inland.

Franklin Shane died between 1860 and 1867 and his property was inherited by his two daughters. In 1872, the husband of Mary Shane, William (Wade) Hampton Smith, was given title to the half of the Shane claim that contained the Fort Clatsop site. Smith built a new house on the property, the house Carlos Shane built reportedly having burned down. William Smith, Mary, and their children lived at the site for eight years until they moved to Portland in 1880.

One of William Smith's sons, Harlan C. Smith, returned to the Fort Clatsop site during the summer of 1957. On July 6, 1957, National Park Service officials conducted an interview with Smith about his childhood at the site. Harlan was 2 years old in 1872 when his family moved to the site and his father built their house. While living at Fort Clatsop, Harlan remembered his father worked as the postmaster for the Fort Clatsop post office, distributing mail out of their home. He also operated a brick manufacturing business for awhile. According to Smith, his father built the road from Fort Clatsop to the Clatsop Plains under contract with the Oregon Steam and Navigation Company.

Harlan Smith was able to share his memories of the site as well as his mother's, who had spent a good deal of her childhood there. She remembered seeing the ruins of Fort Clatsop and recounted to Harlan where they were. She also told Harlan that a decaying, half buried log, running east-west along the north edge of their house, was the
last remaining timber of the fort ruins.\textsuperscript{17}

When the Smiths moved to Portland in 1880, the Joseph B. Stevenson family, who had been the Smiths' neighbors, rented the house and property from William Smith. Over several years, one of Stevenson's occupations at the site was making and selling charcoal. He was also engaged with the Oregon Steam and Navigation Company operations at the canoe landing site.

The canoe landing site continued to be used in other ventures. During the summers of 1860-1862, the United States Revenue Service docked their cutter for maintenance at the landing.\textsuperscript{18} The landing site had also become part of the main route used by tourists traveling to the coast. Travelers would take ships from Portland or Astoria to Fort Clatsop and then take a carriage or horse to Seaside. In 1862, the Oregon Steam and Navigation Company established a regular summer service from Portland to Fort Clatsop and in 1875, William Smith sold 5 acres along the river to the company.\textsuperscript{19} While the Stevensons were tenants at Fort Clatsop, they ran a carriage service from the landing to Seaside. By 1900, however, new transportation routes to meet the needs of the increasing numbers of tourists eliminated the Fort Clatsop route. The Oregon Steam Navigation Company had become the Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company, and continued to own the five-acre parcel along the river.

Another economic development at the Fort Clatsop site was the discovery of clay deposits. William Smith extracted clay from three locations near the fort site.\textsuperscript{20} In 1887, Mary Shane Smith sold half of the clay and mineral rights on the Shane claim to the Oregon Pottery Company.\textsuperscript{21} Clay and mineral rights at the site were bought and sold several times during the next thirty years. From 1887 until probably 1920, clay was apparently extracted from an area just southwest of the three acres obtained as the fort site in 1900 by the Oregon Historical Society.\textsuperscript{22}

During the period from 1806 to 1899, the site of Fort Clatsop was generally known to the local population. The Clatsops certainly remembered the site and from 1811 until 1850, remains of a log structure at the present site were considered to be the remains of
Identification of Fort Clatsop, 30 August 1899. Shown in photo are: O.D. Wheeler, Silas Smith, William Chance, George W. Lownsburg, George Noland, George H. Hines (OHS representative), the captain of the boat launch, and J.Q.A. Bowlley. (Photo courtesy of Oregon Historical Society, photo negative number 1694)
Historical Background

Fort Clatsop and pointed out as such to visitors and new settlers. After natural deterioration, the affects of agricultural production, home building, and other pursuits had obliterated those log remains, the site remained known as Fort Clatsop to the local population through oral tradition. Those settlers who had seen the remains pointed out the location to their children.

Identification of the Site, 1899-1900

By 1899, public interest in establishing the specific location of the fort grew. During that year, a writer for the Northern Pacific Railway named Olin D. Wheeler arrived on the scene. He was attempting to trace the route of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and this inevitably brought him to Astoria in search of Fort Clatsop. Wheeler got a group of local people who knew the site to take him there around August 28-29, 1899. In his party were four long-time Astorians and the grandson of Chief Comowool, Silas B. Smith, as well as a representative of the Oregon Historical Society and a photographer. The five men were in general agreement as to the location of the site, which they pointed out to Wheeler, and a series of photographs were taken. However, Wheeler did not record the exact location of the identified site, leaving only photographic evidence as their identification.

Due to Wheeler's lack of documentation, the process of identification was repeated in June 1900, when the Oregon Historical Society decided to locate the site in hopes of placing a marker on it. This time, the identification party consisted of Silas B. Smith, Carlos Shane, Preston W. Gillette, and two members of the historical society. Carlos Shane was the first resident settler of the site. Preston W. Gillette settled a land claim a couple of miles away. No surveyor accompanied them. The party pointed out where they remembered seeing the southwest corner of the fort and placed a stake in the ground. Using that corner as a base, they then placed three more stakes where they speculated the other three corners of the stockade would have been. The historical society then took depositions from the settlers, who described when they saw the fort remains, what they
Identification of Fort Clatsop, 30 August 1899. Shown are George Noland, Silas Smith (pointing), George Hines. (Photo courtesy of Oregon Historical Society, photo negative number 1692-93)
saw, and where they saw them. An important factor in identifying the Fort Clatsop site comes from Shane's testimony and his recollection about the fort remains' size and layout. Shane stated that there were two cabins parallel to each other, about 15 feet apart, each cabin being about 16 by 30 feet. What is significant about this description is that it roughly follows William Clark's floor plan of Fort Clatsop drawn on the elk-hide cover of his journal. However, Clark's floor plan was not made public until 1904. The correspondence of Shane's observations with Clark's floor plan is perhaps the strongest evidence to substantiate that the site pointed out was indeed the site of Fort Clatsop. Also in these depositions, Carlos Shane admitted to trying to burn the remains after building his house so he could use the land. Gillette reported first seeing the ruins in 1853 and that the log ends were burned, so Shane was not entirely successful. The fact that Shane tried is a testimony to the fact that while the site was important enough to be sought out and visited by passersby and other locals, it was not important enough to those using the land to try and preserve the historic remains in any way. The testimony of Shane, Gillette, and Smith convinced the historical society that the location of Fort Clatsop was permanently fixed and in 1901 the society purchased a three-acre site that contained the fort site.

**Oregon Historical Society Management and the Sesquicentennial**

It was not until 1912 that the historical society was able to install a bronze marker at the site. By then, the stakes that had been placed in 1900 could not be found and since the placement of the first stake was not recorded by a surveyor, it is not clear how they determined where to place the marker.

In 1928, the society was able to purchase two additional acres to the south adjoining their existing acreage and containing a freshwater spring thought to be used by the expedition party during that winter. The site was also cleared, a flagpole erected, and the bronze tablet placed on the cement base of the flagpole. Clatsop County improved the county road leading to the site at that time as well. Over the years, the bronze marker was stolen and replaced at least twice and was removed again during World War II. The site
William Clark's sketch of Fort Clatsop, drawn on the elkskin cover of his journal.
Historical Background

was available to public visitation and occasional cleanup projects were conducted by local civic groups.

By the late 1940s, speculation about the authenticity of the site was great enough that Lancaster Pollard, who was director of the Oregon Historical Society at the time, contacted the National Park Service and asked for assistance in completing an archeological survey at the site. The park service sent Region Four archeologist Louis Caywood to assist the historical society. Caywood conducted excavations at the site during July 9-17, 1948. Caywood reported that his excavations were done on the site of the Lewis and Clark encampment. Caywood's excavations will be discussed in greater detail in a later chapter. Aside from brief consideration in 1948 that a Hollywood studio might build a replica of the fort for a movie, nothing changed at the site after the excavations, and there was no regular maintenance program.

In 1953, an editorial in the Oregonian expressed distress at the deplorable condition of the Fort Clatsop site. The site had become a dumping ground, strewn with litter. The Clatsop County Historical Society had been sponsoring cleanup projects at the site since 1947, but those projects were the only maintenance provided. The 1953 editorial happened to correspond with the establishment of the Astoria Junior Chamber of Commerce, or Jaycees, who were looking for a civic project to which they could devote their energy. Cleaning up the Fort Clatsop site seemed like the perfect project. During the summer of 1953, the Jaycees improved the site, removing trash, mowing the brush and grass around the marker area, and restoring the bronze marker that had been in storage since World War II.

During 1954, planning for Lewis and Clark Sesquicentennial celebrations began. The local community decided early that the center of their celebrations would be the Fort Clatsop site. The idea for a reconstruction of Fort Clatsop had been considered before, appearing in print in 1948 when Lancaster Pollard of the Oregon Historical Society told the press that a Hollywood movie company was considering building one. The idea also arose in a letter from a Portland doctor supporting national recognition for the site in 1953.
OHS flagpole and commemorative marker, Woodfield Photo Studio. (Photo courtesy of Oregon Historical Society, photo negative number 90816)
While plans for the Sesquicentennial were getting under way, the Jaycees and the Clatsop County Historical Society decided they should build a replica of Fort Clatsop and formed a joint committee to finance its construction. Wilt Paulson, then president of the Jaycees, named Wesley Shaner, Jr. the project manager, and the Clatsop County Historical Society assigned their secretary, Burnby Bell, to the project. These two were the primary coordinators for the replica project.\(^{26}\)

Throughout 1954 until August 21, 1955, when the replica was finished and dedicated, many local groups and individuals donated time, effort, and money. First, the project managers contacted Astorian Rolf Klep, an artist who was living in New York City. They asked Klep to research the expedition journals and provide a drawing of the fort. They also approached the Oregon Historical Society (OHS) for permission to construct the replica, which was granted by the society's president, Burt Brown Barker. Barker served on the Oregon governor-appointed committee for the Sesquicentennial celebration and made a personal donation of $100 for work at the site. However, minutes from Clatsop County Historical Society meetings indicate that not all members of the Oregon Historical Society supported the project, undoubtedly because the replica would ultimately fall to them to manage.\(^{27}\)

After receiving approval from OHS, Wes Shaner and Wilt Paulson approached the vice president of Crown Zellerbach, Ed Stamm, about the possible donation of logs for the fort project. Stamm agreed to donate the logs and further volunteered to "wolmanize" the logs (injecting chemical preservatives into the wood) at no cost. Paulson remembers Stamm saying that if they were going to build the thing, they needed to make it last at least fifty years.\(^{28}\) In all, Crown Zellerbach provided 408 logs, each approximately 40 feet long with a minimum diameter of 7 inches and an 11 inch base. The logs came from the area around Vernonia, Oregon, and were removed from the forest by draft horses to prevent scarring by logging machinery. Crown Zellerbach provided transportation of the logs and wolmanization at their plant in Wauna, Oregon.

Next, the project managers approached the Finnish Brotherhood of Astoria for help
Rolf Klep's rendition of Fort Clatsop, utilized in the construction of the Fort Clatsop Replica.
Historical Background

with carpentry skills. The Jaycees had plenty of labor to donate, but no one with fort building experience. Through the Finnish Brotherhood, they received not only technical advice and more volunteers, but also the only hired help on the project, Olavi Hietaharju. Hietaharju was from Finland and had previous cabin-building experience. He was hired by the Oregon Historical Society as foreman for the replica project.

Rolf Klep completed a charcoal sketch of Fort Clatsop and sent it back to the project coordinators. The sketch was based on William Clark's fifty-foot-square floor plan and what little description was given in the journals. Due to the lack of documentation on the Fort Clatsop structure, Klep turned to the Expedition's previous fort-building experience for possible clues to their construction habits. The Expedition had constructed Fort Mandan, also named for the local Indian people, in which to spend the winter of 1804-1805. The inward sloping roofs of the Fort Clatsop replica are derived from the Fort Mandan structure. Fort Mandan was built in a triangle with the roofs slanted toward an inner court. Klep possibly also relied on examples of log cabins of the 1800s to help him formulate what the fort looked like, but some speculation had to have been involved. For example, Klep's drawing has gun ports at the fort when no mention is made of them existing and it is unlikely that they did. When Klep's drawing was made available, John Wicks, a local architect, made working construction plans from the sketch. Hietaharju followed these plans in the fort construction. The Jaycees also asked Klep for permission to sell copies of his sketch to raise money for the replica project, which he granted. The Jaycees sold prints of the sketch for $10 a piece.

At the time of the replica-building project, Wilt Paulson was manager of the Astoria airport where he arranged for space in the airport hanger for pre-fabrication of the fort building. The plan was to build the fort in the hanger, mark and number the logs, then send them out to be wolmanized. When the logs returned, they would reassemble the fort at the actual site. Through the end of 1954 and into 1955, the volunteers worked on the pre-fabrication work. Hietaharju was there to direct the volunteers in the construction. The fort replica was completed early in 1955, then disassembled and the logs sent out for
Jaycees working on prefabrication construction, Astoria airport hanger, 1954. (FOCL photo collection)
wolmanizing. In early August 1955, the logs returned from Wauna. To the Jaycees
dismay, the banding of the logs for reassembly was destroyed during the wolmanizing
process. They returned the logs to the airport hanger, reassembled and remarked the logs,
disassembled the fort, and then moved the logs to the site. By the time the replica was
finished, they had put it together three times.

The Astoria Lions Club donated materials and labor for building a cement
foundation for the fort. Early in August, foundation lines were staked out and the
foundation built. How they decided where to place the replica is somewhat sketchy. It is
known that they used the spring as a reference point with distances given in the journals,
assuming that the spring is the one mentioned. They also had to place the fort in relation
to the county road, which at the time came right up to the marker site. A letter from
Thomas Vaughan years later states that OHS directed the Jaycees to place the replica
directly next to the fort site. This likely meant next to the bronze marker and flagpole,
assuming that those markers were on the exact site. The Jaycees considered the weather in
deciding which direction the fort's main gate would face using the theory that if the main
gate faced the river, wind and rain would blow right into the fort grounds.

While digging the replica's foundation trenches, it is reported the volunteers did
find charcoal remnants or pits. Nothing seems to have been done with any of these
materials. National Park Service regional historian John Hussey speculated in a 1957
report that they may have found remnants of Joseph B. Stevenson's charcoal operations.

With the foundation laid, the replica was constructed at the site. Ruth Shaner, wife
of Jaycee project manager Wes Shaner, Jr., remembers that by the last month of the
project, her husband really had to push to get volunteers to help finish the replica. Many
had grown tired of the project. In an effort to help get volunteers on Sundays, Ruth
offered to teach Sunday school to the volunteers' children. This did seem to help, but the
project continued to the last minute. With dedication ceremonies planned for August 21,
1955, the Jaycees finished hanging the main gate on the morning of the 21st. A well,
pump, picnic tables, and sanitary facilities were also completed during that month. Clatsop
Replica cabin under construction. (FOCL photo collection)

Jaycees working at site. Shown from left to right: Johann Mehlum, Wilt Paulson (smoking), and Joe Nerenberg. (FOCL photo collection)
Historical Background

County graded the parking area and furnished rock for the parking area and access roads.

The August 21 dedication ceremonies for the Fort Clatsop replica included the Secretary of the Interior and former Oregon governor, Douglas McKay; Oregon Governor Paul Paterson; Washington Governor Arthur B. Langlie; the presidents of the Astoria Chamber of Commerce and Junior Chamber of Commerce; Burt Brown Barker and Thomas Vaughan, the president and director of the Oregon Historical Society, respectively; and local boy scouts who arrived by canoe. During the ceremonies, Burt Brown Barker accepted the replica building on behalf of the Oregon Historical Society.

After the ceremonies and the Sesquicentennial celebration was over, site management problems for OHS had become much larger. Rather than merely a marked historical site, they now had a fort, sanitary facilities, and picnic areas to maintain. The Jaycees dropped any future plans they had for clean up and improvements at the site. Director Thomas Vaughn spent a weekend putting a chain link fence around the replica for protection. OHS worked with Burnby Bell to coordinate maintenance at the site. During the summers of 1956 and 1957, OHS was able to come up with a small amount of money to pay an attendant for the summer season to be at the fort during the day and open it up for visitors. Michael Foster was hired to staff the site during the summer of 1958. Foster spent seven days a week greeting visitors, cleaning the pit toilets, and selling souvenirs for the Clatsop County Historical Society, for which he received a small commission. A donation box was placed at the site to help raise money for maintenance. Movement was already well underway to have the site taken over by the federal government.

The Salt Works Site, 1806-1978

One thing Captains Lewis and Clark intended to achieve during their winter encampment was the production of salt from ocean water. For that purpose, they sent a group of men to the coast. The saltmakers produced a total of about four bushels of salt, which the captains hoped would last them until they reached their caches of supplies along the Missouri River. Having the salt at Fort Clatsop was a benefit nutritionally and helped
flavor elk meat that was already spoiling.

On December 28, 1805, Lewis and Clark sent "Jos. Fields, Bratten, Gibson to proceed to the Ocean at Some Convenient place form a camp and commence makeing Salt with 5 of the largest Kittles, and Willard and Wiser to assist them in carrying the Kittles to the Sea Coast". From December 28 until their return to Fort Clatsop on February 21, 1806, the Salt Works operated continuously. The site was established near a village containing four houses of Clatsops and Tillamooks in what is today the town of Seaside, Oregon. The men camped in tents, near the mouth of the Necanicum River and "100 paces" from the ocean.

From the journals, it is evident that there were always at least three men at the saltworks site, but the personnel did shift as necessary. George Gibson, William Bratton, and Joseph Field were stationed at the site most of that two months. While no description is given of the structure built for boiling ocean water, oral testimony about the site indicates stones were placed in an oven or cairn shape with one end left open. Working through the open end, a fire was built inside the stone oven and five kettles placed on the top. This testimony is derived primarily from stories passed down through the generations by Clatsops living during the expedition's stay and who witnessed the salt making. The captains report in their journals on January 5, 1806 that the salt makers could produce from three quarts to one gallon of salt a day, which means they were boiling approximately 40 gallons of sea water a day. It was labor-intensive work, keeping the fire hot enough to boil the salt water and keeping up the supply of fire wood. The journals indicate also that the salt camp was extremely short on food most of the time and at least one hunting party was specifically sent out from Fort Clatsop to hunt for the salt camp. Lack of food, the constant labor demands, and more direct exposure to the weather than experienced by the men at the fort meant that by the beginning of February the salt makers were hit hard by illness. Gibson had to be carried back to the fort he was so ill and Bratton was plagued by lower back pains long after leaving Fort Clatsop for home.

The history of the salt works site is very similar to that of Fort Clatsop. As
American settlers moved into the area, the salt works was reportedly still visible and a tradition of oral testimony developed as to the location of the site. The same trip of August, 1899, that brought Olin D. Wheeler to Fort Clatsop for its identification brought Wheeler to Seaside to locate the salt works. Wheeler and his party of locals, including Silas B. Smith, went to the site on August 28, 1899, where he reported that stones from the salt works "cairn" were still visible. Smith, the grandson of Clatsop Chief Comowool, reported that it was the site that his mother had pointed out to him as the place where the expedition made salt.35

On June 8-9, 1900, the representatives of the Oregon Historical Society who had Fort Clatsop identified travelled to the salt works site for the same purpose. OHS took along a Clatsop Indian woman named Jennie Michel, or Tsinistum, to help identify the site. She was 86 years old at the time. In a deposition for OHS, she stated that she had often been to the site with her mother and other Clatsops who had been alive in 1806 during the expedition's stay and was told this was the spot where they made salt.36 Her testimony was corroborated by Judge Thomas A. McBride, who had grown up on the Clatsop Plains and had been shown the site by Silas B. Smith's mother. Judge McBride's visit to the site took place after Jennie Michel's, in December 1900. Just as they had done with the site of Fort Clatsop, the historical society documented the location of the salt works site, which was then being referred to as the Salt Cairn.

After the 1900 visit, OHS had a fence installed around the ruins in cooperation with the site's owner. The site identified as the Salt Cairn was Lot 18, Block 1 of Cartwright Park, Seaside and the owner, Charlotte Moffett Cartwright, deeded the site to OHS as a gift to be held in "trust for the people of the State of Oregon for historical purposes only".37 The deed was recorded on June 16, 1910.

By this time, Seaside had developed into a coastal resort town, a popular destination for vacationing Portlanders. In the 1920s, public interest continued in the Salt Cairn site. In 1925, the Great Northern Railway Company, whom Olin D. Wheeler had represented on his visit, along with the Spokane, Portland, and Seattle Railways, funded
Seaside Lions Club constructing the Salt Works replica, 1955. (FOCL photo collection)
improvements at the site. Their goal was to provide a historical destination for railroad passengers. Landscape improvements included a sidewalk and an ornate iron fence placed on a brick foundation which enclosed the ruins.

Around the same time of Sesquicentennial celebrations and the building of the Fort Clatsop replica, the Seaside Lions Club began a replica project at the Salt Cairn. They hauled in stones and built a stone and cement cairn and placed five foundry kettles on top. Two bronze plaques described the site and its importance. Dedication ceremonies were held at the site during the Sesquicentennial celebrations of 1955.

The Seaside Lions Club maintained the site and provided policing efforts as well as they could. They sponsored clean-up projects at the site and the City of Seaside provided garbage service for one trash receptacle at the site. The volunteer efforts were limited, though, and the site was plagued by littering and occasional vandalism, with no site repairs being made. Interpretation at the site was never improved beyond the 1950s bronze markers. During the creation of Fort Clatsop National Memorial from 1956 to 1958, the saltworks site was never seriously considered for inclusion. At the time, the distance of the saltworks from the proposed memorial site was enough to discourage researching its authenticity and considering its inclusion.

During the 1960s, the Smithsonian Institution sponsored archeological excavations along the northern coast of Oregon. These excavations included the exploration of middens located in a golf course southeast of the saltworks site. These middens were believed to be the possible location of the Clatsop and Tillamook village the salt makers camped by. If those middens were the same village as mentioned in the journals, then the location of the saltworks camp would have been further south than the site owned by the historical society. No further examination of this question was undertaken. Several years later, opponents of the proposed Salt Works addition to the memorial, who felt that the authenticity of the site was questionable, used the excavations to support their position. Those who supported the addition of the site to the memorial maintained that further excavations would probably not reveal any evidence proving it to be the salt makers
Salt Works site just prior to construction of replica. (FOCL photo collection)

Salt Works replica. (FOCL photo collection)
neighboring village or any evidence of the salt makers camp.

From 1959 until its inclusion in Fort Clatsop National Memorial, the Salt Works site remained relatively unchanged, managed by the Seaside Lion's Club. In 1968, the Oregon Historical Society offered to donate the site to the National Park Service. With this offer, a ten-year debate over the addition of the Salt Works to the memorial began.

During the settlement of Oregon in the 1800s and into the 1900s, the sites of Fort Clatsop and the Salt Works held an attraction for the residents of Clatsop County and other Oregonians. The dedication and persistence of individuals in the local community and in the Oregon historical community, who felt that federal recognition was the best way to properly preserve Fort Clatsop and the Salt Works, eventually led to the creation of Fort Clatsop National Memorial.
CHAPTER THREE: LEGISLATIVE HISTORY

The movement to have the Fort Clatsop site nationally recognized goes back to at least 1905-1906 when the Oregon Development League of Astoria and the Oregon Historical Society sought legislation for a Congressional appropriation to purchase 160 acres at the site and erect a suitable monument in commemoration of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Senate Bill 440 was introduced in Congress in 1906 by Oregon's Senator Charles W. Fulton requesting an appropriation of up to $10,000. The bill was referred to committee and died there.¹

The federal government did not consider the site again until 1935 when the National Park Service (NPS), in cooperation with the Oregon State Parks Board, conducted a survey of Oregon historical sites and their preservation needs. In this survey, it was determined that the best future for the Fort Clatsop site would be management by the Oregon state park system. Two years later, at the March 1937 meeting of the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historical Sites, Buildings and Monuments, the Advisory Board also recommended that the site be state-managed. These developments did not keep the local community from continuing efforts to obtain national recognition for the site. The Clatsop County Historical Society again unsuccessfully asked Congress to recognize the site as a national monument in 1948.

With the decision to build a fort replica in 1953 and the attention surrounding the site throughout the Sesquicentennial, the movement for national recognition was renewed. Site management had been difficult for OHS prior to the construction of the fort replica. The placement of picnic facilities and other improvements meant new management requirements at the site. OHS was not in a position to manage the undeveloped site, much less face these additional pressures. The local community and civic groups who had invested time, effort, and money into the replica project disagreed on how to best resolve the site's management. A large majority of the local community favored state management
or the formation of a local group specifically to handle site management. Those individuals felt the federal government had shown little interest in the site, so why give them their replica? Clatsop County Historical Society member A.N. Thorndike, wrote with regard to federal control of the site, that no more than state level management should be attempted so there would be "fewer hands in our pockets or over our heads."\(^2\) Editorials in the *Oregonian* and Astoria newspapers suggested that if the state of Oregon had created a state park at the site, it would not have been necessary to turn to the federal government for its protection. Senator Richard L. Neuberger, the Oregon Senator who would be responsible for drafting the enabling legislation for the memorial, wrote in 1956 that it was disturbing how much criticism he received from "people who make a fetish of opposing anything associated with the national government."\(^3\)

Thomas Vaughan, director of the Oregon Historical Society, had a different perspective on the matter. For the site to have any future and reach its potential as a historic site, Vaughan believed it needed to be in the hands of the federal government. The limited finances of the historical society could not provide that future. Burnby Bell and Wesley Shaner, Jr., the key individuals in the replica project, agreed with him. In 1953, a Portland doctor named Franklin B. Queen wrote to Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay, formerly the governor of Oregon, and to Oregon's Congressman Walter Norblad asking that they pursue national recognition of the site. To that same end, Vaughan contacted Oregon's Senator Richard Neuberger.

Senator Neuberger was very interested in pursuing national recognition and drafted legislation for the consideration of the site as a national memorial. Senator Neuberger enlisted the help of fellow Oregon Senator Wayne Morse and Senator Henry Dworshak of Idaho, as well as Oregon's Congressman Walter Norblad. In July 1955, Senator Neuberger introduced legislation that required the Secretary of the Interior to investigate and report to Congress on the advisability of establishing Fort Clatsop as a national memorial. Prior legislation had asked for monument status. Monument sites generally have a specific natural resource or are historically significant by themselves. A memorial is meant to be commemorative of a certain historic event or individual. Senator Neuberger recognized
Fort Clatsop replica, August 1958. Burnby Bell is on the left. Photo by Deane W. Bond.
(Photo courtesy of Oregon Historical Society, photo negative number 3869)
that it was more appropriate for the site to be designated a memorial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition rather than a monument. Senator Neuberger's legislation passed the Senate with no objections.

When the bill reached the House floor, Congressman John Byrnes of Wisconsin questioned why taxpayers' money was being wasted on such legislation. He did not know who authored the legislation, but thought it ridiculous to pass legislation asking the Secretary of the Interior to do what he was already supposed to be doing under the Historic Sites Act of 1935. Congressman Clair Engle of California suggested that since the money and time had already been wasted in the Senate, they should just pass the bill on and suggested that maybe the author of the legislation wanted to "light a fire" under the Secretary of the Interior. Mr. Byrnes replied that it would be a costly fire. After registering his complaint that the bill was a useless and unnecessary waste of the taxpayers money, the Congressman withdrew his objection and the legislation passed, becoming Public Law 590, 84th Congress, and signed June 18, 1956.

Prior to P.L. 590, the Park Service had responded to public requests for national recognition by referring to the 1937 decision by the Advisory Board. According to NPS Director Conrad L. Wirth, in his response to Dr. Queen, the Advisory Board had studied the site and "as a result of its studies of the history of the fort and its associations, the Board recommended that the Fort Clatsop area be preserved and developed as a state historical monument. It is our hope that the Clatsop County Historical Society, the Oregon Historical Society, and perhaps the State of Oregon will be able to carry out the recommendation of the Advisory Board." Wirth continued to say that the Park Service was unable to help financially, but would provide technical assistance in site restoration as best it could. Director Wirth repeated the same response in February 1954 to Congressman Walter Norblad, who had inquired about the site on behalf of Dr. Queen. For Park Service administrators, the Fort Clatsop proposal for national recognition had been settled by the 1937 Advisory Board recommendation. The authenticity of the site was questionable due to the lack of actual physical remains and the alteration of the historic landscape due to
agricultural and economic developments that had occurred over the years. The Advisory Board had determined Fort Clatsop not to be of national significance and therefore not worthy of inclusion in the National Park System.

With passage of Senator Neuberger's bill, the Park Service was forced to reconsider the proposal. The National Park Service, Region Four, assigned regional historian John A. Hussey as well as regional archeologist Paul J.F. Schumacher to fulfill the requirements of Senator Neuberger's bill. Hussey researched the site and its history, and in December 1956 and April 1957 Schumacher conducted archeological excavations. Schumacher reported finding evidence of European-American settlement, which had certainly occurred and was well documented, but found no conclusive evidence of the actual fort remains.6

On April 10, 1957, Hussey's "Suggested Historical Area Report" was completed. Hussey concluded that the site under consideration did contain the original site of the Corps of Discovery's winter quarters known as Fort Clatsop. He based his decision on the oral testimony and written correspondence regarding the location of the site, an examination of the Lewis and Clark Expedition journals for information regarding the location, and finally by comparing the journal descriptions to existing topography. Hussey determined that while the site did not match all journal information given, no other place along the river banks came close to being an alternate location. This combined with the record of nineteenth century visitation led Hussey to conclude that the actual fort had been at or near the present replica.

Hussey recommended first that the National Park Service and the Advisory Board recognize the need for a special area in the National Park Service for the commemoration of the Corps of Discovery. Secondly, he stated that the Fort Clatsop site met all of the qualifications to be a national memorial. Hussey went on to recommend that a survey be conducted of all the possible Lewis and Clark historic sites and that the most appropriate Lewis and Clark site be selected for the commemorative site. If the Fort Clatsop site was determined to be the most appropriate site, then Hussey suggested certain minimum boundary acquisitions for the memorial's establishment and that all mineral rights be
Photo of Fort Clatsop sign and county road, 1958. (FOCL photo collection)

Photo of replica and site conditions, 1958, as seen from parking lot. (FOCL photo collection)
obtained with any land acquisitions. If the Fort Clatsop site was not found to be the most qualified, then consideration was to be given to establishing the site as a national historic site in non-federal ownership.

The Advisory Board approved Hussey's report by a mail vote and recommended it be submitted to Congress along with the recommendation that the site be established as a national memorial as long as mineral rights could be secured. The Office of the Secretary of the Interior submitted Hussey's report to Congress along with its approval of establishing memorial status. On January 23, 1958, Senators Neuberger introduced Senate Bill 3087, cosponsored by Senators Wayne Morse and Henry Dworshak, in response to Hussey's report and the recommendations of the Advisory Board and the Secretary of the Interior. This legislation called for the memorial's creation and Congressman Norblad introduced similar legislation in the House. Senator Neuberger entered into the Congressional Record a letter regarding the importance of the Fort Clatsop site written by Dr. Burt Brown Barker, president of OHS during the Sesquicentennial construction. No objections were raised regarding the Fort Clatsop bill, which passed and was signed into law by President Dwight D. Eisenhower on May 29, 1958.

Prior to Hussey's report, the park service had continued to suggest state control of the site. John Hussey remembers negative attitudes toward the site by many in the Region Four office. Lack of archeological evidence combined with a fort replica was considered by many as not the most appropriate historic site the park service could acquire. Many who lived near other Lewis and Clark sites in Washington State felt that Fort Clatsop should not be given national recognition without any consideration for their Lewis and Clark sites.

Frank Turner, editor of the Longview Daily News in Longview, Washington, wrote that while Fort Clatsop was worthy of national recognition, it would be a travesty to give it without recognition of the site at Fort Columbia where the expedition actually completed their mission by reaching the Pacific Ocean. In February 1958, Turner requested Senator Warren G. Magnuson and Acting Secretary of the Interior Hatfield Chilson seek
consideration of the Washington State Lewis and Clark sites. The economic benefits of a national memorial did not escape Turner and the influence of Senator Neuberger's involvement did not escape him either.

There were many factors contributing favorably to national recognition for Fort Clatsop. One was the relationship between the Oregon Historical Society and Senator Neuberger and their dedication to completing the necessary legislation. Senator Neuberger served on the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, which controlled legislation regarding the creation of new units under the National Park Service. Neuberger also had a personal interest in the history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and wrote a children's book on the subject. Another favorable factor was Douglas McKay's position as Secretary of the Interior during the 1956 legislation requiring a site evaluation. Douglas McKay, as noted earlier, was formerly the governor of Oregon and had been a principal speaker at the Fort Clatsop replica dedication in August 1955.

Hussey's recommendations changed the official Park Service position regarding the status of Fort Clatsop. The report determined the need for a Lewis and Clark commemorative site in the NPS system and that the NPS would be favorable to Fort Clatsop being designated as a commemorative site, if it was the best representative of all Lewis and Clark sites. Why the Advisory Board and the Secretary of the Interior chose to forego a survey and make Fort Clatsop a memorial is unclear. It is possible that a survey would have taken considerable time and money and cause political maneuvering among the Lewis and Clark states for a national memorial. The creation of Fort Clatsop National Memorial was a success primarily due to the commitment of the Oregon and Clatsop County historical societies, with the support of other civic groups and individuals from the area and the State. The memorial would not have been possible without the commitment of Senator Neuberger, as well as Senator Morse and Congressman Norblad, to succeed for their constituents.

The legislation for Fort Clatsop National Memorial remained unchanged until 1978, when amendatory legislation was passed by Congress adding the Salt Works site, which
was then known as the Salt Cairn, in Seaside, Oregon, to the memorial holdings. The person primarily responsible for the amendatory legislation was Dr. Eldon G. Chuinard. Chuinard was a doctor and an avid Lewis and Clark historian, author of the book *Only One Man Died*, a history of the medical aspects of the Expedition. He was also the chairman of the Oregon Governor's Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Committee. Chuinard believed completely that the Salt Cairn needed to be attached to the Fort Clatsop site, the two being critically linked in the Expedition's stay. The Oregon Historical Society still owned the site and it was maintained by the Seaside Lion's Club.

In 1968, Thomas Vaughan wrote to Fort Clatsop Superintendent Jim Thomson suggesting the extension of the memorial to include the Salt Cairn. Superintendent Thomson wrote back to Vaughan stating, in his opinion, that the "negative aspects outweigh the positive." The park would need an increased budget, the site was detached from the rest of the memorial which created travel and maintenance problems, and its authenticity was questionable. He did not mention the fact that the memorial could not include the one city lot that contained the Salt Cairn replica under the memorial's enabling legislation acreage ceiling.

John Hussey also responded to Thomas Vaughan's idea on September 19, 1968. He advised Vaughan of the proper channels for him to offer a donation to the Park Service, informed him that the National Survey of Historic Sites had determined the site was not of national significance, and let Vaughan know that the Survey Board's decision would be significant to the Park Service when considering his proposal. The proposal lost momentum for awhile after this series of correspondence.

Dr. Chuinard began his campaign to have the site included in Fort Clatsop National Memorial in January 1973 when he contacted Fort Clatsop Superintendent Paul Haertel. Superintendent Haertel responded by rejecting the idea and submitted the same factors outlined by Superintendent Thomson in 1968. Chuinard wrote to Assistant Secretary of the Interior John Kyl on August 27, 1973, and asked for assistance in determining the proper procedure for OHS to donate the Salt Cairn site to the Park Service for inclusion in the
memorial. Prior to Chuinard's letter, the new Fort Clatsop superintendent, John Miele, examined the site and reported to the regional office on the proposal. Miele reported that there was considerable doubt regarding the actual site and that recognition on the National Register would be suitable recognition for the site. He also suggested that interpretation of the salt making could possibly be done on the current memorial grounds. With that information, Kyl responded to Chuinard declining the donation and stating that interpretation of the salt making process would be done at the memorial. This prompted an emotional response from Chuinard that would set the stage for the next five years of bargaining for the Salt Cairn addition. On December 6, 1973, a memo from Superintendent Miele to the regional office documented a phone call from Chuinard who expressed his displeasure at Assistant Secretary Kyl's letter. Chuinard indicated he would settle for nothing less than the addition of the Salt Cairn to the memorial. Superintendent Miele respectfully restated the Park Service's position regarding the proposed addition. Chuinard then called on Senator Mark Hatfield, Congressman Wendall Wyatt, and Oregon Governor Tom McCall, enlisting their support for his proposal.

On June 20, 1974, Senator Hatfield and Senator Bob Packwood introduced Senate Bill 3683 for the addition of the Salt Cairn to Fort Clatsop National Memorial, with Congressman Wyatt introducing similar legislation in the House. The bill was referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, where the legislation failed. Also in 1974, the nomination of the Salt Cairn to the National Register was rejected due to the site's questionable location and to residential development surrounding the replica site which compromised its historical integrity.

The Oregon Senators reintroduced their bill in the 94th Congress as Senate Bill 828. On November 7, 1975, the Office of the Secretary of the Interior recommended that Senate bill 828 not be passed. Prior to the 94th Congressional session, Congressman Wyatt's seat was won by Les AuCoin who helped take up the battle in the House. In 1975, Dr. Chuinard and the Oregon Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Committee, in cooperation with the Oregon Historical Society, wrote a proposal on the Salt Cairn
addition and sent it to Congressman AuCoin. This proposal was supported by the Oregon State Historic Preservation Office and the Parks and Recreation Branch of the Oregon Department of Transportation. While the second attempt at legislation was working its way through the Senate, the second nomination for listing on the National Register was again declined in 1976. By the end of the 94th Congress, the Senate had passed the Salt Cairn legislation.

Congressman AuCoin was not successful in the House. The House Interior Subcommittee did not want to consider an addition to which the NPS objected. The Park Service never altered its opposition to the addition and the failure of two nominations to the National Register defended their position. In a letter to Dr. Chuinard dated March 23, 1978, Congressman AuCoin explained that the "park service's primary opposition is based on the incompatibility of the Salt Cairn memorial and the surrounding residential area with further development which it feels will be absolutely mandatory if the memorial is to justify federal involvement. Particularly spooking the NPS is the notion of acquiring residential land and residences near the Salt Cairn, or worse, being forced to acquire them."12 AuCoin recommended a show of support from Seaside, most importantly from neighboring residents, to assist the house bill.

Dr. Chuinard, the Lewis and Clark committee, and Thomas Vaughan became exceedingly irritated at the National Park Service throughout this process. The frustration prompted Vaughan to write in May 1978 that soon the Park Service would be questioning the validity of Crater Lake.13 With the letter from Congressman AuCoin, Chuinard rallied support from Seaside, as well as support from Oregon Governor Robert Straub, who wrote to Secretary of the Interior Cecil Andrus in April 1978. However, Governor Straub wavered in his support when he learned that the acquisition of residential properties might be necessary for interpretation of the site to NPS standards.

By May 1978, the back and forth struggle between Chuinard and the Park Service over the Salt Cairn was at a head. The Park Service maintained that the site's location was questionable and that the historic scene was non-existent and could not be recreated.
without the acquisition of at least the piece of property separating the site from the beach and ocean. Chuinard responded that although the exact site could not be accurately determined by archeological research, they should not discount oral testimony from the turn of the century. He also stated that they were not asking for immediate development of the Salt Cairn site, only that the Park Service accept management of the site so it had a secure future. For every concern the Park Service expressed, Chuinard had a response.

The turning point came with the appointment of Congressman Phillip Burton of California as the chairman of the House Interior Subcommittee during the 95th Congress. Burton developed the tactic of the omnibus bill during a time when Congress became increasingly in control of the creation of new park units. Burton pulled together many individual proposals for park units into one larger bill that would ensure enough votes for it to pass. With his position as chairman in 1978, Burton compiled what would be called the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978. This act included the Salt Cairn addition to Fort Clatsop National Memorial, created a dozen parks and increased the acreage of a number of others. To ensure the votes of the Oregon delegation, the struggling Salt Cairn legislation was included and the bill passed and signed into law on November 10, 1978, by President Jimmy Carter. The Oregon Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Committee and the Oregon Historical Society gladly planned a transfer ceremony which was held on June 23, 1979, with Senator Hatfield in attendance. The tenacity of Dr. Chuinard and his fellow supporters paid off and the Park Service adjusted to the addition of the Salt Cairn to Fort Clatsop National Memorial.

The enabling and amendatory legislation for Fort Clatsop National Memorial is typical of the legislative process for historic and commemorative sites. The 1935 Historic Sites Act delegated control and regulation of the nation's historic sites to the National Park Service, but its authority and legitimacy in controlling the selection of these sites has been challenged by the public and by Congress. In his book, *Remaking America*, John Bodnar states that regardless of "how hard the service attempted to keep the process orderly, political influence, local pride, and personal feeling constantly intruded into the
Dignitaries at Salt Works dedication. Shown are Thomas Vaughan, a Seaside Lions representative, Superintendent Bob Scott, NPS representative, Frenchy Chuinard.
deliberations of the NPS professionals." From 1935 through the 1980s, a broad mix of historic sites were given national recognition with little regard for Park Service guidelines. For congressional members, historic sites provide an opportunity to give something to their constituents, as well as serve their own personal pride in the history of their district. Historical parks generally require small budgets, usually relieve a local historical society, and generally don't require land condemnation. In the campaign for national recognition, the Fort Clatsop site had strong community support dating back to at least 1905, the support of the state historical society, and, most importantly, the support of Senator Richard Neuberger and the Oregon congressional delegation. These factors resulted in the successful establishment of Fort Clatsop National Memorial.
CHAPTER FOUR: MANAGING FORT CLATSOP NATIONAL MEMORIAL

With its creation as a national park unit in 1958, the site of Fort Clatsop began the evolution from a privately-owned historic site to a functioning unit of the National Park Service. This transition included the establishment of visitor facilities, an administrative staff, and park goals to guide the memorial after the completion of site development. During the first few years of operation, the memorial staff included a park superintendent, a park historian, an administrative staff position, one full-time ranger position, one full-time maintenance person, and one or two seasonal positions. Between 1970 and 1990, the permanent staff grew sporadically, while the seasonal staff grew steadily. Currently, the park supports eleven full-time staff positions and nine seasonal positions.

At Fort Clatsop, management primarily deals with park interpretation, park infrastructure and maintenance, natural and cultural resources, and visitor safety. Historically, management emphasis was placed on the development of interpretation programs, routine infrastructural maintenance, and a reforestation program designed to recreate the coastal forest environment encountered by the Expedition. The memorial has developed a very popular interpretive program, one that includes costumed interpretation at the fort replica and other on-site interpretive locations. This program has received tremendous budget support over the years from the memorial's cooperating association, the Fort Clatsop Historical Association (FCHA), allowing it to develop a full range of in-depth interpretive programs. Visitation grew consistently, from the opening of the visitor center in 1963 to 1991 when visitation leveled out at approximately a quarter of a million annual visitors. Increased visitation, at levels higher than site development planning had anticipated, resulted in an emphasis of management and budgeting on facility and parking maintenance and improvements.

During the site development process, a site concept was developed for the memorial, one which stressed the historical setting of the fort replica. Developments of the 19th and 20th centuries around the site had reduced the once dense forests encountered by
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the Expedition. In 1958 when the memorial was created, second-generation tree growth still existed around the site. However, approximately one-quarter of the land acquired contained open meadow areas. The memorial's reforestation efforts, carried out by the maintenance division of the park, targeted the restoration of the open field spaces, the screening of the interpretive sites from modern improvements, and supplementation of second-growth areas around the site with native vegetation.

The foremost legislation guiding the park is the 1916 Organic Act, which created the National Park Service as an agency under the Department of the Interior and provided for the preservation and public enjoyment of America's national parks. The 1935 Historic Sites Act also guides park management, providing for the preservation of American historic sites and antiquities under the management of the National Park Service. The Historic Sites Act also mandates that the NPS provide proper interpretation of and access to these sites for the public. The Antiquities Act of 1906 and the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (as amended), as well as subsequent legislation regarding historic preservation, cultural resources, and the NPS, also guide management decisions. The memorial must also adhere to the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 and other subsequent environmental laws. Park management must also adhere to the memorial's enabling legislation and subsequent amendatory legislation. NPS objectives cover administration policy in all areas of park management, from interpretation to law enforcement to natural resource management.

The following is an overview of the memorial's superintendents and highlights their decisions in all areas of park needs. From 1958 until 1960, a planning team initiated the development process for the memorial through lands identification and needs assessment. This site development is the subject of chapter five of this document. Specific management areas will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

Charles L. Peterson, 1960-1964

Charles Peterson, superintendent of the memorial from 1960 to 1964, had the
difficult task of turning the memorial into a functioning unit of the National Park System. Superintendent Peterson became an integral member of the planning team when he came on board in 1960, taking over final negotiations for land acquisitions, completing management and design plans, and supervising site construction. The master plan completed during his term developed goals for the memorial and established park objectives in developing memorial programs. Peterson was also responsible for hiring the original staff for the memorial. Peterson hired Burnby Bell, who served as the Clatsop County Historical Society corresponding secretary for many years and was influential in the building of the replica in 1955, as the memorial's historian. Many tasks occupied Superintendent Peterson through the site development process. He worked with the Western Office of Design and Construction in designing a visitor center and administrative offices, and designing a new employee residence to supplement one house acquired through lands acquisition. He oversaw the development of visitor center exhibits, including purchasing exhibit artifacts and materials; creation of a historic structures report for the fort replica and restoration of the structure according to the report; construction of park roads, parking, and interpretive trails; the development of the memorial library; and the establishment of the memorial's cooperating association. He supervised the development of the memorial's infrastructure, completing the evolution of the site from a locally-owned historic site to a functioning unit of the National Park Service. In his 1963 annual report, Peterson reported that the transition from a construction phase to an operational phase was completed.¹

During 1964, Superintendent Peterson worked on securing a suitable water supply from an outside source. Well-testing on site proved inadequate for the park's water needs. Superintendent Peterson also began planning for expansion of memorial parking and the auditorium. Park visitation in the first operating year of the visitor center exceeded expectations and the year-old visitor center was already requiring improvements.

In July 1964, Charles Peterson accepted a promotion to Fort Smith National Historic Site in Arkansas. His replacement was the superintendent of Gran Quivira
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National Monument in New Mexico, James M. Thomson.

James M. Thomson, 1965-1969

During his term as superintendent, Jim Thomson managed the park's needs one at a time, working from the park's master plan. Basic infrastructure necessities occupied most of his time. Often finding the park at the bottom of the budget chain (in a region with such parks as Mt. Rainier, Crater Lake, Olympic, Yosemite, Redwoods, etc.), he used available funding to achieve necessary maintenance projects.

A continuing headache was the water line to the park. The line crossed the bottom of the Lewis and Clark River and the continual presence of log rafts moving along the river caused frequent pinching and puncturing of the water line. When this occurred, all water in the visitor center, employee residences, and the utility structure would be off until the line was repaired. Repair generally took at least two days, since a repairman would have to travel two hours from Portland. Construction of a reinforced water line to eliminate these pressure problems was completed in 1965.

Increased parking space was also needed at the memorial. During periods of heavy visitation, visitors would park in open spaces off the county road and wherever they could find space. To help alleviate this problem, Thomson was able to get regional reserve funds to widen the current parking lot and later to create an overflow parking area. A space for 13 cars and 4 busses was cleared, graded, and graveled off the main parking and entrance road. Paving and installation of curbs would be completed at a later date.

Upon arrival at the memorial, Thomson requested funds to add a third bedroom to the two-bedroom superintendent's house (purchased during lands acquisition) for his family, with three sons, to be able to comfortably live in it. In 1966, the Region Four office provided $3,000 for Thomson and told him that if he could get the work done for that amount of money, he could proceed. Thomson contracted with a local carpenter and added a bedroom, a bathroom, expanded a storage space, and improved the electrical wiring in the house.
An important improvement to the visitor center was the installation of a ventilation system in the auditorium. While plans to enlarge the room were still being shuffled around in the budget process, the fan created much-needed air circulation in the room, which was often filled to capacity with visitors.

A report completed by Charles Peterson in 1964 evaluating the operations of the visitor center after its first year had identified three main problems with the new visitor center. Two of these were the limited space in the auditorium and parking area. However, the most serious problem plaguing the center was the fact that out of a total 48,249 visitors, only 34,808 actually entered the visitor center. The problem lay in the visibility of the fort replica from the parking lot and the ability of the visitor to walk straight to the replica, bypassing the visitor center and its facilities. In 1966, Thomson began the planting of a screen of trees between the replica and the parking lot that would direct visitor traffic through the visitor center and then to the replica. Ross Petersen, hired as a maintenance worker, was responsible for the tree planting. He was able to provide great assistance over the years in the memorial's tree planting efforts. Petersen, who operated his own nursery, planted trees from his own stock as well as transplanting young trees from the memorial grounds. By the time Thomson left in 1969, the growth of the trees and additional foliage between them, such as blackberry bushes, had succeeded in screening the replica from the parking lot and visitor traffic was moving through the center as intended.

Visitation at the memorial continued to grow. During Thomson's term, the memorial hosted its 100,000th visitor, who was greeted with gifts of books from the FCHA counter and dinner in Astoria. Interpretation relied heavily on a visitor-activated audio station in the replica during both Peterson and Thomson's terms as superintendent. Due to limited staff, tours were given to visiting school groups, but daily interpretive programs were not available. During Thomson's term as superintendent, the costumed demonstration programs were initiated. Park Ranger Emmet Nichols requested permission to begin black powder flintlock rifle demonstrations at the memorial in 1969. Nichols, who was an enthusiast of period weapons, offered to make a buckskin outfit for the demonstrations.
Thomson gave his permission and the memorial acquired a black powder flintlock musket like those used by the Expedition. Nichols would deliver the program a few times daily during the summer season, presenting the loading and firing skills necessary to operate the weapons such as Lewis and Clark used. Off-site programs were also developed with Fort Stevens State Park, where memorial staff would present films on the Expedition for campers at the nearby state park.

With regard to law enforcement, Thomson spent time, much of it after hours, trying to curtail illegal poachers. Open fields on the outer edges of the memorial and off the sides of the county road provided attractive poaching grounds. Park staff who occupied the two residences at the memorial felt endangered by poachers shooting so near their homes. Thomson and Nichols often went on night patrols in the park vehicle or on foot, shining flashlights to warn off potential poachers. On several occasions, Thomson and Nichols would hear shots fired and would attempt to find the poachers or just get to the animal to deprive the poachers of it. Through the later efforts of the memorial's reforestation program, the open meadow areas no longer exist, but poaching continues to be a threat at the memorial.

Jim Thomson remembers managing Fort Clatsop out of his hip pocket. Projects were always waiting to be done and when money became available, he and the staff did what they could. In November 1969, Thomson accepted a promotion to Lake Meredith National Recreation Area (Sanford National Recreation Area) in the Texas Panhandle.

Paul F. Haertel, 1969-1973

Paul Haertel replaced Thomson as superintendent of Fort Clatsop. Haertel was previously the Paradise District Ranger at Mount Rainier National Park. Fort Clatsop was Haertel's first superintendent position, a promotion opportunity which prompted him to take the position.

As superintendent, Haertel had five priorities: 1) to work with the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Committee and be able to communicate with them about the
Managing Fort Clatsop

history of the Expedition; 2) to make good contacts with local community leaders and the state governor's office; 3) to work on developing a rehabilitation project for the visitor center; 4) to develop more living history demonstrations; and 5) to build up the maintenance staff and improve the maintenance shop. A top priority for Superintendent Haertel was to enhance the Park Service's image in the local community.\\n
Superintendent Haertel was able to fund the expansion of the maintenance shop (a 16' by 32' work space was added) and to refinish the interior of residence #3 (built by the NPS during site development). The picnic area was enlarged and landscaped and a split rail fence was installed around the spring site. A stone walkway was installed to the picnic area and wood chips were replaced on the interpretive trails between the memorial sites. All work was done by park staff.

In interpretation, Haertel hired Al Stonestreet to head interpretation after the transfer of Emmet Nichols. Emphasis was placed on the development of the costumed demonstration programs to include more than the flintlock weapons demonstration. Costumed rangers began presenting demonstrations hourly and covered the topics of weapons, tools, and clothing. Work began on furnishing the fort replica with items representative of the Expedition's supplies, specifically those in the captains' quarters. The demonstrations were also taken to area schools for presentation. Nineteen seventy-two also saw the memorial's one millionth visitor, who was greeted with gifts from the Fort Clatsop Historical Association and a cake.

In continuing relations with the Lewis and Clark historical community, Fort Clatsop, under Haertel's guidance, jointly sponsored a symposium on the Expedition with the Washington and Oregon state Lewis and Clark committees. The symposium was held at the memorial and an estimated 2,600 people participated over two days. Two members of the Oregon Lewis and Clark Heritage Trail Foundation Committee, Robert Lange and Dr. Eldon Chuinard, assisted the memorial in the development of its interpretive programs, by presenting talks as guest speakers and by teaching new memorial seasonals Expedition history.
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Two significant public relations issues developed during Haertel's superintendency. The first was the proposal by AMAX Corporation to build an aluminum reduction plant near the memorial. The corporation was considering several sites for the plant, including one near Astoria. The local community was divided on the issue, debating the need for jobs that the plant would bring to the community against the possible pollution risks. The memorial clearly saw the plant as an external threat and was opposed to its location. AMAX maintained that the plant would not produce any pollution detrimental to the memorial. A study completed by Oregon State University, commissioned by Northwest Aluminum, was completed in 1971 documenting fluorine plant levels prior to any plant operations. Fort Clatsop was one testing site for the study.

The second issue that Haertel confronted was the proposal by Dr. Chuinard that the Salt Works be added to the memorial. Chuinard was an ardent supporter of the memorial who provided technical assistance and Haertel worked hard to maintain a good relationship with him while at the same time presenting the NPS' opposition to the site's inclusion.

John R. Miele, 1973-1974

In March 1973, Paul Haertel accepted the superintendent position at Lava Beds National Monument. John Miele replaced Haertel on June 24, 1973. Miele had previously been stationed in Washington D.C., where he worked on the National Parks Centennial and on the Second World Conference on National Parks held at Yellowstone and Grand Teton National Parks. Fort Clatsop was his first superintendent position.

While at Fort Clatsop, Miele concentrated on park interpretation and the restoration of the historic scene. Interpretation emphasized the scientific aspects of the Expedition and the role of the local American Indian population in assisting the Expedition. Miele was responsible for hiring the first American Indian woman, Marsha Putman, to represent Sacagawea at the fort during the summer costumed demonstration programs. Due to budget restraints, off-site school presentations were curtailed and emphasis placed on high quality, on-site interpretation.
From 1973 to 1974, Miele implemented a program to restore the historic scene around Fort Clatsop by planting 1,000 trees in the open field spaces on the memorial grounds. This program was done in cooperation with the Oregon State Forestry Department which supplied the trees, ranging from 2 to 5 years old, to be transplanted at the memorial. Ross Petersen was again responsible for the planting and maintenance of the young transplants, which consisted of species native to the area: Douglas fir, Sitka spruce, western hemlock, and western red cedar trees. Planted areas were targeted in the memorial's 1964 Master Plan. In addition to fulfilling the master plan project, the planting also helped relieve the constant mowing and maintenance required by those open spaces. Miele saw the planting as a money and time saving effort, as well as an effort to restore the historic setting.

Miele continued the memorial's opposition to the proposed AMAX Corporation aluminum reduction plant. He also continued negotiations with Dr. Chuinard in his bid for the addition of the Salt Works site in Seaside, restating the NPS position against inclusion. Miele was appointed by Oregon Governor Tom McCall to the Oregon Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Committee and arranged a trip for committee members down the Columbia River identifying Lewis and Clark sites along the Expedition's route.

Robert E. Scott, 1974-1984

After only a year at Fort Clatsop, Miele accepted the position of superintendent at Oregon Caves National Monument in May 1974. His replacement was Robert Scott, who arrived at the memorial in July 1974. Fort Clatsop was Scott's first superintendency; he previously worked as the Kings Canyon District Ranger at Sequoia-Kings Canyon National Park. Bob Scott would serve as superintendent of Fort Clatsop for ten years, the longest of any of the memorial's superintendents thus far.

The costumed demonstrations program continued to grow. Under Scott, the demonstrations program was defined as a "living history" program. Employment of an American Indian woman continued and an African-American man was recruited to portray
William Clark's slave York. Demonstrations were third-person presentations. Off-site school programs through the "Ranger on the Road" program were successfully performed during the first half of Scott's superintendency until budget cuts temporarily curtailed the program in 1979. Also researched was the proper period American flag for use at the fort replica. The memorial contacted the U.S. Army archivist and the American Heraldry association for advice and it was determined that while no mention was made of the flag in the journals of the Expedition, they probably carried the military flag in use at the time. The interpretive staff continued to develop the scope and range of the demonstration programs.

Much of Scott's time and energy went into the reforestation efforts at the memorial. Working with Ross Petersen, more than 15,000 trees were planted over a ten-year period. Petersen and Scott established a small seed bed of tree species behind the maintenance shop for growing seedlings to transplant around the memorial as needed. Areas on both sides of the entrance road and along the west side of the county road were planted. Also, in attempting to re-create the environment of the 1805-1806 coastal forest, the removal of certain tree species and filling in with historically documented species was required. More specifically, alder, due primarily to the logging of the area in the mid-1800s, had spread inland from the Lewis and Clark River where Douglas fir, western hemlock, and Sitka spruce species were common. As new seedlings grew, the alder was thinned. Care was given to thinning and planting with little disturbance of the scenery.

In public relations, one of Scott's tasks as superintendent was the acceptance on behalf of the NPS of the Salt Works site in Seaside. Scott's feelings about the site were similar to most in the Park Service who opposed the addition because it did not meet NPS standards and criteria. After the legislation was passed and signed into law, there was no choice but to incorporate the site and its management needs into the overall Fort Clatsop program. Scott negotiated an agreement with the Seaside Lions club to continue maintaining the site. Memorial staff began looking at the site to develop appropriate interpretive signs, markers, and landscaping. Scott also continued the memorial's
opposition to the AMAX corporation, which finally chose an alternate site. Scott also assisted FCHA in its efforts to become more solvent by helping arrange a loan from the Crater Lake Natural History Association.

General maintenance needs continued to be met, including the maintenance of all park signs, grounds, and buildings. Most utility lines running to the memorial were buried to eliminate intrusion on the historic setting. Project requests for the visitor center rehabilitation continued and the park's master plan came up for review by the regional office in 1975. Park heating systems were converted from oil to natural gas as a cost-effective measure.

During 1982, the FCHA board and members of memorial staff began discussing possible projects to mark the 175th anniversary of the Expedition. Through these discussions, board member Bob Ellsberg introduced local artist Stan Wanlass to the group to discuss the possible creation of a commemorative piece. Out of these discussions evolved the idea for a life-size bronze statue for display at the memorial. Superintendent Scott supported the idea and the FCHA board began planning the project. Wanlass created a statue titled "Arrival" which featured Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, a Clatsop man, and Lewis' dog, Seaman. A smaller version of the statue was cast for sale at the sales counter, as well as commemorative coins, and the funds raised used to pay for the life-size version to be placed at the memorial. The small casting of the statue continues to be sold today. Wanlass completed the clay model for the statue, working for a time in the visitor center lobby. The bronze was cast in Lehi, Utah. The completed statue was placed in the visitor center lobby with dedication ceremonies on September 9, 1983.

This project did incur some conflict. A member of the Pacific Northwest Regional office interpretive staff was against the incorporation of the statue in the memorial's interpretive exhibit hall. The questions raised by the staff member caused concern at the regional office, particularly over any financial obligation on the part of the NPS. The debate resulted in requesting approval from the Washington D.C. office although the project was already underway. Approval was given by Washington and the Regional
Stan Wanlass working on the clay model for "Arrival" in the visitor center lobby, 1983. (FOCL photo collection)
Franklin C. Walker, 1985-1990

In November 1984, after ten years, Bob Scott accepted the superintendent position at Craters of the Moon National Monument in Idaho. His replacement was Frank Walker, who arrived at Fort Clatsop from Carlsbad Caverns in New Mexico. At Carlsbad, Walker served as Chief of Interpretation and Visitor Services, where he had managed a large staff and a busy schedule. Fort Clatsop was his first superintendent position.

Upon his arrival at Fort Clatsop in March 1985, Walker first dealt with more questions regarding the "Arrival" project and the best location at the memorial for the statue, which he resolved through the placement of exhibit lighting to enhance its placement in the lobby. After a 1991 expansion project, the statue is now located in the exhibit hall.

In developing goals for the memorial, Walker recognized the need for management emphasis on infrastructure improvements. Six projects were accomplished at the memorial during Walker's superintendency. The sewer system was rehabilitated and a sewer lift station installed; parking and road improvements were completed; the trail east of the fort was made accessible for all visitors; shelters for the picnic tables were constructed; and the long-overdue visitor center rehabilitation and expansion and the installation of temporary visitor center facilities were initiated.

The achievement of the visitor center expansion was no easy task and it required working closely with the Fort Clatsop Historical Association. Walker and the association took steps to strengthen the association board and to organize the association's finances and management, both in response to evolving NPS guidelines concerning cooperating associations and to prepare the association for the fundraising efforts of the expansion project. This began with the hiring of the first association business manager (a position previously handled by the chief of interpretation) in spring of 1984 to handle the association's sales and contributions to the park. The next step was increasing the size of
the association board by three members.

The expansion project was costly. To acquire funding, FCHA, on behalf of the memorial, turned to Oregon Congressman Les AuCoin for assistance. The association offered to raise $600,000 towards the project specifically for educational developments such as library space. This fundraising was a tremendous effort on the part of the association, which broke new ground for cooperating association fundraising and contributions. Through a Memorandum of Agreement between the FCHA and the NPS for the $600,000, Congressman AuCoin was able to obtain an appropriation of $1.9 million for the visitor center rehabilitation project.

Many donations were received from around the community, supporters of the memorial, and from visitors. However, the bulk of the funds came from grants. The association busied itself writing grant applications to every foundation they could find to ask for money. The $600,000 was due in separate installments and the association worked to make one payment at a time, usually struggling to the last minute for each payment. Through grants from foundations like the Meyer Trust Fund, the goal was reached and in 1988 planning for the expansion project began. The visitor center would expand from 3,300 square feet to 12,000. Lockers and showers for rangers doing costumed demonstrations, a new library space, collections storage space, additional exhibit hall space with new exhibits, an audio-visual booth for an enlarged auditorium and a multipurpose room, and increased storage space were all completed during the project, which would be finished in 1991. Walker and the memorial staff spent a great deal of time and energy involved in the planning process and developed a cooperative working relationship with planners from the NPS' Denver Service Center and Harpers Ferry Center.

In 1989, Walker brought Dr. James Agee from the University of Washington to the memorial for an assessment of the park's needs in continuing the reforestation program and in maintaining the forest environment. Dr. Agee completed a conceptual plan for the forest landscape at the memorial, which included a ten-year guideline for maintaining the health of the memorial's forest habitat.
In interpretation, Walker made policy changes that had quite an impact on the memorial's costumed demonstrations program. Under Superintendent Scott, interpreters in costume could only be representative of members of the Expedition itself, white males, one American Indian woman, and one African American man. That policy reflected the definition of living history utilized throughout the NPS during the 1970s. Superintendent Walker shifted the memorial away from this policy and instead placed emphasis on hiring the best interpreters regardless of gender or race. This shift reflected trends occurring throughout the NPS at parks utilizing living history or costumed interpretation.

Through increased seasonal staffing and funding, the "Ranger on the Road" program, which brought the memorial's costumed demonstrations to Oregon and Washington schools, was reinstated. Thanks to the Fort Clatsop Historical Association, the memorial had $3,000 to cover the transportation and lodging costs of sending a memorial ranger on these field trips. The remainder of costs was met through NPS fee entrance program funds, which the memorial initiated in 1987. Through this arrangement, the memorial was able to fund the program.

After a visitor was injured by tripping on broken sidewalk concrete at the Salt Works site in Seaside, the memorial focused on improving the look and safety of the site. In 1985, working with Renata Niedzwiekca, historical landscape architect in the regional office, a landscape plan outlining developments and improvements for the site was developed. This plan contained a vegetation management schedule, which was implemented, and provided several landscape suggestions, including recommendations for signs and fencing. The aging sidewalk was replaced and a split-rail fence was installed, with an emphasis on landscaping the site in a similar manner as the memorial. Other recommendations included handicapped access, surrounding site development if possible, and research into proper restoration of the replica if necessary.

Frank Walker continued to maintain a strong working relationship with the community and local organizations. Walker had monthly meetings with the head of the Columbia River Maritime Museum, Fort Stevens State Park, and Clatsop County Heritage...
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Museum. The meetings provided a support base for programs and projects occurring in their organizations. The Columbia River Maritime Museum agreed to store the memorial's exhibit collections during the visitor center rehabilitation.

The visitor center expansion project commenced construction in August 1990. In September 1990, Frank Walker accepted his new assignment as Superintendent of Nez Perce National Historical Park in Idaho.

Cynthia L. Orlando, 1990-Present

Walker's replacement and the memorial's present superintendent is Cynthia Orlando, formerly the Project Manager of Ebey's Landing National Historical Reserve on Whidbey Island in Washington State. She is the first woman to hold this position at the memorial. From working at the historical reserve, Orlando brought an awareness of community involvement in the planning and protection of NPS areas.

Arriving in October 1990, Superintendent Orlando oversaw the construction of the visitor center expansion project. Her first priority was the accomplishment of planned construction and the planning of dedication ceremonies, scheduled for August 1991. The completion of construction, moving out of temporary facilities and back into the visitor center, the assembly and installation of new exhibits, and other final touches of the project consumed Orlando's first year. Dedication ceremonies included the keynote address by Congressman Les AuCoin, presentation of the NPS 75th anniversary plaque by Senator Bob Packwood, and the presentation of the Take Pride in America award from Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan, Jr. by Regional Director Charles Odegaard to FCHA.13

After the completion of the rehabilitation project, Superintendent Orlando concentrated on mobilizing the memorial against increasing external threats and adjacent land use issues. Development trends and changing land use patterns threaten to impact the memorial's resources. The potential for threatening development was noted in the boundary recommendations of the memorial's 1958 Suggested Historical Area Report. The memorial first opposed threatening development with its stand against a proposed
aluminum reduction plant in 1970. In order to direct the memorial against developing external threats, Orlando campaigned to the Regional Director, Pacific Northwest Region, for a new general management plan to replace the thirty-year-old Master Plan written by Superintendent Peterson. Under the current system, management plans are written and produced through the Denver Service Center (DSC), but due to budget and time restraints, the memorial would not have been scheduled for a new management plan for at least another 5-7 years, if not longer.¹⁴

Working with Regional Chief of Planning Keith Dunbar, Orlando convinced the Regional Director that the memorial could not afford to wait for a new general management plan to be funded and produced through DSC. A planning team, consisting of regional office and park staff, was organized to produce a new management plan at the park and regional level. It was funded and begun in 1992. Superintendent Orlando has spent much of the last two years working with the regional office in developing this new management plan, which will establish goals for the next ten to fifteen years.

Superintendent Orlando also reallocated funding for the addition of a park ranger position, a resource management specialist, laborer, and office automation assistant. She has implemented a program which she has called "professionalization" of the memorial staff in order to meet the increased management needs. Historically, the park staff took on the responsibility of all areas of park management, regardless of the division in which an employee worked. As an example, for years the interpretation staff was also responsible for cultural resource management issues, the library, and collections, in addition to their specific interpretive programs. The maintenance crew, beginning with Ross Petersen and continuing through Curt Ahola and Ron Tyson, have been responsible for natural resource management through the reforestation planting and maintenance program, in addition to regular maintenance projects. Superintendent Orlando took steps to create a working situation in which each management program within the memorial only has to be responsible for the goals and needs of that program.¹⁵ As a result, a formal resource management program was implemented at the memorial in 1992.¹⁶
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Superintendent Orlando has also placed emphasis on landscape design improvements at the Salt Works site. Working with historical landscape architect Marsha Tolon and revising development plans from the 1985 landscape design, site improvements have been targeted to enhance the site. The split-rail fence has been removed and a new cobblestone wall was constructed during August 1994 to match similar design features on the western easement of the site. The vegetation maintenance has been continued. Recommendations also include design of natural history markers similar to those on memorial trails, placement of the bulletin board on the Seaside Promenade leading to the site, new site exhibit signs, and possible development if additional acquisitions become available.

Over half of the Fort Clatsop superintendents were serving as first-time superintendents at the memorial. The main areas of management emphasis have historically centered around interpretation, routine infrastructural maintenance, reforestation activities, and visitor access. In recent years, greater management emphasis has been placed on law enforcement needs and the development of a resource management program. Over the years, the memorial's staff has: expanded its interpretation of the Lewis and Clark Expedition through different interpretive mediums such as costumed demonstrations, furnishing the fort replica, and the development of educational programs; expanded its involvement in the Lewis and Clark historical community and developed a research library for use by the public and scholars; and replanted native species of the 1805 coastal forest environment through reforestation programs. The memorial's staff has, for thirty-five years, endeavored to present the story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition as accurately as possible, while at the same time meeting the day-to-day management needs of a public memorial.

The Fort Clatsop Historical Association

The Fort Clatsop Historical Association (FCHA), established November 29, 1963, has been an integral part of management at Fort Clatsop National Memorial. Funds from
the association's sales have allowed programming and development to take place that may not have otherwise occurred. This funding allows the park staff not only to maintain programs that may have otherwise been curtailed due to budget or staffing restraints, but to plan additional programs or projects beyond the memorial's regular budget.

In 1960, the Northwest Historical Association became the cooperating association for Fort Clatsop. This association was started for Fort Vancouver National Historic Site in 1953 and expanded to include the newly-authorized Fort Clatsop. From 1960 to 1963, NHA handled sales at Fort Clatsop and oversaw the completion of the sales counter during the visitor center construction. NHA selected materials for sale at the new counter, including postcards and books. After the completion of site development at the memorial, Superintendent Peterson and park historian Burnby Bell helped organize and establish the Fort Clatsop association and ended the agreement with NHA. When this break occurred, Fort Clatsop sales averaged 75% of the Northwest Historical Association's sales.

When the association began, it consisted of a board of directors composed of three or four community supporters of the memorial. The memorial's chief ranger and superintendent were responsible for the ordering and sales of materials at the association counter in the visitor center. All proceeds from sales funded park interpretation. As the park's costumed demonstrations developed, the support of the association went to buying demonstration materials such as tanned hides for costumes, blackpowder weapons and supplies, and other items for use in the replica.

In 1974, the association was struggling to remain financially solvent and took steps to resolve the situation. The association borrowed $1,000, initially from Chief Ranger Al Stonestreet, in order to make the sales counter more viable. FCHA then borrowed $1,000 from the Crater Lake Historical Association, to repay Stonestreet. By September, FCHA had repaid the loan to the Crater Lake Natural History Association. The association board also voted to increase in size by three members, which increased their number to six.

Also in 1974, the Pacific Northwest Regional Office created the Northwest Interpretive Association, which was a joint association for Northwest parks. FCHA voted
not to join this association. Because FCHA remained an independent organization, funds raised by sales stay within the association and assist only Fort Clatsop. Under the Northwest Interpretive Association, all money would belong to that organization and funds distributed among member parks evenly. As an example, the assistance Fort Vancouver N.H.S. receives from NIA is about 10% of the sales generated at the site.19

As NPS guidelines for cooperating associations have developed, so has FCHA. Nationwide, the National Park Service wanted to separate the association sales from the park unit staff and budgets. In 1984, the association hired its first business manager, Jackie Tucker. She was replaced the following year by the current business manager, Sandra Reinebach. By hiring a manager/sales person to handle the ordering of merchandising and selling of books, the park staff was separated from managing the association's sales. To give further strength to the association, the board of directors was increased to seven members. The board currently holds quarterly meetings to handle association business. Annual reports of the association's budget and activities at Fort Clatsop National Memorial are completed and presented to the Park Service's Washington D.C. office.

The Fort Clatsop association has branched out over time in its support of the memorial. Some specific projects have been sponsored directly by the association. The association spearheaded the "Arrival" statue and medallion project. During the mid-1980s, the association began helping fund the "Ranger on the Road" program, which sends park rangers out into Oregon and Washington schools. The association has always supported the park's library collection, donating two copies of every book carried at the sales counter to the park.20 These books are used by the park staff for historical research for the costumed demonstrations and help build the memorial's library. FCHA also gives reference books to new seasonals prior to their arrival. Recently, the association purchased the Robert Lange collection for the library, which tripled the size of the park collection.21 FCHA has purchased several other rare books for the memorial collection, including a rare Reuben Gold Thwaites volume. FCHA purchased an additional thirty-two acres of land.
THE SOLID LINE REPRESENTS THE BOUNDARY TO FORT CLATSOP NATIONAL MEMORIAL, THE DASHED LINE REPRESENTS PROPERTY PLANNED TO BE DONATED TO THE PARK BY THE FORT CLATSOP HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.
north of the memorial boundary as protection against incompatible development near the memorial and when allowed donate to the memorial. FCHA's biggest project to date has been the fundraising for the visitor center expansion project. The association also went on record supporting the boundary expansion and proposed General Management Plan.

In 1991, the association received the Take Pride in America award from Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan for its tremendous support of the memorial. FCHA is a well-respected organization and serves as a model for other non-profit cooperating associations.
CHAPTER FIVE: DEVELOPMENT OF FORT CLATSOP NATIONAL MEMORIAL

In 1958, when Fort Clatsop National Memorial was created, the National Park Service was two years into a program called Mission 66. After World War II and into the 1950s, the National Park System experienced greatly increased visitation. Most parks were unprepared for these increases and park budgets did not provide for improvements and additional accommodations. Parks also suffered deterioration of existing facilities from overuse and age.

In 1951, Conrad Wirth replaced Newton Drury as Director of the National Park Service. Director Wirth began his term by strengthening ties with Congress and advancing the development needs of the National Park Service. This culminated in the Mission 66 program. Mission 66 aimed not only to rebuild park infrastructures to accommodate increased visitation and continued preservation, but it was also aimed at organizing and strengthening the Service. During the war years and the leadership of Director Drury, the Service experienced decreased budgets and increased pressures for the exploitation of park natural resources to aid the war economy. Postwar conflicts like one with the Bureau of Reclamation at Dinosaur National Monument threatened the legitimacy of Park Service policy in the face of other federal agency agendas. Mission 66 was intended to meet the demands of the public and to legitimize the agency's control and authority over the nation's parks.

To meet these goals, park and administrative facilities and roads were built or improved. The concept of the visitor center was developed, creating one building to accommodate visitor and administrative needs. One hundred fourteen visitor centers were built and 2,000 miles of roads built or improved throughout the National Park Service during from 1956 to 1966. It was during this period of park development that Fort Clatsop National Memorial was created.
Public Law 85-435 provided for the creation of Fort Clatsop National Memorial and authorized the Secretary of the Interior to identify lands associated with Fort Clatsop, as well as portions of the overland trail from the fort to the coast, for inclusion in the memorial and to acquire those lands through purchase, donation, or other necessary measures. Fulfillment of the memorial's enabling legislation would be realized when at least 100 acres were in federal ownership. The task of identifying and acquiring lands for the park was the responsibility of the Region Four Office (Region Four was renamed the Western Region Office in 1962) in San Francisco. Region Four received assistance from the Western Office of Design and Construction (WODC) and the Columbia River Basin Survey Branch (CRBSB), a NPS field office in Portland, Oregon.

The lands identification process began with regional historian John Hussey's 1957 report. In that report, Hussey identified requirements for establishing a memorial at the site and suggested three possible boundaries. The boundaries established by Hussey took into account the re-creation and protection of the historic setting, the proximity of the existing county road to the site, the proximity of a neighboring residence, and needed administrative buildings. Hussey's minimum boundary recommendation called for a 32-acre site that included the fort replica, the canoe landing and mooring sites, the spring to the north, an area to the west for administrative buildings, and space to provide a screen between the fort and the neighboring residence. The second boundary recommendation called for 95 acres and included the neighboring residence and property, more land to the south for re-creation of the historic setting, and room to relocate the entrance and exit road and restore the bluff below the fort building, where the existing county road cut through, to its natural state. A third recommendation for 418 acres included acreage to the west and along the east bank of the Lewis and Clark River, visible from the fort site, for the historic setting and to provide a buffer from modern developments.

After Hussey's report and suggested boundaries were submitted to Congress in August 1957, Senator Neuberger drafted the enabling legislation for the memorial which
1958 Boundary Study Report map. The map shows several different potential boundaries for the memorial and details the road relocation and proposed parking and building sites.
would become law in May 1958. In the enabling legislation, Neuberger set a maximum acreage limitation of 125 acres. The reasons for this limitation are not clear. Correspondence between the NPS Western Regional Office and Washington D.C. show clearly that those involved in planning the park's development wanted to avoid a land limitation. From April 1957 to February 1958, correspondence regarding Hussey's suggested boundaries indicates that the Western Regional Office considered 100 acres as the minimum acreage acceptable for establishing the memorial and recommended leaving other lands identified in the boundary recommendations for possible future acquisition. Recommendations from the Assistant Regional Director to the NPS Director dated January 7, 1958, suggested a 100-acre minimum and stressed that if legislation was introduced in Congress for establishment of Fort Clatsop National Memorial, the Service should avoid having an acreage limitation written into the bill. A letter from Region Four Director Lawrence Merriam to the Director of the National Park Service dated February 13, 1958, advised that the acreage limitation be dropped from the Fort Clatsop bill. Merriam stated

> In view of our past experience with historical areas, we are aware that such arbitrary maximum limits are frequently a severe handicap in the proper administration and development of historical parks and monuments. Witness our land problems at Cabrillo, Whitman, and Fort Vancouver. In the case of Fort Clatsop, we think such a limit would be particularly unfortunate, since we would be debarred from obtaining any really significant portion of the Lewis and Clark trail to the Coast even should it be donated to the United States. In our opinion, the greater part of the suggested 125 acres will be urgently required to protect the immediate vicinity of the fort site itself. Therefore, we recommend that an attempt be made to eliminate this provision from the bill.²

In determining why the limitation was created, it can only be assumed that it was necessary to ensure the success of the legislation. Correspondence indicates a hesitation on the part of those involved to introduce anything into the legislative process that would endanger passage of the memorial's enabling legislation.
On August 6, 1958, John Hussey completed "The Lewis and Clark Trail from Fort Clatsop to the Clatsop Plains, Oregon," a report in which he studied the identification and preservation possibilities of a section of the overland trail from the fort site to the Clatsop Plains. The enabling legislation for the memorial intended the inclusion of portions of the overland trail to the Pacific Coast used by the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Hussey concluded that 575 acres of timber lands could be obtained to protect the historical values of the trail portion and that such action would be desirable, provided that the necessary land acquisition did not adversely affect the lands acquisition process surrounding the memorial itself. The report also examined the possible inclusion in the memorial of a particular tract of forest land that belonged to the Crown Zellerbach Corporation. A news release issued from Senator Neuberger's office on June 22, 1958, reported that the Senator intended to discuss with the Crown Zellerbach Corporation the possible donation of a "segment of virgin evergreen timber stockading" to the trail to the Clatsop Plains. The tract was a stand of old growth hemlock located approximately 0.6 mile west of the fort site and consisted of about eleven acres. Hussey recommended no further consideration be given to this proposal. He dismissed the possibility of such a donation because of possible land use conflicts that would arise if the tract was obtained and the lands between the memorial and the 11-acre site continued to be owned by Crown Zellerbach. He also expressed doubts that the section of forest in question was truly old growth.

On August 19, 1958, the Division of Recreation Resource Planning, Region Four, submitted the "Boundary Study Report for Fort Clatsop National Memorial." The report was requested by Region Four Chief of Division of Recreation Resource Planning Ben H. Thompson to study boundary proposals for the park. Members of the planning team that developed the report were John Hussey, CRBSB Chief Neal Butterfield, WODC landscape architect Richard Barnett, CRBSB landscape architect Edwin L. Arnold, and CRBSB recreational planner Victor T. Ecklund. The report began by restating Hussey's first and second boundary proposals, for 32 and 95 acres respectively, to preserve the fort site and some of the historic setting. The planning team recommended two additional proposals
which a possible communication task could be considered.

map outlines ownership of a land contour west of the proposedแนว์ boundary through
1938 map from John Hissey's report on the levees and Clark hall to the Clatsop Plains. The

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Development of Fort Clatsop

which included the site and historic scene, relocation of the county road, the necessary visitor and administrative facilities, parking, employee housing, and utility facilities. Their first recommendation utilized 125 acres, which provided for the road relocation, visitor and parking needs, minimum residential and utility needs, and minimum protection against future incompatible developments. Their second boundary recommendation was for 418 acres, which provided for additional protection of the site and historic scene, inclusion of necessary facilities, and buffers against future developments.

The planning team also considered Hussey's trail to the Clatsop Plains proposal. While they agreed with Hussey's recommendations for preserving a portion of the overland trail, they recommended not pursuing the trail proposal until such time as the memorial legislation would not be endangered. On August 19, 1958, Acting Regional Director Herbert Maier recommended to the NPS Director that the trail be made a separate consideration so as not to complicate the memorial objective. The trail proposal was left for future consideration. Although the enabling legislation was signed into law with the 125-acre ceiling, the planning team continued to recommend plans for a larger park, arguing against the limitation.

The regional planning division, working in conjunction with the Portland field office and WODC, identified eleven tracts of land, totalling 124.97 acres, to complete the first boundary proposal in the study report. Sixteen tracts were identified that would have completed the second boundary proposal of 418 acres. The Portland field office worked with Clatsop County offices in establishing possible boundary lines. Consideration was given to existing property lines and developments, topography, the best possible relocation of the county road, necessary facilities, and historic site protection.

On March 11, 1959, Director Conrad Wirth designated the planning team's first proposal of 124.97 acres as the official boundary of the memorial and authorized the regional office to proceed with acquisition of identified tracts, making additional adjustments as necessary, as long as the 125 acres was not exceeded. The Secretary of the Interior approved this designation and the regional office proceeded to acquire the eleven
tracts. With the official designation of the memorial boundary, the debate over additional land acquisition was ended.

In addition to having to deal with the individual land owners, the Park Service had to deal with a number of separate rights attached to the properties in question. Clay and mineral rights, railway rights, diking rights, road rights, prospecting rights, and easement rights to Pacific Power and Light for power lines all pertained to the various tracts identified. Most of the tracts had a combination of different rights attached to them.

Of the eleven tracts identified, five tracts totaling 21.2 acres were donated. They included: tract #8 donated by the Oregon Historical Society, including the fort replica; tract #1 donated by Clatsop County; tract #2 donated by the Clatsop County Historical Society; and tracts #3A and 3B donated by the Crown Zellerbach Corporation. Senator Neuberger was again a major influence in the development of the memorial by suggesting and encouraging the president of Crown Zellerbach to donate land for the memorial's establishment.

The remaining six tracts, totalling 103.77 acres, were purchased from neighboring land owners. They included: tract #6 owned by R.J. and Jean Kraft; tract #7 owned by Kenneth and Ruth Miller, including a house; tract #5 owned by J.K. Roberts; tract #9 owned by Archie Riekkola; tract #10 owned by Elmer and Barbara Miller, which included a barn; and tract #11 owned by Otto and Alice Owen. Total cost for purchasing the six tracts was $46,150. In October 1962, the Secretary of the Interior announced that the 124.97 acres of the memorial had been donated or purchased.

In all, nine rights (two mineral, four clay, and three railway) were obtained, all through quitclaim donations. Quitclaim donations were given by Gladding, McBean, and Co. (who held most of the clay rights), Crown Zellerbach, and Clatsop County. Clatsop County also quitclaimed rights to all county roads and trails within the memorial boundaries. All rights to memorial lands are currently owned by the federal government.

One year after the final papers were cleared for all land purchases, Mrs. Alice Owen offered to sell the remainder of the Owen tract to the memorial. In the creation of
the memorial, the Park Service had purchased only a portion of the Owen property. Shortly after the purchase, Mr. Owen passed away and Mrs. Owen desired to sell the rest of their property, consisting of 79 acres. Superintendent Charles Peterson informed the regional office about the offer and inquired about the possibility of purchasing the land. The answer was negative. Purchasing the 79 acres meant not only finding the funding but also getting amendatory legislation through Congress to increase the memorial’s acreage ceiling.

The memorial’s inability to purchase the 79 acres would later cause a public relations problem. In 1970, Robert J. Hjorten, owner of the property, inquired if any road rights-of-way were maintained by the Owens in their sale to the Park Service. In 1961, when the Park Service relocated the county road, the Owens’ road was obliterated and they apparently reached the remainder of their property through a private neighboring road. Around 1972, Hjorten requested permission to build a 100-foot road from the county road to his property that would have cut through the far northwest corner of the memorial property. Superintendent Paul Haertel reviewed the proposal and referred it to the regional lands division. Upon further investigation, the service learned that Clatsop County had reserved a public use right-of-way from the old U.S. Highway 101 inward to the Hjorten property. This meant he had the ability to build a 1400-foot road. Because he had legal road access, the service rejected his proposal.

A few years later, Hjorten countered by offering a land exchange. He proposed exchanging a strip of his property adjacent to the western edge of the memorial boundary for an equal amount of land from the northwest corner of the memorial property. The exchange would have allowed Hjorten to build the 100-foot road he had proposed earlier without cutting through memorial lands. Superintendent Bob Scott recommended acceptance of the proposal, but the regional office was not receptive. However, the Park Service never had to make a decision regarding this offer. In November 1978, Hjorten conveyed his property to the Publisher's Paper Company. The eight-year wait was frustrating for Hjorten, who claimed he could not develop or sell the property without a
Hjorten had written to Senator Mark Hatfield in 1975 requesting assistance in dealing with the Park Service. Senator Hatfield inquired about the matter on his behalf, questioning why an agreement had not been reached. After eight years with no resolution, Hjorten rid himself of the property, probably due to the inability to reach a compromise with the Park Service.

The memorial's land holdings changed for the first time when the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978 passed Congress and the Salt Works site in Seaside was officially added to the memorial. This legislation amended the memorial's enabling legislation by increasing the acreage ceiling to 130 acres. The addition of the 100-by-100-foot city lot was donated to the Park Service by the Oregon Historical Society on June 23, 1979. The addition raised the total acreage of the memorial to 125.2 acres.

In 1989, Fort Clatsop was offered approximately 32 acres on the west side of the Lewis and Clark River and adjacent to the memorial's western boundary for $32,000. The property belonged to Cavenham Forest Industries, who acquired Crown Zellerbach assets in May 1986 and continues to own the timber property to the west of the memorial as a division of Hansen Natural Resources Company, a conglomerate headquartered in Great Britain. Superintendent Frank Walker informed the regional office of the offer and inquired about the possibility of acquiring the land. Other parties were interested in acquiring the property and the issue of external threats to the memorial through the development of this property had to be addressed. Superintendent Walker favored the acquisition, but the regional office responded negatively for the same reasons the Owens' offer had been turned down in 1963. Superintendent Walker then contacted the Nature Conservancy of Oregon in hopes the organization could purchase the property. When the Nature Conservancy also declined the offer, the Fort Clatsop Historical Association began negotiating with Cavenham to purchase the property. The cooperating association board agreed acquisition of the property was in the best interest of the memorial, protecting it from incompatible development. Chairman Michael Foster contacted Cavenham Industries and negotiated the land purchase. The association purchased the 32 acres for $16,000, half
the assessed value of the property, with the intent to donate the land to the memorial at a later date. FCHA continues to hold the property until amendatory legislation raises the acreage limitation and the memorial can incorporate the property.

Site Development

In 1960, the creation of an administrative staff for the memorial began. Charles Peterson, formerly the Assistant Superintendent at Morristown National Historical Park, became the first superintendent of the memorial on May 29, 1960. On September 30, 1960, Fort Clatsop National Memorial became an official administrative unit of the National Park System. In October 1962, the 124.97 acres identified by the planning team as the best possible acquisitions for the memorial's establishment were vested in federal ownership. The Secretary of the Interior issued a public statement declaring the memorial formally established pursuant to P.L. 85-435 (72 Stat. 153).

Beyond the proposal and successful campaign for creation of a national park unit, National Park Service staff become involved in the development of a concept for that park's design and function. For Fort Clatsop, that concept was begun by John Hussey in his Suggested Historical Area report of 1957. His idea for a memorial at the site was shaped by Mission 66 development policies and visitor use attitudes. Hussey recommended that a memorial at the Fort Clatsop site interpret the historic Lewis and Clark Expedition through the use of the fort replica and the re-creation of the historic scene. Hussey recognized the need for a visitor center, providing visitor facilities, interpretive exhibits, and administrative offices. He recommended the relocation of the county road and the acquisition of buffer areas to protect the historical integrity from residential and commercial developments that were "becoming more prominent." Hussey stressed acquisition of enough property around the fort site for adequate building and parking space, but also for the re-creation of the "atmosphere of primeval forest which should be created around the actual fort site." It was John Hussey who first imagined the
memorial as a park where the visitor could learn about the Corps of Discovery through interpretive media in a visitor center and then be able to walk to the fort replica and experience a change in environment, from the modern to a re-creation of the environment that the Expedition experienced.

Site development involves the implementation of the design concept prepared for a park unit. The planning team directed to establish boundaries for the memorial, working under the acreage ceiling, selected lands around the fort site that allowed for development of the memorial. After acquiring title to those lands, the process of achieving the suggested historical area report's concept for Fort Clatsop National Memorial began to develop.

From 1960 to 1965, the period of Charles Peterson's term as superintendent, four projects formed the genesis of the memorial as an operating unit of the National Park Service. These four projects were: the relocation of the county road, the development and building of the visitor center, the remodeling of the fort replica, and the creation of a park master plan.

Relocation of Fort Clatsop Loop Road

In 1958, the county road passing the Fort Clatsop site, the Fort Clatsop Loop Road, cut through the ridge between the fort site and the Lewis and Clark River, past the canoe landing and mooring site. A small access road and parking area were located next to the fort replica. If the memorial was to re-create the historic scene of 1805-1806, the road would have to be moved. NPS Director Conrad Wirth agreed with this assessment when he viewed the site from the air in 1958.

The Region Four planning team, in deciding the memorial's boundaries, did so with consideration of the road relocation. They chose to shift the county road north and west, about to the edge of the proposed northern and western boundaries. The existing road would then be demolished and the strip of land returned to its natural state. The Park Service would control the section of Fort Clatsop Loop Road passing through the memorial's boundaries. In purchasing land from Clatsop County, the Park Service
1960 map showing the relocation of the county road.
required Clatsop County to quitclaim all rights to roads and trails on the property. The Park Service also requested a Memorandum of Understanding with the county for maintenance of the section of Fort Clatsop Loop Road to be built. The Clatsop County commissioners were at first reluctant to accept this arrangement and did not want to quitclaim the county's right-of-way. The Commissioners were concerned with their status in the maintenance agreements and the quality of the reconstructed road section.

Because a good portion of the lands surrounding the memorial were timber lands owned by timber corporations, the county road was used heavily by logging trucks. The county commissioners wanted assurances from the Park Service that the reconstructed road would be able to handle the weight of loaded logging trucks and not interfere with their use of the road. In addition, the county also was concerned about memorandum agreements with the Park Service (which would be revocable) and the source of funding for any future construction. On August 14, 1961, the Clatsop County Engineer approved the road design for the relocation. The Clatsop County Commissioners then agreed to the quitclaim arrangement, providing that the agreement contain the statement that the county would not be responsible for the costs of any future construction.9 The quitclaim deed was recorded October 13, 1961.10

Following the agreement with Clatsop County, road relocation began. The construction contract was awarded to a local construction company, Grimstad and Vanderveldt, Inc. During the construction period, not only would the new section of road be completed, but all entrance and exit roads and parking areas as well. An entrance/exit road from Fort Clatsop Loop Road to the parking area and visitor center location was constructed, as well as an entrance road to the memorial's residence #1 (the house purchased from the Millers), a spur road to residence #3 (employee residence to be built by the Park Service), a spur road from Fort Clatsop Loop Road to the utility structure, and parking areas at both residences, the utility structure, and visitor center parking. The visitor center parking area provided for twenty-seven cars, with three additional bus and trailer spaces. The original parking plan provided for only fourteen cars. Superintendent
View of entrance to fort replica from county road, 1958. (FOCL photo collection)
Peterson recommended the increase and tried to increase the parking area further just prior to the completion of construction. In all, 7,407 feet of road and 2,366 square yards of parking were constructed and completed by July 1962.

Since the original construction of the memorial’s roads, the parking area has been upgraded three times and spur roads behind the visitor center developed and paved. The memorial continues to hold a Memorandum of Understanding with Clatsop County for minor road maintenance.

The contract with Grimstad and Vanderveldt, Inc., was modified during road construction to include the razing of certain structures to make way for the construction of new memorial buildings. The Miller barn, corral, and shed which lay in the path of the new road, and the Kraft’s shed and corral which was visible from the entrance road, were eliminated. The ruins of the canoe landing site dock, previously owned by the Crown Zellerbach Corporation, were also removed.

**Building Construction**

As discussed earlier, Fort Clatsop was developed during the Mission 66 period of the Park Service which meant an emphasis was placed on planning for a single building for administrative and visitor needs. The site’s rural location required construction of necessary visitor and administrative facilities. The Region Four planning division determined the memorial would need a visitor center, at least one employee residence, and a utility structure. In purchasing the Miller residence, the memorial would already have one two-bedroom house available for employee housing. Funding was made available to build one additional employee housing unit.

A contract was awarded in March 1962 to the McLinn Construction Company of Tacoma, Washington, for the construction of the visitor center, one three-bedroom employee residence, and a utility shop. McLinn brought in the lowest bid of $103,281. The visitor center building was designed to hold administrative offices for the park staff, an exhibit hall and auditorium for interpretation, a visitor information and sales counter,
The completed Fort Clatsop National Memorial visitor center, 1963. (FOCL photo collection)

View of path from visitor center to fort replica, March 1963. (FOCL photo collection)
and other visitor facilities. The visitor center was designed by the WODC office in conjunction with the park staff. The structure was 3,300 square feet. It contained three offices, a combination mail/break room, and a small 36-seat auditorium. The structure was typical of the Mission 66 era visitor center construction. The three-bedroom residence was built at the north end of the memorial. Near the employee residence, a small utility structure was built for use as a maintenance facility and storage unit.

All construction took place between June 30, 1961, and January 1963. Special use permits were obtained for utilities and lines installed. Public dedication ceremonies for the visitor center were held on August 25, 1963, which also marked the 47th anniversary of the National Park Service.

Restoration of the Fort Replica and its Historic Scene

In considering the site of Fort Clatsop for national memorial status in 1955, an important issue for the Park Service was the accuracy of the replica. The use of replication and restoration in the interpretation of America's historic sites and the proper application of these mediums has been debated by Park Service historians since the NPS incorporation of national historic sites under the 1935 Historic Sites Act. The problems of legitimacy and accuracy in replications troubled the Park Service from the beginning at the George Washington and Abraham Lincoln birthplace memorials. Both sites were received by the Park Service with erroneously replicated buildings. With regards to Fort Clatsop, it was important to the park service that the goal of historical accuracy and the presentation of the Lewis and Clark Expedition would not be compromised by faulty reproduction.

When national memorial status was granted to Fort Clatsop, research to improve the historical accuracy of the replica began with the 1959 Historic Structures Report and Furnishings Plan, Part One. The report consisted of six sections: administrative data, prepared by John Hussey; historical data, prepared by historian Carl P. Russell; architectural data, prepared by Charles S. Pope; archeological data, prepared by Paul J.F. Schumacher; landscape data, prepared by landscape architect Harold G. Fowler; and the
furnishings data, also prepared by John Hussey.

In the administrative data section, Hussey listed the report's conclusions. In the context that the replica would be used as a historic exhibit, it was determined that

the existing log shell...will require reconstruction to remove elements admittedly not now historically accurate and to add features to bring the structure into conformity with what is known concerning the original Fort Clatsop built by Lewis and Clark in 1805-06.\(^\text{12}\)

Hussey estimated the reconstruction would cost $17,000 for all materials, labor, surveys, plans, and supervision. Since the 1960 fiscal year budget included $8,000 for the memorial, Hussey requested an additional $9,000 be allocated.\(^\text{13}\)

The historical data for the fort replica was compiled mainly from the examination of the Expedition's journals. Carl Russell examined this documentation for any information regarding the physical nature of the structure, the construction methods used, the resource materials available to the Expedition at the site, the tools and equipment in the Expedition's possession, and type of furnishings constructed. Russell researched William Clark's involvement in the construction of other frontier forts, both before and after the Expedition, looking at the style of construction with which Clark seemed familiar. Russell also examined the journals and notes regarding the building of the Expedition's 1803-1804 winter quarters, Fort Mandan, completing a sketch of the Fort Mandan structure from that documentation.

From all these sources, Russell gave his estimation of the materials and construction styles used in building the fort. For example, Russell concluded that the party probably did not peel the logs for the fort, that little shaping of the logs was done, and that there was no conclusive evidence of what style of corner notch was used in construction. Russell also discussed the tools used by the Expedition and how their use would have affected the construction style and look of the fort. The style of furniture was also examined and Russell included sketches of what he believed the furnishings looked like. Appendix B of the report listed tools and food stores.
Finally, Russell compared the replica to the data he had compiled and recommended several improvements for making the replica more representative of the available data. Briefly, these were:

1. Provide earth fill to hide the exposed concrete foundation of the replica.

2. Stain the logs to replicate a natural weathered look. The wolmanization process had caused a yellowing of the replica logs.

3. Use a clay plaster mix utilizing clay deposits on site to daub between the replica logs. No daubing had been done on the replica and the Expedition journals specifically mention "chinking and daubing" in constructing the original fort.

4. Replace the cedar shake roof with hand-hewn plank roofing.

5. Install wood gutters to conceal the existing gutters. Russell felt that with public use, methods should be used to keep the parade ground from turning into a quagmire.

6. Create smoke vents in ceiling of rooms with central fireplaces.

7. Build a fireplace with exterior chimney for the captain's quarters.

8. Make and install hand-hewn plank flooring for rooms.

9. Create central fireplace pits for rooms with central fireplaces.

10. Create half lofts for storage in captain's quarters and at least two enlisted men's rooms.

11. Make doors for all doorways.

12. Construct a sentry box loosely resembling a small outhouse without a door. However, Russell recommended not
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building the sentry box without giving an explanation.

13. Install the water gate, or second gate, in the back corner of the parade ground. A wood pile for firewood supply should be kept outside this gate.

14. Replace or conceal iron hinges on main gate.

15. Cover the parade ground with fill to prevent quagmire of mud.

16. Construct crude furnishings, bunks, tables, and chairs, and lay out examples of items the Expedition used.

In completing his recommendations, Russell gave examples of other Park Service reconstruction projects, such as the reconstructed army hut at Morristown National Historical Park, for comparison and construction data.  

In conclusion, Russell stated that if the Park Service were to build a replica of the Fort Clatsop structure from scratch, it would probably be rougher and have less concern with permanency than the existing replica. The "most glaring" errors of the replica, according to Russell, were the close fitting logs and the perfect vertical lines at the corners, which could only be corrected by completely rebuilding the replica. Due to the time and effort of the many local people and organizations in building the replica, Russell acknowledged it would be difficult to justify tearing it down and rebuilding. He advised the Park Service could do good interpretive work at the site if the "mark of the American backwoods craftsman" was evident.

Architectural data consisted of the working drawings by local architect John Wicks which had been used in constructing the replica. WODC architect Charles S. Pope completed architectural drawings for the possible reconstruction projects listed by Russell in the historical data section. The construction projects detailed in Pope's drawings were covered by Russell in the historical data section.

Archeological data consisted of a review of past excavations done at the site and recommendations for further study. Paul Schumacher recommended subsurface excavation
prior to completion of the landscape work. Schumacher estimated that with the use of a backhoe\textsuperscript{16}, the work could be completed in two to four days at a cost of $1,000. Schumacher also recommended dating materials from firepits located during his 1957 excavations by a new thermoluminescent dating process.

Landscape data consisted of recommendations for preparation of a design and plan for the landscape at the site. Fowler determined the journals had been sufficiently researched through the site determination process. He suggested an examination of existing virgin Oregon coastal forest to determine the general appearance needed at the memorial. He recommended that WODC prepare the landscape plans at the same time that design plans for the replica restoration were completed.

Fowler gave several recommendations for those plans. He suggested that the landscaping in the vicinity of the replica and at the overlook onto the Lewis and Clark River should re-create a wilderness atmosphere. The visitor center and parking should be screened by using not only native conifer species, but also native deciduous trees such as alder. All additional plantings should be done to supplement the existing conifers and a dense forest should be avoided due to the darkness it would create.\textsuperscript{17} Screens around the overlook onto the river and Saddle Mountain would be done only to conceal physical structures. Finally, the trails to the canoe landing, spring, and eastern section of the trail to the coast should be re-established.

In the furnishings data section, John Hussey refers back to Carl Russell’s historical data report. Russell also was preparing the Preliminary Exhibit Plan for the fort replica, which provided supplementary data to his historical report. Hussey recommended following Russell’s suggestions and using those guidelines as the replica’s furnishings plan. He estimated that $5,800 of the $17,000 projected remodeling cost would be used for replica furnishings.

This 1959 report constituted the preliminary data for the replica reconstruction. Part I was intended "to be a clarification of the scope of work, the coordination and resolution of the various investigations, and the definitions of guides for the work to be
done in Part II. Part II, completed December 1962 and approved by the regional office in April 1963, outlined decisions regarding the replica restoration, responding to further investigations into the feasibility and authenticity of recommendations from Part I.

Part I was reviewed by the regional office, the WODC office, and the Washington D.C. office. Superintendent Peterson made many contacts, both inside and outside the Park Service, for data and opinions regarding the recommendations in Part I of the Historic Structures Report. He consulted with other parks containing reconstructed log structures, including his previous work station Morristown National Historical Park, and with Lewis and Clark historians. Other sources consulted regarding the original structure were the OHS depositions from 1900 and the 1957 interview with Harlan Smith.

Part II of the Historic Structures Report and Furnishings Plan was much more refined. Specific actions and purposes in remodeling the replica structure were outlined. The report was again divided into six sections: administrative; historical; architectural; archeological; landscape; and furnishings data. This report was completed mostly by Superintendent Peterson and park historian Burnby Bell, incorporating review comments and additional research completed during the interim.

Administrative data presented the proposed use and provisions for operating the replica as a house museum. The replica was identified as Building #4, category III, work code 7. The replica was to be "reconstructed, furnished, and used as a historical exhibit." In furnishing the replica, it was to look as it did the day the Expedition left. Considering theft and vandalism, the planners did not feel secure in furnishing the replica with items representative of everyday life at the fort. During the summer season, one or more seasonals would be at the fort and provide visitor interpretation. For the off-season and times when no ranger was available at the fort, an audio station would be installed to provide a taped interpretive narration. Approximate hours of operation were 9 A.M. to 9 P.M. during the summer and 9 A.M. to 6 P.M. during the off-season. The estimated cost for the remodeling project remained at $17,000, including the cost of the audio station.

The historical data section, in summarizing the historical data report completed by
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Carl Russell and the continuing research done by the park staff, stated that the floor plan and some details of the replica conformed to the data available in the Expedition journals. "All other work done and to be done is based on conjecture and contemporary structures, and is representative of the summary beliefs of individuals who have performed research for the project." The report also presented information regarding the north-south directional placement of the fort. In examining the 1900 OHS depositions as well as the 1957 Smith interview and subsequent correspondence with Harlan Smith, the planners determined that the fort most likely was placed in an east-west direction rather than the replica's north-south placement. The cost of reorientation of the replica was estimated at $9,000 for construction and $1,500 for overhead if done prior to the reconstruction, and two to three times that amount if done afterward. Overall, the planners stated that the current orientation of the replica was satisfactory from an interpretive standpoint.

The architectural data section presented modified recommendations for the replica remodeling. The recommendations made by Carl Russell in Part I were restudied and re-examined for their feasibility and necessity by Park Service planners. Most of the original recommendations were modified.

Recommendations for covering the concrete foundation, building half lofts in the cabin rooms, and building the fireplace and chimney in the captains' quarters remained the same. All the other recommendations were modified, most only minor changes to the design or materials suggested. The most significant changes included closing the "gun ports" located in the outside walls of the replica. Windows looking into the parade ground were to be cut and the log material taken out used to patch the gun ports. Daubing was to be done only in select spots, not all over the replica. Plans for central fireplaces and roof vents were eliminated for all but the meat room. The sentry box would be built and used to house the visitor-activated audio narration unit. All rooms and the parade ground were to be excavated with drain lines and a gravel base with shredded bark cover for proper water drainage. Gutters were to be placed only over doorways.

It was determined that all reconstruction work should be done over an extended
Memorial staff hanging reconstructed main fort gate, July 1964. (FOCL photo collection)

Construction of the exterior fireplace for the captains' room, July 1964. (FOCL photo collection)
period of time in order to allow visitation to continue with minimal disruptions. An order in which to complete the projects was established. The creation of parade ground windows and the closing of the gun ports received top priority, followed by the construction of the chimney for the captains' room. This was followed by the construction of the water gate, the reconstruction without iron hinges of the main gate, drainage ground work, construction of the sentry box, completion of the fireplace in the captains' room, the construction of firebacks in the enlisted men's quarters, the central fireplace in the meat room, re-roofing, construction of doors, flooring, and lastly, half-lofts and shelves.

The park staff concluded that reorientation of the replica was not feasible and that not enough evidence supported a reorientation. With regards to the "mechanically perfect" construction noted by Carl Russell in Part I, it was concluded that weathering had softened the appearance of the replica and no additional work to roughen its appearance would be necessary.

The archeological data section of Part I had suggested further excavations with a backhoe before remodeling projects began. The excavations were carried out during the summer of 1961 and the results presented in Part II of the study. The excavations were again completed by Paul Schumacher.

During these excavations, firepits were uncovered and material from mid-to-late nineteenth century settlement were uncovered. No evidence of the Lewis and Clark Expedition was found. The report concluded that historical evidence was strong enough to substantiate the site's location and that no further excavation work needed to be done, except for monitoring of future ground-breaking construction. The report also stated that excavation work would be complicated by the amount of tree roots lying underground, which would have destroyed any evidence.21

The landscape data section referred to the park master plan being written by the park staff. Volume I, Chapter 5, outlined the design plans for landscaping the memorial. The area around the fort replica was targeted for replanting as well as the location of the old county road, areas between the replica and modern buildings on site, and large open
field spaces to the south of the replica. Native tree and plant species were to be used.

Finally, the recommendations for furnishing the replica were outlined in the furnishings and exhibition section. Each individual room was listed with the furnishings to be constructed for each. The three enlisted men's rooms were to be furnished with tables and benches, a gun rack, and four bunks, each two beds high. Room #2 was to have a tree stump with stools in place of the table and benches. This was derived from the oral testimony of settlers documenting the site, who reported that a large tree stump was located in one room of the fort and used as a table. There is no mention in the Expedition journals to any stump. The meat storage room was to have overhead poles and wall pegs used for the hanging and drying of jerky. The orderly room would be furnished with a table, two benches, two bunks, and a gun rack. The captain's room would have a large table, two chairs, two drawing boards, two single beds, and two shelves. The Charbonneau family room would be furnished with a low double pallet, a small table, and two chairs. In the parade ground, a period flag would be flown and outside the water gate a large utility table would be placed.

The goal in furnishing the replica was to make it look as it did when the Expedition left and gave the fort to Chief Comowool. Park administration determined that the risk of theft and vandalism was too great to be able to present replica objects that would have been carried and used by the Expedition. Replica furnishings would change as the park's interpretation programs developed.

Reforestation to re-create the forest atmosphere that would have existed during 1805-1806 initially centered around the fort replica and between modern construction, as identified in the landscape sections of the historic structure reports. Tree and plant species identified by Lewis and Clark in their journals and other sources describing the plant life of the early nineteenth century were to be used to determine what species to plant. Planting around the fort replica was postponed until after reconstruction work was done. Emphasis was placed on the restoration of the old county road area on the east side of the replica and supplementing the second growth trees already in existence. Tree screens were
begun in 1962 around modern construction by transplanting young trees from other areas on the memorial grounds. Planting efforts also occurred along trails constructed to the canoe landing and spring. Reforestation continued later in various stages to fill in areas identified in the 1964 Master Plan.

1964 Master Plan

The final task to make the memorial a fully functioning unit of the National Park Service was the creation of a master plan document for the site. This was begun in 1959 by John Hussey. When Superintendent Peterson started on June 27, 1960, he continued progress on the park's master plan. Work on this document continued from 1960 until it was approved in 1964. The purpose of Fort Clatsop National Memorial, as defined by the 1964 approved Master Plan, was "to provide opportunity at this authentic site for visitors to gain knowledge and inspiration from the story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition; and to provide awareness of the significance of this epic feat of exploration in winning the west for the United States."

The National Park Service used six service objectives for the management of park units. They were:

I. To provide for the highest quality of use and enjoyment of the National Park System by increased millions of visitors in years to come.

II. To conserve and manage for their highest purpose the natural, historical, and recreational resources of the National Park System.

III. To develop the National Park System through inclusion of additional areas of scenic, scientific, historical, and recreational value to the nation.

IV. To participate actively with organizations of this and other nations in conserving, improving and renewing the total environment.

V. To communicate the cultural, inspirational, and recreational significance of the American heritage as represented in the National Park System.

VI. To increase the effectiveness of the National Park Service as a "people
serving" organization dedicated to park conservation, historical preservation and outdoor recreation.

Within these six service objectives, the master plan defined how the park would operate to meet those objectives:

I. To encourage visitor use and enjoyment of the park's historic, scenic, and natural resources. This was to be achieved through the maintenance of historic trails to the river, the ocean, and other historic sites; and by identifying examples of natural resources along trail routes and providing natural history interpretation at the visitor center. The park would perform historical research to provide knowledge for interpretation, preservation, and authentic reconstruction.

II. To maintain the historic setting through careful reconstruction and the use of screen plantings, proper curatorial care of the fort replica, and the separation of new developments from historic exhibits.

III. The master plan did not call for additions to the park, stating that existing boundaries were adequate for developmental needs.

IV. To cooperate with federal, state, and local agencies in resource conservation and encourage land use and development harmonious to the park through the appreciation of the park by the local community.

V. To interpret the Lewis and Clark story for the visitor, making sure the interpretation is appropriate for all types of visitors to the park, and to update and improve the interpretation program and facilities as needed. The fort replica and surrounding grounds would be used to make clear the conditions under which the expedition camped.

VI. To promote the training of permanent and seasonal staff as available and the use of appropriate NPS management guides and tools.

The master plan outlined possible future management programs for Fort Clatsop. These projects were divided into three categories: lands, staff, and visitor needs. The plan identified two program needs as land issues: tree planting to create screens between the fort scene and modern improvements to foster the historic scene, and the development of a
maintenance program to preserve the new construction. Numerous visitor needs were identified. Among them was improving the parking lot to hold an additional four busses and 18 cars; replacing the pit toilets near the picnic facilities with a modern restroom; remodeling the information and sales counter in the visitor center; enlarging the audiovisual theater to hold at least twice the present capacity; preparing and printing a historical handbook; installing better signs on Highway 101; developing an audio interpretation station at the canoe landing; creating a display of Indian artifacts related to the Expedition; installing more picnic tables; providing for park staff living on site for security; and training park staff in visitor safety. Finally, staff needs consisted of using training opportunities as they became available; executing regular maintenance programs; and enlarging the maintenance utility structure.

The 1964 master plan dealt primarily with visitor needs that became apparent shortly after completion of the visitor center. The need for a larger auditorium, increased visitor parking, and larger picnic facilities were the most ambitious programs identified. Originally intended to last for ten years, thirty years passed between the completion of the memorial's master planning document and the preparation of a new general management plan, completed in 1995.
CHAPTER SIX: VISITOR USE AND FACILITY MAINTENANCE

Fort Clatsop is a day use park and its location near the Oregon Coast attracts heavy coastal tourist traffic. Visitation at the site has been on a steady climb since 1963, the opening of the visitor center and the start of visitor services by memorial staff. Visitation in 1963 was 71,707; 115,586 in 1970; 100,060 in 1980; and 279,799 in 1991.\(^1\) Visitation is at its peak during the summer months, especially August. Nineteen-ninety-one numbers reflect the memorial’s highest visitation ever. Current visitation averages around a quarter of a million people annually. Visitation pressures at the memorial have resulted in parking improvements and the expansion of the visitor center, and the popularity of the site is not dwindling. Summer months usually find crowded rooms in the fort replica. Studies on the carrying capacity of the memorial are needed to determine future goals in managing memorial visitation.

Visitor Use Studies

In 1986, a visitor survey was conducted in coordination with the Oregon State University Cooperative Park Studies Unit and directed by Marty E. Lee. The survey was intended to be a pulse of visitors to Fort Clatsop, their demographics, and the characteristics of their visit to the memorial and to the area. A similar pulse survey was conducted in 1987. These pulses were taken on a Friday through Sunday summer weekend. While their results provide valuable information about summer visitation, it was not representative of groups that arrive on bus tours nor school groups, which visit mainly during the spring and fall. School groups are a large portion of the memorial audience, so interpretive staff and funding over the years has been dedicated to providing high quality on-site educational programs for them.

Surveys were handed out to a random sample of 200 memorial visitors, with family groups selecting one member to respond to the survey. Of 200 surveys given out, there was a 73% return rate. From the returned samples, some key findings were: 27% of visitors were 12 or younger; 27% were 30 to 50; 20% were 60 or older; the average length of stay was 1.7...
hours; 75% of visitors arrived in a family group; 44% were from the state of Oregon; and 68% were first-time visitors. Other demographics included in the report show the educational, marital, and employment status of visitors, why they visited the memorial, how they heard about it, and characteristics of the visitors' stay along the Oregon Coast. Visitor evaluations and comments were also included, which were overwhelmingly favorable to the memorial, its programs, its staff, and especially its maintenance of park grounds. The areas most cited for improvement by the visitors surveyed was the need for more highway directional signs and RV parking.

The visitor comments from the survey provide an idea of how visitors remember Fort Clatsop as they are leaving. The most favorable impression was how clean the park was, especially its restrooms. Families with children appreciated the hands-on learning of the replica and educational opportunities for their children beyond looking at museum exhibits and watching films. Visitors also appreciated the atmosphere of the replica and the walking trails. Many found the talks informative, educational, and the rangers to be very friendly and helpful. Some sample comments were:

"Especially liked the ability to handle artifacts and living history - very good for young children."

"I really enjoyed the recreational fort and the way it was furnished and smelled."

"I visit Fort Clatsop at least once per year and consider it an excellent facility. It is one of my favorite attractions for visiting friends."

"Would have enjoyed it more when there weren't so many people going in and out."

"We were impressed."

"We thought it was very nice and have told several people not to miss it when they travelling in your area."³

**Visitor Protection and Safety**

Since the memorial is a day-use park and is relatively small in size, law enforcement has not been given management emphasis. During the planning phase of the memorial, NPS
administrators concluded that having staff live on-site would be necessary for law enforcement purposes due to its rural location outside of Astoria and Warrenton city limits. Two employee residences were established. One house was purchased through land acquisition for the memorial's establishment and is classified as building #1. The second, classified as building #3, was built by the Park Service during site development. Law enforcement concerns at the memorial have historically centered around theft of replica items, trespassing (by people and neighboring farm animals), burglary of visitor cars, vandalism, speeding on Fort Clatsop Loop Road, mushroom picking, and poaching.

The reforestation program created its own problem during the Christmas holiday season. When young trees were transplanted along the county road and the trees ranged around four to five feet in height, the occasional tree would be cut illegally and become someone's Christmas tree.

Aside from examples such as the night patrols conducted by Superintendent Thomson, law enforcement patrols have not been consistently conducted at the memorial. Memorial staff relied on Clatsop County authorities in handling violations. Case incident reports have not always been consistently utilized for reporting violations. The lack of documentation for violations at the memorial between 1958 and 1990 has resulted in a lack of understanding of what the memorial's true law enforcement needs are.

Since 1988, there has been an increase in drug paraphernalia found along Fort Clatsop Loop Road. Incidents of apparent ritual animal killings have also surfaced at the memorial in the last few years. The memorial consults with the Oregon State Police Game Division regarding poaching and the memorial has also coordinated with the U.S. Coast Guard for use of their helicopter for aerial patrols. Theft, trespassing, and vandalism continue to be law enforcement worries. As part of resource management program development, a park ranger position for law enforcement management needs was filled in 1992. As regular, consistent patrols occur, a clearer picture of the memorial's law enforcement needs will develop.

The memorial updated its Memorandum of Agreement with the Clatsop County Sheriff's Department for assistance with law enforcement and radio frequency use in 1992.
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The memorial law enforcement ranger, was deputized by the Clatsop County sheriff. Agreements for radio frequency use were developed and executed with the Astoria City Police, the U.S. Coast Guard, and the Oregon Department of Forestry. The law enforcement ranger has developed contacts and mutually beneficial relationships with various other local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies in the Clatsop County area.

Roads and Parking

Memorial roads total 1.8 miles and consist of the Fort Clatsop Loop Road, the entrance road, service roads, and a portion of an old road leading from the Fort Clatsop Loop Road to the privately owned Cavenham property. During site development, the memorial relocated Fort Clatsop Loop Road and constructed an entrance road, service roads, and the visitor center parking lot. Just as the visitor center auditorium quickly proved to be too small, the visitor center parking area also immediately needed expansion. In 1967, the parking lot was expanded in width, allowing parking on both sides of the lane, and an additional area was cleared, graded, and graveled. While the addition provided 13 more car and 4 bus spaces, parking still overflowed during the summer months. Visitors would park on the grass along the entrance road and along Fort Clatsop Loop Road. On busy summer months, a memorial employee would have to direct traffic and parking. In 1973, an overflow lot was built to help ease the flow and at the same time "the service road and employee parking area behind the visitor center paved, and the visitor walkway to the fort re-paved."

In 1989 and 1991, during the visitor center expansion project, the memorial received Federal Lands Highway Program funds for the creation of an overflow parking area and the rehabilitation of Fort Clatsop Loop Road. The parking expansion was completed following an overflow parking recommendation in the 1964 Master Plan. The overflow lot provided for 25 car and 10 bus or trailer spaces. Fort Clatsop Loop road was widened and a bicycle lane created. Drainage along the parking and road areas was also improved.
Visitor Use and Maintenance

Facilities

Superintendents at the memorial have historically placed an emphasis on achieving necessary additions and rehabilitation of the memorial's buildings, as well as general cyclic maintenance, such as painting. In the case of the visitor center expansion project, budget requests and planning for additions or rehabilitation were begun under Superintendent Peterson, who had overseen the original visitor center construction. The following is a summary of buildings and projects.

**Employee Residences, #1 and #3.** Residence #1 was purchased with the Miller property during the development of the memorial. Originally a two-bedroom, one-bath house, an additional bedroom, bath, and storage space were added in 1967. The electrical wiring was replaced during the same project. The project was completed by a local carpenter for $3,000. Since the remodeling, the residence has been regularly painted, interior and exterior. The interior of residence #3, built by the NPS in 1963, was refinished in 1972 and otherwise has received regular maintenance.

**Maintenance Shop.** Constructed in 1961 during site development construction, the maintenance shop has undergone two expansions. The first was completed in 1973 when a 16' by 32' workspace was added. In 1988, some improvements were made with the addition of an office space. The building is currently 1680 square feet, with one 720 square foot work room. In 1988, three underground fuel oil tanks, which were no longer necessary, were removed.

Funding in the 1995 budget is targeted for the addition of a 750-square-foot woodworking space; a covered 700-square-foot equipment storage area; and eight parking spaces. The memorial's remaining underground fuel tank, which does not meet new Oregon underground tank standards, will be replaced and relocated. The project will also include removal of cement asbestos board from the shop walls. Additional space in this building will also provide room for the resource management staffperson, including storage, a lab area, and a fire cache.

**Black Powder Storage Shed.** This 12' by 6', two-room storage shed was constructed in
1977 to meet blackpowder storage safety measures. The structure can be moved and utilized for other purposes as necessary.

*Water, Utilities, and Sewer.* Water at the memorial must be pumped in from a commercial source. Currently, the memorial maintains an agreement with the Youngs River-Lewis and Clark Water District. In 1965, new water lines were constructed to allow for commercial water to be pumped in and service with the district began in February. Between 1974 and 1982, most utility lines to the memorial were buried. One quarter-mile overhead utility line remains.

Sewer problems have developed more than once at the memorial. In 1973, the clogged septic drainfield was replaced. By 1985, the septic system was again causing problems. During the summers of 1985 and 1986, portable toilets had to be rented and placed outside the visitor center to reduce the pressures on the failing septic system. In fall 1986, a new septic lift station was constructed and a drainfield was placed in a new location.

*Visitor Center.* One year after completion of the memorial's visitor center, Superintendent Peterson was already planning the expansion of the center's auditorium. In 1967, a ventilation fan was installed in the auditorium to provide better air circulation. By the 1970s, proposals were being written for rehabilitation of the building to provide not only a larger auditorium, but needed office and storage space. In 1981, the front of the visitor center lobby was rehabilitated to meet energy standards. Weather stripping and storm windows were installed for energy conservation.

A long time in the planning process, the expansion project was finally approved and design planning started in 1988. The project would nearly quadruple the size of the center, from 3,300 square feet to 12,000 square feet. The memorial staff was very involved in planning not only improved visitor facilities, but improved employee facilities as well. Superintendent Walker coordinated with Denver Service Center in providing planning assistance and made trips to Denver for that purpose. During construction, the staff operated out of a temporary modular building which housed "Arrival", some exhibits, a small theater, FCHA sales area and the interpretation and FCHA offices. The modular building was placed
in the middle of the main parking area. Crater Lake National Park, Olympic National Park, and Oregon Caves National Monument provided temporary trailers, which housed the administrative offices, interpretive storage, and employee lunchroom.

Included in the expansion was a 45-seat theater, a 90-seat multipurpose room, an audio-visual booth with new equipment which serves both the theater and multipurpose room, a library facility with a locked collections storage room, lockers and showers for memorial interpreters, a new employee break room with appliances, additional storage space, and a larger exhibit hall. The addition of library space has allowed the memorial to create the Fort Clatsop Research Library, which is open to researchers of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and Pacific Northwest history.

**Grounds Maintenance**

Beginning in 1960, emphasis was placed on the restoration of the historic scene around the fort replica. These efforts led to continued reforestation around the memorial grounds and have fallen under maintenance division projects. The memorial has also maintained 1.5 miles of trail between park interpretive sites and a picnic area. Projects that have occurred over the years include: regular replacement of wood chips on the trails, the addition of a short trail loop in 1964, expansion of the picnic area in 1972, placement of a split-rail fence at the spring site in 1972, and the building of three picnic shelters in 1988.

In 1988, a historic landscape plan was developed for the memorial which outlined a three year program. Phase I, completed in 1988, realigned the trail from the visitor center to the fort replica. Phase II, completed in 1989, created a wood chipped trail on the east side of the fort replica and a new flintlock rifle demonstration area to the northeast of the fort. Phase II also completed necessary clearing in the replica area to reopen vistas of the Lewis and Clark River. Phase III of the plan, which included vista clearings and vegetation maintenance, was implemented in 1990.

In 1990, visual compatibility guidelines were completed for the memorial. These guidelines were established for maintenance of park facilities. The visual and historic
resources were examined in conjunction with the facilities at the memorial. The guidelines recommend the use of historic design features at interpretive sites or the use of rustic design features that blend with the natural environment. The guidelines cover a range of design issues, including the construction of garbage receptacles and the covering of the sewer lift switches. The guidelines are designed to "create and document design details which will establish a unified visual character and reflect the historic and natural integrity of the park."
CHAPTER SEVEN: RESEARCH AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Fort Clatsop National Memorial was designated by Congress to commemorate the Lewis and Clark Expedition, a significant event in the history of the United States. In considering resource management at Fort Clatsop National Memorial, there is no dividing line between cultural and natural resources, which are intrinsically linked. The entire memorial is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. The natural environment encountered by the Expedition and recorded by Captains Lewis and Clark is very much a part of the memorial's main cultural resource: the story of the Expedition.

Resource management at the memorial has historically been the responsibility of the interpretation and maintenance staff, with no designated resource management position or formal program. The primary documents guiding resource management at the memorial have been the 1964 Master Plan and its Resources Management Plan, written in 1973 and revised in 1984 and 1986. These documents guided management in the memorial's reforestation efforts, forest maintenance, and in the maintenance of its cultural resources. With the creation of a resource management program in 1992, the management needs of memorial resources, for their future protection and maintenance, will be identified in a revised Resources Management Plan.

Cultural Resource Management

Cultural resource management needs primarily focus on maintenance of the fort and salt works replicas, the memorial's natural and cultural collection, its photograph and slide collections, and library collection, including 156 rare volumes. Three archeological excavations have failed to reveal conclusive evidence of the original fort structure, but they have revealed the location of a 19th century home and artifacts of 19th century settlement. Of the people who have worked at the park over the years, each has their own theory and opinion about the possible existence and location of any evidence of the original fort.
Map of Caywood excavation, 1948.
Louis Caywood, 1948

The first excavation was completed in 1948 by National Park Service archeologist Louis Caywood. The site still belonged to the Oregon Historical Society, who arranged for assistance from the Park Service in carrying out an excavation. Speculation about the authenticity of the site had grown since OHS' identification of the site in 1900 and the society hoped to verify the site through archeological excavation.

Caywood's excavations were quick and incomplete, in part due to lack of available labor, and in his words were "not as comprehensive as had been hoped." What Caywood uncovered were four fire pits and one rather large pit which he described as a barbecue pit. Materials from these pits included animal bone, charcoal, and two pieces of wood that had been cut or carved by metal tools. Caywood speculated that a member of the Expedition may have whittled on one of those pieces around the campfire one evening, throwing the piece into the fire as he retired to bed. None of the materials from Caywood's excavations underwent any dating process. In reporting his findings, he determined these fire pits to be from the Lewis and Clark Expedition as opposed to campsites of the local Clatsops. He reasoned that the Expedition, with limited resources and supplies, would not have left any scrap materials behind. Caywood also reasoned that "Indians are notoriously untidy" and that the camp had "been thoroughly policed as if by a military group, and all refuse hauled away to a garbage pit." Caywood apparently kept a small box of the excavated materials at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, which Fort Vancouver Superintendent Frank Hjort sent to western regional archeologist Paul Schumacher in 1961.

In preparation for construction of a concrete foundation for the replica in August 1955, the Astoria Junior Chamber of Commerce (Jaycees) tried to determine the location of the original fort site to help them decide where to place the replica. It was the belief at the time that the fire pits located by Caywood did belong to the original site and the Oregon Historical Society asked that the replica be placed right next to the site. Recent interviews with former members of the Jaycees involved in the replica project resulted in information regarding "remains" and their guess to accurately locate the replica. First, it is
Materials collected by Louis Caywood, 1948. (Photo courtesy of Oregon Historical Society, photo negative number 090817)
believed that the replica was built directly over fire pits, possibly ones that Caywood uncovered, and that the fire pits were used in determining the direction and placement of the replica building. Second, archeologists from an Oregon university may have visited the site to help determine where to build the replica. Third, some Jaycees remember finding charcoal remains while digging trenches for the replica's concrete foundation. Finally, one Jaycee remembers charcoal remains being visible to the south of the OHS marker, where the county road was cut into the ridge. No formal documentation of any of these remains exist.

**Paul Schumacher, 1958 and 1961**

Public Law 590, which resulted in the Suggested Historical Area Report by John A. Hussey, included archeological investigations by western regional archeologist Paul Schumacher. In December 1956 and April 1957, Schumacher conducted excavations at the site. Schumacher's excavations took place around the replica, inside the parade ground, and towards the canoe landing site.

Through excavation of thirteen trenches, Schumacher uncovered a concentrated series of oval fire pits similar to those found by Caywood. He also uncovered a concentration of 19th century artifacts, which appeared to be the location of the Smith house, built on the site during the mid-1850s. Artifacts uncovered were primarily mid-to-late nineteenth century farm and home settlement items and some American Indian items. Schumacher also uncovered hemlock wood "stakes" which he originally thought to be man-made. He later determined that these wood stakes were what local lumbermen referred to as "buckhorns." Buckhorns are the hard, resin-filled cores of tree branches, located where the branch meets the trunk. What he thought were man-made stakes turned out to be a natural phenomenon, and Schumacher speculated that Caywood may have been fooled by this occurrence as he almost was.

Regarding the area containing a concentration of nineteenth century evidence, Schumacher cross-checked his findings with the Clatsop County surveyor, who had a 1905
1962 Archeological Base Map showing Schumacher and Caywood excavations.
survey that included the Smith house. The area Schumacher believed to be the Smith house did not correspond with the 1905 surveyor's report. However, excavation trenches dug where the report claimed the house was located revealed nothing. The county surveyor reported to Schumacher that the survey could be off by as much as 100 feet and agreed that he had probably located the Smith house. 7

Regarding the series of fire pits, two of them were associated with nineteenth century materials. The remaining 10 had similar shape (oval with red clay in the center and charcoal around the top and edges), and an average depth of 0.7 to 2.9 feet. Based on the depth of these pits, Schumacher estimated they were pre-1850 and could possibly have been old enough to be from the Expedition. He also determined that the pits were used over an extended period of time. While the pits were old enough, there was no evidence to indicate if they were created by Clatsops or by a group such as the Expedition. The lack of any substantial evidence around or inside the pits made it possible only to speculate who created them.

Schumacher's investigations also re-examined Caywood's findings. His conclusions were the opposite of Caywood's. While Schumacher agreed that the fire pits could be old enough, he did not agree with Caywood's reasoning in stating they were from the Lewis and Clark Expedition. First, the Clatsops and Chinooks would have had the metal tools available to carve or saw the marked wood pieces. He also disagreed with Caywood's assessment that a lack of evidence was indicative of the Expedition's presence for the reason that they would not have left anything behind. Schumacher felt that there would be some remains of garbage pits, bathroom "sinks," or stockade posts.

In completing the 1959 Historic Structures Report, Part I, Schumacher recommended further excavation of the subsurface area around the replica grounds prior to any remodeling work. He returned in June 1961 and completed fourteen additional trenches, two feet wide, with the use of a backhoe. Schumacher's findings were reported in the Historic Structures Report, Part II. The excavation concentrated on the area between the fort replica and two prominent cherry trees (trees that are visible in the 1899 photos of
Archeological excavations, 1958. (FOCL photo collection)
the site). More nineteenth century artifacts were uncovered along with additional oval fire pits. However, nothing was uncovered to lead Schumacher to any different conclusions than his 1957 report. He described extensive vegetative root systems under the surface and determined that these subsurface root systems probably destroyed any evidence of the original fort. While Schumacher stated that whenever ground-breaking construction occurred at the site it should be carefully monitored, he determined that no specific excavations for the purpose of locating original fort remains would be necessary.

Since 1961, no specific excavations for the purpose of locating the original fort site have been conducted. All construction and maintenance projects that have required ground disturbance have been reviewed by cultural resource staff for compliance with the National Historic Preservation Act. In 1986, Pacific Northwest Regional Archaeologist Jim Thomson surveyed and approved the location of a new sewer system. In 1989, Bryn Thomas of Eastern Washington University, Archeological and Historical Services, Vancouver Office, was contracted by the Park Service to survey the location of the proposed parking lot expansion and visitor center expansion. Thomas conducted surveys of both areas on foot. Subsurface testing was also completed in the proposed areas. Sixteen shovel holes were completed, roughly 30 cm in diameter and 70 cm deep. No archeological materials were uncovered. In 1990, a remote sensing survey of the area was completed in coordination with Oregon State University (OSU). The study, completed by Regional Archaeologist Thomson and by James Bell from OSU, revealed seven possible subsurface features, but no definitive results.

What is the probability of there being actual remains? Even if the actual fort was constructed completely above ground, evidence of fireplaces, garbage pits for animal carcasses, or their bathroom sinks should exist. The extensive root systems described by Schumacher could also have revealed evidence of cutting or disturbance caused by the construction of the original fort. Where that evidence may be is the tricky question. Complicating the issue is the evidence possibly left behind from any Clatsop houses built at the site, from the houses built by the Shane and Smith families, from the charcoal
production of the Stevenson family, from the general traffic of Euro-American settlement, and from the tourist traffic and littering after 1900. The park's reforestation efforts and commitment to revegetation has made possible excavation more complicated.

Adding to speculation about the possible location of the replica has been the discovery through a 1993 Clatsop County survey of a 67-foot error in the 1905 county survey referenced to by Schumacher in 1961. The Smith house discovered by Schumacher in 1961 had been included in an 1856 survey of the area. Oral testimony of Harlan Smith, former resident at the site, states that next to the Smith house was an old, half-buried log which the Smith family believed to be the last remaining timber of the original Fort Clatsop. In 1905, the county surveyor reported that the Smith house had burned down and it was during his survey that the error was recorded, through the placement of a new 1/4 corner marker which was off the correct mark by 67 feet. This error was discovered through a 1993 survey when the 1/4 corner mark from the 1905 survey did not coordinate with the witness points of the 1856 survey. The location of the Smith house is known to be under the start of the Canoe Landing trail. With the known location of the Smith house, the location of the timber reported by Harlan Smith can also be determined.

Collections Management

In connection with the visitor center exhibits, Fort Clatsop National Memorial has developed a small collection of European frontier goods, ethnographic materials, and natural specimens. This collection was started during the search for exhibit materials from 1960 to 1963. Charles Peterson and Burnby Bell contacted several Lewis and Clark historic sites and repositories in a search for items relevant to the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The memorial purchased some nineteenth century woodworking tools and some Northwest Coast ethnographic materials. The memorial also received donations from the local community, including the exhibit canoe, two strands of blue trade beads, and a flintlock pistol. The memorial's collection management statements include the library collection.
For most of the last thirty-five years, the collection pieces not used in the visitor center exhibit cases were stored in two locked museum cabinets in a small storage room. Over the years, the memorial's collection has grown from various donations and purchases. Several items were deaccessioned to Fort Vancouver, including Chinookan burial items. The memorial maintained a Scope of Collections statement as required by NPS policy. According to the 1987 revised Scope of Collections, the memorial shall collect items that "relate directly to events, people, fort construction and occupation associated with the Lewis and Clark Expedition's history and way of life during the 1805-06 winter occupation". The report established guidelines for collecting artifacts, including any available original objects, ethnographic objects, and natural flora and fauna specimens, and for proper storage, care, and access to the collection following NPS policy. The report also established guidelines for continued acquisitions for the park library and archiving of files relevant to the memorial's history. One cultural resource project identified in the new Resource Management Plan is completion of a revised and updated scope of collections statement.

Items in the memorial's collection include: ethnographic materials such as bags, baskets, beads, a canoe, paddles, awls, pestle, metate, and projectile points; Euro-American items such as tools, traps, rifles, an air rifle, the air rifle pump, candle molds, powder horns, and a violin with case; an animal and herb collection includes many species of local plants and beaver and otter pelts.

Under the memorial's 1986 Resources Management Plan, a new environmentally controlled collections facility was listed for cultural resource collection needs. Beginning in 1985, a management assessment was carried out for the memorial collection, which required reviewing and updating the records for the collection. During this process, the collection accessions were entered into a computer cataloging system and all items properly documented. The memorial inventory of collections currently shows approximately 450 items, with approximate values of $150,000 and the library collection worth $50,000.
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Part of the design and planning for the new visitor center included an environmentally controlled library and secure collections storage room. During the transition period of the visitor center expansion and the creation of new exhibits, the memorial also achieved necessary treatment and curatorial upgrading through the use of regional curatorial assistance funds. Regional Curator Kent Bush coordinated with memorial staff, primarily seasonal ranger barbe minard, on addressing the necessary treatment and storage for the collection. During the visitor center expansion project, artifacts identified for inclusion in the new exhibit cases were sent to Harpers Ferry Center for conservation treatment, along with other items in the collection requiring treatment. The remainder of the collection was stored at the Columbia River Maritime Museum and returned to the memorial in 1991.

Replica Management

Because the fort replica is listed on the National Register and is managed as a historic property, maintenance of the structure falls under the purview of the cultural resources division. When the NPS first received the fort replica, regional and memorial staff conducted research to gain information to remodel the replica for increased accuracy. The result was the Historic Structures Report and Furnishings Plans, Parts I and II. The initial remodeling during the development of the memorial in 1963 resulted in the construction of firepits and a chimney in the captain's quarters; the reconstruction of the main gates; the installation of a second gate; building a sentry box; adding doors; closing the exterior wall gun ports; and opening windows into the parade ground. This work was done under the guidance of the Western Office of Design and Construction historic structures architect Charles S. Pope and Superintendent Peterson. Maintenance foreman Vern Sickler worked extensively building sample chimneys and testing them to determine the proper way to construct fireplaces and chimneys inside the fort. Since the remodeling undertaken by the NPS, the replica has had only general maintenance to replace damaged areas.
Beginning in the mid-1970s, the replica began to show signs of deterioration. Part of the replica's main gate had broken and was temporarily braced by the memorial staff. Superintendent Bob Scott requested an inspection by Pacific Northwest Regional historical architect Laurin Huffman to determine proper repairs and additional maintenance needs. Huffman inspected the replica and completed a report in March 1975. In that report, he cited several problems with rot and deterioration. The main gate needed to be rebuilt due to damaged wood; flashing around the interior chimneys needed to be redone; the exterior chimney needed to be redaubed; the roofing needed to be re-nailed; and cracks along the replica walls creating moisture traps needed to be caulked. Huffman provided ten recommendations for fixing these problems, including directions for rechinking the exterior chimney, rebuilding the main gate, and a treatment process for preserving the wood every two years. In 1977, most of Huffman's recommendations were carried out, and the replica was put on a cultural cyclic maintenance program to prevent further deterioration of the building.

In 1984, the memorial installed new shingles on the fort roof and laid new floor puncheons. Materials for flooring came from Olympic National Park. While the memorial was circulating requests for buying the necessary cedar for shingles, Olympic Superintendent Robert S. Chandler offered for Fort Clatsop's use cedar trees that had blown down. The memorial purchased five-foot barn boards for approximately $10,000 for shingles. In 1986, the chimneys in the fort replica were again redaubed. This time, the interior chimneys were remodeled using clay found within the memorial to eliminate the plaster look of the old chimneys. In 1987, the stump in the squad room was replaced with a stump donated from Mt. Rainier National Park.

At the Salt Works site in Seaside, no work has been completed on the replica itself. Various landscaping efforts around the site have taken place. In 1985, a landscape design plan for the site was developed by Renata Niedzwieka, a historical landscape architect from the regional office. Between 1985 and 1987, memorial management sought to improve the site and implement the landscape plan. The sidewalk was replaced and a new
Replacement of fort pickets and gates, 1977. (FOCL photo collection)
Resource Management

exhibit/bulletin board sign installed. A split-rail fence similar to fencing utilized at the memorial was installed. A native vegetation maintenance program was started for softening edges around the sidewalks and borders. The plan suggested other design projects, to be completed if the opportunity arose, including the development of a trail from the replica to the beach and the proper research and restoration of the replica if repairs became necessary.

In 1991, a new landscape plan was designed by a historical landscape architect from the Pacific Northwest Region, Marsha Tolon. Utilizing some of the same ideas from the 1985 plan, including the future project possibilities, the plan developed new design elements. The split-rail fence was removed and a new cobblestone wall was installed during 1994. This reflects a shift away from design elements used at the memorial to elements that are cohesive with the Salt Works site, which is composed of many different materials and structures in an enclosed city block. The new landscape plan also recommends moving the site bulletin board to a staging area on the Seaside Promenade, which near passes the site, and the installation of new exhibit signs at the staging area next to the replica. The use of natural history signs on a path extension similar to the natural history signs at the memorial is also recommended. The recommendations include the continued maintenance of native vegetation started by the 1985 plan.  

Natural Resource Management

During the 19th century, lands now included in the memorial were developed by settlers who built homes, engaged in timber and agricultural production, in tourist transportation to the coast, charcoal production, and possibly some limited clay mining. On the Lewis and Clark River, dikes and levees were constructed. During the 20th century, log rafting on the river and timber harvesting around the area also impacted the natural resources of the memorial. This manipulation of the natural resources of the area greatly altered the landscape from the coastal forest environment that existed at the time of the Expedition's winter encampment. Of the 125 acres acquired by the NPS after 1958,
more than half are tidelands. Of the remainder, half contained second-growth trees and vegetation and the other half was open meadow.

Identification of the memorial's natural resources was first sketched out in studies of the park's plants and animals. In 1961, a study titled "Native Plant Materials for Landscaping, Fort Clatsop National Memorial" was completed by student assistant landscape architect R.W. Rhode. This study identified for the memorial what native evergreen trees, deciduous trees, and shrubs could be used for landscaping and screening. In 1969, Margaret McCarter of Clatsop Community College completed "A Guide to the Environmental Study Area, Fort Clatsop National Memorial." In this study, which was updated in 1971, McCarter identified the major plant and animal species on the memorial grounds. Over the last thirty years, several studies identifying plant and animal species at the memorial were completed. Well over 300 different species have been identified in the coastal forest and estuarine habitats of the memorial.

1973 Resource Management Plan

The first ten years of the memorial's management focused on site development and the restoration of the historic scene around the fort replica. These efforts were guided primarily by the park master plan. It was not until 1973 that the park developed its first resource management plan, which outlined five years of natural resource studies. Studies of animal populations, the status of exotic plants, the historical significance of the native vegetation, and a hazardous tree survey and removal plan are examples of the projects listed. Four objectives in resource management at Fort Clatsop were identified: the recreation of the native plant communities where ecologically feasible; the re-creation of traditional animal populations where ecologically feasible; measuring the human impact on the memorial environment; and fourth, the monitoring of human impacts on the memorial environment. The major resource management emphasis of the plan was the reforestation program.
Reforestation

The restoration of the historic scene through reforestation and planting of native vegetation has significantly altered the memorial's appearance since 1958. Programs carried out at the memorial were aimed at returning the natural environment to the coastal forest environment experienced by the Expedition. This concept, first expressed in 1958, began during site development construction, with plant screening around the fort replica and modern improvements. Primary emphasis was aimed at restoration on the east side of the replica where the previous county road had been. Later, Superintendent Thomson used landscaping and native vegetation to solve the problem with visitor traffic flow bypassing the visitor center.

During the 1970s, reforestation efforts spread to the open field areas targeted in the master plan. In 1973 and 1974, Superintendent Miele arranged for the donation of nursery stock from the Oregon State Forestry Department for reforestation along the county road and the memorial's open field spaces. While Miele's main objective was the restoration of the historic scene, he also saw the measure as cost effective, saving time and money consumed in mowing the surrounding fields. Superintendant Bob Scott continued the reforestation project and over the ten years of his superintendency, 15,000 trees were planted, most of which were planted by Ross Petersen.

By 1980, emphasis shifted from planting to balancing the native vegetation being planted with the second growth vegetation already in existence. A mix of Sitka spruce, western hemlock, western red cedar, and Douglas fir composed the forests seen by Lewis and Clark. The alterations to the landscape over 150 years also shifted the balance of species in the area. Specifically, red alder had spread into areas where other native species had been removed. As the young trees being planted grew, red alder was targeted for thinning and removal to promote the growth of the selected native species. A gradual system of thinning and planting developed that from 1980 and 1986 removed between one-half and three and a half acres of red alder per year. The cut wood was then utilized in the fort replica fireplaces and in the employee residence wood stoves. In 1985, there was
1961 map of proposed development for Fort Clatsop National Memorial. In addition to planned construction, the map also details areas targeted for replanting efforts.
enough of a surplus that wood was sold to the public. The following year, surplus firewood was given to Fort Vancouver for use in the bakery and blacksmith shop.

In 1984, the Resources Management Plan and needs were revised, stating the memorial's main objective in natural resources as the continued maintenance of the native vegetation and planting program. Through deliberate maintenance, the memorial would be able to foster a diversity of species and the creation of shelter for elk and deer populations. Another plan revision was completed in 1986. While this revision did not change the objective for maintaining the native planting program, it added two additional natural resource management goals. The planting program was so successful that vistas between the fort and the river needed to be thinned to keep river views open. Second, pest management needed to be addressed to control any threats to the native plants.

**Resource Studies**

In 1987, the Pacific Northwest Regional Office, Cultural Resource Division, developed a forest landscape plan for the memorial. The plan identified small landscaping features to improve the interpretive features of the vegetation program. Removal of grass in front of the replica, selective removal or limbing to open up the view of the fort and wayside exhibits, and less defined trail edges were some of the recommendations. This plan mainly addressed the interpretive value of the native vegetation in the historic scene.

In 1989, Superintendent Frank Walker contracted with Dr. James Agee of the College of Forest Resources, University of Washington, Cooperative Park Studies Unit, to complete a forest landscape study. This study was designed to assess the developing forest on the memorial property and design maintenance guidelines for maintaining the health and landscape appeal of the forest. It also was intended to answer three fundamental questions: what was the goal in re-creating the 1805 forest, what features would that represent, and how would it be managed when it was reached? This plan took the memorial further away from replanting efforts and towards the goal of maintaining a healthy coastal forest environment.
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Agee's study was designed to give management ideas for the future maintenance of the memorial forest. The plan acknowledged that the forest of 1805-1806 was an evolving forest and that no one set instance in time could be re-created and represented as such. Agee identified historic native species of the Fort Clatsop area, describing it as a part of the Sitka spruce zone. Agee considered the natural and human agents which would have shaped the pre-settlement forests of the area. Wind, fire, and human uses would have continually shaped the forests of the Fort Clatsop area. To help guide the memorial, Agee listed proper thinning recommendations to stimulate a healthy growth and undergrowth, for protection against pests, and protection against wind disturbance.

Resource Management in the Future

Under Superintendent Cynthia Orlando, management emphasis was placed on the development of a resource management program area at the memorial. The first step came with funding and hiring a resource management specialist. The goal of the resource program is to identify the current needs of park resources and to establish a formal program and goals to meet those needs. The creation of a formal resource management program will allow the memorial to meet resource management responsibilities and request resource management funding for those projects.

In 1994, the memorial completed a new Resources Management Plan document outlining future projects at the memorial. The plan is intended to be "a long-range planning document which identifies the park's natural and cultural resources, outlines the various known resource information deficiencies, issues and concerns, and provides direction and strategies on how to address them. Fiscal and human resource needs are also identified." The plan currently contains 81 project statements, incorporating all areas of resource management needs.

Also in 1994, the memorial and the water resources division of the NPS completed the "Fort Clatsop National Memorial: Water Resources Scoping Report." This report examines the memorial's wetland and estuary habitats, identifying significant water
resources and issues at the memorial. Five project statements were developed "to enhance water resources management activities within Fort Clatsop National Memorial". The project statements are for the completion of a topographic/subdrainage map, a complete wetlands inventory, a wetlands restoration feasibility study, implementation of a water quality monitoring system, and a biotic inventory for water resources. The scoping report and the inclusion of its project statements in the new Resources Management Plan reflects a recent recognition and emphasis on the identification and assessment of the memorial's significant and valuable water and wetland resources.

The primary emphasis of resource management program at the memorial is the integration of natural and cultural resource management and resource protection according to federal legislation and NPS guidelines. Through active planning and needs assessment, the memorial hopes to identify resource management needs and programming which will not only sustain the memorial's resources, but also protect them against current and future incompatible adjacent land use.
Floorplan, Fort Clatsop Replica

Enlisted Quarters

Water Gate

Storeroom

Sentry Box

Orderly Room

Parade Ground

Captain's Quarters

Main Gate

Charbonneau Room
CHAPTER EIGHT: INTERPRETATION

Over the last thirty-five years, the staff at Fort Clatsop has developed a nationally recognized interpretive program, designed to present to the public the story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and its stay at Fort Clatsop during the winter of 1805-1806. The 1958 Suggested Historical Area Report described a potential memorial where the site of the replicated fort structure, in combination with the restoration of the historically documented coastal forest environment of 1805-1806, could offer the visitor a physical setting in which to imagine the Expedition party. Since the opening of the visitor center in 1963, the memorial's interpretation has evolved into a comprehensive presentation of the Expedition, its encounters and effects at the turn of the 19th century.

The memorial began telling the story of the Expedition through exhibits and other media utilized at the visitor center and the fort replica. From 1963 to the present, the memorial has broadened the scope of its interpretation through: the development of costumed demonstration programs, held throughout spring and summer and on special occasions; increased seasonal staffing; utilization of the memorial's growing reference library collection; an expanded collection of educational films and videos; expanded and improved exhibit displays; temporary displays, including artifacts from the Lewis and Clark Expedition on loan from other institutions; the filming of costumed demonstrations on laser disc format, shown in the visitor center; and the development of a variety of educational school programs, held both on and off site. Memorial staff have broadened both the depth and reach of its interpretive programs.

Interpretation, 1955-1963

After the replica was finished and the Sesquicentennial over, OHS installed a chain link fence around the structure for security. OHS could not afford to hire anyone to be at the site year-round for its protection and interpretation and the society was already in the midst of trying to get Fort Clatsop transferred into federal ownership. For those reasons,
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OHS interpretation was limited. Burnby Bell, secretary of the Clatsop County Historical Society, handled all replica business for OHS. During the summers of 1956-1958, while the outcome of the legislative movement was pending, the society was able to hire someone to open the site during the day and be on-site for protection and maintenance. This person was responsible for opening the replica, maintaining the pit toilets, answering questions for visitors, handling a donation box, and selling small, miscellaneous souvenirs for the Clatsop County Historical Society.

From 1959 until 1963, while regional and memorial staff were absorbed in the various developments necessary to make Fort Clatsop a functioning unit of the NPS, actual interpretation remained limited. During 1961, the memorial hired a seasonal to be at the fort replica eight hours a day from July 13-September 9. From September to November, the seasonal was at the replica on the weekends. During the remainder of the winter, the replica remained locked. Available at the memorial was a brochure designed by the Astoria Chamber of Commerce that described Fort Clatsop and the Astoria Column.

Planning for the memorial's interpretive programs began with the site concept for the memorial and continued with the development of the memorial's visitor center exhibits and the rehabilitation of the fort replica. Planning also included researching and acquiring interpretive materials such as films, books for the memorial's library, and materials for the visitor center exhibits. The staff consisted of two employees until 1962, and in 1963 increased to four employees with one seasonal. For the first years under NPS management, the small staff was consumed with planning duties and construction.

A draft interpretive prospectus was completed by Park Historian Burnby Bell in 1961. In the prospectus, Bell stated that three methods would be used to present the story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition to the public. These were: visitor center exhibits, the reconstructed and furnished replica, and the area itself, which would have self-guiding trails and interpretive signs. Bell outlined twelve possible exhibit cases for the visitor center, which would include information about the geopolitical climate of the Expedition, the preparation and beginning of the Expedition, major events which occurred as the
Expedition crossed the continent, time spent at Fort Clatsop, and the American Indian communities encountered along the route and on the Pacific Coast. Bell also called for a display of dugout canoes at the canoe landing site, with interpretive signs. While most of the ideas in the 1961 draft prospectus for the visitor center were used, the master plan and the historic structures report determined that the replica would be furnished only with the crude furnishings which would have been left behind by the Expedition. The display of dugout canoes at the canoe landing and the placement of wayside exhibit signs were not realized until after 1970.

**Interpretation, 1963-1970**

When the memorial visitor center was completed and opened to the public in 1963, interpretation was structured to educate the visitor about the Lewis and Clark Expedition and its contributions to the development of the nation. During the summer, one or two seasonals were hired to be at the replica to answer visitors' questions about the replica and the Expedition. Because the staff was small, and often not available at the fort, visitor activated audio messages were installed to provide the visitor with a short narrative about the fort and the Expedition's stay during the winter of 1806. All the staff, including the superintendent, spent time at the front desk greeting visitors, answering questions, selling souvenirs from the FCHA sales counter, tallying the number of visitors, and handing out park brochures. Visitation exceeded the numbers expected. School groups visited the memorial regularly on field trips, the numbers doubling from 1963 to 1964 alone.¹

The visitor center exhibit was designed to treat the entire Expedition, from Jefferson's instructions to the Expedition's end and its consequences. The centerpiece of the exhibit was a wall map, displaying the Expedition's route from Camp Wood, where the Expedition prepared for the trek across the continent, to the Pacific. Sites of important events, points of decision-making, the scientific and geographical information collected along the way, supply and equipment caches, and encounters with American Indian communities were marked along the map. Other exhibits included a discussion of the
goals of the Expedition, the construction of Fort Clatsop, the daily routine of life at Fort Clatsop, and the fate of the members after the Expedition. During the development of the visitor center, the memorial was loaned a Northwest Coast style canoe for display as the centerpiece for presenting the Clatsop and Chinook people with whom the Expedition spent the winter. The exhibit also included a diorama depicting the beached whale at Cannon Beach (to which Expedition members travelled in an attempt to procure some of the animal's flesh and oil) and a picture depicting the salt makers' camp at Seaside. Artifacts for the museum exhibit included antique woodworking tools, beaver pelts, sea otter pelt, Northwest American Indian baskets, trade beads and a calumet pipe bowl and stem. While park staff had input into planning the exhibits, the actual exhibits were designed and constructed by NPS exhibit designers at the Western Museum Laboratory in San Francisco, California.

The memorial purchased films about the Expedition, like Encyclopedia Britannica's "The Journals of Lewis and Clark." These films were shown several times daily at the visitor center and also taken to off-site locations, such as Fort Stevens, and shown as part of the fort's outreach programs. Other historical films about western history and American history were purchased over the years. The memorial established a successful film loan program, which is a major portion of its educational outreach programs today. Educational films and videos are loaned to local and regional schools and groups. A slide program, completed and implemented in 1965, was also shown on a regular daily schedule. Created by NPS audio-visual designers, the show consisted of pictures from along the Expedition route and included a taped narration.

During this time period, remodeling projects at the replica continued. According to the memorial's "Historic Structures Report and Furnishings Plan," the replica was to look as though the Expedition members just left, supplying only the idea of their shelter and their furnishings. In 1968, the memorial's revegetation program continued with the planting of trees to screen the replica from the parking lot. The seclusion of the replica from the memorial's modern buildings was desirable to foster an atmosphere similar to that
experienced by the Expedition members.

From 1963 to 1970, special interpretive programs celebrated the opening of the visitor center, the 450,000th visitor to the memorial, and the 50th anniversary of the NPS. The memorial also hosted the Oregon Lewis and Clark Trail Commission.

During the 1960s, living history programs and black powder weapons demonstrations gained popularity throughout the National Park Service, especially in the eastern historical sites and battlefields of the American Revolution and Civil War. Living history programs were stimulated through the concept of the living farm and NPS Director George Hartzog encouraged the development of such programs. In 1968, 41 areas reported living history programs and by 1974 the number was 114.³ In 1968, Fort Clatsop Park Ranger Emmet Nichols began black powder flintlock rifle demonstrations at Fort Clatsop. This demonstration of the weapons and skills of the Expedition would become the key element of the memorial's costumed demonstration programs.

**Development of Interpretive Programs, 1970 to 1985**

In 1970, Superintendent Paul Haertel and Chief Ranger Al Stonestreet placed emphasis on the development of the memorial's "living history" programs. Memorial staff researched other topics for presentation. Seasonals were allowed to research aspects of the Expedition of interest to them and to develop their own programs. They were to develop talks that were thoroughly researched and presented in appropriate format for park visitors. The growing library collection at the memorial, stocked mostly through the donation of books by the FCHA, and trips to conferences and workshops about the Expedition or about 1805-1806 era frontier life and skills, provided a knowledge base for these programs. Members of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, especially Robert Lange, Dr. Eldon Chuinard, and Irving Anderson, also provided technical assistance to the memorial staff in accurately developing these programs. The theme of the "living history" demonstration programs centered around the presentation of life at Fort Clatsop during the winter of 1805-1806 and the skills employed by the Expedition to stay alive.
Ranger Phil Jones sewing moccasins, 1970. (FOCL photo collection)
The journals of the Expedition, of Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, Sergeants John Ordway and Patrick Gass, and Private Joseph Whitehouse, indicate the types of activities the Expedition members engaged in on a daily basis, not only at Fort Clatsop, but along the entire Expedition route. From these journal entries, the living history programs were developed. Demonstrations include the basic flintlock loading and firing demonstration; sewing of clothing and moccasins; processing of game animals, including hide tanning and processing meat into jerky; making candles through an animal fat rendering process; lead bullet molding; flint and steel fire starting; and the carving of dugout canoes at the canoe landing site. Demonstration of these skills and various lectures were developed and delivered by the interpretive staff in third person presentations.

While the demonstration programs increased in number and variety, the fort replica's role and appearance also changed. The replica became the backdrop of these demonstration programs. Beginning in 1972, the interpretive staff furnished the replica with items similar to those used by the Expedition. Such items included hides, blankets, furs, barrels, journals and writing utensils, plant specimens, cooking utensils, and many other items. Furnishings centered originally around the captains' room, but expanded to the Charbonneau room and the squad rooms. The meat room was opened for hanging meat strips (when game was available for such programs) and the demonstration of the Expedition's meat preservation techniques, as well as for storage of kegs, barrels, wood, rope, and other such items. The FCHA funded the purchase of interpretive items for furnishing the replica and providing materials for the demonstration programs. FCHA continues to provide funds for these materials.

A new Interpretive Prospectus was completed for the memorial in 1975. The study team for the new prospectus included Superintendent John Miele; James Richardson, Interpretive Management Specialist, Pacific Northwest Region; David McLean, Division of Museums, Harpers Ferry Center; Richard Krepela, Division of Audiovisual Arts, Harpers Ferry Center; and the study team captain, L. Clifford Soubier, Interpretive Planner, Division of Planning, Denver Service Center. The prospectus reviewed the interpretive
Ranger Curt Ahola demonstrating sewing (above) and jerky preparation (bottom), 1971.  
(FOCL photo collection)
interpretation programs at the memorial, identified weaknesses, and set guidelines for the future.

In its critique of memorial interpretation, the prospectus identified seven weaknesses. The auditorium was too small to accommodate summer visitation or visiting school groups, a weakness identified in 1964 by Superintendent Peterson. Second, the wall map in the visitor center exhibit was too cluttered with information and was difficult to follow. Third, wooden barriers in front of exhibit cases blocked the view of small children. Fourth, the whale diorama conveyed no significant interpretive message. Fifth, the slide program duplicated the information presented in the interpretive film, therefore providing no useful additional information. Sixth, the approach to the fort lacked any wilderness atmosphere. Finally, the fort and fort grounds were devoid of interpretive devices for when staff was not available at the replica to provide interpretive information.

To alleviate these problems, the team made five recommendations. These were: 1) develop a new audio/visual slide program, 2) make small revisions to the museum exhibit (refining the wall map to include the geopolitical implications of the Expedition and rewording American Indian exhibits to avoid stereotyping), 3) screen the trail to the fort with native vegetation, 4) design wayside exhibit signs at the fort and canoe landing, and 5) develop an environmental study area to hold school classes. The recommendations were implemented over time as funding was available.

From 1970 to 1985, the costumed demonstration programs continued to be refined. Programs such as "discovery" or "nature" walks, guided by park rangers and emphasizing natural and cultural aspects of the area and the Expedition, became a daily summer program. Other talks included the medical aspects of the Expedition, beaver trapping and the fur trade, and the local American Indian communities. In 1979, David Moffitt was added to the interpretive staff as a seasonal ranger. Moffitt's fiddling skills became the basis for the demonstration of nineteenth century fiddle music and jig dances which provided entertainment for the Expedition members. The memorial was successful in continuing this special program through the 1980s. Through the volunteer efforts of an area neighbor, a black Newfoundland dog was occasionally available at the fort to
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represent Lewis' dog. One program idea suggested but never developed was the development of a replica Clatsop house or village near the fort replica for further interpretation of the local American Indian community. In August 1979, the memorial's current head of interpretation, Curt Johnson, arrived at the memorial. Under Johnson, the interpretive staff have brought interpretation to its height.

Canoe carving was initiated as a popular demonstration program in 1973. From 1973 to 1975, seasonals worked on digging out a canoe at the canoe landing site, using traditional tools and fire. The first was finished in 1975. In 1977, a new cedar log was obtained and work continued on another dugout canoe. This demonstration encouraged visitors to venture to the canoe landing and join in other interpretive programs.

Visitation to the memorial by local school groups continued on a regular basis. In 1979-80, a pre-site visit teacher's packet was designed to help schedule and plan field trips to the park. The packet was well received by participating school groups, which allowed them to schedule specific time and group size. On-site visitation by local schools continues to bring thousands of students, mostly fourth and fifth graders, to the memorial for educational opportunities. In 1980, the memorial began an environmental living program. This program was done in coordination with the Washington County Education Service District and provided teacher workshops, educating teachers about the memorial's environmental and problem-solving educational programs. Following the teacher workshops, seven to nine day-long student workshops would be held. These workshops provided a hands-on learning experience for the students in environmental education and problem-solving skills. This program operated on limited funding for three years.

New slide shows were developed to replace the original one, eliminating the duplication of information identified by the 1975 interpretive prospectus. In 1981, park staff developed a new slide program, called "A Wet, Disagreeable Winter," which incorporated scenes of the fort and rangers in costume. Also in 1981, two members of the Harpers Ferry Center staff, Shirley Wilt and Tom Gray, spent four days at the memorial, taking pictures of local actors in costume for the development of another new slide
Dugout canoe at the canoe landing site. (FOCI photo collection)
program. This HFC slide program, called "The Corps of Discovery," was completed in 1983 and was incorporated into interpretive programs. "The Journals of Lewis and Clark" continued to be the program's main film, showing daily and interspersed with the two new slide programs.

The native vegetation planting program became a major project during the years 1974 to 1985. The use of native vegetation and landscaping to screen the replica from the visitor center was continued. Target areas included trails between the fort, canoe landing, spring, and picnic area, as well as the open field spaces along the western edge of the county road and between the residential and utility buildings. In 1980, the trail between the fort replica and the visitor center was redirected to bring the visitor around to the fort's main gates. In combination with vegetation screening, this helped foster a separate environment from the visitor center. Also during this time period, an area was designated for black powder firing demonstrations.

Special events marked by interpretive programs during this time period included the National Parks Centennial in 1972, the memorial's one millionth visitor in 1972, the American Bicentennial in 1976, and the 175th anniversary of the Expedition in 1980. In 1974, the memorial began hosting special interpretive programs around Christmas and New Year's Day, the two holidays the Expedition spent at Fort Clatsop in 1805-06. The 1972 National Parks Centennial was marked with special events such as off-site talks by memorial staff about the NPS and its function, and an art contest at local schools. The 175th anniversary of the Expedition's stay at Fort Clatsop was marked by a significant addition to the visitor center exhibit, the "Arrival" statue.

In 1981, the Fort Clatsop Wayside Exhibit Plan was completed by the Harpers Ferry Center Wayside Exhibit branch. Written by David J. Guiney and designed by Daniel D. Feaser, the plan called for 17 wayside signs. Large exhibit signs were developed for the Fort Clatsop replica and for the Canoe Landing site, which fulfilled the recommendation in the 1975 interpretive prospectus. Fifteen other signs were developed for interpreting natural scientific information along the memorial's trails. One introduction
Volunteer in Park Bobby Usher working on a dugout, 1989. (FOCL photo collection)
sign and fourteen individual plant signs were placed along the trails, providing the common and scientific name, an appropriate quote from the journals (if available), and a small sketch.

Between 1970 and 1984, the interpretive staff grew considerably. In 1973, the interpretive staff consisted of five people, 2 permanent and 3 seasonal rangers. In 1984, the interpretive staff had doubled to ten people, 2 permanent and 8 seasonal rangers. By 1985, the interpretive staff grew again through the assistance of volunteers and by the Volunteers In Parks program. Many of the memorial's seasonals traditionally return for more than one season. For example, in 1983, of eight seasonal rangers, four were returning from previous seasons.6

During the first fifteen years of the memorial's demonstration programs, emphasis was placed on the demonstrations as "living history." In classifying the programs as "living history," only representatives of members of the Expedition were utilized in costume at the fort replica. Aside from Euro-American men, the persons of York and Sacagawea could also be represented. The memorial was active in trying to hire an African-American man and an American Indian woman to represent these two Expedition members in the memorial's demonstration programs. Over the years, a few American Indian women and two African-American men have represented these two people.7

The representation of York and Sacagawea was not always successful, for a couple of reasons. First, it was difficult to find people to hire as seasonals. Second, the rangers representing these two individuals had to deal with prejudice present in the general public.8 Women rangers representing Sacagawea faced becoming a novelty, the stereotyped "squaw," and experienced a lack of authority as park rangers.

The portrayal of these two individuals as functioning members of the Expedition raises difficult historical issues regarding their relationships to the rest of the Expedition. In reality, Expedition journals state very little of substantive value regarding these two people. While representing them is a way to approach the involvement of people of different cultures in the Expedition, specifically African-American and American Indian, it
Interpretation, 1985-1994

With a change in superintendents in 1985, there was a shift in the interpretive policies regarding the demonstration programs. This shift reflected a trend found throughout NPS costumed interpretation during the mid-1980s. Emphasis shifted from classification as "living history" to "costumed demonstrations." This emphasis lifted restrictive hiring practices with regards to costumed interpreters. Superintendent Frank Walker emphasized hiring the best possible interpreters, regardless of their race or gender. Rather than considering or recruiting specific applicants for interpreter positions, hiring was made more equitable and was based on those applications received. Since this shift, women interpreters are given the choice of wearing men's costumes as opposed to the women's buckskin dress. For example, one woman seasonal interpreter requested wearing the men's costume for her demonstration of carpentry skills, which the dress prohibited her from doing.

National Park Service Directive Six (NPS-6), which covers interpretation standards throughout the Park Service, lists current definitions of living history and costumed demonstrations. Costumed demonstrations are defined as "demonstrations, animations, etc., conducted by interpreters in period dress but not utilizing first person role playing (i.e., third person presentations)." Living history is defined as demonstrations conducted by "interpreters in period clothing who are portraying a specific historical role (i.e., first person role playing). For these activities, accuracy includes not only the knowledge base, the reproduced clothing, and objects involved but also the clearly identifiable physical characteristics, identifiable after costuming, make-up, etc." NPS-6 goes on to state that care must be given in planning for living history programs that first person presentation does not result in unintentional discrimination.

By these definitions, which are current, the memorial has always performed
Curt Johnson preparing fat for candle rendering, 1989. (FOCL photo collection)
costumed demonstrations. Only occasionally have interpreters at the memorial utilized first person presentations. In such cases, the interpretive staff in charge of the development of seasonal programs were careful to know the abilities of the ranger involved in the presentation. First person presentations appeared to receive negative visitor response.\(^{11}\)

First person presentation requires the visitor to believe an interpreter is someone from another time and place. If the visitor is asked to believe something and they do not, two things may happen. One, the visitor might lose interest in the program and will not remember it fondly, and two, the historical information being presented might be lost.\(^{12}\) First person presentation is less interactive and requires acting. Third person presentation is a better learning vehicle, allowing open interaction with the audience with no pretense about who the interpreter is. An interpreter with a well-prepared and well-delivered talk is often more effective than an interpreter acting a part.

Visitors recognize that white women were not a part of the Expedition. The issue of race and gender in costume interpretation is a debate that extends to all parks presenting such programs and draws strong opinions from members of the NPS at park, regional, and national levels. Some maintain that interpretation should continue to maintain historical accuracy with regard to race or gender, even when presenting third person presentations. They consider women in men's clothing to be historically inaccurate.

The women who were the first memorial rangers to present demonstrations in costume had mixed success. Some experienced a loss of authority with some visitors that did not occur when they wore an NPS uniform.\(^{13}\) Women interpreters currently working at the fort do not seem to experience this problem. Incidents fostered by the gender of the interpreter therefore seem to have declined over the last ten years.

The material for the costumed demonstration programs between 1985 and the present center around the same fundamental programs developed since 1970. Seasonal staff are required to develop talks and demonstrations based on the interpretive themes of the park, available reference material, and their personal skills, interests, and abilities. Staff present these programs in a concise format designed to impart a specific theme to the
Bobby Usher boiling fat for candle rendering, 1989. (FOCL photo collection)
memorial visitor. Interpretive staff rotate between replica duty in costume and visitor center duty in NPS uniform, which provides a break in their routine and helps provide variety. Interpretive themes center around the story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and their winter encampment, the problem-solving and survival skills of the Expedition, the Clatsop and Chinook cultures' interaction with the Expedition, and environmental education and the natural environment.

Between 1985 and 1990, the memorial's interpretive brochure was translated into German, Russian, French, and Japanese. Brochures about the Volunteers In Parks program have also been updated and made available. The interpretive staff has been involved with other publications as well. Interpretive Specialist Dan Dattilio wrote *Fort Clatsop: The Story Behind The Scenery*, and FCHA has published *The Charbonneau Family Portrait* and *Plant Guide to Fort Clatsop National Memorial*. FCHA also published a previsit guide for educators, which was available until the visitor center expansion.

In 1987, the memorial began charging a small entry fee as part of a fee enhancement funds program instituted nationwide. The fee was one dollar per person with a maximum of three dollars for a family, and was charged from April 14 to September 30. Children under thirteen and adults over 62 were free. A ten dollar annual pass was also available. In its first year, fee collection brought in $31,116. During 1994, entrance fee collection at the memorial runs from April 1 through September 30. Fees increased to two dollars per person, four dollars per family, and ten dollars for an annual pass. A variety of other special passes are also sold.

Planning began in 1989 for new visitor center exhibits, which was part of the visitor center rehabilitation project. Harpers Ferry Center Exhibit Planner Nancy Slocum, Exhibit Designer Kip Stowell, and a private exhibit contractor, Chris White, worked in conjunction with memorial staff in planning the new, enlarged exhibit hall. The exhibit theme was to stress the national and international significance of the Expedition and the events and accomplishments of its members during the Fort Clatsop winter. Five subthemes were developed: 1) the political and commercial significance of the Expedition,
Two YCC employees with the final product, 1989. (FOCL photo collection)
2) the scientific significance, 3) the practical survival significance, 4) intercultural significance, and 5) the post-Expedition profiles of individual members. Memorial staff read draft exhibit plans, analyzed, and expressed their concern for a well-organized and flowing exhibit and coordinated their efforts with NPS planners. The final exhibit plan called for 17 exhibit cases, two of which were to be utilized for temporary exhibits. Text and materials for the remaining fifteen cases were developed to meet the five subthemes.

When the new exhibit cases arrived at the memorial from Harpers Ferry and the exhibit displays assembled, the staff were displeased with a number of things. The exhibit case framework hindered the view of materials inside, the selection of colors for materials was poor (for example, the trail route on the wall map was hard to distinguish because it was nearly the same color as the map), the carpentry work was sloppy and rough, some labels were difficult to read, certain requests made by the park staff earlier were not incorporated, and finally, the exhibit cases were not coordinated with the Denver Service Center's placement of track lighting and outlets, resulting in poor lighting on the exhibit cases. Staff from Harpers Ferry noted the memorial's concerns and traveled to Fort Clatsop to correct those problems that could be easily corrected.

However, HFC did not able to repair the most serious flaw in the cases. The framework around the cases partially blocked the view of the objects inside the case. HFC stated that they could not fix the problem with the $50,000 remaining in the project fund. The memorial requested that HFC transfer the funds to the park to complete the necessary work. HFC agreed and the memorial contracted with Interpretive Exhibits, Inc., a Salem-based company, to reface the cabinets and correct the deficiencies.

The visitor center expansion also realized the long-needed and awaited enlarged auditorium. The project also included an audio-visual booth and new equipment. In 1989, planning for a new slide program in conjunction with the expansion began. In 1990, Fort Clatsop Interpretive Specialist Scott Eckberg and Harpers Ferry Center audio-visual production officer Karine Erlebach completed the script and photographed the site for "The Farthest Reach," the memorial's current slide program. During the same project, the
Rangers Keith Watempah (demonstrating) and Sarah Borok (in uniform) presenting flintlock demonstration, 1989. (FOCL photo collection)

Godfrey, portraying Seaman, and ranger Bob Zimmerling. (FOCL photo collection)
costumed demonstration programs were filmed and put on a laser disc format with captions. Finished in 1991, the disc system was placed in the visitor center lobby for use during periods when there are no costumed demonstrations and to provide visitors with information about activities not being demonstrated. In addition, the expansion project added a multipurpose room next to the theater, where special interpretive programs, talks, workshops, and additional audio-visual programs could be held. The multipurpose room added flexibility for the interpretive staff, especially in handling large school and tour groups.

**Off Site Programs**

Since Fort Clatsop began visitor services in 1963, the small memorial staff has been able to present a variety of off-site programs and lectures around the local community. These include campfire programs such as the one at Fort Stevens State Park, the first organized off-site program. Memorial staff also provided off-site programs at the area schools, service clubs, and local organizations. Topics have not only centered around the story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, but also other topics of American history, the history of the memorial, the Park Service in general, and various environmental programs. Memorial staff have presented programs at the Astoria Children's Fair, the Clatsop County Fair, and the Lewis and Clark Historical Pageant, among other local events.

The most successful and organized off-site educational program for the memorial has been the "Ranger on the Road" program. This program was begun in 1974 in coordination with area schools and county Education Service District (ESD) offices. The program lasted from six to fifteen weeks, depending on funding, and reached schools around the northwestern corner of Oregon and the southwestern corner of Washington. The program was designed to reach those schools that could not afford field trips to the memorial and was aimed at fourth and fifth grade levels. During the 1981 and 1982 seasons, funding restrictions began to impact the program. In order to keep the program, the county ESD offices were able to cover the costs of lodging and meals for the ranger
Ranger Brian Huntoon presenting Ranger on the Road program at a Corvallis, Oregon, school, 3 April 1981. (FOCL photo collection)
while the memorial paid the salaries and transportation costs. FCHA assisted by covering the cost of lodging and meals and was then reimbursed by the districts. The program reached its peak in the 1979-80 seasons, lasting fifteen weeks and reaching nearly twenty thousand children.\textsuperscript{14}

Despite its popularity and a willingness of the school districts to help fund these programs, the program was curtailed in 1983 due to memorial budget cuts. Only limited local programs could be offered as budgets, time, and available personnel allowed. In 1987, through the help of a new fee enhancement program and significant donations from FCHA, the "Ranger on the Road" program was started again. Fee enhancement funds covered transportation costs for the program and donations from FCHA, totaling $3,000 a year, covered lodging and meals. The program continued through this method of funding through 1990. Six week spring programs were held in 1987 and 1988, and a pre-site teachers packet was developed. The program reached eight weeks in 1989 for a total of 126 presentations. The program was shifted to the fall in 1990 for a six week program, October 22 - December 14, for a total of 95 presentations. The programs were again extremely successful, reaching between 3,000 and 6,000 children. Under the increased visitation levels at the memorial and the beginning of the visitor expansion project, the memorial needed the rangers at the park rather than on the road. Staffing pressures combined with budget restraints have again limited the program's reach. During 1993, the program ran from March 15 - April 19 and reached 2676 students.

Due to staffing and budget restraints, emphasis has been shifted to the creation of a travelling trunk program, which are sent to schools in the region usually reached by the ranger program. The trunks, supported by FCHA, have been extremely successful and the program was aided in 1993 by a "Parks As Classrooms" grant from the National Park Foundation. The first trunk, created in 1993, was based on the Lewis and Clark Expedition/Fort Clatsop theme. It was so successful that two identical trunks were made in 1994. The staff plans on making two or three additional trunks on other historical themes, such as a Lower Columbia American Indian trunk, to expand this program.
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The interpretive staff is currently working on a formal five-year educational plan that would restructure and direct the memorial's educational services. The plan will address on-site visitation options, traveling trunks, off-site programming, a new pre-visit guide, and teacher workshops, among other things. The interpretive program will also seek additional program funding and special educational grants.

Salt Works Interpretation

Salt Works interpretation has relied almost entirely on non-personal interpretation. With acquisition of the site in 1979, the memorial designed exhibit signs for the site which told the story of the saltmakers of the Expedition and the importance of salt. The plaque installed by the Seaside Lions Club at the 1955 replica dedication also describes the preservation of the site after 1900. The club provides daily monitoring of the site, with routine maintenance done under contract with the City of Seaside. Landscaping, including the installation of a split-rail fence and planting of some native shrubbery, was completed in 1986 to improve the surrounding scene. The landscaping was enhanced during the summer of 1994, with the construction of a cobblestone wall and other site improvements.

When staffing has permitted, summer programs with a seasonal ranger have been held. The memorial ranger was available to talk with visitors about the Expedition, the process they used to make salt, and its importance to the Expedition. These programs were able to reach some of the Seaside tourist traffic not usually reached with personal interpretation. The programs were a success with the visitors. Future interpretation at the Salt Works site beyond non-personal media depends on available staffing and funding. A few of the Salt Works neighbors have grown to dislike the increase in traffic at the site over the years. The issue of maintaining the proper historic setting, interpretation, and visitor access at the Salt Works site is one issue being addressed by the new General Management Plan.
CHAPTER NINE: INTERAGENCY AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

The memorial has historically maintained good relationships with several public groups and other local, state, and federal government agencies. Fort Clatsop maintains a visible presence in the community through staff involvement with various community and service organizations. Memorial staff have also served on local and state government committees. Through relations with other Pacific Northwest historic sites, the memorial has maintained a resource base for its outreach programs.

Fort Clatsop has had many contacts with various city, county, state, and federal agencies. Planning efforts have also put the memorial in touch with other NPS units, universities, historical agencies, and research groups. In recent years and in conjunction with planning for a new General Management Plan, the memorial has begun to take an active role in the local community and state in various planning efforts. The following is an overview of the significant relations the memorial has had with other groups or agencies.

**Lewis and Clark Historical Groups**

The memorial has maintained good relations with the Oregon, Washington, and national Lewis and Clark organizations. The primary group affecting the memorial has been the Oregon Governor's Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. A governor-appointed board, memorial superintendents have served on it and attend regular meetings. The committee concerns itself with Oregon Lewis and Clark historic sites and Oregon portions of the historic trail, considering the preservation and maintenance of these sites. The memorial also coordinates with the national Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, attending annual meetings and utilizing the organization as a support base. Other groups include the Washington State Lewis and Clark Trail Committee and the Lewis and Clark Historical Pageant.

The memorial has participated in annual symposiums with these groups, and regularly hosts symposiums at the site. These groups provide a significant resource for historical
research and support for the park's interpretation program. The state's most well-known
Lewis and Clark enthusiasts have played a strong role in the memorial's history, especially the
late Dr. Eldon G. Chuinard, Irving Anderson, and the late Robert Lange. Coordination for
research on the Lewis and Clark Historic Trail in Oregon has been an important issue
between these groups and the memorial, which is an essential piece in the trail. The
memorial receives strong support from these organizations which are an important public tie.

**Federal and State Agencies**

*Oregon and Washington State Park Systems.* Fort Stevens State Park has been a
consistent partner for Fort Clatsop in promotion of Clatsop County historic sites. The
memorial has participated in regular campfire programs at Fort Stevens and many of Fort
Stevens' visitors and campers make the trip to Fort Clatsop. Across the Columbia River in
Washington, there are many significant Lewis and Clark sites. In 1973, Fort Canby State
Park, Washington, developed a Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center. Memorial staff
coordinated with the Washington State Park System and provided assistance in the
development of the park's interpretive exhibits at Fort Canby and Fort Columbia. Both Fort
Stevens and Fort Canby were consulted by the planning team for the new general
management plan.

*State of Oregon.* Aside from maintaining relations with the Oregon State Parks and
Recreation Department, other state agencies have provided aid to the memorial over the years.
The memorial maintains relations with the State Historic Preservation Office for compliance
with the National Historic Preservation Act. The Oregon State Police donates game carcasses
(roadkills) for the memorial's interpretive programs, providing materials that otherwise would
need to be purchased. The memorial has also participated in Oregon state youth employment
programs. The memorial holds agreements with the Oregon State Police for law enforcement
purposes and coordinates with the department, especially regarding county poaching issues.
The memorial also coordinates with the Oregon Department of Environmental Quality on
water quality issues for the Lewis and Clark River and other park water. The memorial has
also received project support and assistance from the local Oregon National Guard base, Camp Rilea. Camp Rilea has also coordinated with the memorial on planning for the commemorative trail to the coast.

In 1973 the Oregon State Forestry Department donated 1,000 young trees for the memorial’s reforestation program. The department donated fir, spruce, cedar, and hemlock trees between the ages of 2 and 5 years old. These trees came both from nursery stock and state lands. The trees were a significant start for the memorial’s reforestation. The memorial has also utilized the Oregon State Fish and Wildlife Department as a resource for natural resource planning issues.

Federal Agencies. The memorial deals with other local branches of federal agencies from time to time. The memorial has been in contact with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the Environmental Protection Agency over Lewis and Clark River dredging projects and wetlands issues. The U.S. Coast Guard base in Warrenton has served as a resource base for memorial staff. The local Coast Guard station has assisted the memorial with river transportation, helicopter surveillance, moving assistance during the visitor center expansion, and many other projects. The possibility exists for future cooperation through the leasing of Coast Guard housing for memorial staff.

The memorial also occasionally provides interpretive programs for federal agencies as a part of its outreach programs. The interpretive staff has presented programs during the summer months for the U.S. Forest Service at the Multnomah Falls Nature Center, located in the Columbia Gorge, Oregon.

Other National Park units. During its establishment, the memorial received assistance from many other historic areas in the park system in the form of technical advice and planning for visitor services, replica construction, and exhibits. Morristown National Historical Park, Independence Hall National Historical Park, and Pipestone National Monument provided assistance in planning and locating exhibit items. Through these contacts, the memorial also received assistance from Colonial Williamsburg and Old Sturbridge Village. The memorial has utilized the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in
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St. Louis as a resource base for Lewis and Clark programs and memorial staff presented Fort Clatsop interpretive programs there in the late 1970s.

Fort Vancouver National Historic Site and Fort Clatsop have shared management needs over the years. The superintendents of both units have served as acting superintendent of the other and for the first few years of Fort Clatsop, they shared the same cooperating association. During the memorial's reforestation program and alder removal, surplus wood was taken to Fort Vancouver for use in the bakery and blacksmith's forge. Mt. Rainier and Olympic national parks have also provided assistance to the memorial. Both parks have donated blown down cedar trees for use in the canoe carving programs and as materials for repairs to the fort replica. During the visitor center expansion, Olympic National Park, Oregon Caves National Monument, and Crater Lake National Park provided temporary trailers for administrative use. Technical support has also been provided by North Cascades, Mt. Rainier, Olympic, and Crater Lake National Parks.  

Public Relations and the Local Community

Fort Clatsop has maintained an active and visible role in the local community. Memorial staff has traditionally been a part of local organizations, such as the Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions clubs. The memorial has also maintained strong ties with the Astoria, Warrenton, and Seaside Chambers of Commerce. The superintendents of the memorial have served on a variety of local committees for county and city governments, dealing with such issues as economics, soil conservation, the Columbia River Estuary Study Team (CREST), and tourism development.  

In recent years, these contacts have allowed the memorial to keep abreast of and have an impact on local management processes that affect the memorial.

Crown Zellerbach and Cavenham Industries. The memorial's primary neighbors to the west have always been active members of the timber industry. Crown Zellerbach, owners of the neighboring timber lands during the site's creation, openly supported Fort Clatsop and donated logs and services of significant value for the replica project in 1955. When the memorial was first established, Crown Zellerbach owned property around the Fort Clatsop site
and at the canoe landing. Through the suggestion of Senator Richard Neuberger, the corporation donated land to assist in the memorial's creation. Crown Zellerbach continued to be helpful to the memorial, donating trees to the reforestation project as needed and donating the wood base for the "Arrival" statue. In May, 1986, Crown Zellerbach assets were acquired by Cavenham Forest Industries. Cavenham continues to own much of the timber land to the west of the memorial as a division of Hansen Natural Resources Company, Great Britain. The memorial holds a collection permit for native shrubs and trees on Cavenham property. Crown Zellerbach and Cavenham also donated time, staff, and labor assisting the memorial in various projects over the years.

The memorial has continued to keep constructive relations with Cavenham Industries since the company acquired the Crown Zellerbach properties, most recently trying to come to an understanding regarding conflicting land use issues. With the fort's new general management plan's proposed actions, a proposed for boundary expansion and commemorative trail to the coast would pass directly through Cavenham property. In recent years, Cavenham has been approached to sell lands to developers and the City of Warrenton. With the memorial also seeking to acquire portions of Cavenham property, the company is feeling pressured to relieve these issues and has negotiated with the memorial to reach an agreement satisfactory to both parties. The memorial sees not only future clear-cutting on this property as a threat, but also potential development should Cavenham decide to sell to other interested parties.\(^1\)

*The Oregon and Clatsop County Historical Societies.* Both of these organizations were responsible for the preservation and management of the Fort Clatsop site prior to its designation as a national memorial. The Oregon Historical Society was the primary coordinator for the legislative movement which achieved that recognition. Since the NPS took over the site, both societies have remained supporters of the memorial. The memorial continues to coordinate with these two societies in the preservation of local and state history, especially regarding the preservation of the historic trail.

*Columbia River Maritime Museum.* Located in Astoria, the maritime museum is
another local historical group which coordinates with the memorial, a relationship that proves mutually beneficial. The memorial and the museum have provided technical assistance to each other. During the visitor center expansion project, the museum stored a large portion of the memorial's collection. The memorial has loaned collection materials to the museum for exhibit purposes. Through Fort Clatsop, the museum was also provided technical assistance by an NPS conservator during the visitor center expansion.

A significant coordination effort between the two came in 1991 with the bicentennial of Captain Robert Gray's exploration of the Columbia River. The NPS and State of Oregon Columbia River Bicentennial Commission, developed a cooperative agreement for the production of the exhibit "This Noble River: Captain Gray and the Columbia" housed at the maritime museum from May through November 1992. Superintendent Orlando served for the regional director on the coordinating group for the exhibit. The exhibit was co-sponsored by the NPS and received $250,000 in federal funding.

Seaside. Due to the satellite location of the Salt Works site management coordinates with various Seaside organizations to ensure that NPS standards for the site are met. Prior to the site's designation in 1979 as a part of the memorial, the Seaside Lions Club had maintained and policed the site for the Oregon Historical Society. Since 1979, Fort Clatsop has retained agreements with the Seaside Lions Club through 1990 for their maintenance efforts. Due to increased visitation at the site, the memorial currently maintains an agreement with the City of Seaside for maintenance and policing of the site. The Lions Club continues to monitor the 15-star flag flown at the site.

The Chinook Tribe. Headquartered in Chinook, Washington, the Chinook tribe is the primary American Indian contact for the memorial. The memorial has kept in contact with this community since 1989 for proper interpretation of the Clatsop/Chinook people and for support of memorial programs. The Chinook Tribal Council reviewed the memorial's new exhibit plans during the memorial expansion project and has also been consulted on items regarding future interpretation at the memorial and the new general management plan.

The Chinook tribe is not a federally recognized tribe although they do have some land
interest on the Quinault Reservation on the Olympic Peninsula in Washington State. The Chinook Tribal Council represents the lower Chinook, Clatsop, Wahkiakum, Cathlamet, and Clatskanie people. It is a relatively young organization, consisting of about 1700 members as of 1990. They are currently working towards federal recognition.

Since the beginning of relations with the memorial in 1989, Mr. and Mrs. George Lagergren, members of the tribe, have come to the memorial to speak about traditional Chinook/Clatsop culture. Representatives of the tribe were a part of the dedication ceremonies for the new visitor center. During the temporary display of three baskets collected by the Expedition and on loan from the Peabody Museum at Harvard, the memorial hosted a special viewing of the baskets for the Chinook and all other regional tribes. The memorial is also in contact with the tribe regarding the future repatriation of burial items at Fort Vancouver N.H.S. The association between the memorial and the Chinook Tribal Council is mutually appreciated.

During the late 1970s until 1981, the memorial contacted Portland and Seattle area American Indian organizations, area colleges, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs trying to recruit an American Indian woman for the seasonal interpretive program. In planning for the bicentennial of the Expedition in 2003-2006, the memorial has created a listing of all tribal groups with connection to the Expedition in the Northwest and hopes to coordinate with all these groups in the bicentennial celebration planning efforts.

Youth Conservation Corps and Tongue Point Jobs Corps. Over the years, the memorial has utilized regional youth employment programs, which have provided staffing for a range of tasks, including administrative assistance. Without this assistance, a number of projects might not have been completed.

Between 1981 and 1991, the memorial employed 8 to 16 staff and enrollees from the YCC program. These teams worked at the memorial for a period of eight weeks. Programs completed by these crews included trail clearing, alder thinning, and building boundary fences. As a part of the YCC program, memorial staff required each enrollee to participate in the fort's interpretive program at the fort replica. This aspect of the program was extremely
successful, resulting in some enrollees volunteering as interpreters on the weekends. The memorial currently has a Memorandum of Agreement with the Tongue Point Job Corps Center. Through this agreement, the memorial has employed several youths for administrative and maintenance positions. Students at the Tongue Point Job Corps Center cut, sanded, and applied a resin coating to the 12" base for the "Arrival" statue.
CHAPTER TEN: A NEW GENERAL MANAGEMENT PLAN

From 1990 through 1991, Superintendent Orlando campaigned the Pacific Northwest Regional Office for recognition of management needs at the memorial. Encroachment of development towards the memorial and the increasing possibility that development would be detrimental to memorial resources was the most pressing issue. Related to that issue was the outdated memorial Master Plan, which was due for revision in 1975. The thirty-year-old document did not address and could not guide the memorial in dealing with its resource and land use issues. A new management plan was a primary step in dealing with those issues, as well as updating many of the memorial's specific action plans.

Even though the memorial's master plan was thirty years old, the park still was not high on the priority list for preparation and funding of a new plan. For the memorial to wait for Congressional appropriations and a new plan from Denver Service Center, the park may have waited an additional five to ten years, if not longer. After a site visit by the associate regional director for recreation resources and professional services and regional chief of lands to witness the adjacent land use issues facing the memorial, it was determined that these issues needed to be addressed and that the regional office, park staff, and private consultants would produce an in-house management plan for the memorial.

A planning team was organized by Keith Dunbar, the Chief of Planning and Environmental Compliance in the Pacific Northwest Regional Office (PNRO), which included Superintendent Orlando, memorial staff, representatives of various PNRO divisions, and private consultants. In 1992, the preparation of a new general management plan (GMP) began. On January 30, 1992, a public scoping meeting was held at the memorial. Twenty persons attended the meeting, including representatives of Washington State Parks Fort Canby, Oregon State Parks Fort Stevens, FCHA, Cavenham Industries, the NPS, Clatsop County, and interested citizens. Planning issues and concerns facing the memorial "identified at the scoping meeting and subsequent meetings with memorial staff"
became the basis of planning for the new GMP.\textsuperscript{2}

**Planning Concerns and Proposals**

In October, 1993, a draft of the GMP and an accompanying Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) were presented for public review. Eight planning issues and concerns were identified in future management of the park.\textsuperscript{3}

*Boundary Adjustments.* Planning concerns involving the current boundaries for the memorial included the incorporation of a commemorative trail between the fort and the Pacific Ocean. This planning concern stemmed from the memorial's enabling legislation, which states that the memorial should preserve a portion of the overland trail to the coast. A trail to the coast would be a commemorative route, since the actual route used by the Expedition cannot be determined. Also at issue was the protection of the natural environment around the fort area and of the historic setting. Increasing urbanization spreading outward from Astoria and Warrenton continue to encroach on the setting of the memorial and threaten its natural environment. A third concern was to provide for the incorporation of 31.5 acres on the north and east boundary of the memorial acquired by FCHA to be donated to the NPS for protection against urban development. Finally, the possible expansion of the Salt Works site in Seaside, if a willing seller/willing buyer opportunity arose, would enable the memorial to expand and enhance the historic setting of the site and provide additional parking for visitors.\textsuperscript{4}

*Adjacent Land Uses.* A planning concern identified in the draft GMP was the impact on the memorial's resource programs by possible land uses around the memorial. Concerns included future timber harvest or agricultural use of neighboring lands and commercial and industrial development near the memorial. Also of concern was the effects of such development on the water quality of the Lewis and Clark River, which would impact the natural resources of the park as well as the memorial's own water supply.\textsuperscript{5}

*Opportunities for Regional Cooperation.* The draft GMP identified the opportunity
to provide for regional coordination between the memorial and other historic sites in the region on issues and projects of mutual concern and interest. Through coordination with other historic sites, the memorial could develop a resource and support base with these other sites. Topics for collaboration included: interpretation of the Lewis and Clark story with other Lewis and Clark sites; interpretation of Northwest Coast maritime exploration; coordination of events for the upcoming Lewis and Clark Expedition Bicentennial; transportation access and circulation between various historic sites in the area; heritage tourism; natural resource management; and the advantages of the designation of U.S. Highway 101 as a National Scenic Byway.\(^6\)

**Natural Resource Protection and Management.** The draft GMP identified the need for updates of specific resource management plans, specifically pest management, vegetation management, and fire management. Other resource management planning and preservation needs identified included: establish a baseline database of the natural resources within the memorial; assess possible preservation of elk habitat to keep dwindling elk populations in the memorial area; assess the memorial's water resources and the possibilities of wetlands restoration and preservation along the Lewis and Clark River; and assess and continue planning for the native reforestation program.\(^7\)

**In-Park Interpretation.** Interpretation program concerns included increased interpretation of the American Indian experiences with the Expedition. This included the assessment of possible cultural demonstrations or the possible replication of a Clatsop shelter. Second, emphasize the story surrounding the Expedition's choice of location for the winter quarters and their daily life at the fort. Finally, assess potential interpretive capabilities at the Salt Works site.

**Visitor Use.** Planning concerns focusing on future visitor use varied with regard to the other planning issues and concerns identified. If the memorial expanded to include a fort-to-ocean trail and an overall increase in acreage, what should the memorial's visitor use continue to be? An assessment of appropriate land uses on memorial grounds would be necessary. Of particular concern would be camping and overnight use, possible uses of
the Lewis and Clark River, and appropriate use of the historic trail (i.e. hiking only vs. bicycle, horse, or motorized vehicle access).  

Park Facilities. Considering increases in visitation at the memorial over the last thirty-five years and the possibilities of increasing types of visitor use at the memorial, several planning concerns regarding the memorial facilities and staffing size were identified. These included: upgrading memorial utilities and roads; identifying off-site staff housing for memorial seasonal staff; upgrading the maintenance facility; providing an improved collections facility and library workspace; parking facilities at the Salt Works; and providing for continued maintenance of the fort grounds, trails, the canoe landing, and picnic site to handle increased visitation. Other concerns identified included assessment of increased staffing needs to meet management goals and the ability of the park to assist in the creation of a Lewis and Clark Research Center, either at the memorial or at a regional university. Finally, a shuttle bus service between the fort site and the Salt Works site should be considered.

Visual/Aural Qualities. Finally, under all the different planning concerns and considerations for increased visitation and a variety of possible visitor uses, the memorial would need to continue maintenance of the re-created historic setting and atmosphere at the fort. Included in this issue was the impact of incompatible adjacent land uses.

In addressing these eight planning concerns, the draft GMP provided four alternative plan proposals. The proposed alternatives emphasized six areas of resource management and interpretation opportunities. First, develop a fort-to-ocean trail within the memorial boundary to commemorate the trail used by the Expedition; this would be available for recreational and interpretive purposes. Second, increase memorial land holdings to protect against future incompatible development. Third, develop regional coordination to interpret the Lewis and Clark story and other cultural themes of the Pacific Northwest Region and the possible formal designation and creation of a regional heritage area. Fourth, improve park facilities and increase park staff to address increased park visitation. Finally, the draft GMP offered proposals for coordination of the upcoming
bicentennial and improved site development at the Salt Works site in Seaside.

Alternative A was the no-action alternative, keeping the memorial functioning at current operating levels. Alternative B provided for expansion of lands and services to meet the memorial's basic planning concerns. Alternative C, the preferred action alternative, would increase the memorial's holdings to include a commemorative trail corridor to the coast along the Clatsop Ridge and would emphasize regional cooperation in meeting the goals of the memorial. Alternative D provided for an expanded natural resource base for the enhancement of the historic setting.

The preferred action alternative was designed to accomplish four things. First, develop the fort to ocean trail link for pedestrian use only, incorporating a trailhead of "80 acres of land, including a 25-vehicle parking lot, restrooms, information kiosk, picnic area, bicycle rack, and other facilities." Second, the preferred alternative would add land to memorial boundaries for the protection and management of the park's natural resources. Third, create a Heritage Partnership in the region for the protection and interpretation of area cultural resources. Fourth, the plan addressed staffing and infrastructural needs at the memorial in order to better provide protection of park resources and visitor services.

Public Review and Comment

Two hundred ninety-six copies of the draft GMP/EIS were mailed to interested parties and three public workshops were held between November 2 and December 1, 1993. With the presentation of the alternatives for future management of the memorial to the public and neighboring residents directly affected by its proposed uses, an emotional and mixed response was received. By request, the public review period was extended an additional thirty days. A significant negative response developed towards the draft preferred alternative. Of the 83 written responses received, over half expressed opposition to any expansion of the memorial and the Salt Works. In addition, 65 pre-printed cards supporting the no-action alternative were received. Members of the community who disapproved of the draft preferred alternative included local landowners, Cavenham
Industries, neighboring residents of the Salt Works site in Seaside, and some residents and public officials of Warrenton. One landowner created a media campaign that was effective in raising the fears of some in the local community. As part of the campaign, the landowner contacted Charles Cushman and the National Inholders Association.

The main issue behind the negative response to the preferred alternative was the fear of condemnation of homes and property identified in the proposed expansion, despite statements to the contrary by the NPS, and a perceived fear of federal government "interference" in economic growth and private land use. With government restrictions on timber and fishing occurring throughout the state of Oregon, the possible expansion and environmental concerns of Fort Clatsop National Memorial was perceived as another federal encroachment, a perception that sometimes did not consider the National Park Service as a separate entity from the Forest Service or Bureau of Land Management.\(^{13}\)

Other issues of concern for those who supported the no-action alternative included: loss of taxable property from county tax rolls; increased funding requests at a time when the federal government was downsizing; lack of historical accuracy; increased vandalism and protection of neighboring properties along a public use trail; memorial wetlands restoration and loss of dikes along the Lewis and Clark River; and the ability of the park service to limit neighboring land uses. The assessment of possible future development at the Salt Works site raised concerns from the site's residential neighbors, who feared loss of property and increased parking and vandalism problems. The City of Seaside also expressed concern over maintenance of a larger site.\(^{14}\)

The preferred alternative did receive support from the public. About one-third of the written responses favored the alternative and support was expressed at the public workshops.\(^{15}\) Positive editorials ran in area newspapers. Major supporters of the preferred alternative included the Oregon Historical Society, Lewis and Clark organizations and historians, and the park's cooperating association.
The Final General Management Plan

After the public review period, the GMP underwent "substantive changes" and in June, 1995, the final GMP/EIS was completed. While planning issues and concerns remained essentially the same, the size and details of the alternatives were altered in response to public comment. Major changes included: proposed development at the Salt Works site, including any land expansion in a willing seller/buyer situation, were dropped; the role of the NPS in determining neighboring land use was clarified; the amount of private lands identified for possible incorporation into the memorial was cut by 443 acres and 160 acres of public land at Sunset Beach added, making the proposed acreage addition 283 acres less than the previous proposal; alignment of the proposed trail-to-coast was revised from a Clatsop Ridge orientation to a lower elevation predominately on public land; and development concept plans for trailheads at Sunset Beach and the fort were modified.\(^{17}\)

The final version of Alternative C was selected as the preferred alternative and proposed action and, upon approval from the NPS Washington, D.C. office and Congressional approval to lift the acreage ceiling, will become the management plan for the park. The proposed action provides four major components to guide the park over the next fifteen years.

First, the plan calls for the development of the trail corridor to the ocean. The trail would consist of two trailheads, one developed on property adjacent to the current memorial and the second would be developed at Sunset Beach Park. Each site would provide parking, comfort stations, information kiosks, and bicycle racks. A trail easement connecting the two sites would be obtained through cooperating agreements with the State of Oregon and Clatsop County.\(^{18}\)

Second, land on the west, southwest, and northern boundaries are recommended for incorporation into the memorial boundaries for the purpose of protecting the historic setting and the natural resources of the memorial. Recommended acreage for inclusion of the trail corridor and surrounding lands totals 963 acres.
Third, the proposed action provides for regional coordination of interpretive activities among public and private groups and organizations of the lower Columbia River region. This includes a proposal for a Heritage Partnership among these groups. Other proposals promote coordination of events for the Lewis and Clark bicentennial with other Lewis and Clark sites and organizations.

Finally, the proposed action provides recommendations for increased staffing levels, both permanent and seasonal, and the establishment of carrying capacity levels for the fort and visitor center. This would allow the memorial to meet increased visitor and resource protection needs while continuing to provide a quality visitor experience. The plan also provides for upgrading and maintaining visitor facilities.

The preferred action alternative of the final GMP will guide Fort Clatsop National Memorial in maintaining the historic setting and natural environment of the fort site and in continuing to bring the story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition to the public. The plan will also guide the memorial in developing new recreational and interpretive programs for public enjoyment. Most importantly, the plan will guide the memorial in continuing to educate visitors about the history of the Pacific Northwest.
CONCLUSION

Thomas Vaughan commented to me during an interview in December of 1993 that no one involved with Fort Clatsop or who opposed federal management in 1958 could have imagined the memorial that exists now. Over the years, the staff at Fort Clatsop have quietly strived to make the memorial the best it could be. Historically, the park has not been the focus of regional or national controversy and has operated in a very self-sufficient manner. In some cases, memorial superintendents have had to yell a little to catch the attention of the regional office, especially regarding infrastructural needs. Fort Clatsop had and continues to have a staff of talented and dedicated individuals. Several staff members have spent a majority or the entirety of their NPS career at the memorial. The memorial also works with one of the best and most dedicated cooperating associations in the nation. Despite its initial rejection, the memorial has been a successful addition to the National Park System.

The memorial reflects two important periods of NPS history. Developed during Mission 66, the park's facilities and goals reflect a period of greater emphasis on visitor services and inspiration through interpretation as the American people began visiting the nation's parks in much larger numbers. The park also utilized the concept of "living history" that appeared in the late 1960s and has developed that trend into a central feature of its interpretive programming. Interpretation and infrastructure management have been the major areas of management emphasis for most of the last thirty-six years. This emphasis has resulted in the creation of a popular demonstration program and an outstanding educational program, the planting of thousands of trees to enhance the historic scene, and the expansion of park facilities to meet the pressures of visitation. Currently, the memorial faces new directions, with emphasis on managing its resources and expanding its boundaries for the inclusion of a commemorative trail.

Under the guidelines of a new GMP, Fort Clatsop and its staff will continue to work towards its primary goal, through different interpretive mediums and the preservation of the natural environment: the commemoration of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. They will also
continue to surpass the expectations of those who fought for the site in 1958.
Chapter Two
Endnotes


2. Silverstein, 536-537.


4. Silverstein, 537.

5. A puncheon is a broad piece of roughly dressed timber with one side hewn flat.

6. Gáry E. Moulton, ed., The Journals of Lewis and Clark Expedition, vol. 6, November 2, 1805 - March 22, 1806, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 146. The sinks in the Expedition journals refer to latrines. There is no mention of what kind of construction was involved.

7. Moulton, 444.


11. For more information on visitation to the site in the 1800's, see John Hussey's Suggested Historical Area report, including footnotes 3-16.


13. It is not clear how much timber was produced through this mill or what percentage of the surrounding arceage was logged.


15. Hussey, 29.
16. Harlan Smith again visited the site around 1966 and toured the site with Superintendent James Thomson. Smith lived to be 100 years old, passing away in California in 1970.

17. A copy of the transcript from the Harlan Smith interview is located in the Fort Clatsop Park Archive, National Archives and Records Center, Seattle, history files (hereafter cited as Fort Clatsop Archive). The interview was conducted by Regional Historian John Hussey and Regional Archeologist Paul Schumacer, after their Suggested Historical Area Report was completed.

18. Hussey, 32.

19. Hussey, 32.


24. Hussey, 19.

25. The current spring presented at the memorial lies north of the fort replica.

26. According to a 1985 list compiled by Frank Walker and community members involved in the project, 12 groups were involved in donating time, effort, labor, workspace, or money: the Astoria Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Clatsop County Historical Society, Crown Zellerbach, Finnish Brotherhood, Lions Club of Astoria, Gray Logging Company, Astoria Marine Construction Company, Astoria Port Commission, Pacific Power and Light, Ladies Auxiliary, and the Colonial Dames of America, Oregon Chapter.

27. Minutes of Clatsop County Historical Society, 31 August 1955, Fort Clatsop Archive.


29. Interviews with former Jaycees with the author, 4-5 January 1994.


31. Michael Foster continued working as a seasonal for the memorial during the first four years of operation and in 1972 became a member of the Fort Clatsop Historical Association board. He still serves on the board. (1994)

32. Moulton, 140.
33. Moulton, 175.


35. Testimony of Silas B. Smith, Oregon Historical Society, Fort Clatsop Archive.


37. Clatsop County Deed Records, Book 71, 64.
Chapter Three
Endnotes


5. Conrad L. Wirth to Dr. Franklin B. Queen, 16 November 1953, Fort Clatsop Archive.


8. From an October 1973 list of members of the Oregon Governor's Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Committee, Fort Clatsop Archive.


11. John Miele to Regional Director, PNRO, 10 September 1973, Fort Clatsop Archive.


16. Foresta, 149.

185
Chapter Four
Endnotes


8. There is debate whether the dog's name was Seaman or Scannon, but the memorial uses the name Seaman. A piece of evidence in support of the name Seaman is Seaman Creek in Montana, which was named by the Expedition.


11. Michael Foster, Chairman of the FCHA board, interview by the author, 6 April 1994.

12. The Project Manager position is the NPS representative on the Ebey's Landing Trust Board.


15. Interview with Cynthia Orlando, 7 January 1994.


21. FCHA was able to purchase a portion of Robert Lange's personal library regarding the Lewis and Clark Expedition and western history. Robert Lange was a member of the Lewis and Clark Heritage Trail Committee and an influential member of Oregon Lewis and Clark groups. He assisted the memorial in research and development of their costumed demonstration programs. Total, FCHA purchased many volumes, some of Lange's personal papers, minutes from heritage trail committee meetings, artifacts from the 1905 Lewis and Clark Exposition, and many other items.
Chapter Five
Endnotes


2. Lawrence Merriam to National Park Service Director, 13 February 1958, Fort Clatsop Archive.


5. Associate Regional Director, Region Four, to National Park Service Director, 28 December 1962, Fort Clatsop Archive.

6. Hussey, 44.

7. Hussey, 44.

8. Neal Butterfield to Region Four Director, 9 September 1958, Fort Clatsop Archive.

9. Charles Peterson to Regional Director, Region Four, 26 July 1961, Fort Clatsop Archive.


11. Carl Parcher Russell worked for the Park Service for 34 years, 1923 to 1957. During that time he served as the Chief of the museum division, the wildlife division, and as the Chief Naturalist. He also served as Director of Region One and as Superintendent of Yosemite National Park. Just prior to his retirement, Russell served as the Coordinator of Research and Interpretation, Region Four. Russell specialized in the history of the fur trade and the everyday life of the frontier. Russell provided documentation for historical interpretation of frontier and pioneer life for the Park Service and other agencies. The Region Four office contracted Russell to complete the historical data for the Fort Clatsop structure, as well as the first exhibit plan for the visitor center.


13. Hussey, f.

15. Hussey and Russell, 43-44.

16. In part one of the historic structures report, Schumacher uses the word bulldozer in describing future excavations. In reporting the results of those excavations in part two of the report, Schumacher uses the word backhoe. The author is deferring to the use of backhoe in the belief that is the machinery he used. A bulldozer would have been damaging to any archeological materials.


18. Lyle E. Bennett, Supervisory Architect, WODC, to the Regional Director, Region Four, 29 January 1960, Fort Clatsop Archive.


20. Peterson and Bell, 3.

21. Bryn Thomas of Eastern Washington University, Archeological and Historical Service's, points out that while extensive root systems can destroy archeological evidence, those same roots would have been modified, i.e. cut or burned, by the Expedition and those modifications would provide evidence of building at the site.
Chapter Six

Endnotes


3. Additional visitor comments from the 1986 visitor survey, Fort Clatsop Archive.

4. Five of the memorial's superintendents have lived on site in residence #1. The memorial's administrative officers Jack Houston and Blanche Henderson occupied residence #3 during the terms of Superintendents Peterson and Thomson, respectively. Residence #3 has also been occupied by memorial rangers. At present, the memorial law enforcement ranger and a member of the maintenance staff live in the memorial residences.

5. 1980 Annual Statement for Interpretation and Visitor Services, Fort Clatsop Archive.


14. Project justification and planning files, D34, Fort Clatsop Archive.

16. For more information on planning for the visitor center expansion, see D3415, Folders 31-33, Fort Clatsop Archive, as well as Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1988-1991.


Chapter Seven
Endnotes


6. 19th and 20th century items included china shards, domestic cow bones, pottery shards, glass bottle pieces, a horseshoe, harness pieces, and pieces of an iron stove. Those items considered to be possible America Indian materials were a bone awl and a blue glass bead. However, those items could also be from the Expedition. The party carried such trade items as blue glass beads, trading and collecting cultural items such as bone awls. Such items could have been from either group.

7. Schumacher, 16.


11. For more information on the survey history, see resource management specialist David Ek's summary, written May 19, 1994, in the memorial's files.

12. The memorial has been in contact with the Chinookan tribe in assisting them determine what items at Fort Vancouver need be repatriated under the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act.


Chapter Eight
Endnotes


2. The dugout canoe was originally loaned to the Clatsop County Historical Society Museum. In 1960, when the loan renewal came due, Burnby Bell (no relation) negotiated with the family to loan the canoe to the park service instead.


4. For specific journal entries relevant to the activities portrayed most often by the interpretation staff, see journal entries of Lewis and Clark, 1 January 1806, 9 January 1806, and 20 January 1806.

5. The interpretive collection of items for furnishing the fort replica currently holds over 800 items. The collection includes axes, adzes, woodworking tools, furs, hides, black powder weapons, blankets, buffalo hides, buckskin pants, shirts, moccasins, capotes (a blanket coat), cooking utensils (tin plates, horn spoons), copper and brass buckets, American Indian trade goods (medals, looking glasses, beads, fish hooks), journals, candles, molds, powder horns, kegs, wooden boxes, hats (raccoon fur, beaver fur, and others), military officers coats, flints and steels, lamps and lanterns, among other items.


7. Timothy Walker represented York as a ranger at the memorial for two seasons, 1979-80. Harold Bailey replaced Walker for the 1981 season. A local man hired to replace Bailey for the 1982 season quit before the season started, citing personal reasons. Hiring or recruiting people of a specific gender or race also caused accusations of discriminatory hiring practices in at least one instance. Elaine Miles and Marsha Putman are among the women who have represented Sacagawea.


10. Letter from Scott Eckberg to author, 1 August 1994.


14. Background of the Ranger on the Road program, written by Interpretive Specialist Scott Eckberg, 1988, Fort Clatsop Archive.
Chapter Nine
Endnotes


6. Information regarding Coast Guard assistance was found in the superintendent's annual reports and was supplemented by interviews with memorial staff.

7. Annual Statements for Interpretation and Visitor Services, K1817, Fort Clatsop Archive.

8. Exhibit planning files, D6215, Fort Clatsop Archive.


10. Public relations files, A38, Fort Clatsop Archive.


Chapter Ten
Endnotes

1. Project justification and planning files, D34, Fort Clatsop Archive.


5. Draft GMP, 16-17.


10. Draft GMP, 2.


18. General Management Plan, iii.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Fort Clatsop National Memorial Park Archive, National Archives and Records Center, Seattle. The primary resource for this document is the Fort Clatsop National Memorial Park Archive compiled by the author in 1993. This archive includes materials from the records of Fort Clatsop National Memorial; the Pacific Northwest Regional Office of the NPS, Seattle, Washington; the Western Regional Office of the NPS, San Francisco, California; National Archives and Records Centers, Seattle, Washington and San Bruno, California; Oregon Historical Society Manuscripts Library; articles from regional newspapers; and the papers of Senator Richard L. Neuberger, University of Oregon Library. Interviews conducted by the author of former members of the Jaycees, Thomas Vaughan of the Oregon Historical Society, and the past and current staff of the memorial have also provided material about Fort Clatsop.


SECONDARY SOURCES

Secondary resource materials useful in providing a background on the NPS, historic preservation, public memory, and the Lewis and Clark Expedition are as follows:


*Preservation Forum* 2(Fall 1988). Issue dedicated to historic sites and tourism.

*The Public Historian* 9(Spring 1987)2. Issue on the National Park Service and preservation.


APPENDIX A

Key Legislation

Public Law 85-435

An Act To provide for the establishment of Fort Clatsop National Memorial in the State of Oregon, and for other purposes, approved May 29, 1953 (72 Stat. 153)

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, for the purpose of commemorating the culmination, and the winter encampment, of the Lewis and Clark Expedition following its successful crossing of the North American Continent, there is hereby authorized to be established, in the manner provided herein, Fort Clatsop National Memorial. (16 U.S.C. § 450mm.)

Sec. 2. The Secretary of the Interior shall designate for inclusion in Fort Clatsop National Memorial land and improvements thereon located in Clatsop County, Oregon, which are associated with the winter encampment of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, known as Fort Clatsop, and also, adjacent portions of the old trail which led overland from the fort to the coast; Provided, That the total area so designated shall contain no more than one hundred and twenty-five acres. (16 U.S.C. § 450mm-1.)

Sec. 3. Within the area designated pursuant to section 2, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to acquire land and interests in land by purchase, donation, with donated funds, or by such other means as he deems to be in the public interest. (16 U.S.C. § 450mm-2.)

Sec. 4 Establishment of Fort Clatsop National Memorial shall be effected when there is vested in the United States of America title to not less than one hundred acres of land associated with the historical events to be commemorated. Following its establishment, Fort Clatsop National Memorial shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior pursuant to the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535), as amended. (16 U.S.C. § 450mm-3.)
APPENDIX B
Visitation Statistics from Park Archive

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<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>203,151</td>
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<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>206,821</td>
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<td>1999</td>
<td>262,728</td>
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<td>2000</td>
<td>279,799</td>
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<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>253,205</td>
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<td>2002</td>
<td>210,369</td>
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<td>2003</td>
<td>159,861</td>
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<td>2004</td>
<td>173,778</td>
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<td>2005</td>
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# APPENDIX C

**Permanent Personnel**

[Dates for personnel are incomplete: complete information was not available]

### Superintendents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Dates</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charles Peterson</td>
<td>6/26/60 - 7/31/65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Thomson</td>
<td>8/29/65 - 11/15/69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Haertel</td>
<td>5/31/70 - 3/17/73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Miele</td>
<td>6/24/73 - 5/25/74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Scott</td>
<td>7/7/74 - 11/24/84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Walker</td>
<td>3/3/85 - 9/8/90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cynthia Walker</td>
<td>10/7/90 - present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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### Administrative Staff

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jack Houston</td>
<td>1964 - 2/67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Melina Basye</td>
<td>9/70 - 8/73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doris Johnson</td>
<td>10/1/73 - 1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chris Bernthal</td>
<td>1976 - 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheryl Ann Cannon</td>
<td>1977 - 4/6/80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betsy Snow</td>
<td>5/18/80 - 9/82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betty Knuth</td>
<td>12/13/82 - 6/88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kathy Fuller</td>
<td>12/88 - 10/90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mari Johnson</td>
<td>2/91 - 4/92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alice Morton</td>
<td>7/91 - present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betty Runnels</td>
<td>5/17/92 - present</td>
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### Interpretation Staff

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Burnby Bell</td>
<td>7/60 - 1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emmet Nichols</td>
<td>1968 - 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al Stonestreet</td>
<td>1971 - 5/5/74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raymond Moore</td>
<td>1972 - 6/4/74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Card</td>
<td>6/23/74 - 9/14/75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Gurling</td>
<td>8/18/74 - 3/78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dennis Ditmanson</td>
<td>9/28/75 - 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larry Wiese</td>
<td>1978 - 4/22/79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curt Johnson</td>
<td>8/26/79 - present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Gray</td>
<td>4/78 - 9/20/80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Datilhio</td>
<td>3/81 - 5/86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott Eckberg</td>
<td>5/86 - 5/91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janice Eldridge</td>
<td>8/9/92 - present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Start Date - End Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vern Sickler</td>
<td>1960 - 7/65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben White</td>
<td>9/65 - 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ross Petersen</td>
<td>9/5/67 - 1/8/83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dale Cooper</td>
<td>1972 - 1977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raymond Moore</td>
<td>1972 - 6/4/74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Pickrell</td>
<td>1977 - 2/29/80</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dennis Waheed</td>
<td>1978 - 7/25/80</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harry Dove</td>
<td>4/15/80 - 11/13/83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curt Ahola</td>
<td>7/6/81 - present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ron Tyson</td>
<td>1/17/83 - present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur Jessen</td>
<td>5/90 - 6/90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gail Johnson</td>
<td>10/21/90 - present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Coulombe</td>
<td>5/19/91 - present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ricardo Perez</td>
<td>7/28/91 - present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Ek</td>
<td>7/26/92 - present</td>
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