Report on "Reconsidering *The Pioneer*, One Hundred Years Later"

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[Dedication of *The Pioneer*, May 22, 1919. Folder "The Pioneer Statue," Box 97, University Archives photographs, UA Ref 3, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, Eugene, OR.]

Overview

Alexander Phimister Proctor's bronze statue of *The Pioneer* was unveiled on the University of Oregon campus on May 22, 1919. It depicts a nine-foot tall bearded Euro-American man in buckskins and a wide-brimmed hat, striding purposefully forward with a gun over his shoulder and a whip in hand, and standing atop a pedestal made from a McKenzie River boulder. The statue is located at the heart of the old University of Oregon campus, facing the university president's office in Johnson Hall.

The Pioneer monument has attracted censure, particularly from the Native community at the University of Oregon. Protesters point first and foremost to the name and design of the statue, which seem to represent a celebration of the violent seizure of Native land by the pioneer generation. These protests have also drawn on the historical record, particularly the speeches given at the unveiling of the monument. The most famous of these speeches praised the "Anglo-Saxon" pioneers who "fought…. [g]reat numbers of savage Indians."[1]

In 2018 and 2019, with the help of an Oregon Heritage Fellowship, I began a research project to study the background, inspirations, and meanings of *The Pioneer* at the time of its creation. Most previous work on the statue had relied on contemporary newspaper accounts, a published version of the speeches given at its dedication, and the edited post-mortem autobiography of Proctor. I built on this work by focusing on archival research related to the man who sculpted it, the man who funded it, and the people at the University of Oregon who arranged for its arrival, placement, and dedication. My hope was not only to craft a more complete history of *The Pioneer*, but to get a better sense of the extent to which the speeches given at its unveiling were an aberration or a continuation of the meanings intended by its creators.[2]

My research demonstrates that white supremacist violence seen in *The Pioneer* by Native students today *was* part of the original artist's intent. The sculptor, Alexander Phimister Proctor, saw "Indian killing" as a constituent part of being a "typical frontiersman," and seems to have formed his idea of an "ideal pioneer" in part from an early encounter with a notorious Indian-killer named Big Frank. Like many other Euro-Americans of his day, Proctor saw Native people as inherently violent, and the pioneers who had killed them as heroes. Moreover, sources from the University of Oregon at the time suggest that Proctor's intent to celebrate pioneer violence would have been clear to the students and community members gathered at the statue's unveiling in 1919.[3]

With this in mind, I find that I must recommend *The Pioneer* be removed from its current location. *The Pioneer* statue as it stands is inherently celebratory of the values it depicts. The visual message of the statue is more powerful than any plaque that might be added to contextualize it—for those few passersby who would even read such a plaque. If *The Pioneer* remains publicly displayed on campus, it must be in a place where its violent intent is not celebrated and where the context of its creation can be communicated—perhaps in a museum setting or similar, where the statue's history can be better explained. *The Pioneer* is a monument to violent white supremacy, and as such it should not have a place of honor at a university striving to be inclusive, diverse, and just.

Joseph Nathan Teal, Patron of *The Pioneer*

The Pioneer statue was almost wholly funded by Joseph Nathan Teal. On January 27 1917, Teal and the sculptor, Alexander Phimister Proctor, signed a contract agreeing to a payment of $10,000 for the creation and delivery of the statue and the shaping of the pedestal. The University of Oregon took on the costs of preparing the site, including the concrete base, landscaping, and the delivery of a pedestal-worthy boulder from six to eight miles up the McKenzie River. The statue was completed in 1918, shipped to Oregon the next year, and unveiling in a grand ceremony around mid-afternoon on May 22, 1919.[4]

Joseph Nathan Teal was a successful lawyer, lumberman, Columbia river booster, and occasional civil servant. His father, also named Joseph Teal, migrated to California in 1849, then up to Oregon in 1851. The elder Teal, according to his son, "participated helpfully in a number of early Indian Wars" and made a fortune in cattle ranching, shipping, and real estate, becoming a power player in the Oregon Democratic Party. The family had multiple houses and servants—including, into at least the 1860s, illegally held slaves. In an unpublished autobiography, Joseph Nathan Teal wrote that his first memory was of "driving around the streets of Eugene [in a wagon] with a big Newfoundland dog named Jedde hitched up with a negro boy named Coleman, both of which we owned," most likely some time between 1860 and 1862.[5]

Joseph Nathan Teal built on his family's existing wealth by starting a successful law practice, specializing at first in bankruptcy and later in corporate and transportation law, and accrued further wealth through careful investments. In the 1900s he served in several civic and government posts, gained through hard work and good political connections, including a spot on the Portland Charter Committee (1901), the chairmanship of the Oregon Conservation Commission (1908), the job of the U.S. Shipping Commissioner (1920), and others. Politically, he identified as a "rock-ribbed, dyed-in-the-wool [D]emocrat"—a family tradition. He considered himself both "unduly conservative" *and* a proponent of moderate progressive reforms.[6]

One reason that Teal eventually decided to fund *The Pioneer* was likely the example of his father-in-law, David P. Thompson, a successful banker and Western politician. One of Thompson's last public acts had been the funding of the David P. Thompson Fountain, featuring the Roland Hinton Perry statue *Elk*, in downtown Portland—unveiled in 1900 and still standing in 2019. When he died in 1901, Thompson entrusted Teal with significant funds and family responsibilities. Among these was funding the creation of another monument. Teal hired Herman A. McNeil to sculpt *The Coming of the White Man*, installed in Portland's Washington Park in 1904 and remaining in 2019. The statue depicts, in the words of Teal, Chief Multnomah "bravely facing a fate he could not avoid" at the approach of Lewis and Clark, a monument to the idea that "before civilization's march barbarism falls, as disappears the dew before the rising sun."[7]

Teal was often elegiac in his discussions of Native people, consigning them to a dying past. Much of his family's ranch land, originally seized from indigenous peoples in the 1850s, was worked by Native cowboys from the Warm Springs reservation. Teal praised their skill, work ethic, and especially their role fighting alongside the Euro-Americans against the Modoc in the 1870s. But he consistently viewed "the Indian" as a "child of nature," unsuited and unfit for the modern world. While sympathetic to Native people, like other Euro-Americans of his day

Teal saw the indigenous as prelude to a white Northwest, fated to be replaced by the "empire… of the highest type of American citizenship" he was trying to build.[8]

By 1916, Teal had made it known among his friends and associates that he was interested in hiring a sculptor to craft a statue in honor of the Oregon pioneers. It remains unclear exactly what spurred him to do so. His father-in-law's influence seems clear; his father's perhaps less so, in view of the offense Teal took at reporting that claimed the statue was meant to pay homage to his father specifically rather than the "honor of the pioneers generally." Teal's image of an ideal pioneer seems to have been his uncle-in-law Henry Coleman—a pioneer and participant in "Indian wars" who Teal described as plainly dressed, with "his hair and whiskers long," a man honest, taciturn, hardworking, and universally respected.[9]

In January 1917, Teal met and made a contract with Alexander Phimister Proctor for *The Pioneer*. While the initial contract left it open whether the statue would be situated in Eugene or Portland, Teal quickly struck a deal with the University of Oregon Board of Regents to put *The Pioneer* in its current place on campus. From that point on, Teal left all of the details—even the intent—to Proctor. "The artist," he wrote, "is the one that should be considered," and it was "the genius of Proctor" that would "typify *The Pioneer*." It was Proctor's intent and Proctor's views, Teal asserted, that should bear the most weight.[10]

Alexander Phimister Proctor, the Sculptor of the Pioneer

Alexander Phimister Proctor was a celebrated sculptor, animalier, and monument-maker. He was most famous as a Western artist—not only because much of his work focused on Western themes and figures, but also because he cultivated a persona as a man of the West as well as a man of the arts. He lived, and wanted to be known, as a two-fisted artist-adventurer, at home in the rough-and-tumble wild. In the original drafts of his autobiography, "From Buckskins to Paris," Proctor spent at least as much time on his hunting escapades as he did on his many achievements in the art world.[11]

Proctor came from a middle-class westering family; during his childhood the family moved from Ontario to Michigan to Iowa to Colorado. His two great loves, he claimed from infancy on, were shooting guns and making art, and he apparently excelled at both. After Proctor "showed art symptoms" as a young boy, his father bought him art lessons, and Proctor continued to impress. The young man ended up studying in New York, made his mark with animal sculptures, added a third great love in the form of his wife Mody (Margaret Gerow Proctor), with whom he eventually had several children, got a scholarship to study in Paris, and (to make a very long story short) became a prolifically successful sculptor in the early twentieth-century, with a specialty in monuments generally and equestrian monuments specifically. *The Pioneer*—sculpted in 1918, unveiled in 1919—was from the early middle of his career, the first of several monuments by Proctor that still stand in Oregon.[12]

Most of Proctor's early successes were animal figures. A casting of one of his more ubiquitous sculptures, named *Fate* or *Panther*, was given as a gift to his friendly acquaintance Teddy Roosevelt by Gifford Pinchot; one of Proctor's favorite anecdotes was of the time he'd blown off a meeting with the future president to instead have lunch with the woman who became his future wife. Creating realistic sketches and sculptures of animals sometimes helped Proctor

pursue two passions at the same time; he would shoot an animal, sketch it, dissect it to study its musculature, and finally eat it—thus, in his words, "serv[ing] a double purpose, artistic, mebby [sic], and at any rate gastronomical." At other times his pursuit of true-to-life animal forms was grimmer; the realism of his feline sculpture came not just from careful observation of the movements of his own cats, but from the killing and dissection of a series of alley cats he paid New York street urchins fifty cents apiece for.[13]

By the time of *The Pioneer*, Proctor was famous for sculptures of Western life more broadly, cowboys and Indians as well as animals. He claimed later that he had wanted to sculpt the "ideal pioneer" for quite some time. He found his model before he found a benefactor: in the mid-1910s on Bill Hanley's P Ranch, Proctor spotted an itinerant laborer named Jess Cravens who he thought would make a perfect model. Over "six feet tall, [with] long hair and whiskers and even… buckskin clothes," Cravens also had the right persona, "[k]een-eyed and taciturn with the calm." Proctor thus went to his meeting with Teal in 1917 well-prepared, with a sample plasteline model already at the ready. Despite the fact that both Proctor and Teal were leveled by stomach ailments for months after they'd signed the contract in January of that year, and despite his model Cravens having shaved his beard while on the run from a poaching charge in Idaho, Proctor was able to finish the design for *The Pioneer* in 1918. The plaster version of the statue was pointed up [enlarged] by the sculptor Robert Paine, shipped to the Gorham company in Providence, Rhode Island to be cast in bronze, and then the finished version was shipped back across the country to Eugene in 1919.[14]

Cravens was the immediate model for *The Pioneer*, but Proctor's ideal of a pioneer had been shaped years earlier, when he was a teenager in Colorado. Through many drafts of his original autobiography, Proctor struggled to fully capture the story of the man who molded this ideal—a man whose name was given only as "Big Frank, a typical frontiersman and Indian Fighter." [15] In an autobiography where most physical descriptions are encapsulated in a few chosen words or perhaps a sentence, Proctor's many drafts of his story of Big Frank stand out for the length of the descriptive prose as well as the admiration within them. To take part of a description from one version of the story:

> Big Frank was about thirty-two years of age. In my eyes, he was a veritable Knight of Old. Straight and free of movement as an Indian chief, he had long brown hair swirling around his broad shoulders that added height to his six feet four. It was a joy to see [his] sinuous body sway rhythmically with the movement of a horse when his half-broken bay horse cavorted. His wide, stiff, brimmed Stetson hat sat straight on his small, erect head, and threw into shadow the coldest steel-gray eyes I ever looked into; yet they were pleasant enough when he smiled. Frank's Indian-tanned buckskins, the fringe swinging with every movement of his body, gave him a picturesque appearance…. His face was that of a killer, but not the murder type. When talking, he looked straight at you with a calm born of conscious strength. His tanned, rugged face was of the kind developed only in the Wild West, where dangers and hardships are the order of the day…. Killing an occasional Indian was all in the day's work with him.[16]

The core of Proctor's story of Big Frank always remained the same. He was a prolific Indian killer, who in this case had touched off an escalating dispute between a local band of Utes and local ranchers by shooting down a Ute man named Yellow Moccasin during an argument—

purportedly just as Yellow Moccasin was going for his gun. Only the details of story changed in Proctor's various tellings of it; whether Frank was habituated to "killing an occasional Indian" or "an occasional Injun," say, or whether the sound Yellow Moccasin body made as he hit the ground was more of a "squawk," a "squack," or a "splashing sound." In all the variations Big Frank was a handsome hero, the ideal of what a frontiersman and pioneer should be.[17]

Proctor's worshipful description of Big Frank highlighted the same features he was looking for in an ideal pioneer. Cravens was a perfect model for *The Pioneer* because he, like Big Frank, was tall with long hair on his head and face; because he, like Big Frank, was keen-eyed; because he, like Big Frank, maintained a taciturn calm. Indian killing was, to Proctor, a vital part of the pioneer palate. The ready violence Proctor so masterfully brought to life in *The Pioneer* was meant to be deployed against indigenous people as well as animals.[18]

Proctor had a lifelong fascination with Native people, as his biographers have noted. He strove hard to collect Indian artifacts, and his descendants have happy memories of playing Indian with purchased traditional garb, instruments, and sacred objects. He often visited and lived on reservations, not just because his government contacts allowed him to stay for free, but also because he wanted to take in Native cultures and hire Native models for his many depictions of them. Proctor expressed a distaste for white folk who pestered indigenous people for Indian names, but also felt pride in the many Indian names he accrued (or claimed) for himself. There is no question that Native cultures and peoples were of significant interest to him throughout his life.[19]

But Proctor's interest did not necessarily mean allyship; Proctor celebrated Indian killers, and viewed indigenous people as innately violent and largely unfit for civilization. Proctor believed there was "a tiger in each red hide," and in the original drafts of his autobiography he wrote about how he kept a gun at the ready whenever around Native folk. When tasked with driving a gut-shot man named George to the doctor after a "duel" in the mid-1910s, Proctor first handed out guns to his wife and kid before loading the man into the car—because there were "fifty Indians" present (uninvolved in the violence) and thus "some danger." As a young man during times of unrest he had "trembled with excitement" and felt a "thrill" when the prospect of having the opportunity to have a shootout with Indians seemed like it might arise. Although there is no record of him engaging in violence against Native people personally, his readiness, even eagerness, to do so are apparent throughout the early drafts of his autobiography.[20]

Proctor's amazing artistic eye was trammeled by a colonizing gaze, something clearest in the near-nudity of so many of his Native subjects. Previous scholarship on Proctor in Oregon has noted the problems behind *Indian Maiden and Fawn*, a sculpture inspired by an indigenous beauty queen at a Pendleton Round-Up; Proctor took inspiration from the original woman, then in his mind's eye removed her clothes and added a deer. But the phenomenon is at least as clear in his sculptures of Native men on horseback, most wearing only a loincloth rather than what they would actually wear for hunting or war. Indeed, while visiting the Cheyenne Indian Reservation in 1914 Proctor had his models strip to represent Indians at war even as he bargained to try and purchase traditional war shirts from Cheyenne veterans. The war shirts were deeply desired artifacts for Proctor, but they had no place in his vision for Indian statuary—his models would have no more than a breechcloth.[21]

Many of Proctor's prejudices against Indians were edited out of his autobiography before it was posthumously published. A version of the story of "Big Frank" persisted, but the line

about how "killing an Indian/Injun was all in a day's work for him," present in every previous draft, was removed, along with the details about the sound of the body. Fears of "bears or Indians in the night," that might be warded off by Proctor's .65 gun "Satan," were removed; only the gun and the imagined bear remained. Proctor's assertion a racial lack of work ethic shared by all Native people was similarly edited out.[22]

A heavy editorial hand was taken to Proctor's other prejudices. The epithet was removed from Proctor's account of the shooting of "Nigger George" (discussed above), removing the racial component that was likely the central motivator for the shooting. While Proctor occasionally used the then-appropriate term "Negroes" when referring to people of African descent, he defaulted to offensive terms like "nigger" and "darkie," particularly when cracking jokes about his children's nursemaid, a train porter purportedly awed by Proctor's hunting gear, or a fictional cowardly African American soldier in World War I. Other prejudices were edited out by Proctor himself; he expressed distaste for the "kikes and ginnies" who lumberjack in private correspondence, but wrote more vaguely about "I.W.W. bums" when writing for posterity. Like others of his race, class, and time period, Proctor seems to have (perhaps unconsciously) embraced white supremacy.[23]

Proctor's racial ideas matter because they inflected the creation and composition of *The Pioneer*. Whether or not one considers Proctor's racism being that of a "man of his time" to be exculpatory at a personal level, it certainly shaped his intent when creating the statue. Proctor meant *The Pioneer* to be an idealized portrait of one for whom "killing an Injun is all in a day's work." Readings of the statue that see the threat of violence are getting it right.

***The Pioneer* at the University of Oregon in 1919**

The violence implicit in *The Pioneer* would not have been lost on the crowds that gathered at the University of Oregon to see the monument unveiled on May 22, 1919. The crowd was a mix of students, community members, and aging pioneers. Many of the speeches they listened to focused on the importance of education for the men and women of Oregon—*women* were especially highlighted, as the University was expanding its facilities for female students—and the important example the pioneers had set for both. Speakers discussed pioneer bravery, "unselfish devotion," and courage as they fought "great numbers of savage Indians." Frederick V. Holman, the speaker who was the most frank about pioneer violence, would have been familiar to most of the old pioneers in the crowd—he was President of the Oregon Historical Society, President of the Sons and Daughters of Oregon Pioneers, and Former President of the Oregon Pioneer Association.[24]

Holman's remarks on the "Anglo-Saxon race" fighting "savage Indians" were a late addition to the program, but appreciated by the administration and the public. His speech became perhaps the most widely distributed of those at the event, with special commemorative copies printed and the whole text published in the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*. Even before that publication, the Office of the President had reached out to make sure that it had appropriately captured the words of all of the speakers at the unveiling.[25]

Most of the old pioneers gathered for the unveiling would have been used to hearing talk about race war against "savage Indians," and used to the notion that for the average pioneer

"killing an occasional Injun was all in a day's work." While stories of wanton pioneer violence had lost their luster in the public square by the 1910s, private gatherings of pioneers still swapped stories of Indian-killing and the butchering of Native corpses for trophies for decades after. Even those who had not participated in Indian-killing themselves during the genocidal periods of Oregon history nonetheless often considered such killing to be part of the pioneer experience. "The understanding was that all were to be killed," one pioneer had said of Native people in the 1850s, and that understanding was widely shared by many pioneers then and since. While many might have considered dwelling on such violence to be inappropriate on this or perhaps any public occasion, the old pioneers would have seen in *The Pioneer* the readiness for racial violence that Proctor intended.[26]

And there is reason to believe that the gathered students (like the pioneers, almost entirely Euro-American) would also have been familiar with notions of pioneers unleashing violence upon indigenous peoples. Those who had learned about American Civilization from Professor Harold D. Sheldon (who taught at the university for most of 1900 – 1947) would have been told that local Native communities had been "the feeblest and most degraded of the aborigines of North America," and that successful colonial nations became so only when they "remained true to the culture" they had brought with them in the face of "savage enemies." The male students would likely have heard stories of violence against indigenous peoples during their mandatory military drills, as would have community volunteers. Colonel John Leader, the flamboyant British officer who led the war effort in Eugene through WWI, was mostly known for his passion about the war effort and fondness for ribald jokes aimed at coeds. But he might well have shared his opinion of, say the "bushmen" of Australia, who Leader thought of devil-worshipping cannibals unsuited to civilization, or his worries that the "white American" was disappearing due to the immigration of "lower" races. The students might have been told by their American commanding officer, Colonel William H. C. Bowen, of the necessity of what Bowen called "rather crude… handling" of the 'red brother'" in the taking of the West by frontiersman—and might even have been told just how murderously "crude" such handling got. Many students and community members who had made their way through initial training would have ended up in the "Pioneer" company, practicing war in honor of their forebears, using old Springfield rifles that had likely first been purchased for use against Indians.[27]

The violent message of *The Pioneer* would have been clear to nearly all of those gathered at the unveiling in 1919. Teal would have seen traces of his Indian-fighting ancestors, Proctor the best traits of his Indian-killing muse. When Holman listed fighting "savage Indians" among the signature pioneer accomplishments, it would have raised few eyebrows in the crowd. To the extent that the violence of *The Pioneer* has faded from the forefront of people's perceptions, it had done so only in the ensuing decades, as Oregon slowly moved away from celebrating or even remembering the violence of its founding generation.

***The Pioneer* at the University of Oregon in 2019**

The violent message of *The Pioneer* has not been lost on Native community members at the University of Oregon. Repeatedly in interviews and in public protests, Native students have pointed out not only the racist history of the statue, but the harm it continues to do today:

> "I think it represents the history of racism, of genocide, the history of taking land while writing Indians out of their land through law, through policies, through these narratives in local histories."[28]
>
> "it reminds me of just white power… the privileges people have… just having that kind of figure, the pioneer person in general… [says] this is kind of a white dominated area."[29]
>
> "Well it's very obvious that it's - the archetypical pioneer, and if you look at him, he's got his whip, and he's like - to me it's - a white supremacist symbol now. That's what I think about when I look at it. And genocide."[30]

The historical record supports Native students' interpretations of *The Pioneer*; it *was* intended to be among other things a celebration of white supremacist violence, of Anglo-Saxon adventurers for whom "killing an occasional Injun is all in a day's work." It remains a symbol of that today, even though the University of Oregon's values and student body have changed significantly over the past hundred years.

The Pioneer will continue to signify white supremacist violence as long as it stands on a pedestal in the heart of campus. Proctor did his work well; the sculpture will communicate this message more powerfully than any plaque could hope to. In a museum or similar, the statue could be contextualized as a part of the University of Oregon's history. If *The Pioneer* remains where it is, it will remain a celebration of the white supremacy that was so deeply woven in to the University of Oregon's culture at the time of its unveiling.

Proctor's major work celebrating the Confederacy has already been removed. In 2017, the city council of Dallas voted unanimously to take down Proctor's 1936 statue *Robert E. Lee*. While acknowledging that the statue was a work of art with a history (FDR had unveiled it!), the city council decided that the ideologies the monument celebrated had no place in the modern city of Dallas. There are tensions around Confederate statues across the South, as communities decide whether or not to remove monuments to a system of racial domination, violence, and slavery.[31]

In the West, our problematic monuments are to America's other great sin, the violent seizure of Native lands and murder of Native peoples. The movement to re-examine these monuments is steadily growing. In 2018, the city of San Francisco removed the *Early Days* portion of one of the oldest such monuments in the country, Frank Happersberger's 1894 *Pioneer Monument*, which had depicted a supine Indian at the feet of a priest as a cowboy raises his hand in victory. After decades of Native protest, the city had put up a small and ineffective plaque in 1995. In recent years, in response to growing public awareness and discontent, a critical mass of the public and city officials came to see *Early Days* as a "statuary tribute to mass murder," and the statue was taken down entirely. Similar conversations are brewing around other controversial monuments in the West.[32]

The closest analogue to *The Pioneer* at the University of Oregon is the statue known as *Silent Sam* (originally *Confederate Monument*), unveiled in 1913 on the campus of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Like *The Pioneer*, *Silent Sam* is a monument to a bygone age on a campus that has transformed since. Like *The Pioneer*, *Silent Sam* was meant to represent the everyday foot-soldier of white supremacy—the fight to preserve slavery through

the Confederacy in the case of *Silent Sam*, the fight to perpetuate violent colonialism in the case of *The Pioneer*. Like the University of Oregon, UNC Chapel Hill has changed significantly since the 1910s—even as the underlying message of each statue has not. UNC Chapel Hill has struggled with how to effectively deal with *Silent Sam* because of laws that limit university action on monuments without state intervention. Oregon and the University of Oregon do not have similar strictures.[33]

The University of Oregon has improved markedly on issues of race over the last hundred years. The incoming class in 2018/2019 school year was the most diverse on record for the university, and the administration has expressed the hope of doing even better in the future. Just a few blocks down from *The Pioneer*, the flags of the recognized indigenous nations of Oregon fly over the courtyard outside of the student union, at the new nerve center of campus. Most university community members would reject the language and sentiments that undergirded *The Pioneer*. But the original core meaning of the statue persists, unchanged.[34]

The University of Oregon has the opportunity to be a leader in rethinking what we honor about our past and what we want to project about Oregon's present and future. Many monuments across the state and region will need to be revisited, revised, and, when the circumstances warrant, removed. *The Pioneer* stands for values that are now anathema to the university; its removal will be a mark of how those values have changed for the better.

The research for this report could not have been completed without the help of a 2019 Oregon Heritage Fellowship (Oregon Parks and Recreation) and a 2018 Donald J. Sterling, Jr. Fellowship (Oregon Historical Society).

[1] Frederick V. Holman, "Qualities of the Oregon Pioneers: An Address at the Unveiling of the Statue 'The Pioneer' on the Campus of the University of Oregon…," *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 20 (Sept 1919), 235 – 242; *Dedication of the Pioneer: An Heroic Statue in Bronze Erected on the Campus of the University of Oregon by Hon. Joseph N. Teal of Portland, May 22 1919* (Eugene: University of Oregon, 1919); Hannah Kanik, "NASU protests for the removal of the Pioneer statue," *Daily Emerald* May 22, 2019; Melorie Begay, "UO Students & Faculty Protest 100-Year-Old Pioneer Statue," KLCC, Eugene, OR, May 22, 1919.

[2] Alexander Phimister Proctor, *Sculptor in Buckskin: The Autobiography of Alexander Phimister Proctor*, 2nd Ed., Katharine C. Ebner, Ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009; orig. 1971); Peter H. Hassrick with Katharine C. Ebner and Phimister Proctor Church, *Wildlife and Western Heroes: Alexander Phimister Proctor, Sculptor* (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 2003); Madeline Luella Jenkins, "Monuments of Multiple Meanings: Alexander Phimister Proctor's University of Oregon Representations of Pioneers and Native Americans Over Time," Honors College Thesis, University of Oregon, 2017 (https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/xmlui/handle/1794/24020); http://www.aphimisterproctorfoundation.com/sculptures/proctor-monumental-public-sculptures/.

[3] Alexander Phimister Proctor, Folder "Indians," Box 1, Alexander Phimister Proctor Papers, Mss 5352, Oregon Historical Society Research Library, Portland, Oregon, IX-10.

[4] Joseph Nathan Teal and Alexander Phimister Proctor, contract dated Jan 27 1917, Folder "Contracts for Statues," Box 2, Alexander Phimister Proctor Papers [This contract was previously misidentified as being for Proctor's "Pioneer Mother"—this has since been corrected]; Prince Lucien Cambell to Joseph N. Teal, Jan 4 1919, Folder "The Pioneer 1918 – 1919," Box 10, Office of the President: Prince Lucien Campbell records, UA 001.004, University of Oregon Special Collections; Algernon Cyrus Dixon to Joseph Nathan Teal, May 5 1919, Folder "University of Oregon," Box 1, Algernon Cyrus Dixon papers, Ax 196, University of Oregon Special Collections, Eugene, Oregon.

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[5] "Teal Family History," Folder 1, Box 1, Thompson Family Collection, Coll 168, Oregon Historical Society Research Library, Portland, Oregon [This collection was still being processed when accessed in Spring 2019); Joseph Nathan Teal, "Autobiography," [undated, but likely ~1929], Folder 1, Box 3, Thompson family collection, 38, 1, 62. On page 38, the quoted phrase originally read "Indian troubles" instead of "early Indian wars"—this edit was most likely made by his wife Bessie M. Teal (née Thompson). The estimation of when the infant Joseph Nathan Teal was driven around Eugene is based on his age (he was born in 1858) and his family's move to the Dalles in 1862.
[6] Teal, "Autobiography," 55, 61, 70, 93, 77, 54.
[7] "D.P. Thompson Dies," *Morning Oregonian* Dec 14, 1901; David P. Thompson Will, Dec 17 1901, Folder 2, Box 1, Thompson Family Collection; Joseph Nathan Teal, "*Coming of the White Man* presentation address," Folder 12, Box 10, Marshall Newport Dana papers, Oregon Historical Society.
[8] Teal, "Autobiography," 47; Joseph Nathan Teal, "Joseph Nathan Teal manuscript" [1921], CB T221, University of Oregon Special Collections; Joseph Nathan Teal, "'Address of Joseph N. Teal,' Chairman of the Day, the Dalles-Celilo Canal Celebration, Big Eddy, Oregon, May 5, 1915," Folder "Clyde Aitchison, Correspondence with Joseph Teal, 1922 – 1929," Box 5, Clyde Bruce Aitchison papers, Ax 102, University of Oregon Special Collections.
[9] Gifford Pinchot to Alexander Phimister Proctor, Jan 31 1917, Folder "Letters from Gifford Pinchot 1904 – 1919," Box 2, Alexander Phimister Proctor papers, Oregon Historical Society; Joseph Nathan Teal to Algernon Cyrus Dixon, Feb 28 1919, Folder "University of Oregon [2]," Box 1, Algernon Cyrus Dixon papers; Joseph Nathan Teal, "Presentation Address," *Dedication of the Pioneer*, 5; Teal, "Joseph Nathan Teal manuscript," 80 – 81.
[10] Teal and Proctor, contract dated Jan 27 1917; Joseph Nathan Teal to Robert S. Bean, Jan 27 1917, Folder "'The Pioneer' 1917 – 1918," Box 8, Office of the President: Prince Lucien Campbell records; Joseph Nathan Teal to Algernon Cyrus Dixon, April 30, 1919, Folder "University of Oregon [2]," Box 1, Algernon Cyrus Dixon papers; Teal, "Presentation Address," *Dedication of the Pioneer*, 5.
[11] Most of the sources on Proctor this paper relies on come from the unpublished drafts of his autobiography, rather than the revised and expurgated editions published after his death. The varied pagination in these sources makes them harder to trace, but the unpublished drafts offer greater clarity about Proctor's original words and thoughts, and contain numerous stories, ideas, and phrases absent from the versions published after his death. Proctor's dual love of hunting and art, however, is a focus of all of his biographies. See especially Peter Hassrick, "Foreword," *Sculptor in Buckskin*, vii.
[12] Proctor, [untitled hw notes], Folder "Birth and Childhood Reminiscences." Proctor crafted several monumental sculptures in Oregon, including *The Pioneer*, 1919 (Eugene); *Theodore Roosevelt, Rough Rider*, 1922 (Portland); *The Circuit Rider*, 1924 (Salem); *The Sheriff* [Til Taylor], 1929 (Pendleton); and *The Pioneer Mother*, 1932 (Eugene).
[13] Proctor, Folder "The Fawn and the Panther," Box 1, Alexander Phimister Proctor papers, XVII…. 7; Proctor, "Down the Cliff. A Narrow Squeak," Folder "'The Glacier' (Colorado 1890)," Box 1, Alexander Phimister Proctor papers, 9; Proctor, Folder "The Fawn and the Panther," XVII…. 9. Gifford Pinchot is best known as the first Chief of the United States Forest Service.
[14] Proctor, Folder "'A Close Call' Mayo Clinic to Denver + Idaho 1916 – 1917," Box 1, Alexander Phimister Proctor papers, 5, 6; Teal, "Autobiography," 91; Proctor, Folder "Typescript and Autobiography, Ch 24 – 34," Box 1, Alexander Phimister Proctor papers, XXXII {589}, 591.
[15] Proctor, Folder "Indians," Box 1, Alexander Phimister Proctor papers, IX-10;
[16] Ibid., IX-2, IX-3.
[17] Ibid., IX-5, IX-6; Proctor, Folder "Short Stories by APP - #1," Box 1, Alexander Phimister Proctor Papers, 8.
[18] While Big Frank is by far the most likely candidate for Proctor's ideal of a pioneer, the other likely inspirations were also Indian killers. The story of Mountain Jim, another potential pioneer archetype, originally described the man as an "Injun fighter" with "notches in his shooter" to keep score of how many "Greasers and Injuns" he'd killed. Proctor, [untitled], Folder "Birth and Childhood Reminiscences," Box 1, Ibid., 31.
[19] Hassrick, Ebner, and Church, *Wildlife and Western Heroes*, 15; Proctor, Folder "'Little Wolf': Adventures with Indians in Custer Country, Wyoming 1914," Box 1, Alexander Phimister Proctor papers, XXIX….2, XXIX…..16; [Indian names list for the Proctor family], Folder "Miscellaneous," Box 2, Ibid. See also Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).
[20] Proctor, Folder "'Little Wolf': Adventures with Indians in Custer Country, Wyoming 1914," Box 1, Ibid., XXIX……12; Proctor, "Biog – of A.P.P." [n.y.? 1931], Folder "Birth and Childhood Reminiscences," Box 1, Ibid., hw on the back of p. 3; Proctor, Folder "Indians 1877," 6 – 7.

[21] Jenkins, "Monuments of Multiple Meanings," 14 – 15; Proctor, *Sculptor in Buckskin*, 157 – 160; Proctor, Folder "'Little Wolf': Adventures with Indians in Custer Country, Wyoming 1914," Box 1, Alexander Phimister Proctor papers, XXIX…..8.

[22] Proctor, *Sculptor in Buckskin*, 41 – 42, 27 – 28; Proctor, "First Deer… Grand Lake," Folder "Learning to Hunt," Box 1, Alexander Phimister Proctor papers, 3; Proctor, "Learning to Hunt," Ibid.; Proctor, "'Pendleton, ORE. To LAPWAI, IDAHO' (1916)," Folder "A Close Call…," Ibid. Proctor's rhetorical redface is toned down but not eliminated in the published version.

[23] Proctor, *Sculptor in Buckskin*, 170 – 172; cf. Proctor, Folder "Pendleton and East Oregon – 1914 – 1915," 30 – 13; Proctor, "Birth and Childhood," Folder "Birth and Childhood Reminiscences," Box 1, Ibid.; II…5; Proctor, Folder "Typescript Autobiography: Ch 11 – 18," XV – 22; Proctor, [untitled Rotary Club speech], Folder "On Public Speaking," Box 1, Ibid.; Alexander Phimister Proctor to Algernon Cyrus Dixon, Aug 11 1930, Folder "University of Oregon " (1), Box 1, Algernon Cyrus Dixon papers; Proctor, Folder "'A Close Call' Mayo Clinic to Denver + Idaho 1916 – 1917," Box 1, Alexander Phimister Proctor papers, Ibid., 9.

[24] Prince Lucien Campbell, "Introducing Mr. Teal," *Dedication of the Pioneer*, 3; Robert A. Booth, "The Outlook from the End of the Trail," Ibid., 13; Frederick V. Holman, "Qualities of the Oregon Pioneers," Ibid., 24, 23.

[25] The Thompson family collection, for example, has a copy of just this speech rather than the whole proceeding as a souvenir.

[26] Sons + Daughters of Indian War Veterans of the North Pacific Coast, June 17, 1936 [Meeting Minutes], Folder 9, Box 2, Indian War Veterans of the North Pacific Coast Records, Mss 364, Oregon Historical Society Research Library; Grand Encampment Indian War Veterans of the North Pacific Coast [certificate], Box OS C-2, Ibid.; J.W. Redington to Eva Emery Dye, July 31 1928, Folder 12, Box 2, Eva Emery Dye papers, Mss 1089, Oregon Historical Society Research Library; John Beeson, *A Plea for the Indians: With Facts and Features of the Late War in Oregon*, 3rd ed, (New York: John Beeson, 1858; orig. 1857), p. 52. See also Benjamin Madley, "California and Oregon's Modoc Indians: How Indigenous Resistance Camouflages Genocide in Colonial Histories," *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America*, Alexander Laban Hinton, Andrew Woolford, Jeff Benvenuto, eds. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2014), 95 – 148; Gray H. Whaley, *Oregon and the Collapse of* Illahee: *U.S. Empire and the Transformation of an Indigenous World, 1792-1859* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

[27] Harold D. Sheldon, "American Indian Policy: Final Draft," Folder 18, Box 26, Harold D. Sheldon papers, University of Oregon Special Collections, 20; Harold D. Sheldon, "Characteristics of Colonial Cultures," Folder 8, Box 27, Ibid., 3 – 4; John Leader, *Oregon Through Alien Eyes* (Portland: Irwin-Hodson Company, 1922), 26, 58, 55, 104; Col. John Leader, Speech Given May 29, 1922, Box 7, University Archives Biographical Files, UA Ref 2, University of Oregon Special Collections; Col. William H. C. Bowen, "Introduction," in Joe E. Milner and Earle R. Forrest, *California Joe: Noted Scout and Indian Fighter* (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1935), 28; Harold D. Sheldon, "History of University of Oregon—revised," Folder 2, Box 30, Harold D. Sheldon papers, 4. In this case, "Pioneer" company seems to have been a honorary name rather than a military designation.

[28] Anon, "Revisiting 'the Pioneer' Statue, 100 Years Later" interview, interviewer Patience Collier, Feb 14 2019. All interviews currently in author's possession, and will be made publicly available and de-anonymized within five years of recording.

[29] Anon, "Revisiting 'the Pioneer' Statue, 100 Years Later" interview, interviewer Patience Collier, Feb 14 2019.

[30] Gary Keith Walker, "Revisiting 'the Pioneer' Statue, 100 Years Later" interview, interviewer Patience Collier, March 1 2019.

[31] Tristan Hallman and Matt Peterson, "Crane Removes Robert E. Lee Statue from Dallas Park," *Dallas Morning News*, Sept 14 2017. It's worth noting that the *Lee* statue had an effect on Proctor, who began to embrace "the Southern view" of the Civil War as a glorious defeat after he started work on the piece—Proctor, Folder "Construction and Dedication of General Lee Statue – 1934 – 1936," Box 1, Alexander Phimister Proctor papers, XXXV—3. See also Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*, New Edition (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2018; Orig 1997).

[32] Daniela Blei, "San Francisco's 'Early Days' Statue Is Gone. Now Comes the Work of Activating Real History," *Smithsonian* Oct 4, 2018; Jaweed Kaleem, "First It Was Confederate Monuments. Now Statues Offensive to Native Americans Are Poised to Topple Across the U.S.," *L.A. Times*, Apr 1 2018. See also Cynthia Culver Prescott, *Pioneer Mother Monuments: Constructing Cultural Memory* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019).

[33] Vimal Patel, "Silent Sam Was Toppled. Yet He Still Looms Over Campus," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, Aug 29, 2018; Antonia Noori Farzan, "'Silent Sam': A racist Jim Crow-era speech inspired UNC students to topple a Confederate monument on campus," *Washington Post*, Aug 29, 2018.
[34] Michael H. Schill, "Presidential Address" (University of Oregon Convocation Ceremony, Sept 21 2018); University of Oregon Special Collections and University Archives, "The Oregon Tribal Flagpoles," *Untold Stories: The Hidden History of the University of Oregon*, accessed June 4 2019, https://hiddenhistory.uoregon.edu/items/show/20.