

## Notes

- 1 Mariame Kaba, "Opinion | Yes, We Mean Literally Abolish the Police," *New York Times*, June 12, 2020, sec. Opinion, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/12/opinion/sunday/floyd-abolish-defund-police.html>.
- 2 As Kaba writes, "Policing in the South emerged from the slave patrols in the 1700s and 1800s that caught and returned runaway slaves."
- 3 The *New York Times* described Minnesota attorney general Keith Ellison as a "rising star of the progressive wing of the Democratic Party." According to the *Times*, his office, which directed the prosecution, "said that policing was not on trial. 'The defendant is on trial not for being a police officer—it's not the state versus the police,' Steve Schleicher, a lawyer for the state, said in his closing argument. 'He's not on trial for who he was. He's on trial for what he did.'" Tim Arango, "'Gentle Steering of the Ship': How Keith Ellison Led the Prosecution of Chauvin," *New York Times*, Apr. 21, 2021, sec. U.S., <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/21/us/keith-ellison-chauvin-trial.html>; John Eligon et al., "Derek Chauvin Verdict Brings a Rare Rebuke of Police Misconduct," *New York Times*, Apr. 21, 2021, sec. U.S., <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/20/us/george-floyd-chauvin-verdict.html>.
- 4 "State of Perpetual Emergency: Law, Militarization and State Preservation in the United States," *Journal of American Studies* 52:4 (Nov. 2018): 1033, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002187581700130X>.
- 5 "Movable Empire: Labor, Migration, and U.S. Global Power During the Gilded Age and Progressive Era," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 15:1 (Jan. 2016): 4–20, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537781415000572>.
- 6 "Law and Society: Structuring Legal Revolutions, 1870–1920," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 5, no. 4 (October 2006): 323, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537781400003200>.
- 7 John Eligon, "Training vs. Experience on the Streets Becomes a Focal Point of the Chauvin Trial," *New York Times*, Apr. 6, 2021, sec. U.S., <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/06/us/police-training-chauvin-trial.html>; John Eligon, "'That Should Have Stopped,' Minneapolis Police Chief Says of Chauvin's Actions," *New York Times*, Apr. 5, 2021, sec. U.S., <https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/04/05/us/derek-chauvin-trial>.

## Indigenous and Settler Violence during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era

John R. Legg

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The absence of Indigenous historical perspectives creates a predicament in the historiography of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era. For the first eight years of the *Journal of the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era*, zero articles written about or by Native Americans can be found within its pages. By 2010, however, a roundtable of leading Gilded Age and Progressive Era scholars critically examined the reasons why "Native Americans often slipped out of national consciousness by the Gilded Age and Progressive Era."<sup>1</sup> By 2014, the journal offered a special issue on the importance of Indigenous histories during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a "period of tremendous violence perpetuated on Indigenous communities," wrote the editors Boyd Cothran and C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa.<sup>2</sup> It is the observation of Indigenous histories on the periphery of Gilded Age and Progressive Era that inspires a reevaluation of the historiographical contributions that highlight Indigenous survival through the onslaught of settler colonial violence during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The purpose of this microsyllabus seeks to challenge these past historiographical mishaps by re-centering works that delve into the inclusion of Indigenous perspectives and experience of settler colonial violence during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era.

Violence, both physical and structure, comes in varied forms: oppression, limiting people's rights, their access to legal representation, their dehumanization through exclusion and segregation, as well as the production of memory. These forms of violence are consequences of settler colonialism, the living structure of erasure, removal, and eradication of Indigenous nations committed by a settler state.<sup>3</sup> Controversial historiographical debates over the use of terms like genocide and ethnic cleansing demonstrate the scale of physical violence deployed by the U.S. government or white settlements to replace Indigenous communities. Concurrently, policies and practices of structural violence worked together to further erase and remove Indigenous nations. The Gilded Age and Progressive Era offer a unique time frame to observe the evolution of violence and how it became embedded in the societal structure of the United States.

Contention over terminology, such as debates over genocide and ethnic cleansing, can replicate the violence that many Indigenous peoples continue to experience. Some historians agree that *genocide* can describe federal and settler-driven policies against Indigenous peoples; or, as Benjamin Madley argues, processes where “individuals kill, kidnap, and otherwise act to destroy a specific group.”<sup>4</sup> On the contrary, Gary Clayton Anderson argues against the use of genocide, but forwards the use of *ethnic cleansing* as the best approach to describing what happened to Indigenous communities by the hands of federal and settler culprits during the nineteenth century. “Ethnic cleansing,” writes Anderson, is a “term reflected of forced dislocation with the intent to take away lands of a particular ethnic, religious, or cultural group.”<sup>5</sup> The “crimes” against Indigenous peoples can in no way, shape, or form “hardly resemble ‘planned killing’ that went on for months and years” throughout Europe and Asia during the twentieth century. In response to these accusations, historians like Boyd Cothran, Margaret D. Jacobs, and Walter L. Hixson all critically engage Anderson’s prose to raise awareness to the words that historians choose to use and their impact on the people they research and encounter within their work. While Jacobs and Hixson argue that other terms—like settler colonialism and colonial genocide—should be used to clarify this degree of violence, Cothran contends that these events’ realities get lost in translation when scholars debate such terms.<sup>6</sup>

Perhaps one of the most provocative forms of structural violence is in the production of history for scholarly and public consumption. During the Gilded Age and Progressive Era in particular, white Americans used their versions of the past to control the treatment of Native Americans as the nation began ushering in new forms of control, surveillance, and exclusion. Boyd Cothran’s article, “Enduring Legacy,” reassesses redemptive violence and problematic recollections of violent encounters between Indigenous and white settlements. David Grua’s work, similarly, addresses the “race war” question that often pitted Indigenous groups at odds with “peaceful white settlers” that was “the final victory in the four-hundred-year struggle between civilization and savagery.”<sup>7</sup> Louis Warren’s work on Buffalo Bill and Native myth, as with Michelle Wick Paterson’s essay and Jean M. O’Brien and Lisa Blee’s work on the Massasoit monument, provide additional insight into how settler colonialism and the binary of race produce mythic stories of the past designed to control, demean, and exclude Indigenous peoples from the Gilded Age and Progressive Era. Philip J. Deloria explains ways to break up master and conquest narratives that routinely attempt to leave Indigenous peoples out of American history.<sup>8</sup>

The continuity of violence against Indigenous communities, especially as it transformed from military power to political and environmental violence during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, offers new opportunities to focus on Indigenous persistence and survival. Notable recent works like Nick Estes’s *Our History Is the Future* showcase

the evolution and continuity of violence and settler colonialism in the twenty-first century, specifically how the conflicts of the past shaped contemporary problems in Indigenous communities. The Gilded Age and Progressive Era serve as a rest stop when traveling down the path of white colonial violence. Upon closer analysis, it also provides a place for us to critique that violence and better explore the foundations of the challenges that Indigenous nations face today.

## Microsyllabus: Indigenous and Settler Violence during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era

### Genocide/Ethnic Cleaning and Memory

Anderson, Gary Clayton. "The Native Peoples of the American West: Genocide or Ethnic Cleansing." *Western Historical Quarterly* 47:4 (Winter 2016): 407–34.

Cothran, Boyd. "Melancholia and the Infinite Debate." *Western Historical Quarterly*. 47:4 (Winter 2016): 435–38.

Hixson, Walter L. "Policing the Past: Indian Removal and Genocide Studies." *Western Historical Quarterly* 47:4 (Winter 2016): 439–43.

Jacobs, Margaret D. "Genocide or Ethnic Cleansing? Are These Our Only Choices?" *Western Historical Quarterly* 47:4 (Winter 2016): 444–48.

Madley, Benjamin. "California's Yuki Indians; Defining Genocide in Native American History." *Western Historical Quarterly* 39:3 (Autumn 2008): 303–32.

Wilson, Wazyatawin Angela. *What Does Justice Look Like? The Struggle for Liberation in the Dakota Homeland*. St. Paul, MN: Living Justice Press, 2006.

### Memory

Cothran, Boyd. "Enduring Legacy: U.S.-Indigenous Violence and the Making of American Innocence in the Gilded Age." *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 14:4 (2015): 562–73.

Grua, David W. *Surviving Wounded Knee: The Lakotas and the Politics of Memory*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.

O'Brien, Jean M. and Lisa Blee. *Monumental Mobility: The Memory Work of Massasoit*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2019.

Patterson, Michelle Wick. "The 'Pencil in the Hand of the Indian': Cross-Cultural Interactions in Natalie Curis's *The Indians' Book*," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 9:4 (Oct. 2010): 419–49.

Warren, Louis S. "Buffalo Bill Meets Dracula: William F. Cody, Bram Stoker, and the Frontiers of Racial Decay," *The American Historical Review* 107:4 (Oct. 2002): 1124–1157.

Deloria, Philip J. "American Master Narratives and the Problem of Indian Citizenship in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 14:1 (Jan. 2015): 3–12.

## Notes

- 1 Sherry Smith, "Comments: Native Americans and Indian Policy in the Progressive Era," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 9:4 (Oct. 2010): 504.
- 2 Boyd Cothran and C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, "An Introduction," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 14:4 (Oct. 2015): 503; The "Forum: Indigenous Histories of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era" includes essays by eminent scholars of Native American and Indigenous Studies and of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era. This forum sheds light onto the interconnectedness between the Gilded Age, the Progressive Era, and Indigenous North America.
- 3 Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8:4 (2006): 388; Jeffrey Ostler, "Locating Settler Colonialism in Early American History," *William and Mary Quarterly* 76:3 (July 2019): 447; Rebecca Tinio McKenna, "Igorot Squatters and Indian Wars: Towards an Intra-imperial History of Land Dispossession," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 18:2 (Apr. 2019): 222.
- 4 Benjamin Madley, "California's Yuki Indians; Defining Genocide in Native American History," *Western Historical Quarterly* 39:3 (Autumn 2008): 330.
- 5 Gary Clayton Anderson, "The Native Peoples of the American West: Genocide or Ethnic Cleansing," *Western Historical Quarterly* 47:4 (Winter 2016): 409.
- 6 Boyd Cothran, "Melancholia and the Infinite Debate," *Western Historical Quarterly* 47:4 (Winter 2016): 436.
- 7 David W. Grua, *Surviving Wounded Knee: The Lakotas and the Politics of Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 80.
- 8 Philip J. Deloria, "American Master Narratives and the Problem of Indian Citizenship in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 14:1 (Jan. 2015): 11.

## Anti-Black Racial Violence and Popular Culture in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era

Anthony Stamilio

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With #saytheirnames, the 2020 Black Lives Matters movement implores the national public to etch the names of George Floyd, Ahmaud Arbery, and Breonna Taylor into their consciousness. The fight for racial justice is a fight for attention in American popular culture. Activists push for recognition of the right to Black life, celebrities attempt to shine their spotlights on justice initiatives, and public figures debate solutions to systemic racism. The immediacy of today's racial violence discourse parallels that of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era.

The nineteenth century ended with an explosion of anti-Black racial violence in the United States. The number of lynchings of African Americans peaked during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era while civil rights declined to their "nadir." Ida B. Wells-Barnett's reporting on lynchings helped make visible the violence that many African Americans had seen with their own eyes. Like today's camera-phone footage, the booming new technologies of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era helped disseminate information about racial violence across the nation. New media of the period spread information more rapidly and to wider audiences making it harder to ignore anti-Black racial violence.

The following articles from the *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* reflect the history of the racial violence in the period. They are divided into sections relating to a theme in popular culture and race.