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Chapter 1 : All that remains : varieties of indigenous expression in SearchWorks catalog

Instead of bonding with his audience as he began, Apess creates another "you" and "they" among the whites, and here is the point at which Krupat's "positive" and "hopeful" interpretation of the final address to the audience goes seriously wrong ("Resisting Racism" 89).

Gura April 17, On April 1, , a New York City medical examiner performed an autopsy on a man at a boardinghouse in a working-class neighborhood of lower Manhattan. He had performed scores of such examinations each month, but this one was especially significant though he did not recognize the person: In the s and s, Apess stood both with these critics yet, as a Native American, apart from them, his voice raised in protest against the plight of indigenous peoples, whom all too many white Americans wanted to believe were doomed to extinction. He then lived with his grandmother but found little stability. His life changed, however, when he experienced a powerful conversion to Christianity as a result of Methodist preaching. Assuming control of his life for the first time, he escaped his indenture during the War of and enlisted among New York troops. Still only a teenager, he saw action in several battles around Lake Champlain and in expeditions against Quebec. When he returned to Connecticut months later, he formalized his commitment to Methodism through baptism and began to work as a preacher, often among mixed-race congregations. More and more confident in his self-expression, four years later he published *A Son of the Forest*, a spiritual autobiography that related the story of his life to date. He also preached and lectured in Boston, and came to the attention of prominent reformers like the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. Apess also continued to publish, in both a sermon and the book *Experiences of the Five Christian Indians; or, A Looking Glass for the White Man*, in which he condemned the prejudice victimizing Native Americans. After the Mashpee won the right to self-government, Apess returned to Boston. By request, Apess repeated the speech in other New England cities. He became embroiled in lawsuits on Cape Cod and had his goods attached for debt. Unfortunately, in a crowded boardinghouse on Washington Street, a lifetime of hardship caught up with him. William Apess was an extraordinary man. The magnitude of his legacy has only recently become clear. As Native American activist and intellectual Robert Warrior puts it: He deserves our attention, as a reminder that the United States is still in the process of becoming, not as another speechless monument. Gura is William S. Photo courtesy of Philip F.

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Chapter 2 : results in SearchWorks catalog

Philip F. Gura is William S. Newman distinguished professor of American literature and culture at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and the author of The Life of William Apess, Pequot. He wrote this for What It Means to Be American, a national conversation hosted by the Smithsonian and Zocalo Public Square.

He is author of *Origins of the African American Jeremiad: Until they began to tell their own stories and develop their own voices, the history of the mistreatment of Native Americans was filled with discords and inconsistencies.* William Apess, the Pequot author, Methodist minister, and political activist, set out to remind Euro-Americans of this fact when he wrote his autobiographical work, *A Son of the Forest: Justice has not and, I may add, justice cannot be fully done to them by the historian. My people have no press to record their sufferings or to make known their grievances; on this account many a tale of blood and woe has never been known to the public. Therefore, his purpose was to articulate the abundant social and political grievances within the Native American community.* Mielke, Arnold Krupat and Hillary E. In his didactic texts, Apess employed the rhetoric of the jeremiad, a discourse that has undergone significant social, political, and intellectual changes since its initial conception and demonstrated by its architects an astounding literary authority. An important element in ethnic jeremiads in America was the yearning to eliminate oppression and the call for a collective struggle that would advocate restructuring the American democratic system. Even if Apess was not aware of it, his writings served as political jeremiads to call attention to Native American duress and his jeremiadic rhetoric established the platform from which progress would grow. Native American Jeremiadic Discourse Emerged in the Early Republic A distinctive discourse exchanging with cultures and governments to aide in the shaping of a tranquil society, jeremiadic rhetoric has always been intrinsically deep-rooted throughout the advancement of civilizations, especially those who were victims of oppression. Often directed toward Euro-American audiences, the Native American jeremiad lamented the immorality and treachery of Euro-Americans on Native American culture. Since Native Americans had no ontological background for jeremiadic rhetoric to exist, however, the Native American jeremiad would become a perceptive adaptation of its American predecessor. For example, in *Sons*, which represented one the earliest narratives published by Native Americans, Apess chastised Euro-Americans for their barbarous designs. Since this essay is an examination of the use of rhetoric, it is important to explore the term for the purposes of placing a distinctive Native American rhetorical discourse into American literary studies. Rhetoric has been identified as a vehicle of uplift, an instrument of language, while on the other hand, an art of deception Ampadu Apess confronted, however, two rhetorical challenges in persuading Euro-Americans to accept his claims concerning the treatment of his brethren. Second, he reminded them of the connections between the two cultures. If jeremiads are characterized today as discourses that reflect the continuous tribulations of an oppressed people that hold out hope for a brighter future in times of crisis, these treaties become extremely political in nature as they seek to alter the social order of the day. Transforming into a justification for Native American autonomy, this development spawned rhetorical strategies by Native Americans that advanced in significant ways from the traditional rhetoric of American jeremiadic discourse. Why, though, did Native Americans employ jeremiadic discourse separate of the American jeremiad? Sprinkled throughout his narrative, Apess left clues to the answer of this question: I presume that no person will doubt that great injustice has been done to the Indians, and I also think that no liberal mind will say that they are the only savages. It is a matter of sober fact that the natives, on their first acquaintance with the Europeans, manifested themselves generous, high-minded, kind, and hospitable, and these feelings marked all their intercourse with the whites, while they were treated with humanity; and it was not till after repeated aggressions on the part of the whites, not until they were overreached, and their friends and relatives carried into hopeless captivity, that they exhibited that deep and settled hatred to the whites, which may very properly be termed a hereditary animosity. There were many reasons behind why Apess employed the jeremiad, but mainly his appeal for

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social exchange, his need to necessitate moral and educational development, and his need for a political voice defined the principal motives. This purpose, however, was not applicable to Native American jeremiadic discourse. No doubt there are many good people in the United States who would not trample upon the rights of the poor, but there are many others who are willing to roll in their coaches upon the tears and blood of the poor and unoffending natives—those who are ready at all time to speculate on the Indians and defraud them out of their rightful possessions. Let the poor Indian attempt to resist the encroachments of his white neighbors, what a hue and cry is instantly raised against him. It has been considered as a trifling thing that the whites to make war on the Indians for the purpose of driving them from their country and taking possession thereof. This was, in their estimating, all right, as it helped to extend the territory and enriched some individuals. But let the thing be changed. Suppose an overwhelming army should march into the United States for the purpose of subduing it and enslaving the citizens; how quick would they fly to arms, gather in multitudes around the tree of liberty, and contend for their rights with the last drop of their blood. And should the enemy succeed, would they not eventually rise and endeavor to regain liberty? And who would blame them for it? Therefore, Native Americans self-consciousness was usually a product of some form of oppression. Although in the early Republic the sense of that action remained vague, Native American activists evoked unity and advocated a moral basis for the elimination of the oppression of their people. Who was the first Native American to employ jeremiadic discourse? What factors lead to this development? As is perhaps apparent, the sentimental treatment of Native Americans and their relationship with Euro-Americans entailed the assertion of racial difference as well as affective similarity. Every ethnic group that has fallen victim to colonization, imperialism and, or, despotism has devised a way to deal with the realities of their oppression and, at the same time, confront the domineering ideologies of their oppressors by addressing the day-to-day problems they experienced. Even the work of the missionaries was examined under his jeremiadic microscope: I am bold to aver that the minds of the natives were turned against the Gospel and soured toward the whites because some of the missionaries have joined the unholy brethren in speculations to the advantages of themselves, regardless of the rights, feelings, and interests of the untutored sons of the forest—The natives are on the whole willing to receive the Gospel, and of late, through the instrumentality of pious missionaries, much good has been done—many of them have been reclaimed from the most abandoned and degrading practices and brought to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus! No doubt the jeremiad found a place in the rhetoric of Native Americans in their struggle for equality. Sluggish in its development, by the early s the Native American jeremiad was emerging amidst the budding social protest rhetoric of American descent. As with the developing African-American jeremiad, the Native American jeremiad was formulated with a definite rhetorical purpose: This connection, for example, was furthered when runaway slaves marooned in the forests with the Native American tribes. This uniting with Native Americans showed not only a joining of two oppressed groups of people but also a consciousness of white manipulation and mistreatment. Thus, the titles they gave their maroons mirrored and became laments of their socio-political circumstances. Apess positioned his rhetoric in *Sons* in the revolutionary tone that some African-American Jeremiahs, such as David Walker, would utilize in order to deconstruct the Euro-American ideology that oppression is justified. I ask O ye Christians!!! If you will allow that we are MEN, who feel for each other, does not the blood of our fathers and of us their children, cry aloud to the Lord of Sabaoth against you, for the cruelties and murders with which you have, and do continue to afflict us. However, Apess asked the reader to judge the subjugation of his brethren merely, yet, passionately on the basis of justice: In a number of Indians went on board of a ship, by order of their chief, and the whites set upon them and murdered them without mercy—Is this insult to be borne, and not a word to be said? Truly, Christians would never bear it; why, then think it strange that the denominated savages do not? O thou white Christian, look at acts that honored your countrymen, to the destruction of thousands, for much less insults than that. And who, my dear sirs, were wanting of the name of savages—whites, or Indians? O Christians, can you answer for those beings that have been destroyed by your hostilities, and beings too that lie endeared to God as yourselves, his Son being their Savior as well as your,

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and alike to all men? There is a deep-rooted popular opinion in the hearts of many that Indians were made, etc. Apess achieved this by connecting the oppressors to the plight of the oppressed as a way to forge social change. Not doubt there are many good people in the United States who would not trample upon the rights of the poor, but there are many others who are willing to roll in their coaches upon the tears and blood of the poor and unoffending natives—those who are ready at all times to speculate on the Indians and defraud them out of their rightful possessions. It has been considered as a trifling thing for the whites to make war on the Indians for the purpose of driving them from their country and taking possession thereof. Why are not we protected in our persons and property throughout the Union? Is it not because there reigns in the breast of many who are leaders a most unrighteous, unbecoming, and impure black principle, and as corrupt and unholy as it can be—while these very same unfeeling, self-esteeming characters pretend to take the skin as a pretext to keep us from our unalienable and lawful rights? I would ask you if you would like to be disfranchised from all your rights, merely because your skin is white, and for not other crime. This statement is given not with a view of appearing great in the estimation of others—what, I would ask, is royal blood? We are in fact but one family; we are all the descendants of one great progenitor—Adam. I would not boast of my extraction, as I consider myself nothing more than a worm of the earth. Apess, born in Colrain, Massachusetts on 31 January, was ordained a Methodist minister in 1825. Indentured at the age of five to white families, who consequently provided him with education, Apess eventually joined the military in New York and fought in the War of 1812. The Mashpees, who were Christians, lived autonomous of Euro-American hegemony and who sought to maintain their independence from governmental oversight and to replace their inattentive white minister with Apess. Language has often been used as a tool of oppression by those who compromise the ruling class in order to continue their subjugation and dominance over a culture. The Mashpee acknowledged that they would oppose additional infringement by white colonists. When the farmers came to cut wood on Mashpee land, they were met with resistance. A violent conflict ensued; the Mashpee saw themselves as warriors battling an oppressive foreign government. This political move would ensure civil liberties for Native Americans and was just the beginning of a discourse of dissent. Heavily criticized as an advocate of the Mashpee Revolt by white critics, Apess published the documentary of the revolt, *Indian Nullification of the Unconstitutional Laws of Massachusetts Relative to the Mashpee Tribe*; or the *Pretended Riot Explained*. In *All the Indians I had ever seen were of a reddish color, sometimes approaching a yellow, but now, look to what quarter I would, most of those who were coming were pale faces, and, in my disappointment, it seemed to me that the hue of death sat upon their countenances. It seemed very strange to me that my brethren should have changed their natural color and become in every respect like white men*. He remained firm and steadfast in aiding the restoration of the Native American community. Apess understood the basic ideologies inherent in the discourse of American democracy: The Ten Lost Tribes, which not only sought to situate Native Americans within their rightful place in world history, but also outlined the atrocities perpetuated on them by whites, Apess posited: *Is not the white man as sinful by nature as the red man? Uneducated, and unrenewed by divine grace, is he not a heathen, is he not an enemy to God and righteousness, prone to the commission of every crime, however flagrant in its nature and its tendencies? Does not the white man, however gifted, and eloquent, and learned, and popular, grow up and sicken and die? Hundreds of thousands perished before the face of the white man. Suffice it to say, what is already known, that the white man came upon our shores—he grew taller and taller until his shadow was cast over all the land—in its shade the mighty tribes of olden time wilted away. A few, the remnant of multitudes long since gathered to their fathers, are all that remain; and they are on their march to eternity*. The Indians Furthermore, Apess lamented the ways in which Euro-Americans viewed and educated him about his brethren. It may be proper for me here to remark that the great fear I entertained of my brethren was occasioned by the many stories I had heard of their cruelty toward the whites—how they were in the habit of killing and scalping men, women, and children. But the whites did not tell me that they were in a great majority of instances the aggressors—that they had imbrued their hands in the lifeblood of my brethren, driven them from their once peaceful and happy homes—that they introduced among them the fatal and

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exterminating diseases of civilized life. The central problem, then, for early Native American jeremiadic discourse was not finding grounds in which to criticize the many afflictions Euro-Americans placed on their culture by mastering their language, but the construction of an elevated consciousness against the racial ailments that had been formulated and placed by Euro-Americans. In his eyes, Euro-Americans destroyed two nations when they colonized America: Who were the first aggressors, and who first imbrued their hands in blood? He treated the stranger as a brother and friends, until that stranger, whom he had received upon his fertile soil, endeavored to enslave him and restored to brutal violence to accomplish his designs. And if they committed excesses, they only followed in the footsteps of the whites, who must blame themselves for providing their independent and unyielding spirits, and by a long series of cruelty and bloodshed drove them to arms. Son 55 After the publication of *Son*, Apess became an increasingly outspoken critic of the evils Euro-Americans perpetrated against Native Americans. In his search to reclaim civil liberties—rights that included equal citizenship and representation—Apess constructed a visionary language and liberation philosophy that set in motion a sense that equality and liberty should include social equality and citizenship for all man kind. He accomplished this through a laundry list of practical advice about how his brethren were treated and through his own performance. Throughout his jeremiadic discourse, for example, he advocated temperance in the framework of moral improvement. Apess revealed that the cruel treatment he received from his grandparents, who were alcoholics, was because of the introduction of alcohol.

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Chapter 3 : "A Son of the Forest" and Other Writings | University of Massachusetts Press

Philip F. Gura is William S. Newman distinguished professor of American literature and culture at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and the author of The Life of William Apess, Pequot. Buy the Book: Skylight Books, Amazon, Powell's.

Salvation and the Savage: University of Kentucky Press, Krupat, Voice in the Margins, Chapter 4. Religion and Violence in Early American Methodism. Indiana University Press, Place in the Scholarly Conversation: Rather than offer my keywords suggestions up front, I will begin with my estimation of the article itself. If you are thinking that the above summary of the article is a bit obtuse, I wholly agree with you. The article itself seems to invite that level of summary. I would love to discuss these ideas, but I suspect that this particular article, at this time, may not be the best avenue for that discussion. Indian Ghosts and American Subjects. University Press of New England, Place in the scholarly conversation: If we wish to discuss in class the links between Apess and Hawthorne, I can suggest a different chapter or two from this book. This chapter enters the scholarly conversation by asserting that scholarship on Apess has been neglected until the latter portion of the 20th century, and that only in the s did Apess criticism gain significant ground. Yet in this criticism Bergland notes a tendency for scholars to view Indians as spectral figures. Bergland discusses how Apess challenges the spectralization of Indians, or the view of Indians as shadowy and silent. By focusing on this idea of spectralization, Bergland utilizes a Foucauldian model of language. As support, however, he recounts a variety of interesting instances of Native American conversion to Christianity and of apostasy , and the ways in which, to the indigenous mind, this conversion reflected a total and immediate cultural shift “the convert began wearing European clothes, using stoves, signed temperance pledges, plowed fields, etc. This book was published in the mids. Berkhofer worked heavily in Native American studies during his career he died in Word Medicine, Word Magic. University of Pittsburgh Press, I am almost ashamed to say this, but I found this source by looking at the footnotes and suggested reading of the William Apess article on Wikipedia and saw that it was quoted there. She has published several things on rhetoric, including one on Puritan-Indian relations. For most of the essay, Bizzell shows how Apess functions as an American jeremiad in that he reprimands white culture for not obeying their own beliefs while also providing a hope for reform. I do think that this piece could be useful, depending on the way the conversation takes shape. Patricia Bizzell is an English professor at the College of the Holy Cross, where she teaches composition and composition theory classes. In this article, Bizzell takes a pedagogical approach to composition, arguing that teachers of such classes ought to reshape their curricula in order to expose students to the works of American writers from various cultural backgrounds. Bizzell claims that composition courses teach the technique of writing without exposing students to knowledge necessary for the creation of persuasive rhetoric. American Indian Autobiography and the Law. University of Illinois Press, Where I found the article: I searched the Walsh Library Catalog subject search engine for William Apess, and perused the library shelves. How this source relates to the scholarly conversation: These texts generally argue that autobiography is a means of finding out how the self is modeled in different times through history. In future works, this books is referenced in other scholarship of identity, especially a book titled When did Indians become Straight, which explores the self-modeling in relation to queer theory. General Notes on the Chapter: He wants to look at the process by which Apess creates a new sense of Indian self-hood by engaging with legal models of identity. It is a means of opposing colonialism within the system. Carlson then looks at the conversion narrative, which started as a means of moving an individual from a community into a smaller, Christian community. But for the Indians, the secular colonial law, and the religious law were linked for the Indians and their self-modeling, a linking that ran counter to the enlightenment based division of the sacred and the secular popular in the 19th century. Conversion became implicit in legal models of Indian identity and assimilation. He argues that Apess, through his conversion narrative forms his Indian identity in essentially a negative way, locating the Indian and his

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identity in nature. Apess, then, represents himself as cut off from the past, articulating his identity as only a negative condition, a state of privation. Instead of constructing a positive identity, he constructs his Indian identity using Euro-American education. In this sense, his autobiography argues for religious education and assimilation and the normative model of identity standing between those two poles. Two Recommendations I would recommend this book chapter. Furthermore, this chapter continues the conversation of self-modeling, and how different figures in history model themselves. My two keywords are Performance and Law. University of Massachusetts Press, How I found this source I did a Google search for "William Apess bibliography" and found the following on the page of a professor from Washington State University: Her reading of Apess is thus a smart blend of biography, contextualized close reading, and theory. Elrod, a professor at Santa Clara University, has published numerous articles on issues of race, gender, and religion in early American autobiography. Recommendations The two keywords that came to mind most immediately were "Christianity" and "Resistance. I would recommend this chapter if we choose to consider the way Apess uses negotiates? Christianity as a way of resistance. It is worth noting that Gaul also has interests in archival studies, print culture and periodical studies. In a broader sense, this article deals with the immense power of language and historical narratives. If, however, we decide to look further into Eulogy, I would recommend this article. Religion and Literature In it, she sees a gradual awakening of Apess to his racial identity and the ways in which that complicated his Christianity. I suggest this article as a possibility for our reading. Possible keywords might include "Colonial," "Religion," and "Community. She begins by describing the typical conversion narrative of the time an incredibly popular form and how Apess uses the form to reach a wider audience. However, she argues that his unusual use of the conversion narrative through following a more feminine-style testimonial allowed him to give voice to his outrage at the racial discrimination and religious hypocrisy prevalent in the U. Haynes goes on to reveal the appeal Methodism might have had to Apess through its status as a persecuted form of Christianity, something which he could relate to very easily. The Journal of Nineteenth-Century Americanists 2. However, Hoxie states that historians have tended to ignore the power of Native American sovereignty. Ultimately, Hoxie offers a concise observation of the recent visibility and challenges to the intricate nature of Native American sovereignty within the academy. Communication and Mass Media Complete. He devotes a part of his article to analyzing Apess in terms of this concept, centering on the way in which Apess assumed the role of speaker for the Mashpees "a tribe that was not his own. But Kemper does not analyze the question that he raises. In choosing to write for a group to which he does not belong, does Apess appeal to nationhood, or peoplehood, or both, or neither? Kemper is content merely to argue that by utilizing freedom of expression and having his books printed, Apess was exercising rhetorical sovereignty. I urge the class not to choose this article as reading. To put it bluntly, Kemper seems unsure of what point he is making, and why that point might be significant. I selected this article as a potential reading in order to raise questions of how Apess is situating himself in speaking for Native Americans as a group. Colonialism, and Literary Criticism. Konkle hopes that future scholarship will study Native intellectual traditions. This article could also serve as a good supplement to the Konkle chapter cited below. Native Intellectuals and the Politics of Historiography, University of North Carolina Press For Konkle, Apess is engaged in a large and ongoing project of re-writing, inverting, and dislodging dominant notions of racial difference. Konkle shows this through a mixture of biographical and historical research and close textual analysis. Konkle, a professor at the University of Missouri, is a scholar of Native intellectual history. The book from which this chapter comes explores the ways in which the contradictions inherent in Indian treaties provided sites from which discourses of resistance could be constructed. Generally, this book appears to be a part of a larger trend in scholarship toward attempting to understand Indian writings on their own terms. Recommendations Since this chapter focuses largely on the discourses surrounding racial difference, I would suggest "Race" as a useful keyword. This is a detailed discussion by a well-respected critic. If we choose to consider "resistance" or a similar topic, then I would suggest this chapter as a class reading. The article could also be helpful if we plan to discuss the similarities between Apess and Frederick Douglass. An Indian

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Reformer in the Jackson Era. In a sense, this article seems to be beginning the scholarly conversation on Apess, at least within the latter half of the 20th Century. It is as historical if not more so as it is historicist in its aims and style. While I consider this article to be a seminal work in Apess criticism, incredibly well written, and certainly worth reading for anyone looking to do in-depth research into Apess, I do not it is necessary for the purpose of our class. Much of the biographical information that it presents in depth can be found on the Apess Wikipedia page, and later critics within the scholarly conversation have explored its literary analysis in greater detail. Laura Mielke is associate professor of English at the University of Kansas. In she published a book titled, *Moving Encounters*:

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Chapter 4 : The Greatest Native American Intellectual Youâ€™ve Never Heard Of : What It Means to Be A

He also examines the writings of the famed Pequot public intellectual William Apess () and the complex communicative strategies informing the contemporary prize-winning Inuit film Atanarjuat, the Fast Runner.

He had performed scores of such examinations each month, but this one was especially significant though he did not recognize the person: In the s and s, Apess stood both with these critics yet, as a Native American, apart from them, his voice raised in protest against the plight of indigenous peoples, whom all too many white Americans wanted to believe were doomed to extinction. He then lived with his grandmother but found little stability. His life changed, however, when he experienced a powerful conversion to Christianity as a result of Methodist preaching. Assuming control of his life for the first time, he escaped his indenture during the War of and enlisted among New York troops. Still only a teenager, he saw action in several battles around Lake Champlain and in expeditions against Quebec. When he returned to Connecticut months later, he formalized his commitment to Methodism through baptism and began to work as a preacher, often among mixed-race congregations. More and more confident in his self-expression, four years later he published *A Son of the Forest*, a spiritual autobiography that related the story of his life to date. He also preached and lectured in Boston, and came to the attention of prominent reformers like the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. Apess also continued to publish, in both a sermon and the book *Experiences of the Five Christian Indians; or, A Looking Glass for the White Man*, in which he condemned the prejudice victimizing Native Americans. After the Mashpee won the right to self-government, Apess returned to Boston. By request, Apess repeated the speech in other New England cities. He became embroiled in lawsuits on Cape Cod and had his goods attached for debt. Unfortunately, in a crowded boardinghouse on Washington Street, a lifetime of hardship caught up with him. William Apess was an extraordinary man. The magnitude of his legacy has only recently become clear. As Native American activist and intellectual Robert Warrior puts it: He deserves our attention, as a reminder that the United States is still in the process of becoming, not as another speechless monument. Post navigation [Prev](#) [Next](#) Philip F. Gura is William S.

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Chapter 5 : On Our Own Ground | University of Massachusetts Press

Arnold Krupat, Resisting Racism: William Apess as Public Intellectual *+ WEEK 5 (OCT 24, 26, 28): ON LAND MATTERS Charles Gibson, *Passing of reek Lands* [2].

Gura April 17, On April 1, , a New York City medical examiner performed an autopsy on a man at a boardinghouse in a working-class neighborhood of lower Manhattan. He had performed scores of such examinations each month, but this one was especially significant though he did not recognize the person: In the s and s, Apess stood both with these critics yet, as a Native American, apart from them, his voice raised in protest against the plight of indigenous peoples, whom all too many white Americans wanted to believe were doomed to extinction. He then lived with his grandmother but found little stability. His life changed, however, when he experienced a powerful conversion to Christianity as a result of Methodist preaching. Assuming control of his life for the first time, he escaped his indenture during the War of and enlisted among New York troops. Still only a teenager, he saw action in several battles around Lake Champlain and in expeditions against Quebec. When he returned to Connecticut months later, he formalized his commitment to Methodism through baptism and began to work as a preacher, often among mixed-race congregations. More and more confident in his self-expression, four years later he published *A Son of the Forest*, a spiritual autobiography that related the story of his life to date. He also preached and lectured in Boston, and came to the attention of prominent reformers like the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. Apess also continued to publish, in both a sermon and the book *Experiences of the Five Christian Indians; or, A Looking Glass for the White Man*, in which he condemned the prejudice victimizing Native Americans. After the Mashpee won the right to self-government, Apess returned to Boston. By request, Apess repeated the speech in other New England cities. He became embroiled in lawsuits on Cape Cod and had his goods attached for debt. Unfortunately, in a crowded boardinghouse on Washington Street, a lifetime of hardship caught up with him. William Apess was an extraordinary man. The magnitude of his legacy has only recently become clear. As Native American activist and intellectual Robert Warrior puts it: He deserves our attention, as a reminder that the United States is still in the process of becoming, not as another speechless monument. Gura is William S.

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Gallagher is Professor of English at Lehigh University. We know what Apess is doing but not so much about how he is doing it, even though, as prominent Native American literature scholar Arnold Krupat claims, the "writing effectivity" of the text is in large measure the result of its "powerful language and style" "Resisting Racism" Apess continually pins and pressures his audience with this anaphora. Before long he must seem to his audience uncomfortably obsessive and aggressive, clearly accusatory, relentlessly prosecutorial. The trajectory of the pain inflicted on the audience by both the anaphoras and rhetorical questions, as we can see, is, by design, more intense as the speech goes on. The attack on the audience builds. The same can be said for the several terms Apess uses to address his audience. Apess begins his talk on the serious subject of Indian degradation in disarming fashion. There is no difference between them. They share, in fact, a democracy of rum: The image of Indian degradation that Apess gives in his opening paragraph is lean and stark. Neither Apess nor his audience seem especially intimately involved with the revolting conditions, however, much less with their cause or remedy. Apess supplies only a simple coda from his own perspective, and even so with a tone bordering that of a detached visitor: Even the potentially very tough questions about the treatment of the Indians are posed to the audience in an oddly polite way here in the beginning. Compromise, a political not a moral act â€” as if inhumanity is a negotiable rather than an always reprehensible behavior. And as for prejudices? Finally, Apess gives four explicit reasons for Indian degradation: The real reason, racial discrimination, goes unmentioned. There is nothing yet to disturb white complacency, nothing to raise white defenses, nothing to, as it were, ruffle white feathers. In a second move, however, Apess ratchets up the racial tension a notch. But the essential feature of this second move is a color-coding schema that initiates racial division and escalates audience engagement with racial discrimination. In this second move, Apess colors himself red, colors legislative leaders black, colors his audience white, positions the whites in between the red and black, and asks them to sample the injustice of discrimination on the basis of skin. In this way, Apess enlists, or tries to enlist, his white audience in the Indian cause without incriminating them. Simultaneous with the institution of a color-coding schema, and with similar purpose, is the institution of a pronoun-schema. And here is an instance in which the rhetorical question is followed by what we might call since it too is invented for effect a rhetorical answer: Thus, the color triangle is complete, the pronoun family populated. In contrast to the seeming lack of personal involvement in the issue of Indian degradation in the first movement, Apess here is noticeably more impatient and more insistent. His temperature is rising. But Apess does not blame or shame his white audience at this point. That is, Apess asks, Friends, how would you feel if they do to you what they do to us? The question is bait. The question effectively invites his audience to empathize with the Indian cause for the first time, invites them to bond with Apess again but on different grounds. Blacks voice the exact response anticipated from whites, and perhaps which they were silently making. There is no difference, then, between white and black, between his audience and the corrupt legislators. Now let me ask you, white man, if you can charge the Indians with national dispossession, genocide, legalized injustice, and slavery? Apess, simmering before, is hot now, and his audience is on the hot seat. All whites are now one to Apess. The reverse images of the Indian looking-glass have begun. But perhaps that seemed to Apess too routine an attack strategy, too easily shaken off, for the startling feature of his fourth move is the assertion, which we can imagine took his audience quite by surprise, that white ministers, and, by extension, all the white members of all the white congregations all the world over, owe their very Christian existence to color-blindness. For in the Indian looking-glass Jesus is colored. And with those words the primacy of white reflection completely disappears from the Indian looking-glass. In a rather stunning inference, Apess seems to be saying that this is a law that needs to be broken more! Through the looking-glass, indeed. As far as the fact of intermarriage is concerned, Apess finds it far from the sensational and even sinful transgression of sacred cultural codes that

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no doubt occasioned the law. In his Indian looking-glass world, intermarriage is routine: But the aspect of intermarriage that passionately engages Apess is equal rights. No cauldron of controversy for Apess over miscegenation and amalgamation. He wants only consistency. Of course, this is life in the reversed view of the looking-glass, for what Apess seeks is actually equal rights outside the law! And it is not a good one. Skin deep is a highly appropriate pun in this context and a grim indictment. But does Apess offer his audience no escape from his de-grading verdict? Not only is there no invitation or no pressure to change ways, but in the end Apess overlooks the state of his audience completely. His silence on this score is no doubt a powerful Indian looking-glass reversal of audience expectation. Indians accuse whites of speaking with forked tongues; Apess can be accused of speaking with forked paths. This is the second time the first being repudiation of the direction suggested by the empathy-inviting rhetorical question at the end of his second move that Apess foregoes the path of conversion for the path of condemnation. The hope for the future lies with people not present in the church or lecture hall, not even with Apess himself. In a surprising move at the end, then, Apess gestures toward whites with, one is tempted to say, white principles. Webster, universally renowned for his oratory, of course, was a senator from Massachusetts at this time, but earlier he had argued for Indian land rights as counsel for the plaintiff in the landmark *Johnson vs. Southernner Wirt*, former Attorney General of the United States, represented the Cherokee before the Supreme Court in an landmark pre-removal case, arguing they were a foreign nation and not subject to Georgia jurisdiction. There is no sense, however, that they are models for his audience to emulate, new selves for his audience to become. The figure of Apess has achieved considerable rhetorical power and stature in the speech. In the last feature of this last move, however, Apess retires considerably. That self-image has not changed. Unfortunately, however, the power for social amelioration here in the conclusion is ceded to a real constellation of Live White Males. Not clearly, it seems to me, from the climactic Good Samaritan metaphor, which, though it may promise serial ex post facto relief to Indian degradation, is only triage against pessimism, not inoculation. I think we can clearly see now why it would have served such a purpose superbly. Works Cited Apess, William. *U of Massachusetts P*, *Indian Ghosts and American Subjects*. *Word Medicine, Word Magic*. *U of Pittsburgh P*, *American Indian Autobiography and the Law*. *U of Illinois P*. *William Apess and the Scene of Postcolonial Nativity*. *U of Illinois P*, *Locating Early American Imperialism*. *U of Minnesota P*. *Speeches on the Passage of the Bill for the Removal of the Indians: Native Intellectuals and the Politics of Historiography*, *U of North Carolina P*. *William Apess as Public Intellectual*. *Varieties of Indigenous Experience*. *U of Nebraska P*, *The Voice in the Margin: Native American Literature and the Canon*. *U of California P*. *Narratives of Native Presence*. *A History and Anthology*. *On Our Own Ground: U of Massachusetts P*. *Indian Missionary-Writers in Antebellum America*. *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America*. *A Pequot and a Methodist under the Sign of Modernity*.

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Chapter 9 : Apess Bibliography - Keywords for American Cultural Studies

William Apess identified himself in his writings as an Indian. He was perhaps the most successful activist on behalf of

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Indian rights in the antebellum United States.