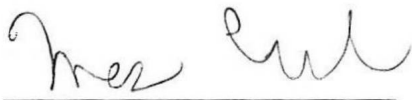


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in the Early Republic

Ethan Goodnight

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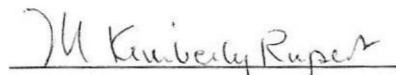
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In the opening chapters of his monumental work *Democracy in America*, Alexis de Tocqueville observed how “the social condition of the Americans is eminently democratic; this [democratic condition] was its character at the foundation of the colonies, and it is still more strongly marked at the present day.”ⁱ Tocqueville here is clearly alluding to the settlement of New England by the Pilgrims and Puritans in the 1620s. Tocqueville’s narrative of a democratic national heritage established in Protestant faith was one aspect of a greater early Republic campaign to reimagine colonial and revolutionary American history. As a cultural and political project emanating from the revivals of the second Great Awakening, as well as the fears of political division, numbers of lettered men and women were “reinventing” the United States as a Christian nation. Outspoken Christian nationalists like Justice Joseph Story joined Tocqueville in solidifying the Pilgrims and the Puritans as the foundation of religious and political liberty found in antebellum America.ⁱⁱ

As historian Steven Green has recently explained, the solidification in the early Republic of the Pilgrims as America’s religious forebears forms one of what may be termed the four key pillars of Christian nationalism. The Christian nationalist movement constructed the second pillar with countless hagiographies of the great patriots of the newly-founded nation, the Founding Fathers, as Christian leaders. Working their same interpretive magic on America’s heritage of religious and political liberty, second-generation Americans identified the third pillar, American common law tradition, as having emerged from Christian principles. The success of these three pillars was credited to and codified in the fourth pillar, Divine Providence guiding the nation.ⁱⁱⁱ Taken together, these four pillars form the backbone of Christian nationalism in the early Republic. Tocqueville’s commentary on America demonstrates how this

new history was gaining traction. He himself, a foreigner, was convinced of the veracity of this new national narrative. Nevertheless, there were some native born who recognized the mythical proportions of the new national history.

In his most famous speech, “Eulogy on King Philip,” presented on January 8th, 1836, Methodist Reverend and Native American William Apess presented a darker side of the Christian nationalists narrative, specifically of the Pilgrims’ noble settling of America.

[In] December ... 1620, the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, and without asking liberty from anyone they possessed themselves of a portion of the country, and built themselves houses, and then made a treaty, and commanded [the Indians] to accede to it. This, if now done, it would be called an insult, and every white man would be called to go out and act the part of a patriot, to defend their country’s rights; and if every intruder were butchered, it would be sung upon every hilltop in the Union that victory and patriotism was the order of the day.^{IV}

Apess here was concerned with highlighting the hypocrisy practiced by the Pilgrims. They would fight to destroy any perceived threat to their land or livelihood, but they did not grant this same right to their neighbors, the Native Americans. Moreover, by relating the historical incident to the potential reaction of his audience should such an event occur to them, Apess demonstrated that New Englanders would respond in the same manner as his Native American ancestors did. Clearly, Apess was highly critical of this narrative of a Puritan heritage of liberty.

This vocal criticism typifies the fiery Pequot preacher. Apess scholars have extensively documented his wide-ranging assault upon the racist hierarchies and histories of his Christian contemporaries, like Justice Story.^V In this sense, Apess is the antithesis of Christian nationalists who established the past as sacred. It seems natural to suspect that Apess would be highly critical of 1830s Christian nationalism, given his reputation as a powerful voice of dissent in the

Jacksonian era. Apess does not merely deconstruct the Christian nationalist myth, however. In *Eulogy*, in addition to revealing the flaws of the current understanding of Pilgrim heritage, he constructively reworks the contemporary historical understanding by proposing his own nation-building heritage. While these two efforts—Apess’s and the Christian nationalists’—to construct a national history have been examined independently, they have yet to be compared. This essay seeks to offer such a comparison.

Despite never explicitly using the term “Christian nationalism,” Apess throughout his works alluded to each and every one of the four major pillars. Like his contemporaries, Apess was deeply worried about the current state of America and used a new history and his preaching as a salve to address the wounds of the country. Placing Apess and the Christian nationalists in conversation reveals numerous fundamental differences of interpretation, but it also illuminates a shared goal and similar means to accomplish said goal. While William Apess was blisteringly critical of white America and her sins, he nonetheless supported the emergent understanding of Christianity’s role in America. By embracing a Christian vision for America and rooting that vision in a new history, Apess showed himself to be a sincere Christian nationalist concerned with advancing America as a Christian nation.

Understanding Christian Nationalism in the Early Republic

Before explicating Apess’s stance on America as a Christian nation it is necessary to survey the four pillars of the nation as established in the antebellum period. On a general level, the propagated idea of America as a Christian nation simply means that the majority

population, Protestant evangelicals, defined America as such.^{vi} With their emphasis on personal conversion, “evangelicals specialized in ... providing rhetoric about the United States as a Christian nation where piety was free to grow.”^{vii} On a deeper level, early American Christian nationalists were convinced that God had and was still working in unique ways throughout America; only Divine Providence could adequately explain the awesome success of the Founding Fathers.^{viii} Christian nationalism in the 1830s was at its most basic an outgrowth of the culture’s influence in the present and the past.

The Christian American house of the 1830s that sheltered evangelical Protestants was not originally built before or during the Revolutionary period, although the groundwork for its heyday was cemented then. Instead, it was the sons of the Founding Fathers who strategically crafted the narrative of America’s religious founding to help unify the country.^{ix} Christian nationalism emerged in the first 40 years of the 19th century as Americans attempted to accurately understand the incredible events surrounding the birth of their nation, most notably the underdog victory of America over Britain in the Revolutionary War. This “quest” emerges from both positive and negative reasons. As much as its undertakers were striving to fulfill their particular vision for the country they inhabited, they were equally motivated by the fears and problems confronting their fledgling state. Both impulses will be examined here.^x

The positive construction aspect of a specifically Christian vision for national identity was jumpstarted by the death of George Washington in 1799. Almost immediately, the beatification of General Washington began. He was compared to Moses, Joshua, and King David for his role in delivering America from Britain’s grasp. His dedication to God, virtue, and his fellow man was lauded for years.^{xi} While Washington’s contemporaries—Thomas Jefferson in

particular—wondered about the faith of this “quiet” man, second-generation Americans spared no mental expense in venerating their fallen hero as God’s primary instrument. For many living in the 1830s, and more today, George Washington represented not only an exemplary American but also embodied the essence of the nation. Consequently, any religious motivation Washington experienced would have profoundly affected the birth of the nation.^{xii}

Washington’s role as God’s instrument dovetailed nicely with the growing idea of America as God’s tool to advance His Kingdom. God’s implementation of America in His grand plan was represented by post-millennialism, forged by the Second Great Awakening. According to this understanding, a tactile “Kingdom of God on earth” would arise in America. This “Kingdom” would be a “golden age” of love, prosperity, and virtue. Before the Revolutionary War, America had been compared to Israel as a nation wandering listlessly in the desert. In the early 1800s, America was still being compared to Israel but now in reference to themselves as the chosen nation of God. The hope in God’s utilization of America led to a renewed effort to instill morality and virtue in the American population at large. The most common method for accomplishing this moral regeneration was found in reform organizations and laws which would help God accomplish His will in the fledgling country.^{xiii}

The reformers did not have to look far to find the material needed to bolster the morality of God’s chosen people; they simply rededicated America’s common law as primarily beholden to and mutually reinforcing of Christian principles. Justice Joseph Story, for instance, contended that “the obligatory force of the law of nature upon man is derived from its presumed coincidence with the will of the Creator.” Story’s work in tying America’s legal virtues to Christian influence in no small way shaped the understanding of America as a *fundamentally*

Christian nation, especially in the legal and political sector.^{xiv} Story and his contemporaries did not end their historical examination of the roots of America's legal system at the virtues of the Revolution, however. They reached further back to establish one of the greatest trademarks of American Christian nationalism: the righteous founding of America by the blessed Pilgrims and Puritans.^{xv}

Primarily originating in New England, the early nineteenth century movement to codify the Pilgrims and Puritans as the bedrock for future American societies enjoyed great success. Daniel Webster was the key ophthalmologist behind opening America's previously blind eyes to envision their influential Pilgrim ancestry. From 1820 onward, Webster sought to establish the Pilgrims as the forefathers of America. He traced the highly-held American values of self-governance, social compacts, republicanism, and religious liberty back to the Pilgrims. After delivering "The First Settlement of New England," Webster's idea of the Pilgrims as national progenitors was reiterated by John Quincy Adams and George Bancroft, among others, who further expanded the Pilgrim's national influence. Nathaniel Hawthorne took the rise of pro-Pilgrim sentiments and directed them to the Puritans as well, celebrating their hardiness and virtue. In this way, "the Puritan/Pilgrim saga became the cornerstone of the emerging national identity narrative."^{xvi}

These four major positive constructive strategies of Christian nationalists represent one shining side of the coin. The other dark, grimy side consists of negative impulses inspiring the construction of this narrative. In general, these base fears of the early Republic era can be boiled down to three main concerns: fear of national divide; the shifting, unstable American demographic; and the breakup of the religious establishment.^{xvii} These fears simultaneously

constitute their own unique motivators of the nation-builders while also undergirding the positive constructive elements already discussed.

The fear of national divide was fundamentally manifested as “mistrust of the other party.” Admiration for the storied success of General Washington was matched in America by worry surrounding the current political climate. While the nation had survived the election of 1800, it emerged bitterly divided between Jefferson’s Democratic-Republicans and Adams’ Federalists. These parties fought each other for support of various populations, popularizing mass politics.^{xviii} By 1820 with the Missouri compromise, the nation became even more split over issues of slavery and its expansion west. Both pro-slavery factions in the South and anti-slavery expansion parties in the North drew heavily on the rhetoric of Christian nationalism to bolster their positions.^{xix} Adding to this political split, a shifting demographic, both ethnically and regionally, contributed to growing political instability as new states quickly gained power. Harkening back to Washington and the Revolution as a glorious event that established America should therefore be seen as a response to the climate of political hostility and regional fracturing that threatened unity.^{xx}

A final negative component underpinning the nation-building process was the breakup of the American religious institutions. This rising diversity of American Christianity was stimulated by “the competing claims of old denominations, a host of new ones, and of supremely heterodox religious groups; people veering from one church to another; and the unbridled wrangling of competitors in what Joseph Smith called a ‘war of words.’”^{xxi} While most states did have a declared Christian affiliation, the nation at large possessed no unifying idea of how religion should function in the United States in the early Republic.^{xxii} Constructing

the myth of the Puritan's and Pilgrim's religious virtue as the foundation of the American religious system served to bind the various denominations together as little else could.

The Christian nationalism of the early Republic should be seen as originating from the base fears and motives of politicians who saw a fractured, not unified, state, religious leaders who worried about the shifting populace and denominations, and the intelligentsia who desperately desired a national heritage and myth on which to build a history of the United States. At the same time, the construction of this myth frequently takes a positive tone. Architects like Noah and Daniel Webster are hopeful about what God has done and will continue to do in their nation. This optimistic bent is perhaps best represented by the recognition of America's Pilgrim heritage, which embodies the other three positive constructive forces discussed. As with Washington, Pilgrims and Puritans had hagiographies composed about them. Divine Providence features heavily in the narratives of the Pilgrims survival. Puritan moral codes form the third part of the triumvirate with religious morals and common law ensuring a Christian legal system. In this way, constructing the Puritan/Pilgrim myth encapsulates and represents the positive constructive force of Christian nationalism. This reality makes the brutal lambasting of the Puritans by Rev. William Apess even more astonishing.

Life and Letters of William Apess

Born in Colrain, Massachusetts, in 1798, William Apess was of mixed descent: his paternal grandfather was white; his paternal grandmother was a Native descended from, Apess claimed, King Philip of the Pequot.^{xxiii} After suffering abuse at the hands of his maternal Native

grandmother, Apess was taken in by the Furman family as an indentured servant where he received some education. After living with two other families (the Hillhouses and the Williams) as a servant, Apess ran away with his friend John, enlisting into the Army at the age of fifteen. One of the reasons for Apess leaving the families was his feeling of helplessness and enslavement. In his autobiography Apess demonstrates the historical precedent for such action by claiming, "If my consent had been solicited as a matter of form, I should not have felt so bad. But to be sold to and treated unkindly by those who had got [sic] our fathers' lands for nothing was too much to bear."^{xxiv} After serving during the War of 1812 and deserting—he was denied his pay and decided this breach of contract merited his desertion—Apess wandered around the Northeast region of America and into Canada, holding down odd jobs and struggling against alcoholism and other "degrading practices."^{xxv}

After his post-war travels, Apess reunited with his family. He lived with his aunt for several months before travelling to see his father. While with his father Apess received two vocations. First, his father taught him how to make shoes. Second, and much more importantly, he received a call from God to "preach the Gospel of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ." It was during a Methodist camp meeting in December, 1818, that Apess felt the Spirit call him to ministry. Throughout his life, Apess had struggled with finding his voice; now, the Spirit gave him the eloquence he needed to preach. He was baptized soon thereafter, although the struggles to obtain a license to preach followed him for a few years.^{xxvi} From here until the time of the publication of *A Son of the Forest* in 1831, Apess continued to travel and preach throughout New England, with or without the approval of denominational leadership.^{xxvii}

Although Apess ends his autobiography at a relatively stable point in his life, his story was about to take a turbulent turn. While ministering in Boston, Apess encountered a few Mashpee tribal representatives who had come to the capital to protest their government. This was part of six-year legal battle between the tribe and Massachusetts over issues of Native Sovereignty. By 1833, the tribe had made little headway.^{xxviii} When Apess heard about this contest he “resolved to visit the people of Marshpee” in order to investigate their condition for himself.^{xxix} After preaching one sermon in the official church, Apess found a vast majority of the Natives worshipping in another place and preached to them. After this message, Apess opened the floor for the Mashpee to share their grievances with him.

Apess was incensed to learn that the governor and the state leadership had never allowed the Mashpee to officially file their complaints. After his speedy adoption by the Mashpee tribe, Apess helped them draft a series of resolutions which powerfully resolved “that we, as a tribe, will rule ourselves, and have the right to do so; for all men are born free and equal, says the Constitution of the country.” After issuing the resolutions and believing them to be granted, the Mashpee issued their own Declaration of Independence which stated that “said resolutions will be enforced after the first day of July, 1833.”^{xxx}

In the hailstorm of newspaper articles, court proceedings, imprisonments, and appeals that followed, Apess’s bitter irony and scathing critiques of white Americans became more polished.^{xxxi} In *Indian Nullification*, Apess’s work that documents the “revolt” of the Mashpee and the “nearly hysterical reaction” it provoked, Apess at one point quotes an article from the *Boston Advocate* which examines the regulatory laws governing the Mashpee Indians: “a Board of five Overseers [exists] ... vested with full power to regulate the police of the plantation; to

establish rules for managing the affairs, interests and concerns of the Indians and inhabitants.”^{xxxii} The law even allowed the Overseers to “bind out [Mashpee] children to suitable persons” if they deemed it necessary. After observing the immense amount of power held by outside men over the Mashpee, Apess questions the New Englanders, asking “generally how their fathers bore laws, much less oppressive, when imposed upon them by a foreign government.” This clear reference to the Revolutionary War, and the overthrowing of oppression that occurred in it, is representative of one of Apess’s main tactics in *Indian Nullification* and his other works: ironic criticism.^{xxxiii} With this tactic, Apess sardonically highlights the double standards of white Americans, forcing them to confront their hypocrisy. In this instance, Apess boldly claims the ideals of the Declaration to justify the Mashpee revolt. By establishing Natives as equal to Anglo-Americans in this way, Apess confronts the Anglo-Americans with their own conditional and “hypocritical observance of their proclaimed ideals.”^{xxxiv}

Eventually, as noted in the *Daily Advocate* and cited in *Indian Nullification*, the Massachusetts’ state government agreed to begin a process of “restoring the rights of self-government, in part, to the Mashpee Indians, of which our legislation has deprived them for one hundred and forty years....”^{xxxv} The Mashpee success is one of the few positive results of legislation between Natives and government in the Jacksonian era. In large part, the Mashpee owe their success to the effective public relations campaign led by Apess who used his talents to convince Massachusetts’ citizens that if they truly detested the forced removal of the Cherokee by Jackson then they should also stand up for the Mashpee.^{xxxvi} Hence, in a petition sent to the Overseers of the tribe at Harvard and published in newspapers in the surrounding

area the Mashpee wonder if “perhaps you have heard of the oppression of the Cherokees and lamented over them much, and thought the Georgians were hard and cruel creatures; but did you ever hear of the poor, oppressed and degraded Marshpee Indians in Massachusetts, and lament over them? If not, you hear now.”^{xxxvii}

In *Indian Nullification*, Apess documented the Mashpee Revolt, the fight of the Mashpee against the state government. For unknown reasons, Apess fell out of favor with his adoptive tribe shortly after the favorable solution to the Mashpee situation.^{xxxviii} This was one of the contributing factors that led to his decision to relocate to Boston and continue his ministry there. In early 1836, Apess delivered his “Eulogy on King Philip” at the Odeon Theater in Boston.^{xxxix} It was met with some acclaim, but more public interest originated from those who were enticed by the idea of witnessing a performance by the eloquent Native responsible for all the recent Mashpee commotion.^{xl} He repeated the address multiple times in several locations, culminating in his transcribing the speech as a short book. It would prove to be his final work. Apess spent the next two years until the end of 1837 traveling and speaking between New York and Boston. At the end of 1837, Apess disappears almost completely from the record, leading some to suggest he was debilitated like so many by the Panic of 1837. He died from apoplexy in 1839 at the age of 41.^{xli}

Despite his death in relative obscurity (a few papers made mention of his passing), Apess in 1837 was “one of the country’s most important Native American intellectuals, having published more than any other indigenous writer before the twentieth century....”^{xlii} In his comparatively voluminous writings, Apess was ultimately trying to challenge the current Anglo-centric historical and cultural narrative with his own “cross-cultural written history.”^{xliii} The rest

of this essay will be dedicated to answering one question: should Apess's unique history be read as advancing a Christian nationalist agenda? A brief examination of his writings reveals that he addresses, explicitly or implicitly, every major plank of Christian nationalism, from George Washington to the splintering of denominational unity. Given Apess's goal to "articulate the presence and being of Native Americans as an active part of American society," this is to be expected from the era's most prolific Native voice.^{XLIV}

William Apess: ReVisionary Christian Nationalist

Apess is most well-known for his bold irony and shameless appropriation and rededication of traditionally white images of cultural superiority. His utilization of the eminent George Washington, and the other three pillars of Christian nationalism, is no exception. From 1799 to the 1820s, General Washington became immortalized in the pantheon of democratic heroes to the point that Whig politicians believed his legacy and reputation as the foremost mason of the Christian foundation of America secure. In the 1830s, interest in Washington reached fever pitch with the coming of his centennial. By 1835 when Apess delivered his *Eulogy*, George Washington had become a ubiquitous reference point for any political speaker. Washington had also become a cultural icon. He represented the very best of republican virtue responsible for founding the nation. He was also credited with driving Natives out of the Northeast U.S. during his time in the British army and as President. Apess knew about Washington's actions, as is clear from his introduction to *Eulogy*.^{XLV} Nevertheless, Apess decided to use Washington as a foil for Philip, King of the Pequots (Pokanokets). Apess describes his subject Philip as "a noted warrior, whose natural abilities shone like those of the

great and mighty Philip of Greece, or of Alexander the Great, or like those of Washington—whose virtues and patriotism are engraven on the hearts of my audience.” A few lines later, Apess declares that Philip is held in the same esteem by Natives as Washington is by “every white in America.”^{XLVI}

Apess’s usage of Washington in this introduction incorporates his status as Christian nationalist icon while also subtly chipping away at the mythological portions of his biography. What better way to establish King Philip as a significant presence in North America than by comparing him to *the* signifier of North America? At the same time, Apess’s very presence on the stage in Boston testifies to the falsity of Washington’s legacy: Washington failed to completely erase the Native American presence in the northeast, like it had been supposed.^{XLVII} By comparing Philip to Washington, and being a Native American himself, Apess is attempting to reinsert Native Americans into the history of the founding of America, where they belong.

On a deeper level, Apess is engaging throughout *Eulogy* in “mimicry,” ascribing to “the hierarchical ranks of cultural conflict” for the purpose of “reproducing that rhetoric’s assumptions” in order to slyly undercut them.^{XLVIII} At first glance, Apess is simply acknowledging the beloved place that Washington holds in the hearts of all Americans. However, as he continues to exalt Philip, Washington is shunned to the wayside. “As a man of natural abilities, I shall pronounce [Philip] the greatest man that was ever in America.”^{XLIX} By treating Philip as nobler than the great General George Washington, Apess equalizes Philip’s war of independence against the encroaching Pilgrims with the American Revolutionary War. In so doing, he ensconces Philip with Washington in America’s pantheon of nationalist heroes.^L

While Apess does laud Philip as a greater forefather than Washington, a fairly overt denigration of Washington especially to his audience, nowhere does Apess explicitly attack Washington's reputation as founder of a Christian America. He uses him as a foil, but he does not abuse him. Of course, Apess knows about Washington's record with Native Americans and no doubt sees it reflected in the ethnocide of Southeastern tribes by President Jackson's policies. But Apess's main tactic in bringing up Washington is to argue that Native Americans deserve as much credit for the current shape of the nation as white settlers do.^{LI} In this way, Apess attempts not to remove Washington as a pillar of Christian nationalism so much as to argue for inclusion of Philip as another key founder alongside Washington. Apess's utilization of Washington touches on a common theme within his writing: the inclusion of Natives into America as a sovereign people.

The relation of Native Americans to the dominant culture in the antebellum period has been deeply explored in the past few decades. In these analyses, many common theories concerning the fate of Native Americans establish a false dichotomy "between assimilation and authenticity," authenticity here understood as a complete rejection of the dominant culture in favor of one's own minority culture.^{LII} Apess's status as a Methodist has led some scholars to question whether he could be authentically committed to the Natives he ostensibly represented.^{LIII} Concomitantly, Apess's radical critiques of America lead scholars to state that he in no way desired straight assimilation.^{LIV} By challenging the dominant culture's idolization of Washington as the greatest American, Apess defies cultural assimilation into the American nation and remains allegiant to his heritage. Yet, by placing Philip in conversation with Washington as a key political influence, Apess is trying to reintroduce Natives into the history of

the nation. By balancing this tension assimilation and authenticity, Apess charts a third way of engagement with America, a way that characterizes his collective works.^{LV}

While Apess's utilization of Washington introduces the tension between assimilation and authenticity he feels with regards to nationalism, his treatment of the Puritans and Pilgrims, a critical Christian nationalist pillar, sheds more light on the authenticity dimension. In Apess's praise of Philip as the greatest "American," he ends with a comparison of Philip to the Pilgrims: "I shall pronounce [Philip] the greatest man that was ever in America; and so it will stand ... to the everlasting disgrace of the Pilgrims' fathers."^{LVl} The Puritans and Pilgrims constitute the main opposing force for Apess in his writing. Apess's disillusionment stems mostly from the false Christianity, as he sees it, of the Pilgrims: "For be it remembered, although the Gospel is said to be glad tidings to all people, yet we poor Indians never have found those who brought it as messengers of mercy, but contrariwise." He continues to assert that December 22nd, the agreed upon date for the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock, should be remembered with tears not with smiles.^{LVll} The Puritans and Pilgrims were frequently seen as stalwarts of prayer, appealing to their Lord for guidance and protection. Apess, however, reveals a much darker side of this virtue: "it was a common thing [during King Philip's War] for all the Pilgrims to curse the Indians. ... It is also wonderful how they prayed, that they should pray the bullet through the Indians' heart and their souls down into hell. ... If this is the way they pray ... I hope they will not pray for me."^{LVlll} With the Puritan's prayer life and their other lauded traits, Apess redefines the core virtues (and historical understandings) of his audience. Based on historical misrepresentation, this pillar of Christian nationalism is an

unacceptable heritage; in its place, “the Puritan legacy, as told by Apess, was one of intolerance, deceit, and conquest.”^{LIX}

Apess was familiar with Daniel Webster and Nathaniel Hawthorne and was therefore well-versed in the pro-Pilgrim and pro-Puritan Christian nationalist arguments espoused by them.^{LX} While Apess disagrees markedly with Daniel Webster, Noah Webster, Samuel Gardner Drake, and other revisionist, Whiggish historians on the correct reputation of the Pilgrims, he does agree that current Americans and the nation they inhabit are a product of their actions. Throughout *Eulogy* Apess addresses his audience as “sons of the Pilgrims.”^{LXI} Yet, Apess ensures that this moniker is not something to be desired. As he relates the tale of his ancestor Apess makes sure that the history he is constructing is not only his history; his white audience is intimately connected to it as well given the role their forebears play as the villain. Throughout his speech Apess weaves past and present together in such a way that his audience is forced to confront their guilt in the Indian Removal under Jackson and the poor plight of the Mashpee. In *Indian Nullification* he challenges his sensible white readers in this regard: “Perhaps you have heard of the oppression of the Cherokees and lamented over them much, and thought the Georgians were hard and cruel creatures; but did you ever hear of the poor, oppressed, and degraded Marshpee Indians in Massachusetts, and lament over them?”^{LXII}

In engaging with the history of the nation to make claims about the current state of affairs, Apess fits perfectly into the ranks of other Christian nationalist authors like Webster. By using this history not to demonstrate national unity but rather as proof that America is built upon systematic exclusion and injustice, Apess challenges the common notion of the progress of liberty in America in much the same way as current scholars like Amanda Porterfield do.

America is not living in a golden age of religious freedom as established by the Puritan forefathers; instead, injustice and ethnocide are still very present in the land of liberty.^{LXIII} But Apess does not just attack the actions of the Puritans, he attacks the conception of Divine Providence that undergirds much of the reasoning behind their success and the subsequent establishment of God's chosen nation: America.

In "An Indian's Looking Glass for the White Man," Apess questions a third main Christian nationalist pillar, the narrative of God's blessing of America. After all, "can you charge the Indians with robbing a nation almost of their whole continent, and murdering their women and children, and then depriving them the remainder of their lawful rights, that nature and God require them to have?"^{LXIV} In this and many other similar refrains, Apess redefines the taming of the continent as rooted in human design and evil, not as any sort of manifest destiny.

In an even more pointed attack, Apess questions his readers, "did you ever hear or read of Christ teaching his disciples that they ought to despise one because his skin was different from theirs?" A few paragraphs later he utters his most controversial statement of all: "If the Lord Jesus Christ, who is counted by all to be a Jew—and it is well known that the Jews are a colored people... if he should appear among us, would he not be shut out of doors by many, very quickly?"^{LXV} Not only is God not responsible for the spread of the original settlers, but these devout Americans descended from the champions of Christian virtue, the Pilgrims, would completely fail to recognize the Lord Christ because of his skin color. Apess contends that neither Divine Providence nor Christ-likeness are on the side of Anglo-Americans because of their horrendous treatment of Natives.

In his remarks on General Washington, Apess wavers between criticism and idolization. In his criticism of Divine Providence and the Puritan Myth, he appears Samson-like, knocking down two critical pillars supporting the Christian nationalist temple. Apess changes his tune, however, with his treatment of the common law based upon Christian dogma. He is fully supportive of this notion, although he is skeptical of how successful Americans are in following the law they so proudly claim as their own.

Similar to his usage of Washington, Apess treats the American common law and democratic values, the final pillar of Christian nationalism, as a foil for white Americans' treatment of Native Americans. Apess does not attack the original law, however. He instead critiques the political powers behind the law responsible for twisting it to serve their own purposes and oppress Native Americans. This failure to uphold the original law of God and country forms a key feature of *Indian Nullification*, Apess's documentation of the Mashpee Revolt of 1833 outlined previously. Responding to the original Mashpee Declaration of Independence, the county Sherriff told the Mashpee that "merely declaring a law to be oppressive [can] not abrogate it." The Sherriff subsequently urged the Mashpee as "good citizens" to go through the normal channels of the law to resolve their dispute. In response, Apess notes "surely it was either insult or wrong to call the Marshpees citizens, for such they never were, from the Declaration of Independence up to the session of the Legislature in 1834."^{LXVI}

What makes this simple recommendation even more insulting is the fact that the Mashpee had been trying to get a hearing with the governor for years to address their grievances, as good citizens should, but the governor had refused to meet with them.^{LXVII} While

Apess continues to relate the restrictive and unjust nature of the laws of the Mashpee and document their struggle to overcome these laws, what is important for this essay is how Apess engaged with the law itself, especially the Constitution and Declaration of Independence, joining the Bible as the second and third members of the Christian nationalists' textual trinity.

Apess's first reference to the Constitution is emblematic of his overall treatment; he claims the Truth undergirding the Constitution firmly for himself and his tribe. Apess's first reference to the Constitution occurs in the "Indian Declaration of Independence" which adopted three resolutions. The first resolution runs as follows: "*Resolved*, That we, as a tribe, will rule ourselves, and have the right to do so; for all men are born free and equal, says the Constitution of the country."^{LXVIII} After issuing this seminal proclamation forming their own independent government, Apess notes that he mistakenly wrote to the lieutenant governor. Turning this error to his advantage, Apess contends that "our mistake was not greater than many that have been made to pass current by the sophistry of the whites, and we acted in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution, unless that instrument be a device of utter deception."^{LXIX} Here Apess boldly contends that the greater common law tradition supports he and his allies, not the white Americans who selectively enforce it. Again, when the Mashpee's initial efforts are ignored by many of the well-to-do of society, Apess comments in response that the "governor, senators, and representatives were arrayed against us, ... we Marshpees account all who opposed our freedom, as Tories, hostile to the Constitution and the liberties of the country."^{LXX} Thus, when the state leadership opposes the cause of the Mashpee they are simultaneously opposing the essence of the Constitution.

Apess's adoption and adaptation of the Constitution parallels his implementation of the Declaration of Independence. In addition to naming the document of revolt after the Declaration, Apess frequently alludes to the Revolutionary War and the overthrow of laws believed to be unjust by the Founding Fathers. After detailing the nature of many of the oppressive laws instituted by the Massachusetts' government against the Mashpee, Apess address his readers directly. "I will ask [the reader] how, if he values his own liberty, he would or could rest quiet under such laws. I ask the inhabitants of New England generally how their fathers bore laws, much less oppressive, when imposed upon them by a foreign government."^{LXXI} While Apess's descriptor of British laws as "much less oppressive" may have been insulting to some of his readers, his overall appeal to be judged by the same standard white Americans hold for themselves is pointed.

Apess accomplishes a number of goals by incorporating the Constitution and Declaration of Independence into his arguments for Mashpee self-government. On a general level, he is appealing to the cultural icons of his audience. More specifically, he is using America's common law tradition, one of the main planks in the Christian nationalists' platform of America as a Christian nation, as justification for the Mashpee Revolt. On an even deeper level, however, Apess implicitly supports the events and reasoning behind the Revolution. In fact, he oftentimes asserts that the current generation of Americans has failed to merit the great gifts they received in the founding of America: religious liberty, a noble common law, and the chance to control one's own destiny. Apess does not request these gifts be taken away from white Americans; rather, he demands that Native Americans be allowed to share in the spoils of Revolution. "The [Mashpee] Indian soldiers fought through the [Revolutionary] War;

and as far as we have been able to ascertain the fact, from documents or tradition, all but one, fell martyrs to liberty, in the struggle for Independence.” And what is their reward? “Often and often have our tribe been promised the liberty their fathers fought, and bled, and died for; and even now we have but a small share of it.”^{LXXII} While appealing back to the virtues of the Revolutionary War and the common law it engendered, Apess explicitly demands inclusion for the Mashpee—and Native Americans writ large—in the freeing post-Revolution atmosphere of America. With regards to the common law of America in the 1830s, Apess clearly elucidates an assimilationist framework: Native Americans deserve full protection under the law, and any unjust laws should be repealed and recompense made.

As Apess discusses the four constructive pillars of Christian nationalism, he ultimately adopts a wide-ranging stance on the assimilation-authenticity spectrum. While he demands full inclusion in the common law, the backbone of the nation, he derides the glorification of the Pilgrims, broaches numerous problems with Divine Providence, and balances out as neutral with General Washington and the Founding Fathers. While it has been established that Apess belongs to the nation-building intellectuals of the 1830s, what needs further explication is the nature of the nation Apess is constructing: what future does Apess envision between Native Americans and Anglo Americans specifically and the nation of America in general? Leaving for a moment the firebrand political activist, Apess the Methodist preacher and “precociously devout Christian” needs to be unpacked.^{LXXIII}

In *A Son of the Forest* and *The Experiences of Five Christian Indians*, Apess establishes his conversion to Methodism as the key event between his previous, debauched life of wandering and his current life of political activism with a spiritual bent. As with other aspects of Apess’s

writings, he uses his spiritual autobiography as a way to subvert the current Christian establishment. Concerning genre, Apess is walking to the tune of his time in composing a spiritual autobiography. He does not hold back in detailing his sinful life and many failings. He does break from convention, however, in his attribution of some of those fears and failures to historical Christian precedent. Apess's autobiography "ultimately becomes an account of the shortcomings of the church and of individual Christians, and a theological argument for an alternative."^{LXXIV} Apess's sincere Christianity and minority perspective leads him to the conclusion that Anglo-American Christianity has failed in its task.^{LXXV} He explores the nature of this failure and charts a way forward in his later sermons and discourses.

Apess develops his voice in his autobiographies, realizing that he can imbue it with great power by drawing on the "strategic power of Christian rhetoric;" Apess's later writings offer testament to his success in this endeavor.^{LXXVI} In his only published sermon, "The Increase of the Kingdom of Christ," Apess condemns the failures of white Christian America and offers a hopeful new vision for the future of the Christian faith and nation. After explaining how God must judge the heathen and the sinner, a sentiment his audience would second, Apess quickly reveals his intent to strategically agree with their ideals in order to critique their actions by asserting the following:

Have [sic] not the great American nation reason to fear the swift judgments of heaven on them for nameless cruelties, extortions, and exterminations inflicted upon the poor natives of the forest? We fear the account of national sin, which lies at the doors of the American people, will be a terrible one to balance in the chancery of heaven. America has utterly failed to amalgamate the red man of the woods into the artificial, cultivated ranks of social life.^{LXXVII}

Americans, Apess contends, will have to face God with blood on their hands for their treatments of the Natives. Apess is dealing in double entendre when he mentions the failure of Americans to integrate with the Natives. First, he is accusing them of not even making the effort but rather just focusing on “extermination.” Second, he is contending that Americans should not actually try to fuse with Natives; instead, they should respect their sovereignty.

The authority for this barrage of criticism is found in two places. First and foremost, Apess is convinced that true Christian doctrine forbids such horrid treatment of one race by another; Christ died for all men equally, a truth that binds all races together.^{LXXVIII} But more vital (and curious) for his present argument is the notion of Indians as descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel. Apess defends his belief in this notion simply by saying that “many eminent men with apparently high presumption, if not unquestionable evidence, believe [this dogma].”^{LXXIX} Apess explains this theory more fully in the appendix to his autobiography. Some scholars believed Native Americans descended from the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel because of the similarities in custom, religious rituals and rites, appearance, and linguistic similarities.^{LXXX} For Apess, linking Native Americans back to Israel accomplishes a number of purposes worthy of mentioning here. First, it means that Natives should not be outright “amalgamated” into the American nation. After Apess comments on the failure of white Americans to combine well with Natives, he credits this failure to the Israelite blood in Native veins that ensures freedom. Second, if Natives are descended from Israel then they are even more connected to Christ: not only are they both people of color but they are the same ethnicity. This connection ensures God’s covenant protection and requires Natives to take the initiative in fighting for the increase of the Kingdom of Christ.^{LXXXI} Presenting Native Americans as the ten lost tribes of Israel is a key

component of Apess's Christian nationalism because it explains why Natives should be allowed to govern themselves *within* the setting of Christian America.

While Apess's sermon does highlight the failures of white Americans and discuss the true identity of Native Americans, its ultimate purpose is to shed light on how the Kingdom of God can be furthered in the world. As a Christian minister this is not a surprising doctrine to promote. What matters for the purpose of this paper is that Apess deemed this process of Christianization as a thoroughly nationalistic one. He speaks in terms of nations, national sin, and national duty throughout the whole sermon. While Apess spends significant time criticizing the church, he concludes on a hopeful note: "There is a great light of glory descending upon the American church. Revivals follow revivals, and the deep brown wilderness is vocal with the shouting and songs of the delivered tribes, long slaves to error but now emancipated and brought out of the wilderness of sin into the Canaan of Gospel liberty." In addition to the continued utilization of Israelite language, Apess's hope for the future of the church is startling in its equivocation of "American church" and "delivered tribes." For Apess to declare that "tribes of the wilderness" are the ones to "conquer the world for Christ" is not as surprising as for him to hope these tribes could constitute part of the American church.^{LXXXII} As the Methodist revivals continue to spread across the country—specifically through and amidst Native tribes—the *American* church as a whole would be glorified.^{LXXXIII} In this way Apess links the virtues of Native Americans with the spreading of the Gospel and the revivification of the American church as a whole, allowing for the possibility of Christian Native Americans to coexist with white Christian Americans.^{LXXXIV}

This hopeful tone amidst the overall bleak representation of American Christianity in Apess's writings can be credited to his belief in Millennialism. Like many Christians (and Christian nationalists) of his time, Apess was convinced that the full establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven was imminent.^{LXXXV} If Apess's religious convictions in this regard are sincere, his prescription for the path forward takes on not a fanciful or dreamy hue but a strident and urgent tone. The Kingdom is coming; white Christians need to repent. White and Native Christians alike need to work together to build Christ's Kingdom before his coming. With this in mind, the national language of Apess is compelling. He advocates openly for unity in America between Natives and whites as Christian sisters and brothers. Apess's religious request as a pastor, therefore, is for repentance of misdeeds by all followed by national unification around the building of a Christian nation in preparation for Christ's coming.

With the impetus for religious respect established, Apess's prescriptions for the political realm can be better understood. After critiquing the different planks of Christian nationalism and describing the wrongs of white Americans, Apess concludes that "justice demand[s] that the relationship between natives and newcomers be revived on an equal and honorable basis."^{LXXXVI} The foundation for this new relationship would be the construction of a "cross-cultural written history of the region...to assert the vital presence of Native Americans." This history would provide the grounds for inter-ethnic respect and foster national unity.^{LXXXVII} Concerning Philip and Washington, Apess's version of history respects and honors both. He clearly believes Divine Providence to have been abused in the past, but the possibility of God's Divine Blessing still exists for Christians now. As for the hated Puritan myth and misuse of the common law, Apess magnanimously offers to "bury the hatchet and those unjust laws and

Plymouth Rock together and become friends.” He goes on to ask “will the sons of the Pilgrims aid in putting out the fire and destroying the canker that will ruin all that their fathers left behind them to destroy?” If so, then “let us have principles that will give everyone his due. ... Give the Indian his rights, and you may be assured war will cease.”^{LXXXVIII} In this oft-quoted appeal, Apess offers friendship and the possibility of a mutually cooperative nation under “one general law” where Native and Anglo American alike can respect and live alongside each other by the grace of God in order to accomplish his Kingdom purposes.^{LXXXIX}

If an American Christian nationalist is simply someone who believes that God is behind their nation’s growth and success, then Apess is certainly a Christian nationalist. But many of the Christian nationalists of the 1830s believed not only in a bright Divinely-blessed future but in a Divinely purposed past, something Apess challenges. Yet, while Apess warns of potential damnation because of gross injustices, he does find God’s blessing and providence in a few aspects of history, especially the general principles of the nation inherent in the Constitution. He credits rebellious, misguided people with the current state of affairs, not an absent God. In his sermons and autobiographies, Apess attempts to convict his audience of their faults, drive them to repentance, and restore their relationship with God. In his speeches and political tracts, he once again highlights the injustices, but he also proffers a new future of friendship and cooperation. This new future is not based off an embrace but rather a shedding of the past. This shedding does constitute a new history, however, one that is not as comforting as his audience would prefer. It is a multi-ethnic history of fears, failures, massacres, and mutual hatred. Apess hopes that this bleak history will spark a desire for love and cooperation that has been absent. He believes that acknowledging He trusts in God to accomplish this task of

conviction, repentance, and renewal. Apess yearns for national conversion back to the ways of God, who has been there all along, and it is this pursuit that makes him a Christian nationalist.

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- ⁱ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America Volume I*, trans. Henry Reeve, Esq. (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1966), 47.
- ⁱⁱ Steven Green, *Inventing a Christian America: The Myth of the Religious Founding* (Oxford: OUP, 2015), 220-21.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Green, *Inventing a Christian America*, 201. While Steven Green provides the framework for this essay, John Fea, Mark Noll, Nathan Hatch, and George Marsden also contribute heavily to this essay.
- ^{iv} William Apress, "Eulogy on King Philip, as Pronounced at the Odeon, Federal Street, Boston," in *On Our Own Ground: The Complete Writings of William Apress, A Pequot* ed. Barry O'Connell (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1992),
- ^v For some striking examples see the following: Carl Benn's *Native Memoirs of the War of 1812*; Anne Marie Dannenberg's "'Where, then, shall we place the hero of the wilderness?' William Apress's Eulogy on King Philip and Doctrines of Racial Destiny," in *Early Native American Writing: New Critical Essays*; Andy Doolen's "William Apress and the Nullification of Empire," in *Fugitive Empire: Locating Early American Imperialism*; and Drew Lopenzina's "What to the American Indian is the Fourth of July? Moving Beyond Abolitionist Rhetoric in William Apress's *Eulogy on King Philip*," *American Literature* 82, no. 4 (2010).
- ^{vi} John Fea, *Was America Founded as a Christian Nation?* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2011), 4-5.
- ^{vii} Amanda Porterfield, *Conceived in Doubt: Religion and Politics in the New American Nation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 77.
- ^{viii} Fea, 5; Mark Noll, Nathan Hatch, and George Marsden, *The Search for Christian America* (Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1983), 108.
- ^{ix} Green, *Inventing a Christian America*, 199.
- ^x Green, *Inventing a Christian America*, 201.
- ^{xi} Green, *Inventing a Christian America*, 201, 205.
- ^{xii} Fea, *Founded as a Christian Nation*, 171-75.
- ^{xiii} Green, *Inventing a Christian America*, 211-19; Porterfield, *Conceived in Doubt*, 77.
- ^{xiv} Green, *Inventing a Christian America*, 220-21.
- ^{xv} Green, *Inventing a Christian America*, 227.
- ^{xvi} Green, *Inventing a Christian America*, 227-38. It is of course necessary to note that Hawthorne also offered substantial critiques of the Puritans. His was not a blind endorsement, but it was nevertheless an endorsement.
- ^{xvii} Noll, Hatch, and Marsden, *Search for Christian America*, 110-11.
- ^{xviii} Porterfield, *Conceived in Doubt*, 48, 76-77.
- ^{xix} Fea, *Founded as a Christian Nation*, 20-21.
- ^{xx} Noll, Hatch, and Marsden, *Search for Christian America*, 111.
- ^{xxi} Noll, Hatch, and Marsden, *Search for Christian America*, 112.
- ^{xxii} Fea, *Founded as a Christian Nation*, 146.
- ^{xxiii} William Apress, "A Son of the Forest: The Experience of William Apress, A Native of the Forest" in *On Our Own Ground: The Complete Writings of William Apress, A Pequot* ed. Barry O'Connell (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 3-4. In reality, Philip was sachem of the Pokanoket tribe in Rhode Island, not the Pequots as O'Connell (see fn. 2 pg. 4) and Philip Gura (see Gura, *Life of William Apress*, 45) reveal.
- ^{xxiv} Apress, *Son of the Forest*, 7, 15, 16, 25. By "treated unkindly" Apress is referring to the numerous accusations and beatings he received as a child (see pages 12 and 13 of his autobiography for examples).
- ^{xxv} Apress, *Son of the Forest*, 30-31, 31-33; Carl Benn, *Native Memoirs from the War of 1812: Black Hawk and William Apress* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 112-13.
- ^{xxvi} Philip Gura, *The Life of William Apress, Pequot* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 31-33.
- ^{xxvii} Apress, *Son of the Forest*, 40, 42, 43, 46, 47-52.
- ^{xxviii} Gura, *Life of William Apress*, 71-73.
- ^{xxix} Originally the tribe was known as Marshpee. Today, and in academic circles, they identify as the Mashpee tribe.
- ^{xxx} William Apress, "Indian Nullification of the Unconstitutional Laws of Massachusetts Relative to the Marshpee Tribe; or, The Pretended Riot Explained," in *On Our Own Ground: The Complete Writings of William Apress, A Pequot*, ed. Barry O'Connell (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 169, 171, 172-73, 175, 179-80. One of the sparks of controversy was that the Mashpee Indians had unknowingly been in contact with the

lieutenant governor, not the actual governor. Thus the Mashpee had to endure court cases and hearings for months before their resolution was adopted.

XXXI Renée Bergland, *The National Uncanny: Indian Ghosts and American Subjects* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2000), 121.

XXXII Barry O'Connell, *On Our Own Ground: The Complete Writings of William Apess, A Pequot* ed. Barry O'Connell (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 164; Apess, "Indian Nullification," 206, 208-11.

XXXIII Apess, "Indian Nullification," 208-11.

XXXIV "O'Connell, *Our Own Ground*, 164.

XXXV Apess, "Indian Nullification," 241-42.

XXXVI Kerstin Vogel, *The Native American Declaration of Independence: William Apess's Reflections of Ethnic Consciousness* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2008), 3.

XXXVII Apess, "Indian Nullification," 175-77.

XXXVIII Multiple sources including local newspapers mention this falling out. No source has a definitive reason for it.

XXXIX Gura, *Life of William Apess*, 101, 107.

XL Todd Vogel, "William Apess's Theater and a 'Native' American History," in *ReWriting White: Race, Class, and Cultural Capital in Nineteenth-Century America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 50. The common belief at the time was that Natives could be eloquent but only in the way a child can be. The idea of a sophisticated, smart, engaging, and witty Native American would have seemed oxymoronic to many in Apess's audience. O'Connell notes that Apess threatens whites simply by knowing how to read and write! (*On Our Own Ground*, xlii).

XLI Gura, *Life of William Apess*, 114-15, 132-33, xiii.

XLII Gura, *Life of William Apess*, xiii.

XLIII Barry O'Connell, "'Once More Let Us Consider': William Apess in the Writing of New England Native American History," in *After King Philip's War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England*, ed. with an intro. by Colin G. Calloway (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1997), 165.

XLIV O'Connell, *On Our Own Ground*, lxi.

XLV Vogel, "William Apess's Theater," 52, 54, 58.

XLVI Apess, *Eulogy*, 277.

XLVII Vogel, "William Apess's Theater," 41, 49.

XLVIII Cheryl Walker, *Indian Nation: Native American Literature and Nineteenth-Century Nationalisms* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 15, 46.

XLIX Apess, *Eulogy*, 308.

L Vogel, "William Apess's Theater," 60. Vogel goes so far as to conclude that Apess credits Philip with inspiring the Revolution and Washington himself.

LI Apess, "Indian Nullification," 240.

LII Gordon Sayre, "Defying Assimilation, Confounding Authenticity: The Case of William Apess," *Auto/biography Studies* 11, no. 1 (1996): 1. Apess scholars Krupat and Brumble have proposed two such theories which fail to reject this dichotomy.

LIII Sayre, "Defying Assimilation," 5-6.

LIV Andy Doolen, "William Apess and the Nullification of Empire," in *Fugitive Empire: Locating Early American Imperialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 147.

LV Sayre, "Defying Assimilation," 11-12.

LVI Apess, *Eulogy*, 308.

LVII Apess, *Eulogy*, 286.

LVIII Apess, *Eulogy*, 304. Apess continues later on the page to quote a number of Scriptures that clearly show how Christians should pray for their enemies' forgiveness, not their damnation.

LIX Drew Lopenzina, "'What to the American Indian is the Fourth of July?' Moving beyond Abolitionist Rhetoric in William Apess's *Eulogy on King Philip*," *American Literature* 82 no. 4 (2010): 688.

LX Sayre, "Defying Assimilation," 4; Bergland, *The National Uncanny*, 112.

LXI Apess, *Eulogy*, 306, for instance.

LXII Apess, "Indian Nullification," 177.

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- ^{LXIII} Anne Marie Dannenberg, "'Where, then, shall we place the hero of the wilderness?' William Apess's Eulogy on King Philip and Doctrines of Racial Destiny," in *Early Native American Writing: New Critical Essays*, ed. Helen Jaskoski, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 68-69.
- ^{LXIV} William Apess, "An Indian's Looking-Glass for the White Man," in *On Our Own Ground: The Complete Writings of William Apess, A Pequot*, ed. Barry O'Connell (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 157.
- ^{LXV} Apess, "Indian's Looking-Glass," 159-60.
- ^{LXVI} Apess, "Indian Nullification," 183.
- ^{LXVII} Apess, "Indian Nullification," 173.
- ^{LXVIII} Apess, "Indian Nullification," 175; O'Connell, *On Our Own Ground*, xxxvi.
- ^{LXIX} Apess, "Indian Nullification," 179-80 emphasis added.
- ^{LXX} Apess, "Indian Nullification," 204.
- ^{LXXI} Apess, "Indian Nullification," 211.
- ^{LXXII} Apess, "Indian Nullification," 238-40.
- ^{LXXIII} Sayre, "Defying Assimilation," 6.
- ^{LXXIV} Eileen Razzari Elrod, *Piety and Dissent: Race Gender, and Biblical Rhetoric in Early American Autobiography* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), 170.
- ^{LXXV} Elrod, *Piety and Dissent*, 162.
- ^{LXXVI} Elrod, 149-50.
- ^{LXXVII} William Apess, "The Increase of the Kingdom of Christ: A Sermon," in *On Our Own Ground: The Complete Writings of William Apess, A Pequot*, ed. Barry O'Connell (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 106-07.
- ^{LXXVIII} Kim McQuaid, "William Apes, Pequot: An Indian Reformer in the Jackson Era," *New England Quarterly* 50, no. 4 (1977): 608.
- ^{LXXIX} Apess, "Increase of the Kingdom," 106.
- ^{LXXX} Apess, *Son of the Forest*, 74-76. See *Son of the Forest* 74 ff. for further explanation.
- ^{LXXXI} Apess, "Increase of the Kingdom," 107. Of course, Apess does not think of Natives as being Jewish but only Jews. In other words, he connects them ethnically but not religiously; Apess is still a firm Christian believer.
- ^{LXXXII} Apess, "Increase of the Kingdom," 108-111.
- ^{LXXXIII} Apess, "Increase of the Kingdom," 111; Laura Donaldson, "Making a Joyful Noise: William Apess and the Search for Postcolonial Method(ism)," in *Messy Beginnings: Postcoloniality and Early American Studies*, ed. Malini Johar Schueller and Edward Watts (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 33-34.
- ^{LXXXIV} Donaldson, "Joyful Noise," 37.
- ^{LXXXV} O'Connell, *On Our Own Ground*, 99. See Apess, "Increase of the Kingdom," 107-09.
- ^{LXXXVI} Benn, *Native Memoirs*, 92.
- ^{LXXXVII} O'Connell, "Once More," 165.
- ^{LXXXVIII} Apess, *Eulogy*, 306-07.
- ^{LXXXIX} Apess, *Eulogy*, 310.

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